

Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling

Being the Chronicle of Later Han for
the years 157 to 189 AD as recorded in
Chapters 54 to 59 of the
Zizhi tongjian of Sima Guang

Translated and annotated by
Rafe de Crespigny

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Internet Edition
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TO HANS AND CHARLOTTE

FOREWORD
TO THE 2018 INTERNET EDITION

First published in 1990, this translation from the *Zizhi tongjian* of Sima Guang is now out of print, and is available only through specialist libraries. The present version, almost thirty years after the original publication, represents a formal second edition and is offered to those who may be interested in the history of the Later Han dynasty on the eve of its fall into ruin the end of the second century AD.

Both the translation and the notes have been revised, with some references to later works, including my own. The format is different, but the original pagination is indicated throughout.

Rafe de Crespigny
Canberra, November 2018

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PREFACE

TO THE 1989 EDITION

The present work offers an annotated translation of Chapters 54- 58 of the *Zizhi tongjian* of Sima Guang, dealing with the years equivalent to 157-187 AD, and portion of Chapter 59, to the death of Emperor Ling in 189. The first four of these chapters have not been translated before, but Chapters 58 and 59 were rendered in *The Last of the Han*, which I published some twenty years ago. The format of the present work, however, is slightly different, and it has seemed appropriate to complete the account of the reign of Emperor Ling in the new format.

I began work in this field under the guidance of Hans Bielenstein, Göran Malmqvist, Fang Chao-ying and Otto van der Sprenkel. Since that time I have benefited greatly from the advice and assistance of many colleagues and friends, notably Igor de Rachewiltz, Ken Gardiner and Greg Young in Canberra, and Burchard Mansvelt Beck of Leiden.

Much of the typing for the present work was done by Fien Warouw and Pam Wesley-Smith. The characters have been written by May Wang, and the maps prepared by Winifred Mumford. I am most grateful to all of them for their competence and for their very great patience and tolerance.

In the course of the work, I have been given assistance from the Australian Research Grants Committee and from the Faculties' Research Fund of the Australian National University.

Above all, however, I must thank Liu Ts'un-yan, Emeritus Professor of Chinese at this University and long-time guide and friend, who has given his time most generously to revision and discussion of this material. With the greatest admiration for the depth and breath of his scholarship, I am immensely grateful for the attention he has given to this project.

Rafe de Crespigny
Canberra, June 1989

INTRODUCTION

Sima Guang and his Chronicle History:

Zizhi tongjian 資治通鑑 "The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government" was compiled by Sima Guang between the years 1067 and 1084, and was first printed at Hangzhou in 1086. The whole work comprises 294 chapters (卷 *juan*), and covers the period from 403 BC to 959 AD.¹

Sima Guang, scholar and statesman of the Northern Song dynasty, was born in 1019 in present-day Shanxi province. His family was wealthy, and he obtained early success as a scholar and official. He passed the examination for the *jinshi* 進士 degree, highest in the empire, when he was barely twenty, and he spent the next several years in official positions.

In 1064, Sima Guang presented Emperor Yingzong 英宗 with a book of five chapters, entitled *Linian tu* 歷年圖 "Chronicle Table." A summary of events from 403 BC to 959 AD, this may be regarded as a first advertisement and request for sponsorship of his major project. The starting point was the year that the King of Zhou 周 acknowledged the division of the ancient hereditary state of Jin 晉 between three great families, a recognition of usurpers which marked the beginning of the desperate and decisive wars that brought the end of Zhou and the establishment of the new-style empire of Qin 秦. And the history halted a hundred years before Sima Guang's own time, at the very beginning of the Northern Song dynasty which he served.²

¹ On the historiography of *Zizhi tongjian*, see the discussion by G Lewin, with following articles on supplementary texts, in *A Sung Bibliography (Bibliographie des Song)*, initiated by Etienne Balazs and edited by Yves Hervouet, Chinese University Press, Hong Kong, 1978, 69-70 and ff; also the prefaces to deC, *Last of the Han*, xi-xxii, and to Fang, *Chronicle I*, xvii-xx.

On more general aspects, see also E G Pulleyblank, "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, 135-166; Rafe de Crespigny, "Universal Histories," in *Essays on the Sources for Chinese History*, edited by Donald Leslie, Colin Mackerras and Wang Gungwu, Canberra 1973, 64-70; and on the earlier and original histories of the period, see in particular, Bielenstein's *Prolegomena* in *RHD I*; A F P Hulswé, "Notes on the Historiography of the Han Period," in *Historians of China and Japan*, 31-43; and K H J Gardiner, "Standard Histories, Han to Sui," in *Sources for Chinese History*, 42-52.

The biography of Sima Guang is in *Song shi* 宋史 336. *Sung Biographies*, edited by Herbert Franke, 4 volumes, Wiesbaden 1976, unfortunately contains no entry for him.

² A work entitled *Jigu lu* 稽古錄 "Survey of Records of the Past" in 20 chapters was compiled later by Sima Guang. It presents a summary chronicle of Chinese history from the earliest mythical rulers, but from part-way through Chapter 11 to the end of

Two years later in 1066, Sima Guang presented a further and more detailed work, comprising eight chapters chronicling the period from 403 to 207 BC, and at this time an edict was issued for the work to be continued.³ Sima Guang was granted full access to the imperial libraries, while the emperor undertook to cover all the costs of paper, writing brushes and other equipment required for the compilation. He also allocated funds for research assistants, including the experienced historians Liu Shu 劉恕 (1032-1078) and Zhao Junxi 趙君錫.

Early in the following year, 1067, Emperor Yingzong died, and in the tenth Chinese month Sima Guang attended a seminar at the palace to introduce the work in progress to Emperor Shenzong 神宗. The new ruler not only confirmed the interest his father had shown, but proclaimed the favour by a preface which changed the title from *Tong zhi* 通志 "Comprehensive Record" to the more ornamental and impressive *Zizhi tongjian*.⁴ As several scholars have observed, the character *jian* 鑑 "mirror" may be understood in this context as indicating a work of reference and guidance; so the emperor accepted Sima Guang as his mentor in the science of history and its application to government, and for the seventeen years of his reign he maintained his support for the work.

Such loyalty is notable, for Sima Guang soon became a leader of the conservative faction at court, resolutely opposed to the reforming policies of Shenzong's minister Wang Anshi 王安石. He presented increasingly bitter memorials of criticism, and in 1070 he refused further appointment and withdrew from the court. In 1071 he took up residence in Luoyang, where he

Chapter 15 the text preserves the original *Linian tu*. Chapter 16 contains the memorial Sima Guang wrote upon the occasion of the presentation of *Linian tu*, and the remaining four chapters continue the chronicle outline through the Song period into Sima Guang's own time. It seems probable that *Jigu lu* was also presented to the young Emperor Shenzong early in his reign, possibly at the same time as the seminar of 1067, mentioned below: *Sung Bibliography*, 71-72 (de Crespigny).

³ 207 BC was the last year of the Second Emperor of Qin, and the foundation of the Han dynasty is traditionally dated from 206, when the future Emperor Gao became King of Han after the destruction of Qin. The first eight chapters of *Zizhi tongjian* itself cover precisely these years, and the chronicle of Han begins at Chapter 9. It seems clear that the work presented by Sima Guang in 1066, then entitled *Tong zhi*, was intended as a first sample of the style with which he proposed to continue, and it later formed the basis of these first eight chapters of *Zizhi tongjian*. We must assume that Sima Guang had been working on the project for some few years before he began negotiations for imperial patronage in 1064 and 1066.

⁴ The preface of Emperor Shenzong is reprinted in the introduction to the Beijing 1956 edition at 33-34.

remained with an official sinecure, ample leisure and sufficient resources to continue the work.

Indeed, though Sima Guang and his imperial master were in complete disagreement on policies for the present day, the enforced retirement proved essential for the historian to complete the project in full and final form.

We know a good deal about the technique of the compilation. The first stage was a "General Outline" (叢目 *Congmu*) of the major events of the period, and the text of this must have been very similar to that of *Linian tu*, though we are told that the astronomer Liu Xisou 劉羲叟, who had earlier assisted Ouyang Xiu 歐陽脩 in the compilation of the official *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 "New History of the Tang Dynasty," also worked on the "General Outline."⁵ Then a Long Draft (長編 *Changpian*) was prepared, based about the framework of the Chronological Survey, including material gathered as widely as possible, and in this work of general collation Sima Guang received the particular assistance of Liu Bin 劉攽 (1022-1088), who was apparently in charge of the material up to the end of Later Han, Liu Shu, who was responsible for the drafting of the account of the period from the end of Han to the beginning of Tang, and Fan Zuyu 范祖禹 (1041-1098), who prepared the third part of the chronicle for Tang and the Five Dynasties period.⁶ When it was fully gathered, the material of the Long Draft is said to have filled two entire rooms.

The Long Draft was then edited by Sima Guang himself, and we are told, for example, that in dealing with the Tang section he reduced some six hundred chapters of Fan Zuyu's original collection down to no more than eighty. In the process, though the text of *Zizhi tongjian* follows closely upon the earlier histories from which the Long Draft had gathered its material, Sima Guang's revision gave the work a unity of style and a tightness of presentation seldom matched by the sources upon which it is based.

At the end of 1084, Sima Guang presented the completed work to the throne, claiming as he did so that he had "given his all" to the project.⁷ By a

⁵ A *Congmu* "General Outline" in thirty chapters was later published in conjunction with the major work *Zizhi tongjian*, to which it serves as a chronological summary.

⁶ *Sung Biographies* contains biographies of Liu Shu (II, 654-656: J. Kurata), Liu Bin (II, 649-652: H. Wilhelm) and Fan Zuyu (I, 338-345: M. Freeman).

⁷ Sima Guang's memorial of presentation is in the Beijing 1956 edition at 9607-08. It is dated to the eleventh month of the seventh year of the Yuanfeng period, generally equivalent to 1084 of the Western calendar. The annals of *Songshi* 16, however, record that the work was actually received on the *wuchen* day of the twelfth month, being the third day of that month, equivalent to 1 January 1085.

quirk of fortune, however, the end of these labours in the field of history marked his return to the political arena of the court. Four months later Shenzong died, to be succeeded by the young Emperor Zhezong 哲宗 under a regency of Shenzong's mother the Empress-Dowager Gao 高. Within weeks of the change of government Sima Guang had been recalled to the capital and appointed chief minister. For eighteen months until his death, he supervised the destruction of the reform programs which had been established by his rival Wang Anshi and his former patron Emperor Shenzong.⁸

When *Zizhi tongjian* was presented an edict ordered immediately that it should be printed, and the first edition was published in Hangzhou in 1086, the year of Sima Guang's death.⁹ As evidence of the work's influence and popularity, we know of another eight editions during the remaining forty years of Northern Song, though only fragments of these remain. The earliest datable manuscript, published in the *Sibu congkan* collection, is identified as a late twelfth-century reprint of an edition originally collated and published in the 1130s, at the beginning of Southern Song.¹⁰ The Beijing punctuated edition of 1956 is based upon that published in 1816 by Hu Kejia, which is in turn based upon one which was used by the commentator Hu Sanxing 胡三行 (1230-1302) of the Yuan dynasty, supplemented by other editions of Song, Ming and Qing.

Sima Guang himself compiled a supplementary thirty chapters of *Kaoyi* 考異 "Examination of Differences," where he noted variations in the historical records and would often justify his own preferred reading. Two hundred years later, when Hu Sanxing compiled his commentary (音註 *Yinzhu*), he placed the items of *Kaoyi* into their relevant positions as commentary to the main text, and he drew also upon the commentaries to the parallel texts of the standard histories, such as that compiled for the *Hou Han shu* of Fan Ye under the auspices of Li Xian 李賢, Heir-Apparent of Tang in the seventh century.¹¹

⁸ *Sung Biographies* contains biographies of Emperors Yingzong (III, 1257-1258: I.Miyazaki), and Shenzong (II, 865-868: T. Saeki) and of the Empress-Dowager Gao (II, 494-498: H. Chiba).

⁹ The edict and the record of printing is in the Beijing 1956 edition at 9609.

¹⁰ The analysis of the text critic Zhang Yu appears in the introduction to the Beijing 1956 edition, at 15-16.

¹¹ Li Xian died before he could take the throne. He received posthumous title as Zhanghuai taizi 章懷太子, and the commentary is commonly identified by that name.

In the preface to this work, Hu Sanxing observed that Sima Guang had sought "to establish good action as the proper model, and to let evil deeds serve as their own warning." In that sense, *Zizhi tongjian* is a didactic as well as a historical text, and there is no question that this was indeed Sima Guang's intention. His technique, however, is the indirect, oblique approach of traditional Chinese historiography. Sometimes he offers specific statements of analysis and comment, and his judgements on these occasions are invariably forceful, clear and elegant. Most commonly, however, he prefers to let the facts, as selected, speak for themselves, and his philosophical approach may best be considered as that of the pragmatist: it is not so much that wrong-doing is bad; but it is an inevitable rule that weakness and wickedness will bring disaster as their natural consequence.

In this, one may observe a marked contrast with the approach of the Southern Song philosopher Zhu Xi 朱熹, whose *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 資治通鑑綱目 "String and Mesh of the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government" presented a summary and reinterpretation of the earlier work, emphasising the importance of ethics in politics and, through his Foreword on the *fanli* 凡例 rules, setting standards for historical judgement and for the rhetorical devices by which those judgements should be expressed, and indeed establishing a system of "praise and blame" on the lines alleged to have been used by Confucius in composing the *Chunqiu* 春秋 "Spring and Autumn Annals" for the ancient state of Lu.¹²

For history of the period presently under discussion, one of the most obvious contrasts between the two works is in the treatment of the question of "Legitimate Succession" (正統 *zhengtong*) between the Three Kingdoms which followed the fall of Han. Where Sima Guang maintained the dating of his chronicle from Han through the Wei empire of the Cao family to the Jin dynasty of the Sima, Zhu Xi insisted on the moral virtue and legitimate succession of the Shu-Han state in Sichuan, founded by Liu Bei and maintained by his son.¹³

¹² On *Zizhi tongjian gangmu*, see *Song Bibliography*, 75-76 (J.W. Haeger). Important Western discussions of the relationship between the two works are Otto Franke, "Das *Tse tschi t'ung kien* und das *T'ung kien kang mu*, ihr Wesen, ihr Verhältnis zueinander und ihr Quellenwert," in *Sitzungsberichten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, Berlin 1930, 103-144, and Erich Haenisch, "Gedanken zum *T'ung-kien kang-muh*," in *Nachrichten der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Volkerkunde Ostasiens* 79/80 (1956), 41-47.

¹³ For a recent discussion of this debate, with reference to the views of Zhu Xi and other scholars of the Chinese tradition, see *Cambridge China I*, 373-376: Mansvelt Beck, "The Fall of Han."

In his own discussion of that matter, Sima Guang deliberately eschewed the concept of "praise and blame:

Your servant has limited himself to setting forth the rise and decline of different states, and to recording the changes of men's fortunes. I leave it for my readers themselves to draw lessons as to which is good and which is bad, which wise and which in error, and to take encouragement or warning therefrom. My intention is quite different to that of *Chunqiu*, which set up norms for praise and blame in order to rectify a disorderly age.¹⁴

Sima Guang, after all, was writing for the rulers of a reasonably successful dynasty, and his object was rather to instruct and to guide towards greater perfection than to criticise and purge contemporary disorders.

Nonetheless, the fact that Sima Guang rejected the full position of moral judgement later adopted by Zhu Xi does not mean that he did not have strong views, nor that he was reluctant to express them. At the end of Chapter 68, the last of the Chronicle of Han, Sima Guang presented an essay "On Teaching and Custom," which may be regarded as his epitaph upon that dynasty, and which refers very substantially to the history of Emperors Huan and Ling described and translated in this present volume.¹⁵ He describes how Liu Xiu, founding Emperor Guangwu of Later Han, and his immediate successors of the first century AD, used the teaching of the Confucian classics as a means to restore the moral fibre of the court and to maintain good custom among the common people. In later generations, the government of the empire was corrupted by the influence of the imperial relatives by marriage and the eunuchs:

This may be called disorder.

Yet the reason the state continued and did not fall into destruction was that on the one hand there were excellencies, ministers and high officials such as Yuan An, Yang Zhen, Li Gu, Du Qiao, Chen Fan and Li Ying, who would argue in the imperial presence and struggled to support the state with justice and honour in its time of danger. And at the same time there were scholars of plain clothing such as Fu Rong, Guo Tai, Fan Pang and Xu Shao, who held private discussions to help in that time of chaos.¹⁶

¹⁴ ZZTJ 69, 2187; Fang, *Chronicle I*, 46-47.

¹⁵ ZZTJ 68, 2173-74; de Crespigny, *Last of the Han*, 356-358; and also at the end of *To Establish Peace*. The text does not have the specific title I give it here, but appears merely as one of Sima Guang's occasional comments. The emphasis on Teaching (教化 *jiaohua*) and Custom (風俗 *fengsu*), however, is very plain.

¹⁶ All the officials and scholars mentioned in this passage are described or mentioned in the Translation and Notes below.

And so, although the government was corrupted Custom was not in decline. Those officials and scholars went forward to face the axe and the halberd, and even when the first of them was killed, the example of their loyalty and honour was so great that others followed in their footsteps on the road to execution. They saw death as the necessary and natural path to follow.

Was it just the courage of these few worthy scholars? No. It was the inherited influence of Emperors Guangwu, Ming and Zhang that brought such sense of duty. And if only an understanding ruler had appeared at that time to support them, then the fortune of Han might yet be maintained without limit or measure.

Sadly, however, the ruinous disorder inherited by Emperors Huan and Ling was compounded by their own stupid tyranny. They protected and nourished the evil-doers and the vicious as if they were closer than their own flesh and blood. They killed and destroyed those who were loyal and true more diligently than if they had been rebels and enemies.

So the gentry stirred up in their anger, and hatred was bred within all four seas..... The Emperor became a homeless wanderer, the temples of the imperial clan were laid waste, the royal house was destroyed and all the people were in mud and ashes. The Mandate was broken, never to be restored.

Here is a powerful statement of Chinese conservatism, of the central importance of Confucian virtues and the essential role of the gentleman scholar. A ruler ignores such precedent at his peril.

From the time of Sima Qian 司馬遷 and his *Shi ji* 史記 in the first century BC, *Zizhi tongjian* was the first major attempt at a chronicle study which extended over more than one dynastic period. The achievement of Sima Guang has dominated later treatment of the period from Han to Song, and it has become the model for an important genre of Chinese historical writing. One may criticise Sima Guang as a conservative Neo-Confucianist, and we must observe that he represented the ideology and the interests of the landed gentry, but the breadth of vision and the scale of presentation have given a masterly picture of the years that are described, and it is by no means inappropriate to compare the achievement of Sima Guang with that of Edward Gibbon and his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. In the dramatic thrust of its narrative, and the elegance of its prose, *Zizhi tongjian* is a splendid work of history and a pleasure to read.

I hope that this translation of a part of the chronicle of Han may serve as an introduction to the study of the history of China in the second century AD, and shed some light on the causes of the collapse of that great dynasty.

A modern historian will find further questions to consider beyond the recital of facts so ably gathered and forcefully arranged by Sima Guang, and there is ample room for additional analysis and debate. As I have suggested above, however, and as I argued in the Preface to the earlier translation, for the beginning of a full discussion of the period, we should first take note how a great Chinese chose to describe its history.

The Arrangement of the Translation and the Notes

The Chinese text which is followed is that of the Beijing punctuated edition of 1956, published by the Guji Publishing House. This work includes notes on variant readings of the text compiled by the modern scholar Zhang Yu 章鈺, and these readings have been noted where appropriate.

In the left-hand margin of the text of the translation are indications of the pagination of the Chinese text. The index to the present work is based upon that pagination, so that it serves both as an index to the translation and also as an index to the modern Chinese edition.

Also in the left-hand margin are letters identifying "passages" of the translation and text; there are Finding Notes for each passage with references to the earlier sources from which Sima Guang took the basis for that text. As he incorporated those passages, Sima Guang frequently made amendments to his chosen source, and on many occasions he shortened it by omitting some characters, or even whole sentences and paragraphs. In *The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms*, dealing with Chapters 69-79 of *Zizhi tongjian*, Achilles Fang presents a detailed study of Sima Guang's technique. The present work offers no comparable analysis, but the Finding Notes assist readers to check the comparison for themselves. A summary is provided in the Finding List at the end.

In most cases, identification of the original texts of the various passages is straight-forward, and the overwhelming majority of the items are drawn from one part or another of the *Hou Han shu* of Fan Ye.¹ Sometimes, however, two earlier texts are so similar that it is not possible to be completely certain which was the basis for Sima Guang's selection, there are occasions where he prepared his text from a medley of different sources,² and there are a few places that I have been unable to identify a specific source, and have had to conclude that Sima Guang has composed the passage

¹ In the Finding Notes, references are given to two editions of *Hou Han shu*: firstly to the full serial pagination of the punctuated Beijing edition of 1965/1982, secondly (in brackets) to the traditional pagination within chapters of the *Hou Han shu jijie* edition, Changsha 1915 reprinted Taipei 1955.

² For example, passage D of Yongshou 3 and passage E of Yanxi 2.

himself.³ Essentially, however, Sima Guang acted as selector, compiler and editor rather than as writer of his own words; when he does have a comment, he identifies his remarks quite specifically.⁴

I have sought to present an English-language rendering which reads as plainly as possible, and have therefore avoided all but the minimum use of square brackets. These are used by many scholars to show passages of translation which cannot be identified precisely with characters in the Chinese text, but I believe that in most cases they tend rather to hinder comprehension than to aid understanding. Furthermore, though it is traditional Chinese practice to give the surname of a person on the first appearance in a passage and to refer thereafter only to the given name, I present the names always in their full form.⁵

The previous edition of this work was presented in two volumes,, one for the text of the translation and the other for the accompanying notes; this time, however, the notes appear at the foot of the pages. Since some are quite long, there is often overlap from one page to the next, and the ending of a year's chronicle or of a chapter is not always neat. I trust that the infelicity will be outweighed by the convenience.

Some technical matters:

- Unless it has appeared necessary to question and discuss the matter, for identification of places I accept the interpretations of volume two of *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* 中國歷史地圖集 "The Historical Atlas of China." During the period under our attention, there are few incidents which would benefit from a detailed geographical analysis, and most of them have been discussed in other writing.⁶
- For identification of dates, I follow the *Sino-Western Calendar* of Xue and Ouyang, which equates Chinese dates with the contemporary Julian calendar of the West.⁷ As is well known, the traditional Chinese New Year, based upon a lunar calendar, varies between late January and middle February of the Western system. The Western-style dates of the

³ For example, note 1 to Yanxi 7 and passage T of Yanxi 9.

⁴ Passages L and FF of Jianning 2, and passage C of Xiping 4.

⁵ For an example of the confusion that this can produce, see note 48 to Guanghe 2:179.

⁶ One particular exception is the siting of Liucheng in Liaoxi commandery: passage G to Xiping 6. My interpretation differs from that of the Atlas, and I explain my reasoning in *Northern Frontier* at 462-463 note 53.

⁷ Xue Zhongsan 薛仲三 and Ouyang Yi 歐陽頤, *A Sino-Western Calendar for the First Two Thousand Years A.D.* 兩千年中西曆對照表, Commercial Press, Hong Kong 1961.

first and last days of the Chinese years appear at the beginning of the relevant section of the chronicle. For convenience, I generally equate a Chinese year to its closest-matching Western year: thus the third year of the Yongshou reign period, Yongshou 3, which began on 28 January 157 and ended on 15 February 158, is described as 157 AD.

- In the 1989 edition of this work I followed the renderings of official titles used by Hans Bielenstein, which were based upon the system devised by H H Dubs for his *History of the Former Han Dynasty*.⁸ For detailed discussion of the administrative structure of Han, Bielenstein's *Bureaucracy of Han Times* is essential, and I refer to it regularly in the notes.⁹ For *A Biographical Dictionary*, however, I developed some variants more suitable for the Later Han period, and I use them here.

*An Outline of the Administration of the Later Han Empire*¹⁰

The Emperor (皇帝 *huangdi*) was the formal head of state and head of government, and also the sacred link between man and the forces of the universe. In theory, all power within the empire was in his hands.

The regular bureaucracy and civil service of the empire was headed by Three Excellencies (三公 *san gong*: Three Dukes¹¹), who were the Grand Commandant (三公 *taiwei*), the Excellency over the Masses (司徒 *situ*: Minister over the Masses) and the Excellency of Works (司空 *sikong*: Minister of Works). Their chief responsibility was to counsel the Emperor, but they also had authority to supervise the conduct of the administration as a whole. Their rank was expressed in terms of the nominal salary of Ten Thousand *shi* of grain (萬石 *wanshi*).

⁸ Homer H Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty by Pan Ku* [translation], Baltimore 1938, 1944, 1955.

⁹ Bielenstein provides a summary account in "The Institutions of Later Han:" *Cambridge China I*, 491-519.

¹⁰ DeC, *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms*, Leiden 2007, has a more detailed survey of the administrative structure, with a comparative table of renderings, at 1218-1241. A summary is offered here below.

¹¹ Where appropriate, I give the Dubs/Bielenstein rendering of the title.

Below the Three Excellencies were Nine Ministers (九卿 *jiu qing*), with rank/salary of Fully Two Thousand *shi* (中二千石 *zhong erqian shi*). These were:

- the Minister of Ceremonies (太常 *tai chang*: Grand Master of Ceremonies), responsible for ritual and ceremonial;
- the Minister of the Household (光祿勳 *guangluxun*: Superintendent of the Imperial Household), responsible for the immediate security of the Emperor and for his attendants at the court;
- the Minister of the Guards (衛尉 *wei wei*: Commandant of the Guard), responsible for the security of the imperial palaces;
- the Minister Coachman (太僕 *tai pu*: Grand Coachman), responsible for the horses and carriages of the Emperor and for the mounts of the army;
- the Minister of Justice (廷尉 *ting wei*: Commandant of Justice), responsible for court cases at high level and appeals from lower local jurisdictions;
- the Minister Herald (大鴻臚 *da honglu*: Grand Herald), responsible for relations with non-Chinese states;
- the Minister of the Imperial Clan (宗正 *zong zheng*: Director of the Imperial Clan), responsible for the registration and for the conduct of members of the Liu house;
- the Minister of Finance (大司農 *da sinong*: Grand Minister of Agriculture), responsible for the general finances of the empire and the public grain supply;
- the Minister Steward (少府 *shao fu*: Privy Treasurer), responsible for the household of the Emperor including, formally speaking, the imperial harem and the offices of the Imperial Secretariat and the Imperial Censorate, on which, however, see below.

Some other posts at the capital were not ministries but had comparable status, with rank/salary varying between Fully Two Thousand *shi* and Equivalent to (比 *bi*) Two Thousand *shi*. Among these were the Bearer of the Mace (執金吾 *zhi jinwu*: Bearer of the Gilded Mace), responsible for security in the capital outside the palace grounds; the Colonel of the City Gates (城門校尉 *chengmen xiaowei*), responsible for the guards at the gates of Luoyang; the Court Architect (將作大匠 *jiangzuo dajiang*), responsible for the imperial and other state buildings, and also for two groups of convict labourers.

Beside this formal structure, however, a critical unit of the government at the capital was the office of the Masters of Writing, the Imperial Secretariat (尚書 *shangshu*). Though the Director (尚書令 *shangshu ling*) had rank/salary of only One Thousand *shi*, and the Secretariat was formally

under the Minister Steward, the Masters of Writing had a special position. They were responsible for the drafting of the imperial edicts, receiving instructions direct from the highest level of government, and they also served on occasion as an investigative body in cases of impeachment or accusations of lese-majesty. So important was the office, the essential qualification for position of a regent was to hold authority over the affairs of the Imperial Secretariat (錄尚書事 *lu shangshu shi*: "Intendant of the Affairs of the Masters of Writing"), a designation attached to some other high substantial office.

The eunuchs who served the imperial harem were also formally under the Minister Steward, but they too were largely independent during Later Han. The highest eunuch positions were the Regular Attendants (中常侍 *zhong changshi*: Regular Palace Attendants), with rank/salary at One Thousand *shi*, while most other eunuch officials were defined as serving within the Yellow Gates (黃門 *huangmen*) of the harem apartments. *Huangmen changshi* 黃門常侍 was a common abbreviation for the senior eunuch officials, whose access to the emperor, even at his most intimate moments, gave them great potential influence and indeed actual power.

The Empress (皇后 *huanghou*) could be chosen from among any of the ladies of the harem, and she could also be deposed for any cause. Ideally, she was the mother of the eldest son, and he was appointed as Heir (太子 *taizi*: Heir-Apparent), but during the second century of Later Han this rule was observed rather in the breach than in practice. Should an emperor die leaving an Heir too young for government, his Empress, now Dowager (太皇后 *huang taihou*: Empress-Dowager), was entitled to take authority in the court (*lin zhao*). She was normally advised by the senior male member of her own family, who generally took the title of General-in-Chief (大將軍 *da jiangjun*), held authority over the Imperial Secretariat, and ranked with the Three Excellencies. If a ruler died without naming an heir, moreover, his Dowager had the right to choose the next emperor from among the male members of the imperial clan.

At the beginning of each reign, therefore, the Dowager, formal mother of the new ruler, could hold considerable influence. Should the new emperor be a minor, moreover, the Dowager held regency power on his behalf; often assisted by a senior male relative who became the effective head of government,. A Grand Tutor (太傅 *tai fu*: Senior Tutor) was also appointed; essentially an honour awarded to an elder statesman, this too was a position of great titular authority to whom even the emperor should pay respect.

Outside the capital, the empire was divided into thirteen provinces (州 *zhou*) or circuits (部 *bu*), supervising some hundred commanderies (郡 *jun*), kingdoms or states (國 *guo*) and dependent states (屬國 *shuguo*).

The province about Luoyang itself was headed by the Director of Retainers (司隸校尉 *sili xiaowei*: Colonel Director of Retainers), with rank/salary Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi* and with authority not only to investigate the administration of his subordinate commanderies but also to impeach officials of the imperial central government. The other provinces were supervised by Inspectors (刺史 *ci shi*), with rank/salary of only Six Hundred *shi*. In an elegant division of power, Inspectors had the authority to enquire into the government of the commanderies and kingdoms within their territory, and they could report wrongdoing to the throne, but they could not normally take action on their own initiative. There were two exceptions to this limitation: in the far south of the empire, the Inspector of Jiaozi (later known as Jiao province) had special executive rights on account of the distance and the difficulties of communication; and on occasions when rebellion and banditry became sufficiently troublesome to require military forces from more than one commandery unit, the Inspector took command of the provincial levies and co-ordinated operations.

The Inspector of a province was assisted by a number of locally-recruited Assistant Officers (從事 *congshi*: Attendant Clerks), including the Headquarters Officer (治中 *zhizhong congshi*: Attendant Clerk for the Bureau of Headquarters) responsible for local appointments and nomination for commissioned office in the civil service (see Flourishing Talent below); an Attendant Officer (別駕 *biejia congshi*: Aide-de-Camp); and a Registrar (*zhubu*: Master of Records). Other officers were sent out to check on the administration of the various commandery units in the province.

The core of local government was the commandery, headed by an Administrator (太守 *tai shou*: Grand Administrator) with rank/salary of Two Thousand *shi*. The Administrator had a civil Assistant (丞 *cheng*); in commanderies on the frontier the Assistant was styled a Chief Clerk (長史 *zhangshi*). Also on the frontier, and in commanderies within the empire with continuing and serious trouble, a Commandant (都尉 *duwei*: Chief Commandant) was appointed, not only for military activities but also for the recruitment and training of local militia and the provision of conscripts for the army. In some territories there was more than one commandant, each in charge of a different region (部 *bu*). Assistants, Chief Clerks and Commandants were commissioned officials appointed by the central

government, and if the position of Administrator was vacant they could act in place.

Below the commissioned ranks of the commandery were locally-appointed officers, including a Registrar (*zhubu*: Master of Records), the head of the Bureau for All Purposes (五官曹 *wuguan cao*), in charge of administration; and the Officer of Merit (功曹 *gongcao*: Officer of the Department of Merit) who, like the Headquarters Officer in a province, was responsible for local recruitment and recommendation of worthy men for civil commissions. There were also a number of Investigators (都郵 *duyu*) who supervised the subordinate counties of the commandery in the same fashion as the Assistant Officer of the province checked upon the commanderies.

Because of its particular responsibility for the territory about the imperial capital, the commandery of Henan was governed by an Intendant (尹 *yin*: Governor), while the three commanderies about the Former Han capital of Chang'an, sometimes described as the Three Adjuncts (三輔 *san fu*), also had special designations: Jingzhao was headed by an Intendant, Zuopingyi and Youfufeng by officials who took their titles from their territories, rendered as "Eastern Supporter" (左馮翊) and "Western Sustainer" (右扶風). The rank/salary of all four officers was the same as that for a regular Administrator.

A number of commandery units, generally smaller ones in the eastern part of the empire, were identified as kingdoms (or states), each administered by a Chancellor (相 *xiang*) with rank/salary of Two Thousand *shi*. Under Later Han the only difference between a commandery and a kingdom was that a kingdom had been designated as the title of a royal fief awarded to a son or descendant of an emperor. The king had no political power, and the administration of his nominal territory was carried out in the same manner as a commandery, with formal variations in title for the Chancellor and one or two other senior officials. A king was normally required to live within his fief, and could come to the capital only if he was summoned to court.

Below the commanderies and kingdoms were counties (縣 *xian*), each headed by a magistrate, whose title Prefect (令 *ling*) or Chief (長 *zhang*) and rank/salary varied from One Thousand to Three Hundred *shi* depending on the population. As with commanderies and kingdoms, some counties were designated as fiefs of a Marquis (侯 *hou*), the highest rank of nobility which could be awarded to a commoner, and in that case the title of the Prefect or Chief was likewise changed to Chancellor. Other county units were allocated as Estates (邑 *yi*) for imperial Princesses (公主 *gongzhu*) and other favoured

females. In most cases the holder of the honour had no direct relationship with the territory, but was simply allocated a pension based upon tax revenues. In case of disapproval or disgrace, however, the incumbent could be exiled to reside on his or her fief.

A contrast may be observed between the high rank/salary of Administrators and Chancellors and that of the Inspectors, whose formal position was lower than that of the magistrate of a large county. This apparent contradiction was designed to prevent the high-ranking heads of commanderies and kingdoms from dominating local government and establishing an effective independence. Though they held executive authority, they were subject to the threat of investigation and report from the Inspector who, for his part, was too low in rank to unite the whole province under his own rule.

In this respect, the Inspectors may be looked upon as part of a censorate system, and a similar office may be found at the capital. The Censorate was headed by the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk (御侍中丞 *yushi zhongcheng*), with rank/salary of One Thousand *shi*, who was nominally under the Minister Steward but in fact controlled an independent body of officials, the Imperial Clerks (侍御史 *shiyushi*: Attending Secretary or Attendant Imperial Clerk), with rank/salary of Six Hundred *shi*, and others associated with the archives library of the Orchid Terrace (蘭臺 *lantai*). In theory the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk and his subordinates were trusted agents of the ruler, with wide authority to check all aspects of administration, and they served on occasion as special investigators and envoys.

Toward the end of each year, annual reports were forwarded from the provinces, commanderies and kingdoms, together with recommendations of candidates for commissions in the civil service. The most common candidacy was that of Filial and Incorrupt (孝廉 *xiaolian*: Filially Pious and Incorrupt), a nomination from the commandery level. This admitted the candidate to one of three corps of Gentleman Cadets (郎 *lang*) under a General of the Household (中郎將 *zhonglangjiang*: General of the Gentlemen of the Household), where he served a probationary period of some three years as a nominal guard at the palace before substantive appointment in the bureaucracy.

The Excellencies, the Minister of the Household and the heads of provinces had the right and duty to submit nominations of candidates of Abundant Talent (茂才 *maocai/moucai*), who were then appointed to office without need for probation. There were a number of special and additional routes of access, including summons by imperial edict, which might be

issued for a named individual or for a particular category of nomination; a grant to the kinsman of a high official or meritorious subject; and, to a limited degree, entry by examination from the Imperial University (太學 *taixue*: Academy). Besides these, promising men could be invited to serve in the offices of the Excellencies at the capital and could thereafter be promoted into the commissioned bureaucracy.

Along the frontiers were a number of Dependent States, headed by Commandants (*duwei*), and some of these, as we have noted, had status equivalent to commanderies. During the first century AD the confederation of the Xiongnu on the northern steppe had divided into two. The Northern Xiongnu were driven away and destroyed in a series of great campaigns at the end of the first century, and the Southern Xiongnu became dependents upon the Chinese imperial government. An Emissary to the Xiongnu (使匈奴中郎將 *shi Xiongnu zhonglangjiang*: General of the Gentlemen of the Household Emissary to the Xiongnu) was resident at the court of the Southern Shanyu and supervised his conduct.

To the west, the non-Chinese Qiang people, who lived both inside and beyond the frontiers in the region of present-day Gansu province, were supervised by a Protector of the Qiang (護羌校尉 *hu-Qiang xiaowei*: Colonel Protector of the Qiang), and in the northeast a Protector of the Wuhuan was similarly appointed to control not only that people but also the growing power of the Xianbi. These imperial agents were responsible for a balance of political and military policy, and also for the arrangement of markets where non-Chinese from beyond the frontier might trade for commodities produced within the empire.

In principle, all citizens of the empire were liable to conscript service, first in training, then in specific guard posts, and thereafter for general militia recruitment in time of need. In practice, this was regularly enforced only in frontier commanderies and, apart from local militia, defence of the empire was entrusted to regular troops. The General on the Liao (度遼將軍 *du-Liao jiangjun*: General Who Crosses the Liao) held camp north of the Ordos loop of the Yellow River, guarding the frontier against the nomads of the north, notably the growing power of the Xianbi,¹ but the central strategic reserve of

¹ Though the Liao River flows through present-day Manchuria, the General on the Liao of Later Han and his Trans-Liao command had no connection to that region. Former Han had a General on the Liao to deal with the northeast, but when the command was re-established by Later Han it was designed to guard the Ordos frontier against the Northern Xiongnu.

the empire was the Northern Army (北軍 *bei jun*), with five regiments each under a Colonel (校尉 *xiaowei*), which were normally stationed at the capital, Luoyang. When a member of the imperial distaff clan became General-in-Chief he held formal command over these troops.

No general survey of the formal administrative structure of the empire, however, whether summary or detailed, can fully present the multitude of vectors which affected the balance of political power. For much of Later Han three particular groups, outside the formal structure of the bureaucracy, competed for real authority: the ruler himself, the imperial relatives by marriage, and the eunuch officials of the harem. And in the last resort it must be observed that the rendering "Emperor" for the Chinese phrase *huangdi*, despite false echoes of Roman military tradition in the West, is not entirely inappropriate; for the government of Han was maintained just so long as the armies of the empire continued to obey their appointed ruler.

The Political Situation of 157 AD

Emperor Shun of Later Han died on 20 September 144 at the age of thirty *sui*, some twenty-nine years old by Western reckoning. His only son, Liu Bing, had been born the previous year to his concubine the Lady Yu. In 132 Emperor Shun established the Lady Liang Na as his Empress, and the Empress's father Liang Shang was made General-in-Chief in 135. When Liang Shang died in 141, he was succeeded by his son Liang Ji, and when Emperor Shun died Liang Ji took a leading role in the imperial government through association with his sister, now Empress-Dowager.

The infant Liu Bing, only son of Emperor Shun, died in 145, and Liang Ji and his sister chose another child of the imperial Liu clan, Liu Zuan, a great-great grandson of the first-century Emperor Zhang, who was brought to the throne at the age of eight *sui*. In the following year, however, he too died, and there were rumours he had been poisoned at the instigation of Liang Ji, whom he had described as over-powerful.

On 1 August 146 Liang Ji and the Empress-Dowager brought Liu Zhi, third of the infant rulers under their patronage, to the throne. Aged fifteen *sui*, he too was a great-grandson of Emperor Zhang, and he is known to history by his posthumous title as Emperor Huan of Han.

Even before his accession, marriage had been arranged between Liu Zhi and the Lady Liang Nüying, younger sister of the Empress-Dowager and Liang Ji. The younger Lady Liang became Empress in 147, and though the Empress-Dowager died in 150 the Liang family were able to maintain their influence while Liang Ji, in particular, continued to dominate the court.

By 157, Emperor Huan had been on the throne for a little over ten years, and he was aged in his middle twenties. He had not, however, played any effective role in the government of the empire, and he had for some time grown tired of the charms of his Empress Liang. It appears that he was interested in building, in gardens, in some aspects of fringe religion such as were provided by popular Taoism and by Buddhism which was at this time being brought to China, and he had developed an increasing interest in women. His harem was large, and the eunuchs who guarded it were among his trusted associates – if only because he had little contact with the full men of the court and the bureaucracy, so much under the control of Liang Ji. In the light of later events, we may also believe that Emperor Huan was growing increasingly dissatisfied with his situation and that he had developed larger ambitions: to rule, rather than merely to reign, over the empire of China.

CHRONOLOGY

THE EMPERORS OF HAN

Part I: Former Han¹

<i>Dynastic name</i>	<i>personal name</i>	<i>acceded</i>	<i>died</i>
Gao 高 ²	Ji 季/Bang 邦 ³	202	195
Hui 愬 ⁴	Ying 盈	195	188
[Empress-Dowager Lü 呂 of Emperor Gao] ⁵		187	180
Wen 文	Heng 恆	180	157
Jing 景	Qi 啓	157	141
Wu 武	Che 徹	141	87
Zhao 昭	Fuling 弗陵	87	74
Xuan 宣	Bingyi 病已	74	49
Yuan 元	Shi 奭	49	33
Cheng 成	Ao 驚	33	7
Ai 哀	Xin 欣	7	1
Ping 平	Jizi 箕子; later Kan 衍	1 BC	AD 6
[Wang Mang 王莽]		AD 6/9 ⁶	AD 23

¹ All dates in Part I are BC unless otherwise specified.

² The first emperor of Han is commonly referred to as Gaozu 高祖, a combination of his dynastic title Gao "High" and his temple name Taizu 太祖 "Grand Founder."

³ The personal name/*agnomen* of Emperor Gao was Ji, a generic name for the third or a younger son. To avoid problems of taboo for his subjects, who were required to avoid the personal name of their ruler, he used his style/*praenomen* Bang "Nation/State" after he had taken the throne. See Nienhauser, *GSR* II, 1-2 note 3.

⁴ The posthumous dynastic names of all emperors of Han except the two founders Gaozu and Guangwu had the prefix *Xiao* 孝 "Filial." It is customary to ignore this common factor.

⁵ Formally speaking, the Dowager Lü of Emperor Gao exercised her power on behalf of two puppet emperors, *Shaodi* "Little Emperor" Gong 少帝弘 and *Shaodi* Hong 恭, putative sons of Emperor Hui by concubines.

⁶ Wang Mang initially took title as "Acting" 假 or "Regent" 攝 Emperor on behalf of the infant Liu Ying 劉嬰 (AD 5-25), who was declared Heir in AD 6, but never reigned. In 9 Wang Mang demoted Liu Ying and proclaimed his own Xin 新 dynasty.

Part II: Later Han⁷

<i>Dynastic name</i>	<i>personal name</i>	<i>born</i>	<i>acceded</i>	<i>died</i>
Gengshi 更始 Emperor	Xuan 玄	[?]	11 Mar 23	Dec 25
Guangwu 光武	Xiu 秀	5 BC	5 Aug 25	29 Mar 57
Ming 明	Zhuang 莊 ⁸	28	29 Mar 57	5 Sep 75
Zhang 章	Da 烜	57	5 Sep 75	9 Apr 88
He 和	Zhao 肇	79	9 Apr 88	13 Feb 106
Shang 殤 "Young" ⁹	Long 隆	105	13 Feb 106	21 Sep 106
An 安	You 祐	94	23 Sep 106	30 Apr 125
Shao 少 "Little" ¹⁰	Yi 懿	[?]	18 May 125	10 Dec 125
Shun 順	Bao 保	115	16 Dec 125	20 Sep 144
Chong 沖	Bing 炳	143	20 Sep 144	15 Feb 145
Zhi 質	Zuan 纘	138	6 Mar 145	26 Jul 146
Huan 桓	Zhi 志	132	1 Aug 146	25 Jan 168
Ling 靈	Hong 宏	156	17 Feb 168	13 May 189
Shao 少 "Little" ¹¹	Bian 辯	176	15 May 189	26 Mar 190
Xian 獻 ¹²	Xie 協	181	28 Sep 189	21 April 234

⁷ All dates in Part II are AD unless otherwise specified.

⁸ Emperor Ming initially had the personal name Yang 陽, but it was changed after he became Heir in 43.

⁹ Liu Long reigned for just over seven months, but his reign commenced in one Chinese year and ended in another: *cf.* Liu Yi and Liu Bian; notes 36 and 37 below. The term *Shang* "Young" describes such a minor ruler; it was not strictly a dynastic title.

¹⁰ Liu Yi reigned for less than seven months, and his reign was confined within a single Chinese year: *cf.* Liu Long in note 9 above. The term *Shao* "Little" describes such a minor ruler; it was not strictly a dynastic title.

¹¹ On 28 September 189 Dong Zhuo deposed Liu Bian in favour of his half-brother Liu Xie. He had therefore reigned for less than four months and – like Liu Yi above – his reign was confined within a single year: *cf.* Liu Long and note 9 above.

¹² On 25 November 200 Liu Xie abdicated the throne in favour of Cao Pi 曹丕, ruler of Wei. He was then styled Duke of Shanyang 山陽公 until his death, but was awarded posthumous title as an emperor of Han.

EVENTS 157-189 AD¹

CHAPTER 54

Yongshou 3: 157

rebellion in Jiuzhen	1736
barbarian rising in Changsha	1738

Yanxi 1: 158

rebellion of the Xiongnu with the Xianbi and Wuhuan	1739
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Yanxi 2: 159

Xianbi raids against the northern frontier	1741-42
death of the Empress Liang	1742
alliance of Emperor Huan with the eunuchs	1746
destruction of Liang Ji and the Liang clan	1746
establishment of the Empress Deng	1747
arrest and execution of the critic Li Yun	1750-51

Yanxi 3: 160

death of the eunuch Shan Chao	1755
Duan Jiong drives the Western Qiang from the frontier	1756
barbarian rising in Changsha	1757
settlement of rebellion in Jiuzhen	1757
Huangfu Gui settles rebellion of Shusun Wuji in Taishan	1757

Yanxi 4: 161

salary reductions, levy of fief revenues, sale of offices	1759
rebellion of the Qiang; dismissal of Duan Jiong	1760
Huangfu Gui appointed to command in Liang province	1761

Yanxi 5: 162

Huangfu Gui settles the Qiang in Liang province	1762
rebellion in Changsha and the south	1761-62
Feng Gun settles the rebellion in the south	1762-63
disgrace of Huangfu Gui	1763-64

Yanxi 6: 163

Xianbi raiding in the north	1765
disgrace of Feng Gun	1765
Huangfu Gui and Zhang Huan hold command in the north	1766
Duan Jiong reappointed to command against the Qiang	1767

¹ This Table is designed to serve only as a guide to events discussed in the following chapters of *ZZTJ*. They are listed in the order they appear, but there are occasions – discussed in the notes – where the dating may be questioned.

As with the Index, references relate to pages of the Beijing 1956 edition of *ZZTJ*, indicated in the left-hand margin of the Translation.

CHAPTER 55

Yanxi 7: 164

the moralist critic Guo Tai active at Luoyang	1769-72
Du Shang defeats rebels and bandits in Jing province	1773-74
disgrace of Kou Rong and his clan	1775-76

Yanxi 8: 165

sacrifice to Laozi in his home county	1777
disgrace of Liu Kui, brother of Emperor Huan	1777-78
disgrace and dismissal of the eunuch Hou Lan	1778-79
disgrace and suicide of the eunuch Zuo Guan	1779
loss of favour of the eunuch party	1779
dismissal and suicide of the Empress Deng	1780
political struggle between the eunuchs and their opponents	1780
edict for abolition of local shrines	1780
rebellion in Jing province put down by Du Shang	1781
Duan Jiong defeats the Western Qiang	1782
establishment of the Empress Dou	1783
Li Ying, Director of Retainers, attacks the eunuchs	1784-85

Yanxi 9: 166

sacrifice to Laozi at the imperial palace	1787
attack in the north by the Xianbi, Wuhuan and Xiongnu	1787
rhyming criticisms among students of the University	1788
attacks on eunuchs and associates in the provinces	1788-89
arrest of Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi	1788
Zhang Jian attacks Hou Lan; punishment of Zhai Zhao	1789
Xiang Kai submits his memorials of criticism	1791-93
execution of Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi	1793
arrest of Li Ying and other men of Faction	1794
the Xiongnu and the Wuhuan surrender to Zhang Huan	1796
Tanshihuai establishes a Xianbi empire in the north	1796

CHAPTER 56

Yongkang 1: 167

Duan Jiong finally settles the Western Qiang	1797
men of Faction released from prison, but proscribed	1799
Zhang Huan defeats the Xianlian Qiang	1801
Liu Kui restored as King of Bohai	1801
death of Emperor Huan	1801
the Empress-Dowager and her father Dou Wu choose Liu Hong to be emperor	1801

Jianning 1: 168

Dou Wu becomes General-in-Chief and Chen Fan is appointed Grand Tutor	1802
Liu Hong, Emperor Ling, is placed on the throne	1803
Duan Jiong's campaign of extermination against the Qiang	1804
second campaign of Duan Jiong against the Qiang	1806
Chen Fan and Dou Wu plan to destroy the eunuchs	1808
the eunuchs destroy Dou Wu and Chen Fan	1810-11
Xianbi and allied raids in the north and northeast	1813
anti-Chinese coup in Shule kingdom in central Asia	1813
four kings among the Wuhuan	1813

Jianning 2: 169

portents and protests against eunuch influence	1813-15
Duan Jiong's final slaughter of the Xianlian Qiang	1816-17
rebellions among non-Chinese of Jiangxia and Danyang	1817
University students compile lists of political heroes	1818
arrest of Zhang Jian and associates	1818
Second Faction Incident; arrests and death of men opposed to the eunuchs; Great Proscription of their associates	1818-20
Xianbi raids in the north	1824
raiding by Gaojuli against the northeast	1824

Jianning 3: 170

surrender of the Wuhu people in the far south	1825
failure of Chinese expedition against Shule	1825

Jianning 4: 171

establishment of the Empress Song	1826
Xianbi raids in the north	1826

CHAPTER 57

Xiping 1: 172

death of the Empress-Dowager Dou	1828
purge of anti-eunuch students of the University	1830
rebellion of Xu Sheng in Kuaiji	1831-32
Xianbi raid in the north	1832

Xiping 2: 173

pestilence	1832
Xianbi raid in the north	1832

Xiping 3: 174

Xianbi raids in the north	1834
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Xiping 4: 175

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| Confucian classics inscribed upon stone | 1834-36 |
| Xianbi raid in the north | 1838 |
| in central Asia, Khotan destroys the state of Jumi,
allied to China | 1838 |

Xiping 5: 176

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| extended proscription of the men of Faction | 1838 |
| Xianbi raid in the north | 1839 |

Xiping 6: 177

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|--|---------|
| Xianbi raids in the north | 1839 |
| studies at the Gate of the Vast Capital | 1840-41 |
| disastrous expedition against the Xianbi | 1842-43 |

Guanghe 1: 178

- | | |
|---|---------|
| rebellion of the Wuhu people in the far south | 1844 |
| the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital | 1845 |
| portents and memorials of protest | 1845-48 |
| dismissal of the Empress Song | 1848 |
| continual Xianbi raids in the north | 1849 |
| market for the sale of offices | 1849-50 |

Guanghe 2: 179

- | | |
|--|---------|
| Yang Qiu, Director of Retainers, attacks the eunuchs
but is then transferred away | 1851-52 |
| memorials of protest against the government | 1853-56 |
| rebellion of the Banshun people in Yi province | 1856 |
| Xianbi raids in the north | 1856 |

Guanghe 3: 180

- | | |
|--|------|
| rebellion of non-Chinese people in Jiangxia | 1856 |
| Xianbi raids in the north | 1857 |
| establishment of the Empress He | 1857 |
| rebellion of the Banshun people in Yi province | 1857 |
| rebellion in the south of Jing province | 1858 |

CHAPTER 58

Guanghe 4: 181

- | | |
|---|------|
| rebellions in the far south; settled | 1859 |
| Xianbi raids in the north; death of Tanshihuai | 1860 |
| Emperor Ling's private treasury in the Western Garden | 1861 |
| birth of Liu Xie, future Emperor Xian;
Empress He kills the Lady Wang his mother | 1861 |

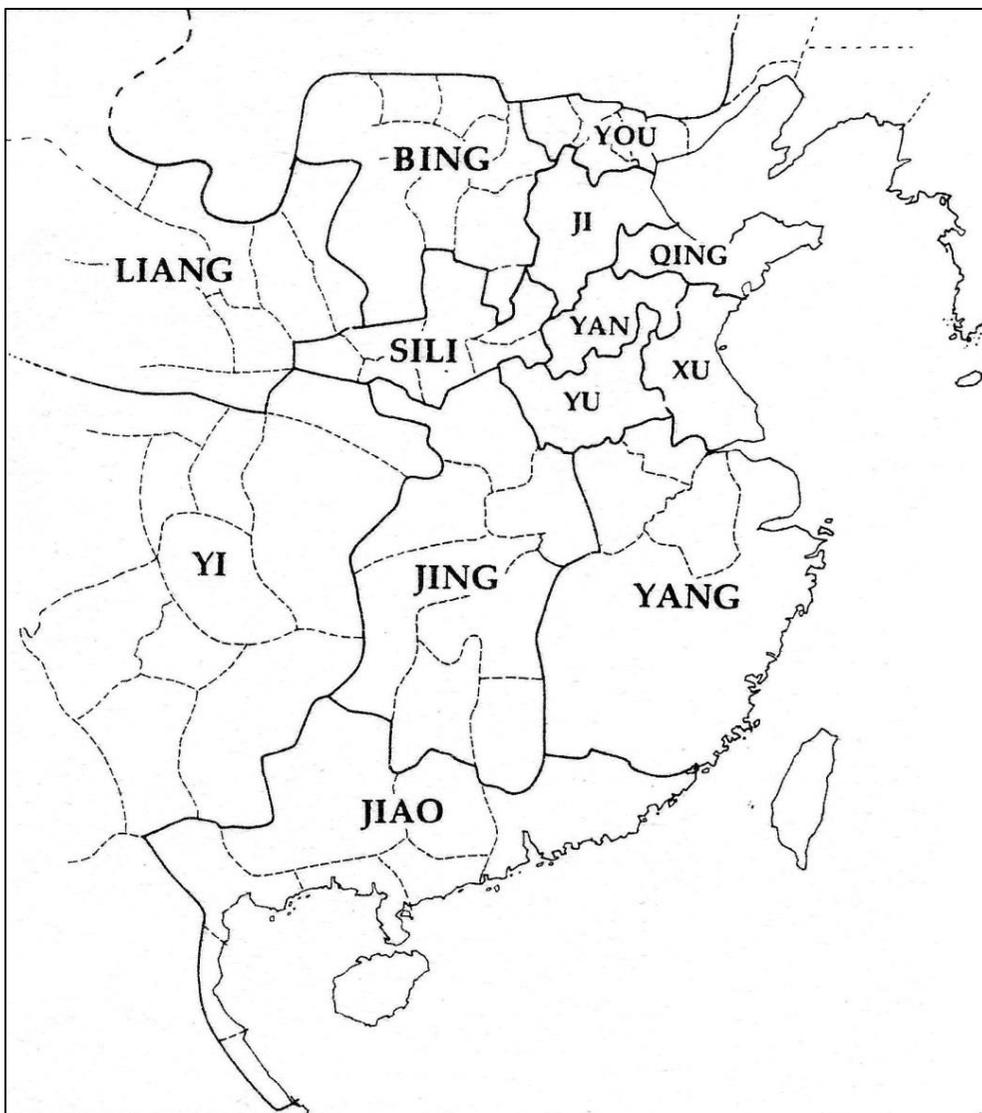
Guanghe 5: 182	
pestilence	1862
settlement of the Banshun rebellion in Yi province	1862-63
Guanghe 6: 183	
the teachings and organisation of Zhang Jue	1864-65
Zhongping 1: 184	
rebellion of the Yellow Turbans led by Zhang Jue	1865-66
amnesty for men of Faction; end of the Great Proscription	1866
fighting in Yingchuan and Runan and in Guangyang	1868-69
rebellion in the far south; settled	1871
defeat of Yellow Turbans in Yingchuan, Runan and Chen	1871
rebellion of Zhang Xiu and Rice Rebels in Yi province	1872
Huangfu Song destroys the Zhang brothers	
and their forces of Yellow Turbans in Julu	1872-73
rebellion of Qiang, Chinese and others in Liang province	1873-74
destruction of Yellow Turbans in Nanyang by Zhu Jun	1874-75
Zhongping 2: 185	
pestilence	1876
fires, and tax levies to rebuild the imperial palaces	1876-77
the Black Mountain bandits	1878
the Liang province rebels attack the region of Changan	1879
disgrace of Huangfu Song for opposing the eunuchs	1880
Zhang Wen campaigns against the Liang province rebels	1881
Emperor Ling's private treasury and building program	1882
Zhongping 3: 186	
construction work in the palaces and the capital	1883
Xianbi raids in the north	
Zhongping 4: 187	
the Liang province rebels destroy Longxi and Hanyang	1884-85
mutiny and rebellion among the Wuhuan in the north	1885-86
Zhongping 5: 188	
rebellion of the Yellow Turbans of Bobo in Hexi	1887
first appointments of Governors in the provinces	1887-89
rebellion of the Xionggnu	1889
rebellion of Yellow Turbans in Yi province; put down	1889
the colonels of the Western Garden	1890-91
Gongsun Zan attacks the rebels in the northeast	1892
Huangfu Song attacks the Liang province rebels	1892

Chronology

Events 157-189

Zhongping 6: 189

Huangfu Song defeats the Liang province rebels	1892-93
Liu Yu settles the rebellion in the northeast	1893
death of Emperor Ling	1894



The provincial units of Later Han in 157

CHAPTER 54

*being Chapter 46 of the Chronicle of Han
and Part 1B of the reign of Emperor Huan*

Yongshou 永壽 3: 157 AD

28 January 157 - 15 February 158

1736

- A In the spring, in the first month on the day *jiwei* [*yiwei*?:9 Feb],¹ there was an amnesty for the empire.²
- B The magistrate of Jufeng [in Jiuzhen commandery] was greedy and oppressive and acted without restraint. Zhu Da and other men of the county joined forces with the local barbarians to make rebellion, and they attacked the magistrate and killed him. They gathered as many as four or five thousand men, and in the summer, in the fourth month they went on to attack [the capital of] Jiuzhen commandery. The

A *HHS* 7:302 (8a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

¹ The first day of this month was *guiwei* 癸未 (cyclical 20), and there was no day *jiwei* 己未 (cyclical 56). It seems most likely that the character *ji* has been miswritten for *yi* 乙: the *yiwei* day (cyclical 32), was the thirteenth day of the first month of Yongshou 3, equivalent to 9 February 157 in the Julian calendar.

² On the significance of the amnesty (赦 *she*) and its function in Han China, see Hulsewé, *RHL*, 225-250, and the general work of McKnight, *Quality of Mercy*, 12-36.

Though it is clear that the proclamation gave some general remission of punishment throughout the empire, the effect of any one amnesty is generally impossible to determine with precision. As Hulsewé has remarked, at 244-245:

Of course we should not forget that we are dealing with historical works, not collections of documents, and that when the historian notes that on a certain date there was an amnesty, he actually summarises in very few words a complete edict of a form and content which may have been current knowledge among the historian's contemporaries and which it therefore was unnecessary to quote literally.

Hulsewé considers the possibility of distinguishing between "great amnesties" (大赦 *dashe*) and simple amnesties, but comes to the conclusion, in agreement with Shen Jiaben 沈家本, the late Qing scholar of law, that there was probably no pattern which was invariably followed: *RHL*, 247. McKnight, *Quality of Mercy*, 31, suggests that great amnesties prevented prosecution for prior crimes, whereas ordinary amnesties did not. Sima Guang, however, evidently considered the distinction unimportant: *HHS* Annals have this occasion as a great amnesty, but *ZZTJ* describes it as a simple one.

In earlier years, amnesties had been relatively uncommon, but in this period they become almost an annual event, and their value may well have been debased by this frequency.

B *HHS* 86/76:2839 (8b); the Account of the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

Administrator Ni Shi died in battle.³

An imperial edict ordered the Commandant of Jiuzhen, Wei Lang, to attack the rebels and destroy them.⁴

C In the intercalary [fifth] month on the day *gengchen* [24 Jul], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.⁵

D There was a plague of locusts in the capital district.

E Someone suggested to the government, "The people are in distress and difficulty because the currency is considered to be of poor value and the coinage is short weight. The mint should issue larger coins."

1737 The matter was referred for debate to officials of the Four Offices⁶ and scholars of the Imperial University competent to discuss the issue.

³ *HHS* notes that the family of the unfortunate Ni Shi was awarded 600,000 cash, and two of his sons were appointed Gentlemen, being probationary offices at the capital which gave expectation of later substantive appointment as officials.

⁴ *HHS* adds that Wei Lang killed two thousand of the rebels, but the ringleaders escaped. They maintained themselves and their band in Rinan commandery, where they continued to cause trouble and increased again in strength. See passage I of Yanxi 3.

C *HHS* 7:302 (8a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

⁵ The eclipse is identified as 3274 in von Oppolzer, *Canon der Finsternisse*. The Treatise of the Five Powers notes that the eclipse was not observed at the capital, but was reported from the provinces: *HHS* 108/18:3368.

The Treatise notes further that the eclipse took place in the *Qixing* 七星 constellation, also known as the Xing lunar mansion 星宿, being seven stars in the Western constellation Hydra: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 104 and Star Map 7. This was the same position as an earlier eclipse, Oppolzer 3114, observed in the reign of Emperor He on 23 July 92: *HHS* 108/18:3362.

The Treatise implies that the eclipse of 92 foreshadowed the fall of the Dou family of the Empress-Dowager, who had held power over the government of Emperor He, and the interpretation of the present eclipse has it as a sign of the death of the Empress Liang and the destruction of Liang Ji.

D *HHS* 7:303 (8a); the Annals of Emperor Huan; *HHS* 105/15:3319 (8a); the Treatise of the Five Powers.

E *HHS* 57/47:1845-48 (5a-7a); the Biography of Liu Tao; and *JS* 26:793-94, the Treatise of Economics.

⁶ The Four Offices (四府 *si fu*) were clerical bureaux of the central government: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 124 and 11-17. During most of Later Han, there were only three, one under each of the Excellencies, being the Grand Commandant, the Excellency over the Masses and the Excellency of Works. There was, however, provision for a senior member of the consort clan to be given comparable authority. This privilege had been granted to Liang Shang at the time of his appointment as General-in-Chief in 135, and it was continued under his son and successor Liang Ji.

Liu Tao, a scholar of the University, spoke as follows:⁷ "The misfortunes of the present time are not caused by the currency. It is because the people are starving.

"According to my humble observations, for the last several years, every sprout of grain has been consumed by locusts and other pests, and every scrap of cloth⁸ is taken away by [2] the demands of government [taxation] or by private [landlords and usurers]. How can one possibly say that the miseries of the people are caused only by the relative values of the currency, or the varying weights of the coinage?

"Even if you could transform gravel and sand into metals from the south,⁹ or change tiles and stones into pieces of jade like that of Bian

⁷ Despite his low position at this time, Liu Tao had already shown himself an energetic critic of the government. He had presented a memorial two years earlier suggesting that Emperor Huan was personally responsible for the problems of the state, simply on account of his isolation from the affairs of the world; and he had put forward a list of worthy men for official appointment. As he himself had predicted, his proposals were ignored. See *HHS* 57/47:1843-45; *ZZTJ* 53:1731-32, discussed and summarised by *Cambridge China* I, 312-313: Loewe, "Conduct of Government."

Jin shu 26:793-94, the Treatise of Economics, rendered by Yang, "Economic History," 189-191, has a shorter version of Liu Tao's argument. Yang's Chinese text misdates the discussion to the reign of Emperor He at the turn of the second century, but the modern Beijing edition has Emperor Huan.

⁸ The characters 杼軸空 echo lines from the second stanza of the *Da dong* 大東 Ode, *Shi jing* II.5.9, rendered by Legge, *Classics* IV, 353, as

In the states of the east, large and small,
The looms are empty.

See also Karlgren, *Odes*, 203 at 154. The poem is traditionally interpreted as a complaint against the exactions of government.

⁹ The phrase 南金 *nan jin* appears in the eighth stanza of the *Pan shui* 泮水 Ode, *Shi jing* IV.2.3, as one of the tribute items from the peoples of the Huai to the rulers of Lu 魯; Legge, *Classics* IV, 620, also Karlgren, *Odes*, 299 at 257.

The *Yu gong* 禹貢 "Tribute of Yu" Chapter of *Shu jing* III.1A, 44 and 52, refers to "three categories of metal" (金三品 *jin sanpin*) as tribute items from Yang 揚 and Jing 荆 provinces, on the Huai and lower Yangzi and the middle Yangzi respectively. Legge, *Classics* III, 110 and 115, renders the phrase as "gold, silver and copper" and his note at 110 refers to the comment of the Grand Historian to the Balance of Commerce treatise, that in ancient times there were three categories of metal, the yellow (gold), white (silver) and red (copper): *SJ* 30:1442; Chavannes, *MH* III, 603. The *Suoyin* commentary to that passage indeed explains these as gold, silver and copper. Karlgren, *Documents*, 14 and 15, however, renders the phrase as "bronze of three [colours =] qualities."

He,¹⁰ the common people would still be thirsty because they would have nothing to drink, and they would still be hungry because they would have nothing to eat.

"In a situation like this, even if the ruler possessed the perfect virtue of the Heavenly Emperor and Fuxi,¹¹ or the cultivated understanding of Tang and Yu,¹² he would not be able to protect even what he held within the walls of the palace.¹³

"It is obvious that the people could manage a hundred years without a currency of exchange, but they cannot last a single day if they are starved. The question of food is by far the most important.

"Those who discuss this question talk a great deal about the advantages of some coinage policy, but they fail to deal with the basic problems of agriculture.

"It is obvious that even if there were ten thousand people minting cash, so long as one man was taking it all there could never be enough to go round. How much more does this apply when only one man [the ruler] is producing the money, and ten thousand snatch it away. Even if you 'took the *Yin* and *Yang* as your fuel, and the myriad things of the

10 The text here reads *He yu* 和玉. The reference is to the story of Bian He 卞和, who sought to present a piece of jade to the ruler of the ancient state of Chu 楚. On the first two occasions that he offered it, he was accused of false pretences, and suffered the amputation of a foot as punishment. At last, on his third devoted attempt, the stone was properly examined, and was discovered to be indeed superb jade: *SJ* 83:2471.

11 The commentary of Hu Sanxing here identifies the character *huang* 皇 as referring to the mythical Emperor of Heaven (天皇氏 *tianhuang shi*), first ruler of the universe.

Fuxi 伏羲, first of the Sovereigns (帝 *di*), who followed the Emperors of Heaven, was said to have devised the eight trigrams which form the basis of *Yi jing*.

The enumeration of these mythological rulers is complex and contradictory: see Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 232-233, and 307-309 notes 206-218.

12 Tang 唐 was the founder of the Shang 商 dynasty, attributed to the eighteenth century BC.

Yu 禹 was founder of the Xia 夏 dynasty, said to have preceded Shang. He was celebrated for his conquest of the floodwaters which had ravaged the Chinese world, and the *Yu gong* 禹貢 "Tribute of Yu" Chapter of *Shu jing* purports to record the work of the hero and the offerings which were brought to him from the various regions: *e.g.* note 9 above.

13 The phrase used here is *xiao qiang* 簾牆, which is found in *Lun yu* XVI.1.13; Legge, *Classics* I, 309. Commentary to that passage by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 of the second century AD, quoted by Hu Sanxing, interprets *xiao* as *su* 肅 "reverent" and *qiang* as meaning a screen, though modern translators interpret *qiang* by the more usual rendering of a wall (*e.g.* Lau, *Confucian Analects*, 139.) The expression refers to the ruler, screened within his court or guarded by the walls of his palace.

world as your metal,¹⁴ even if all the work was done by people who needed nothing to eat, supervised by officials who were never hungry, there would still not be enough satisfy the unending demand.

"If you want the people to flourish, with abundant prosperity, then the first requirement is to put a stop to the demands for public labour services and to prohibit private extortion. If you did that, the people would have enough for their needs without any great effort.

"Your majesty shows sympathy for the miseries of all within the four seas, and you wish to relieve distress by regulating the currency and coining money in sufficient quantities; but that is like keeping a fish in a cauldron of boiling water or causing a bird to perch above a roaring fire. Water and wood are indeed places where fish and birds may live, but if they are used inappropriately the creatures will be burnt and dead.[3]

"I ask your majesty to relax the prohibitions against light or shaved coinage and put this debate about currency behind you. Listen to the songs of the people, ask an old man by the roadside about his troubles,¹⁵ watch the bright patterns of the sun, the moon and the stars, and take note of changes in the divisions of the hills and the currents of the rivers.¹⁶

14 As commentary to *HHS* 57/47 points out, this expression comes from the "Rhapsody on the Owl" 號賦 by Jia Yi 賈誼 of the second century BC: *SJ* 84:2499; Watson, *Chinese Rhyme-Prose*, 27.

15 *Liezi* 4:7b; Graham, *Lieh-tzu*, 90, tells how the legendary Emperor Yao 堯, after ruling the empire for fifty years, sought to determine what the people thought of his rule. His courtiers and official guests could not tell him, so he wandered in disguise along the roads. Then he heard a boy singing,

You raised us up, we multitudes,
All observe your standards,
Unknowing, unremembering,
We obey the laws of God.

Content that his work was done, Yao abdicated in favour of Shun 舜, his chosen successor.

Hanshi waizhuan 9:2a-b; Hightower, 291-293, tells how when Confucius was travelling he met a man weeping by the roadside. Stopping his carriage, he asked him the source of his grief. The man replied that he had made three great mistakes: he had neglected his parents to serve his political ambitions, and now his parents were dead; his service to his ruler had been unsuccessful; and he had now lost his friends and had no-one to whom he could turn. A similar story is told in *Kongzi jiyu* 2:6b-7a; Kramers, *School Sayings*, 235-236, and *Shuo yuan* 10:17b-18b.

16 The term "Three Luminaries" (三光 *san guang*) traditionally refers to the sun, the moon and the stars. Commentaries to *HHS* and to *ZZTJ* likewise identify the "divisions

1738 "The minds of the people of the empire, and the great affairs of state, will all appear clearly [in these signs] and one should never neglect them or doubt them.

"In my humble opinion, it is the situation at present that wide regions of land are not being cultivated, and great numbers of the people have nothing to eat. A horde of petty men have come forward together, and now hold power in the state. They prey upon the empire like ravening birds seeking their food,¹⁷ gobbling up bones and flesh and never satisfied in their greed.

"Indeed, I am afraid the day may suddenly come when a few corvée labourers or helpless artisans will rise up from the work-place where they have been held confined, will cast aside their tools and bare their arms for battle, will climb up high and call out afar; and then all the people who are angry and distressed will respond to them like the gathering of clouds. Even if your coins were a whole foot square, how would they be any help in such a time of danger?"

And so no change was made to the coinage.

F In the winter, in the eleventh month the Excellency over the Masses Yin Song died in office.¹⁸

The barbarians of Changsha made a rebellion and ravaged Yiyang county.

The Excellency of Works Han Yan became Excellency over the Masses.¹⁹ The Minister of Ceremonies Sun Lang of Beihai became Excellency of Works.[4]

and currents" (分流 *fen liu*) with such ominous events as landslides in the mountains or rivers running dry.

17 The commentary of the Qing scholar Hui Dong, quoted in *HHSJJ*, notes that the phrase *niao chao* 鳥鑄 is evidently related to *Zhou li* 7 (30):32a; Biot, *Rites* II, 210-211, describing the killing of birds of ill omen; where the character appearing here as *niao* 鳥 "birds" is written as *wu* 烏 "crows," and the commentary of Zheng Xuan explains that "crows and kites take pleasure in snatching and stealing."

F *HHS* 7:303 (8a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

18 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 21:11a, has the death of Yin Song, and the promotion of Han Yan mentioned below, as taking place in the sixth month. Sima Guang preferred to follow *HHS* Annals.

19 The character 續 of this man's personal name is normally rendered *yin* in modern standard Chinese, but I follow the commentary of Hu Sanxing to this passage and that of Li Xian to *HHS* 7:301; the name also appears as 演 or Yin 寅.

Yanxi 延熹 1: 158 AD

16 February 158 - 5 February 159

A In the summer, in the fifth month on the day *jiaxu* [13 Jul], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.¹

B At the instigation of the Attendant at the Yellow Gates Xu Huang, the Court Astronomer Chen Shou presented the inter-pretation that "The ill omen of the sun concerns the General-in-Chief Liang Ji."²

When Liang Ji heard about this, he had the authorities in Luoyang arrest Chen Shou and examine him by torture. Chen Shou died in jail.

For this reason the emperor was angry with Liang Ji.

C There was a plague of locusts in the capital district.

1739

D In the sixth month on the day *wuyin* [17 Jul] there was an amnesty for the empire, and the reign-title was changed [from Yongshou to Yanxi].

A great sacrifice was held to pray for rain.³

A *HHS* 7:303 (8a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

1 The Treatise of the Five Powers also records this eclipse at *HHS* 108/18:3368, and notes that it took place in the Liu lunar mansion 柳宿, being part of the Western constellation Hydra: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 103-104 and Star Map 7. The eclipse is Oppolzer 3276. It is mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 212a.

The Treatise observes that the Liu constellation was identified with the region of the capital: it thus implies, though it does not state explicitly, that the omen could be related to the overthrow of the Liang family in the following year: passage L of Yanxi 2. Cf. however, passage B and note 2 below.

B *HHS* 34/24:1185 (15b); the Biography of Liang Ji.

2 The commentary of Liu Zhao to the record of the eclipse in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 108/18:3368 quotes from the Secondary Biography (別傳 *biezhuan*) of Liang Ji, which writes the personal name of Chen Shou 陳授 as Yuan 援, and has a more detailed account.

The eunuch Xu Huang apparently complained that the astronomy office had failed to give proper emphasis to the eclipse and to other portents, including the movement of the planet Jupiter (大歲 *taisui*). At his instigation, Chen Shou/Yuan was summoned and questioned, and it was under this pressure that his advice implicated Liang Ji.

C *HHS* 7:303 (8a); the Annals of Emperor Huan;
HHS 105/15:3319 (8b); the Treatise of the Five Powers.

D *HHS* 7:303 (8a); the Annals of Emperor Huan

3 The form of the ceremony of praying for rain (請雨 *qing yu* or simply *yu*) is described by the Treatise of Ceremony at *HHS* 95/5:3117. It could be carried out at provincial, commandery or even more local level, but the great ceremony mentioned here must indicate a court function at the capital.

The Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 103/13:3280 remarks that there was a

In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *jiazi* [1 Sep], the Grand Commandant Huang Qiong left office and the Minister of Ceremonies Hu Guang became Grand Commandant.

In the winter, in the tenth month the emperor engaged in a competitive hunt⁴ at Guangcheng, and then proceeded to visit the Shanglin Park.⁵

drought in the sixth month of this year. The commentary of Liu Zhao to that passage refers to a memorial of Chen Fan which relates floods and droughts to the problems of the imperial harem. A fuller version of that memorial is in Chen Fan's biography at *HHS* 66/56:2161.

- 4 On the hunt of Han times, see Bodde, *Festivals*, 381-386, who transcribes the phrase 校獵 as *jiaolie*. At 383 he discusses various interpretations and expresses preference for the rendering "competitive hunt." Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 82, transcribes it as *xiaolie* and takes the alternative interpretation of "hunting within an enclosure."

In a difficult passage, Mencius accepts that Confucius himself took part in competitive hunts; the activity may have been associated with the offering of sacrifices: *Mengzi* 5B, 4.5; Legge, *Classics* II, 381-382 (Lau, *Mencius*, 154).

Hughes, *Vignettes*, 33, 71, 101-103 and 147-148, summarises and compares the poetic accounts of the imperial hunt in Former and Later Han from the rhapsodies on the capitals of Han by Ban Gu and Zhang Heng. The texts of these works are translated in full by Knechtges, *Wen xuan* I, 93-309; see in particular his pages 135-141, 157-163, 213-227 and 285-291.

- 5 On the hunting parks of Han, see Schafer, "Hunting Parks and Animal Enclosures," and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 80-83.

The Guangcheng Park 廣成苑 (Schafer: "Broadly Protected Park;" Bielenstein: "Park of Extending Achievement") was south of the capital Luoyang; the Guangcheng Pass was on the Ru River by present-day Linru in Henan.

Shanglin 上林 ("Supreme Forest") was the name of a great hunting park established by the First Emperor of Qin and restored by Emperor Wu of Former Han. It extended westwards from Chang'an, along the south of the Wei River and west of present-day Xi'an in Shanxi. That was the place celebrated in the "Rhapsody on the Shanglin Park" 上林賦 of Sima Xiangru 馬司相如, and by other writers. See, for example, Watson, *Chinese Rhyme-Prose*, 37-51, and Hervouet, *Chapitre 117 de Che-ki*, 57-142.

The rulers of Later Han, however, had another Shanglin Park in the vicinity of Luoyang: the "Rhapsody on the Two Capitals" 兩都賦 by Ban Gu 班固 refers to the establishment of a hunting park, on a notably more modest scale, close to the new capital: *HHS* 40B/30B:1363; Schafer, "Hunting Parks and Animal Enclosures," 331, Knechtges, *Wen xuan* I, 157, and Hughes, *Vignettes*, 52. Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 81-82, discusses the parks, quoting the story of the Grand Physician Pi Xun 皮醜, who was taken ill on his way back to Luoyang from the Shanglin Park, which was evidently near the capital: *Dongguan Hanji* 8:2a.

The commentary of Hu Sanxing to the present passage says that the Shanglin Park of Later Han lay west of the capital, and *Zhongguo gujin diming dacidian*, 42/4,

E In the twelfth month, several divisions of the Southern Xiongnu rose together in rebellion, and they joined with the Wuhuan and the Xianbi to ravage nine commanderies along the frontier.

F The emperor appointed the Intendant of Jingzhao Chen Gui as General Who Crosses the Liao.⁶

As Chen Gui left to take up his post, he sent in a report saying, "I have heard that when the courses of the sky are out of order,⁷ one should promote an ordinary gentleman to become chancellor; and when the barbarians fail to show proper respect, one may raise a common soldier to command. I myself lack ability, whether for civil affairs or matters of war, and I am quite unworthy of this high [5]

places it east of present-day Luoyang, which would mean it was very close to the ancient city.

Bielenstein notes the possibility that the Shanglin Park of Former Han, in the region of Chang'an, was also maintained under the same name during Later Han: *Lo-yang*, 118 note 376. This indeed appears correct, for when Emperor An visited the western capital, Chang'an, in the winter of 124 he went to the Shanglin Park: *HHS* 5:240. The hunting ground, however, was surely far less extensive than during the Former dynasty.

On the present occasion, without any evidence of further travel, we may assume that Emperor Huan was visiting the Shanglin Park by Luoyang.

E *HHS* 89/79:2963 (18a); the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

F *HHS* 51/41:1692-1693 (8a-9b); the Biography of Chen Gui.

⁶ Though the Liao River flows through present-day Manchuria, the Trans-Liao command of Later Han had no connection to that region. The headquarters encampment of the General on the Liao was in Wuyuan commandery, near present-day Baotou in Inner Mongolia. There had been a General on the Liao during Former Han, who did deal with the northeast, but the command had been re-established by Later Han in 65, to guard the Ordos frontier against the Northern Xiongnu: *HHS* 89/79:2949; deC, *Northern Frontier*, 252-253.

Though *ZZTJ* sets the appointment of Chen Gui at this time, during the disturbances of the later 150s, the present passage does not fit well with the problems of rebellion which were apparently settled by Zhang Huan: passage H below.

The dating of the appointments of General on the Liao during this period is uncertain. My interpretation would set Chen Gui's tenure of office some few years earlier, in the late 140s or early 150s, at a time when a series of rebellions of the northern tribes had been temporarily settled, and the Chinese were embarking on another attempt at reform and reconstruction: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 314, also the discussion of Zhu Yidun, 1832/1, in commentary to the tables for Later Han constructed by Xiong Fang of the Song dynasty, but *cf.* Qian Dazhao at 1895/1. See further in note 20 below.

⁷ The phrase *san chen* 三辰 refers to the sun, the moon and the stars, in similar fashion to *san guang* 三光: note 16 to Yongshou 3.

position.⁸ Even if I give my life in your service, I cannot make adequate recompense [for this honour and trust].

"Now in the frontier regions of the western provinces the soil is poor and barren, and the people turn more and more to banditry and plunder. Houses and farms are in ruins, and though there may still be people living there, they are really no more than dead bones.

"In Bing province recently, year after year there have been floods, and plagues of insects have followed one upon the other. The farmlands have fallen into wilderness, and the tax returns are dwindling to nothing.

"If your majesty looks upon the common people as your children, why do you not extend to them the grace of your soothing and comfort? It was the gentle government of the Ancient Duke and the Lord of the West that attracted all the empire;⁹ would they have needed

⁸ The expression *yingyang* 鷹揚 comes from the eighth stanza of the *Daming* 大明 Ode, *Shi jing* III.1.3, rendered by Legge, *Classics* IV, 436, as "like an eagle on the wing," being a description of the minister Shangfu 尚父 (Lü Shang 呂尚) who assisted King Wu of Zhou 周武王 in the defeat of the Shang 商/Yin 殷 empire. See also Karlgren, *Odes*, 236 at 188.

⁹ According to tradition, the grandfather of King Wen of Zhou 周文王, whose personal name was Danfu 亶父, was known as the "Ancient Duke" (古公 *Gugong*) and was posthumously honoured as "Grand King" (太王 *Taiwang*). In the face of attacks from the northern barbarians, he abandoned his territory of Bin 邠 and settled again at the foot of Mount Qi 岐山, further to the south across the Wei River. He did this primarily in order to spare his people the miseries of war in defence of his fief. See Chavannes, *MH* I, 213-215 and 222, translating and discussing *SJ* 4:113-114, and *Mengzi* IB, 15.2; Legge, *Classics* II, 176 (Lau, *Mencius*, 72), where we are told that

The people of Bin said, "He is a benevolent man. We must not lose him." Those who followed him looked like crowds hastening to market.

"Lord of the West" (西伯 *Xibo*) was a title held by King Wen of Zhou under the Shang 商/Yin 殷 dynasty. Traditions differ whether he was granted the title of king during his lifetime or whether it was awarded posthumously, after his son King Wu 武 had conquered Shang 商/Yin 殷 and established the rule of the Zhou house over all the empire: see Chavannes, *MH* I, 217-221, translating and discussing *SJ* 4:116-119, particularly his note 3 to page 221.

Earlier in this memorial, recorded by *HHS* 51/41 but not included in *ZZTJ*, Chen Gui refers to the ideal feelings of a ruler for his subject in terms of the *Wu yi* 無逸 Chapter "Avoiding Luxurious Ease" of *Shu jing* V.15, 10; Legge, *Classics* III, 469, also Karlgren, *Documents*, 58, which tells how King Wen was mild and humble, cherished and protected the poor and weak, and showed kindness to the widower and the widow.

The commentary of Hu Sanxing also quotes from the *Diwang shiji* 帝王世紀 by Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 of the third century AD, which tells the story of the withdrawal

to send carts laden with gold, and carriages of treasure, as a favour to the people?

"Your majesty has inherited dominion from the restoration of Han, and you maintain the rule of Emperor Guangwu. You hold court and you attend to government, but you have not yet made full use of your sage-like understanding.

1740 "Indeed, the governors and administrators are not good men.¹⁰ Some of them have been appointed through recommendations of the eunuchs, they are afraid to disobey the instructions they receive from above, and they follow them quite thoughtlessly. It is the cries of misery from the people that bring down disasters from nature. The renegade barbarians, cruel and violent, take advantage of our weak position to behave disobediently on the slightest pretext. The stores and supplies are exhausted for the mouths of these wildcats and wolves, and all the labour and effort of the past are gone for nothing.¹¹ This is because the leaders and commanders are not truly loyal, and a host of wicked men has gathered here.

"When the former Inspector of Liang province, Zhu Liang, was first appointed to that territory, he presented impeachments of many offenders, administrators and magistrates. At least half of them were dismissed and the effect could be seen within a very short time. He should be honoured and rewarded, so that able men and good work may be encouraged.¹²

from Bin by the Ancient Duke, and also describes the manner in which the common people were attracted to King Wen because of his benevolence.

10 The phrase *mushou* 牧守 "governors and administrators" must be taken as a general reference to inspectors and administrators. The office of *mu* "Governor" or "Shepherd" did not exist in the provinces at that time: deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 67, Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 90-91, and passage B of Zhongping 5 below.

11 The expression used here is *wu shuliang* 無銖兩 "not a *shu* or a *liang*." The commentary of Hu Sanxing notes that a *liang* "ounce" contained twenty-four *shu*; a *shu* was approximately two-thirds of a gram.

12 Zhu Liang was a man of Changsha commandery. In 137, during the reign of Emperor Shun, he became Inspector of Bing province. When a rebellion broke out among the non-Chinese peoples of Jiaozhi and Jiuzhen commanderies in the far south Zhu Liang was sent as Administrator of Jiuzhen, and by the following year the rebellion had been crushed: *HHS* 6:268 and 86/76:2838.

Zhu Liang is previously mentioned as Prefect of Luoyang about 134, when he was involved in a controversy with the former Grand Commandant Pang Can. Though he appears to have acted harshly, he was popular with the people: *HHS* 51/41:1691. There are no other references to him in *HHS*.

"If we change the appointed governors and administrators, dismissing the wicked and corrupt men; and if we also choose new emissaries and [6] protectors for the Xiongnu, the Wuhuan and the Qiang,¹³ selecting both civil and military appointments with care and providing them with them clear instructions; and if we relieve the tax requirements and corvée services of the current year for Bing and Liang provinces, showing leniency and forgiveness to those who have run foul of the law, to clear everything away and make a new beginning – then good officials will know that it is worthwhile to support the state, and wrongdoers will realise the dangers they run by their private plunder of public property. The barbarian horsemen can be prevented from spying along the Great Wall, and the men who keep watch on the frontier will have no further cause to fear harm."

Then the emperor did choose new inspectors for You and Bing provinces, and great numbers of officials, garrison commanders, commandery administrators, commandants and below, were replaced. An edict was sent down authorising General Chen to relieve the taxation and labour service of Bing and Liang provinces for one year, as a grant to the people.

Chen Gui went to his post, and all the provincial and commandery officials held him in awe. He gave the people some time of rest, he reduced expenditure, and by careful planning he saved thousands of

Since Zhu Liang had been Inspector of Bing Province, with rank expressed by the nominal salary of 600 *shi*, and was then promoted to be Administrator of Jiuzhen (rank/salary of 2000 *shi*), it is unlikely that he was again appointed as an inspector on the northern frontier. Chen Gui is probably referring to Zhu Liang's term in Bing province, and the text has been miswritten as Liang province.

If this is correct, then Zhu Liang was an inspector in the north between about 134 and 137; and the reference to his achievements by Chen Gui is indirect evidence to support the suggestion that Chen Gui's appointment and memorial should be dated earlier than *ZZTJ* has them here: see note 7 above.

13 The Emissary to the Xiongnu was the Chinese resident at the court of the Southern Shanyu, responsible for supervising his government: *HHS* 89/79:2944-2945, 118/28:3626; deC, *Northern Frontier*, 238-239. The full title of this officer was *shi Xiongnu zhonglang jiang* 使匈奴中郎將, which may be rendered as General of the Household Emissary to the Xiongnu; I abbreviate it.

The Protector of the Wuhuan was responsible for relations with the Wuhuan and Xianbi people of the north and northeast; the Protector of the Qiang was responsible for dealings with the Qiang people of the northwest: *HHS* 118/28:3626; deC, *Northern Frontier*, 383 and 82 ff. The full titles of these officials were Colonel Protector of the Wuhuan (護烏桓校尉 *hu-Wuhuan xiaowei*) and of the Qiang (護羌校尉 *hu-Qiang xiaowei*), but I have adopted a shorter form.

millions of cash every year.

G An imperial edict appointed Zhang Huan, Commandant of the Dependent State of Anding, to be General of the Household in the North,¹⁴ to attack the Xiongnu, the Wuhuan and the other barbarians.

H The Xiongnu and the Wuhuan burnt the gates [of the fortress] of the General on the Liao [at Manbo city in Wuyuan commandery], and the camp was withdrawn to Chikeng.¹⁵ There was smoke and flame in every direction, the soldiers were terrified, and each sought to flee for his own safety. Zhang Huan sat quietly in his quarters with his attendants, talking and reading aloud from texts, as if nothing out of the ordinary was taking place, and his men gradually ceased to panic.

Zhang Huan made private contact with the Wuhuan, persuading them to change sides and enter into a secret alliance with him. He had them cut off the heads of the Xiongnu and Chuge leaders,¹⁶ then made a surprise attack to destroy the enemy forces. All the barbarians now begged to surrender.¹⁷[7]

I Zhang Huan observed that the Southern Shanyu, [Ju]che'er, had proved incapable of keeping his state in order, so he took him into custody and sent in a recommendation that the Luli King of the Left should become

G *HHS* 89/79:2963 (18a); the Account of the Southern Xiongnu

14 Though the Account of the Southern Xiongnu, as quoted here, describes the appointment of Zhang Huan as General of the Household in the North, the Annals and his biography describe him by the regular title of Emissary to the Xiongnu: *HHS* 7:304, 65/55:2139; and see note 12 above. This seems more probable.

The chronicle in *HHS* 89/79 here is confusing and misleading. See also notes 16 and 17 below.

H *HHS* 65/55:2139 (8a); the Biography of Zhang Huan

15 The site of Chikeng 赤阬 "Red Hollow" cannot be identified, but it was presumably close to Manbo.

16 The Chuge 屠各, also known as the Xiuchuge 休屠各, were a clan group of the Xiongnu. This is their first citation in the history of the time, but they later rose to considerable importance in the frontier region. See passage D of Xiping 3 and note 6, also deC, *Northern Frontier*, 346-347 and 351-352. On the various forms of the name of this people, and its pronunciation, see *Northern Frontier*, 529-531 note 3.

17 This whole citation from the Biography of Zhang Huan in *HHS* 65/55 is set immediately before the reference to the attacks of the Xianbi in Yanxi 1: cf. passage E above.

I *HHS* 89/79:2963-64 (18a-b); the Account of the Southern Xiongnu; *HHJ* 22:19b.

Shanyu.¹⁸

The edict in reply said: "Since the very beginning of our reign, Juche'er has been loyal and obedient, and according to the principles of *Chunqiu* we should show special consideration to him [as a ruler who shared our first year].¹⁹

1741 "What crime has he committed that might warrant his disgrace? Let him return to his tents."

J The General-in-Chief Liang Ji had an old quarrel with Chen Gui, and he slandered him as a man who had harmed the dignity of the state, taken false credit for his achievements, and had actually given the Xiongnu no cause to fear him. So Chen Gui was recalled, and Chong

18 The name of the Shanyu is given by *HHS* 89/79:2963 and 2964, as Juche'er 居車兒; *HHJ* 22 omits the first character. Among the Xiongnu, the Luli King of the Left, a member of the royal family, was the second in succession to the Shanyu. *HHJ* gives the personal name of Zhang Huan's nominee as Dugan 都紺.

Once again, moreover, this incident appears to be misplaced in the chronology of events:

- The Biography of Zhang Huan refers to a rebellion by the Shanyu of the Southern Xiongnu only in the ninth year of Yanxi, being 166: *HHS* 65/55:2139.
- At this earlier period, about the first year of Yanxi, *HHS* 65/55:2139 says that the troubles were caused by the Xianbi, some Wuhuan, and the rebel Chuge or Xiuchuge group of the Xiongnu.
- Furthermore, in dealing with these disturbances of the first year of Yanxi, we are told specifically that Zhang Huan was able to obtain the assistance of the Southern Shanyu.

I have therefore argued that the Account of the Southern Xiongnu in *HHS* 89/79 has miswritten *yuannian* 元年 "first year" for *jiunian* 九年 "ninth year:" *Northern Frontier*, 531-532 note 6.

If this is correct, then the proposal to depose the Shanyu should be dated to Yanxi 9: 166, when Zhang Huan was again in command in the north, dealing with a different pattern of rebellion: *Northern Frontier*, 323-324 and 329, and *ZZTJ* 55:1787 and 1796 below.

In his *Kaoyi* commentary to this passage, Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 22 sets this incident in the fourth month of Yuankang 1: 167. This date would be possible, on the basis that the rebellion of the Southern Shanyu took place in Yanxi 9: 166, that it was settled by Zhang Huan, and that after the settlement, in the following year, Zhang Huan proposed the dismissal of the Shanyu. Unfortunately, however, Sima Guang decided to follow the Account of the Xiongnu from *HHS* 89/79.

19 The Shanyu had come to the throne in 147, the same year as Emperor Huan. By tradition, a ruler was supposed to be lenient at the beginning of his reign, and this consideration was extended to a vassal who had shared the time of his accession.

Gao was made General on the Liao.²⁰

Chen Gui therefore asked permission to retire to his home on account of age, but he was summoned once again to take position among the Masters of Writing [in the Imperial Secretariat].

Liang Ji's oppression and tyranny were becoming worse every day. Chen Gui sent in an account of his crimes and called for his execution, but the emperor would not approve and Chen Gui realised that he would himself be harmed by Liang Ji. He refused food for seven days, and so he died.

K When Chong Gao came to the place where the army was camped, the first thing he did was to announce the grace and good faith [of the imperial government], to encourage the barbarians to surrender. He promised that he would attack only those who failed to submit, and he sent back all Qiang prisoners who had been held as hostages by the commandery and county offices. Those who had proved loyal were well and gently treated, and rewards were granted clearly and reliably.

As a result, the Qiang and the northern barbarians all came to offer their submission. Then Chong Gao removed the beacon-fires and observation posts, and the frontier regions were peaceful and free from fear.

Chong Gao was called back to the capital to become Minister of Finance.²¹[8]

²⁰ This clause is adapted from the biography of Chong Gao in *HHS* 56/46:1828: passage K immediately below. *HHS* does not say, however, that Chen Gui was succeeded directly by Chong Gao. The biography of Chong Gao states that he was appointed at a time when disturbances of the Xiongnu were troubling Bing and Liang provinces. See further in note 21 immediately below.

K *HHS* 56/46:1828 (11a); the Biography of Chong Gao.

²¹ Again, it appears that *ZZTJ* is mistaken in its dating for the term of office of Chong Gao.

Firstly, the Biography of Chong Gao states that after his term as Minister of Finance he was appointed Excellency over the Masses in Yanxi 4: 161; this is confirmed by the Annals, *HHS* 7:308, where the promotion is dated to the second month of that year. From the context of the biography, Chong Gao's series of appointments, first as General on the Liao, then Minister of Finance, then Excellency over the Masses, all took place in the early years of the Yanxi period.

Secondly, however, *HHS* 67/57:2191-2192, being the Biography of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party, says that Li Ying was appointed General on the Liao in Yongshou 2: 156 and that in Yanxi 2: 159 he was transferred from that post to become Intendant of Henan.

It therefore seems clear that Chong Gao succeeded Li Ying as General on the Liao in Yanxi 2; not, as *ZZTJ* has it here, in Yanxi 1. Moreover, the appointment of Chen Gui should be dated earlier than Yongshou 2, and it is most improbable that he was the direct predecessor of Chong Gao: *cf.* passage J and see also note 6 above.

Yanxi 延熹 2: 159 AD

6 February 159 - 25 January 160

A In the spring, in the second month the Xianbi raided Yanmen.
The barbarians of Shu commandery raided Canling.

In the third month, it was once again ordered that inspectors and officials of Two Thousand *shi* and above should not carry out the three-year mourning period.¹

A *HHS* 7:304 (8b); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

¹ The traditional Confucian requirement of "three-year mourning" (三年喪 *sannian sang*) called for the maintenance of mourning for two complete years after the burial of the deceased parent or ruler: that is, it was mourning "into the third year," and a ceremony at the twenty-fifth month after the burial marked the end of the mourning period. See, for example, *Li ji* 35.3; Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies* II, 581, and the commentary of Yan Shigu to *HHS* 4:133-34 note 16; *HSBZ* at 20a-b; Chavannes, *MH* II, 490 note 1.

The three-year mourning period had been the ancient rule until the time of Emperor Wen of Former Han. When he died in 157 BC, his testamentary edict ordered that court mourning should be limited to a period of thirty-six days after the burial, and public mourning should be even further restricted: *SJ* 10:433-34; Chavannes, *MH* II, 487-90, *HS* 4:132; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 268-270. From this time on, for most of the Han dynasty, official mourning followed the limited period set by Emperor Wen: Dubs, *HFHD* I, note 3 to 270.

In 116, however, when the Empress-Dowager Deng controlled the government of Emperor An, the Excellency over the Masses Liu Kai 劉愷 argued that this set a bad example to the common people, and that the old, full custom should be restored: *HHS* 39/29:1307, abbreviated in *ZZTJ* 50:1597. As a result, an edict provided that in future all the highest officials (大臣 *da chen*: the excellencies and ministers), officials with rank/salary of 2000 *shi* (which included the administrators and chancellors of commanderies and kingdoms) and inspectors of provinces would be permitted to follow three-year mourning.

In 121, however, after Emperor An had taken over government following the death of the regent Dowager Deng, the Director of the Secretariat Dai Feng 戴諷 (whose surname is also given as Zhu 祝) and the Master of Writing Meng Bu 孟布 recommended that the right to extended mourning should be withdrawn. After some debate and despite an eloquent memorial from another Master of Writing, Chen Zhong 陳忠, the emperor followed their advice: *HHS* 46/36:1560-61, also *HHJ* 17:3b-4b, summarised in *ZZTJ* 50:1618-19.

In 154 permission for the extended mourning was granted once more to inspectors and to 2000 *shi* officials: perhaps referring here only to administrators and chancellors and not to officials of that rank at the capital: *HHS* 7:299, cited in *ZZTJ* 53:1730. The withdrawal of the privilege, described in this passage, represents the cancellation of this second attempt to restore the ancient custom.

Curiously, we are told by *HHS* 7:302 that in 156 the same right, or requirement, for mourning was extended to the eunuchs of the palace, and there is no record of the

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In the summer, there were great floods in the capital district.²

In the sixth month the Xianbi raided Liaodong.

- B The Empress Liang [Nüying] placed great store upon the support she received from her elder brother [Liang Ji] and her elder sister [Liang Na, the Empress of Emperor Shun, now Empress-Dowager]. She was quite unrestrained in her conduct and very extravagant, more so than any of her predecessors. She was also exceedingly jealous, so that [at first] none of the women of the palace could gain access to the

withdrawal of that provision. For a time, at least, it appears that Confucian officials were not permitted to carry out these filial obligations, but eunuchs could.

The arguments in debate on this question were generally based upon precedent and the example of good morality. One has the suspicion, however, that full mourning privilege for senior officials had serious effect upon the efficiency of administration, and it was perhaps for this reason the orders were withdrawn in each case a few years after they were brought into effect. On the varying policy, see *Cambridge China I*, 300-301: Loewe, "Conduct of Government."

Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions II*, 619-622, records the theories of Han New Text Confucianism concerning the requirements of mourning. In this and other such cases, however, the theories were not matched by the actual practices of the Han government.

At the same time, there was strong feeling in philosophical circles that the mourning rituals should be maintained and enforced. In 166, for example, Xun Shuang, a man of celebrated family who had been recommended by special nomination as Extremely Filial (至孝 *zhixiao*), presented a memorial expressing bitter criticism of the reduced mourning obligations and then declined any appointment: *HHS* 62/52:2051-56, cited by Chen, "Thought in Later Han," 802-803.

Again, at the end of Han, the scholar Xu Gan 徐幹 argued for the restoration of the three-year mourning period as a means to restore public morality. See, for example, the fragmentary chapter of his *Zhong lun* 中論 "Discussions of the Mean," entitled *Fu sannian sang* 復三年喪 "Reinstitute the Three-Year Mourning Period," with chapter title attested by the *Zhenguan zhenyao* 貞觀貞要 of Wu Jing 吳兢 (670-749) [Shanghai 1978, at 206], and text evidently preserved in *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要 compiled by Wei Zheng 魏徵 (540-643) [*SBCK*] 46:22b-24a. The debate in this latter part of the second century may be seen as one aspect of general emphasis on family loyalty and responsibility, and particularly on the teaching of the Classic of Filial Piety, *Xiao jing*.

For a general discussion of Han mourning practice, see Yang Shuda, *Handai hun sang lisu kao*, and on periods of mourning, see especially his 267-268.

- 2 The Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 103/13:3270 notes that there was continual rain for more than fifty days. Predictably, the Treatise relates the rain to the fall of Liang Ji in the eighth month of this year.
- B *HHS* 10B:444 (6a-b); the Biography of the Empress Liang.

emperor.³

When the Dowager [her elder sister] died [in 150], the Empress Liang lost favour. She herself had produced no heirs, and when a woman of the palace became pregnant, it was seldom she came to full term.⁴ The emperor was afraid of Liang Ji, so he dared not express his anger [against the empress], but he seldom had intercourse with her. The empress became increasingly resentful and angry.

- C In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *bingwu* [9 Aug], the Empress Liang died.⁵

On the day *yichou* [28 Aug] the Gentle and Generous Empress was buried at Yiling.⁶

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- D From the single family of Liang Ji, at one time or another there had come seven marquises, three empresses, six honoured ladies, two generals-in-chief, seven wives or daughters who were granted fief cities and given the title of "Lady," three men who married princesses, and fifty-seven other men who became ministers and generals,

3 The phrase *liugong* 六宮 (lit. "the six palaces") here refers to the women of the imperial harem. Hu Sanxing quotes at some length from the commentaries to *Zhou li* 2 (7):24b; Biot, *Rites* I, 141 ff, by Zheng Zhong 鄭眾 of the first century AD and Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 of the second century. According to one interpretation, *liugong* was a term for the empress herself, as head of the females of the palace, but it was also used for six ranks of concubines.

4 This probably indicates that the unfortunate woman was compelled either to have an abortion or to kill herself. Such a custom was not uncommon in the imperial harem.

C *HHS* 7:304 (8b); the Annals of Emperor Huan

5 The Biography of the Empress Liang, *HHS* 10B:444, notes that she had been on the throne for thirteen years (actually a little more than twelve years by Western count) since her marriage to Emperor Huan in 147, just after his accession. She was probably about thirty years old when she died; her biography suggests that she suffered from grief and resentment at being neglected by the emperor.

6 Commentary to *HHS* 10B:443 quotes from the *Shi fa* 諡法 "Systems for Posthumous Titles," a work ascribed to the Zhou period, which explains *yi* 懿 as referring to the late empress' gentleness and sage-like qualities, and *xian* 獻 to her intelligence and wisdom.

It was customary in Han for empresses and concubines, and some other favoured persons, to be buried in the vicinity of the tomb of their emperor. The Yiling 懿陵 tomb of his Empress Liang was therefore presumably in the area of the funerary park and tomb being prepared for Emperor Huan, twelve kilometres southeast of Luoyang: commentary to *HHS* 8:328; Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 86.

D *HHS* 34/24:1185 (15a); the Biography of Liang Ji.

intendants and colonels.⁷[9]

E Liang Ji himself usurped power and authority, while his evil and excessive behaviour grew worse every day. He set his own relatives and clients in the close positions of the palace guard, so he knew all details of everything that happened in the private apartments.

Anything sent to the court from any part of the empire, and also the annual tribute, all was brought first to Liang Ji, and the emperor had second choice after that. The roads [to Liang Ji's mansion] bore a steady stream of officials and commoners bearing gifts, whether to seek for some office or to ask pardon for a crime. When an official was

⁷ The commentary of Hu Sanxing lists seven enfeoffments as marquis, beginning with Liang Ji's grandfather Liang Yong 雍, to whose fief Liang Ji succeeded, as well as receiving an additional one of his own, and noting that Liang Ji's son Yin 胤, Yin's son Tao 桃, two of Liang Ji's younger brothers, Buyi 不疑 and Meng 蒙, and Buyi's son Ma 馬, were also granted fiefs. Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 475 note 346, however, lists another five marquises, from earlier generations of the family.

The three empresses were the Honoured Lady Liang of Emperor Zhang, who was the natural mother of Emperor He and was given posthumous title as empress in 97 (*HHS* 4:184 and *HHS* 10A:416-17), and the two sisters of Liang Ji, being Liang Na who was Empress to Emperor Shun and then regent Dowager to Emperor Huan (*HHS* 10B:438-40), and Liang Nüying the Empress of Emperor Huan (*HHS* 10B:443-44).

It is difficult to identify the six women who became honoured ladies. We may observe that all three empresses listed above held that rank before their final promotion; and the mother of Emperor He, of course, died with the rank of honoured lady. Moreover, a sister of the mother of Emperor He entered the harem of Emperor Zhang at the same time, and appears to have become an honoured lady (*HHS* 10A:416), and an aunt of the future Empress Liang of Emperor Shun was selected with her into the imperial harem, and also became an honoured lady (*HHS* 10B:438-39). See also Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 475 note 438.

The two generals-in-chief were Liang Ji's father Liang Shang, who had been appointed to that office in 135 (*HHS* 6:264 and *HHS* 34/24:1175), and Liang Ji himself, who succeeded to his father's position in 141 (*HHS* 6:271 and *HHS* 34/24:1179).

As in the case of the honoured ladies discussed above, it is not possible to make a full list of the other men and women who received favours or married into the imperial family. For example, the list of princesses (公主 *gongzhu*), at the end of the chapter of the biographies of empresses, *HHS* 10B:458-62, mentions the marriage of only one princess to a member of the Liang family: a daughter of Emperor Guangwu, she married Liang Song 松, a son of the powerful Liang Tong 統, founder of the fortunes of the family at the beginning of Later Han (*HHS* 34/24:1170); there are, however, several other princesses of the imperial Liu house for whom no marriages are recorded.

E *HHS* 34/24:1183 (13b); the Biography of Liang Ji; with extract from *HHS* 34/24:1181 (12a).

transferred or summoned to the capital, it was first required that he should go to Liang Ji's gateway, to inscribe his name as a means of showing gratitude for the favour, and only then would he venture to attend the Imperial Secretariat [to receive a formal document of commission].

F When Wu Shu of Xiapi was named magistrate of Wan, he went to pay his respects to Liang Ji before he left for his new post. There were numbers of Liang Ji's clients in the county,⁸ and Liang Ji asked Wu Shu to treat them kindly.

Wu Shu replied, "Wicked men and corrupt officials may be found everywhere, and they should always be punished. As General-in-Chief, your excellency holds position above all others. It is your natural duty to bring forward men of worth and quality to fill the positions of government. Since the moment I came here, however, I have heard no praise for any good man, but on the contrary you give support to the wrong-doers. This is not the sort of request I had hoped to hear from you." Liang Ji made no reply, but he was privately very annoyed.

When Wu Shu arrived in his territory, he executed a score or more of Liang Ji's clients for the harm they had done to other people.

Wu Shu was later appointed Inspector of Jing province. When he went on that occasion to make his farewells to Liang Ji, Liang Ji gave him wine which had been poisoned. Wu Shu went out, and then he died in his carriage.

When Hou Meng was first appointed Administrator of Liaodong, he refused to pay a courtesy call upon Liang Ji. Liang Ji found some other excuse to attack him, and he was executed by being cut in two at the waist.[10]

The Gentleman of the Palace, Yuan Zhu of Runan, who was aged nineteen, went to the palace gates and sent in a letter which said, "Like the cycle of the four seasons, good work comes to its fulfilment and then declines,⁹ and it is rare that high rank and great favour do not

F *HHS* 34/24, 1183-84 (13b-14b); the Biography of Liang Ji.

⁸ Nanyang commandery had been the home country of Emperor Guangwu, founder of Later Han, and its capital, Wan city, was one of the greatest in the empire after Luoyang. See, for example, Knechtges, *Wen xuan* I, 311-336, translating the "Southern Capital Rhapsody" (南京賦 *Nanjing fu*) by Zheng Xuan of the second century AD.

⁹ Such a sentiment is not uncommon, but the commentary of Hu Sanxing points out that the passage here is close to the words of the counsellor Cai Ze 蔡澤 of the state of Yan

bring misfortune [upon those who hold them too long].

"At the present time, the General-in-Chief holds the highest position, and his good work has reached its fulfilment; this could become a cause of very great danger. It would be appropriate for him to follow the ceremony of hanging up his carriage; then he could rest soundly on a high pillow.¹⁰

"There is a tradition which tells us, 'When the fruit is too plentiful, it damages the branches and may harm the heart of the tree.'¹¹ If the General does not accept some reduction in his authority, he may not escape even with his life."

Liang Ji heard about this, and sent men in secret to arrest Yuan Zhu. Yuan Zhu changed his name, and pretended he had taken ill and died. He made the figure of a man from rushes, purchased a coffin and had a public funeral performed. Liang Ji, however, found out the deception. He hunted for Yuan Zhu, caught him, and had him flogged to death.

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燕 of the Warring States period at the end of Zhou, recorded in his biography in *SJ* 79:2419. See also note 11 below.

- 10 The expression *xuan che* 縣車 "to hang up the carriage" or, as Tjan renders it in *White Tiger Discussions* II, 480, "to hang up the harness," refers to an officer's retirement from the service of the state. To some extent it may have been a literal description: *HS* 71:3048, tells how Xue Guangde 薛廣德 of Former Han, who had served the founding Emperor Gao, hung up the "comfortable carriage" he had been granted, and passed it on for the use of his sons. See also the commentary of Yan Shigu to this passage, which observes the action as a sign of honourable retirement. In Later Han, however, the "comfortable carriage" appears to have been a substantial vehicle, difficult to hang up (note 50 below); it may have been a metaphor, or perhaps the Former Han vehicle was lighter.

Besides the reference in *Bohu tong* 4:15b translated by Tjan as above (where it is associated with retirement at the age of seventy), the expression was also used in texts of and relating to the second and third centuries: for example *HS* 73:3105, where the phrase appears and is explained by the commentary of Ying Shao 應劭 of the second century AD as retirement on account of age, and *HHS* 62/52:2067, the Biography of Chen Shi, and *HHS* 67/57:2211, the Biography of Zhang Jian, both referring to deliberate retirement from political affairs.

The phrase *gaozhen* 高枕 "a high pillow" appears frequently in texts of this time as the description of a life of ease, comfort and security. It has the same significance today.

- 11 The commentary of Hu Sanxing attributes a quotation in similar terms to Fan Ju 范雎, a celebrated debater of the state of Wei 魏 during the period of the Warring States: *SJ* 79:2411. The biographies of Fan Ju and of Cai Ze (note 9 above) occupy the same chapter of *Shi ji* in tandem, and Yuan Zhu is citing the works of the two sophists.

Hao Jie and Hu Wu, both men from Taiyuan, enjoyed high principles and forthright argument, and they had been very good friends with Yuan Zhu. On a later occasion they sent in to the offices of the Three Excellencies a list they had prepared jointly, with the names of good scholars from all over the empire whom they recommended for office. They never paid a courtesy call on Liang Ji.

Liang Ji heard about this and was furious. He had the office of the capital put out a summons for the arrest of the two men.¹² Hu Wu's whole household was punished, and more than sixty people died. Hao Jie had already fled, but he realised that he was not going to get away. So he took a carriage with a coffin to Liang Ji's gateway, and there he handed in a letter. As the letter was taken inside, Hao Jie took poison and died. By this means, his family was saved.

- G The Honoured Lady Geng, official mother of Emperor An, died.¹³ Liang Ji asked her nephew, the Marquis of Linlü Geng Cheng, for her jewellery. When he refused, Liang Ji became angry and had the family executed, more than ten people.[11]

¹² The commentary of Hu Sanxing identifies this "office of the capital" (中都官 *zhongdu guan*) with the Bureau for the Officials at the Capital (都官曹 *duguan cao*) under the Director of Retainers. The Director (司隸校尉 *sili xiaowei*: Bielenstein: Colonel Director of Retainers) was head of the capital province, and the Bureau had censorial authority within Luoyang. See *HHS* 117/27:3614, with commentary note 5 quoting Cai Zhi, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 85.

G ¹³ *HHS* 19/9:714 (9b); the Biography of Geng Bao.

¹³ The Lady Geng 耿 had been the senior concubine of Liu Qing 劉慶 the King of Qinghe 清河, a son of Emperor Zhang. Liu You 祐 [or Liu Hu 祐], Emperor An, a son of Liu Qing by another concubine, the Lady Zuo 左, was brought to the throne by the regent Dowager Deng in 106: *HHS* 5:203-05. The Dowager continued to control the government until her death in 121.

Liu Qing died soon after his son had been placed on the throne, and after the death of the Dowager Deng he was given posthumous title as an emperor; his tomb was named Ganling 甘陵 "Mound of Contentment." While Lady Zuo was given title as empress, the Lady Geng was made Greatly Honoured Lady of the Gan[ling] Funerary Park (甘園大貴人 *Ganyuan da guiren*).

The Geng were one of the great families of Later Han: Geng Yan 弇 had been one of the chief supporters of Emperor Guangwu, and his relatives in later generations frequently married into the imperial clan. The elder brother of the Lady Geng, Geng Bao 寶, played a leading role in the politics of the court at the end of the reign of Emperor An, but was later disgraced and committed suicide. The family was restored to some favour after the accession of Emperor Shun in 125, and Geng Bao's son, Geng Cheng, was made a marquis after he married an imperial princess: *HHS* 19/9:714.

H Cui Qi of Zhuo commandery was greatly admired by Liang Ji for his ability as a writer, but when Cui Qi composed his "Admonitions to the Consort Clan" and "Rhapsody on the White Crane", which criticised and satirised him, Liang Ji became angry.¹⁴

Cui Qi said to him, "In former times, when Guan Zhong was Chancellor of Qi, he was pleased to hear words of criticism, and when Xiao He assisted [Emperor Gao, founder of] Han, he actually appointed officials with responsibility to record things which were wrong."¹⁵

"Now you, my general, hold a long-established position as chief support of the state, comparable to that of Yi [Yin] or [the Duke of] Zhou.¹⁶ Yet we hear nothing of your virtues in government, and the people are suffering in mud and ashes.

"You cannot bring yourself to associate with those upright men who might give help in time of misfortune and danger, but instead you seek to block their mouths. You have deceived and misled our sovereign, so that black and yellow change colours, and a deer is confused with a horse!"¹⁷

H *HHS* 80A/70A:2619-22 (13a-15b); the Biography of Cui Qi in the Chapter on Literary Men.

14 The text of the "Admonitions to the Consort Clan" (外戚箴 *Waiqi zhen*) is preserved in Cui Qi's biography, *HHS* 80A/70A:2619-22. The "Rhapsody on the White Crane" (白鶴賦 *Bogu fu*) has not survived. His biography tells us that Cui Qi composed the rhapsody to emphasise the warnings given in his "Admonitions."

15 On the legendary minister Guan Zhong 管仲, who served Duke Huan of the state of Qi 齊桓公 in the seventh century BC, see for example *SJ* 32:1486 ff; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 48-49 ff. and Rickett, *Guanzi* I, particularly 8-14.

On the minister Xiao He 蕭何 of the founding Emperor Gao of Han, see *SJ* 53; Watson, *RGHI*, 125-133.

16 According to legend, Yi Yin 伊尹, chief minister to the founding King Tang 湯 of Shang 商, sponsored his successor to the throne: Legge, *Classics* III, 191. The Duke of Zhou 周公, brother of King Wu of Zhou 周武王 (note 8 to Yanxi 1) was the loyal regent for his nephew King Cheng 成.

17 The reference to a deer being confused with a horse concerns the story of the treacherous eunuch Zhao Gao 趙高, Chancellor to the weakling Second Emperor of Qin at the end of the third century BC.

Zhao Gao was planning a coup d'état, but wanted to discover which officials were still loyal to the emperor. So he had a deer brought to the court, and announced it as a horse. The emperor corrected him, but Zhao Gao insisted, and he asked the opinion of each of the officials: those who supported him on this ridiculous point could be assumed to support him on all else; those who disagreed with him were soon eliminated. See *SJ* 6:273; Chavannes, *MH* II, 211, Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 161.

1745 Liang Ji could make no reply to this, and Cui Qi was sent away. He became afraid and fled into hiding, but Liang Ji caught him and killed him.¹⁸

I Liang Ji had held control of the government for almost twenty years, and his authority was recognised both inside [the palace] and out. The emperor's hands were tied, and he could take no action of his own. He was increasingly dissatisfied with this situation, and when Chen Shou died he was even more angry.¹⁹

The Lady Xuan, wife of the Gentleman of the Palace Deng Xiang, who was a cousin of the Fortunate Empress [Deng] of Emperor He, had a daughter named Meng.²⁰ Deng Xiang died, and Xuan remarried, this time to Liang Gi,²¹ who was the maternal uncle of [Liang Ji's wife]

The commentary of Hu Sanxing also observes that black (玄 *xuan*) and yellow (黃 *huang*) are the colours attributed to Heaven and Earth; to change them implies the overturning of the natural order of the universe.

18 The last two sentences of the text of *ZZTJ* do not follow closely the text of *HHS*.

According to the Biography of Cui Qi, he was later appointed to a county office, but was concerned there would be trouble made for him and left the post. Liang Ji sent a retainer to kill him, but the man admired Cui Qi and warned him instead. It was only then that Cui Qi actually ran away, to be caught and killed.

So the summary version of *ZZTJ* presents Cui Qi in a less impressive light than the fuller account in *HHS*.

I *HHS* 34/24, 1185-86 (15a-b); the Biography of Liang Ji.

19 See passage B of Yanxi 1.

20 The Empress Deng was the wife of Emperor He. After the death of her husband in 106, she acted as regent Dowager and controlled the government of the short-lived infant Emperor Shang "the Young Emperor" (106). She then chose Emperor An for the throne and continued to hold effective power for most of his reign (106-125) until her own death in 121. Her biography is in *HHS* 10A:418-30.

Hexi 和熹 Empress was the posthumous title of the Lady Deng. The character *he* comes from the posthumous title of her husband. Commentary to *HHS* 10A:418, quotes the citation by the second century scholar Cai Yong of the *Shi fa* "Systems for Posthumous Titles" (note 5 above), which explains the character *xi* as referring to her achievement in giving peace to the people.

The biography of the young woman who became consort to Emperor Huan is in *HHS* 10B:444-45. That text gives her personal name as Mengnü 孟女; there is no way to tell whether Meng or Mengnü is the correct form.

21 I have here used the variant transcription Gi for the personal name of the Lady Meng's step-father, written 紀, as a means to distinguish him from the General-in-Chief Liang Ji 冀. In Archaic and Ancient Chinese, the final and tonal values of the characters were different: Karlgren, *GSR* 953i and 603a.

Sun Shou.²²

The girl Meng was extremely good-looking, so Sun Shou had her brought into the side apartments of the palace, and she became an Honoured Lady.

Liang Ji wanted to have Meng recognised as his daughter, and he changed her surname to Liang.²³ He was afraid that the Consultant Bing Zun, who was husband to Meng's elder sister, might persuade Xuan [his mother-in-law] to turn the proposal down, so he sent some of his retainers and they killed Bing Zun. He also intended to kill Xuan.[12]

Xuan's house was next door to that of the Regular Attendant Yuan She,²⁴ and Liang Ji's men climbed into Yuan She's house to get at Xuan's. Yuan She discovered them, and he called out and beat on a drum to gather a crowd and to warn Xuan. The Lady Xuan ran to the palace and told the emperor, and the emperor was furious.

J Then the emperor went to the lavatory, and he spoke there alone with Tang Heng, Secretarial Attendant of the Yellow Gates,²⁵ asking him, "Which among my attendants are on bad terms with the consort family?"

Tang Heng replied, "The Regular Attendant Shan Chao and the Secretarial Attendant Zuo Guan had a quarrel with Liang Buyi.²⁶ The

22 It is possible that Liang Gi's original surname was indeed Liang (we do not know the surname of Sun Shou's mother). On the other hand, we are told that some members of Sun Shou's family had changed their surname to Liang, in order to share the prosperity of that great clan: *HHS* 34/24:1181.

23 Despite the remarriage of her mother, it appears that the Lady Meng had continued to hold the Deng surname of her natural father.

24 Under Later Han, the position of Regular Attendant (中常侍 *zhong changshi*), at rank/salary Equivalent to 2000 *shi*, was the highest a eunuch could attain: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 63 [as Palace Regular Attendant].

J *HHS* 78/68:2520 (9b-10a); the Biography of Shan Chao and his colleagues in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

25 Attendants at the Yellow Gates (小黃門 *xiao huangmen*), ranked at 600 *shi*, were eunuchs who served as personal messengers of the emperor: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 65. Both Tang Heng here, and Zuo Guan introduced below, had the character *shi* 史 added to their title, indicating they had particular secretarial duties.

The lavatory, of course, was one of the few places where the emperor could speak with his eunuch attendants in some security.

26 Liang Buyi, younger brother of Liang Ji, had been Intendant of Henan and then Minister of the Household. He retired into private life in 152, and had since died.

HHS 78/68 quotes Tang Heng as explaining further, that Shan Chao and Zuo Guan had called upon Liang Buyi at the time he was Intendant of Henan. They had

Regular Attendant Xu Huang and the Prefect of the Yellow Gates Ju Yuan have often expressed themselves privately about the way in which the empress's clan have acted against the law, but they do not dare to speak out."²⁷

So the emperor called Shan Chao and Zuo Guan to come to him, and said, "General Liang and his brothers have taken all power at the court, and they are aggressive and oppressive both inside and out. From the excellencies and ministers on down, all the officials follow their instructions and accept their influence. Now I want to punish them. What do you, my palace attendants, think of this?"

Shan Chao and his colleagues replied, "It is true that there are wicked men and criminals in the state, and the day of their punishment is long due. But we ourselves are weak and of small ability, and we do not fully comprehend your majesty's sage-like thoughts."

The emperor said, "If we are agreed, then, you plan it in secret."

"There is no difficulty about planning the affair," they replied. "We are only concerned that your majesty may still have some doubts of your own."

"When wicked ministers oppress the state, and the time for their punishment is come", said the emperor, "how can there be any doubts?"

1746 At this he called in Xu Heng and Ju Yuan, and those five settled the agreement. The emperor bit Shan Chao on the arm, drawing blood to make the oath.²⁸

shown some lack of respect to him, and Liang Buyi then arrested their brothers and held them in jail until the two eunuchs returned and apologised. See Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 477.

It would be a little surprising if such an old quarrel, with a man who was now dead, had been the only reason that Shan Chao and Zuo Guan disliked the Liang clan. This was, however, a very private conversation, and the record is not necessarily reliable or complete.

27 The eunuch Prefect of the Yellow Gates (黃門令 *huangmen ling*), with rank/salary at 600 *shi*, was in charge of the emperor's private apartments: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64.

28 The spilling of blood was regarded as essential to a solemn covenant 盟 *meng*, in contrast to a simpler oath. See, for example, *Li ji* 1B.12; Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies* I, 92:

Une convention faite entre les princes s'appelle pacte confirmé par le serment; si l'on immole une victime, elle s'appelle pacte solennel et sacré.

See also Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 477 note 361.

- K Shan Chao and the others said, "Now that your majesty's plans are decided, we shall speak no more on the matter in case we give others some cause for suspicion."
- L Liang Ji did become suspicious of Shan Chao and his fellows, and in the eighth month, on the day *dingchou* [9 Sep] [13] he sent the Palace Attendant of the Yellow Gates Zhang Yun to take up residence in the private apartments and keep watch against any trouble. Ju Yuan had guards arrest Zhang Yun on the charge that he had entered the palace without proper authorisation and was planning some act of rebellion.²⁹ Then the emperor went to the Front Hall [of the Southern Palace],³⁰ where he summoned all the officers of the Secretariat and advised them of the situation.³¹ He had the Director Yin Xun, bearing the Staff of Authority,³² take direct command of his subordinates, while the gentlemen and other junior officials held weapons to guard the doors.³³

K *HHJ* 21:16a.

L *HHS* 34/24:1186 (15b-16a); the Biography of Liang Ji.

²⁹ The Palace Attendants at the Yellow Gates (中黃門 *zhong huangmen*), with rank/salary of 300 *shi*, were general eunuch attendants of the emperor, but were junior to the Attendants at the Yellow Gates and evidently had more limited access to the imperial apartments. The fact that Liang Ji had to make use of such a comparatively lowly officer is evidence of the degree to which he had lost contact and control over the palace as a result of the death of his sister the empress.

³⁰ The Front Hall (前殿 *Qian dian*), also known as the Main Hall (正殿 *Zheng dian*) was the chief audience hall of the Southern Palace: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 24-25. Other compounds within the Northern and Southern Palaces also had "front halls," but on this occasion a specific building is described.

³¹ The Imperial Secretariat (尚書 *shangshu*), discussed by Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 55-57, was responsible for preparing the formal drafts of imperial edicts and other orders. It was headed by a Director (令 *ling*; Bielenstein: Prefect of the Masters of Writing) and a Deputy Director (僕射 *puye*; Bielenstein: Supervisor), and divided into six bureaux (曹 *cao*), each headed by a Master of Writing (*shangshu*), assisted by Gentlemen-in-Attendance (侍郎 *shilang*) and Foreman Clerks (令史 *lingshi*); there were also more junior, probationary and apprentice officials.

³² The Staff of Authority (節 *jie*) was a bamboo eight Han feet (尺 *chi*) tall (about 185 cm), with three yaks' tails fastened to the top as tassels: *HHS* 1A:10, commentary quoting the *Han guan yi* 漢官儀 of Ying Shao 應劭 of the second century AD. In theory at least, it gave the bearer plenipotentiary powers to act on behalf of the emperor, taking his own initiative and reporting only afterwards: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 50.

³³ At this time, on the direct orders of Emperor Huan and under the supervision of the Director Yin Xun, the drafting of documents was carried out personally by the Masters

[It was ordered that] all seals and tallies were to be collected and sent to the palace.³⁴

Then Ju Yuan led a party of grooms from the imperial stables, Rapid Tiger and Feathered Forest guards, and Warriors with Swords and Lances of the Captains at the Capital,³⁵ a thousand men altogether, to join the Director of Retainers Zhang Biao and surround Liang Ji's lodgings. The Minister of the Household Yuan Xu was sent in with the Staff of Authority to take away Liang Ji's seal and ribbon as General-in-Chief,³⁶ and to transfer his fief to the marquisate of the chief district of Bijing.³⁷

of Writing and their immediate assistants as the junior staff performed basic security duty.

34 Besides the Imperial Secretariat, there was also an office of Insignia and Credentials, under a Prefect (符節令 *fujie ling*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 58. It seems that this was also taken over by Emperor Huan and his allies to ensure that Liang Ji could not issue rival orders. Moreover, as we observe immediately below, orders were issued that all insignia, and particularly those held by the Liang group, should now be surrendered.

35 The phrase 左右廐騶 *zuoyou jiuzou* is interpreted by the commentators as describing the grooms of the two Stables for Fine Horses (駿廐 *jun jiu*) of the Left and of the Right: *HHS* 115/25:3582; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 37.

The Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers (虎賁中郎 *huben zhonglang*) and the Gentlemen of the Household of the Feathered Forest (羽林 *yulin*) were palace guards. Both corps were probably composed of military cadets: *HHS* 115/25:3575-76; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 27-28, and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 47, and "Recruitment Revisited," 14.

Under the general authority of the Minister of the Guards (衛尉 *weiwei*), the Captains at the Capital of the Left and the Right (左右都候 *zuoyou duhou*) commanded men at arms (劍戟士 *jianji shi*: Bielenstein: Warriors with Swords and Lances). They had patrol duties within the palace and held powers of arrest over any resident, even including the Heir: *HHS* 115/25:3579; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 33-34.

36 The essential insignia of office under Han was the seal (印 *yin*) and the ribbon (綬 *shou*) by which it was attached to the bearer's belt. The seal of the General-in-Chief was made of gold and the ribbon was purple (紫 *zi*): *HHS* 114/24:3563 with commentary quoting Cai Zhi 蔡質 of the second century; also *HHS* 120/30:3674.

37 In the local administration of Han, counties (縣 *xian*) were subdivided into districts (鄉 *xiang*), and the district which contained the county capital was known as the chief district (都鄉 *duxiang*). In similar fashion, districts were divided into villages (亭 *ting*), with one chief village.

Up to this time, Liang Ji's enfeoffments had been as marquis at county level, so this new title represented a significant reduction in rank. Moreover, the value of Liang Ji's pension had been based on the income from the tax of 30,000 households, far above a normal stipend: *HHS* 34/24:1179. We are not told the value of the new fief, but it was surely very small.

Liang Ji and his wife Sun Shou both committed suicide on that same day. Liang Buyi and Liang Meng had died earlier. All other members of the Liang and Sun clans, inside and out, were arrested and sent to the imperial jails, then suffered public execution. No consideration was given to age or youth. Of others who were implicated, excellencies, ministers, colonels, provincial inspectors and other senior officials, scores of them died.³⁸

Finally, we may observe that the county of Bijing 比景 was the furthest territory of the empire, being in the south of Rinan commandery near present-day Hué in Vietnam: *e.g.* *HHSJJ* 113/23B:30a. It had formerly been used as a place of exile for the families of unsuccessful politicians, notably the consort Yan 閻 clan, which had attempted to control the government after the death of Emperor An but had been overthrown by a eunuch-led coup which put Emperor Shun upon the throne in 125: *e.g.* *HHS* 10B:437. In this respect, the analogy with the position of the Liang family was very close.

Under the system of Han, the holder of a marquisate was required to live at his fief territory unless he was given special permission to remain at the capital: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 108-109. So Liang Ji was being sent into exile, and the grant of a derisory fief was designed as no more than an extra turn of the screw.

38 *HHS* 34/24:1186 and *HHS* 7:304-305 list the following members of the Liang group who had held high office and who were now arrested and executed:

- Liang Yin 胤, son of Liang Ji, who had been Intendant of Henan;
- Liang Shu 淑, a cousin, who had been Minister of the Guards;
- Liang Rang 讓, uncle of Liang Ji, who had been Colonel of the Garrison Cavalry (屯騎 *tunji*);
- Liang Zhong 忠 and Liang Ji 戟, two more cousins, who had been colonels of the Elite Cavalry (越騎 *yueji*) and Chang River 長水 regiments.

The Intendant of Henan had administrative and police powers in the commandery about Luoyang, including the capital itself: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 88-89.

The Minister of the Guards was responsible for the security of the imperial palace, and the men at arms under the Captains at the Capital were formally under his orders: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 31-34, and note 35 above.

The Garrison Cavalry, Elite Cavalry and Chang River regiments were three of the five which composed the Northern Army (北軍 *bei jun*), a regular force of professional soldiers: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 117-118, and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 45-46.

Under the general authority of Liang Ji, therefore, his clan seemed to have acquired a dominating position in the military command and civil government of the immediate vicinity of the capital. The control, however, was more apparent than real, and it is interesting to observe how rapidly it collapsed when opposed by a resolute emperor, with effective allies inside the palace, access to the imperial secretariat, and just a small band of armed men.

For other descriptions of this coup of 159, see Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 93-95, Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 476-477., and deC, *Fire over Luoyang*, 308-309.

M The Grand Commandant Hu Guang, the Excellency over the Masses Han Yan and the Excellency of Works Sun Lang were all found guilty of subservience to the Liang clan and of failing to protect the throne. They were detained at the Watch-House of Long Life,³⁹ then sentenced to the death penalty remitted by one degree, and were dismissed to become commoners.⁴⁰

M *HHS* 7:305 (9a); the Annals of Emperor Huan; with commentary quoting *Dongguan Hanji* 3:4b; and *HHS* 44/34:1509 (10b); the Biography of Hu Guang; and *HHS* 61/51:2036 (17a); the Biography of Huang Qiong.

39 Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 41 and 95, suggests that this "Watch-House of Prolonged Life" (長壽亭 *changshou ting*) lay on an avenue (街 *jie*) of that name in the city. There is, however, no more precise indication where it was situated.

Bielenstein discusses the city watch-houses at *Lo-yang*, 42, but refers to them as hostels, and emphasises their function as official inns. He does so on the basis of three incidents: in 145 Liu Zhi the future and short-lived Emperor Chong was called to Luoyang and given residence at the Capital Watch-House; in the following year Liu Zhi, future Emperor Huan, was similarly given lodging at the Watch-House by the Xia Gate at the north-western corner of the city (夏門亭 *Xiamen ting*); and the same arrangement was made for Liu Hong the future Emperor Ling in 168: *HHS* 6:276, 7:287 and 8:328. Each of these occasions, however, relate to a future emperor brought from outside the capital at a time of some tension when security was important, but they do not indicate that the *ting* were open to other visitors. There were no doubt private lodging-houses and inns to be found within the city, and there were certainly Commandery Residences (郡邸 *junti*) for officials coming on business from the provinces: *Lo-yang*, 49 [as Commandery Quarters]. I suggest, therefore, that the *ting* were primarily police stations, that their use as accommodation for future rulers was exceptional, and that they are better described as watch-houses than as hostels. See also deC, *Fire over Luoyang*, 47-19 and note 97.

At 95, presumably based on his reading of *ting* as a "hostel," Bielenstein suggests that the three excellencies were charged with having sat out the coup at the watch-house. My interpretation, however, is that the ministers were held under temporary arrest, and that the charges against them were based upon their previous subservience to Liang Ji, not upon their conduct at the time of the coup itself. *Dongguan Hanji* 3:4b and the biography of Hu Guang, at *HHS* 44/34:1509, say that he and his colleagues were found guilty of failing to protect the throne 不衛宮.

40 The main text of *HHS* 7 says that Hu Guang suffered only dismissal, while the other two were sent to prison, but *HHS* 44/34 and *Dongguan Hanji* both state that all three excellencies were arrested and sentenced to death remitted by one degree.

Hu Guang had been made marquis of a district as reward for his assistance with the accession of Emperor Huan under the Liang hegemony in 146: *HHS* 44/34:1509. No enfeoffments are recorded for the other two, but it is possible they had been made marquises in connection with their promotion to the highest offices of the civil service, and they would also have been the recipients of grants of lesser noble ranks awarded

N More than three hundred of [Liang Ji's] former subordinates and clients were dismissed. The court was empty.⁴¹

During this time, as news of the coup spread outward, and couriers dashed here and there on their several missions, the high officials had lost their authority, and there were rumours and confusion in the offices and yamens, in the markets and the streets. After a few days, however, everything became quiet again, and the ordinary people were [14] delighted. The whole of Liang Ji's property was confiscated, and the local county offices sold off his goods. Altogether they raised three thousand million cash, which was paid into the official treasury. The annual taxation from the empire [for that year] was reduced by half, and all Liang Ji's parks and pleasure-grounds were divided for the benefit of the poor.

1747

O On the day renwu [14 Sep] the Honoured Lady Liang [Meng] was established as Empress. The Yiling Tomb [of the late Empress Liang Nüying] was demoted to be the tomb of an Honoured Lady.

P The emperor hated the Liang clan, so the surname of the [new] empress was changed to Pu. Some time later, it was recognised that she was the daughter of Deng Xiang and her surname was changed back again to Deng.⁴²

generally or possibly specifically during their lifetime: Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank," 164 *ff.*

Hulsewé, *RHL*, 129, discusses the punishment of "the death penalty remitted by one degree," and suggests that this sentence was the same, or had the same effect as, the penalty of shaving the head and applying an iron collar (城旦 *chengdan*), being the heaviest form of hard labour, which began in any case with a bastinado and was aggravated by an iron collar and leg chains.

It seems likely, however, that such senior officials may have escaped the full rigour of this penalty, possibly by commutation of their noble ranks. Hu Guang, for example, although his biography in *HHS* 44/34 does not mention it, was evidently restored to some office within a very short time: early in Emperor Huan's period of personal rule he was Deputy Director of the Secretariat and joining in recommendations for worthy scholars to be appointed to positions at court: *HHS* 53/43:1746. A few years later, he once more became an excellency.

N *HHS* 34/24:1186-87 (16a-b); the Biography of Liang Ji.

41 Among those affected by this proscription was the northern commander Zhang Huan (passages G and H of Yanxi 1), who was regarded as a "former subordinate" (故吏 *gu li*) of Liang Ji (passage G of Yanxi 6).

O *HHS* 7:305 (9a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

P *HHS* 10B:444 (6b); the Biography of the Empress Deng

- Q An edict proclaimed rewards for the successful destruction of Liang Ji. Shan Chao, Xu Huang, Ju Yuan, Zuo Guan and Tang Heng were all made marquises of counties. Shan Chao had the income from twenty

42 The character *zhi* 知 can be understood as "realised," but that does not seem appropriate to this situation. One must assume that Emperor Huan was capable of discovering the original surname of his empress: at the least, he could have found it out from her mother the Lady Xuan, with whom he was in some contact. We are also told that he had been a friend since childhood of the empress' cousin Deng Wanshi (passage RR below), while Mengnü's brother Yin was enfeoffed as a marquis soon after she entered the harem and received the imperial favours: *HHS* 10B:444 [as Deng Yin].

HHS 10B:444 has more detail. It is said that Emperor Huan disliked the Liang surname – understandable in the circumstances – so he ordered the Lady Meng's surname changed to Pu 蒲. Two years later, however, the senior ministers memorialised that since the empress was really the daughter of Deng Xiang, her original surname should be restored. This was done: *HHS* 10B:444.

The Empress-Dowager Pu of Former Han was the mother of Emperor Wen. She has biographies in *SJ* 49:1970-72; Chavannes, *MH* VI, 32-38, and *HS* 97A:3941-42. She had been a concubine of Emperor Gao, and was honoured as Dowager after her son was brought to the throne in 180 BC: *HS* 4:110; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 231.

The Lady Pu is described as a worthy woman who gave good advice in appropriate circumstances. Perhaps the point which appealed most to Emperor Huan, however, is that we are told that though she was loyal to her family and gave them generous presents, only one member of her clan received enfeoffment as a marquis. This is in contrast to the Liang clan, and to the Empress-Dowager Deng in the time of Emperor An.

From the point of view of the emperor himself, moreover, the modesty of the Lady Pu presented a good contrast to the ambition and arrogance of the Empress Lü, formal wife of Emperor Gao, who dominated the reign of her son Emperor Hui and eventually usurped all power for herself: see, for example, Dubs, *HFHD* I, 167-210.

The renaming of the Lady Meng, now empress, was most likely designed not only to remove the memory of the Liang family, but also to warn her relatives of the Deng family that their positions were held only on sufferance, and they should not become too ambitious or greedy.

Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 95, says that the name of the whole Liang clan was changed to Pu, and understands the character with the significance of "mean = of low quality." It is possible to interpret the text of *HHS* 10B in this way, but there is no reference to such a change in the Biography of Liang Ji at *HHS* 34/24:1187. It seems more probable that it was only the new empress' surname that was changed, and that it was intended as analogy with the past rather than insult to the present.

HHJ 21:240 and *HHS* 104/14:3295 both give the surname of the new empress as Bo 亳. The characters 蒲 and 亳 were homonyms at that time, and Karlgren, *GSR* 771*p* and 773*a*, says that they could be interchanged.

- Q *HHS* 78/68:2520 (10a); the Chapter on the Eunuchs; and *HHS* 7:305 (9a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

thousand households, while Xu Huang and the others each had more than ten thousand households. They were known by the people of the time as "the five marquises".

Zuo Guan and Tang Heng were also appointed Regular Attendants. The Director of the Secretariat Yin Xun and six other men became marquises of villages.⁴³

R The Minister of Finance Huang Qiong became Grand Commandant,⁴⁴ the Palace Counsellor Zhu Tian of Zhongshan became Excellency over the Masses, and the Minister Herald Sheng Yun of Liang kingdom became Excellency of Works.

S At this time, when Liang Ji had just been overthrown, the people held great expectations of the new government. As head of the bureaucracy, Huang Qiong now sent in a memorial with the names of officials who had made themselves notorious throughout the provinces and commanderies for their oppression and dishonesty. More than a dozen were executed or banished, and all the empire approved.

T Huang Qiong recommended Fan Pang of Runan for office.[15]

Even when he was young, Fan Pang had been admired by the people of his neighbourhood for his strict and absolute honesty.

On one occasion he was sent as a Commissioner to inspect Ji province.⁴⁵ When he mounted the chariot and grasped the reins, he

⁴³ Commentary to *HHS* 7 lists the enfeoffments of Yin Xun and his colleagues. They were in fact made marquises of chief districts, districts and chief villages (*i.e.* the chief place of a district: see note 37 above); none were as low as simple villages.

R *HHS* 7:306 (9a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

⁴⁴ The Biography of Huang Qiong at *HHS* 61/51:2036 says that he was also enfeoffed as marquis of a district.

S *HHS* 61/51:2036 (17b); the Biography of Huang Qiong.

T *HHS* 67/57:2203-04 (14b-15a); the Biography of Fan Pang from the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

⁴⁵ Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 14, renders the term *qingzhao shi* 清昭使 as "Messenger with a Pure Edict," and explains the office as referring to a staff member under one of the excellencies, dispatched to the provinces on a special errand.

The Biography of Fan Pang tells us that he had been recommended as a Filial and Incorrupt candidate by his commandery, and was then approved by the Minister of the Household, apparently at the highest level for all four categories considered: on this, see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 135-136. It is quite possible that he was then recruited to one of the excellencies' offices, though we are not told which: *HHS* 67/57:2203 and commentary note 2 on 2204.

carried himself as boldly as if he had the ambition to clear away all iniquity from the whole of the empire. Any administrator or magistrate with something to hide abandoned his seal and ribbon and fled away as soon as he heard Fan Pang was coming. In every memorial and report that he sent in, Fan Pang gave full expression to the opinions of the people.

About this time an imperial edict commanded that the clerical officials of the Three Excellencies should report upon rumours and sayings among the people.⁴⁶

1748 Fan Pang sent in a memorial against twenty and more inspectors, administrators and chancellors, and men of powerful family who had formed factions to abuse their power. The Imperial Secretariat criticised him for attacking so many, and suggested he was making his

The only other reference to a commission of *qingzhao shi* in *Hou Han shu* is in the Biography of Diwu Zhong at *HHS* 41/31:1403. Diwu Zhong was a clerical officer under the Excellency over the Masses when he was sent as *qingzhao shi*, also to Ji province, during the Yongshou period (155-157).

Commentary to *HHS* 41/31 also quotes *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 by the contemporary scholar Ying Shao 應劭, which tells of a similar commission to investigate Jing province, entrusted to a member of the staff of the Grand Commandant.

It appears that the position of *qingzhao shi* was more investigatory than Bielenstein's "Messenger" gives it credit for. *HHS* 67/57 observes that Ji province had been suffering famine and banditry, and Fan Pang was given a commission of investigation and adjudication (案察 *ancha*) rather than just sent as a messenger. *HHS* 41/31 says that Diwu Zhong's powers were considerable, with authority to report upon the conduct of the Inspector, of the administrators, and of all officers below them, and the reaction of these officials was just as fearful as that reported for the visitation of Fan Pang.

On the other hand, it appears that Fan Pang and Diwu Zhong were both investigating similar problems in the same place at about the same time (it is not possible to decide who was sent to Ji province first) so at least one of them had only limited long-term success.

46 The commentary of Hu Sanxing quotes a passage from the *Han guan yi* 漢官儀 of Ying Shao 應劭, explaining the expression *ju yaoyan* 舉詔言 as referring to the collection of sayings from among the people by members of the staff of the offices of the excellencies, this being a means to judge the quality of the administration of senior officials.

Han guan yi also describes a ceremony when the various clerks gathered together to hear declaimed the comments upon each provincial and commandery administration: favourable reports were greeted with cheers; those which were not received a condemnatory silence. This was evidently the Day of Assembly (會日 *hui ri*) referred to by Fan Pang below.

accusations out of personal malice.⁴⁷

Fan Pang replied, "When I make a report, it is not because I enjoy dealing in the dirt of oppression and corruption. These matters cause great harm to the people. Why else should I deface an official report with such unpleasantness?"

"Since the Day of Assembly was near,⁴⁸ I sent in the most important items first. There are some cases where I have not yet made detailed enquiry, but I shall start those investigations as soon as possible.

"I have heard it said that when a farmer removes weeds, good grain is sure to flourish; and if loyal ministers remove evil, then the royal way will be made clear. If anything I have said casts doubt upon my loyalty, I shall be only too pleased to offer myself for execution".

The Masters of Writing could make no further complaint against him.

U Chen Fan, Director of the Secretariat, recommended five scholars living in retirement:⁴⁹ Xu Zhi of Yuzhang, Jiang Gong of Pengcheng, Yuan Hong of Runan, Wei Zhu of Jingzhao and Li Tan of Yingchuan. The emperor sent special comfortable carriages, with black and crimson harness [16] and full ceremonial,⁵⁰ to invite each of them, but they all declined.

Xu Zhi was a man from a poor family. He worked in the fields, and

⁴⁷ Besides its essential duty of preparing imperial orders and documents for publication and despatch, the Secretariat had censorial responsibilities, primarily checking incoming reports for errors or irregularities. On occasion, the Secretariat could be called upon to investigate and adjudicate accusations of crime or lese-majesty.

⁴⁸ On the Day of Assembly, see note 46 above.

U *HHS* 53/43:1746-47 (6a-b); the Biography of Xu Zhi.

⁴⁹ In his *Kaoyi* commentary, Sima Guang observes that this group of recommendations is mentioned by *HHJ* 22:1b, but is dated there to Yanxi 4: 161 and ascribed only to Chen Fan. The date of Yanxi 2, as in *HHS* 53/43, appears more likely.

On the other hand, while *HHS* 53/43 says that Hu Guang, as Deputy Director of the Secretariat, took part with Chen Fan in this recommendation, passage M above says that just a short time earlier Hu Guang had been dismissed in disgrace from his position as an excellency because of his past subservience to the Liang clan. Sima Guang evidently finds it hard to believe that he could have been so swiftly restored even to a lesser office. Hu Guang, however, was a resilient man of affairs, and he may indeed have restored his fortunes by this time.

⁵⁰ There is a description of the splendidly decorated ceremonial carriages, including the Comfortable Carriage (安車 *anche*), in the Treatise on Carriages and Raiment at *HHS* 119/29:3644. The Carriage appears to have been a large four-wheeled cart, fitted with seats and covered with a canopy and curtains.

would ate only food which he had grown through his own labours. He was respectful and frugal, honest and self-effacing, and all his neighbours admired his virtue. He was frequently invited to take up a post in the offices of the excellencies, but he would never accept.

When Chen Fan was Administrator of Yuzhang, he very politely requested Xu Zhi to be his Officer of Merit.⁵¹ Xu Zhi could not [flatly] decline, but he called only once and then went home. Harsh and strict by nature, Chen Fan seldom gave a welcome to clients or dependent guests. When Xu Zhi came, however, he prepared a special couch for him, and when he went away he hung it up again.⁵²

Later, Xu Zhi was recommended as "Knowing the Way," and messengers were sent to his house offering him the post of Administrator of Taiyuan, but he again refused to go.⁵³

1749 Though Xu Zhi would not accept appointments from any of the excellencies, he nonetheless recognised their deaths with rituals of mourning as if for a patron, and he would travel to the funeral carrying his own baggage. At his house he kept a chicken ready broiled, together with an ounce of floss silk which had been soaked in wine, then dried in the sun and wrapped around the bird. He would go to the outer entrance of the tomb, soak the cloth in water so that the fragrance of the wine came out, and present the chicken with a single *dou* of rice⁵⁴ and some white reeds spread underneath it. When the libation was complete he would leave his card and depart, and he did not seek

51 The Officer of Merit (功曹 *gong cao*) was one of the senior locally-appointed officers of a commandery. He was primarily responsible for making recommendations for office, both local appointments and nominations to the capital of Filial and Incorrupt candidates: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 85-86 and 96 [as Officer of the Bureau/Department of Merit].

52 The text here refers to a *ta* 榻, being a couch or bed, and the term is explained by the commentary as a couch for sitting on (坐榻 *zuo ta*). It was obviously light, and was perhaps an early example of what was later known as the "barbarian bed" (胡牀 *huchuang*), fore-runner of the chair in China. See Fitzgerald, *Barbarian Beds*, particularly at 9 and 20-21.

53 "Knowing the Way" (有道 *youdao*) was a special nomination called for by specific imperial order: deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 25. The commentary of Hu Sanxing suggests that the nomination of Xu Zhi had taken place in 121, during the reign of Emperor An: *HHS* 5:233. As no more recent call for such nominations appears in the annals, it seems probable that this is correct.

54 The *dou* 斗, a measure of capacity, was a little less than two litres.

to call upon the chief mourners.⁵⁵

- V Jiang Gong and his two younger brothers, Jiang Zhonghai and Jiang Jijiang, were celebrated for their filial affection and their personal friendship. They would sleep under the same coverlet, and none of them would accept invitations to office.

On one occasion Jiang Gong and his brother Jijiang were travelling to the commandery capital [of Pengcheng] and at night on the road they were captured by bandits. The bandits were going to kill them, but Jiang Gong said, "My brother is still young, the apple of his parents' eyes, and he is not yet betrothed. Please kill me and let him go." Jiang [17] Jijiang said, "My elder brother's virtues and his age are far greater than mine. He is the treasure of our family and a leader of the nation. Let me receive your blows, but I beg you to spare my brother's life." So the bandits let them both go, and only took their clothes and their goods.

When the two men arrived at the commandery capital, everyone saw that they had no clothes, and naturally asked why. Jiang Gong gave some excuse, but he made no mention of the bandits.

When the bandits heard of this they were very impressed, and they went to the brothers' lodging to pay their respects to 'their lord who has received an imperial summons.'⁵⁶ They kowtowed and apologised for their behaviour, and returned everything they had taken. Jiang Gong, however, refused to accept the goods; he treated the bandits generously with wine and food, and then sent them away.

When the emperor summoned Jiang Gong and was refused, he sent orders to Pengcheng for an artist to paint Jiang Gong's likeness. Jiang Gong, however, lay in bed in the dark with the covers over his face. He explained that he had a dizzy sickness, so bad he could not come out. The artist was not able to see him.

- W Yuan Hong was a great-great grandson of Yuan An. He would mortify his flesh as a means to maintain his conduct, and he would respond to no recommendations or summons.

⁵⁵ The *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 3:2b, also records this custom of Xu Zhi; see also Mather, *New Account*, 2-3. Passage B of Yanxi 7 records the occasion that Xu Zhi attended the funeral of Huang Qiong and paid his respects in this manner.

V *HHS* 53/43:1749-50 (8a-9a); the Biography of Jiang Gong.

⁵⁶ Commentary to *HHS* 53/43 explains the phrase 徵君 *zhengjun* as reference to the fact that Jiang Gong had at some time received an invitation to the imperial court.

W *HHS* 45/35:1525 (7a-b); the Biography of Yuan Hong.

- X Wei Zhu lived in seclusion and taught. He paid no attention to the concerns of the world.
- Y Li Tan had a most tyrannical and fussy stepmother, but he treated her with the utmost respect, he obtained for her the most costly products of each of the four seasons, and every time he brought them to her he would always bow first. People of the district took his conduct as a model for their own.
- Z The emperor also invited Wei Huan of Anyang [in Runan].⁵⁷ His fellow villagers encouraged him to go, but Wei Huan said, "Now if I should seek a salary and look for advancement, that would satisfy my personal ambition.
 "The women of the harem, however, are now more than a thousand; can their numbers be reduced? The horses in the stables are in the tens of thousands; can their numbers be [18] diminished? The attendants of the emperor are powerful and oppressive; can they be removed?"
- 1750 All replied, "That is not possible."
 Then Wei Huan sighed and said, "So you are asking that I go alive [to the court] and come back dead [because I would be compelled to speak out against abuses and would inevitably be killed for making such criticisms]. What is the point?"
 So he went into hiding and would not appear in public again.
- AA Now that the emperor had destroyed Liang Ji, he was able to take account of old favours and private friendships, and he awarded a number of enfeoffments and titles.
- BB He gave posthumous appointment as General of Chariots and Cavalry to the empress' father Deng Xiang, with enfeoffment as

X *HHJ* 22:3b.

Y *HHS* 53/43:1748 (8a); the Biography of Li Tan; with commentary quoting the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng.

Z *HHS* 53/43:1741 (2a-b); an anecdote of Wei Huan.

⁵⁷ The county marquisate of Anyang 安陽 was in Runan commandery, near present-day Zhengyang in south-eastern Henan. The modern city of Anyang in north-eastern Henan was not the centre of a county during Later Han.

The story of Wei Huan is not presented by Fan Ye as a formal biography, but rather as a part of his introductory remarks to this chapter *HHS* 53/43, which deals with worthy men unwilling to take office under an imperfect government.

AA *HHS* 7:305 (9a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

BB *HHS* 10B:444-45 (6b); the Biography of the Empress Deng.

Marquis of Anyang. He changed the fief of the empress' mother, the Lady Xuan, to be Lady of Kunyang, while Deng Kang and Deng Bing, sons of the empress' elder brother, both became marquises.⁵⁸ Other members of the family became colonels, or generals of the household, and were given enormous rewards and presents, calculated by the tens of thousands.

CC The Regular Attendant Hou Lan presented five thousand rolls of silk, and the emperor awarded him enfeoffment as a secondary marquis.⁵⁹ Then the emperor announced that Hou Lan had taken part in

58 Xuan had been made Lady of Chang'an 長安君 immediately after her daughter became empress. The country of Kunyang 昆陽 was in Nanyang, near present-day Yexian in Henan.

Deng Yan 鄧演, elder brother of the empress, had been enfeoffed soon after his sister entered the palace and received the emperor's favour. Then he died, and succession to the fief was granted to his eldest son Kang. Then Kang was transferred to another fief and also received a vast donation.

Deng Bing was also enfeoffed, but *ZZTJ* has omitted to mention two others: a middle brother, Deng Tong, became Marquis of Kunyang after the death of the Lady Xuan; and a cousin, Deng Hui, became Marquis of Anyang in Runan (note 57 above), evidently in putative succession to the late Deng Xiang. Deng Hui also became General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger.

HHS 10B:444-45 dates the enfeoffments and awards to Yanxi 4, after the surname of the empress had been recognised as Deng, and this certainly seems more logical: see passage P and note 42 above. *HHJ* 21:250, however, chronicles the enfeoffments in Yanxi 2, and Sima Guang preferred that tighter schedule.

CC *HHS* 78/68:2522 (11b); the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

59 Secondary marquis (關內侯 *guannei hou*: also as "Marquis Within the Passes" and "Marquis Within the Imperial Domain") was nineteenth of the twenty orders of aristocratic rank, next below that of a full marquis, the highest that could be obtained by a commoner under the Han dynasty.

The Land Within the Passes (*guannei*) being the ancient heartland of Qin in the region of the valley of the Wei in present-day Shenxi, had been the domain of the emperor under Former Han, and tradition implied that no subject could hold a fief in such inner territory: see, for example, the *Yu gong* 禹貢 "The Tribute of Yu" Chapter of *Shu jing* III.1B, 18 and 19; Legge, *Classics* III, 142-144, also Karlgren, *Documents*, 18. In theory, therefore, such a feudatory should have had no specific territory as his fief.

Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank," 152-154, however, observes that there were a number of occasions a secondary marquis was granted an estate: they could be of varying value, and held in one region of the empire or another. They were presumably not as large as those of a full marquis, and it is likely that more often only a pension was awarded. There are some instances of a son succeeding to a father's secondary marquise, but it appears the rank was normally not hereditary.

the arrangements for the overthrow of Liang Ji, and he was raised in fief to become Marquis of Gaoxiang.⁶⁰

DD The Attendants of the Yellow Gates Liu Pu, Zhao Zhong and six others were also enfeoffed as marquises of districts.

As a result of this, power and authority was concentrated in the hands of the eunuch officials.

EE The "five marquises" [Shan Chao, Xu Huang, Ju Yuan, Zuo Guan and Tang Heng] were particularly greedy and lawless, and the repercussions [of their abuse of power] were felt both at the capital and in the provinces.

FF Many disasters and portents appeared at this time.

Li Yun of Ganling, who was magistrate of Boma [in Dong commandery], sent in an open memorial, with a copy to the offices of the excellencies, saying, "Liang Ji arrogated power and usurped authority, and his tyranny [19] extended throughout the empire. Once the orders had been issued for his arrest and execution, however, the punishment for his crimes was carried out by just a few servants of the [imperial] household. It was not a particularly complex or dangerous affair.

"Since then, however, enfeoffments have been granted to assorted eunuchs, each valued at ten thousand households or more. Had Emperor Gao heard of this, he would never have approved.⁶¹ And the generals of the northwest must surely be disturbed.⁶²

We may note further that, whereas in Former Han a full marquis had a county as his fief, Later Han recognised a hierarchy, so that some marquises were awarded only a district or a village: *e.g.* note 60 immediately below.

60 Gaoxiang 高鄉 was evidently the name of a district (*xiang*); it is not known which county it was in.

DD *HHS* 78/68:2520 (10a); the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

EE This passage appears to have been compiled by Sima Guang from a variety of texts.

FF *HHS* 57/47:1851-52 (9b-11a); the Biography of Li Yun.

61 Hu Sanxing explains this as reference to the undertaking given by Emperor Gao, founder of Former Han, that fiefs would be awarded only to those who had shown merit in the service of the state. See note 93 below.

62 This refers to military commanders such as Zhang Huan, Huangfu Gui and Duan Jiong, who were defending the frontiers of the empire against the non-Chinese Qiang, Xiongnu and Xianbi. Although such men were sometimes enfeoffed as a reward for their services, they received no favours comparable to those being granted the emperor's associates at court. Li Yun may be implying that their discontent could be dangerous.

"Confucius said, 'To be an emperor is to be a judge.'⁶³ But at the present time official positions are mistaken and confused, petty men gain advancement through flattery; wealth and property are publicly misused, and the authority of the government declines further every day. When the documents [of imperial decrees] one foot long are issued without proper care,⁶⁴ this shows that the emperor does not want to act as a judge!"

When the emperor received this memorial, he absolutely shook with anger. He ordered the high officials to have Li Yun arrested, and issued an edict that Warriors with Swords and Lances of the Imperial Secretariat should escort him to the Prison of the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates.⁶⁵

1751 The Regular Attendant Guan Ba, together with Imperial Clerks and [officers of] the Minister of Justice, were all sent at various times to

63 *Dizhe, di ye* 帝者諦也: this text is related to a passage in the apocryphal text, *Chunqiu yundou shu* 春秋運斗樞 "Pivot of the Celestial Rotation of the *Spring and Autumn* [Annals]" which was circulated at this time. It is quoted more extensively in the commentary of Hu Sanxing, but the work as a whole is now lost.

64 The phrase *chiyi* 尺一 refers to imperial edicts, which were drafted onto a standard wooden strip one foot in length, about 23 cm: *HHS* 57/47:1853 commentary note 7 quoting the *Han guan yi* 漢官儀 of Ying Shao 應劭, also Loewe, *RHA* I, 11 and 28, and *HHS* 66/56:2162 with commentary.

65 It appears that the Prison of the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates was newly established at this time. Evidently associated with the private apartments of the palace, it was closely under the control of the emperor, and of the eunuchs: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64-65, and *Lo-yang*, 52-53.

The guards involved in the arrest are described as *shangshu duhu jianjishi* 尚書都護劍戟士 "Warriors with Swords and Lances of the Chief Controller of the Masters of Writing." The commentary of Hu Sanxing notes the suggestion that *duhu* 都護 "Chief Controller" should be interpreted as *duhou* 都候, referring to the Captains at the Capital who were responsible for security within the palace: see note 35 above and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 33. These guards had formed part of the force which went to arrest Liang Ji at the time of the coup, and it is possible there was a special detachment allotted to protect the office of the Secretariat; this small troop, responsive to his personal command, was used again by Emperor Huan on a lesser occasion.

Sima Guang has not recorded all of Li Yun's memorial, which began with an attack on the new Empress Deng, describing her appointment as unsuitable (不得其人 *bu de qiren*), and citing a number of natural disasters as signs of the disapproval of Heaven. Such an attack on the emperor's personal interest seems even more likely to arouse his anger.

examine Li Yun [by torture].⁶⁶

At this time the Senior Clerk for All Purposes in Hongnong, Du Zhong, resenting the fact that Li Yun was undergoing such punishment for his loyal words, sent in a letter to say, "I wish to die on the same day as Li Yun."⁶⁷ The emperor's fury knew now no bounds, and he ordered that Du Zhong be also arrested and held by the Minister of Justice.

Chen Fan, [now] Minister Herald, sent in a memorial saying, "Though Li Yun's words have no regard for proper form and deference, are opposed to higher authority and disobey orders, nevertheless he did have the good intention of showing loyalty to the state. In earlier times, Emperor Gao tolerated the criticisms of Zhou Chang, even when they were sacrilegious,⁶⁸ and Emperor Cheng pardoned Zhu Yun, though he was worthy of the neck and waist execution.⁶⁹ If you kill Li Yun now, I fear the people of the empire may compare you to [Zhou Xin] who cut out the heart [of his minister Bi Gan]."⁷⁰[19]

⁶⁶ Imperial Clerks [Attending Secretaries] were officers of the censorate, and often served also as agents of the emperor: deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 67-74, and *LH3K*, 1227.

The Minister of Justice was responsible for legal judgement and administration: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 38-39 [as Commandant of Justice].

⁶⁷ The Bureau for All Purposes (五官曹 *wuguan cao*) was the local office in a commandery which supervised administration: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 96-97. To hold such a confidential position as senior clerk (掾 *yuan*), Du Zhong would have been a man of some substance and family. He was not, however, a commissioned official, and his intervention is surprising and presumptuous.

⁶⁸ *SJ* 96:2577 and *HS* 42:2095, being biographies of Zhou Chang 周昌, a counsellor of Emperor Gao of Han, tell how he interrupted the emperor as he was engaged with his favourite concubine, and compared him to the vicious last rulers Jie 桀 of the Xia dynasty and Zhou 紂 of Shang 商/Yin 殷. The emperor was kind enough to treat the matter as a joke.

⁶⁹ *HS* 67:2915, the Biography of Zhu Yun, tells how he launched a most arrogant attack on the scholar Zhang Yu 張禹, the former teacher of Emperor Cheng who had been appointed Chancellor. The emperor was furious, and determined to have him executed, but was persuaded to show tolerance.

The phrase "neck and waist execution" (腰領 *yao ling*), may be taken to refer to the regular form of execution by chopping off the head, but also to the exceptional method of cutting in two at the waist, normally applied to cases of extreme cases of sacrilege or treason: Hulsewé, *RHL*, 110-111.

⁷⁰ The wicked last ruler of Shang 商/Yin 殷, Zhou Xin 紂辛 (or simply Zhou, as in note 68 above), had his critic the prince Bigan 比干 eviscerated to see whether there was

The Minister of Ceremonies Yang Bing, the Chief of the Market in Luoyang Mu Mao, and the Gentleman of the Palace Shangguan Zi all sent in memorials to plead for Li Yun. The emperor again flew into a rage.

The chief officials now reported that [their conduct could be considered] Great Iniquity,⁷¹ and an edict was issued to reprimand Chen Fan and Yang Bing most severely; they were dismissed and banished to their home territories. Mu Mao and Shangguan Zi were each reduced two grades in rank and salary.

At this time, the emperor was by the Pond of the Shining Dragon [in the pleasure ground near the Northern Palace].⁷² Guan Ba came to report on the question of Li Yun and his supporters. He knelt down and said, "Li Yun is a silly scholar from the country-side, and Du Zhong is a petty official in a commandery. They just got excited and carried away. They're not worth punishing."

The emperor said to Guan Ba, "The emperor does not want to act as a judge', what sort of talk is that? And you ask me to pardon them?" He turned to tell one of his Attendants of the Yellow Gates that the recommendation [sent in by the chief officials] was approved. Li Yun and Du Zhong both died in jail.⁷³

GG As a result of this incident, the influence of the emperor's personal favourites became all the greater.

anything exceptional about the heart of a sage: *SJ* 3:108; Chavannes, *MH* I, 206, and Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 51.

At one point, Zhu Yun (note 69 above) had also compared himself to Bigan.

71 "Great Iniquity" (大不敬 *da bujing*) appears as a term of category for certain most serious crimes and wrongful actions. Any person found to have behaved in such a way was liable to the heaviest penalties. See Hulsewé, *RHL*, 156-158 and *ff* (who renders the term as "*nefas*"), where *bujing* is noted, however, as generally being considered slightly less serious than "impiety" (不道 *budao* or 無道 *wudao*).

72 The Garden of the Shining Dragon was a favourite pleasure ground of Emperor Huan within the Northern Palace of Luoyang. It had existed earlier, but Emperor Huan had it remodelled and rebuilt: see *HHS* 7:320, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 38, where it is rendered as "Garden of the Sleek Dragon."

73 *HHS* 7:307 records the death of Li Yun in Yanxi 3, and this is supported by *HHS* 54/44:1771, the Biography of Yang Bing, mentioned above, which contains a brief account of this incident. It is possible the affair began in Yanxi 2 but was not resolved until the following year.

GG This passage appears to have been compiled by Sima Guang from related texts.

HH The Grand Commandant Huang Qiong felt that he was not strong enough to keep things under control, so he declared that he was sick and dying, and sent in a memorial to say,⁷⁴ "Since your majesty came to the throne, the government has not surpassed [the achievements of former rulers].

"The Liang family usurped power, but now it is eunuchs that dominate the court. Because they dared speak out loyally, Li Gu and Du Qiao were pointlessly and brutally destroyed. And now Li Yun and Du Zhong, following in their footsteps, have also been punished for holding to the right way of action.⁷⁵ All within the seas are distressed

HH *HHS* 61/51:2036-38 (17b-19b); the Biography of Huang Qiong.

⁷⁴ *ZZTJ* agrees with *HHJ* 21:251 in dating this memorial to Yanxi 2, but *HHS* 61/51 gives a more detailed chronology, which is supported by the annals of *HHS* 7. According to the biography of Huang Qiong, he claimed to be seriously ill (不起 *bu qi*) at the time he was Grand Commandant in Yanxi 2 or Yanxi 3. He did not leave office until Yanxi 4, however, and that was apparently on account of banditry affecting the empire. Later that year he was again appointed to excellency rank, this time as Excellency of Works, only to be dismissed a few months later on account of earthquakes.

This memorial was actually presented in Yanxi 7: 164, when Huang Qiong was still in retirement. He was once more seriously ill, and he died later in that year at the age of 79 *sui*.

It appears that both *ZZTJ* and *HHJ* are anachronistic: though the events are appropriately linked, Huang Qiong spent several more years in office before he gave full expression to his indignation.

⁷⁵ The Biography of Li Gu is in *HHS* 63/53:2073-89, and that of Du Qiao is at 2091-94.

A man of high official family, Li Gu was Grand Commandant and shared government with Liang Ji during the brief reign of Emperor Chong, son and successor to Emperor Shun. After the death of the infant ruler in 145, Li Gu urged Liang Ji to establish a mature member of the imperial clan, Liu Suan 劉蒜. Liang Ji would not agree, however, and the following year, when the new young Emperor Zhi was also dead, Liang Ji forced the enthronement of the fifteen-year-old Emperor Huan in spite of Li Gu's protests and the claims of Liu Suan.

In 147 there was an abortive attempt to replace Emperor Huan by Liu Suan. Liu Suan was compelled to commit suicide and his supporters were executed. Soon afterwards, Liang Ji managed to have Li Gu convicted of involvement in the plot, and after some delays he too was executed.

Du Qiao also held the position of Grand Commandant, for a few months in 147. He was dismissed for his support of Li Gu and his opposition to Liang Ji and the eunuchs, and he was later executed with Li Gu. See also *HHS* 6:275-*HHS* 7:291 and *ZZTJ* 53:1700-13.

It was a curious coincidence, of some embarrassment for Emperor Huan, that the two irritating junior officers whom he had executed, Li Yun and Du Chong, had the same surnames as the senior officials who suffered under Liang Ji. Li Gu, however,

and fearful, and are increasingly resentful. It has come to pass that men from both the court and from the country regard loyalty as something taboo.

"The Master of Writing Zhou Yong was a follower of Liang Ji, and used Liang Ji's authority for his own advantage. Later, when he saw that Liang Ji was in danger he made a great show of abusing him in order to show loyalty [21] to you. As a result, by an immoral piece of trickery, he has also gained a marquessate.

1752 "Besides this, the officials of the Yellow Gates maintain their wicked ways, and all join in faction. From the time Liang Ji came to power, they cleaved to him like back to belly, they plotted day and night, and they involved one another ever further in evil doings. When Liang Ji was about to meet his punishment, they realised the game was up; so they advertised his wrongdoing in order to obtain rewards and rank.

"Your majesty has failed to apply a clear understanding, to examine and distinguish true from false. You have granted these people the same ranks and fiefs as you award your loyal ministers, so that fine gloss is mixed with ordinary colour.⁷⁶ This may be described as casting gold and jade amongst sand and gravel, and throwing the *gui* and *bi* insignia into dust and mud.⁷⁷ All the people will hear of it, and everyone will sigh with indignation.

"I and my family have received favour from the state for generations. I think little of my own person, but I regard the position which I hold as very important. Facing death, I present these comments, albeit they are less than respectful."

When the document was sent in, it was not accepted.

came from Hanzhong commandery and Li Yun from Ganling, while Du Qiao was a man from Henei and Du Chong came from Hongnong; none of them, therefore, were closely related.

76 From other editions of *ZZTJ*, and in accordance with the text of *HHS* 61/51:2038, it appears that the characters 使朱紫共色 "causing vermilion to be mixed with purple" should be included at this point. Confucius remarked, "I hate the manner in which purple takes away the lustre of vermilion." Vermilion was regarded as a pure or correct colour, while purple was formed by a combination of primary colours and was thus inferior: *Analects* XVII.18; Legge, *Classics* I, 326.

Similarly, black gloss (粉墨 *fenmo*) here represents fine quality, and the assorted (雜糅 *zanui*) hues are those of common fellows.

77 In ancient China the *gui* 珪, a baton of jade, and the *bi* 璧, a disc of jade, were symbols of noble rank and authority.

- II In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *renshen* [3 Nov] the emperor paid a visit to Chang'an.
- JJ The Regular Attendant Shan Chao was ill. [In the eleventh month] on the day *renyin* [3 Dec]⁷⁸ he was appointed General of Chariots and Cavalry.⁷⁹
- KK In the twelfth month on the day *jisi* [30 Dec] the emperor returned from Chang'an.
- LL The Shaodang, Shaohe, Dangjian, Lejie and four other groups of the Qiang raided the border defences of Longxi and Jincheng. The Colonel Protector of the Qiang Duan Jiong attacked and defeated them. He pursued them as far as Luoting,⁸⁰ and cut off the heads of more than two thousand chieftains, leaders and others, and captured over ten thousand of their people alive.[22]
- MM An edict re-appointed Chen Fan as Minister of the Household, while

II *HHS* 7:306 (9b); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

JJ *HHS* 7:306 (9b); the Annals of Emperor Huan; and *HHS* 78/68:2521 (10a-b); the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

78 There was no *renyin* day (cyclical 50) in the tenth month of this year, which ended on a *bingshen* day (cyclical 33). The parallel text in *HHS* 7, however, has previously chronicled the beginning of the eleventh month, and this should be interpolated into *ZZTJ*.

79 General of Chariots and Cavalry was one of the highest military ranks of the empire, third after the General-in-Chief. Like the office of General-in-Chief, however, which had remained vacant since the overthrow of Liang Ji, the position of General of Chariots and Cavalry was rather one of formal command than of practical service, and it was commonly reserved for a member of the family of the imperial relatives by marriage: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 122-124.

As Hu Sanxing observes, however, in 132 Emperor Shun made a posthumous award of the title General of Chariots and Cavalry to the eunuch Sun Cheng 孫程: *HHS* 78/68:2517. Sun Cheng had been the leader of the eunuch group which overthrew the Yan clan and placed Emperor Shun upon the throne in 125: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 91-93, and Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 464-470. Now, at the time of his approaching death, Shan Chao's service was recognised with similar honour.

KK *HHS* 7:306 (9b); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

LL *HHS* 65/55:2146 (12b-13a); the Biography of Duan Jiong.

80 Luoting was a frontier post of the empire, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River above present-day Lanzhou in Gansu: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 127.

MM *HHS* 66/56:2161 (2b); the Biography of Chen Fan; and *HHS* 54/44:1771 (9a); the Biography of Yang Bing.

Yang Bing became Intendant of Henan.⁸¹

NN Shan Kuang, son of an elder brother of Shan Chao, became Administrator of Jiyin. He took advantage of his power to disloyal his greed, and the Inspector of Yan province, Diwu Zhong, sent his Assistant Officer Wei Yu to investigate him. He discovered fifty or sixty million [cash] taken [by Shan Kuang].

1753 Diwu Zhong then reported against Shan Kuang, and extended the charge to implicate Shan Chao.

OO In considerable anxiety and distress, Shan Kuang gave money to his retainer Ren Fang to kill Wei Yu. Wei Yu found out about it, however. He put Ren Fang under arrest, and sent him in bonds to Luoyang.

Shan Kuang realised that Yang Bing would investigate the whole affair in detail, so he secretly arranged for Ren Fang and some others to break out of jail and make their escape.

The Imperial Secretariat summoned Yang Bing to answer [for this failure of security], but Yang Bing replied, "The misdeeds of Ren Fang and his fellows have all been carried out at the orders of Shan Kuang. I ask to send a cage cart to bring Shan Kuang to account. If we examine him thoroughly, we can trace the origins of the whole wicked business."

In the end, however, Yang Bing was found guilty, and was sentenced to convict labour in the Enclosure of the Left.⁸²

PP At this time, moreover, the bandit of Taishan, Shusun Wuji, was ravaging Xu and Yan provinces, and neither the commandery nor the provincial offices could bring him to book. Shan Chao used this as a means to get Diwu Zhong into trouble, and Diwu Zhong was sentenced to exile in Shuofang.

Dong Yuan, a junior kinsman of Shan Chao who was Administrator of Shuofang, was waiting for Diwu Zhong to come into his power so

81 *HHS* 54/44 dates this re-appointment to the winter of Yanxi 3 (160-161), after the conclusion of the Li Yun affair.

NN *HHS* 41/31:1404 (7a); the Biography of Diwu Zhong.

OO *HHS* 54/44:1771 (9b); the Biography of Yang Bing.

82 The Enclosures of the Left and of the Right (左/右校 *zuo/youxiao*), each in charge of a Prefect (令 *ling*), provided convict labour for the Court Architect.

Besides regular convicts, the units could also be used, as in this instance, for officials in disgrace; they may have been treated more leniently than ordinary prisoners. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 81-82, Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 52, and Hulsewé, *RHL*, 132, who renders *xiao* as "Colonelcy."

PP *HHS* 41/31:1404-05 (7a-9a); the Biography of Diwu Zhong.

that he could take revenge. Sun Bin, a former officer under Diwu Zhong, realised Diwu Zhong would certainly be killed, so he gathered a group of supporters to go after him. They caught up with the party in Taiyuan, freed Diwu Zhong and brought him back.

Diwu Zhong stayed in hiding for several years, and then there was an amnesty and he was freed from the threat.

QQ Diwu Zhong was a great-grandson of Diwu Lun.⁸³[23]

RR At this time the enfeoffments and rewards were passing all bounds, and the harem favourites of the emperor were becoming more and more numerous. Chen Fan sent in a memorial, saying, "It has been the principle that feudal lords should match the territories in the heavens which number four times seven, and they should be a screen to protect the ruler.⁸⁴

"It was Emperor Gao's promise that no man should be made a marquis unless he had performed some worthy service,⁸⁵ yet I have heard that Deng Zun, father of the Intendant of Henan Deng Wanshi,

QQ *HHS* 41/31:1402 (6a); the Biography of Diwu Lun.

⁸³ In the time of Emperor Guangwu at the beginning of Later Han, Diwu Lun was a local administrator in several regions and was responsible for inculcating Confucian principles among restless people. He became Excellency of Works under Emperor Ming.

RR *HHS* 66/56:2161-62 (2b-3b); the Biography of Chen Fan.

⁸⁴ In Chinese astrology, there are twenty-eight lunar mansions (宿 *xiu*) or zodiacal constellations, each identified with a traditional fief territory of the empire. There is an implication that the number of enfeoffments should be limited accordingly, while the feudal lords themselves should act as the screen and support of the ruler.

⁸⁵ The most celebrated undertaking by Emperor Gao in this regard was the oath to his supporters that no kings should be created in the empire unless they were of his imperial Liu family. In 187 BC the Empress-Dowager Lü appointed kings from her own family, but Emperor Gao's commitment was recalled at that time, and again after her death and the destruction of her family: *SJ* 9:400 and 410; Chavannes, *MH* II, 414, and Nienhauser II, 118 and 134; *HS* 3:100; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 201.

In commentary to *HS* 3, Yan Shigu identifies the oath with two clauses:

No kings who are not members of the Liu family;

No marquises who have not achieved good work.

This principle is followed in the analysis of Sima Qian, in his introductions at *SJ* 18:877-78 and *SJ* 19:977, being the tables of "Meritorious Subjects Enfeoffed as Marquises" under Emperor Gao and simply "Marquises" of the reigns from Emperor Hui to Emperor Jing. Sima Qian points out that several of the latter held their titles as grace from the throne, in memory of their forefathers' rank and achievement, not through personal merit: Chavannes, *MH* III, 120-126 and 146-148.

has been granted posthumous honours for very minor achievements,⁸⁶ and the broken inheritance of the fief once held by the ancestors of the Director of the Secretariat Huang Jun is now being restored.⁸⁷ Close companions receive fief cities without good cause, attendants are handed rewards without good work, and within a single family there may be several men with marquises.

1754 "In this way the patterns of nature lose their true measure, and the *Yin* and the *Yang* fall into disarray.

"I realise that the processes for these enfeoffments are already under way, and it is at this stage too late to reconsider them, but I really hope that your majesty will now call a halt.

"Besides this, the number of women chosen for your harem has reached the thousands; they eat meat and they wear fine silk, while their cosmetics, powder and eye-shadow are more costly than anyone can measure. The common people have the saying, 'No robber will trouble a family with five daughters,' meaning that women can

⁸⁶ This is somewhat unfair of Chen Fan. Deng Zun 鄧遵, a cousin of the regent Dowager Deng in the time of Emperor An, served as General on the Liao on important campaigns against the Qiang, Xiongnu and Xianbi: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 109-111, 288-289 and 298-299. At the end of the great rebellion of the Qiang in 118, Deng Zun was granted a county fief, and though it might be said that he had gained from the relationship with the Dowager, his achievements were considerable.

After the death of the Dowager in 121, however, when Emperor An destroyed the power of the Deng family, Deng Zun and others of his relatives were compelled to commit suicide: e.g. *HHS* 16/6:617. His marquise was presumably abolished at that time.

Emperor Huan was now seeking to revive the fief in favour of Deng Wanshi, a son of Deng Zun. Admittedly he was showing favouritism. On the other hand, the fall of Deng Zun had come through imperial hostility, so Emperor Huan could be regarded as restoring the balance after the over-reaction of his predecessor Emperor An. In any event, the achievements of Deng Zun were not so slight as Chen Fan asserted.

From passage SS below, however, it appears that Deng Wanshi owed his enfeoffment as much to his personal friendship with the emperor as to his relationship with the new empress or his father's achievements. Since Deng Zun had been disgraced and died in 121 and Liu Zhi was born only in 132, Deng Wanshi must have been several years older than the future emperor.

⁸⁷ The commentaries do not inform us, and it does not seem possible to ascertain, which ancestor of Huang Jun had held enfeoffment as a marquis. Evidently, the main line of descent and inheritance had died out, and the emperor was planning to revive the fief on Huang Jun's behalf.

impoverish a household.⁸⁸ The women of your household may be enough to impoverish the state!"

The emperor accepted part of this advice. He dismissed five hundred women from his palace, he enfeoffed Huang Jun only as a secondary marquis, and he made Deng Wanshi the Marquis of Nan District.⁸⁹

SS One day, in casual conversation with his Palace Attendant Yuan Yan of Chenliu,⁹⁰ the emperor asked, "What sort of a ruler am I?"

⁸⁸ The proverb is presumably based upon the idea that a family with five daughters will be so poor – notably through the need to provide dowries or marriage settlements – that it will have no property worth stealing.

⁸⁹ The marquisate of this Southern District (南鄉 *Nanxiang*) in an unidentified county did not have the rank or value of a full county fief, so Deng Wanshi had not succeeded to the status of his father.

SS *HHS* 48/38:1618-19 (15b-17a); the Biography of Yuan Yan.

⁹⁰ A Palace Attendant was a close personal adviser and companion of the emperor: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59-60.

The chronology of Yuan Yan's career is difficult to relate to the course of the politics in which he was apparently engaged at court. There are a number of clues, but some are contradictory.

According to his biography, Yuan Yan was a scholar, renowned for his moral qualities and influence in his home district, who was appointed an Academician at the Imperial University. We are told that he was then recommended by the Grand Commandant Yang Bing and others as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright (賢良方正 *xianliang fangzheng*), this being a special nomination which gave entry to the senior ranks at court: deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 25.

Yang Bing, however, was Grand Commandant only between the winter of Yanxi 5: 162-163 and his death in office in the summer of Yanxi 8: 165: *HHS* 7:311 and 314. Two calls are recorded for the nomination of Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright during the reign of Emperor Huan, but only the first of these, in the first month of Yanxi 8, took place when Yang Bing was in office; the other was in Yongkang 1: 167: *HHS* 7:314 and 319. It would appear, therefore, that Yuan Yan came to significant rank only in Yanxi 8.

On the other hand, the emperor's friend Deng Wanshi, whom Yuan Yan is recorded as criticising in the passage below, was evidently enfeoffed not much later than Yanxi 4, and may have received the grant as early as Yanxi 2: passage RR above. He was in any case out of favour and dead by the latter part of Yanxi 8. It is hard to see how Yuan Yan could have held the several posts ascribed to him, and gained the confidence of the emperor, as he appears to have done, in the time available.

There is other evidence, some of which is discussed in the notes following, but none of it conclusive. In its small way, this is typical of the problems which Sima Guang, compiling a chronicle history, encountered when attempting to interpolate

"Your majesty is among the middle range of Han," replied Yuan Yan.

"Why do you say that?" asked the emperor.[24]

"When the Director of the Secretariat Chen Fan has authority in the management of affairs," explained Yuan Yan, "then there is good government. When the Regular Attendants and Yellow Gates officials are allowed to take part in administration, then there is disorder. So your majesty's rule is sometimes good and sometimes bad."

The emperor said, "Some time ago, Zhu Yun broke the railings at the audience hall. Now you have criticised me to my face. I must respect and accept your rebuke on my shortcomings."⁹¹

He appointed Yuan Yan as General of the Household for All Purposes, and later transferred him until he became Minister Herald.

About this time, a comet crossed the constellation of the Emperor's Seat,⁹² and the emperor privately asked Yuan Yan about it. Yuan Yan sent in a sealed reply, saying, "Your majesty has chosen to treat the Intendant of Henan Deng Wanshi, old companion of the years before you came to the throne, with favour greater than that of the excellencies and ministers, and with grace more abundant than that

material from individual biographies based primarily upon anecdotes and worthy admonitions.

⁹¹ On Zhu Yun, see note 69 above: his example was raised in the memorial of Chen Fan at the time of the Li Yun incident.

HS 67:2915 says that as Zhu Yun was being led away from the audience hall after his intemperate speech, he grasped the railings of a balustrade and held them so firmly that they broke. Emperor Huan is evidently showing that he is now more tolerant than when he was dealing with Li Yun.

One may observe again that there is a problem in the timing or wording of this discussion: it would appear to have taken place after the death of Li Yun, but Chen Fan is referred to by Yuan Yan as Director of the Secretariat; he had, however, been transferred from that post to become Minister Herald some time before the matter of Li Yun arose: passage FF above and *HHS* 66/56:2161.

⁹² The Imperial Throne (帝坐 *Di zuo*) is the chief star of Western Hercules. In Chinese astronomy it lies within the Heavenly Market Enclosure (天市垣 *Tianshi yuan*), and its brightness or weakness was regarded as an omen for the ruler: *JS* 11:295; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 84.

The Treatise of Astronomy records only one comet (客星 *ke xing*) during this period of the reign of Emperor Huan: that was in Yanxi 4, but it does not appear to have been close to the area of the Imperial Throne star: *HHS* 102/12:3256. The list, however, is not necessarily complete.

shown to your own family. He is now enfeoffed as a marquis.⁹³ When he attends court, you receive him [like an equal] and play board games with him.⁹⁴ In this way the proper courtesies of rank are disrupted and you do harm to your prestige and authority.

"I have heard it said that the attendants of an emperor are the sources of the virtues of his government. If good men have their place about him, then every day he will receive good instruction; but if bad men are permitted in his company, then every day they will encourage his evil traits. If only your majesty would keep slanderers and men of flattery at a distance, and hold close to men that are honest. Then the omen of disaster may be averted."

The emperor could not accept this advice. Yuan Yan left office on a plea of illness, and returned home.[25]

⁹³ The enfeoffment of Deng Wanshi had also been criticised by Chen Fan: passage RR above.

HHS 10B:445 refers to Deng Wanshi as a paternal uncle (從父 *congfu*) of the new Empress Deng, and he was evidently involved with her fate.

Apart from this intriguing but passing reference by Yuan Yan, there are no further details of the early relations between the future Emperor Huan, who came to the throne in 146 at the age of fifteen *sui* (*HHS* 7:287), and his boyhood friend Deng Wanshi who, as we have calculated in note 86 above, must have been several years older.

⁹⁴ The commentary of Hu Sanxing explains the phrase *dui bo* 對博 as referring to the playing of a board game. Among those popular in Han times were *bosai* 博塞 or *liubo* 六博, a game of chance played with counters (see, for example, the articles by Yang Lien-sheng: "A Note on the So-called TLV Mirrors and the Game *Liu-po*" and "An Additional Note on the Ancient Game *Liu-po*") and *boyi* 博弈, a form of chess: passage D of Xiping 6. Use of the character *dui* presumably reflects the fact that the game was played face to face.

Yanxi 延熹 3: 160 AD

26 January 160 - 12 February 161

1755

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *bingshen* [26 Jan] there was an amnesty for the empire.

B An edict was issued seeking the heirs of Li Gu.

Before this, when Li Gu was formally dismissed [in 147],¹ he realised that he could not escape disaster, and he sent his three sons Ji, Zi and Xie, back to their home country [of Hanzhong commandery]. At this time Xie was thirteen.

Li Xie's elder sister Wenji was the wife of Zhao Boying, a man from the same commandery. When she saw the two elder brothers return, she got the whole story from them. Then she sighed to herself and said, "The Li family will be destroyed. Since the time of the Grand Excellency [Li He],² we have accumulated virtue and maintained benevolence. How could things come now to such a pass!"

With her two elder brothers, she quietly made plans to prepare a hiding place for Li Xie. They spread it abroad that he had returned to the capital, and everyone believed the story.

Soon afterwards, when trouble did strike, the provincial and commandery offices arrested Li Ji and Li Zi, and both died in prison. Then Wenji said to Wang Cheng, a client of her father [Li Gu], "You served our late father well, and you possess the ancient code of loyalty. Now I entrust you with an orphan boy, [a stripling] just six feet tall.³ The preservation or destruction of the Li family rests in your hands!"

So Wang Cheng took Li Xie away to the east, down the Yangzi into

A *HHS* 7:306 (9b); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

B *HHS* 63/53:2089-90 (12b-13b); the Biography of Li Xie.

¹ On Li Gu, see note 75 to Yanxi 2.

² Li He 李郃, father of Li Gu, had been Excellency over the Masses on two occasions in the middle 120s, at the end of the reign of Emperor An and at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shun. His biography is in *HHS* 82/72A:2717-18.

The use of the term "Grand Excellency" (太公 *taigong*) by Wenji to refer to her grandfather was a mark of family respect and a reference to his former position at the head of the imperial bureaucracy.

³ The foot (尺 *chi*) measure of this time was some 23 cm, or 9.25 inches English measure. Six feet would therefore have been the equivalent of 138 cm, or four feet seven inches. Expected normal height for men of that time appears to have been about seven feet, being some 162 cm, or five feet four inches English measure: Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 18. Li Xie was not fully grown to manhood.

Xu province.⁴ Li Xie changed his name and became a servant in a wine shop, while Wang Cheng told fortunes in the market-place. Each pretended to be a stranger to the other, and they would visit only in secret.

When ten years and more had passed, Liang Ji was destroyed, and then Li Xie told the whole story to the keeper of the wine shop. The wine-shop keeper prepared carriages [and baggage] to give him a most generous farewell present, but Li Xie refused to accept. Returning to his native place, he now carried out the mourning ceremonies and put on funeral clothes. When brother and sister met, their sadness touched all who were present.[26]

Li Xie's sister warned him, "Our family has been almost wiped out, and the ancestral sacrifices discontinued. By great good fortune you have been saved, and this is surely the work of Heaven. You should avoid all contact with people in general, have no erratic comings and goings, and be very careful not to say one word about the Liang clan. Talking about the Liang clan will lead to talk about the emperor, and that may bring disaster once again. We must accept the misfortune that is past, and take responsibility for the present upon ourselves." Li Xie followed her instructions most carefully.

Later Wang Cheng died, and Li Xie arranged his funeral with full ceremony. At each of the four seasons he held sacrifices appropriate to one who was a most respected guest.

C On the day *bingwu* [5 Feb] the Marquis of Xinfeng, Shan Chao, died.

He was granted funerary items from the imperial workshops of the Eastern Garden, and in his coffin he had adornments of jade.⁵ His funeral cortege was escorted by cavalry from the five regiments [of the Northern Army], and the Court Architect supervised the raising of the tumulus.

⁴ Hanzhong commandery was on the upper reaches of the Han River, the major tributary of the Yangzi from the northwest. Xu province extended over the region of the lower Huai, in the southern part of the North China plain in the east of the empire.

C *HHS* 78/68:2520 (10b); the Biographies of the Eunuchs; and *HHS* 7:306 (9b); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

⁵ Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 78-80, discusses the Eastern Garden. It was the manufacturing office for coffins and other funerary items of the emperor, his relatives, and honoured officials. Following the commentary of Hu Sanxing I identify the phrase *yuju* 玉具 with the jade suit or shroud now well-known from the discovery of the tombs of the King of Zhongshan 中山, Liu Sheng 劉勝 (who died in 113 BC) and his wife Dou Wan 竇綰, found at Mancheng, Hebei, in 1968.

The four marquises who remained [of the five eunuch allies of Emperor Huan against Liang Ji] continued their misrule and disorder. The empire had a saying,

- Zuo Guan has power to change heaven,
 Ju Yuan sits in solitary pride,
 1756 Xu Huang is a sleeping tiger,
 Tang Heng rains evil upon us.⁶

All competed in building splendid and extravagant mansions. Even their servants and retainers rode in carriages drawn by oxen [like imperial officials] and were attended by troops of cavalry. Their brothers and relatives by marriage were given power over provinces and the government of commanderies, and they exploited and oppressed the common people like robbers.

- D Their tyranny covered the empire. It was more than people could bear, and many turned to banditry.

The Regular Attendant Hou Lan and the Attendant of the Yellow Gates Duan Gui both had farm properties near the borders of Jibei. Their retainers and clients robbed and plundered over a wide territory but Teng Yan, Chancellor of Jibei, arrested them all, killed several dozen of them and laid out the [27] bodies along the road. Hou Lan and Duan Gui reported this to the emperor, and Teng Yan was found guilty. He was ordered to report to the Ministry of Justice and was then dismissed from office.⁷

- E Zuo Sheng, elder brother of Zuo Guan, was Administrator of Hedong.

⁶ In these verses, four lines each with three characters, the final characters of the second and fourth lines rhyme: *zuo* 坐 and *duo* 墮 (Karlgren, *GSR* 12 and 11). Each of the four eunuchs is referred to in the text by his surname only: the personal name has been interpolated into the translation.

The description of Xu Huang as a sleeping tiger is explained as an indication that no-one dared to ruffle him.

HHS 78/68:2521 has the last line as *Tang liang duo* 唐兩墮 instead of *Tang yu duo* 唐雨墮. The last characters are interchangeable, but use of the character *liang* would mean that "Tang [Heng] gives unjust measures." This seems less likely, but commentary to *HHS* notes that the various editions are undecided which reading is correct.

D *HHS* 78/68:2522-23 (11a-b); the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

⁷ The head of a commandery unit was forbidden to operate outside his territory. Leaving aside the brutality of his conduct, therefore, by crossing the border to inflict his punishment, Tang Yan had seriously infringed the law.

E *HHS* 64/54:2122-23 (15b-16a); the Biography of Zhao Qi.

Zhao Qi of Jingzhao, who was magistrate of Pishi county, felt ashamed [to have such a man as his superior officer], and on that same day he left his position and returned to the west.

Tang Xuan, elder brother of Tang Heng, who was Intendant of Jingzhao, had an old quarrel with Zhao Qi. He arrested the family and dependents of Zhao Qi and several more distant members of his clan, charged them with the utmost severity of the law, and killed every one of them.

Zhao Qi fled these troubles, and wandered through many regions of the empire. He concealed his real name and never stayed long in the same place. He was selling cakes in the market-place at Beihai when Sun Hao of Anqiu saw him and noticed him. He took Zhao Qi home and cared for him, concealing him in the wall of his house. Only when the Tang group were dead, and an edict of amnesty was issued, did Zhao Qi venture to emerge from hiding.⁸

F In the intercalary [first] month⁹ some remnant groups of the Western Qiang again joined with the leaders of the Shaohe to attack Zhangye. At dawn, they came upon the army of the Protector Duan Jiong.¹⁰

Duan Jiong got down from his horse to join the battle, and fighting continued until midday. His sword was broken and arrows were exhausted, but the enemy also began to draw back.

Duan Jiong pursued them, and kept up a running fight day and night. He rationed the food, and his men took snow to drink, and after more than forty days they came to Jishi Mountain, two thousand *li*

⁸ Tang Heng died in Yanxi 7: 164, the same year as Xu Huang. In the following year, the two survivors of the five eunuch allies of Emperor Huan, Zuo Guan and Ju Yuan, were impeached and punished, and the power of their party was for the time broken: passages D to F of Yanxi 8. In the third month of Yanxi 8, just after these events, an amnesty was issued: this was presumably the one referred to here: *HHS* 7:314.

The great scholar Zhao Qi was the author of the *Mengzi zhangju* 孟子章句, a detailed commentary to the Confucian classic which is often referred to as "the old commentary" (古注 *guzhu*). [The formal rendering of the title would be "The Book of Mencius Arranged by Chapters and Sentences," but works in this *genre* are generally described as "detailed commentary."]. In his preface to that work, Zhao Qi refers to his flight and escape from the hostility of the eunuchs: Legge, *Classics* II, 4-7.

F *HHS* 65/55:2146 (13a); the Biography of Duan Jiong.

⁹ *HHS* 65/55 gives the date only as being in the spring, but the Annals at *HHS* 7:306 identify the intercalary month.

¹⁰ Duan Jiong is referred to here simply as a colonel (*xiaowei*), but his proper title was Protector of the Qiang (*hu-Qiang xiaowei*); he had been appointed to that office in the previous year: passage LL of Yangxi 2.

beyond the frontier.¹¹ They took the heads of the great chiefs of the Shaohe tribe and compelled the rest of them to surrender. Then they returned.

1757

G In the summer, in the fifth month on the day *jiaxu* [2 Jul], there was a landslide in Hanzhong commandery.¹²

In the sixth month on the day *xinchou* [29 Jul] the Excellency over the Masses Zhu Tian died in office.[28]

In the autumn, in the seventh month the Excellency of Works Sheng Yun became Excellency over the Masses, and the Minister of Ceremonies Yu Fang became Excellency of Works.

H The barbarians of Changsha rebelled, camping at Yiyang. The barbarians of Lingling raided Changsha.¹³

¹¹ Jishi Mountain is identified as the peak of the Amne Machin range, on the upper waters of the Yellow River in present-day Qinghai. On this campaign, see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 128.

G *HHS* 7, 307 (10a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

¹² The landslide is also recorded by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 106/16:3334. The Treatise ascribes this ominous portent to the favours shown the eunuchs by Emperor Huan.

HHS 7:307 mentions a report of "sweet dew" (甘露 *ganlu*) falling in Shang commandery in the previous month. Such a favourable portent, however, is not included in the Treatise; and it is not picked up by Sima Guang.

H *HHS* 86/76:2833-34 (4a-b); the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.
¹³ *HHS* 86/76 in fact says that the barbarians of Changsha had been in rebellion since Yongshou 3: 157, and that about this time the barbarians of Lingling also became active. One version of the text of *ZZTJ* suggests that the character *yu* 與 should be inserted here, indicating that the Changsha and Lingling groups were operating together.

HHS 7:303, in the chronicle for Yongshou 3, mentions the rebellion of Changsha in exactly the same terms as this passage of *ZZTJ*, and it is quoted above by *ZZTJ* at passage F of Yongshou 3. Four pages later *HHS* 7:307 notes that in the autumn of Yanxi 3 the Changsha barbarians were plundering the commandery; that citation, however, has no mention of invaders from Lingling.

There was evidently a disturbance in this region which had lasted some years and now flared up. *HHS* 86/76 remarks that the Changsha rebels numbered more than ten thousand and were attacking government officials; they were joined by the rebels from Lingling and later by rebels from Wuling commandery.

On the further course of the rebellion, see passages C to I of Yanxi 5. On the text history of the rebellion, see also note 13 to Yanxi 5.

I The remnant rebels of Jiuzhen had established a camp in Rinan, and their forces were growing steadily stronger.¹⁴

An imperial edict reappointed the Administrator of Guiyang, Xia Fang, to be Inspector of Jiaozhi.¹⁵ Xia Fang was known for his authority and his gentleness. In the winter, in the eleventh month, more than twenty thousand of the rebels in Rinan came together to him and surrendered.¹⁶

J The Lejie and Lianyu tribes of the Qiang besieged Yuanjie.¹⁷ Duan Jiong attacked and destroyed them.

Shusun Wuji, the bandit of Taishan, attacked and killed the Commandant Hou Zhang. The General of the Gentlemen of the Household Zong Zi was sent to attack and destroy him.¹⁸

K An edict summoned Huangfu Gui for appointment as Administrator of Taishan. He took office with policies that were broadly based and well prepared, and all the troubles were settled.¹⁹[29]

I *HHS* 86/76:2839 (8b); the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

14 These were remnants of the band which had rebelled in Jiuzhen in 157: passage B of Yongshou 3.

15 Though the Inspector of a province was formally of lower rank than the Administrator of a commandery, in time of widespread rebellion he had authority to take over-all command of troops from all parts of the province. Furthermore, on account of its distance from the capital, the Inspector of the region of Jiaozhi had the special authority of the Staff of Authority (節 *jie*), giving power of summary judgement without prior reference to the throne: *HHS* 118/28:3618, the Treatise of Officials, commentary quoting *Dongguan Hanji*. On Jiaozhi, see further at note 31 to Zhongping 1.

16 The dating to the eleventh month comes from the parallel passage in *HHS* 7:307.

J *HHS* 7:307 (10a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

17 The inclusion of the name of the Lianyu 零吾 tribe follows the parallel passage in the Biography of Duan Jiong, *HHS* 65/55:2147. On the pronunciation of the first character of the name, normally read as *ling*, see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 471 note 14; on that of the second character, normally read as *wu*, see *Northern Frontier*, 476 note 2.

18 *HHS* 7:307 dates the appointment of Zong Zi in the twelfth month. For some reason this citation has been omitted from the present text of *ZZTJ*.

K *HHS* 65/55:2132 (3a); the Biography of Huangfu Gui.

19 *HHS* 7, quoted in passage J above, implies that Zong Zi had settled the rebellion himself. Huangfu Gui's biography, however, immediately before the present passage, says that Zong Zi had not managed to make all the rebels submit, and Huangfu Gui was called from a voluntary retirement to complete the work of pacification.

Yanxi 延熹 4: 161 AD

13 February 161 - 1 February 162

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *xinyou* [14 Feb], there was a fire in the Hall of Excellent Virtue in the Southern Palace. On the day *wuzi* [13 Mar] there was a fire in the C-Office.¹

There was great pestilence.²

In the second month on the day *renchen* [17 Mar] there was a fire in the Arsenal.³

The Excellency over the Masses Sheng Yun left office. The Minister of Finance Chong Gao became Excellency over the Masses.

1758 In the third month the Grand Commandant Huang Qiong left office. In the summer, in the fourth month the Minister of Ceremonies, Liu Ju of Pei kingdom, became Grand Commandant.

B Before this, Liu Ju had been magistrate of Yongqiu, where he acquired influence over the people by his courtesy and his humility. When anyone came with a case for litigation, he would have them brought to him for a personal interview, would listen to their complaints and advise them of his belief that it was better to settle even the most bitter quarrels by agreement, rather than let a formal case go to his official tribunal. Then he would tell the antagonists to go back and think the

A *HHS* 7:308 (10a-b); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

¹ The Hall of Excellent Virtue is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 25. It appears to have been an audience hall.

The C-Office (丙署 *Bingshu*), staffed by eunuchs, was responsible for maintenance of part of the palace: *HHS* 116/26:2594; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64.

² This outbreak is listed also in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 107/17:3351. It is the first recorded since the spring of 151, ten years earlier. The next such attack would be in 173: passage A of Xiping 2.

Commentary by Liu Zhao to the Treatise quotes from the *Taigong liutao* 太公六韜 "The Six Quivers of the Ancient Duke," a work attributed to the legendary minister Lü Shang 呂尚 (note 8 to Yanxi 1 and deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 322 note 53), which states that such a pestilence is brought about through the impositions of heavy taxation by the ruler in order to construct great palaces and pleasure grounds.

³ The Arsenal (武庫 *wuku*) is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 57, who places it just inside the Upper East Gate of the city.

The three fires mentioned in this passage, and those in passage D below, are referred to also in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 104/14:3295. The Treatise relates the incidents to the award of unjustified enfeoffments to members of the family of the new Empress Deng, and to the execution of Li Yun: passage FF of Yanxi 2.

B *HHS* 76/66:2476 (12b-13a); the Chapter on the Lenient Officials.

matter over again. All who came with litigation were persuaded by his arguments and would abandon their dispute.

- C On the day *jiayin* [7 Jun] the Marquis of Canhu Village, Liu Bo, who was the son of the [late] Filial King of Hejian [Liu Gong/Kai], was enfeoffed as King of Rencheng in order that he might maintain the succession of the Filial King [of Rencheng, Liu Shang].⁴
- D In the fifth month on the day *xinyou* [14 Jun] there was a comet in the Heart constellation.⁵

C *HHS* 42/32:1444 (16a); the Chapter on the Fiefs of the Sons of Emperor Guangwu; and *HHS* 7:308 (10b); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

⁴ Liu Shang 尚 was a son of Liu Cang 蒼, a son of Emperor Guangwu.

Liu Cang had been enfeoffed as King of Dongping 東平 in 41. When Liu Cang died in 83, he was given the posthumous title Xiao 孝 "Filial," and was succeeded as King of Dongping by his son Liu Zhong 忠: *HHS* 42/32:1433-42.

In 84, however, Liu Shang, another son of Liu Cang, was made King of Rencheng 任城, with territory of three counties taken from part of the fief of Dongping. That line died out in 151, and the state of Rencheng was abolished: *HHS* 42/32:1443-44. The appointment of Liu Bo thus restored the fief.

The main lineage of the kings of Dongping continued in that place until the abdication of Han to the power of Wei in 220, when they were demoted to become marquises.

The first King of Hejian 河間, a son of Emperor Zhang, was enfeoffed in 90. He died in 131 and also received the posthumous title "Filial": *HHS* 4:170, *HHS* 6:258 and *HHS* 55/45:1808. Though he is generally referred to as Liu Kai 開, this Filial King of Hejian may have had the personal name Gong 恭. On this question see, for example, Qian Dazhao, 1854/2, who notes that a descendant of the Filial King of Hejian had the personal name Kai: *HHS* 55/45:1810. This latter Liu Kai had inherited the kingdom of Ji'nan 濟南 during the last years of Han; when Han abdicated in favour of the Wei, the fief was reduced to that of a marquis. Since a descendant should not have taken the same personal name as his ancestor, Qian Dazhao accepts the variant reading Gong, which appears in *HHS* 42/32:1444.

The father of Emperor Huan, Liu Yi 翼, was a son of Liu Gong/Kai. He had at one time been King of Pingyuan, but was later demoted and eventually re-enfeoffed as Marquis of Liwu 蠡吾. Other sons of Liu Gong/Kai were enfeoffed as marquises of villages in 132: *HHS* 55/45:1808-09. Liu Bo 博, Marquis of Canhu ting 參戶亭 [or perhaps Sanhu ting 三戶亭: "Three Household Village"], was thus an uncle of Emperor Huan.

D *HHS* 7, 308-09 (10b); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

⁵ The Heart (心 *Xin*) constellation, one of the twenty-eight lunar mansions (*xiu* 宿), is comprised by Antares and the other two central stars of Western Scorpio: Schlegel, *Uranographie*, 113; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 96 and Star Map 3.

On the day *dingmao* [20 Jun] there was a fire at the Gate of Prolonged Life at the Yuanling [tomb of Emperor Guangwu].⁶[30]

On the day *jimao* [2 Jul] there was rain and hail in the capital district.⁷

In the sixth month there were earthquakes in Jingzhao, in [You]fufeng, and in Liang province.⁸

On the day *gengzi* [23 Jul] Mount Tai and [the neighbouring peak of] Youlai Mountain in Bo county both split and cracked open.⁹

On the day *jiyou* [1 Aug] there was an amnesty for the empire.

The Excellency of Works Yu Fang left office. The former Grand Commandant Huang Qiong became Excellency of Works.

1759

The barbarians of Jianwei Dependent State attacked and plundered the Chinese settlers there. Shan Yu, Inspector of Yi province, attacked and destroyed them.¹⁰

The Lianyu Qiang and all the people of the Xianlian Qiang made a rebellion. They plundered the Three Adjuncts.¹¹

This comet (星孛 *xing bo*) is described and discussed in the Treatise of Astronomy at *HHS* 102/12:3256. The Treatise relates the portent to the death of the Empress Deng four years later.

6 Yuanling 原陵 "Mound of Beginning," the tomb of Emperor Guangwu, discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 83, was situated some six kilometres southeast of the capital. The funerary park was surrounded by a wall, and the Gate of Prolonged Life (長壽門 *Changshou men*) was presumably the main entrance.

7 The parallel passage in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 105/15:3314 says that the hailstones were the size of chickens' eggs. The Treatise ascribes this portent to the excessive number of executions carried out by Emperor Huan and the favour he was showing to men of poor quality (小人 *xiaoren*).

8 The Treatise of the Five Powers notes this series of events at *HHS* 106/16:3331. The Treatise ascribes these earthquakes, and another in the following year, to the general political turmoil at the capital, including the overthrow of Liang Ji and the appointment and subsequent dismissal of the Empress Deng.

9 The Treatise of the Five Powers notes these events at *HHS* 106/16:3334. The Treatise makes no specific comment, though it ascribes the landslide in Hanzhong in the previous year to the imperial favour shown to the eunuchs: note 12 to Yanxi 3.

10 The parallel text in *HHS* 86/76:2857 adds that Shan Yu killed 1400 of the enemy, and the remainder scattered in flight.

11 This activity appears to have been preliminary to the major attacks described in passage F below. Three Adjuncts (三輔 *sanfu*), however, describes the three

In the autumn, in the seventh month a special sacrifice was held to pray for rain in the capital district.¹²

The salaries of the excellencies, ministers and lesser officials were reduced, and a forced loan was made of half a year's tax income from royal fiefs and marquisesates.

The noble rank of secondary marquis, together with positions in the Rapid Tiger and Feathered Forest regiments, as Cavalryman Dressed in Red and as Warrior in the Encampments, and also the noble rank Quintuple Grandee, were all offered for sale by inscription, with prices at different levels.¹³

commanderies about Chang'an, capital of Former Han: Jingzhao, Youfufeng and Zuopingyi; so the disturbance was affecting the lower Wei valley.
 12 The ceremonies for seeking rain are described by the Treatise of Ceremonial at *HHS* 95/5:3117. They could evidently be arranged for local or national significance, and varied according to whether the problem was a simple shortage of rain or a serious drought. See also note 3 to Yanxi 1.

In the present case, it appears to have been only a local phenomenon, and one must assume that the rain and hail reported for the capital district in the previous month had been sudden and of limited value for the crops.

HHS 103/13:3280, which would have been the appropriate place in the Treatise of the Five Powers, has no reference to a drought in this year.

13 Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 141, discusses the sale of offices, a measure first applied at the time of the Qiang emergency in 109: *HHS* 5:212. DeC, "Recruitment Revisited," 41-44, presents a more recent analysis.

On secondary marquisesates, the highest noble rank below a full marquis, see note 59 to Yanxi 2. Though it was not necessarily associated with a specific county or lesser fief territory, it seems probable that the honour, at least on this occasion, included a state pension.

Quintuple Grandee (五大夫 *wu dafu*) was the ninth noble rank. This and other ranks gave the possibility of redemption from full legal punishments: see Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank" and Hulsewé, *RHL*, 214-218.

The Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers and the Gentlemen of the Household of the Feathered Forest were two corps of the bodyguards of the emperor under the Minister of the Imperial Household: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 28. The other corps of gentlemen were cadet civilian officials on formal probation, and I have suggested that the Feathered Forest regiment, at least, may have had a similar role for military officer cadets: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 47, and "Recruitment Revisited," 14.

Cavalrymen Dressed in Red (緹騎 *tiqui*) were troopers under the command of the Bearer of the Mace, chief of the police about the capital: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 79.

The term *yingshi* 營士 "Warrior in the Encampments" is interpreted by Bielenstein as a reference to soldiers in the encampments of the regiments of the Northern Army, central strategic reserve of the empire, and its elite fighting force: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 117-118; deC, *Northern Frontier*, 45-46.

In the ninth month the Excellency of Works Huang Qiong left office. The Minister Herald, Liu Chong of Donglai, became Excellency of Works.

E Liu Chong had formerly been Administrator of Kuaiji. He cleared away all vexatious and cruel measures, he prohibited and checked all that was unlawful, so the commandery became extremely well ordered. Then he was summoned to the capital, to become Court Architect.

In Shanyin county there were five or six old and venerable men who came down from the hill country of Ruye,¹⁴ each bringing a hundred cash as a farewell gift for Liu Chong. They said to him, "Simple people from the hills such [31] as we know nothing of the government of a commandery. When other administrators were here, however, officials came all the time to demand things from us: even at night they would not stop, the dogs were constantly barking and our people had no peace.

"But since the moment Your Excellency alighted from your carriage, the dogs no longer bark at night, and the people never see an official. At last, in our old age, we have had the fortune to experience your sage-like understanding; and now we hear that we must lose you. For this reason, we offer you a gift in parting."

"How can my administration have been worthy of such kind

These latter two categories of appointment appear somewhat surprising as the object of a sale of offices and ranks: neither the position of a cavalryman nor that of a warrior appear to have offered high rank or notable opportunity for promotion. If compulsory purchase extended to such low positions, this would seem to represent an attempt to extract money from ordinary people of the middle classes. There may have been some advantage to the purchaser; perhaps, as for the corps of gentleman, a form of cadetship was involved, which could lead to higher and substantive commissions, or at least there was opportunity for informal, but nonetheless useful and influential contacts and possibilities for the future.

The expression *zhanmai* 占賣 in this context presents some difficulty. In a personal communication, however, based upon wide reading in *Shi ji*, *Han shu* and *Hou Han shu*, Dr Mansvelt Beck of Leiden has suggested that the character *zhan* should be understood as indicating either an estimate or a listing. So *zhanmai* may describe a process by which those who wanted the positions inscribed their names on an official roll, with indication of the amount they were prepared to pay for the honour or privilege.

On the later development of purchases of offices and noble ranks under Emperor Ling, see passage M and note 48 to Guanghe 1.

E ¹⁴ *HHS* 76/66:2478 (13b-14a); the Chapter on the Lenient Officials.

Shanyin was the capital of Kuaiji commandery in Later Han; the site is now Shaoxing in Zhejiang. Ruye 若邪 describes part of the hill country south of the city.

words?" replied Liu Chong. "You have given yourselves far too much trouble." He agreed to accept just one large coin from each of them.

1760

F In the winter, the Xianlian, Chendi and other groups of the Qiang made attacks in the provinces of Bing and Liang.¹⁵ The Protector [of the Qiang] Duan Jiong led the Loyal Auxiliary of Huangzhong to attack them.¹⁶

The Inspector of Liang province, Guo Hong, was envious of Duan Jiong's success and wanted to share in the merits of the campaign. He delayed Duan Jiong's army and prevented him from going forward. The Auxiliary troops had already been under arms for a long time in their current service; missing their homes they all joined in a mutiny and deserted en masse.

Guo Hong put the blame for this onto Duan Jiong, and Duan Jiong was found guilty and summoned to imprisonment. He was then sent to the labour battalion of the Enclosure of the Left.¹⁷

G Hu Hong, Chancellor of Jin'an, took Duan Jiong's place as Protector, but he had no personal authority and no ability in military planning, so the Qiang made continual incursions and they overran and destroyed camps and defence points. They formed an alliance to attack all the commanderies of the region, and their raids became increasingly destructive.

H Huangfu Gui, Administrator of Taishan, sent in a memorandum, saying, "The most difficult bandits have been eliminated, and Taishan is largely pacified. Now, however, I hear reports that the Qiang have joined once more in rebellion.[32]

F *HHS* 65/55:2147 (13b); the Biography of Duan Jiong.

15 For this incident, see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 129. The name of the Chendi 沈氏 tribe may also be transcribed as Shendi.

16 The Auxiliary of Loyal Barbarians from Huangzhong (湟中義從胡 *Huangzhong yicong hu*), or the Loyal Auxiliary, was a force recruited for the most part from the Little Yuezhi 小月氏 people of the region about the Huang River 湟水 (or Xining River 西寧河) in present-day Qinghai: *HHS* 87/77:2899; deC, *Northern Frontier*, 86.

17 On the Enclosure of the Left, a convict labour camp at the capital, see note 82 to Yanxi 2.

G *HHS* 87/77:2897-98 (22a-b); the Account of the Qiang.

H *HHS* 65/55:2132-33 (3b-4a); the Biography of Huangfu Gui.

"I was born and brought up in Bin and Qi,¹⁸ and I am now fifty-nine years old. In former times, when I was a junior officer in my home commandery, and there were several instances of rebellion by the Qiang, I was able to predict events with a fair degree of accuracy.¹⁹

"For some time now, I have been in constant ill health, and I fear I may be old and useless, unable to return the grace and kindness you have shown me.

"I ask that you give me some minor appointment, and let me have just a single carriage to travel to the Three Adjuncts. Then I would display the majestic influence of the nation, and from my experience in warfare and my knowledge of the country I could give assistance to our armies.

"I am used to isolation and danger, and from my humble observation of commandery leadership over the last twenty or thirty years, from Niaoshu to Dongdai the problem of rebellion is always the same:²⁰ if one is planning to deal with a fierce enemy, there is no weapon so effective as honest and peaceful administration; and diligent

18 Bin and Qi are ancient names for places in the northwest. Bin was the original territory of the Ancient Duke of the house of Zhou, which he abandoned in the face of barbarian pressure, to settle at the foot of Mount Qi: note 9 to Yanxi 1.

The ancient site of Bin is identified as being west of present-day Xunyi in Shenxi. Mount Qi lies northwest of the county city of Qishan in Shenxi. Both sites were in the territory of the Three Adjunct commanderies (三輔 *sanfu*), about Chang'an during the Han period.

Huangfu Gui was formally registered as a man of Anding commandery, further to the northwest in the area of present-day Gansu. His father had been Commandant in Youfufeng, however, so he could have been born there: *HHS* 65/55, 2129.

19 *HHS* 65/55:2129-30 tells how in 141, at the time of the second great Qiang rebellion, Huangfu Gui protested at the conduct of the campaign by the general Ma Xian, and later, after Ma Xian was killed, he sent in a memorial offering his services; which were not at that time accepted: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 322.

20 Early in his career Huangfu Gui held local command against the Qiang in his home commandery, and was then nominated as a candidate for office. At the capital, however, he incurred the enmity of Liang Ji by his out-spoken criticism, and spent several years as a scholar in retirement. He had received his first major appointment, as Administrator of Taishan, only the year before: passage K of Yanxi 3. He is here referring not so much to his brief term in senior office, but to his early experience and to his long consideration of the problems of government in troubled territory.

Niaoshu 鳥鼠 is a mountain near present-day in Gansu, on the upper Wei river. Dongdai 東岱 indicates Mount Tai 泰山 in present-day Shandong province. Huangfu Gui is saying that the same problems apply in dealing with the non-Chinese people of the west such as the Qiang and with rebels in the east such as Shusun Wuji.

study of the arts of war taught by Sun and Wu can never match a regular maintenance of the law.²¹

"It is only a short time since the last rebellion [of the Qiang], and this is something I am truly concerned about. That is why I venture to overstep my proper responsibilities and offer my humble services."

An edict appointed Huangfu Gui as General of the Household bearing the Staff of Authority, to supervise all military operations west of the passes for the suppression of the Lianyu and the other tribes.²²

1761 In the eleventh month Huangfu Gui attacked the Qiang and defeated them, taking eight hundred heads. The Xianlian and other tribes all respected his authority and good faith, and more than a hundred thousand agreed together to accept his words and came to surrender.²³[33]

21 Sun Wu 孫武 was a celebrated general during the Warring States period: his biography is in *SJ* 65:2161-65. The work entitled *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法 which is ascribed to him has been translated many times, notably by Griffith, *Sun Tzu*, and recently by Minford, *Art of War*.

Wu Qi 吳起, also a celebrated general of the Warring States, has a biography in *SJ* 65:2165- 68. A work entitled *Wuzi* is ascribed to him.

22 This appointment and the achievement of Huangfu Gui are mentioned also in *HHS* 7:309 and 87/77:2898, though neither source mentions his overall authority in the west.

Generals of the Household normally held charge of a corps of gentleman cadets or formal guards about the palace: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 24, and deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 9. The title was also held by the Emissary to the Xiongnu, who was Resident at the court of the Southern Shanyu: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 238-239, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 112. This present appointment, however, was for active service.

A similar position had been given to the military commander Ren Shang 任尚 against the rebel Qiang in 115: *HHS* 87/77:2889-90 and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 108. The same system would be used again a few years later, when Du Shang was given command against rebels in Jing province: passage R and note 31 to Yanxi 8.

23 In this initial stage Huangfu Gui had gained the submission of the Xianlian; the Chendi had still to be dealt with (passage B to Yanxi 5) and there would be further trouble in the next and following years.

Yanxi 延熹 5: 162 AD

2 February 162 - 20 February 163

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *renwu* [2 Mar] there was a fire in the C-Office of the Southern Palace.¹

B In the third month the Chendi Qiang raided Zhangye and Jiuquan.

Huangfu Gui raised the tribes of the Xianlian and other Qiang people to join in a campaign west of the Long Mountain. The roads and communications, however, were under attack and broken, there was widespread sickness in the army, and three or four out of every ten died.

Taking up quarters in a simple hut, Huangfu Gui made regular inspection of his officers and men. All the troops appreciated his concern.

Then [all] the Eastern Qiang sent messengers asking to surrender, and Liang province was once again in proper communication [with the rest of the empire].²

Before this, Sun Jun the Administrator of Anding had been greedy and avaricious; the Commandant of the Dependent State [of Anding] and the Imperial Clerk Commanding the Army, Li Xi and Zhang Bing, had each killed great numbers of Qiang people when they came to surrender; while Guo Hong the Inspector of Liang province and Zhao Xi the Administrator of Hanyang were old and feeble and could not cope with their responsibilities.³ Relying upon the power and honour of their positions, none paid any attention to the law or to proper principle.

When Huangfu Gui arrived, he sent in reports with detailed accounts of their crimes; some were punished and others dismissed.

A *HHS* 7:309 (10b); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

¹ A fire in this office had also been reported in the first month of the preceding year: passage A to Yanxi 4.

Together with the fires mentioned in passages C and E below, this incident is listed also in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 104/14:3295-96; no particular interpretation is offered.

B *HHS* 65/55:2133 (4a-b); the Biography of Huangfu Gui.

² The Eastern Qiang tribes were settled within the frontiers of the empire. They included the Xianlian and the Chendi, which had now been persuaded to submit, at least for the time being. The Western Qiang, outside the frontier towards the Koko Nor and the foothills of Tibet, were potentially more intractable.

³ Guo Hong had made the false accusation which brought about the dismissal of Duan Jiong in the previous year: passage F of Yanxi 4, and also note 21 below.

When the Qiang people heard about this, they were quite reformed, and the chieftains of the Chendi Qiang, Dianchang, Jitian and others, came once again with a hundred thousand followers to surrender to Huangfu Gui.

- C In the summer in the fourth month some bandits of Changsha made a rising and plundered in Guiyang and Cangwu.

On the day *yichou* [13 Jun?]⁴ there was a fire at the eastern tower of Gongling [the tomb of Emperor An].⁵

On the day *wuchen* [16 Jun?] there was a fire at the side-gate of the office of the guards Rapid as Tigers.⁶[34]

In the fifth month there was a fire in a pavilion of the park of Kangling [the tomb of Emperor Shang].⁷

- D The bandits of Changsha and Lingling entered Guiyang, Cangwu and Nanhai commanderies. The Inspector of Jiaozhi and the Administrator of Cangwu took flight at the news of their coming.

The Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk Sheng Xiu was sent to take

C *HHS* 7:309-10 (10b-11a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

⁴ Both *HHS* 7 and *HHS* 104/14:3295 give the dates of these fires as occurring in the fourth month. Modern calculations, however, indicate that the fourth month of Yanxi 5 had no day *yichou* (cyclical 2) nor a day *wuchen* (cyclical 5): the month began on a *guiwei* day (cyclical 20) and the last day was *renzi* (cyclical 49). Similarly, though the earthquake referred to in passage D below is satisfactorily dated to the *yihai* day (being cyclical 12), the fifth month of Yanxi 5 ended on a *xinsi* day (cyclical 18), and thus should not have contained a *jiashen* day (cyclical 21).

Given the consistent series of false dates, it seems likely that the identifications of the months have been misplaced. I therefore suggest Western dates for the days *yichou* and *wuchen* as if they were in the fifth month, and for the day *jiashen* as if it was in the sixth month.

⁵ Gongling 恭陵 "Mound of Respect," the tomb of Emperor An, lay northwest of Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 84.

⁶ The offices of the guards Rapid as Tigers, and of the other corps of the Gentlemen of the Household, were in the southern suburbs of Luoyang, in the vicinity of the Imperial University: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 72.

⁷ *Hou Han shu* regularly refers to the tomb of Liu Long 劉隆, the infant Emperor Shang "the Young Emperor" (*reg.* 105-106) as Kangling 康陵 "The Mound of Ease," and this is followed by *ZZTJ*. Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 84 and 118-119 note 389, however, notes that the Tang commentary to *HHS* 5:205 argues the correct name was Gengling 庚陵 "The Geng Mound:" among other reasons, the name Kangling had been used for Emperor Ping of Former Han, and should not have been repeated. The tomb complex lay southeast of Luoyang.

D *HHS* 38/28:1285 (8b), the Biography of Du Shang.

command of troops called up from the province and commanderies and to attack the enemy. He had no success.⁸

1762

E On the day *yihai* [28 Jun] there was an earthquake in the capital district.

On the day *jiashen* [2 Jul?]⁹ there was a fire in the office of the Assistant for Salaries of the Palace Treasury.

In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *jiwei* [6 Aug] there was a fire at the Door of Continuing Excellence in the Southern Palace.¹⁰

The Niaoyu Qiang attacked Hanyang, Longxi and Jincheng, but the soldiers of the three commanderies attacked and defeated them.

⁸ There is a parallel text to this item in *HHS* 7:310, and another account in *HHS* 86/76:2834. See also passages E, F, G and H below.

These bandits of Changsha and Lingling were evidently the same group as those mentioned earlier, in Yongshou 3 (passage F) and Yanxi 3 (passage H): see also note 11 to Yanxi 3.

Changsha and Lingling commanderies were in Jing province, north of the Nan Ling divide, as was Guiyang. Nanhai and Cangwu were in Jiaozhi province to the south. The disturbance in this region, therefore, which was first reported five years earlier and had become more serious in Yanxi 3, had now expanded very considerably, and the government could no longer leave the situation to the resources of the local administration.

The Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk was a surveillance official, effectively the head of the censorate at the capital. There were, however, occasions when such officers were appointed to the command of troops in the field: e.g. deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 73-74, and *Northern Frontier*, 99 and 482 note 37.

Sheng Xiu would have been appointed at this time because the disturbance had extended across provincial borders. Within a province, the Inspector had authority to raise local troops, but a broader command required a more senior official.

Similar appointments, of court officials to hold military command, may be seen in the cases of Zhang Bing, who is described in passage B above as Imperial Clerk Commanding the Army (督軍御史 *dujun yushi*) in Liang province, and Ma Mu in passage F below, who was Internuncio (謁者 *yezhe*) in command of the Inspector of Jing province. Such arrangements had been useful on earlier occasions, but they had a poor record at this time.

E *HHS* 7:310 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

⁹ Neither *HHS* nor *ZZTJ* make any reference for the beginning of the sixth month of this year, but this *jiashen* day, cyclical 21, was most probably the third day of that month, which began on a *renwu* day, cyclical 19.

¹⁰ The Door of Continuing Excellence (承善闕 *Chengshan ta*) has not been further identified.

The bandits of Ai county [in Yuzhang] attacked the commandery and county offices of Changsha. They killed the magistrate of Yiyang [county in Changsha], and their numbers rose to more than ten thousand.¹¹

F The Internuncio Ma Mu, taking command over the Inspector of Jing province Liu Du, attacked them. The [imperial] army was defeated and Ma Mu and Liu Du both took to flight.

G The barbarians of Lingling also rebelled.¹²

In the winter, in the tenth month the barbarians of Wuling rebelled and raided Jiangling [capital of Nan commandery].¹³

11 Ai county was in present-day Jiangxi, close to the borders of present-day Hunan province. Yiyang county was in present-day Hunan, but west of the Xiang River; so these people were a considerable distance from their home country. *HHS* 38/28:1285 says that the group had originally numbered only six hundred men. They had been called up for military service but mutinied when they were not paid. They may therefore have already been stationed in the region of Changsha. Yiyang county had been a centre of rebellion among the non-Chinese people of Changsha a few years before: passage F of Yongshou 3.

F *HHS* 38/28:1285 (8b); the Biography of Du Shang.

G *HHS* 7:310-11 (11a-b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

12 *HHS* 7 adds that the rebels of Lingling also attacked Changsha.

13 The texts and chronology at this point are somewhat muddled, partly because of the frequent and repeated rebellions by the non-Chinese people of the region.

HHS 7:307 says that the non-Chinese people of Wuling commandery attacked Jiangling in the winter of Yanxi 3, and they were attacked and defeated by the General of Chariots and Cavalry Feng Gun, while Du Shang, the Inspector of Jing province, pacified Changsha. *HHS* 7:311, however, records another rising by the Wuling people in the winter of Yanxi 5, and says again, though in slightly different terms, that they were put down by Feng Gun.

In his *Kaoyi* commentary to *ZZTJ* 54:1763, Sima Guang notes that the first entry is a mistaken and misplaced copy of the second.

The history is confused further, however, by the wording of *HHS* 86/76:2833-34, which also implies that the rebellion of the Wuling people took place in the winter of Yanxi 3, immediately following the rising of the Changsha and Lingling barbarians in that year; and that it was on this occasion the Administrator of Nan commandery, Li Su, made his cowardly flight.

HHS 38/28:1285, however, firmly places the appointment of Du Shang as Inspector of Jing province to deal with the widespread rebellion in this year, Yanxi 5; while *HHS* 38/28:1281 also describes the affair, including the flight of Li Su [passage H immediately below], as taking place in Yanxi 5, and *HHS* 7:311 records the execution of Li Su in the winter of Yanxi 5.

It appears, therefore, that the trouble with the non-Chinese people of this region began in Yongshou 3: 157, expanded considerably in Yanxi 3: 160, and reached its

H Li Su, the Administrator of Nan commandery, ran away. His Registrar Hu Shuang seized the bridle of his horse and protested, "The barbarians can see that the commandery has no preparations for defence against them, so they are only too eager to take advantage of such an opportunity, and they will certainly attack.

"Your excellency, you are a great official of the state, with cities under your government for the distance of a thousand *li*. If you raise your banner and sound the war-drum, a hundred thousand men will respond to your call.

"How can you abandon the responsibilities of your insignia and your office, and become a fugitive?"[35]

Li Su threatened Hu Shuang with a sword, saying, "Get out of my way, sir! I'm in a hurry. I cannot spare the time for all this?" Hu Shuang held on to the horse and continued his protest. Li Su killed him and rode away.

The emperor heard about this, and Li Su was summonsed and publicly executed. Liu Du and Ma Mu were both sentenced to death, commuted by one degree.¹⁴ Hu Shuang's household was granted exemption from taxes, and one man of his family was appointed as a Gentleman.¹⁵

I The Master of Writing Zhu Mu recommended the Prefect of the Enclosure of the Right, Du Shang of Shanyang, as Inspector of Jing

peak, with notable Chinese defeats and the requirement of a major army from the capital, in Yanxi 5: 162.

Finally, one may note that any historian must find it difficult to sort out the repeated disturbances among different groups of non-Chinese peoples, identified only vaguely by reference to the (often ill-defined) commandery territory which they are described as inhabiting. Thus it is said here that the barbarians of Lingling "also rebelled;" but we have noticed in passage D that non-Chinese from Lingling were already up in arms. The two statements presumably refer to different groups, both described simply as "barbarians from Lingling."

H *HHS* 86/76:2834 (4b), the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

14 On the death penalty diminished by one degree, see note 40 to Yanxi 2.

15 The position of Gentleman was that of a cadet on probation for the executive ranks of the government service. This was usually obtained by recommendation as Filial and Incorrupt from the man's local commandery, but there was provision for a direct grant for the kinsfolk of men who had shown exceptional conduct or had been unjustly treated: deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 20.

I *HHS* 38/28:1285 (8b), the Biography of Du Shang;
also *HHS* 7:311 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Huan;
also *HHS* 38/28:1281 (5b), the Biography of Feng Gun

province, and on the day *xinchou* [16 Nov] the Minister of Ceremonies Feng Gun became General of Chariots and Cavalry and led more than a hundred thousand soldiers to attack the barbarians of Wuling.

1763

J Before this, when military commanders were sent on campaign it frequently happened that the eunuchs accused them of wasting or losing part of the army supplies, and they were often punished for this. Feng Gun therefore put in a request that one of the Regular Attendants should act as supervisor of the supplies for his army. The Master of Writing Zhu Mu memorialised, "In this matter of army supplies, Feng Gun is unduly concerned to clear himself of suspicion. This is not the way that a high officer should behave."¹⁶ An edict was issued that the criticism [of Feng Gun] be considered no further, and Feng Gun then asked that Ying Feng, former Administrator of Wuling, should accompany him, with title as Attendant Gentleman of the Household.¹⁷

In the eleventh month, Feng Gun's army came to Changsha. When the rebels heard of it, they all came to the camp and asked to surrender.¹⁸ Feng Gun then went forward to attack the Wuling barbarians, and took more than four thousand heads. He received the surrender of a hundred thousand enemies, and Jing province was pacified and settled. An imperial letter offered him the reward of a

J *HHS* 38/28, 1283 (6b-7a), the Biography of Feng Gun.

16 The text of *ZZTJ* and *HHS* at this point is somewhat abbreviated, and the thrust of the debate is clearer in the parallel passage of *HHJ* 22:4a-b, which quotes more extensively from the memorial of Zhu Mu.

Feng Gun, of course, was asking that a high eunuch official supervise the supplies in order that, should any prove to be missing, the responsibility would fall upon the eunuchs and not upon himself. Zhu Mu is arguing that if Feng Gun was a truly honest official he would not even think of the possibility that he might need to defend himself in this way.

There is a biography of Zhu Mu in *HHS* 43/33:1461-74. See also passage I and note 12 to Yanxi 6.

17 An Attendant Gentleman of the Household (從事中郎 *congshi zhonglang*) was a senior adviser on the staff of a general: *HHS* 114/24:3564; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 124.

Ying Feng, father of the celebrated scholar Ying Shao, has a biography in *HHS* 48/38:1606-09. As Administrator of Wuling in 153, he had settled a rebellion of non-Chinese people there.

18 It seems these rebels were the group originally based on the mutineers from Ai county in Yuzhang, since greatly enlarged. They now returned to their allegiance and were available for service.

hundred million cash, but he firmly refused it. He brought his army in triumph back to the capital.

Feng Gun gave special praise to the good work of Ying Feng during the campaign, and recommended him as Director of Retainers. He also sent in a letter asking to be [36] relieved of his duties on account of age,¹⁹ but the court would not allow this.

K The Dianna Qiang raided Wuwei, Zhangye and Jiuquan.

The Grand Commandant Liu Ju left office. The Minister of Ceremonies Yang Bing became Grand Commandant.

L With the Staff of Authority as military commander, Huangfu Gui had now returned to take control in his own home country. Though he accepted no private favours, there were many people whom he had reported or impeached, while he also hated the eunuchs and would have no dealings with them. As a result, he had enemies both inside and outside the court, and they joined to accuse him of bribing the Qiang in order to bring about a false surrender. The emperor sent a series of letters under seal to reprimand him.

Huangfu Gui wrote back in his own defence: "In the autumn of the fourth year [of Yanxi: *i.e.* last year], the western tribes were actively disobedient, and the ancient capital [Chang'an] was in fear and trembling. The court itself looked anxiously to the west.

"[Then, however,] as I wielded the authority and spiritual power of the state, the Qiang bowed to the ground before us. The expenses we saved were more than a hundred million cash.

"It is part of the code of honour for a loyal minister not to praise his own achievements, so I find it embarrassing to offer even a few words on my own behalf. On the other hand, if you compare my success with the way things were managed before, [you will find that] I may be excused from any accusations or criticism.²⁰

1764 "When I first arrived in the province I sent in reports for the impeachment of Sun Jun, Li Xi and Zhang Bing, and when I went on

¹⁹ On the use here of the phrase *haigu* 骸骨 (lit. "my bones [which need to be buried soon]") as a term for retirement or resignation from service, see for example the Annals of Xiang Yu, *SJ* 7:325; Chavannes, *MH* II, 303, Watson, *RGH* I, 64, and Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 200.

K *HHS* 7, 311 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

L *HHS* 65/55, 2133-34 (4b-5b), the Biography of Huangfu Gui.

²⁰ Huangfu Gui is saying, politely, that his conduct has been faultless.

campaign to the south I again sent in reports against Guo Hong and Zhao Xi, setting out their errors and wrongdoing.²¹ On the evidence presented, they were duly executed.

"These five, moreover, had partisans and supporters spread across half the empire, with every rank from the black seal-ribbon down to the most junior official. More than a hundred of them were implicated by association.²² Junior officials will do their best to avert any attack against their superior, just as sons are concerned about their [37] fathers' shame. So [rich men's] carriages have hastened to bring presents, and [poor] men have come on foot carrying their own provisions, and they gather and plot together with men of powerful family, combining in the spread of slander and accusations.

"Now they claim that I made private agreements with the Qiang, and that I bought them off with cash and goods.

"If I had used my own resources, however, my household would be now in the most abject poverty.²³ If [on the other hand] I had used government funds, the records would be easy to trace.

"In former times, a concubine from the imperial palace was sent away in marriage to the Xiongnu, and a princess was given to pacify the Wusun.²⁴ Even if I had been foolish enough to do what I am

21 In passage B above, we have been told that Sun Jun and Li Xi had held office in Anding commandery and that Zhang Bing was an officer in command of the army (and see note 8 above). Guo Hong had been the Inspector of Liang province and Zhao Xi was Administrator of Hanyang.

From Huangfu Gui's description, it appears that he began his campaign by attacking and settling the non-Chinese people of Anding, then turned south to deal with the upper Wei valley, including Hanyang.

22 A black seal-ribbon (黑綬 *heishou*) was part of the insignia of officials of the middle range, with rank/salary from One Thousand to Six Hundred *shi*: *HHS* 120/30:3675.

When a senior official was disgraced, his former subordinates and clients might be proscribed from office. Though we are not told specifically that such penalty had been applied to those associated with Sun Jun, Guo Hong and the others, one may imagine that their disgrace would have been embarrassing and damaging to their juniors' careers.

23 The expression *wu danshi* 無擔石 describes a household without a single measure of grain.

24 The Lady Wang Zhaojun 王昭君 was given in marriage to the Huhanye 呼韓邪 Shanyu of the Xiongnu in 33 BC, to seal his alliance with Han: e.g. deC, *Northern Frontier*, 189 and 510 note 31.

In the time of Emperor Wu, at the end of the second century BC, the Han court sent the Lady Xi 緡, a daughter of the King of Jiangdu 江都, to be wife to the ruler of

accused of doing, it was only a matter of paying a few thousands or tens of thousands of cash, and by that means we would have kept the rebel Qiang quiet. Such a program represents a possible plan of action for a competent minister, and I personally hold the respect of men with military experience. What fault is there to be found, either in neglect of honour or in disregard of policy?²⁵

"Since the time of the Yongchu period [107-113], many military commanders have been sent out on campaign, and five armies have been completely defeated.²⁶ The cost has been counted in the billions, and the supply carts that were brought back [laden with treasure] have been sealed up intact and taken into the houses of the great families. Those generals nonetheless achieved a reputation, they were respected for their good work, and they were granted generous rewards and enfeoffments.

"For my own part, I have simply returned to my home country. I have impeached commandery administrators, I have broken up personal connections and family relationships, and I have put old friends to death and shame. It is not surprising that so many people have conspired to malign and slander me."

Then the emperor gave orders that Huangfu Gui should return [to the capital]. He appointed him a Consultant, and considered whether his achievements might be worthy of enfeoffment.

the Wusun 烏孫 people who inhabited the region of the Ili River in central Asia: *HS* 96B:3904; Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 216.

Though Huangfu Gui does not appear to refer to the incident, he could have cited an even higher authority. In *SJ* 110:2895; Watson, *RGH* II, 166, we are told that Emperor Gao sent a princess of the imperial Liu family to marry the great Shanyu Modun 冒頓.

25 Huangfu Gui's argument is that bribery with money is no worse than handing over Chinese ladies of the imperial court and family. In dealing with barbarians, there are good precedents for a policy of generous conciliation.

26 The commentary of Hu Sanxing identifies these five defeats as follows:

- in 108 the General of Chariots and Cavalry Deng Zhi 鄧騭 was defeated by rebel Qiang in Hanyang commandery: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 95-96;
- later in the same year the general Ren Shang 任尚 was defeated by the Qiang in Hanyang commandery: *Northern Frontier*, 96;
- in 115 a Chinese army led by Sima Jun 司馬鈞 was defeated by the Qiang in Beidi commandery: *Northern Frontier*, 108;
- in 141 the general Ma Xian 馬賢 was defeated and killed by rebel Qiang in Beidi commandery: *Northern Frontier*, 120;
- in 144 the Protector of the Qiang Zhao Chong 趙冲 was killed fighting rebel Qiang: *Northern Frontier*, 121.

The Regular Attendants Xu Huang and Zuo Guan hoped to gain profit from the affair, and on several occasions they sent clients and retainers to ask further details about his good work.²⁷ Huangfu Gui, however, refused to respond to them.[38]

Then Xu Huang and his fellows became angry, and they raised again the former questions [of the slanders against Huangfu Gui]. He was sent down for judicial enquiry.

Other clerks in the offices tried to persuade Huangfu Gui to offer bribes and ask forgiveness, but Huangfu Gui swore that he would do no such thing. He was taken before the Minister of Justice, and on the ground that the disturbances [in the west] were still continuing he was sentenced to convict service in the Enclosure of the Left.

All the excellencies, and more than three hundred university students led by Zhang Feng, came to the palace gates to petition for him. Soon afterwards there was an amnesty and he returned to his home.²⁸[39]

²⁷ The repeated visits were presumably designed to encourage Huangfu Gui to pass the men some money in order that they might report more enthusiastically on his behalf.

²⁸ This probably refers to the amnesty issued in the third month of the following year: passage A of Yanxi 6.

Yanxi 延熹 6: 163 AD

21 February 163 - 10 February 164

1765

A In the spring, in the second month on the day *wuwu* [2 Apr] the Excellency over the Masses Chong Gao died.

In the third month on the day *wuxu* [12 May] there was an amnesty for the empire.

The Minister of the Guards, Xu Xu of Yingchuan, became Excellency over the Masses.

In the summer, in the fourth month on the day *xinhai* [25 May] there was a fire in the Eastern Office of Kangling.¹

In the fifth month the Xianbi ravaged the Dependent State of Liaodong.

In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *jiashen* [26 Aug], there was a fire in a pavilion of the park of Pingling [the tomb of Emperor Zhao of Former Han].²

Li Yan, the rebel and bandit of Guiyang, with his followers, ravaged the territory of that commandery

The barbarians of Wuling made another uprising. The Administrator Chen Feng attacked and pacified them.³

B The eunuchs had an old enmity for Feng Gun.⁴ In the eighth month he was adjudicated for the fact that the rebels and bandits [of Wuling] had rebelled again after he had brought his army back. Feng Gun was dismissed.

A *HHS* 7:311-312 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

¹ On the Kangling/Gengling tomb of Emperor Shang "the Young Emperor", see note 7 to Yanxi 5.

The parallel passage in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 104/14:3296 offers no specific prognostication for this event.

² The Pingling 平陵 "Mound of Pacification," tomb of Emperor Zhao of Former Han (reg. 86-74 BC), was northwest of Chang'an, on the northern bank of the Wei River, in the neighbourhood of the Maoling 茂陵 "Mound of Abundance" tomb of Emperor Wu: *Sanfu huangtu* 6:52.

The Treatise of the Five Powers, at *HHS* 104/14:3296, again offers no specific prognostication.

³ *ZZTJ* here has the personal name of the Administrator as Ju 舉. Other editions, however, have it as Feng 奉, and both *HHS* and *HHSJJ* agree.

B *HHS* 38/28:1283 (7a), the Biography of Feng Gun.

⁴ See passage J of Yanxi 5.

C In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *bingchen* [26 Nov], the emperor went hunting at the Guangcheng Park, and then proceeded to visit the Hangu Pass and the Shanglin Park.⁵

D The Minister of the Household Chen Fan sent in a written remonstrance: "Even in times of peace and security, it is appropriate to maintain restraint in travelling and the chase. How much more strongly should this apply in times such as the present, when we suffer from the three forms of emptiness: the fields and country-side are [40] empty; the court is empty; the granaries and storehouses are empty.

"Add the facts that military affairs are not yet resolved, while in every part of the world there are scattered and homeless refugees, then this is a time that the ruler should bear an anxious heart and a care-worn countenance, sitting up [into the small hours] and waiting on the developments each day may bring.

"How can it be right to raise the banners and display the panoply of war, exciting the heart with the show of horses and chariots?

"Besides this, last autumn there were heavy rains,⁶ and only now are the people beginning to plant their wheat. Instead of allowing them time to sow the grain, you have arranged for them to take part in the hunt, using corvée labour to drive the birds and clear the roads. This is not the policy of a worthy sage who cares for his people."

The memorial was sent in, but was not accepted.

1766

E In the eleventh month the Excellency of Works Liu Chong left office. In the twelfth month the Minister of the Guards Zhou Jing became Excellency of Works. Zhou Jing was the grandson of Zhou Rong.⁷

C *HHS* 7:312 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

⁵ On the "competitive hunt," see note 4 to Yanxi 1, and on the sites of the imperial parks of Later Han, see note 5 to Yanxi 1. The Guangcheng Park was southeast of Luoyang, while there were two parks known as Shanglin, one in the neighbourhood of Chang'an, dating from Former Han, and another close to Luoyang on the west, which had been established in Later Han. The Hangu Pass controlled the road to Chang'an, but since there is no reference to the emperor travelling through it to reach the former capital, it appears that his excursion was restricted to the region about Luoyang: *cf.* note 16 to Guanghe 5.

D *HHS* 66/56:2162-63 (3b-4a), the Biography of Chen Fan.

⁶ Neither the Annals of *HHS* 7, nor the relevant section of the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 103/13, mention any exceptionally heavy rain in this year.

E *HHS* 7:312 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

⁷ This is a comment added by Sima Guang. The Biography of Zhou Rong is in *HHS* 45/35:1536-37.

F At this time, the eunuchs wielded considerable power. Zhou Jing sent in a memorial jointly with the Grand Commandant Yang Bing: "Many of the men holding office in the palace and the bureaucracy are unworthy of their position.

"According to ancient regulations, the relatives of servants in the palace are not permitted to occupy official posts or hold power [in the regular government structure]. At the present time, however, kinsmen and clients [of eunuchs] are being openly appointed to office, and some young men without experience have been given important positions. Everyone is angry and resentful, and all the empire is anxious and perturbed.

"By use of the ancient statutes, however, it is still possible to eliminate greed and extortion and put a stop to violence and slander. We ask that orders be sent to the Director of Retainers, the [Ministers with rank/salary at] Fully Two Thousand *shi*, the Colonels of the City Gates and of the Five Regiments, and the Adjutant of the Northern Army, that each make careful investigation within his particular area of responsibility, to [41] find out who should be dismissed from his appointment.⁸ The reports should be sent to the offices of the excellencies, and subsidiary comments should be prepared for any cases that have not been fully considered."

The emperor approved this. Then Yang Bing [also] sent in reports on governors and administrators [in the provinces]. The Inspector of Qing province, Yang Liang, and more than fifty other men were either put to death or dismissed from office.⁹

F *HHS* 45/35:1538 (16b), the Biography of Zhou Jing; and *HHS* 54/44:1772 (10a-b), the Biography of Yang Bing.

8 The proposed investigation would have concerned most of the officials and military officers of the capital district. The Director of Retainers was inspector of the seven commanderies in Sili province, about Luoyang and Chang'an; the ministers had authority over the clerks in their offices; the Colonel of the City Gates controlled the guards at the gates of the walls of Luoyang; the five regiments are those of the Northern Army, and the Adjutant of the Northern Army [Bielenstein: Captain of the Centre of the Northern Army] was an inspectorial official, of comparatively low rank but with powers of impeachment.

9 *HHS* 54/44 notes also that the Administrator of Liaodong commandery and the Emissary to the Xiongnu were among those impeached by Yang Bing in this purge of officials outside the capital.

On the phrase *mushou* 牧守 "governors and administrators" as a general reference to the heads of provinces and commandery units, see note 10 to Yanxi 1 and passage B of Zhongping 5 below.

Everyone in the empire was impressed.

- G An edict summoned Huangfu Gui to appointment as General on the Liao.

Before this, because he was a former subordinate of Liang Ji, Zhang Huan had been dismissed from office and proscribed. Among all his friends and comrades from earlier times, only Huangfu Gui had dared to speak on his behalf. He sent in appeals for him, seven times in all, and it was on his account that Zhang Huan became Administrator of Wuwei.¹⁰

Then Huangfu Gui was made General on the Liao, and after a few months in that station he sent in a memorial recommending Zhang Huan: "His ability and strategic sense are both of the highest order, and he is worthy of the highest command. Everyone is waiting for such a man.

"If you still feel that I should hold an appointment here, then I would ask for some secondary post in order that I may act as his assistant."

The court approved this. Zhang Huan took Huangfu Gui's place as General on the Liao, and Huangfu Gui became Emissary to the Xiongnu.

- H A great many officials and people of the western provinces, and the local garrison commanders, had sought justice on behalf of Duan Jiong, the former Protector of the Qiang.

1767 About this time, the Dianna Qiang were growing steadily more powerful, and Liang province was almost lost. So Duan Jiong was once

G *HHS* 65/55:2135 (5b), the Biography of Huangfu Gui; and *HHS* 65/55:2139 (8a-b), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

10 The biography of Zhang Huan tells us that his administration of Wuwei commandery had been noted for humane reforms of barbaric local customs, and that the people erected shrines to show their gratitude to him.

We may note that all three frontier generals of this time suffered unjust punishment at various stages of their careers: Zhang Huan was dismissed for his past connection with Liang Ji (passage G of Yanxi 6 above); Duan Jiong was sentenced to convict labour because of a false report by an official later shown to be incompetent (passages F of Yanxi 4 and B of Yanxi 5); and Huangfu Gui had been convicted in the previous year as a result of private slanders and eunuch interference (passage L of Yanxi 5). One must admire the sense of public duty held by these men, that they continued to serve after such treatment; Huangfu Gui, at least, could have afforded to remain in retirement on his estates.

H *HHS* 65/55:2147 (13b), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

more appointed Protector.¹¹

- I The Master of Writing Zhu Mu objected to the eunuchs' abuse of power,¹² and he sent in a letter, saying: "I note that in the old system of Han some Regular Attendants were chosen from full gentlemen. It is only since the Jianwu [42] period [25-55 AD, in the time of the founding Emperor Guangwu of Later Han], that all these positions have been given to eunuchs.¹³

"Since the Yanping period [of Emperor Shang, 106],¹⁴ they have

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- 11 Duan Jiong had been sentenced to convict labour two years earlier (passage F of Yanxi 4), and the appeals of the people from the west had been in some part responsible for his release. He was then appointed to a series of posts at the capital, and later transferred to be Inspector of Bing province. It was from that position that he was re-appointed Protector of the Qiang.

Duan Jiong's biography also tells us that when the government learnt of Guo Hong's wrong-doings, the emperor summoned Duan Jiong to enquire further about his ill treatment. Duan Jiong, however, made no further complaint, and would only apologise for his personal errors of judgement. He was widely admired for his sense of honour

- I *HHS* 43/33:1472 (11b-12a), the Biography of Zhu Mu.

- 12 Zhu Mu was a scholar-official, of strongly Confucian persuasion, from an old-established family. Some years earlier, as Inspector of Ji province in 153, he made a name for himself as a resolute opponent of eunuch associates. His activities in this line came to a climax when he broke open the tomb and desecrated the body of the father of the eunuch Zhao Zhong, who had been given special imperial permission for a burial with ritual ornaments including a jade shroud (here as 玉匣 *yuxia*): *HHS* 43/33:1470 and see note 5 to Yanxi 3. Zhu Mu was sentenced to convict service and then lived in retirement. He had since been recalled to office, and despite his objections to eunuchs he had criticised Feng Gun's attempt to avoid their slanders: passage J of Yanxi 5.

- 13 On this change, see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 63. During Former Han, the position of Regular Attendant had been a supernumerary position: it entailed no formal duties but was awarded to full men who held other substantive appointments. In Later Han, it became the highest position which could be held by a eunuch, and the rank/salary was close to that of a minister. There were still no duties or powers associated with the post, but the holders were effectively the leaders of the eunuchs and had great influence within the palace and the government.

- 14 In fact, it would seem that the importance of the Regular Attendants began to increase rather sooner, in the time of Emperor He (*reg.* 89-106), when their permitted numbers were raised from four to ten; it was possibly also at this time that their rank/salary, which had been fixed by Emperor Ming at 1000 *shi*, was raised to Equivalent to 2000 *shi*: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 63.

Zhu Mu, however, evidently relates the influence of the eunuchs to the time of the regency of the Dowager Deng of Emperor He, who controlled the government of Emperor Shang "the Young Emperor" from 106 and then ruled on behalf of Emperor An until her death in 121. For a regular emperor, eunuchs were useful as messengers

steadily increased their power and influence. Adorned with jewellery and furs, they occupy formal positions of close attendance,¹⁵ and everything at court passes through their hands.

"Their authority affects the whole of the world, their honour and prestige have no limit, and members of their families all flourish in office. No-one can restrain their extravagance and their pride; they impoverish the empire and exhaust the people.

"In my humble opinion, all the eunuchs [in such high positions] should be dismissed, and we should return to the system as it was before. We should select gentlemen of virtue from every part of the empire, men who understand matters of state, and they should take the place of the eunuchs [as Regular Attendants]. All the people would be affected by your sage influence."

The emperor would not accept this.

Zhu Mu later took the opportunity of a court audience to make a speech on the same theme: "I have heard that the ancient regulations of the house of Han provided for only one man to be appointed to each post of Palace Attendant and Regular Attendant, to control the affairs of the Imperial Secretariat [the Masters of Writing]. Another man was appointed as Gentleman at the Yellow Gates, and his responsibility was to transmit memorials and messages. All these officers were selected from men of respectable family."¹⁶

who could enter the harem when the ruler was engaged there, and they gained and maintained great influence through this. As Zhu Mu remarks below, however, such intermediaries were essential for a female regent dealing with full men of the regular administration, for it would have been quite improper for her to meet them directly.

15 Commentary to *HHS* 43/44 explains the character *dang* 璫 (lit. a gong) as an ear-ring, also the badge of a eunuch.

The commentary also interprets the phrase *changbo* 常伯, which I render here as "formal positions of close attendance," as a reference to the post of Palace Attendant (侍中 *shizhong*), a high court position, held by a full man, with the right and responsibility to give guidance and advice to the emperor: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59-60, and note 16 immediately below.

16 *HS* 19A:739 lists the supernumerary titles of the Former Han system, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 50 and 26, discusses the status of these appointments at that time. Though the Palace Attendants (常侍 *changshi*), Regular Attendants (中常侍 *zhong changshi*) and Gentlemen of the Yellow Gates (黃門郎 *huangmen lang*) were all full men, there is no specific evidence to support the statement of Zhu Mu that the first two posts were only held by one person at a time. It is possible that this was so, but *HS* 19A, at the end of the list of supernumerary posts, says only that the total number of people holding such positions could be in the scores.

"In the time of the Fortunate Empress-Dowager, a woman held control of the government. She had no direct contact with the excellencies and ministers, and for that reason eunuchs were appointed as Regular Attendants and Junior Attendants of the Yellow Gates, to communicate between the inner and outer palaces.¹⁷

"Since that time, their power has tended to subvert the rulers' good judgement, and they have impoverished and oppressed the empire.

"They should all be dismissed and sent away, and wide search should be made for senior scholars of established virtue to take part in the government." [43]

The emperor was angry and made no reply. Zhu Mu remained on his knees and was reluctant to get up, but those in attendance ordered him, "Go!" After some considerable time, he went out, walking quickly.

As a result of this incident, the eunuchs found several occasions for

As to responsibility for the affairs of the Imperial Secretariat (省尚書事 *xing shangshu shi*, where the first character is identified by *HHS* commentary as meaning *lan* 覽 "to read"), there is no evidence to show that this position was directly associated with the position of Palace Attendant or Regular Attendant during Former Han. There may have been some general entitlement for a person with such high supernumerary rank to interest himself in the Secretariat, but the only formal position of importance in this regard during Former Han was that of the Intendant of the Secretariat (領 *ling shangshu shi*).

Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 153-154, has discussed the status of the Intendant of the Secretariat, a position which was granted irregularly from 87 BC, and has identified the offices with which it was associated. The most common of these was the Commander-in-Chief (大司馬 *da sima*), which title Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 151, identifies with the regency after 87 BC.

HS 19A, however, does note that while a Palace Attendant and the Regular Attendant had the right to enter the inner apartments of the palace, two other high-ranking supernumerary positions, the Bureau Heads of the Left and of the Right (左右曹 *zuoyou cao*) were authorised to deal with matters of the Secretariat (守 *shou shangshu shi*). The Qing scholar Shen Qinhan, cited in *HSBZ* 19A:24b, suggests that these Bureau Heads may have been connected to the intendency of the Secretariat (and see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 26).

In general terms, therefore, though present evidence does not support every detail of Zhu Mu's statements, the thrust of his argument, that these supernumerary officials were limited in number, reserved for full men, and had special access to the emperor and to the Secretariat, appears correct.

17 The Empress-Dowager Deng, whose posthumous title was *Xi* 熹 "Fortunate," was the consort of Emperor He and held regency control of the imperial government from 106 to 121: note 14 above and also note 17 to Yanxi 2. Her personal biography is at *HHS* 10A:418-430.

edicts to criticise and reprimand Zhu Mu. A plain and upright man, he became bitter at such treatment. Before very long his anger and frustration caused an ulcer to break out, and he died.¹⁸[44]

¹⁸ *HHS* 43/33 adds that after Zhu Mu's death, at the age of 64 *sui*, a joint petition from the highest officials was presented, extolling his personal virtues and his loyalty. In response, an imperial edict was issued which praised Zhu Mu and awarded him posthumous appointment as Administrator of Yizhou commandery.

CHAPTER 55

*being Chapter 47 of the Chronicle of Han
and Part 2 of the reign of Emperor Huan*

Yanxi 延熹 7: 164 AD

10 February 164 - 29 January 165

1768

A In the spring in the second month on the day *bingxu* [?] the Loyal Marquis of Kang District, Huang Qiong, died.¹

A *HHS* 61/51:2038 (19b), the Biography of Huang Qiong;
and *cf.* *HHJ* 22:6a.

1 There is a good deal of confusion between the texts for this passage. *HHJ* 22 says that Huang Qiong died in office as Grand Commandant, but the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHS* 8:308-09 has mentioned his leaving that office in the third month of Yanxi 4, three years earlier, and that he was appointed Excellency of Works in the sixth month of that year, leaving that office in the ninth month: passages A and D of Yanxi 4. *HHS* 61/51:2037-38 then tells us that he died without holding further appointment. The office of Grand Commandant during this period had been held by Liu Ju and then by Yang Bing: passage A of Yanxi 4 and passage K of Yanxi 5. Sima Guang therefore preferred to follow the *HHS* text.

There is also difficulty with the date of Huang Qiong's death. *HHS* 61/51 says only that he died in Yanxi 7, and gives no indication of the month. *HHJ* 22 says that he died in the second month, but gives no indication of the day. And there was in fact no *bingxu* day (cyclical 23) in the second month of Yanxi 7: that month began on a *renyin* day (cyclical 39): see also Xu Shaozhen, 2030a. There seems no way to tell where the *ZZTJ* reference to the *bingxu* day came from.

Finally, *HHS* 61/51 says that the posthumous title awarded to Huang Qiong was Zhong 忠 "Loyal," but *HHJ* 22 has it as Zhao 昭 "Renowned." We may note also, though *ZZTJ* does not take up the point, that *HHS* 61/51:2038 says that Huang Qiong was awarded posthumous title as General of Chariots and Cavalry, similar to the distinction granted the eunuch Shan Chao at the time of his death: passage JJ of Yanxi 2.

In fact, as will be seen below, this passage serves primarily to introduce the anecdote concerning Xu Zhi in passage B following, which in turn leads on to the various accounts of Guo Tai and his associates. For this purpose Sima Guang has used a number of different sources, in various combinations, and adds some bridging texts of his own. It is not easy to determine which source was regarded as being of chief importance, and one suspects that Sima Guang was making a deliberate attempt to compile a picture of this scholarly world similar to but different from that presented by Fan Ye and Yuan Hong. Unusually for the compiler of *ZZTJ*, he appears more involved as an author on this occasion than in his regular role of collator, editor, and occasional commentator.

In the passages which follow, from B to N, one may see some similarity to parts of the celebrated eighteenth-century novel *Rulin waishi* 儒林外史 by Wu Jingze 吴敬

B From far and near and from every direction, six or seven thousand well-known scholars gathered together to accompany his funeral.²

Before this, when Huang Qiong was maintaining private tuition at his own home, Xu Zhi attended on him, and they discussed questions of moral principle. Then Huang Qiong rose to high position, and Xu Zhi had no more contact with him. At this time, however, Xu Zhi came to join the mourning: he went forward to pour out the libation, and he cried out in sorrow before he left the assembly.

No-one knew who he was, and some of the leaders asked the director of the funeral, and he replied, "There was a scholar came here earlier, with coarse and simple clothing, weeping for grief. He did not write his name."

Then they all said, "This must have been Xu Ruzi."³ So they chose out Mao Rong of Chenliu, a most persuasive talker, and sent him to ride quickly after him.

Mao Rong caught up with Xu Zhi on the road, and he bought wine and meat to eat with him.

1769 Mao Rong asked him about affairs of state, but Xu Zhi made no reply. So he asked him about matters of farming, and then Xu Zhi did respond to him. When Mao Rong returned, he told the others about it. Someone remarked, "Confucius said, 'When a man may be spoken with, not to speak to him is to err in reference to the man.'⁴ Has Xu

梓. It is notable, however, that though a number of anecdotes are reflected in the important fifth-century compilation *Shishuo xinyu* by Liu Yiqing, translated by Mather, *New Account*, it does not appear that Sima Guang ever directly upon the text of that work.

B *HHJ* 22:2a-b;

and cf. *HHS* 53/43:1747 (7a-b), the Biography of Xu Zhi.

2 The texts do not agree on the numbers attending this funeral. *HHJ* says that scholars came from far and near; *HHS* 53/43 adds that those who assembled numbered "several tens." The characters *qian* 千 "thousands" and *shi* 十 "tens" have been confused and it is not possible to judge which was the original intended.

3 We have been told earlier (passage U of Yanxi 2) about this courteous custom of Xu Zhi, whose style was Ruzi 孺子.

Commentary to *Shishuo xinyu* A:1a; Mather, *New Account*, 3-4, quotes from the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 3:2b, with the same description. Mather, however, indicates that Xu Zhi performed the offering of chicken and wine-soaked silk only on this occasion in honour of Huang Qiong, while the Chinese texts imply that he carried out the ceremony on a number of occasions, and it just happened to be at Huang Qiong's funeral that he was identified and accosted.

4 *Lun yu* XV.8; Legge, *CC I*, 296 (Lau, *Analects*, 133):

Ruzi, then, misjudged his man?"

Guo Tai of Taiyuan said, ⁵ "No. Xu Ruzi is a man of purity and high principles. Even if he was hungry, he would not eat [if it was wrong to do so], and if he was cold he would refuse to put on clothes [if he was required to act wrongly to obtain them]. He drank the wine and ate the meat that Jiwei [Mao Rong] gave to him; and that was because he recognised that [45] Jiwei was a worthy man. And the reason he did not reply to questions about affairs of state: his wisdom can be matched by other men, and his foolishness they will not understand."⁶

- C Guo Tai was a man of wide learning, extremely good at debate. Earlier, when he first arrived in Luoyang, there was no-one who recognised his abilities. Fu Rong of Chenliu saw him just once and sighed in admiration, and he then introduced him to Li Ying, the Intendant of Henan.

When Li Ying met Guo Tai, he remarked, "I have met many scholars, but never a man of such quality as Guo Linzong. For penetrating intelligence and fine erudition, we seldom see his like in China." So he became friends with him, and Guo Tai's reputation

The Master said, 'When a man may be spoken with, not to speak to him is to err in reference to the man. When a man may not be spoken with, to speak to him is to err in reference to our words. The wise err neither in regard to their man nor to their words.'

- ⁵ The personal name of Guo Tai was written with the same character, 泰, as that of Fan Ye's father. For this reason *HHS* gives his personal name by the homonym character 太, and frequently refers to him by his style Linzong 林宗. See commentary to *HHS* 68/58:2225. The custom is sometimes followed by other texts.

- ⁶ *Lun yu* V.20; Legge *CC* I, 180 (Lau, *Analects*, 79 [as V.21]):

The Master said, 'When good order prevailed in his country, Ning Wu acted the part of a wise man. When his country was in disorder, he acted the part of a stupid man. Others may equal his wisdom, but they cannot equal his stupidity.'

Ning Wuzi 甯武子, whose personal name was Yu 俞, was an officer of the seventh-century state of Wey 衛 (so transliterated to distinguish it from Wei 魏, which was the name of a state during the Warring States period and again in the time of the Three Kingdoms). According to the traditional interpretation, when the state was in good order, he acted as a good counsellor; later, when there was confusion and rebellion, he showed exceptional loyalty and courage, even though it could have been regarded as foolish to do so.

On the troubles in the state of Wey, see *SJ* 37:1593-95; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 197-200. On Ning Wuzi, see also *Zuo zhuan*, Wen 4; Legge *CC* V, 239 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 464-465).

In the present case, Guo Tai appears to suggest that the political situation of the empire is so bad no wise man would discuss it

spread throughout the region of the capital.

Some time later, when Guo Tai was returning to his native commandery, all scholars of official rank came to the Yellow River to make their farewells. There were several thousand carriages there. Li Ying was the only one to cross the river in the boat with Guo Tai, and the others looked upon them from afar as if [Guo Tai and Li Ying] were spirits or immortals.

Guo Tai understood all types of men, he enjoyed praising or admonishing them, and he would travel about the commanderies and kingdoms.

- D When Mao Rong [of Chenliu] was over forty years old he was working in the fields, but then took shelter from the rain with his fellows under a tree. All his fellows huddled down in a group, but Mao Rong kept aloof in a proper attitude of dignity. Guo Tai saw this and admired him, so he asked to stay with him.

Next morning Mao Rong killed a chicken for the meal, and Guo Tai thought it was for him. Mao Rong, however, took half the bird to feed his mother and put the other half away into storage. He himself brought some vegetables to put into the dish to share with his guest.

- 1770 Guo Tai said, "Your worth is far beyond the common run of men! I would have been willing to give some of the food of my parents to a guest⁷ but you have your own [mode of conduct]. You must be my companion." He stood up and bowed to him, then urged him to study. As a result, Mao Rong became a scholar of high morality and great virtue.

Meng Min of Julu came as a migrant to Taiyuan. When a pot he was carrying on his back fell to the ground, he did not turn his head to look but simply walked away. Guo Tai [46] saw this and asked him about it.

C *HHS* 68/58:2225 (1a-b), the Biography of Guo Tai;
and *HHS* 68/58:2232 (6a), the Biography of Fu Rong;
and *HHJ* 23:9a;
and the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao, 5:2b

D *HHS* 68/58:2228-29 (3b-4a), the biographies of Mao Rong, of Meng Min and of Yu Cheng;
and *HHS* 53/43:1751 (9b-10a), the Biography of Shentu Pan;
and *HHJ* 23:9a-10a

⁷ The commentary of Hu Sanxing explains the phrase *sansheng zhi yang* 三牲之養 with reference to *Xiao jing* 10, being the action of providing three different kinds of meat to one's parents each day.

Meng Min replied, "The pot is broken. What is the point of looking at it?"

Considering this showed true discernment, Guo Tai engaged him in further conversation. He recognised his virtuous qualities, and urged him to travel [to Luoyang] to study. As a result, Meng Min made his name known among all the people of that time.⁸

Shentu Pan of Chenliu was a man of poor family who had worked as an artisan in lacquer. When Yu Cheng of Yanling [in Yingchuan] was a young man, he was a janitor at his county headquarters. Guo Tai saw them and admired them, and both of them later became celebrated scholars.

There were great numbers of such men whom Guo Tai brought forward from obscurity as butchers or wine-sellers or the rank and file of soldiery, and who later became celebrated.

- E Wei Zhao, a boy from Chen kingdom, asked Guo Tai, "To find a master that can teach about the classics is easy; to find a master that can teach about men is difficult. I ask to become your attendant and act as servant and cleaner in your house."⁹ Guo Tai agreed.

There was an occasion that Guo Tai felt unwell, and he ordered Wei Zhao to prepare him some gruel. When the gruel was ready, he brought it to Guo Tai, but Guo Tai abused him, saying, "If you make gruel for your senior, but add neither care nor respect, it becomes quite inedible." And he tipped it away on the floor.

Wei Zhao prepared another dish and brought it in again, but Guo Tai still abused him.

The scene was repeated three times, and Wei Zhao showed no signs of resentment or dismay. Then Guo Tai said to him, "At first I could see only your outward appearance; now, however, I appreciate your true nature." So he took Wei Zhao as his friend, and treated him with the utmost affection.

- F Zuo Yuan of Chenliu was a student in the commandery school, but he violated the law and was expelled. Guo Tai happened to meet him on

⁸ The commentary to *Shishuo xinyu* C, 81b-82a; Mather, *New Account*, 452, quotes a version of this story from the *Guo Linzong biezhuàn* 郭林宗別傳 "Secondary Biography of Guo Tai," a work which is now lost.

E *HHJ* 23:9b-10a.

⁹ The phrase *sasao* 灑掃 refers to sprinkling to ground with water to settle the dust, then sweeping. It later became a standard practice for the neo-Confucianist training of youth

the road, and he prepared wine and food to comfort him.

- 1771 He said to Zuo Yuan, "In former times, Yan Zhuoju was the great bandit of Liangfu, and Duangan Mu was a broker in Jin. In the end, however, one became a loyal minister of the state of Qi, and the other was a famous worthy of the state of [47] Wei.¹⁰ On the other hand, Qu Yuan and Yan Hui were not without their faults,¹¹ and how much more did this apply to the other [associates of Confucius]! There is really no need to feel hatred or resentment. It is simply a matter of re-examining oneself." Zuo Yuan accepted his words and went on his way.

Some people criticised Guo Tai for not keeping himself aloof from an evil-doer, but Guo Tai remarked, "If a man is not virtuous, and you show too much dislike for him, he will behave all the worse."¹²

F *HHS* 68/58:2227-28 (3a-b), the Biography of Guo Tai.

10 *Lüshi chunqiu* 4:9a; Wilhelm, *Frühlung und Herbst*, 47, refers to Yan Zhuoju 顏涿聚 as a great bandit of the region of Liangfu who received teaching from Confucius, and to Duangan Mu 段干木 as a *zang* 駟 "broker in the market place" from Jin 晉, who studied with Confucius' disciple Zixia 子夏.

The commentary of Du Yu 杜預 of the third century to *Zuo zhuan*, Ai 23; Legge, *CC* V, 854, identifies the general Yan Geng 顏庚 of the state of Qi 齊 as Yan Zhuofu: Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 750.

Liangfu 梁甫, also written 梁父, was a territory south of Mount Tai in present-day Shandong, in the region of ancient Qi.

Lüshi chunqiu 21:6b-7b; Wilhelm, *Frühlung und Herbst*, 378, refers to Duangan Mu as a worthy man. *SJ* 44:1839, with the *Zhengyi* commentary of Zhang Shoujie of Tang quoting the *Gaoshi zhuan* 高士傳 by Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 of the third century AD, describes how Duangan Mu studied and practiced virtue and was honoured by the Marquis Wen of Wei 魏文侯 as a sage and worthy; Chavannes, *MH* V, 141-143.

The Marquis Wen of Wei was the first ruler of that state, established in 403 after the division of the earlier, larger state of Jin. Duangan Mu was evidently born under Jin, but became celebrated in the successor state of Wei.

11 *Lun yu* XIV.27; Legge, *CC* I, 285-286 (Lau, *Analects*, 128 [as XIV.25]), describes how Qu Boyu 蘧伯玉, or Qu Yuan 瑗, sent a messenger with greetings to Confucius. Confucius asked the messenger about his master, and the messenger replied, "My master is anxious to make his faults few, but he has not yet succeeded." Confucius approved. [This Qu Yuan, a man from the state of Wey, must be distinguished from the more celebrated Qu Yuan 屈原 of Chu 楚, composer of the *Li sao* 離騷.]

Lun yu VI.2; Legge, *CC* I, 185 (Lau, *Analects*, 81 [as VI.3]), tells of Confucius' praise for his disciple Yan Hui 顏回: "...he loved to learn. He did not transfer his anger; he did not repeat a fault..." The implication is, of course, that Yan Hui committed some faults at least once.

12 *Lun yu* VIII.10; Legge, *CC* I, 211 (Lau, *Analects*, 93):

Later Zuo Yuan did feel a great resentment, and he collected a band of followers to avenge himself on the other students. On that very day, however, Guo Tai was at the academy. Zuo Yuan remembered what had been said to him before and felt ashamed of himself. So he gave up his plan and went away. This was discovered later, and everyone thanked Guo Tai and acknowledged his wisdom.

- G Someone asked Fan Pang, "What sort of a man is Guo Linzong?" Fan Pang replied, "In concealment, he does not abandon his parents;¹³ his personal morality does not necessarily keep him away from the common run of men.¹⁴ The Son of Heaven has not been able to obtain him as a minister, and no feudal lord has been [found worthy] to be

The Master said, 'The man who is fond of daring and is dissatisfied with poverty, will proceed to insubordination. So will the man who is not virtuous, when you carry your dislike of him to an extreme.'

- G *HHS* 68/58:2226 (2a), the Biography of Guo Tai
 13 Commentary to *HHS* relates this description to the conduct recorded of Jiezi Tui 介子推 by *SJ* 39:1660-62; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 291-296.

Jiezi Tui had accompanied Chong'er 重耳, future Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公, into exile. When Chong'er returned to take over the government of the state, one of his followers spoke to him and received an assurance that his service would be remembered. Jiezi Tui disapproved of such importunity, remarking that the return of Chong'er had been obtained by the will of Heaven, not by the efforts of men. And he went into hiding. Later, when rewards were distributed, Jiezi Tui was overlooked, and when Duke Wen sent to look for him, he could not be found. The duke then marked out the mountain region where Jiezi Tui had gone and ascribed it as his fief, renaming the mountain as Jie, in memory of the man he had wrongly neglected.

When Jiezi Tui decided to go into permanent hiding, his mother initially argued with him, but was then persuaded by his sense of honour and then accompanied him.

- 14 Commentary to *HHS* relates this description to that of Hui of Liuxia 柳下惠, described in *Lun yu* XVIII.2 and XVIII.8; Legge, *CC* I, 331-332 and 336-337, and *Lun yu* XV.13; Legge, *CC* I, 298-299 and notes (Lau, *Analects*, 149, 151 and 134 [as XV.14]).

Hui of Liuxia was the posthumous name given to Zhanhuo Qin 展獲禽, a worthy officer of the state of Lu 魯 in the *Chunqiu* period. Mencius tells how 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.

In the following passage, however, Mencius criticises Hui of Liuxia as "wanting in self-respect." See *Mengzi* IIA:9.2 and 3; Legge, *CC* II, 207-208 (Lau, *Mencius*, 84), also *Mengzi* VB:1.3; Legge, *CC* II, 207-208 (Lau, *Mencius*, 150).

friends with him.¹⁵ I can make no further comment."

H At one time, Guo Tai was recommended as "Knowing the Way",¹⁶ but he would not go. Song Chong, a man from the same commandery [Taiyuan],¹⁷ who had long admired his virtues and considered there was no-one to equal him since the beginning of Han, urged Guo Tai to take office.

1772 Guo Tai replied, "At night I observe the signs of the heavens. By daylight I examine the affairs of men.¹⁸ That which Heaven is destroying cannot be supported.¹⁹ I shall continue my idle wandering a few more years, and that is all." However, [despite his professed love of idleness] he continued to travel in the region of the capital, and he carried out teaching and instruction without cease.

I Xu Zhi wrote to warn Guo Tai, "When a great tree is about to fall, a single rope is not enough to save it. Why do you concern yourself with these matters, and do not seek a quieter place?" Guo Tai was surprised and touched, and said, "I note your advice with respect, and regard you as my guide." [48]

J Huang Yun of Ji Yin was known for his outstanding talents. Guo Tai

15 Commentary to *HHS* here cites *Li ji* 38.16; Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies* II, 610, in praise of the scholar who accepts no court appointments, but remains in retirement to cultivate his learning and his personal conduct.

H *HHS* 68/58:2225 (1b), the Biography of Guo Tai; and *HHJ* 23:12b

16 The recommendation "Knowing the Way" was a special nomination called by imperial order, and appears to have given the possibility of swift appointment to high office. See note 47 to Yanxi 2.

There is no reference in the annals to any order for such a nomination during this period.

17 *ZZTJ* follows *HHS* in rendering the given name of this man as Chong 冲; *HHJ* 23:12b, and also 8b, has Zhong 仲.

18 *HHJ* 23:13a mentions that Guo Tai had an interest in astrology and in the portents of the apocryphal texts of the New Text school of Confucianism.

19 Commentary to *HHS* (at 2226 note 1) observes the parallel with the comment ascribed to Ru Shukuan 汝叔寬 of the state of Jin 晉, recorded in *Zuo zhuan*, Ding 1; Legge, *CC* V, 745 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 487). Commentary explains the character 支 *zhi* as 持 "to hold, maintain, support."

I *HHJ* 22:2b-3a; and *HHS* 53/43:1747 (7b), the Biography of Xu Zhi.

J *HHS* 68/58:2230 (5a), the Biography of Guo Tai; and *HHJ* 23:11a-b.

saw him and said, "You have high ability, surpassing other men and quite enough to gain you wealth and power. By the time you are forty you will have a wide reputation. When you reach that point, however, you must keep careful check of your conduct. If you don't, you will lose everything."

Later, the Excellency over the Masses Yuan Wei wanted to find a husband for his niece. When he saw Huang Yun, he sighed and said, "If only I had a son-in-law like him, that would be ideal."

When Huang Yun heard of this, he arranged to divorce his wife [so as to be free to marry the Lady Yuan]. His wife called a great assembly of the family for the parting ceremony, but then, in the midst of the gathering, she rolled up her sleeves and read out a fifteen-point list of Huang Yun's guilty secrets. Then she left. Huang Yun was utterly shamed and rejected.²⁰

K Before this, Huang Yun and Jin Wenjing of Hanzhong both relied upon their talents and intelligence, and their names were celebrated far and near, but neither would accept summons to office. They claimed to be staying at the capital for medical reasons, and they would have no dealings with clients or retainers. Day and night the excellencies and other high ministers sent personal followers to ask after their illnesses, and junior officials gathered in crowds outside their gates; but they would see only a few of them. When one of the Three Excellencies had it in mind to make a personal appointment, he would frequently ask their opinion, and they would act according to their advice.

Fu Rong said to Li Ying, "These two men never earned real fame for their conduct, but they maintain themselves now like the heroes of the age. They have excellencies and ministers asking about their illnesses, and imperial officials sitting at their gateway. I am afraid that their petty trickery will harm the cause of righteous reform, for their reputation is groundless and false. You should make a special investigation of them."²¹

Li Ying did so. As a result the reputations of the two men were

20 *HHS* and *HHJ* say that the wife of Huang Yun was a woman of the Xiahou 夏侯 clan. Though they were not a notable lineage at this time, the Xiahou of Qiao county in Pei rose to great prominence under the successor state of Wei 魏 founded by Cao Cao 曹操 at the end of Han: deC, *Imperial Warlord*.

K *HHS* 68/58:2232-33 (6a-b), the Biography of Fu Rong.

21 During these years, Li Ying was variously Intendant of Henan, administrator of the capital commandery, or Director of Retainers, with inspection and censorial authority over the capital province: *HHS* 67/57:2192-94

punctured and the numbers of their followers dwindled away. Within a couple of weeks, they had fled away in shame and embarrassment. Later, for one fault or another, they both suffered public rejection.²²[49]

- L Qiu Xiang of Chenliu was an upright and modest man, but no-one in his neighbourhood recognised his worth.²³ At the age of forty he became headman of Pu village.²⁴ Among the people was a certain Chen Yuan, who lived alone with his mother. The mother went to Qiu Xiang and accused Chen Yuan of failing to act with proper filial

22 There is a contradiction between the stories about Huang Yun in this passage and in passage J immediately above. If he had been so humiliated by his wife's revelations, as passage J tells us, how could he have restored his position to be regarded as highly as the present passage describes? On the other hand, if he had been the subject of a formal investigation and so driven from the capital in shame, why should an influential man such as Yuan Wei have wished to have him as a son-in-law? One may note, moreover, that although Yuan Wei was a member of a powerful clan, he became Excellency over the Masses for the first time only in the reign of Emperor Ling, in 172: passage L of Xiping 1 and see also note 77 to Jianning 2.

HHS 68/58 has the two stories in different places, one in the Biography of Guo Tai, and the other in that of Fu Rong. In fact, the Palace edition text of the Biography of Fu Rong, the base of the present passage, describes the partner of Jin Wenjing of Hanzhong as Wang Zi'ai of Liang kingdom. *HHSJJ* at 6a, however, observes that editors agree the character 王 *wang* has been miswritten for 黃 *huang*, that *HHS* 68/58:2230 gives the style of Huang Yun as Zi'ai 子艾, and that Liang 梁 is an old name for the region of Jiyin. On that basis, they accept the identification, as followed by *ZZTJ*.

In its account of the embarrassing divorce in passage J above, *HHJ* 23:11a-b describes the husband as Huang Yuannai 元艾, presumably an elision and slight corruption of the personal name and style. The *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 7:16a-b, describes the partner of Jin Wenjing as Wang Zi'ai. There seems no doubt, however, that the same person is referred to in all accounts of these anecdotes.

Whether it is a correct identification, however, is still questionable. It is possible that the two disparate anecdotes were attached early to the same unfortunate confidence trickster.

- L *HHS* 76/66:2479-80 (15a-16b), the Biography of Qiu Lan in the Chapter on the Lenient Officials.
- 23 *HHS* says that Qiu Lan 仇覽 had the additional personal name of Xiang 香, and *ZZTJ* refers to him by that second name
- 24 *HHS* says that Qiu Lan/Xiang came from the county of Kaocheng in Chenliu (see below). Pu village must have been within that county, and was probably his native place.

piety.²⁵

Qiu Xiang was very surprised, and said, "Just recently I went by Chen Yuan's house, and the buildings were in good order and the fields were at the right stage of the season's work.

1773 "This man is not wicked, it is simply that his moral training has been lacking. The mother is a widow and has cared for the orphan son. She is now growing old and frail. How can she truly want to abandon years of the toil of upbringing for a single burst of anger?

"Moreover, the mother has cared for this son whom her husband left to her. If she fails to carry out this duty, and supposing the dead have consciousness, then even if she lives a hundred years how will she face her man?"

The woman wept and got up. Then Qiu Xiang went himself to Chen Yuan's house, and he explained to him the proper relationships of mankind and the proper conduct of a filial son, illustrating his talk with examples of the good or ill fortune which came in retribution.

Chen Yuan was touched and impressed, and became a most filial son.

The magistrate of Kaocheng, Wang Huan of Henei, appointed Qiu Xiang as his Registrar, and said to him, "I have heard that when you were at Pu village, you, did not punish Chen Yuan but reformed. You seem to have been reluctant to act as an eagle or a hawk."²⁶

Qiu Xiang replied, "To act as an eagle or a hawk is not as good as being a phoenix. That is why I took no legal action against him."

Wang Huan remarked, "A thicket of thorns is not the nest for a phoenix, and a hundred *li* is not enough for a man of worth."²⁷ So he gave Qiu Xiang a month's salary, and sent him to the Imperial University.

Guo Tai and Fu Rong each paid him a visit, sending in their cards,²⁸

²⁵ The charge of *buxiao* 不孝 "failing to act with proper filial piety" was extremely serious, for such behaviour was a sin against the proper order of the Confucian state.

²⁶ *Zuo zhuan*, Wen 18; Legge *CC* V, 282 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 551), has the homily, "When you see a man who transgresses those rules [of propriety] towards his ruler, take him off as an eagle or a hawk pursues a small bird."

²⁷ By "thicket of thorns" Wang Huan refers to the complications of day-to-day business, and "a hundred *li*" has layered meaning; a *li* 里 was both a length of road and also a unit of local administration, while a hundred square *li* was a territory for government. So the hundred *li* could refer to the county of Kaocheng.

²⁸ *HHS* gives more details of the relationship: Fu Rong came from the same commandery as Qiu Xiang, and after they had met he was impressed by the manner in which Qiu

and he lodged with them. Next morning, when Guo Tai got up, he went to the foot of Qiu Xiang's bed and bowed to him, saying, "Rather than my colleague, you are my teacher."

Having completed his studies, Qiu Xiang returned to his native village. When he was home, he was always [50] dressed in formal clothes, and his wife and children served him as they would the sternest of rulers. If his wife or one of his children did something wrong, he would take off his hat to admonish himself [for his failure in teaching or guidance]. His wife or child would stand down in the courtyard to apologise or repent for the misdeed, Qiu Xiang would put his hat on again, and only then would the culprit venture to return once more to the dais. At no time did Qiu Xiang show any change of expression for pleasure or anger.

Refusing all invitations to official position, he died at home.

M In the third month on the day *guihai* [?]²⁹ there was a fall of meteorites at Hu.³⁰

In the summer, in the fifth month on the day *jichou* [2 Jul] there was rain and hail in the capital district.³¹

N The Inspector of Jing province Du Shang called up all the local barbarians to attack the rebels of Ai county and heavily defeated them.³² Several tens of thousands surrendered.

Xiang held himself aloof from the social and political gatherings of the students of the University. He then introduced Qiu Xiang to Guo Tai.

M *HHS* 7:312-13 (12a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

29 There was no *guihai* day (cyclical 60) in the third month of this year, which began on a *renshen* day (cyclical 9) and ended on a *gengzi* day (cyclical 37). The two parallel texts, however, *HHS* 102/12:3262 in the Treatise of Astronomy, and *HHJ* 22:6a, both give the same date.

30 *HHS* 102/12:3262 says that one meteorite fell at Youfufeng and two at Hu; all three made a sound like thunder. No prognostication is attached to the entry.

Hu county was in Youfufeng, southwest of present-day Xi'an. It is possible that the meteorite which fell elsewhere in the commandery was recorded at the capital, Huaili, which lay on the northern bank of the Wei River west of present-day Xi'an.

31 The Treatise of the Five Powers records this phenomenon at *HHS* 105/15:331. The prognostication associates it with the arrogance and jealousy of the Empress Dou, and with her dismissal and death and the fall of her family in the following year: passage G of Yanxi 8.

N *HHS* 38/28:1285-86 (8b-9a), the Biography of Du Shang.

32 On the previous history of the trouble in Jing province, see passages C to J of Yanxi 5 and passages A and B of Yanxi 6. Ai county was in Yuzhang commandery, in the west

Bu Yang and Pan Hong, long-established bandits of Guiyang, fled into deep mountain country, but Du Shang followed them, penetrating several hundred *li*, destroying three of their encampments and capturing great quantities of treasure.³³

1774 Bu Yang and Pan Hong, however, still had a strong following, and Du Shang wanted to continue the attack. His officers and men, however, satisfied with their achievements and concerned with their newly-acquired wealth, had no wish to fight further.

Du Shang calculated that if he treated his men leniently they would refuse battle, and if he tried to force them they would simply run away. He therefore made a proclamation, "Bu Yang and Pan Hong have acted as bandits for more than ten years, and they are practised in both attack and defence. Our forces now are few and isolated, and it is not easy for us to go forward. We shall wait a while, until the commandery levies have all arrived, and then we may resume the advance with combined forces."

And he issued an order for the day giving permission for a hunt. Officers and men were delighted, and they all went out to take part. Then Du Shang secretly ordered his trusted personal followers to set fire to [51] the camp, and all the treasure was destroyed. When the men came back from the hunt, every one of them wept for sorrow.

Du Shang went from man to man to comfort and commiserate, showing the deepest regret for their losses. Then he said, however, "Bu Yang and his fellows have enough treasure with them to make any family rich for generations to come. If you attack now, without waiting for reinforcements, then the booty you will gain will be so great that the few pieces you have lost will not be worth remembering." The soldiers were filled with enthusiasm.

Du Shang gave orders for the men to feed the horses, and to rest and eat, and next day he led his men direct to the enemy camp. Bu Yang and Pan Hong and their fellows felt secure in their isolated fastness, and had no further preparations for defence. The imperial forces took advantage of their surprise, and the enemy were smashed and settled.

Du Shang had been engaged on these campaigns for three years, and all the disturbances were now ended. He was enfeoffed as Marquis of

of present-day Jiangxi. So the bandits were based upon the neighbouring Yang province, but their incursions had troubled Jing.

³³ HHS says that Du Shang pursued the bandits into Nanhai commandery, which was in Jiao/Jiaozhi province to the south, across the watershed of the Nan Ling range.

You District.³⁴

- O In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *renyin* [6 Nov], the emperor made a progress to the south. On the day *gengshen* [24 Nov] he came to Zhangling, and [in the eleventh month] on the day *wuchen* [2 Dec]³⁵ he visited Yunmeng and viewed the Han river there. On his return journey he visited Xinye.³⁶
- P At this time the carriages and outriders for the excellencies and ministers and the imperial concubines and their relatives were numbered in the tens of thousands, and the expenses and labour that was levied were beyond calculation. Hu Teng of Guiyang, who was Attendant Officer in Charge of Conveyances,³⁷ made the proposal that, "The Son of Heaven is always at the centre of the empire;³⁸ wherever his carriage may go, there is the capital. I ask that the Inspector of Jing province be given powers equivalent to those of the Director of

³⁴ Youxiang 右鄉, "West [or Right] District," could be the name of a subordinate unit of any county. It is not possible to tell the site of Du Shang's fief.

O *HHS* 7:313 (12a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

³⁵ The *wuchen* day (cyclical 5) was the first day of the eleventh month of this year. *HHS*, followed by *ZZTJ*, has here omitted the designation of the eleventh month

³⁶ Zhangling county in Nanyang commandery, east of present-day Xiangfan in Hubei, was near the upper reaches of the Yuan River 潁水 which flowed into the marshland region of Yunmeng, near the junction of the Han with the Yangzi. Known as Chongling 舂陵 in Former Han, this was the site of the district marquisate of the Liu family lineage which had produced the founding Emperor Guangwu of Later Han. The district was raised in status to be a county, and the name was changed to Zhangling, in 30 AD. See Bielenstein, *RHD* I, 96. *HHS* 7 notes that Emperor Huan visited Zhangling and gave sacrifice at the ancestral home, tombs and memorial temples.

Xinye, midway between present-day Xiangfan and present-day Nanyang, was the site of a number of family tombs and temples established in the time of Emperor Guangwu. Emperor Huan also paid his respects there.

Emperor He had made a similar journey in 103: *HHS* 4:191. The timing of this progress by Emperor Huan may have been intended to confirm the recovered security in the south.

P *HHS* 69/59:2245 (5b-6a), the Biography of Hu Teng.

³⁷ Attendant Officer in Charge of Conveyances (護駕從事 *hujia congshi*) was not a regular position on the staff of a province, but had obviously been set up for the occasion. Hu Teng was a locally-appointed official on the staff of the Inspector of Jing province, whose circuit included Nanyang and Jiangxia commanderies, on the emperor's route to Yunmeng.

³⁸ Hu Teng is here quoting and adapting an expression, 王者無外 *wangzhe wu wai*, which appears several times in the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*: e.g. Yin 1.6 and Huan 8.6.

Retainers, and that my position be the same as the Attendant for Officials at the Capital."³⁹ The emperor approved. From that point all was well-ordered and none of the entourage dared to extort supplies or give any further trouble to the local officials.

- Q When the emperor was in Nanyang, all his attendants accepted bribes and had imperial letters issued [52] appointing numbers of men as gentlemen-cadets. The Grand Commandant Yang Bing sent in a letter to say, "There is a group of stars by the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure which is called the 'Seats of the Court Gentlemen.'⁴⁰ On the inside, they afford protection to the royal house; on the outside, they guide the common people. You should cut your undue generosity, and block the road of acquisitive demands." As a result of this, the series of imperial appointments came to an end.

1775

- R The Protector of the Qiang Duan Jiong attacked the Dangjian Qiang and defeated them.

In the twelfth month on the day *xinchou* [4 Jan 165] the imperial cortege returned to the capital.

- S The Regular Attendants Tang Heng, the Marquis of Ruyang, and Xu Huang the Marquis of Wuyuan, both died.

- T Before this, the Palace Attendant Kou Rong, a great-grandson of Kou Xun,⁴¹ was a man with a strong sense of moral conduct. There were

³⁹ A regular Inspector had authority only to report upon wrongdoing within his province, and was not entitled to investigate imperial officials. The Director of Retainers had some authority to act without prior reference to the throne, and had specific power to deal with officials of the government in the territory of the capital province. The Attendant in charge of the Bureau for Officials at the Capital was responsible for this aspect of the Director's duties. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 85.

⁴⁰ *HHS* 54/44:1773 (10b-11a), the Biography of Yang Bing
SJ 27:1299 and *JS* 11:291-293, the treatises of astronomy, describe the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure (太微垣 *Taiwei yuan*), a circle of stars in the Western constellations Virgo and Leo and, to the north, a cluster of fifteen stars in *Coma Berenices* identified as the "Seats of the Court Gentlemen" (郎位 *langwei*). See Chavannes, *MH* III, 347, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 78 and Star Map 2.

R *HHS* 7:313 (12a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

S This passage is adapted by Sima Guang from *HHS* 69/59:2522.

T *HHS* 16/6:627-33 (21b-24b), the Biography of Kou Rong.

⁴¹ Kou Xun 寇恂, a man from the northern commandery of Shanggu, had been one of the earliest supporters of the future Emperor Guangwu, and served as a military commander and administrator in the civil wars which brought the establishment of

few people he would have dealings with, so the powerful favourites hated him.

A son of Kou Rong's elder cousin married the emperor's younger sister, the Senior Princess of Yiyang, and the emperor also took a great-niece of Kou Rong into the harem. The attendants became increasingly resentful of him, so they joined in slander to accuse him of some crime, and as a result he was dismissed and was sent back to his former commandery [of Shanggu] with all his clans-people.

Junior officials in the local government saw how things were going and joined the actions against him. Kou Rong was afraid he would not escape [this combination of hostility] and he [sought to] go back to the palace to plead his case. Before he could get there, however, the Inspector [of You province] Zhang Jing sent in a document of impeachment, claiming Kou Rong was planning to cross the frontier illegally. As an edict was issued for his arrest, Kou Rong fled into hiding and remained there several years. When an amnesty was issued, he was excluded from its benefits; he was in growing poverty and distress.

Then he sent in a letter to the emperor from his place of exile,⁴² "Your majesty governs Heaven and keeps all worldly things in their proper order. You are father and mother to the [53] people, and every person, from the moment of their first teeth, receives your virtuous influence."⁴³

Later Han. See Bielenstein, *RHD* I, 26; *RHD* II, 73, 224 *et sub voce*. His biography is in *HHS* 16/6:620-26, preceding that of Kou Rong.

As reward for Kou Xun's support, he and other members of his family were enfeoffed as marquises. One of his grand-daughters married Deng Zhi 鄧騭, elder brother of the regent Dowager Deng in the time of Emperor An at the beginning of the second century AD. The Kou family was thus one of the powerful and wealthy groups at the imperial capital (*HHS* 16/6:626-27).

Kou Rong does not appear to have held any regular administrative office in the bureaucracy, and his appointment as a Palace Attendant, a high and honourable advisory position (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59), was evidently due primarily to his family background and relationship to the throne.

⁴² An extended version of this letter comprises almost the whole of the biography of Kou Rong, *HHS* 16/6:628-632. The document was regarded as an important literary composition from an innocent man, wrongly accused.

⁴³ Commentary to *HHS* quotes from *Da Dai li ji* 13:3a-b; Wilhelm, *Buch der Sitte*, 244-245, which observes that male children get their first teeth at eight months, female children at seven months. There is a parallel text in *Hanshi waizhuan* 1:8b-9b; Hightower, *Han shih wai chuan*, 27-28.

"Yet my brothers and I are the only ones who, without committing any crime, have been attacked and criticised by ministers of special power, while swarms of false witnesses have joined in plots against us.⁴⁴ This has caused your majesty to neglect the compassion worthy of a forgiving mother, but display instead the anger which throws down the shuttle.⁴⁵

"Cruel and slanderous officials have spread broad nets for me, and they encourage one another against us. It is as if they pursued an enemy, and sought to extend punishment even against those who are dead.⁴⁶ They would hack the trees from our family tomb-mound, and they cause your august court to raise false accusations.

"It is for this reason that I did not dare to stand alone against your heavenly authority, but instead took refuge among the mountains and forests. I thought to wait for the time that your majesty would bring your spiritual and sage-like attention to my case, would apply your special and unique intelligence, saving the lives of the miserable and the innocent.

1776 "How could I have known that your wrath would be more than a season's duration,⁴⁷ and that your anger would fail to ease within the year? But it now turns out that messengers have been sent post-haste to

44 The phrase 青蠅 *qing ying* "dark flies" is an metaphor for slanderers: see, for example, the *Qing ying* Ode of *Shi jing*, II.7.5; Legge, *CC* IV, 394-395, also Karlgren, *Odes*, 219 at 172.

45 This is a reference to a well-known parable. The worthy Zeng Can 曾參, a disciple of Confucius, was away from his home when another man, also called Zeng Can, committed a murder. People went to tell Zeng Can's mother, "Zeng Can has killed someone." At first, the mother replied that her son would do no such thing, but when the same news was brought to her for the third time, she believed it: in grief and despair she abandoned her weaving, threw down the shuttle, leapt the wall of the courtyard and fled.

The biography of Zeng Can is in *SJ* 67:2205; the authorship of *Xiao jing*, the Classic of Filial Piety, is ascribed to him. The anecdote is recorded in *SJ* 71:2311, as told by Gan Mao 甘茂 to King Wu of Qin 秦武王, warning him against the influence of slanders, also *Zhanguo ce* 3:22a.

46 The text in *HHS* 16/6 identifies these dishonest accusers by name. Kou Rong was complaining not only against the Inspector Zhang Jing, but also the Director of Retainers Ying Feng 應奉, the Intendant of Henan He Bao 何豹, and the Prefect of Luoyang Yuan Teng 袁騰; the latter three presumably being the officials who had reported against him in the first place.

47 Kou Rong here refers to the seasons of spring and summer, the times of growth and life, and therefore periods when deathly anger should not be maintained. See, for example, *Chunqiu fanlu* 12(49):2a-3a.

proclaim accusations everywhere, and the cruel words of indictment are more bitter than frost or snow. Those who had me cast out still follow in my track, those who pursue me in their chariots never cease. Though the ruler of Chu offered rewards for Wu Yun,⁴⁸ and [Emperor Gao of] Han pursued Ji Bu;⁴⁹ neither were so fierce as this.

"Since the time I suffered accusation, three amnesties have been issued and two opportunities for redemption.⁵⁰ No evidence [has been presented] to support the charges, and this alone should justify some remission. Yet your majesty maintains still deeper hatred against me, and those in authority are as determined as ever before.

"If I halt [my flight], I am caught and destroyed; if I continue to run, I remain a fugitive exile. Should I live, I am doomed to poverty; when I die, I shall be an unquiet ghost. Heaven is broad, but there is nowhere to conceal myself; Earth is wide, but there is no place to take refuge. I tramp the hard ground, and yet feel I drown in [54] troubled waters; I

48 Wu Zixu 伍子胥, who had the personal name Yun 員 (Zixu being his style), was a celebrated statesman of the region of the lower Yangzi in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC. Originally from Chu 楚, he fled that state when his father and uncle were killed by the king. He then took service with the king of Wu 吳, and guided him to victory over Chu and the rival state of Yue 越. His biography is in *SJ* 66:2171-83; see also Chavannes, *MH* IV, 18-32.

SJ 66:2173 tells how the king of Chu announced a reward of fifty thousand *shi* of grain, and noble honours, for any person who could capture Wu Zixu.

49 Ji Bu 季布 was a man from Chu 楚, who served as a military commander under Xiang Yu 項羽, great rival to the founding Emperor Gao of Han. His biography is in *SJ* 100:2729-32.

After Xiang Yu was overthrown Emperor Gao proclaimed a reward of a thousand pieces of gold for the capture of Ji Bu, and threatened the destruction of any family that sheltered him. Through an intermediary, however, Ji Bu was able to make his peace, and he became a loyal and distinguished minister of Han.

50 Hulsewé, *RHL*, 205-214, discusses redemption (贖 *shu*) as an act of grace from the emperor, permitting a person subject to punishment to commute the penalty into a payment of money or goods. Redemption should be distinguished from an ordinary fine, which was a prescribed penalty for certain specified acts; redemption was a special privilege to ease the penalty for a more serious crime.

At 208 Hulsewé notes that redemption appears to have been granted particularly to fugitives from justice who had not yet been apprehended: this would have been appropriate to Kou Rong, and he may have hoped for such a grant.

At 214, Hulsewé lists the edicts of redemption recorded for this period: none appear between 149 and 168. There had, however, been amnesties in 160 (passage A of Yanxi 3), 161 (passage D of Yanxi 4) and 163 (passage A of Yanxi 6), and there was another in 165 (passage H of Yanxi 8); some opportunity for redemption may have been included in those edicts. See also note 2 to Yongshou 3.

keep away from precipitous cliffs, yet I have a frightening sense of being crushed beneath a great weight. If I have committed the ultimate and most heinous crime against every form of morality, worthy to be staked out in the open, with the knives prepared for torture,⁵¹ then your majesty should make public proclamation of my faults, so the suspicions of those who examine the matter may be put at rest.

"I long to return within the gates of the nation to sit on the red jasper stone of humble witness, for the three counsellors, with the lords and ministers, to judge my cause.⁵² But the gates to Heaven are ninefold deep, and there are pitfalls at every turn. Any step may bring me into a trap; any movement may cause a net to cast upon me. I have no way to come before you, and no expectation that I shall be believed. Alas! One may live so long, but what is there to hope for?

"A loyal minister, it might seem, would kill himself to appease his master's anger, and a filial son would give his life to soothe his father's rage. So the great Shun refused to avoid the dangers of the earthen granary or the deep-dug well,⁵³ and Shensheng made no arguments

51 *Guo yu* 4:38 refers to punishment for the most serious crimes being carried out on open ground outside the city walls (原野 *yuanye*), as opposed to those which were administered in the market-place (市 *shi*) or within a court (朝 *chao*).

52 *Zhou li* 9(36):22b-23a; Biot, *Rites* II, 347-348, describes the audience of a ruler. On his left are nine bunches of thorns which mark the places of the ministers and counsellors; on his right are another nine bunches of thorns marking the places of the great feudatories; in front of the ruler are three *huai* 槐 trees (*Sophora japonica*) which mark the places of the three excellencies (三公 *san gong*).

The same text refers to the *feishi* 肺石 "lung-coloured stone." This is described also in *Zhou li* 9(35):11a; Biot, *Rites* II, 313, as the place of a witness: the red of the stone reflects the sincerity of the heart.

53 *SJ* 1:34; Chavannes, *MH* I, 74-75, tells how the father Gusou 瞽叟 and the half-brother Xiang 象 of the mythical Emperor Shun 舜 sought to kill him. For a first attempt, they ordered him to climb an earthen granary and re-plaster it, then took away the ladder and set fire to it. Shun, however, used two large hats as a form of parachute to lighten his fall, and so came safely to the ground (or, according to another interpretation, he used them as coverings to protect himself as he made his way through the flames).

In the second attempt, Shun was ordered to dig a well. When he was deep enough, the two men threw down the spoil to smother him: Shun, however, had dug a side-passage in the wall of the well, and so made his escape.

Though Shun saved himself from these attempts on his life, it is notable that he would not disobey a direct command of his father. See also *Mengzi* VA:2.3; Legge, *CC* II, 346-347 (Lau, *Mencius*, 139).

against the wicked slanders of his father's wife.⁵⁴

1777 "Have I ventured to neglect this code of conduct, and have I failed to sacrifice myself as appeasement for your wrath? I beg now to carry out this duty, and I ask that your majesty grant pardon for their lives to my brothers, and permit my family to retain some part of our inheritance. This would redound to your broad and generous humanity.

"In the face of death I express these feelings. My heart's blood flows in tears as I write."

When the emperor saw this letter he was yet more angry than before. Kou Rong was executed, and from this time his family became weak and withered away.⁵⁵[55]

54 Shensheng 申生 was the eldest son of Duke Xian of Jin 晉獻公 and the elder brother of Chong'er 重耳, who later became Duke Wen 文.

Duke Xian took the Lady Li 驪 as his principal wife. The Lady ordered Shensheng to offer sacrifice to his own dead mother, and Shensheng sent some of the sacrificial foods to his father. Then Lady Li put poison into them and accused Shensheng of seeking to kill his father.

His supporters urged Shensheng to explain the truth, but he said, "If I explain the matter, guilt will be fixed upon the Lady Li. The duke is getting old, and I will have taken his joy from him." Rather than do such a thing, he killed himself. After this incident, Chong'er and his remaining brother fled the state. See *Zuo zhuan*, Xi 4; Legge, *CC V*, 141-142 (Couvreur, *Chronique I*, 245-247).

55 Sima Guang, in his *Kaoyi* commentary to this passage, notes that *HHJ* 21:12b-14a has the destruction of Kou Rong dated in Yanxi 1: 158, *i.e.* during the hegemony of Liang Ji.

As he remarks, however, the affair was obviously spread over some years, and *HHS* 16/6 says that it took place during the Yanxi period. Xiang Kai in his memorials of 166, moreover, and Dou Wu in 167, both refer to the fate of Kou Rong with the implication that Emperor Huan was personally responsible. See passages S of Yanxi 9 and G of Yongkang 1 (though the extract of the memorial in the latter passage does not include that particular sentence from *HHS* 69/59).

It would seem, then, that the incident of Kou Rong should have taken place between the time Emperor Huan took personal power in 159 and Xiang Kai's first memorial of criticism in 166. Moreover, since the listings by Xiang Kai and Dou Wu put Kou [Rong] in third place after Liang [Ji] and Sun [Shou], but before Deng [Wanshi], who died in 165 when the Empress Deng was disgraced (passage G of Yanxi 8), it is likely Kou Rong was dead by the beginning of that year.

Yanxi 延熹 8: 165 AD

30 January 165 - 17 February 166

A In the spring, in the first month the emperor sent the Regular Attendant Zuo Guan to go to Hu county and offer sacrifice to Laozi.¹

B Liu Kui, King of Bohai,² frequently acted wildly and eccentrically, and had several times showed himself presumptuous, proud and disobedient of the law.

Shi Bi of Chenliu, Adjutant of the Northern Army, sent in a sealed letter, "I have heard that the proper attitude of an emperor or king towards his relatives and kinsmen is that although his affection is abundant he will certainly display it with authority, and even though the person is of noble birth he will certainly apply the regular restraints to him. By this means, the cause of peace and harmony will flourish, and generous treatment of one's own flesh and blood will be maintained.

"Now I have heard that Liu Kui, the King of Bohai, has collected

A *HHS* 7:313 (12a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

¹ The biography of the sage Laozi 老子, legendary author of the philosophical Taoist classic *Daode jing* 道德經, is in *SJ* 63:2139-43, where we are told that he was a man from Hu 苦 in the state of Chu 楚, that his surname was Li 李 and his personal name Er 耳.

In Later Han times, Hu county was in Chen kingdom, near present-day Luyi in Henan, some 250 kilometres southeast of Luoyang: *HHSJJ* 110/20:16a-b. On pronunciation, I follow the commentary of Li Xian to *HHS* 7.

A temple to Laozi had been erected at the accepted site of the sage's birthplace in Hu county at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Huan, when the minority government was under the control of the Liang family. The ceremony at this time evidently represents a personal interest, revived by Emperor Huan himself.

In the eleventh month of this same year, (January 166 according to the Western calendar), the Regular Attendant Guan Ba was sent on another visit to pay respects at Hu county, and on this occasion it is probable that the celebrated *Laozi ming* 老子銘 stele was erected. The second visit, however, is not mentioned in *ZZTJ* below.

On the ceremonial, and some aspects of the political and religious background, see Seidel, *Divinisation de Lao tseu*, 36-43, deC, "Harem," 34-42, and "Politics and Philosophy," 72-80. See further at passage F to Yanxi 9.

B *HHS* 64/54:2109 (6b-8a), the Biography of Shi Bi; and *HHJ* 22:7b-8a.

² Liu Kui was the younger twin brother of Emperor Huan. He succeeded to the marquise of Liwu 蠡吾, vacated by the emperor as he came to the throne, but in 147 he was made King of Bohai, to maintain the lineage of Liu Kang 鴻, a son of Emperor Zhang whose grandson Liu Hong 伉 had been King of Bohai but died without heirs. There is a short biography of Liu Kui in *HHS* 55/45:1798.

around him companions who are frivolous, arrogant and never satisfied. Within his palace he holds orgies of wine and music, and in his public behaviour there is no good order. Those whom he keeps with him are either the disgraced scions of other households, or the dismissed servants of this court. We may surely expect such troubles as were brought by Yang Sheng and Wu Bei.³

1778 "The officials of the province are reluctant to make any accusation, and the Tutor and the Chancellor have been unable to give any assistance.⁴ Your majesty has shown abundant affection toward your young brother, and you cannot bring yourself to act with firmness. However, I am worried that delay may only increase the harm that is done.⁵

"I beg that you give publicity to my humble submission, to let it be known to the hundred officials that punishment must be meted out with

3 Yang Sheng was a counsellor of Liu Wu 劉武, King of Liang 梁, the second brother of Emperor Jing of Former Han. He encouraged Liu Wu to seek to be made Heir, and assassins were sent against ministers of Han who opposed the project. Yang Sheng and his colleagues were found out and compelled to commit suicide. See *SJ* 58:2085, *SJ* 108:2859-60, *HS* 47:2208-10, *HS* 52:2396-97.

Wu Bei was a minister of Liu An 劉安 the King of Huainan 淮南, who took part in the plans of his king to revolt against Han in the time of Emperor Wu. The plot was discovered, the king committed suicide, and Wu Bei was executed. See *SJ* 118:3085-94; Watson, *RGH* II, 372-387; *HS* 44:2149-52 and 45:2167-74.

Both these kings had some expectations that they might be named heirs to the imperial throne, and it was this misplaced and mistaken ambition which encouraged them on the fatal path of revolt. At this time, Emperor Huan also had no sons, so Liu Kui was his nearest male relative.

4 The Chancellor was the effective head of administration in a royal fief, with status and powers equivalent to those of a commandery administrator; he was not the subject of the nominal ruler: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 106-107.

A Tutor in a kingdom performed essentially an honorary role, but theoretically served as the moral guardian of the ruler. Like other members of the personal and senior administrative staff of the kingdoms under Later Han, he was appointed directly by the central government: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 107.

5 *Zuo zhuan*, Yin 1; Legge, *CC* V, 5-6 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 4-7), tells how the mother of Duke Zhuang of Zheng 鄭莊公 persuaded him to grant an important city to her younger son, the duke's brother Duan 段. One of the duke's counsellors warned him not to allow the situation to develop further; like a creeping vine when it has grown and spread, the danger becomes more and more difficult to eradicate. Eventually, indeed, Duan did set himself up against Duke Zhang, but was defeated and driven into exile.

The phrase 滋蔓 *ziman* used by Shi Bi here reflects this anecdote: *zi* indicates abundance, flourishing, and hence action and disturbance; *man* is the creeping of a plant

justice and equity. When the law has been settled and the punishment fixed, then you may send down an edict of compassion. It is appropriate that you make a few special concessions, but that can happen only after your officials have carried out their strict responsibilities.

"If this procedure is followed, your sage court will be free of any accusation that you have brought harm to a close relative, and at the same time the King of Bohai will be able [56] to continue his reign in prosperity. If you do not do this, I am afraid there will be serious trouble in the future."

The emperor did not agree to this.⁶

⁶ There are some curious aspects of this memorial, which is, apart from the king's biography in *HHS* 55/45 (see note 2 above), the only significant source of information about Liu Kui.

Shi Bi's biography, which is followed by *ZZTJ*, says that he gave his comments while he was at the capital, in a comparatively low-ranking post which was primarily concerned with the good order of the Northern Army, the five regiments of professional troops maintained as a strategic reserve at the capital: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 118, and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 45-46. It is hard to imagine that Shi Bi had adequate information at that time, and it would surely have been inappropriate for him to have criticised the emperor's brother in such fashion.

In fact, it is fairly clear that Shi Bi must have sent in the report after he had been appointed Chancellor of Pingyuan commandery, a position he held at the time of the First Faction Incident in 166-167: passage M of Yongkang 1. Pingyuan was in Qing province, while Bohai was in Ji province, but the two territories bordered one another by the mouth of the Yellow River north of the Shandong peninsula.

After his appointment to Pingyuan, though criticism of a neighbouring administration and court might still have needed justification, Shi Bi could at least claim he was acting from a sense of public responsibility.

HHJ 22 dates the memorial of Shi Bi to Yanxi 7, the year before the degradation of Liu Kui recorded below – this seems quite likely.

As to the accusations by Shi Bi, of poor morality, loose conduct and arrogant behaviour, all that is known otherwise is that Liu Kui had many concubines. In this, he shared the tastes of his brother the emperor; though unlike Emperor Huan he did sire a great many children, both sons and daughters: passage J of Xiping 1 below. Such activity was not uncommon among the holders of royal fiefs, exiled from the court and deprived of any real authority, and it is otherwise questionable whether Liu Kui deserved Shi Bi's strictures.

Similarly, nothing is known about the form that Liu Kui's later "rebellion" or insubordination is supposed to have taken. He was reinstated less than three years later, just before Emperor Huan's death, but the scandal obviously removed any chance he might succeed to the imperial throne, and this was a matter of considerable advantage to the Dou family of the future Empress-Dowager and her relatives: see passage T and

Liu Kui did later plan rebellion. The senior ministers asked that he should be dismissed, and an imperial edict demoted him to be King of Yingtao, with the revenue of a single county.⁷

- C On the day *bingshen* [28 Feb], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.⁸

An edict ordered the excellencies, ministers and colonels to recommend Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright men [as candidates for office.]⁹

[In the second month on the day *jiyou*: 13 Mar] there was a fire in the Hall of a Thousand Autumns and the Hall of a Myriad Years.¹⁰

notes 29 and 31 to Yongkang 1. Regardless of Shi Bi's comments, it is possible the accusation was trumped up; and Shi Bi's criticism may in fact have been part of a larger design.

- 7 Yingtao was the capital of Julu commandery in Ji province, near present-day Baixiang in Hebei, more than a hundred kilometres from Bohai.

HHS 7:313 dates the demotion to the first month of Yanxi 8.

- C *HHS* 7:314 (12a-b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

- 8 *HHS* 108/18:3369, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records that the eclipse took place in the *Yingshi* 營室 constellation, also known as the Shi lunar mansion 室宿, being an area about the two chief stars of Western Pegasus: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 99 and Star Map 5. The eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3291.

The Treatise notes that the *Yingshi* constellation represents the chief among women, and that the death of the Empress Lü in 180 BC was foretold by an eclipse in the same constellation: on that eclipse of 4 March 181 BC, Oppolzer 2441, see *HS* 27Bc:1501; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 212-213 and 199. The Treatise duly relates this eclipse to the deposition and death of the Empress Deng, which took place less than four weeks later: passage G below.

- 9 *HHS* 7 indicates that this edict was issued in response to the omen of the eclipse, which was not an uncommon procedure: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 133. It is uncertain whether one set of candidates was recommended as Worthy and Good (賢良 *xianliang*) and the other as Sincere and Upright (方正 *fangzheng*), both of which titles could be allocated separately, or whether they were in this instance combined: cf. note 25 below and deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 25. Similarly, among the recommending officers, it is difficult to judge who were designated by the term "colonels" (*xiaowei*): it seems likely to have included the colonels of the regiments of the Northern Army and the [Colonel] Director of Retainers, possibly the Colonel of the City Gates, but perhaps not the [Colonel] Protectors of the Qiang or the Wuhuan.

- 10 *HHS* 7 and the parallel passage in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 104/14:3296 both date these events to a *jiyou* day. The Treatise mentions the second month specifically, and although it is not mentioned in *HHS* 7, it must be assumed from the reference to the eclipse taking place on the last day of the month before [the first month].

- D Hou Can, younger brother of the Regular Attendant Hou Lan,¹¹ was Inspector of Yi province. Cruel and extortionate, he accumulated treasure which was counted by the hundreds of thousands.

The Grand Commandant Yang Bing memorialised that he be summonsed with a cage cart, and Hou Can committed suicide on the way. When his treasure was assessed, it filled more than three hundred wagons, all laden with gold and silver, brocade and silk.

Yang Bing now sent in a further memorial, "When I examine the ancient regulations, I find that eunuchs were first used simply as messengers, porters and guards for the inner apartments. Now, however, they receive excessive favour and hold real power. Those who support them are given praise and promotion; those who oppose them are likely to find some opportunity taken to do them harm.

"Their mansions could serve as models for the palaces of kings and dukes, their treasure is comparable to that of the emperor himself. They have nothing but the best of food and drink, and even their servants and handmaidens are dressed in fine white silk.

"Hou Can, younger brother of the Regular Attendant Hou Lan, has shown the utmost greed and cruelty, and has brought upon himself misfortune and destruction. Hou Lan will immediately have appreciated the significance of this, and he now has some cause for anxiety on his own behalf. In my humble opinion, he should no longer be permitted to remain in a close position to your majesty.[57]

On the other hand, the Annals say that a yellow dragon (黃龍 *huang long*) appeared in an office of the Hall of Excellent Virtue (嘉德署 *Jiade shu*) of the Southern Palace. The Treatise says, however, that there were fires in the Hall of Excellent Virtue and also in the Hall of the Yellow Dragon and in the Hall of a Thousand Autumns and the Hall of a Myriad Years in the Southern Palace. It seems likely the Treatise is correct, that there was a hall called "Yellow Dragon," and that the character 見 *jian* "appear" in *HHS* 7 is a mistaken interpolation. *HHS* 107/17:3344, being the relevant section of the Treatise on the Five Powers, records the appearance of a dead dragon at Yewang in Yanxi 7, but has no reference to a yellow dragon at the palace in the following year. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 25, 27 and 33.

The Treatise records several fires in the imperial palace at this time, but does not relate them to any particular event. They were presumably taken as signs of general unrest and potential trouble.

- ¹¹ The main edition of *ZZTJ* here describes Hou Can as the elder brother (兄 *xiong*) of Hou Lan, but another version has him as a younger brother (弟 *di*). Yang Bing's memorial below and the text of *HHS* 54/44 support the reading of *di*, but one might have expected that a family would maintain the masculinity of the elder son and apply castration only to a younger one.

"In former times, when Duke Yi punished the father of Bing Chu and took for himself the wife of Yan Zhi, he caused these two men to combine forces and he met with disaster amongst the bamboo.¹²

- 1779 "Hou Lan should be removed at once and thrown to the tigers. It is not appropriate that you extend your gracious leniency to a person such as this. I ask that he be dismissed from office and sent back to his home commandery".

When the memorial came in, the Masters of Writing in the Imperial Secretariat summoned the clerks in Yang Bing's office and reprimanded them,¹³ "In the organisation of government and the demarcations of responsibility, each has its own areas of concern. The Three Excellencies deal with matters outside, the imperial clerks investigate matters within.¹⁴ In this memorial, you have gone beyond your proper authority and discuss the affairs of the emperor's personal staff. By what precedent, either in classical texts or the regulations of Han, do you justify this? We ask that the minister reply in detail."

Yang Bing sent in his answer, "The *Zuo Chronicle of the Spring and Autumn Annals* says, 'charged to remove the danger to my ruler, I

12 *Zuo zhuan*, Wen 18; Legge, *CC V*, 281 (Couvreur, *Chronique I*, 546-547), tells how Duke Yi of Qi 齊懿公, before he came to power, had a dispute about some land, but got the worst of it. Later, after his accession, his opponent was dead but the duke had the grave opened and desecrated the corpse by cutting off its feet. He nonetheless employed Bing Chu 邴歆, son of his late enemy, as his charioteer.

Again, he took the wife of Yan Zhi 閻職 for himself, but used Yan Zhi as number three man in his chariot.

Predictably, the two men whom the duke had wronged plotted against him, and they killed him during a bathing party, leaving his body in a grove of bamboo.

13 The Masters of Writing in the Imperial Secretariat held authority to check the content of documents, and when there was suspicion of lese-majesty, discourtesy or an improper expression of opinion, they made the first investigation. This was sometimes carried out by oral interrogation, with opportunity for the accused to justify himself.

For another such case, one may note the discussion concerning the memorials submitted by Xiang Kai in the following year: passage S of Yanxi 9.

14 The Masters of Writing are probably referring to a principle from the beginning of Former Han, when it appears that the Imperial Chancellor (丞相 *chengxiang*) was responsible for general administration, and the Imperial Counsellor (御史大夫 *yushi dafu*: Bielenstein: Grandee Secretary) was charged with the overview of imperial officials: deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 43, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 9. The situation had developed considerably since that time, however, and the Masters of Writing were relying on very vague and distant precedent.

It is the next sentence, accusing Yang Bing of interference in the matters concerning the personal staff of the ruler, which presents the critical point of the debate.

regarded nothing but how I might be able to do it.¹⁵

"When Deng Tong was acting negligently, Shentu Jia summoned him and criticised him. Emperor Wen accepted this, and then begged him off.¹⁶ In the precedents of Han, there is no subject from which the Three Excellencies are debarred."

The Masters of Writing could not maintain their case, and the emperor in the end had no recourse but to dismiss Hou Lan.

E Following this,¹⁷ the Director of Retainers Han Yan sent in memorials on the crimes and wrongdoing of Zuo Guan. In addition, he called

15 *Zuo zhuan*, Xi 24; Legge, *CC* V, 191 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 351-352), tells how Chong'er 重耳, the future Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公, eventually came to power in that state in 635 BC. The chief eunuch Pei 披 came to see him, but the duke at first refused audience, accusing Pei of two earlier attempts to assassinate him, at the behest of his father and his brother, who had held power before him. Pei, however, replied that he gave his loyalty entirely to his ruler, and thought of no-one else. Now that Chong'er was his ruler, his loyalty went to him. And he went on to warn Chong'er of a plot against his life: the new duke escaped as a result of Pei's warning.

16 Deng Tong 鄧通, a personal favourite of Emperor Wen of Former Han, became immensely wealthy through his control of the minting of copper coinage.

On one occasion, however, the Imperial Chancellor Shentu Jia 申屠嘉 attended court and found Deng Tong sitting beside the emperor and conducting himself in a most disrespectful manner. Shentu Jia remarked that although Emperor Wen was entitled to favour whomsoever he wished, and grant them such rank and wealth as he pleased, when it came to a matter of court ceremonial this was a question of the dignified tradition of the dynasty, handed down from the founding Emperor Gao. He therefore summoned Deng Tong to the Chancellor's offices, accused him of "Great Iniquity"/*nefas* (大不敬 *da bujing*): see note 71 to Yanxi 2), and prepared to execute him. Deng Tong was only rescued by personal order of the emperor, and Emperor Wen apologised on his behalf, explaining that Deng Tong was a foolish fellow, but it was appropriate for Shentu Jia to show him mercy.

There are biographies of Deng Tong in *SJ* 125:3192-93 and *HS* 93:3722-24. Biographies of Shentu Jia, which contain an account of the incident with Deng Tong, are in *SJ* 96:2682-85 and *HS* 42:2100-02.

E *HHS* 78/68:2522 (11b), the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

17 The character *yin* 因 "following" comes directly from the text of *HHS* 78/68; the actions of Han Yan, however, are not attributed there to the success of Yang Bing's accusation against Hou Lan, but rather to the death of the eunuchs Xu Huang and Tang Heng in the previous year: passage S of Yanxi 7.

HHS 102/12:3256-57, the Treatise of Astronomy, relates the overthrow of the Zuo brothers to a series of planetary movements in Yanxi 7.

It is not possible to say in which county Zuo Cheng held his fief of Nan "Southern" District (南鄉 *Nanxiang*). It is unlikely to have been the same as that which had been awarded to Deng Wanshi in 159: passage RR of Yanxi 2.

evidence from their native province and commandery that [Zuo Guan's] elder brother, the Minister Coachman and Marquis of Nan District Zuo Cheng,¹⁸ had accepted and offered special favours and had taken bribes and received contributions for wrongful purposes. Their retainers, moreover, had acted lawlessly and had bullied and abused the local officials and the common people. Zuo Guan and Zuo Cheng both committed suicide.

Han Yan further reported that Ju Gong the Chancellor of [58] Pei, elder brother of the Regular Attendant Ju Yuan, had been collecting bribes. As Ju Gong was summoned by imperial order to the Ministry of Justice, Ju Yuan went to the prison to make apologies on his brother's behalf, and he returned his own seal and ribbon as Marquis of Dongwu[yang]. An imperial edict demoted him to become marquis of a chief district.

The [county] marquisates which had been awarded by favour to Shan Chao, Xu Huang and Tang Heng were now reduced to district fiefs, while those of their family who had shared the fiefs were stripped of their titles. Liu Pu and his colleagues were demoted to secondary marquisates.¹⁹

F Yin Xun and the others also lost their ranks of nobility.²⁰

G The emperor had a great many favourites in the palace, and his concubines numbered five or six thousand, with twice as many handmaids and servants besides. The Empress Deng was a woman of great arrogance and pride, and she quarrelled with the Honoured Lady Guo, whom the emperor had favoured.

1780 On the day *guihai* [26 Mar] the Empress Deng was dismissed. She

¹⁸ Zuo Guan came from Henan commandery, so his native province was the capital province of Sili, under the Director of Retainers: *HHS* 78/68:2520.

¹⁹ Liu Pu and other eunuchs had been enfeoffed as marquises of districts in reward for their assistance to the emperor at the time of the coup against Liang Ji in 159: passage DD of Yanxi 2.

In similar fashion, the phrase rendered as "shared the fiefs" (分封 *fenfeng*) presumably indicates kinsmen of the eunuchs who had received enfeoffment through that connection; Zuo Cheng, marquis of Nan district above, is an example.

F *HHS* 57/47:1858 (14a), the Biography of Yin Xun.

²⁰ As Director of the Secretariat, Yin Xun had assisted the coup against Liang Ji in 159. He and six other men had been rewarded with village fiefs: passage Q of Yanxi 2.

G *HHS* 10B:445 (7a), the Biography of the Empress Deng; and *HHS* 7:314 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

was sent to the Drying House Building, where she died of misery.²¹ Deng Wanshi the Intendant of Henan and Deng Hui the General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger were both sent to jail and executed.

- H The Protector of the Qiang Duan Jiong attacked the Lejie Qiang and defeated them.

In the third month on the day *xinsi* [14 Apr] there was an amnesty for the empire.

- I Yang Yuanqun, a man of powerful family from Wanling, left his post in Beihai commandery. He was notorious for corruption, and even the lavatory in the commandery residence had strange and unusual toys and devices, all of which he took home with him.

The Intendant of Henan, Li Ying, sent in a memorial on his wrongdoing, but Yang Yuanqun gave bribes to the eunuchs, and in the end he managed a successful counter-accusation against Li Ying.²²

²¹ The Drying House (暴室 *Pu shi* or possibly *Bao shi*) was the harem hospital, but served also a place of imprisonment for an empress or for high-ranking concubines when they fell from favour or committed some crime: *HHS* 106/26:3595, the Treatise of Officials.

The Drying House was also known as the Tong-Wood Palace (桐宮 *Tong gong*), and was perhaps incorporated with a larger complex of prison buildings, the Prison of the Lateral Courts (掖庭獄 *Yiting yu*). See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 53-54.

Goodrich, "An Empress of the Later Han" II, 201-202 note 27, has a considerable discussion of the name of this institution, which was sometimes known as *Bo shi* 薄室, and which was perhaps originally associated with the processing of silk and in particular with its drying in the sun: see the commentary of Ying Shao and Yan Shigu to *HS* 8:236 note 3 at 237. It seems possible, as Goodrich suggests, that the concept of heat may have been associated with punishment and exorcism, rather than simply with drying silk, as Yan Shigu explains.

During Later Han, three deposed empresses died in the Drying House: the Empress Yin 陰 of Emperor He (*HHS* 10A:417); the Empress Deng of Emperor Huan, on the present occasion, and the Empress Song of Emperor Ling (passage G of Guanghe 1 below, and see also Goodrich *op. cit.*). Each of the three soon afterwards "died of grief" (以憂死 *yi you si*). It is probable, as Bielenstein suggests, that the phrase is a euphemism for suicide or even an enforced death.

- H *HHS* 7:314 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

- I *HHS* 67/57:2192 (7b), the Biography of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

²² Wanling county was the capital of Danyang commandery, south of the Yangzi near present-day Nanjing. Li Ying's accusation, therefore, was being made on the grounds of public interest rather than as a necessary part of the duties of his office.

- K Shan Qian the Administrator of Shanyang, , who was younger brother of [the late eunuch] Shan Chao, was arrested and sent to prison for his crimes. Feng Gun, Minister of Justice, examined him and condemned him to death, but then [59] the eunuchs formed a faction amongst themselves and sent in an urgent message with false accusations against Feng Gun.
- L The Regular Attendants Su Kang and Guan Ba had enclosed good farmland and fine properties throughout the empire, while the provincial and commandery authorities had not dared to make any objection. [Though it was not strictly within his area of responsibility,] the Minister of Finance Liu You sent in a letter on the matter, suggesting their lands and properties should be confiscated in

The appointment of Li Ying as Intendant of Henan during this period, and the dating of this specific incident with Yang Yuanqun, present some problems of chronology.

According to Li Ying's biography, he was appointed Intendant of Henan in Yanxi 2: 159, and the biography gives no further account until the trouble with Yang Yuanqun, when Li Ying was dismissed and imprisoned. The impression is that he continued as Intendant of Henan for several years after 159; and indeed we have seen, in note 21 to Yanxi 7, that he is described as Intendant of Henan about 163 or 164.

However, the biography of Liu You, *HHS* 67/57:2199, says that he became Director of the Secretariat in Yanxi 4: 161, then Intendant of Henan and later Director of Retainers. After several more appointments, he became Minister of Finance, in which post he was involved with the eunuchs Su Kang and Guan Ba, as described in passage L immediately below. Liu You must therefore have become Intendant of Henan sometime about Yanxi 5: 162.

Furthermore, we have just seen in passage G above that Deng Wanshi had been Intendant of Henan until his imprisonment and execution earlier this year.

It is possible that the Yang Yuanqun affair actually took place some three years earlier, and it was at that time Li Ying was dismissed and jailed, then languished in convict service. It would be surprising, however, if such a case had not attracted political attention at an earlier stage, so it seems more likely that Li Ying had left the position of Intendant of Henan, and was re-appointed after the fall of Deng Wanshi. We do not know what he was doing in the interim.

One may note here also that *HHS* 67/57:2187, in the general history of the Proscribed Party, says that the First Proscription was sparked off by the attack of Li Ying, as Intendant of Henan, against the necromancer Zhang Cheng and his son: passage Y to Yanxi 9. The biography of Li Ying, at *HHS* 67/57:2195, indicates that he was then Director of Retainers. One has the impression that Li Ying was strongly associated with the office of Intendant of Henan at that time; he may have held it on several occasions, but not every reference is necessarily accurate.

For further discussion, see note 59 below.

- K *HHS* 38/28:1284 (7b), the Biography of Feng Gun.

accordance with their nature and the circumstances. The emperor was extremely angry, and Liu You, with Li Ying and Feng Gun, were all sent to convict labour in the Enclosure of the Left.

- M In the summer, in the fourth month on the day *jiayin* [17 May] there was a fire in the temple apartments of the funerary park of Anling [the tomb of Emperor Hui of Former Han].²³
- N On the day *dingsi* [20 May] an edict was issued that all non-orthodox local shrines in the commanderies and kingdoms be destroyed. Special exemption was allowed to the two shrines of Wang Huan at Luoyang and of Zhuo Mao in Mi county.²⁴

L *HHS* 67/57:2199 (12b), the Biography of Liu You.

M *HHS* 7:314 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

²³ The Anling "Mound of Peacefulness" tomb lay northwest of Chang'an, across the Wei River, and gave its name to a county in Youfufeng: *Sanfu huangtu* 6:52 and *HHS* 109/19:3406.

N *HHS* 7:314 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Huan;

and *HHS* 76/66:2470 (9a), the Biography of Wang Huan.

²⁴ Wang Huan had been Prefect of Luoyang from 103 to his death in 105. His biography is included in the Chapter on the Lenient Officials, and the people escorted his funeral and established a temple to him at the village of Anyang 安陽. His popularity was recognised by an edict of the Dowager Deng in 108, which also appointed his son as a Gentleman of the Palace, first step to an official career.

The Biography of Zhuo Mao is in *HHS* 25/15:869-73. He became Grand Tutor to Emperor Guangwu at the time of the restoration, and died in 28.

The cult of Wang Huan was very likely exempted because of its popularity in the region of the capital, and that of Zhuo Mao, which was at Mi 密 county in Henan, near the city of the same name in present-day Henan, about a hundred kilometres east of Luoyang, may have been maintained on account of the close association with the foundation of Later Han.

HHS 76/66 associates this decree with the interest of Emperor Huan in the worship of Laozi 老子/Huang-Lao 黃老: passage F to Yanxi 9 below. It is difficult to assess how effective the prohibition was in the further regions of the empire, and it was evidently not enforced after the death of Emperor Huan. *HHS* 65/55:2143-44, for example, says that when the general Zhang Huan was Administrator of Wuwei about 164, he had a number of temples erected in his honour. These should have been affected by the edict, but the same text also tells us that worship was maintained for several generations without interruption.

See also deC, "Politics and Philosophy," 78-79, and Stein, "Religious Taoism and Popular Religion," 78-80, who gives examples of other local temples and of their opposition and suppression both by orthodox Confucianists and by Taoists.

O *HHS* 7:314 (13a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

O In the fifth month on the day *bingxu* [18 Jun] the Grand Commandant Yang Bing died.

P As a man, Yang Bing was pure and upright, with few desires or wishes. He once remarked of himself, "There are three things which do not affect me: wine, women and wealth."

Q Liu Yu of Guangling, whom Yang Bing had recommended as a Worthy and Good candidate, came to the capital just after his death. He sent in a document saying,²⁵ "Officials of the palace should not be compared to those who divide the land [in fiefs]. Now, however, they take position alongside the hereditary houses, and they maintain succession to a fief with heirs not from their own body."²⁶

"Moreover, there are great numbers of concubines in the palace, consuming food with no work to justify themselves. They are bad for [normal] life and they waste the resources of the state. Buildings and mansions constantly increase, filled with clever toys and unusual trinkets; oppressed by fierce [60] punishments the people are forced to dig into the mountains, quarrying out stone for the work.

1781 "Though provincial and commandery offices may investigate these matters within their own territory, such rampant corruption and bribery is a source of temptation to honest officials. The common people are in constant anxiety and distress, so they rise up and join with bandit gangs. The officials do no more than send soldiers to punish them for their crimes, [paying no attention to the real causes of these disorders]. So great are the miseries of the people that some would sell their own heads for the sake of a reward, fathers and brothers help one another to injure their bodies [in order to avoid conscription], and wives and children are driven in distress from their homes.

P *HHS* 54/44:1775 (12a), the Biography of Yang Bing.

Q *HHS* 57/47:1855-57 (12a-13b), the Biography of Liu Yu.

²⁵ *HHS* 57/47 says that Liu Yu was recommended as Worthy and Good, Sincere and Upright in Yanxi 8, but *ZZTJ* here describes him only as a Worthy and Good candidate. The nomination had taken place in the first month of this year: passage C and note 9 above. When a candidate received such a special nomination as this, it was customary that he came to the capital and submitted a general statement on the affairs of government. It was presumably in these circumstances that Liu Yu presented his comments.

²⁶ "Officials of the palace" 中官 refers to the eunuchs, many of whom had been enfeoffed at this time by Emperor Huan. In 135, moreover, in the time of Emperor Shun, eunuchs had been given permission to adopt sons in order to maintain hereditary fiefs: *HHS* 6:264 and *HHS* 78/68:2518.

"Again, your majesty loves to go incognito to the homes of your close associates, and you honour the residences of eunuchs with private visits. Clients and retainers may be bargained for in the market-place, and authority is peddled at the roadside; so oppression springs up everywhere and everything is open to influence.

"If only your majesty would open the way for criticism to reach you, and pay good attention to all the precedents of the past. Put away the specious talkers from your presence, and abandon the music of Zheng and Wey.²⁷ Then your government will reach a peak of peace and harmony, and your virtues will attract the influence of a benevolent wind."²⁸

A special edict was issued to summon Liu Yu in order that he might discuss the evidence of portents and disasters. Those responsible hoped he would renege on his previous arguments, so he was asked supplementary questions upon other topics. Liu Yu, however, presented a further eight thousand words, reiterating even more forcefully the same true opinions as he had before. He was appointed a Consultant.

- R Zhu Gai, a soldier of Jing province, led a mutiny and joined the Guiyang bandits under Hu Lan to attack that commandery. The Administrator Ren Yin abandoned his city and fled, and the rebel forces grew to several tens of thousands. They then turned against Lingling, but the Administrator Chen Qiu of Xiapi maintained a firm defence against them.

[The site of the capital of] Lingling lay on low and swampy ground, and the city wall was constructed only of logs. People in the [61]

²⁷ This is a close echo of the words of Confucius, from *Lun yu* XV.10.6; Legge, *CC I*, 298 (Lau, *Analects*, 133-135):

Banish the songs of [Zheng 鄭], and keep far from specious talkers. The songs of [Zheng] are licentious; specious talkers are dangerous.

Li ji 20A.6; Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies* II, 49, remarks that the tunes of Zheng and Wey 衛 are those of a time of disorder.

The odes of Zheng are the seventh collection of the *Guo feng* section of *Shi jing*, and include some charming "licentious" verses. See, for example, Legge, *CC IV*, 126-127, 140 and 146-149; Karlgren, *Odes*, 76 at 51; 87 at 57; 93, 94 and 95 at 61-62. The Odes of Wey are in the fifth collection: Legge, *CC IV*, 91-109; Karlgren, *Odes*, from 55 at 36-37 to 64 at 44.

²⁸ Commentary to *HHS* notes that this echoes a text from the apocryphal work *Xiaojing yuanshen qi* 孝經援神獎 "Divination Assisted by Spirits from the Classic of Filial Piety [?]."

commandery were frightened and confused, and some of his clerical officers urged Chen Qiu to send his family away out of danger. Chen Qiu replied angrily, "I hold the tiger tally from my government,²⁹ and I have been given charge of this territory. How can I concern myself with wife and children if I harm the authority of the state by doing so? The next man to make any such suggestion will be executed."

Then he had great trees strung to make bows, and feathered whole lances to make arrows, and he had a device to draw the weapon and fire it. Many of the enemy were killed or wounded.

The enemy brought a flood of water against the city, but Chen Qiu used the lie of the ground inside the walls to turn the flood back upon them. Each side maintained its position for more than ten days, without either being able to gain a decisive victory.

At this time Du Shang had been recalled to the capital,³⁰ and an imperial edict appointed him a General of the Household, with command of more than twenty thousand men, horse and foot [from You and Ji provinces, from the Liyang encampment and from the Wuhuan auxiliaries] to go to the relief of Chen Qiu. Raising troops from all the commanderies of Jing province, he combined them for the attack and completely defeated the rebels.³¹ They took the heads of Hu

R *HHS* 56/46:1831-32 (13a), the Biography of Chen Qiu; and *HHS* 38/28:1286-87 (9a-10b), the Biography of Du Shang;

and *HHS* 7:315 (13a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

29 The tiger tally (虎符 *hufu*) authorised the head of a commandery unit to raise and lead troops. It was a traditional symbol in ancient China, and in 178 BC Emperor Wen formally established a system of bronze or copper (銅 *tong*) tallies formed in the shape of a tiger: the figure was cast in two halves, identified by lugs on the inner surface where it joined. When an appointment was made, one part was given to the officer concerned, while the other was kept in the capital. See *SJ* 10:424; Chavannes, *MH* II, 465-467, and *HS* 4:118; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 245, with commentaries and notes to those texts.

Though tiger tallies may have been part of the regular insignia of the Administrator of a commandery or the Chancellor of a kingdom, in this case Chen Qiu's biography says that he had been appointed to Lingling commandery specifically to deal with banditry in that region: *HHS* 56/46:1831.

30 After his victory over the rebels in Jing province (passage N of Yanxi 7), Du Shang had been briefly appointed Administrator of Guiyang. Ren Yin had evidently succeeded him.

31 The biography of Du Shang, *HHS* 38/28:1286 gives more and better detail of the troops and commanders called up for this campaign than does *ZZTJ*.

Generals of the Household normally held charge of one of the contingents of formal guards at the capital, but this appointment was obviously for a military

Lan and over three thousand of his followers. Du Shang returned to his former position as Inspector of Jing province.³²

The Administrator of Cangwu, Zhang Xu, had been captured by the rebels. Both he and Ren Yin were summoned to the capital and sentenced to public execution.

The remnants of Hu Lan's band fled south into Cangwu, where the Inspector of Jiaozhi Zhang Pan attacked and defeated them. They turned back into Jing province.³³ Du Shang was afraid he would be blamed [for not having destroyed the rebellion completely in the earlier stage of the campaign], so he sent in a false report that some bandits from Cangwu had entered his territory. As a result, an imperial edict ordered Zhang Pan to report to the Ministry of Justice.

1782 Before the documents in the case had been sorted out, there was an amnesty of pardon.³⁴ Zhang Pan, however, was not prepared to leave

commander on active campaign. A similar title had lately been given to Huangfu Gui for operations against the Qiang in 161: passage H and note 23 to Yanxi 4.

ZZTJ suggests that Du Shang used only the military levies of Jing province, but *HHS* 38/28 tells us that he in fact held command of troops from You and Ji provinces, from the encampment at Liyang, and from Wuhuan auxiliaries. After he arrived in Jing province, he combined these forces with others raised locally by the Administrator of Changsha, Kang Xu, and his colleagues.

On the Wuhuan auxiliaries, recruited from the non-Chinese people of the northeast, see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 387- 389. On the encampment at Liyang, a base and training ground for the regular army, situated just north of the Yellow River in Wei commandery, near present-day Xunxian in Henan, see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 50 and 253, also Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 118-119. Du Shang was therefore commanding a major army, drawn from widespread regions of the empire, and he was given a military title commensurate with that responsibility.

32 Formally speaking, this re-appointment of Du Shang as Inspector represented a loss of rank, for an Administrator was far higher in than an Inspector, and the special commission as General of the Household was obviously important. The position of Inspector, however, gave Du Shang command of all the troops of Jing province, and it therefore continued his general military authority to deal with the rebellion, albeit on a slightly restricted scale and with lesser authority.

33 Cangwu commandery was in the province of Jiaozhi. It occupied the greater part of the lower reaches of the Xi Jiang/West River in the northeast of present-day Guangxi about the city of Wuzhou, and extended north into the Nan Ling, to the southern borders of present-day Hunan province. It was thus a major communications route to the south.

34 As the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang points out, there is a doubt about this amnesty. According to the *Annals*, there were amnesties about this time only in Yanxi 6:163 (*HHS* 7:311) and then in Yongkang 1: 167 (*HHS* 7:319). The chronology of the

the prison, and sat there in his cangue and his fetters. The prison officer said to him, "The heavenly grace has been extended, but you do not leave. Why not?"[61]

Zhang Pan said, "I held position as chief of a province, but I was wronged by Du Shang, and so I am punished with imprisonment. All things, however, have their truth and falsehood, and all matters of law have their right and wrong. The simple fact is that I am not guilty, so there is nothing an amnesty of pardon can do for me. If I accepted this humiliating way of escape, I should always suffer the shame of the accusation. Alive, I shall appear as a bad official; dead, I will be a miserable ghost.

"I beg that a summons be sent for Du Shang to attend the Minister of Justice, to answer me face to face on this matter. That will be quite enough to make clear where truth and falsehood lie. If Du Shang is not summoned, I shall bury myself here in this prison cage. I shall never consent to a meaningless release. As long as I live, I shall bear witness to this injustice."

The Minister of Justice reported this, and an imperial letter was sent to summon Du Shang to his office. He failed to give a good explanation and eventually accepted the blame, but on account of his previous good service he was granted a special remission.

S In the intercalary [seventh] month on the day *jiawu* [25 Aug?] there was a fire in the Office of Northern Tranquillity in the Southern Palace.³⁵

rebellion in Jing province, however,, indicates that this dispute between Du Shang and Zhang Pan must have taken place at this time, in Yanxi 8: 164.

It seems most unlikely that a general amnesty was issued but unchronicled anywhere save in this one anecdote. More probably, Zhang Pan was offered some special pardon, which he then refused in the terms described below.

S *HHS* 7:315 (13a-b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

35 There is confusion in this passage.

Firstly, both *ZZTJ* and in *HHS* 7 chronicle the event in the intercalary month, and the month mentioned next before is the fifth month. Xue and Ouyang, *Calendar*, 33, however, indicate the intercalary month as following the seventh month, and Xu Shaozhen, 2030b, agrees. (It seems, moreover, that there should be interpolated a date for the sixth month in the annals for this year: see also the editorial notes to *HHS* 7:324). I suspect the item has become misplaced in *HHS* annals, and I accept the calculations of Xue and Ouyang.

Secondly, the entry in *ZZTJ* is notably shorter than that of *HHS* annals and that of the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 104/14:3296. *ZZTJ* describes the fire affecting the office of Northern Tranquillity in the Southern Palace, but the Major of Northern

- T Duan Jiong attacked and defeated the Western Qiang, and led his army forward in an exhaustive pursuit. They followed the enemy through mountains and valleys, and every day from spring into autumn they were engaged in combat. So the enemy were defeated and scattered. Altogether they killed 23,000 of them and took tens of thousands of prisoners. More than ten thousand *luo* "campfire" groups surrendered.³⁶ Duan Jiong was enfeoffed as marquis of a chief district.
- U In the autumn, in the seventh month the Palace Counsellor Chen Fan became Grand Commandant. Chen Fan had sought to cede this position to the Minister of Ceremonies Hu Guang, to the Consultant Wang Chang, or to Li Ying, who was at that time a convict under reduced sentence. The emperor would not allow this.
- V Wang Chang, a son of Wang Gong,³⁷ had at one time been Administrator of Nanyang. Concerned by the great [63] numbers of imperial relatives and powerful families in the commandery, as soon as he arrived he began to govern with the utmost firmness and ferocity. On occasion, when some member of a great clan had committed a fault, he sent officers to destroy the homestead and cut down the trees, and they would fill up the wells and smash the kitchens.

Tranquillity was in charge of the northern gate of the Northern Palace: *HHS* 15/25:3580; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 33, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 34.

In the fuller account of this portent, however, it appears that a number of different buildings were affected by fire at the same time, notably the apartments of Prolonged Autumn (*Changqiu* 長秋) in the Southern Palace, which were the quarters of the empress: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 69, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 39.

In abbreviating the *HHS* account, therefore, it appears that Sima Guang mistakenly retained the designation "Southern Palace," and when he omitted the names of buildings which followed, it remained to be applied wrongly to the office of Northern Tranquillity.

T *HHS* 65/55:2147 (13b-14a), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

³⁶ The term 落 *luo* is frequently used at this time as a numerator for nomad peoples. I have suggested that it may be equated to the *ayil*, or "campfire" among the Mongols, being effectively a family unit: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 179.

U *HHS* 66/56:2163 (4a-b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

V *HHS* 56/46:1823-24 (7a-8b), the Biography of Wang Chang.

³⁷ The biography of Wang Gong is in *HHS* 56/46:1819-22, immediately before that of his son Wang Chang. Member of a great family in Shanyang commandery, he became Grand Commandant in the time of Emperor Shun. He was at one time threatened by a conspiracy of palace eunuchs, but was rescued by the intervention of the General-in-Chief Liang Shang, urged to do so by a most eloquent appeal from his aide Li Gu.

The Officer of Merit Zhang Chang sent a letter of protest [to Wang Chang], "Men such as Wen Weng, Shaofu and Zhuo Mao all based their administration on gentleness and generosity, and their memory has come down to later ages.³⁸

"To destroy houses and trees is an action which is harsh and cruel. Even though it is your wish to give warning against wrongdoing, it will not be easy to make a lasting reputation by such means.

- 1783 "This commandery is the seat of an ancient capital, and it lies within the inmost regions of the empire.³⁹ The tombs and funerary parks [of the dynasty] have their origins at Zhangling, and three empresses have been born at Xinye.⁴⁰ Since the time of the restoration of Han, worthy ministers, generals and chancellors have emerged from here, one generation after another.

³⁸ Wen Weng was a scholar who became Administrator of Shu commandery in the time of Emperor Jing of Former Han in the second century BC. He was celebrated for his encouragement of learning and his foundation of government schools. His biography is in *HS* 89:3625-27, the Chapter on the Lenient Officials.

Shaofu 召父 "Father Shao" describes Shao Xinchun 召信臣, a scholar and official of the late first century BC, celebrated for his administration of Nanyang commandery. His biography is also in *HS* 89:3641-43. On the pronunciation of his surname, see the commentary of Hu Sanxing, following Yan Shigu.

On Zhuo Mao, see note 24 above. Before he joined the court of Emperor Guangwu, Zhuo Mao had been known for his gentle administration of Mi county under the government of Wang Mang.

All three men had local temples established in their honour.

³⁹ The phrase 侯甸 *houdian* refers to the traditional division of the ancient empires into concentric regions about the capital.

The *Yu gong* 禹貢 "The Tribute of Yu" Chapter of *Shu jing* III.1B, 8 and 9; Legge, *CC* III, 142-144 and notes following, describes the "imperial domain" (甸服 *dian fu*) as the region five hundred *li* about the capital, and the "domain of the nobles" (侯服 *hou fu*) as the five hundred *li* beyond. See also Karlgren, *Documents*, 18.

The *Yu gong* system had five rings. However, *Zhou li* 7 (29), 11b; Biot, *Rites* II, 167-168, and *Zhou li* 8 (33), 27b-28a; Biot, *Rites* II, 276, describe a nine-ring system (with the units named either 畿 *ji* or 服 *fu*); the second region was called 侯 *hou* and the third 甸 *dian*.

Though the systems do not agree whether *dian* describes the innermost region or the next ring out from *hou*, the phrase *houdian* may be taken as a general term for the territory close about the imperial capital.

⁴⁰ On Zhangling and Xinye see note 36 to Yanxi 7.

The three empresses born at Xinye were the Lady Yin 陰, wife of Emperor Guangwu (*HHS* 10A:405), the Lady Yin 陰, wife of Emperor He (*HHS* 10A:417), and the Lady Deng 鄧, wife of Emperor He and later regent Dowager (*HHS* 16/6:599 and *HHS* 10A:419).

"It is my foolish opinion that even the most earnest use of punishment will be less effective than a policy of generosity, and the most careful search after wrongdoers is not so good as showing proper respect to men of worth. When Shun recommended Gaoyao, those who were not men of humane spirit were kept at a distance.⁴¹ Influence on men rests in virtue, it is not a matter of punishments."

Wang Chang was most impressed, and he changed the manner of his government to one of respect and tolerance. His influence spread very wide.

- W In the eighth month on the day *wuchen* [28 Sep] it was ordered for the first time that those people in the commanderies and kingdoms who owned farmland should pay a tax in cash on each *mu* at the time of the harvest.⁴²

⁴¹ This is a direct quotation from *Lun yu* XII.22; Legge, *CC* I, 261 (Lau, *Analects*, 116-117), being a commentary by the disciple Zixia 子夏 on the teachings of Confucius about the importance of employing honest men as a means to encourage crooked men to virtue.

Gaoyao 皋陶 was appointed Minister against Crime (作士 *zuoshi*) by the mythical Emperor Shun 舜: see the *Shun dian* 舜典 "The Canon of Shun" Chapter of *Shu jing* II.I, 20; Legge, *CC* III, 44-45; Karlgren, *Documents*, 7.

W ⁴² *HHS* 7:315 (13b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

It would appear that this levy by Emperor Huan was exceptional, applying only for one year. In 185 the eunuchs Zhang Rang and Zhao Zhong would urge Emperor Ling to demand a similar impost, to fund the rebuilding of the Southern Palace which had been damaged by fire: passage B of Zhongping 2. *JS* 26:781; Yang, "Economic History," 156, in particular, refers to the levy of 185 as being made "again" (復 *fu*), and Yang's note 52 identifies the previous instance as this demand by Emperor Huan.

HHS commentary to this passage states that the levy was ten cash to the *mu* 畝, about 460 square metres. The commentary of Hu Sanxing observes that the statement is based upon the levy of 185, and he argues that the rate on the two occasions need not have been the same; the important thing was the precedent that was set. It may well be, however, that the rate on the second occasion was adopted from the first.

We have observed that there had been a considerable fire in the two palaces some months earlier, though the item in *ZZTJ* does not describe their full extent: passage C and note 10 above. At the same time, Emperor Huan is known to have had a large harem, and he was criticised for his costly building program: *e.g.* by Liu Yu in passage Q above. It is possible that Emperor Huan, like Emperor Ling his successor, intended the money to support his building program; but it may also have been an attempt to improve the general financial position of the treasury. On the problems at that time, see deC, *Fire over Luoyang*, 323.

On the traditional tax system of Han, which was based on the low rate of one-thirtieth of the assessed yield of land, according to acreage and quality, but which also

In the ninth month on the day *dingwei* [6 Nov] there was an earthquake in the capital district.⁴³

In the winter, in the tenth month the Excellency of Works Zhou Jing left office. The Minister of Ceremonies Liu Mao was appointed Excellency of Works. Liu Mao was a son of Liu Kai.⁴⁴[64]

X The Gentleman of the Palace Dou Wu, a great-great-grandson of Dou Rong, had a daughter who became an Honoured Lady.⁴⁵

The Chosen Lady Tian Sheng was favoured by the emperor, and he intended to establish her as his Empress.⁴⁶ The Director of Retainers Ying Feng sent in a letter, "The importance of the empress-mother is so great that the prosperity or failure [of the dynasty] depend upon her.⁴⁷ When Han established Flying Swallow [Zhao Feiyan] the succession and the sacrifices were broken and ended.⁴⁸ We should be

included a property tax, a poll tax and regular corvée or military service or scutage, see Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 16 and 72-77.

43 This portent is also recorded in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 104/14:3331, but with no specific prognostication.

44 The Biography of Liu Kai is in *HHS* 39/29:1306-10. The family was of distinguished lineage, descended from Emperor Xuan of Former Han, and had been kings of Chu 楚 until the time of Wang Mang. Liu Kai himself became Grand Commandant in the time of Emperor An. Liu Mao was his youngest son, and has a supplementary biography immediately following that of his father.

X *HHS* 69/59:2239 (1a), the Biography of Dou Wu; and *HHS* 48/38:1608 (8b-9a), the Biography of Ying Feng; and *HHS* 66/56:2169 (8a), the Biography of Chen Fan.

45 Honoured Lady (貴人 *guiren*) was the rank of concubine immediately below the empress. The Lady Dou was selected into the harem in this year, and was promptly raised to that rank: *HHS* 10B:445. Dou Wu's appointment as a Gentleman followed this success of his daughter.

46 Chosen Concubine (采女 *cainu*) was the lowest rank of the Later Han harem system, below that of the empress, the Honoured Ladies and the Beauties (美人 *meiren*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 74.

47 The phrase "empress-mother" (母后 *muhou*) may be taken here to refer to the position of an empress as the mother of the people in the same analogy as an emperor was regarded as the father of his people. In formal terms, however, the empress was also regarded as the mother of all the imperial children, and an empress-dowager was considered to be the mother of the successor to the throne.

48 The Biography of Zhao Feiyan 趙飛燕 is in *HS* 97B:3988-99. *Feiyan* is a sobriquet rendered as "flying swallow" in reference to her grace as a dancer.

From the position of a palace servant, the Lady Zhao was raised by Emperor Cheng to be his empress, and her younger sister later became still more attractive to

thinking of the qualities that the *Guanju* Ode requires,⁴⁹ and we must avoid the dangers named in the Five Prohibitions.⁵⁰

The Grand Commandant Chen Fan also argued that the Tian family was humble and insignificant, while the Dou were good family,⁵¹ and

him and was appointed Brilliant Companion (昭儀 *zhaoyi*), the highest rank of concubine under the Former Han system.

Under the influence of these women, particularly through the jealousy of the Brilliant Companion, Emperor Cheng murdered two of his own children by other women. On this celebrated case see Wilbur, *Slavery*, 424-432, and Dubs, *HFHD* II, 369-372.

49 The *Guanju* 關雎 Ode is the first of *Shi jing*; Legge, *CC* IV, 1-4 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 1 at 2), describing the love of a prince for "the modest, retiring, virtuous young lady."

50 *Bohu tong* 9:15a; Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 260, lists five types of women who should not be married: a woman of unruly family; a woman of licentious family; a woman from a family which has convicts in it; a woman suffering from an incurable disease; a woman of full age who is in mourning for the wife of her father.

These five prohibitions (五禁 *wu jin* or, more commonly, 五不娶 *wu buqu*) are listed also in *Da Dai li ji* 13:6a; Wilhelm, *Buch der Sitte*, 247-248, and in *Kongzi jiyu* 6:12b, which, however, gives the last category as a woman in mourning for her father, not for her father's wife.

The commentary of Hu Sanxing lists these categories, but ascribes the text to *Hanshi waizhuan*; the list does not appear, however, in modern editions of that work.

51 The phrase 良家 *liangjia* generally indicates people without a criminal background and not engaged in reprehensible professions such as medicine, merchant trade and handcrafts: commentary of Ru Shun 如淳 of the third century AD to *HS* 28B:1644. This was a basic category for selection of women for the imperial harem, troopers of the Feathered Forest regiment of guards, and members of the suite of the heir-apparent: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 63, 28 and 78. Bielenstein renders the term in this context as "blameless families," I prefer "respectable:" e.g. deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 14 note 27.

In the present text, however, the term is surely used more restrictively, close to the English sense of "good family": i.e. of noble rank or gentle birth; it is a positive statement, rather than merely indicating absence of fault. Cf. *Guanzi* IX.24:12a; Rickett, *Guanzi* I, 369, where the phrase is rendered "honorable families."

In contrast, the expression 卑微 *beimei* "humble and insignificant," applied to the Tian family, need not indicate that they were of criminal or reprehensible background. The phrase *beimei* appears in *SJ* 6:283; Chavannes, *MH* II, 232, as a description of the house of Zhou, and the Zhou were evidently regarded as being weak, "affable," rather than criminal. It is true that the Empress Zhao of Emperor Cheng of Han came from servant or even slave background (note 48 above), but that accusation is not being levied specifically either by Ying Feng or by Chen Fan.

The same argument, that an emperor should choose his consort from a woman of honourable and noble family, may also be seen in the debate which resulted in the accession of the Lady Liang Na, daughter of Liang Shang and sister of Liang Ji, as

he supported them extremely strongly.

The emperor had no alternative [but to succumb to this pressure], and on the day *xinsi* [10 Dec] the Honoured Lady Dou was established as Empress. Dou Wu was appointed Specially Advanced and Colonel of the City Gates, and was enfeoffed as Marquis of Huaili.⁵²

Y In the eleventh month on the day *renzi* [10 Jan 166] there was a fire in the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates.⁵³

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Empress to Emperor Shun in 132. Hu Guang and other members of the Secretariat urged the claims of the Lady Liang on the grounds that she was a woman of "good family." deC, "Harem," 28.

52 The position of Specially Advanced gave additional precedence to a marquis, and also the right to reside at the capital rather than at his formal fief: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 109. Huaili was the capital of Youfufeng commandery, a few kilometres west of Chang'an.

ZZTJ has slightly abbreviated the process of promotion. Dou Wu remained in his home country as a private scholar until his daughter entered the harem and became an Honoured Lady; he was then appointed as a Gentleman of the Palace, normally a probationary position. When his daughter became empress, Dou Wu was enfeoffed and made Colonel of the Elite Cavalry (越騎 *yueji*) regiment of the Northern Army. It was not until the winter of the following year, Yanxi 9, that he was made Colonel of the City Gates. See *HHS* 69/59:2239.

Colonel of the City Gates was a near-ministerial office (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 83-84), and the appointments granted to Dou Wu are comparable to those held by earlier imperial relatives by marriage. Liang Shang in 132, for example, had been made successively Colonel of the Garrison Cavalry (屯騎 *tunji*) and then Bearer of the Mace (執金吾 *zhi jinwu*), which was a police position of similar status to the Colonel of the City Gates (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 78-79): *HHS* 34/24:1175.

Y *HHS* 7:316 (13b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

53 *HHS* 7 says that this outbreak involved also the western side-door (閤 *ge*) of the Hall of Virtuous Light (德陽殿 *Deyang dian*) in the Southern Palace, and that it spread to the Gate of the Supernatural Tiger Extending Righteousness (廣義神虎門 *Guangyi shenhu men*) of the Northern Palace. People were killed in the blaze. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 39.

The Treatise of the Five Powers also records this event at *HHS* 104/14:3296, but does not refer to the further spread of the fire. The Treatise has no particular prognostication for the portent, but the commentary of Liu Zhao quotes from the *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shansong, which says that at this time there were frequent fires, sometimes breaking out two to three times in the same place on a single day. Chen Fan and his colleagues sent in a letter of criticism drawing attention to this phenomenon, and arguing that only a reform of government could put a stop to them; see also an abbreviated citation in commentary to *HHS* 7. There is an apparent reference to the memorial, though without quotation, in the Biography of Chen Fan, *HHS* 66/56:2164.

Z On several occasions Chen Fan had described how Li Ying, Feng Gun and Liu You had been wrongly treated, and he asked that they should be pardoned, given noble rank and high office. He repeated his arguments again and again, his words were most earnest and sincere, and he even shed tears, but the emperor would not approve.

AA Ying Feng sent in a letter, saying, "Now, loyal and worthy military commanders are the backbone of the state. When I consider the cases of Feng Gun, Liu You and Li Ying,⁵⁴ who are currently convicts on reduced punishment under the Enclosure of the Left, [then I find that] they have punished or sent in reports on wicked ministers, and in all cases they have acted according to the law. Your majesty, however, has failed to make a full investigation, and you have been influenced by slander, and so it has come about that loyal subjects have shared the penalty of those who are true evil-doers. Spring has passed through to winter, and they have still not received your mercy. Near and far, all people look and listen to learn of their fate, and they are anxious and concerned on their behalf.

"The most important thing in setting up government is to record men's good work and to be forgetful of their faults. It [65] is in this tradition that Emperor Wu brought Han Anguo from his convict status,⁵⁵ and Emperor Xuan called Zhang Chang from his position as a

Z *HHS* 66/56:2163 (4b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

AA *HHS* 67/57:2192-95 (7b-9b), the Biography of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

54 Feng Gun, as we have seen, was in command against the rebels of Jing province: passages I and J of Yanxi 5. He had also been engaged in earlier years against rebels in the southeast, on the north-western frontier, and against the Xianbi in the northeast: *HHS* 38/28:1281.

Li Ying had been Protector of the Wuhuan, a post which also entailed responsibility for dealing with the Xianbi (deC, *Northern Frontier*, 383-385 and 298 and 303), and he several times dealt successfully with raids from those people. From 156 to 159 he was General on the Liao, involved in operations on the northern and north-western frontier. See *HHS* 67/57:2191-92.

Liu You's biography in *HHS* 67/57 at 2199 has no account of his military experience. The closest related position that he is known to have held is that of Director of Retainers, which was rather a police than a military command.

55 Biographies of Han Anguo, a leading official of Former Han, are in *SJ* 108:2857-65 and *HS* 52:2394-2406. Born in Liang 梁 kingdom, he had a varied early career, at one time serving as the locally-appointed Palace Grandee (中大夫 *zhong dafu*), in which capacity he was instrumental in preventing the king from joining the rebellion of the Seven States against the government of Emperor Jing in 154 BC.

fugitive.⁵⁶

"Feng Gun previously defeated the barbarians of Jing province, and his merit is comparable to that of [Yin] Jifu.⁵⁷ Liu You has several times held responsibility, and is known for his steadfast determination. Li Ying has shown authority in You and Bing provinces, and benevolence in the Trans-Liao command.⁵⁸

"Yet these three frontiers are still unsettled, and the imperial sway remains insecure. I beg you to grant them pardon, and use their services as they are needed."

The letter was memorialised, and all three were released from their punishments.

Some time later, Li Ying was again appointed as Director of Retainers.⁵⁹

Han Anguo later became an officer at the imperial court, and though he was imprisoned for some fault, when the position of Clerk of the Capital (内史 *neishi*) in Liang fell vacant, he was given the appointment. The Clerk of the Capital under Former Han ranked at 2000 *shi* and was an associate of the Chancellor of the kingdom (相 *hsiang*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 105-106. In that capacity Han Anguo settled the matter of Yang Sheng: note 3 above.

Han Anguo went on to hold some of the most senior positions in the imperial government.

The text here refers to Han Anguo's appointment as Clerk of the Capital. As commentary to *HHS* notes, this was actually in the time of Emperor Jing, and the reference to Emperor Wu is mistaken.

56 The Biography of Zhang Chang is in *HS* 76:3216-26. He was for a long time the Intendant of Jingzhao (京兆尹 *jingzhao yin*: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 87-89; as Governor of the Capital), and was celebrated for his excellent administration.

57 There was one occasion he was accused of having put a prisoner to death in undue haste; he was dismissed and fled. Later, however, when there was trouble in Qi province, he was recalled to service and appointed Inspector there. See *HS* 76:3223-25.

57 On Feng Gun, see note 54 above. Yin Jifu 尹吉甫 is celebrated in the *Liu yue* 六月 Ode, *Shi jing* II.3.3; Legge, *CC* IV, 281-284 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 177 at 120-121), for his victory over the Xianyun 獯豸 northern barbarians. The *Cai qi* 采芑 Ode refers to the defeat of the southern barbarians at the hands of Fang Shu 方叔, who is believed to have been a subordinate of Yin Jifu: *Shi jing* II.3.4; Legge, *CC* IV, 284-287 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 178 at 122-123).

58 See note 54 above.

59 There is confusion over Li Ying's tenure of office as Director of Retainers, similar to that which surrounded his appointment or appointments as Intendant of Henan: *cf.* note 22 above.

ZZTJ here and the parallel passage in *HHS* 67/57 both say that Li Ying "again" (復 *fu*) became Director of Retainers; there is, however, no record that he had previously held the post. Until his first appointment as Intendant of Henan in 159 he

At that time Zhang Shuo, younger brother of the Junior Attendant of the Yellow Gates Zhang Rang, was magistrate of Yewang. He was greedy, cruel and completely immoral, but he feared Li Ying's strict authority and so he fled back to the capital and hid in a secret chamber within Zhang Rang's house. Li Ying found out about this, and he led his men to break the place down, seize Zhang Shuo and put him in the Luoyang prison. When all the evidence had been gathered, he was

seems to have been regularly employed in the provinces and then on the frontier: *HHS* 67/57:2191 and note 54 above.

Moreover, we are told that Ying Feng became Director of Retainers in 162, on the nomination of Feng Gun after the campaign in Jing province: passage J of Yanxi 5 and *HHS* 48/38:1608. It would appear that he held the office for the next several years, as it is in that capacity he is memorialising against the Lady Tian and in favour of Li Ying, Feng Gun and Liu You: passages X and AA above, also *HHS* 48/38:1608.

One must observe, however, that Ying Feng's biography says he excused himself from office on account of illness when the First Faction Incident broke out in the following year: *HHS* 48/38:1609. The text implies that Ying Feng was still Director of Retainers; on the other hand we have just been told that Li Ying took up that appointment.

We may note, incidentally, that *HHS* 67/57:2199 says that Liu You was Director some time after Yanxi 4: 161: see note 22 above. He was possibly the immediate predecessor to Ying Feng.

Finally, we refer again to the fact that Li Ying is described as being Intendant of Henan once more at the time of the First Faction Incident: see *HHS* 67/57:2187 compared with *HHS* 67/57:2195, and again note 22 above.

One can of course, postulate a series of different appointments, whereby for example Ying Feng yielded place to Li Ying about this time, but then returned to become Director again a few months later while Li Ying returned to his former post as Intendant of Henan. Such a game of musical chairs with official posts, however, makes very little sense, and would not clear up every contradiction in the texts. It seems better to accept the fact that there is an element of uncertainty in some details, though the main thrust of the record is generally clear.

My own suggestion would be that Li Ying was Intendant of Henan from Yanxi 2: 159 to about Yanxi 7: 164, when he was sentenced on account of the Yang Yuanshi case. He was succeeded in that position by Deng Wanshi who, however, held office for only a few months before his disgrace and death early in Yanxi 8: 165. Later that year Li Ying was released, and soon afterwards took over from Ying Feng as Director of Retainers, which post he held until the outbreak of the First Faction Incident in Yanxi 9: 166. Ying Feng, for his part, had succeeded Liu You as Director late in Yanxi 5: 162 or early in Yanxi 6: 163, and he continued in that post until he was replaced by Li Ying. It is not known what position, if any, Ying Feng held in the following few months. *Cf.* Wan Sitong, 1971/4-1972/1 and Lian Shu, 1989/2-1990/2.

killed.⁶⁰

Zhang Rang brought complaint to the emperor, and the emperor summoned Li Ying and reprimanded him for not having asked permission before carrying out the execution. Li Ying replied, "In ancient times, when Zhongni was Director against Brigands in Lu, after seven days he executed Shaozheng Mao.⁶¹ I have been in this post for ten days already, and personally I was rather worried I might be held at fault for the delay. I hardly expected to be criticised for acting too quickly against a criminal.

1785 "Now that I know I shall be blamed in this way, I realise that I face instant death. I ask only five days more, to destroy and eliminate the sources of evil. Then I can readily accept even the punishment of being boiled alive. This is my life's desire."

The emperor made no further reply, but turned to Zhang Rang and said, "Your brother was a criminal. What did the Director of Retainers do that was wrong?" And he sent him away.[66]

As a result of this incident, all the officials of the Yellow Gates and the Regular Attendants were cowed and quiet, and dared not go out of

⁶⁰ Yewang county was in Henei commandery, north of the Yellow River from Luoyang; Henei was in the jurisdiction of the Director of Retainers.

The parallel text in *HHJ* 22:12a says that a brother of Zhang Rang, who had the personal name Yu 輿, was the magistrate of Yangdi 陽翟 the capital of Yingchuan commandery, and relates the incident to the time that Li Ying was Intendant of Henan; this seems less convincing.

⁶¹ *Xunzi* 20(28):2a, and *Kongzi jiyu* 1:4b-5a; Kramers, *School Sayings*, 205, are the earliest texts to describe this incident, which is not mentioned in any of the major Confucian classics. *SJ* 47:1917; Chavannes, *MH* V, 326, says that the event took place after Confucius had been promoted from Grand Director against Crime (大司寇 *da sikou*) to become a counsellor, and makes no reference to the short period of seven days before he took action.

There is some disagreement whether *shaozheng* 少正 is the surname of the man whose personal name was Mao 卯, or whether it was his official title, "Lesser Director." e.g. *Zuo zhuan*, Xiang 22; Legge, *CC* V, 494, (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 375). Traditional commentaries, which are followed by Chavannes, take it as an official position (Kramers, *School Sayings*, 254-255), but some modern Chinese interpretations regard Shaozheng as a surname. *SJ* 47 describes him as a great officer or grandee (大夫 *da fu*) of the state of Lu, who caused disorder in the government until Confucius removed him.

The debate on the execution of Shaozheng Mao formed part of the anti-Confucius campaign in the People's Republic during 1973 and 1974. See, for example, Zhao Jibin 赵纪彬, *Guanyu Kongzi zhu Shaozheng Mao wenti* 关于孔子诛少正卯问题, Beijing, 1973.

the palace precincts except on official business.⁶² When the emperor asked them the reason, they would kowtow and say, "We are afraid of Director Li."

There was constant turmoil in the court at this time, and law and order were poorly maintained. Li Ying, however, retained his composure and his sense of proper administration and integrity. Such was his fame that gentlemen who were received and interviewed by him were described as having "climbed the Dragon Gates."⁶³

- BB Liu Kuan, Chancellor of Donghai, was appointed Director of the Imperial Secretariat. Kuan was the son of Liu Qi.⁶⁴ He had held office in three commanderies, he was warm, generous and kind to everyone, and even when he was startled or put out he would never speak angrily or show concern. If one of his officers or one of the people did something wrong, he would use only a whip of rushes to punish them, just to display the disgrace, and he never inflicted real pain. Whenever he saw an old man, he would chat with him about the affairs of farming and the village; when he met young men, he gave them good advice about filial piety and the respect owed to elder brothers. All the people were pleased and affected by his example.[67]

62 The text here has *xiumu* 休沐 "time to rest and bathe," indicating a scheduled period of free time, or holiday. Yang, "Schedules of Work and Rest," 19, discusses the phrase as "a day for rest and for washing one's hair," taken once in five days.

63 Commentary to *HHS* identifies this Dragon Gate (龍門 *longmen*) with a natural barrier on the southern course of the Yellow River near the [Tang dynasty] county of that name, now northwest of Hejin in Shanxi.

At this place, the flow of water is so great that fish cannot make their way upstream, and indeed collect in great schools below. According to legend, any creature which manages to swim up the current will become a dragon.

The metaphor here is that once a man had been recognised by such a distinguished person as Li Ying, his reputation and status were vastly enhanced.

The Dragon Gate described here should not be confused with the site a few kilometres outside Luoyang, where there are celebrated Buddhist cave carvings dating from the fifth century through Tang and Song. The cliffs are impressive, and the cave temples are deservedly renowned, but the River Yi offers no great obstacle to a fish.

BB *HHS* 25/15:887 (12a-b), the Biography of Liu Kuan.

64 Liu Qi, a man from Hongnong commandery, had been Excellency over the Masses in the time of Emperor Shun from 130 to 134: *HHS* 25/15:886; *HHS* 6:257 and 264.

Yanxi 延熹 9: 166 AD

17 February 166 - 6 February 167

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *xinmao* [18 Feb], first of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.¹

An edict was issued that the excellencies and ministers, and commanderies and kingdoms, should recommend Extremely Filial candidates.²

B Xun Shuang, a candidate recommended by the Minister of Ceremonies Zhao Dian, sent in a reply, "In ancient times, when the sages established [order] between Heaven and Earth, they called it 'Ceremony.'³ Of all the ceremonies, that of marriage is the most

A *HHS* 7:316 (14a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

¹ *HHS* 7 has the date of this eclipse as the *xinhai* 辛亥 day (cyclical 48), but the first day of the first month was actually a *xinmao* 辛卯 day (cyclical 28). *HHS* 108/18:3369, the Treatise of the Five Powers, has *xinmao*, and the commentary of Liu Zhao quotes a prognostication which is applicable to an eclipse taking place on a *xinmao* day (see below). It appears, therefore, that the character *hai* has been miswritten for *mao*.

The eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3294. It was not an umbral eclipse: *i.e.* it did not appear as a total or annular eclipse at any part of the earth's surface.

HHS 108/18 records that the eclipse took place in the *Yingshi* 營室 constellation, also known as the Shi lunar mansion 室宿, being an area about the two chief stars of Western Pegasus: see note 8 to Yanxi 8. The Treatise adds that the eclipse was not seen by the observatory at the imperial capital, but was reported from the provinces.

The prognostication in the Treatise for an eclipse in the same constellation during the previous year (passage C of Yanxi 8) related the omen to the dismissal of the Empress Deng. For this occasion, however, the prognostication quotes the scholar Gu Yong 谷永 of the first century BC (biography in *HS* 85:3443-72), saying that this was a bad sign for the ruler, and then relates it to the death of Emperor Huan in the following year.

Commentary to the Treatise quotes from *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, an anonymous apocryphal work on *Chunqiu*, which says that an eclipse on a *xinmao* day foretells a subject replacing his ruler. This, of course, may refer to nothing more sinister than the natural death of the ruler, being succeeded upon the throne by an appropriate heir, who has up till that time been his subject. It could, however, be understood as a reference to political upheaval and a change of dynasty.

² Extremely Filial (至孝 *zhixiao*) was a special nomination: deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 25. *HHS* 7 states that on this occasion colonels (*xiaowei*) were again required to present candidates: *cf.* note 9 to Yanxi 8.

From the record of Xun Shuang's memorial as quoted below, it appears that nominees were required to offer a memorial to the throne. This procedure was not uncommon in cases of such special recommendations: passage Q and note 25 to Yanxi 8, and note 6 below.

B *HHS* 62/52:2051-56 (2b-6b), the Biography of Xun Shuang.

³ "Ceremony" here renders the Chinese 禮 *li*.

important: the *Yang* body [of man] is pure and strong, and so is enabled to extend itself; the *Yin* body [of woman] is obedient, and so is able to accomplish transformation. If pleasure is enhanced by ceremony, then your spirit will be regulated in its activity, and you will be thus enabled to achieve the flourishing good fortune of sons and grandsons, and the limitless happiness of long life into old age.⁴

1786 "If we consider the last rulers of the Three Dynasties,⁵ they were vicious and had no chastity: the *Yang* force was exhausted above, and the *Yin* force was isolated below. It was for this reason that the Duke of Zhou made the admonition: 'How few of them enjoyed a long career,'⁶ and the proverb says, 'Cutting off the toes to fit the shoes; who will say that is as stupid as the man who maintains such a fatal policy?' Here is something which is really dangerous.

"I have heard that there are five or six thousand chosen concubines in the imperial harem, with another host of attendants and escorts

ZZTJ has taken extracts from Xun Shuang's memorial dealing with the size of the emperor's harem and the lack of morality which this indicates and encourages. There is, however, a preliminary passage at 2051-53 which urges the importance of proper mourning ceremonies, and criticises the elimination of the three-year mourning period for senior officials. See passage A and note 1 to Yanxi 2.

4 As Hu Sanxing observes in his commentary, Xun Shuang is alluding to a passage in *Zuo zhuan*, Chao 1; Legge, *CC* V, 580-581 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 35-37).

The Marquis of Jin 晉侯 was ill, and asked the advice of various physicians. One of them, He 和 from Qin 秦, told him that the sickness could not be cured, for it was the "chamber disease" (室病 *shibing*) caused by sexual relationships with women. When the marquis asked, "May one never approach a woman?" the physician replied that such intercourse must be regulated (節 *jie*), like the music of the former kings.

5 The Three Dynasties (三代 *san dai*), are the Xia 夏, the Shang 商, later known as Yin 殷, and the Zhou 周. Both Jie 桀, last ruler of Xia, and Zhou 紂, last ruler of Shang/Yin, are notorious in Chinese tradition for their cruelty, extravagance and lust.

The Zhou dynasty, however, appears to have ended rather with a whimper than with a bang, and there is no comparable accusation of viciousness made against the last rulers of that line: e.g. *SJ* 4:160-69; Chavannes, *MH* I, 305-318. It is most likely that the reference to the "last ruler" (季 *ji*) of Zhou is to King You 幽 of the eighth century BC, last ruler to have his capital in the region of present-day Xi'an in Shenxi (*i.e.* Western Zhou). Besotted with his consort Baosi 褒姒, he brought ruin upon the state with his frivolity, and the royal house never recovered its former power: *SJ* 4:147-49; Chavannes, *MH* I, 280-285.

6 This passage is adapted from *Shu jing* V.15, 7; Legge, *CC* III, 468, the remarks of the Duke of Zhou 周公 in the chapter "Against Luxurious Ease" (無逸 *Wu yi*); Karlgren, *Documents*, 58. The Duke observes that the later rulers of Shang 商/Yin 殷 were accustomed to luxury from birth, so they had no appreciation for the toil of the common people, and thought only of their personal pleasures. As a result they neither lived nor reigned for long.

besides. Innocent people are being exhausted with the taxation required to support these useless women: ordinary people throughout the empire are in desperate poverty while the *Yin* and *Yang* are isolated within the palace. For these reasons, the spirits of harmony are affected, and disasters and strange omens arrive one after another, with serious effect.

"In my humble opinion, all those women who have not received imperial favour should be sent out from the palace to be married. That would be the greatest good fortune for the state."

An imperial edict appointed Xun Shuang as a Gentleman of the Palace.⁷[68]

C There was famine in Sili and in Yu province. Four or five out of every ten of the people died, so many that whole families were wiped out.⁸

D An imperial edict called Zhang Huan to become Minister of Finance, and Huangfu Gui was again appointed as General on the Liao to replace him.

Considering that he had now held one high post after another, Huangfu Gui wanted very much to retire. He sent in several reports pleading ill health, but his requests were not granted.

About this time, the coffin and funeral cortege of one of his friends came by on a mourning journey. Huangfu Gui crossed the borders of his territory to pay his respects, then sent one of his clients secretly to inform the Inspector of Bing province, Hu Fang, saying that he had left his military base without proper authority and Hu Fang should report this immediately.

Hu Fang said, "Weiming⁹ wishes to return to his estates and relinquish his official duties, and that is why he is bothering me. But I

⁷ *HHS* 62/52:2051 actually says that Xun Shuang was appointed to the probationary post of Gentleman of the Palace immediately after his nomination as Extremely Filial; and he then sent in the memorial. *HHS* 62/52:2056 says that as soon as the memorial had been lodged, he resigned his appointment and went away. Considering his outspoken attack upon the emperor's personal conduct, one must feel he was treated with remarkable lenience and generosity.

C *HHS* 7:317 (14a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

⁸ *HHS* 7 dates the full effect of this famine to the third month. The Annals also record, however, that an edict was issued on the *jiyou* day of the first month [8 Mar], expressing concern about the state of the harvest, the number of bandits and the large number of portents and omens. In practical terms, the edict provided an exemption or remission of taxes from badly-affected areas.

D *HHS* 65/55:2136 (6a), the Biography of Huangfu Gui.

⁹ Weiming 威明 was the style of Huangfu Gui.

must act on behalf of the court, and keep hold of talented men. How can I fall for this scheme?" He took no action.¹⁰

E In the summer, in the fourth month the Yellow River ran clear in Jiyin, Dong commandery, Jibei and Pingyuan.¹¹

1787

The Excellency over the Masses Xu Xu left office. In the fifth month the Minister of Ceremonies Hu Guang became Excellency over the Masses.

F On the day *gengwu* [of the sixth month, 27 Jul] the emperor in person carried out a ceremony of sacrifice to Laozi at the Palace of the

¹⁰ *HHS* 65/55 gives more detail of this incident.

Huangfu Gui's friend was Wang Min 王旻, who had been Administrator of Shang commandery, which lay south of the frontier territories guarded by the Trans-Liao command. It would appear that Wang Min was a man from the north, and his body was being brought home.

Both Shang commandery and the frontier to the north were within the circuit of the Inspector of Bing province, and it appears from this incident that the movements of the General on the Liao were formally restricted to the extreme northern reaches of the loop of the Yellow River; he did not have authority to move south even into the Ordos region.

One must have sympathy for Huangfu Gui in seeking to retire; he was now more than sixty and had been on active service for many years. On the other hand, passage G below tells us that the Xianbi, aided by the Wuhuan and the Southern Xiongnu, were about to launch a series of attacks and rebellions along the frontier, following the departure of Zhang Huan. From the point of view of the Han government, it was not a good time for Huangfu Gui to leave.

E *HHS* 7:317 (14a-b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

¹¹ This phenomenon is also recorded by the Treatise of the Five Powers at in *HHS* 105/15:3311. The same text refers to the Yellow River running clear in the summer of the previous year, Yanxi 8: this event is recorded also in *HHS* 7, but has not been taken up into *ZZTJ*.

Among present-day Chinese proverbs, "when the Yellow River runs clear" is used as the description of a time which will either never come or is infinitely far away. In this case, while it is unlikely that the River actually ran clear, it is just possible that a localised heavy monsoonal rain early in the season, while the ground was too hard and dry to encourage the normal wash-off of silt, could have rendered the current briefly less opaque.

For prognostication, the Treatise quotes from the comments of Xiang Kai, in his memorial later this year (passage S below), which suggests that feudal lords may seek to become chief ruler (note 50 below), then identifies the portent with the death of Emperor Huan and the succession of Emperor Ling, who was up to that time the Marquis of Jiedu Village (passage V of Yongkang 1).

Shining Dragon.¹² A cloth of patterned wool was used on the altar, the vessels were ornamented with gold at the mouth, and the whole was sheltered by a multi-coloured baldachin. The music for the ceremony was that used for the suburban sacrifice to Heaven.¹³

- G When the Xianbi heard that Zhang Huan had left, they formed an alliance with the Southern Xiongnu and the Wuhuan to make a rebellion together.

In the sixth month the Southern Xiongnu, the Wuhuan and the Xianbi invaded the frontier by different [69] routes, and they raided

F *HHS* 98/8:3188 (8b), the Treatise on Sacrifices.

12 *HHS* 98/8 says only that the ceremony took place in the year Yanxi 9. *HHS* 7:317 gives the date as the *gengwu* day (cyclical 7), but places the item in the seventh month, after the disturbances with the Xianbi and other barbarians described in passage G below. There is, however, no *gengwu* day in the seventh month of this year, which began on a *wuzi* day (cyclical 25).

HHJ 22:12a places the ceremony in the *gengwu* day of the sixth month, and Sima Guang has appropriately followed that text.

Dongguan Hanji 3:5a-b dates the ceremony to the following year, Yongkang 1: 167, but this is not supported by any other source, and must be regarded as an error.

13 The ceremony is discussed by Seidel, *Divinisation de Lao tseu*, 38, and by deC, "Politics and Philosophy," 73, and *Portents of Protest*, 29 and 82-83 note 70.

The Treatise of Sacrifices and this passage of *ZZTJ* mention only Laozi as the object of the ceremony, but *HHS* 7:317 and *Dongguan Hanji* 3:5a-b both refer to the combined deity Huang-Lao 黃老, being the combination of the mythical Yellow Emperor (黃帝 *Huangdi*) and the sage Laozi 老子, while *HHS* 7:320 says that the Buddha was also worshipped: this last is confirmed by the remarks of Xiang Kai: see further at passage S below and note 56.

Dongguan Hanji says that the sacrifice involved an offering of the Three Kinds of Animals (三牲 *sansheng*), an ox, a ram and pig. This was the Great Sacrifice (太牢 *tailao*): Bodde, *Festivals*, 56.

HHSJJ 98/8:8b commentary quoted from *HS* 99C:4169; Dubs, *HFHD* III, 413-414, tells how Wang Mang, in emulation of the Yellow Emperor, had constructed for himself a multi-coloured baldachin (華蓋 *hua gai*), nine layers high and eighty-one Han feet tall (more than eighteen and a half metres or sixty feet): the item was thus evidently associated with that deity.

Sacrifice to Heaven was held each year in the first month of spring at the Southern Suburban Altar (南郊 *nanjiao*): *HHS* 94/4:3102; Bodde, *Festivals*, 214. The altar lay south of the walled city of Luoyang, between the Luo and Yi Rivers, and was used also for other occasions, including prayers for rain and announcements of the illness, death and posthumous titles of emperors: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 73-75. There were also a Northern Altar to Earth and altars for the five suburban sacrifices (五郊 *wu jiao*), though these last may have included the Northern and Southern altars in their number: *HHS* 94/4:3102, 99/9:3117, 3123 and 3125, and 98/8:3181-82; Bodde, *Festivals*, 193 ff and Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 99-103.

and ravaged nine commanderies along the border.¹⁴

In the autumn, in the seventh month the Xianbi again entered the frontier, and they persuaded the Eastern Qiang to join them in a covenant. As a result, groups of the Chendi Qiang of Shang commandery and the Xianlian Qiang of Anding made combined attacks on Wuwei and Zhangye. All Chinese positions along the border were seriously affected.

An imperial edict re-appointed Zhang Huan as General of the Household Protector of the Xiongnu, with the salary of one of the Nine Ministers, and with command over [the troops of] the three provinces You, Bing and Liang, and over the two forces [under the General Who] Crosses the Liao and [the Protector of the] Wuhuan. He was also given authority to examine the competence of the inspectors and administrators.¹⁵

H Before this, when the emperor was Marquis of Liwu he had been tutored by Zhou Fu of Ganling.¹⁶ When he came to the throne [in 146],

G *HHS* 65/55:2139 (8b), the Biography of Zhang Huan; and *HHS* 7:317 (14b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

14 Zhang Huan's biography in *HHS* 65/55 places the emphasis for these attacks upon the Xianbi, operating from outside the frontier; the Annals in *HHS* 7 give chief place, as quoted here, to the Southern Xiongnu. I suspect that it was by this time the Xianbi who played the leading part: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 323.

The parallel passage of *HHS* 65/55 is translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 58-59.

15 The normal title of the General of the Household in this region was Emissary to the Xiongnu (使匈奴 *shi Xiongnu* [*zhonglang jiang*]), but that post was, as may be seen from the hierarchy arranged by Huangfu Gui in Yanxi 6, lower than the General on the Liao: passage G of that year.

From the rank and responsibility given Zhang Huan in this emergency, this appointment as Protector (護 *hu*) was in a different category, comparable and indeed even higher than that held by Huangfu Gui when he was General of the Household against the rebels of the northwest in Yanxi 4: passage H and note 23 to that year.

H *HHS* 67/57:2185-86 (2b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

In this and the following passages, Sima Guang presents a brief history of the affair of the Proscribed Party (黨綱 *dang gu*), selecting from the relevant biographies of *HHS*, and leading to the situation of Yanxi 9: 166.

The main source for Sima Guang is *HHS* 67/57, the Chapter on the Proscribed Party, both the prologue and the individual biographies, though other information is scattered through chapters dealing with the biographies of leading individuals and the eunuch group. The method is similar to that used for Guo Tai and his associates in the chronicle for Yanxi 7: *cf.* note 1 to that year.

Because of the complexity of the affair, and the number of individuals involved in different ways at various stages, Sima Guang had to draw upon a particularly wide

Zhou Fu was called to be a Master of Writing [in the Imperial Secretariat].

At this time the Intendant of Henan Fang Zhi, also from Ganling, had a splendid reputation. The people of their country made up a song about them:

A model for the empire, Fang Bowu;

Grasping appointment from his teaching, Zhou Zhongjin.¹⁷

Clients and dependents of the two men criticised the other, and each established a particular following. The rift gradually widened between them so that Ganling was divided between "north" and "south". The criticisms made by the men of faction [at the capital in later years] had their origins in this.¹⁸

- I Zong Zi the Administrator of Runan had made Fan Pang his Officer of Merit, and Cheng Jin the Administrator of Nanyang gave parallel appointment to Cen Zhi. Each gave full trust to his subordinate, approving their praise of good men and correction of the bad, and so they purified the government of those commanderies.
- J Fan Pang was a particularly strict and stubborn man, and hated evil like a personal enemy.¹⁹ His nephew Li Song had formerly shown a bad character, but the Regular [70] Attendant Tang Heng recommended him to Zong Zi, and Zong Zi appointed Li Song as an

selection of texts from *HHS*, and he frequently combines clauses and phrases from one section into the main text of another. For this reason, the identification of the sources of the passages given below is slightly simplistic: I give the main source but I do not analyse all the lesser contributions to each individual sentence.

- 16 Emperor Huan, as a boy, had succeeded his father as Marquis of Liwu 蠡吾, a county in Zhongshan. He was brought to the throne by the Liang family at the age of fifteen *sui*: *HHS* 7:287.
- 17 天下規矩,房伯武;因師獲印,周仲進. Bowu was the style of Fang Zhi; Zhongjin that of Zhou Fu. The characters 矩 *ju* and 武 *wu*, 印 *yin* and 進 *jin* were rhymed: Karlgren, *GSR* 95a and 104a; 1251f and 379a.
- 18 This series of events took place in the late 140s, and was a preliminary to the fashion of rhyming criticism and personal association which culminated in the Faction Incidents twenty years later.
- I *HHS* 67/57:2212 (20a), the Biography of Cen Zhi; and *HHS* 67/57:2205 (15a-b), the Biography of Fan Pang; both in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.
- J *HHS* 67/57:2205 (15a-b), the Biography of Fan Pang in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.
- 19 Fan Pang had made a name of himself as a Commissioner in Ji province, and he was a close associate of Guo Tai: passages T of Yanxi 2 and G of Yanxi 7. Zong Zi heard of his reputation and particularly asked him to enter his service.

officer of the commandery.²⁰

1788 Fan Pang, however, refused to issue the call to office. Zong Zi shifted his attack to the Clerical Assistant Zhu Ling, and had him beaten. Zhu Ling looked up at him and said, "Fan Pang is a man of rigorous honesty. Even if you flog me to death, I will not change my mind, and I shall continue to accept his lead on this matter." So Zong Zi gave up. All the common fellows of the commandery were unhappy about this.²¹

K From this, there appeared popular ditties in the two commanderies:

The Administrator of Runan is Fan Mengbo,
Zong Zi of Nanyang is no more than a cipher;
The Administrator of Nanyang is Cen Gongxiao,
Cheng Jin of Hongnong has only to sit and sing.²²

There were more than thirty thousand students at the Imperial University, with Guo Tai and Jia Biao of Yingchuan as their leaders, and they sang one another's praises with Li Ying, Chen Fan and Wang Chang. There was a chant among the students:

A model for the empire, Li Yuanli,
Unafraid of powerful enemies, Chen Zhongqu,
Ideal for the empire, Wang Shumao.²³

So people both inside [the capital] and outside were influenced by such slogans and competed with one another in giving praise or casting blame.

From excellencies and ministers downwards, no one dared oppose these judgements, and visitors came in a constant stream to the doors

²⁰ Tang Heng died in Yanxi 7: 164 (passage S), so this incident must have taken place before that time.

²¹ *HHS* adds the information that these people described the men whom Fan Pang had chosen for office as "Fan's Faction" (范黨 *Fan dang*).

K *HHS* 67/57:2186 (2b-3a), the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

²² 汝南太守范孟博; 南陽宗資主畫諾; Mengbo was the style of Fan Pang.
南陽太守岑公孝; 弘農成瑨但坐嘯; Gongxiao was the style of Cen Zhi.

The last characters of the first two seven-character lines and of the second couplet rhyme: Karlgren, *GSR* 771a and 777e; 1168a and 1028f.

²³ 天下模楷, 李元禮; Yuanli was the style of Li Ying.
不畏強禦, 陳仲舉; Zhongju was the style of Chen Fan.
天下俊秀; 王叔茂; Shumao was the style of Wang Chang.

The third and seventh characters of each line rhyme: Karlgren, *GSR* 599e and 597d; 60p and 75a; 1095a and 1231f.

A bridging sentence in *HHS* 67/57:2186, omitted by Sima Guang, observes that the custom of rhyming couplets, used most recently as comment upon Fan Pang and Cen Zhi, had spread among students of the Imperial University at the capital.

[of the student leaders].

L A certain Zhang Fan was a wealthy merchant in Wan.²⁴ He had long been in close contact with the members of the imperial harem, and he was extremely good at engraving objects of art and items of fancy. He had occasionally given them as bribes to the eunuchs, and in this way he had a splendid position and was able to use his influence arrogantly and unlawfully.

At the instigation of Cen Zhi [the Officer of Merit in Nanyang] and the Officer for Criminals Zhang Mu, Cheng Jin arrested Zhang Fan and his associates. An amnesty was proclaimed,²⁵ but Cheng Jin executed Zhang Fan regardless, and he also arrested and killed more than two [71] hundred of Zhang Fan's clansmen and followers.²⁶ He then reported his actions to the throne.²⁷

M The Attendant of the Yellow Gates Zhao Jin of Jinyang was greedy, oppressive and lawless, and was a major source of trouble in that county. The Administrator of Taiyuan, Liu Zhi of Pingyuan, sent the commandery officer Wang Yun to arrest and punish him. In this case too the execution was carried out after an amnesty had been issued.²⁸

L *HHS* 67/57:2212 (20a), the Biography of Cen Zhi in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

²⁴ Wan was the capital of Nanyang commandery, now Nanyang in Henan.

²⁵ There had been an amnesty in the third month of the previous year, Yanxi 8: passage H.

²⁶ *HHS* 67/57 attributes this energetic action to Cen Zhi, but the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 4:3b-4a, quoted in commentary to *HHS* 67/57:2186 and to *HHS* 30B/20B:1077, says that it was Cheng Jin's own decision. *ZZTJ* has followed this, which is certainly more likely.

HHS 67/57:2212 says that Cheng Jin had chosen Cen Zhi particularly for his well-known strictness; but in a matter as serious as this one must assume that the Administrator had the final decision: *cf.* however, the comments of Jia Biao in passage X below.

²⁷ This is most questionable conduct. We are told specifically that the execution was carried out after an amnesty, which should have at least reduced the penalty for the crime, whatever Zhang Fan may have been accused of. Moreover, though an Administrator did have authority to administer capital punishment, it was not necessarily accepted that he should do so without prior reference to the capital. In this text the character 後 *hou* clearly indicates that it was expected Cheng Jin would have referred to matter to higher authority before carrying out the executions.

M *HHS* 66/56:2172 (10a), the Biography of Wang Yun;

HHS 66/56:2164 (5a-b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

²⁸ A county in Taiyuan, Jinyang lay close to the capital of that commandery, present-day Taiyuan in Shanxi.

N Because of this, the Regular Attendant Hou Lan²⁹ arranged that the widow of Zhang Fan should send in a letter with a formal complaint, and the eunuchs then slandered Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi. The emperor was extremely angry. He summoned Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi and sent them both to jail.

O From this, the officials recommended that Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi had committed crimes worthy of public execution.

1789

P The Administrator of Shanyang, Zhai Chao, had appointed Zhang Jian of that commandery as Investigator of the Eastern Division.³⁰

Hou Lan had a residence at Fangdong,³¹ where he bullied and oppressed the people. When he was in mourning for his mother he returned to his home and raised a great tomb-mound for her. Zhang Jian recommended that a memorial should be sent to the court about Hou Lan's wrong-doing, but Hou Lan had agents to intercept such messages, and the documents did not arrive.

Then Zhang Jian destroyed Hou Lan's tomb buildings and confiscated his property. He sent in a report on the whole affair, but again this was not forwarded to the capital.³²

Wang Yun's biography says that he took the initiative in dealing with Zhao Jin, but Chen Fan's account says that he was carrying out the orders of Liu Zhi. In his first memorial presented about this time [passage S below], Xiang Kai refers to Liu Zhi and Cheng Jin as energetic and worthy officials, and the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 4:3b, quoted in commentary to that text in *HHS* 30/20B, supports the statement concerning Liu Zhi. Wang Yun's biography exaggerates his role.

N *HHS* 67/57:2212 (20a-b), the Biography of Cen Zhi in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

29 We have been told that Hou Lan was dismissed after the disgrace and suicide of his brother Hou Can a year or so earlier: passage D to Yanxi 8. It appears he had been reinstated.

O *HHS* 66/56:2164 (4b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

P *HHS* 67/57:2210 (18b), the Biography of Zhang Jian in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party;

and *HHS* 78/68:2523 (12a), the Biography of Hou Lan in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

30 An Investigator (都郵 *duyou*) acted in one region of a commandery to supervise the administration of the subordinate counties: deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 50, and Hulsewé, *RHL*, 82-83.

31 Hou Lan was originally a man from Fangdong county in Shanyang.

32 *HHS* 78/68, translated by Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 481-482, describes Hou Lan's constructions in considerable detail, not only his mother's tomb but also his own mansion and pleasure grounds, extending over a great area. This text, and also Zhang Jian's biography in *HHS* 67/57, add that he had sent in reports complaining of Hou Lan's oppression, and also of the wrongdoing of Hou Lan's mother when she was alive.

Q Xu Xuan, son of the elder brother of [the eunuch] Xu Huang, was magistrate of Xiapi, and he governed with the utmost ferocity. At one time he had asked to marry the daughter of Li Gao, former Administrator of Runan, but he was refused. So he led his officers and soldiers to Li Gao's house, kidnapped the girl, then shot and killed her for the fun of it.

Huang Fu of Runan, who was Chancellor of Donghai, heard about this. He arrested every member of Xu Xuan's household and examined them [by torture] without regard whether they were old or young. His junior officials all made strong objections, but Huang Fu replied, "Xu Xuan is a public menace. If I kill him today, though I may be executed for it tomorrow, I shall die content." He found Xu Xuan [72] guilty, sentenced him to public execution and had his corpse displayed afterwards.³³

At this, the eunuchs sent in hostile reports, and the emperor was angry. Both Zhai Chao and Huang Fu were sentenced to have their heads shaved, to be manacled about the neck, and to be sent as convict labourers in the Enclosure of the Left.³⁴

R The Grand Commandant Chen Fan and the Excellency of Works Liu

HHS 78/68 says that Hou Lan's mother died, and this incident took place, in *Jianning* 2: 169. This, however, is unlikely, and I agree with Sima Guang in setting it about this time. See note 47 to *Jianning* 2.

HHJ 22:13b says that Zhang Jian actually killed Hou Lan's mother but, as Sima Guang notes in his *Kaoyi* commentary, this is certainly mistaken.

Q *HHS* 78/68:2521-22 (10b-11a), the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

³³ *HHS* 78/68 remarks that at this time the county of Xiapi was subject to the neighbouring commandery unit of Donghai, though it was normally the capital of Xiapi commandery (*HHS* 111/21:3462). Otherwise it would have been quite unlawful for the administrator of one commandery unit to operate outside his own territory in this fashion.

Exposure of the corpses of wrongdoers is discussed by Hulsewé, *RHL*, 111, as a possible expedient to impress the population. I note, however, that the only two examples cited by Hulsewé for the Later Han period are the present instance and the occasion cited in passage D of Yanxi 3, when the Chancellor of Jibei, Teng Yan, arrested and killed several dozen eunuch retainers and clients and exposed their bodies on the roadside. From these two examples, one might conclude that exposure of the bodies was rather a posthumous humiliation of the eunuch partisans than a regular item of Han law.

³⁴ *HHS* 78/68:2522 refers here to the Enclosure of the Right, but *HHS* 66/56:2164, in an almost identical passage, has the Enclosure of the Left, and this is followed by *ZZTJ*. See note 82 to Yanxi 2.

R *HHS* 66/56:2164-65 (4b-6b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

Mao both made protest, asking pardon for Chen Jing, Liu Zhi, Zhai Chao and Huang Fu.

1790 The emperor was not pleased, and other officials then sent in memorials to criticise them. Liu Mao did not venture to raise the subject again.³⁵

Chen Fan, however, sent in another letter on his own account, "Now there are robbers and bandits outside, and these are a disease of the four limbs; disorder within the government, however, is a danger to the heart. I go to bed, but I cannot sleep; I eat but my stomach is only half filled.

³⁵ There is confusion in the texts concerning this first memorial. *HHS* 66/56 says that it was a joint submission of Chen Fan and Liu Mao, and also the Excellency over the Masses Liu Ju 劉矩. *HHS* 39/29:1310, being the Biography of Liu Mao, agrees.

Liu Ju, however, whose biography is in *HHS* 76/66:2476-77, the Chapter on the Lenient Officials, was not one of the excellencies at this time, and he was never Excellency over the Masses: in Yanxi 4: 161 he was appointed Grand Commandant (passage A), and left that office in the following year (passage K of Yanxi 5). In 168, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling, he was again appointed Grand Commandant, but held the office for only a few months (passages E and W of Jianning 1). Liu Ju's biography, moreover, has no reference to the joint memorial, or to any other written by him at this time.

The Excellencies over the Masses at the period now in question were Xu Xu, who was appointed in Yanxi 6: 163 (passage A) and Hu Guang, who took over from Xu Xu in the fifth month of Yanxi 9: 166 (passage E above). The biography of Hu Guang, *HHS* 44/34 at 1509, has no reference to the joint memorial. Xu Xu has no biography in *HHS*; it is possible that he signed the joint memorial with Chen Fan and Liu Mao before he left office.

HHS 104/14:3296, the Treatise of the Five Powers, lists the series of fires at the capital in 165 (see note 10 to Yanxi 8), and commentary to that text quotes from the *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shansong, 2a, which tells how a memorial of remonstrance was sent in on the basis of these phenomena by Chen Fan and "Liu Zhimao 劉智茂." The Qing commentator Hui Dong (*HHSJJ* at 4a) suggests that "Liu Zhimao" is a corruption for Liu Ju 矩 and Liu Mao 茂. In that case, it seems probable that the text quoted, which contains a number of references to various portents beside the fires, may come from the joint memorial of Chen Fan and his colleague/s. This, however, does not solve the problem of the alleged appointment of Liu Ju as Excellency over the Masses at the relevant time.

It does not seem possible to date this pair of memorials exactly: they could have been submitted any time from late Yanxi 8 to the middle of Yanxi 9. The affair of Zhai Chao and Huang Fu had probably arisen at least in Yanxi 8, and it would appear the matter of Zhao Jin and Liu Zhi dated back to the time of the amnesty in Yanxi 8. The final decision was not taken until the second half of Yanxi 9.

See also *Kaoyi* commentary to this passage of *ZZTJ*, and deC, *Portents of Protest*, 57-59 note 35.

"I am truly concerned that your attendants [the eunuchs] become closer to you every day, and that the loyal words [of your ministers] steadily lose influence. Inside, troubles mount up. Outside, difficulties become constantly more serious.

"Your majesty has risen from the rank of a feudal lord to inherit the supreme position. Even in an unimportant family one should take care of a myriad items of property, and sons and grandsons will be ashamed if they fail to maintain the achievement of the past. Surely this is still more true of the responsibilities of the empire, handed down by former rulers; yet you wish to neglect them in order to indulge your frivolous interests. Truly this demonstrates a lack of proper respect for your own dignity. How can you ignore the hard work of your predecessors?

"A few years ago, when the Liang family had five marquises,³⁶ they poisoned the whole empire. Heaven offered a plan to your sage intelligence, and you took them and destroyed them. All the opinion of the empire was then hoping for some peace. And yet, with the clear example so close at hand, and the warning of the overturned carriage as recent as if it were only yesterday, the new pattern of government is very much like the earlier one.

"The Attendant of the Yellow Gates Zhao Jin, and that great rascal Zhang Fan and his people, all acted with [72] cruelty and greed, but curried favour with your attendants. The former Administrator of Taiyuan Liu Zhi, and the former Administrator of Nanyang Cheng Jin, arrested and executed them. Although it may be claimed that the action took place after an amnesty, so the men should not have been put to death, the essential point is that these officers had hearts which were sincerely concerned with the elimination of evil. From your majesty's point of view, what cause is there for anger?

"And yet some petty fellows have put forward arguments to confuse your sage understanding, causing you to raise your majestic wrath, equal to that of Heaven, against these two men. Surely the punishment they have received is already excessive; how much worse will it become if [such loyal officers] are condemned more harshly, and their blood is shed.

"Again, the former Administrator of Shanyang Zhai Chao, and the former Chancellor of Donghai Huang Fu, both have a heavy sense of responsibility. They hate evil like a personal enemy. If Zhai Chao confiscated Hou Lan's property wrongfully, and Huang Fu was in error to execute Xu Xuan, nevertheless in both cases a punishment has been

³⁶ On the enfeoffments of the Liang family, see note 7 to Yanxi 2.

applied, and they have not benefited from the provisions of any amnesty. For Hou Lan's wilful and arrogant behaviour, confiscation of property is really a light penalty; and for Xu Xuan's outrageous conduct, death itself is perhaps insufficient.

"In former times, the Chancellor Shentu Jia summoned Deng Tong, and the Prefect of Luoyang Dong Xuan humiliated a princess. Yet Emperor Wen accepted it, and Emperor Guangwu actually gave a reward. I have never heard that those two ministers were in any danger of execution.³⁷

"Yet now this group of eunuch attendants, a gang of evil-doers, because they are angry at the penalties inflicted upon other members of their gang, have spread wild stories to bring [these officers] into threat of serious punishment. Even these words of mine may lead to their tearful complaints, and so bring me slander and disgrace.

1791 "Your majesty should take action to remove any opportunities for your eunuch attendants to be involved in government. You should call in the officers of your secretariat and your court, to appoint and promote only those who are pure and of high moral quality, and to criticise and eliminate those who are wicked and base. Thus Heaven will be in harmony above, [73] and Earth will be contented below. Good fortune and auspicious influences, how then can they be kept away?"

The emperor would not accept this, and the eunuchs now held a deadly hatred for Chen Fan. Many of his recommendations for office and his memorials were turned down or rejected, and he was reprimanded by edicts issued in the emperor's name. His clerical officers were actually punished, though Chen Fan himself was too well known and too influential, and there was nothing that his enemies could do against him directly.

S Xiang Kai of Pingyuan came to the palace and handed in a document

³⁷ On the incident of Shentu Jia and Deng Tong, see note 16 to Yanxi 8.

The Biography of Dong Xuan is in *HHS* 77/67:2489-90, the Chapter on the Stern Officials. When he was Prefect of Luoyang, the slave of sister to Emperor Guangwu killed a man and then took refuge under the protection of his mistress. Dong Xuan, however, halted the princess' carriage in the street, compelled the man to get down, and killed him on the spot.

The princess complained to Guangwu, who first contemplated putting Dong Xuan to death and then attempted to make him apologise. Dong Xuan, however, refused to accept that he was in any way at fault, and Guangwu eventually rewarded him for his fine conduct.

See also *HHS* 26/16:907 and Ch'ü, Han *Social Structure*, 373-374.

which read:³⁸ "I have heard that august Heaven does not speak, but rather uses signs and portents as means of instruction.

"My humble observations have noted that the Enclosure of Supreme Subtlety is the heavenly court, the seat of the Five Emperors,³⁹ and the punishing stars of Metal [Venus] and Fire [Mars] were shining there.⁴⁰ According to divinations, this indicates misfortune for the Son of Heaven.⁴¹ And now [that Venus has] entered the constellations House and Heart, it is a sign there will be no descendants and successors.⁴²

"In the winter of the year before last [Yanxi 7] it was extremely cold, so much that birds and animals were killed, fish and tortoises came to harm, and even some leaves of the bamboos and cypresses by the city wall were withered and dry.⁴³

S *HHS* 30B/20B:1075-84 (15b-21a), the Biography of Xiang Kai.

38 The Biography of Xiang Kai, including this and the second memorial presented by him this year, is translated by deC, *Portents of Protest*, which work includes a more detailed discussion of the astronomy and other portents dealt with by Xiang Kai.

39 The Enclosure of Supreme Subtlety (太微垣 *Taiwei yuan*) is ten stars in the Western constellations Virgo and Leo which have the appearance of a circle. Within the enclosure, the Western β Leonis and four smaller stars nearby are known as the Seats of the Five Emperors (五帝坐 *Wu di zuo*). See Schlegel, *Uranographie*, 534 ff, *SJ* 27:1299; Chavannes, *MH* III, 347, *JS* 11:291-93; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 76-78 and Star Map 2, also deC, *Portents of Protest*, 48-49 note 26 and figure 5.

40 In Chinese astronomy, the planet Mars, commonly known as *Yinghuo* 熒惑 "the Glittering One" was associated with the power of Fire and thus with the heat of summer and fierce fighting. Venus, *Taibo* 太白 "Great White" was linked with Metal, with autumn and thus with executions and sharp weapons. See Schlegel, *Uranographie*, 613 ff, and Needham, *Science and Civilisation* III, 398 ff.

41 Compare, however, *JS* 11:292; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 77:

... the path of the moon or one of the five Planets entering the T'ai Wei [Enclosure] can be regarded as a good omen.

42 The House (房 *Fang*) and the Heart (心 *Xin*) are both lunar mansions (*xiu* 宿). *Fang* is β , δ , π and ρ *Scorpii*, *Xin* is α , σ and τ *Scorpii*: Schlegel, *Uranographie*, 113 and 138, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 96 and 97.

HHS 102/12:3257, the Treatise of Astronomy, records that on the *jiwei* day of the intercalary seventh month of Yanxi 8 (19 Sep 165) the planet Venus "invaded" (*fan*) the "front star" (前星 *qian xing*) of the Heart constellation. The "front star" should refer to σ *Scorpii*, which lies closest to the House constellation.

On these movements, and the dating of them by Xiang Kai, see deC, *Portents of Protest*, 49-50 note 27.

43 A severe winter is recorded both in *HHS* 7:318 and in *HHS* 104/14:3299; both items, however, are dated to the winter of Yanxi 9, after the memorials of Xiang Kai.

The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang to this passage of *ZZTJ* observes that the date in *HHS* 7 is mistaken, and that he is following *HHS* 104/14. Sima Guang evidently had access to an edition which gave the date as Yanxi 7 in the Treatise.

"I learnt from my teacher that 'When the cypress is withered and the bamboo is dry, in no more than two years the Son of Heaven will suffer the same fate.'

"Now, since spring and summer, there have been repeated frosts and hail, and also heavy rains and thunderstorms.⁴⁴ This occurs when subjects are flaunting their personal power and wealth, and when punishments are excessively harsh and cruel.

"Liu Zhi the Administrator of Taiyuan and Cheng Jin the Administrator of Nanyang have the ambition to eliminate evil and wickedness, and the punishments they carried out fulfilled the hopes of the people. Yet your majesty has given ear to slanders from your castrate minions and as a result, without paying close attention to the matter, you have ordered them arrested and interrogated. The Three Excellencies have sent in letters to ask that you show pity upon Liu Zhi and his colleagues, but no further investigation has been made, and the excellencies [75] themselves have been harshly reprimanded. As a result, ministers who care for the nation will now be afraid to speak out.

"I have heard it said that if innocent people are killed and worthy men are punished, misfortune will arrive within three generations. Since the beginning of your majesty's reign, there have been continual executions. The Liang, Kou, Sun and Deng families have all been destroyed, and great numbers of their associates, far too many to count, have shared their fate.⁴⁵ Li Yun sent in a letter, of the type no wise ruler can ignore; Du Zhong asked for death with a sincerity to move

See deC, *Portents of Protest*, 54-55 note 31.

44 Despite Xiang Kai's statements, there is no record of any notable frost, hail, rains or thunderstorms among the entries for this time in the Treatise of the Five Elements. The most recent such phenomena appear to have been heavy rain in the summer of Yanxi 2: 159 (*HHS* 103/13:3270, associated with the fall of the Liang family), and hailstorms in Yanxi 4: 161 and Yanxi 7: 165 (*HHS* 105/15:3314, associated with the deposition of the Empress Deng). The Treatise does not list frosts, and there had been no notable thunderstorms since 149, almost twenty years earlier.

It is possible that some of these phenomena had occurred as Xiang Kai claimed, but were for some reason omitted from the Treatise as we have it now. It is nevertheless a remarkable series, either of *lacunae* or of false claims.

45 On the fall of Liang Ji and his wife Sun Shou and their families in 159, see passage L of Yanxi 2.

On the destruction of Kou Rong and the decline of his family about 164, see passage T and note 54 to Yanxi 7.

On the fall of Deng Wanshi and the other relatives of the deposed Empress Deng in 165, see passage G of Yanxi 8.

your sage's court, but for neither of them was there pardon or compassion, and both were slain.⁴⁶

1792 "Every person in the empire has seen the injustice, and since the age that Han arose, there has never been such a time as the present for rejecting good advice, executing worthy men, and using the law with such excessive severity!

"In former times, King Wen had only one wife, but she bore him ten sons.⁴⁷ Now the women of your palace are numbered by the thousands, but I have not heard that any of them have become pregnant.⁴⁸ You should cultivate virtue and reduce punishments, and you may then obtain the full blessings of the *Zhongsì* Ode.⁴⁹

"Now it is my observation that, since the time of the *Chunqiu*, and in all the reigns of the emperors and kings of the past, there has been no occasion that the Yellow River has run clear. In my opinion, the Yellow River holds the position of the feudal lords. Clearness is an attribute of *Yang*; muddiness is an attribute of *Yin*. When the river that should be muddy has instead turned clear, that is a sign that *Yin* wishes to become *Yang* and feudal lords seek to become emperor.⁵⁰

"The *Yi zhuan* of Jing Fang says, 'When the Yellow River runs clear, the empire will have peace.'⁵¹ Now, however, Heaven is

46 On Li Yun and Du Zhong, see passage FF of Yanxi 2.

47 *SJ* 35:1563; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 152-153, tells of the ten sons of King Wen of Zhou 周文王, all born to his principal wife, Taisi 太姒. The second son was the conquering King Wu 武, and the fourth was the sage regent, the Duke of Zhou 周公.

48 This is not quite fair: three daughters of Emperor Huan are listed among the princesses at *HHS* 10B:462, the end of the chapter on imperial women. On the other hand, of course, they were no use to the succession of the throne, and this in itself may be a sign of Heaven's disapproval.

49 The *Zhongsì* 螽斯 Ode of *Shi jing*; I.1.5; Legge, *CC* IV, 11-12 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 5 at 4), is interpreted by commentators as praise for the virtues and fertility of Taisi (note 47 above). The first stanza runs:

Ye locusts, winged tribes,
How harmoniously you collect together!
Right it is that your descendants
Should be multitudinous.

And the last line of the second stanza refers to descendants "in unbroken strings."

50 On this phenomenon, see passage E and note 11 above.

The Treatise of the Five Powers interprets the prognosis of feudal lords becoming emperor merely as reference to the ascension to the throne of Emperor Ling, up to then a marquis, after the death of Emperor Huan. Xiang Kai, however, appears to be implying that rebellion may break out. Cf. notes 1 and 11 above.

51 Two men named Jing Fang 京方 are recorded in *Han shu*, and both are described as masters of the study of *Yi jing*, the *Book of Changes*.

displaying strange signs, earth spits forth uncanny creations, and mankind has pestilence and disease. With these three situations all together, even if we still have the Yellow River running clear, then it is like the time that a unicorn appeared in the Chunqiu period when it should not have done so. Confucius recorded that as something extraordinary [and ominous].⁵²

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- The Chapter on Scholarship at *HS* 88:3600 mentions a man named Jing Fang, who had held office as a Palace Counsellor (太中大夫 *taizhong dafu*) and Administrator of Qi 齊 commandery, and became a scholar of *Yi jing* under the tutelage of Yang He 楊何. About 66 BC Emperor Xuan asked Liangqiu He 梁丘賀, who had been Jing Fang's student, about his teachings. Hulsewé, "The Two Early Han *I ching* Specialists called Ching Fang," 161-162, suggests this Jing Fang the Elder was born about 140 BC and died about 80 BC.
 - The second man named Jing Fang, originally of the surname Li 李, was also a scholar of *Yi jing*; his biography is in *HS* 75:3160-67, and his work is discussed in the Chapter on Scholarship at *HS* 88:3601-02. He was a student of Jiao Yanshou 焦延壽, but sought to establish a connection with the teachings of Meng Xi 孟喜, a scholar who claimed to interpret *Yi jing* on the basis of revelation: *HS* 88:3597. This Jing Fang the Younger was recognised as the founder of a somewhat unorthodox school which related *Yi jing* to omens of good and ill fortune. As an official, he was involved in the struggle against the eunuch Shi Xian 石顯, favourite of Emperor Yuan, and was eventually imprisoned and killed. The date of his death is 37 BC, and he is described as being 41 *sui* at that time, so he was born in 77. It is possible this second Jing Fang changed his surname in order to emulate the earlier master.

For a time in Former Han and again at the beginning of Later Han there was a chair at the Imperial University for the study of *Yi jing* according to the Jing Fang interpretation.

A number of works on *Yi jing*, listed in *HS* 30:1703, the Treatise of Bibliography, are ascribed to Jing Fang, though there is no definite evidence as to which of the two was the author. Fragmentary works with such titles as *Jing Fang Yi zhuan* 京方易傳 "Commentary to the *Book of Changes* by Jing Fang" survive in different editions to the present day, but their authenticity is questionable and none of them contain the remark attributed to him here by Xiang Kai.

See also deC, *Portents of Protest*, 70-72 note 52 (which assumes authorship by the second Jing Fang), Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 85, 94, 95, 100, 146 and Table I (which does not clearly distinguish between the two scholars of the same name), and Loewe, *Biographical Dictionary*, 199-200.

⁵² The chronicle of *Chunqiu*, Ai 14; Legge, *CC* V, 833 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 691), records how a unicorn (麟 *lin*) was captured in the west of Lu. According to *Kongzi jiayu* 4:16b-17a, translated by Legge, *CC* V, 834, the animal was taken by a waggoner, who broke its leg before bringing it on a carriage to his master. It was then shown to Confucius, who said, "It is a *lin*. Why has it come? Why has it come?" Then he wept, and explained, "The *lin* comes [only] when there is an intelligent king. Now it has

"I wish you would take some time to think this over; and allow me to complete my full discussion." [76]

The document was sent in, but nothing happened. Some ten days later, Xiang Kai sent in another: "I have heard that King Zhou of Yin loved women, and that was why Daji appeared.⁵³ The Duke of She was fond of dragons, and a real one came to his court.⁵⁴ Now your officials of the Yellow Gates and your Regular Attendants are people who have been punished by Heaven,⁵⁵ yet your majesty loves and accepts them, and you constantly pour favours upon them. If you have still failed to obtain an heir, are you sure this has nothing to do with it?

"Again, I have heard that sacrifices have been held within the palace to Huang-Lao and the Buddha.⁵⁶ Their teachings are those of purity and emptiness, with particular emphasis on action only in accordance

appeared when it is not the time for it to do so, and it has been injured. This is why I was so much affected."

This is the last entry in *Chunqiu*, and it is believed to be on account of the untimely appearance of the otherwise auspicious beast that Confucius halted his chronicle at this point: Legge, *CC V*, 834-835.

53 Daji 妲己 was the wife of Zhou 紂, the wicked last ruler of Shang 商/Yin 殷. Her love of luxury and her pride encouraged Zhou in his misrule, and when the Yin dynasty was overthrown by King Wu of Zhou 周武王, Daji was put to death. See, for example, *SJ* 3:105 and 108; Chavannes, *MHI*, 199 and 207, also *SJ* 49:1967.

54 *HHS* commentary quotes from the *Xin xu* 新序 of Liu Xiang 劉向, 5:14a-b, which tells how the philosopher Zizhang 子張 went to visit Duke Ai of Lu 魯哀公 but was received without proper courtesy. He said to the Duke, "You like scholars and gentlemen in the same way that the Duke of She 葉 liked dragons." He then told the story of how the Duke of She was extremely fond of dragon figures for decoration about his palace, but when a real dragon of the sky heard about this and came to visit him, he was utterly terrified.

Zizhang, of course, was criticising Duke Ai for pretending to be a patron of scholars; Xiang Kai, in the argument developed below, is emphasising the significance of sympathetic magic in attracting like to like: a man who favours eunuchs may make himself incapable of getting sons.

55 Hu Sanxing observes that the description "people punished by Heaven" (天人 *tianxing zhi ren*) refers to the fact that these are men who have had inflicted upon themselves the operation of castration (熏腐之刑 *xunfu zhi xing*) and are thus at fault in the eyes of Heaven, which likes only complete men.

56 On this ceremony, see passage F above. Xiang Kai's text here writes the name of the Buddha as 浮屠 *futu/foutu*, while *HHS* 7:320, cited in note 13 above, has 浮圖 *futu/foutu*. Karlgren, *GSR* 64a and 45i reconstructs the sounds of the characters 屠 and 圖 as identical, and the Tang commentary to both texts identifies the reference to the Buddha 佛

with the way.⁵⁷ They love life and hate killing, they eliminate desires and reject ostentation. Your majesty, however, has not rejected lust and desire, and you apply the punishment of death far more than there is need. If you disregard their doctrines in such a fashion, how can you expect to obtain blessings from them?

"The Buddha did not sleep three nights under the [same] mulberry tree; he did not wish to remain in one place too long lest he develop feelings of affection: this is the perfection of purity.⁵⁸ With such a degree of mental concentration, one may then achieve the true Way.

1793 "Your majesty, however, has licentious girls and seductive women, the most beautiful in all the world. You delight in fine food and splendid wine, and you demand every luxury. How can you expect to emulate Huang-Lao?"

When this memorial was sent in, Xiang Kai was summoned to the Imperial Secretariat to explain himself.⁵⁹ He said, "In former times, there were no eunuch officials. It was only at the end of the reign of Emperor Wu, when he went often to the harem, that they were first established."⁶⁰

Under influence [from the eunuchs], the Masters of Writing advised that, "Xiang Kai has not put forward a proper discussion, and he

57 I understand the expression *wuwei* 無為, literally "non-action," as indicating "no action which is not in accordance with the true Way."

58 This description of the Buddha is well-known in Indian tradition and appears in recognisable form in the *Sutra in Forty-two Sections* (四十二章經 *Sishier zhang jing*), a work which was probably compiled in China in the late first or early second century AD.

On this and other aspects of Xiang Kai's knowledge of early Buddhism in China, see Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest* I, 38, deC, *Portents of Protest*, 82-86 note 72, and "Politics and Philosophy," 73-75.

59 On the function of the Masters of Writing in the Imperial Secretariat as inquisitors of possibly inappropriate documents submitted to the throne, see note 13 to Yanxi 8.

60 In fact, of course, eunuchs had long been used in their essential function of guarding the harems of kings and nobles. Xiang Kai, however, as *HHS* commentary points out, is following the argument of Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之, a senior Confucian scholar at the court of Emperor Yuan of Former Han, opposing the emperor's favouritism of the eunuch Shi Xian 石顯. See *HS* 78:3284-89 and Dubs, *HFHD* II, 294-296 and 309-310.

Xiao Wangzhi was actually concerned with eunuch influence on the office of Palace Writers (中書 *zhongshu*). Emperor Wu does appear to have arranged that the office was staffed by eunuchs, but as Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 49, remarks, he probably did no more than institutionalise an informal set of arrangements long established by his predecessors, who found it convenient to have eunuch scribes available to them. Xiang Kai is stretching the point. [On eunuch scribes/secretaries, see passage J of Yanxi 2 and note 25.]

disregards the models of the classical writings. He misrepresents the signs of the stars and constellations, forcing their interpretations to fit with his own ideas. He has distorted the facts to make false accusations against his superiors. We ask the matter be passed to the Director of Retainers, to put this man into the prison at Luoyang and assess his crime according to law."⁶¹

The emperor, however, considered that although Xiang Kai's words were extravagant and excessive, he had [77] nonetheless relied in each case upon signs from Heaven and other portents. For this reason he was not executed, but was sent to serve sentence as robber-guard.⁶²

T There had been officials and common people who practised the arts of Buddhism since the time of the Yongping period [of Emperor Ming: 58-75],⁶³ but the sovereign himself had never paid attention. Emperor Huan was the first to give this teaching respect and take a personal interest in the ceremonies. Because of this, Buddhist doctrines gradually gained influence, and that is why Xiang Kai mentioned them.

U The Prefect of Insignia and Credentials, Cai Yan of Runan, and the Consultant Liu Yu memorialised on behalf of Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi. Their words were quite outspoken, and they were dismissed from office.

V In the end, Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi died in prison.⁶⁴ They were men of upright character and classical accomplishment, famous among the people of that time, and all the empire mourned them.

W Cen Zhi and Zhang Mu got away and fled into hiding.

X As Cen Zhi made his escape, all his family and friends joined to help conceal him. Only Jia Biao closed his door and refused to take him in.

⁶¹ The Director of Retainers was responsible for the territory about the capital, and the Luoyang Prison was under his jurisdiction. In this instance, the prison was used for holding the accused until his sentence was determined.

⁶² The punishment described as "robber-guard" (司寇 *sikou*) was equivalent to two years hard labour as a convict, one of the lightest penalties in the code of Han: Hulsewé, *RHL*, 130-132, 336 and 382.

T This appears to be a comment by Sima Guang himself.

⁶³ The Yongping period covered all the reign of Emperor Ming. In 65 the emperor referred to his brother Liu Ying 劉英 the King of Chu 楚 as a worthy patron of the new doctrine: *HHS* 42/32:1428-29; Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest* I, 27.

U *HHS* 67/57:2208 (17b), the Biography of Cai Yan in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

V *HHS* 66/56:2165 (6a), the Biography of Chen Fan.

⁶⁴ *HHS* 7:318 dates the executions to the ninth month of Yanxi 9.

Some were angry with him, but Jia Biao said, "The *Zuo Chronicle* talks of 'acting according to the requirements of the time, but not embarrassing those who come after you.'⁶⁵ Gongxiao caused trouble with our ruler through his own vain ambition, and he brought the consequences upon himself. Personally, I would never raise a weapon against him, but how can I help him to hide?" All accepted the justice of his argument.

On another occasion, when Jia Biao was magistrate of Xinxi, the poor people of the county were in desperate distress, and many abandoned their infants. Jia Biao applied the law with the utmost rigour, applying the same penalty [against those who abandoned their children] as to murderers.⁶⁶

1794 To the south of the city there were bandits who had attacked people, and to the north was a woman who had killed her child. As Jia Biao went out on a tour of investigation, his clerks wanted him to go to the south, but Jia Biao said angrily, "It is quite in the nature of things that [78] bandits should harm people; but for a mother to turn against her child, that is defiance of Heaven and against the right Way." So he travelled to the north, made judgement of that crime, and punished the mother.

When the bandits to the south heard about this, they came of their own accord to offer submission. In the space of a few years the number of people who cared for their children [and who would not have done so before] was numbered by the thousands. They said, "It is Father Jia who has given life [to these children]," and each child was given the personal name Jia.

W *HHS* 67/57:2212-13 (20b), the Biography of Cen Zhi in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

X *HHS* 67/57:2216 (22b), the Biography of Jia Biao in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

65 *Zuo zhuan*, Yin 11; Legge, *CC* V, 33 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 60):
His arrangement of affairs was according to his measurement of his virtue; his action proceeded on the estimate of his strength; his movements were according to the exigency of the times:- so as not to embarrass those who should follow him. He may be pronounced one who knew propriety.

66 Xinxi county was in Runan, one of the central and more populous commanderies of the empire. The county itself, however, was in the southern part of the commandery, near present-day Xinyang in Henan, close to the mountain country of the Dabie Shan. It was thus perhaps more likely to have a population troubled by banditry and bad customs.

Hulsewé, *RHL*, 89, notes various scholars' comments on this case, with the implication that infanticide was not normally treated as murder, being punished usually by forced labour rather than by death: a pattern which is found in later Chinese codes.

Y Zhang Cheng of Henei⁶⁷ was an expert at divination by the wind. He calculated that there was going to be an amnesty, so he told his son to kill a man. The Director of Retainers Li Ying immediately ordered [the son's] arrest, but then the amnesty was issued and he was allowed to escape punishment. Li Ying was still more angry and resentful, and in the end he exposed the full situation and had the man killed.⁶⁸

Zhang Cheng had earlier had contact with the eunuchs on account of his magical techniques, and the emperor had also shown interest in his divinations. The eunuchs instructed Lao Xiu, a disciple of Zhang Cheng, to send in a letter saying that, "Li Ying and others have been protecting the vagabond students of the University, they have a network of contacts throughout the provinces, and they have formed a faction. They slander and abuse the court, and they cause doubt and confusion among the customs [of the people]."

At this, the emperor shook with rage. He sent orders to the commanderies and kingdoms that they should arrest all men of Faction, and he ordered proclamation made to all the empire so that his wrath might be known and the cause of his anger understood.

Y *HHS* 67/57:2187 (3b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

67 This text of *ZZTJ* has Zhang Cheng as a native of Henan commandery, but other editions have Henei, and so does *HHS* 67/57. I follow that variant.

68 In notes 22 and 59 to Yanxi 8, I have argued that Li Ying was Intendant of Henan for most of the period from Yanxi 2: 159 to Yanxi 7: 164, when he was dismissed on account of the Yuan Yuanqun case. Later, either in late Yanxi 8: 165 or early Yanxi 9: 166, he was appointed Director of Retainers.

HHS 67/57:2187 describes Li Ying as Intendant of Henan at the time of the Zhang Cheng case, but Sima Guang, in his *Kaoyi* commentary to this passage, has noted that Li Ying's biography, in *HHS* 67/57:2194-95, says that he was Director of Retainers at the time this First Faction Incident broke out. *ZZTJ* therefore changes the text of *HHS*.

There had in fact been no amnesty in this year: the two most recent were in Yanxi 6: 163 and in Yanxi 8: 165. In these circumstances, Zhang Cheng's plot must have taken place some time earlier.

It is possible to reconcile the texts on this point, if we suggest that Zhang Cheng played his tricks when Li Ying was Intendant of Henan (say in Yanxi 7), but Li Ying had no opportunity to investigate properly. One reason may have been that since Zhang Cheng and his son were natives of Henei [note 67 immediately above], if the offence was committed in that commandery then Li Ying as Intendant of Henan had no jurisdiction. Later, however, when he became Director, he returned to the case, found out what had happened, and proceeded again against Zhang Cheng.

One may observe, incidentally, that if Zhang Cheng had such contacts with the eunuchs as described below, he may have been able to find out about a forthcoming amnesty through means less esoteric than divination by the wind.

Z This matter had to pass for checking through the offices of the excellencies, and the Grand Commandant Chen Fan protested: "The men being investigated are some of the most popular and celebrated men of the empire. They are loyal and patriotic ministers, with merits worthy of pardon over ten generations. How can they be arrested like this, on no more than the suspicion of wrong-doing and with no proper evidence?" He refused to endorse the instructions.[79]

Now the emperor became even more angry. He had Li Ying and the others sent down to the Prison of the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates.⁶⁹

AA Their statements implicated more people: the Minister Coachman Du Mi of Yingchuan, the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk Chen Xiang, and men such as Chen Shi and Fan Pang, more than two hundred altogether.⁷⁰ Some of them ran away and were not caught, so rewards were advertised, and messengers were sent out after them, one following another, to every part of the empire.

BB Chen Shi said, "If I do not go to the jail, people will feel there is no one they can trust in." So he went himself to the prison and asked to be taken in.

CC When Fan Pang came to the prison, the warder said, "All the prisoners here give a sacrifice to Gaoyao."⁷¹ Fan Pang said, "Gaoyao was a loyal minister in ancient times. If he knows I am innocent, he will explain things properly to the Emperor [of Heaven]. If I should be guilty of

Z *HHS* 67/57:2195 (9b), the Biography of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

⁶⁹ The Prison of the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates (黃門北寺獄 *huangmen beisi yu*) is discussed by Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64-65, and *Lo-yang*, 52-53. It appears to have been established about 159, in the time of the eunuch influence with Emperor Huan. Most importantly, it lay under the direct control of the emperor and his attendants and was therefore not subject to any obstruction that might have been imposed by Chen Fan on behalf of the regular bureaucracy.

AA *HHS* 67/57:2187 (3b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

⁷⁰ The inclusion of the names of Du Mi, Chen Xiang and Fan Pang comes not from this text of *HHS*, but is interpolated from their biographies, *HHS* 67/57:2198, 2213 and 2205 respectively.

BB *HHS* 62/52:2066 (13b), the Biography of Chen Shi.

CC *HHS* 67/57:2205 (15b), the Biography of Fan Pang in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

⁷¹ Gaoyao 皋陶 was said to have been the Minister against Crime (作士 *zuoshi*) in the government of Emperor Shun 舜: *Shu jing* II.I, 20; Legge, *CC* III, 44-45 (Karlgrén, *Documents*, 7).

something, then what is the point of making a sacrifice?" Because of this, other prisoners also ceased to offer sacrifice.

1795

DD Chen Fan sent in one further letter of very strong protest. The emperor took no account of his insubordinate language, but dismissed him on the grounds that he had summoned unworthy men to court.⁷²

DD *HHS* 66/56:2166-67 (6a-7a), the Biography of Chen Fan.

⁷² As the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang points out, the memorial as recorded in *HHS* 66/56 is of doubtful authenticity: it is certainly critical and abusive, but it also refers to Li Ying and the others being variously executed or proscribed from office – and at this stage they had only been put in prison. Sima Guang suggests that it is a later forgery.

There is, moreover, another problem with Chen Fan's involvement in the debate concerning this First Faction Incident, and that is the date at which the Incident itself took place.

According to the *Annals*, *HHS* 7:317-18, Chen Fan left office as Grand Commandant in the seventh month of Yanxi 9; and the arrest of Li Ying and his colleagues is not recorded until the last item for that year, which would place it in the winter, in the eleventh month.

The biography of Chen Fan, however, has him involved, as Grand Commandant, at two points: firstly by his refusal to authorise the arrests (passage Z above), and then in his letter of protest, which is said to have brought about his dismissal. If this is correct, then Li Ying and his colleagues must have been arrested no later than the seventh month.

Certainly, we have seen that the annals for this year have misplaced items: see note 12 above, concerning the date of the imperial sacrifice to Huang-Lao and the Buddha. Moreover, in another *Kaoyi* commentary, at *ZZTJ* 56:1799 Sima Guang points out that the entry in *HHS* 7 has combined two items: the arrest of the alleged conspirators, and their subsequent release and proscription. Sima Guang therefore discounts that record.

There are, however, textual questions and historical difficulties in relating the First Faction Incident as early as the middle of the year.

The stories about Chen Fan, for example, cannot be taken as a fully accurate guide. The memorial referred to in this passage, which Sima Guang has questioned, appears in Chen Fan's biography in *HHS* 66/56:2166, immediately preceded by a date in Yanxi 9; however, the item next before mentions the executions of Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi (passages V and R above), and though it is possible that the memorials mentioned and quoted in passage R could have been submitted in Yanxi 8 (note 35 above), it is certain that Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi were not killed until the second half of Yanxi 9 (see, for example the memorials of Xiang Kai, which were certainly submitted in the summer of that year). So the Biography of Chen Fan is not strictly chronological, and one must suspect that the whole item of the memorial supporting Li Ying is a false interpolation.

On the other hand, the story of Chen Fan refusing to authorise the arrest of Li Ying and his colleagues (passage Z) comes not from the biography of Chen Fan, but from that of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party. The story is in some

- EE At this time, those who had been implicated in the Faction Incident and taken into prison were all the most celebrated and worthy men of the empire. Huangfu Gui, the General on the Liao, who was himself a man of great family in the western provinces, felt ashamed not to be numbered with them. So he sent in a letter, "I once recommended the former Minister of Finance Zhang Huan; and so I am a member of a faction. Moreover, I was once sentenced to convict service in the Enclosure of the Left, and at that time the university student Zhang Feng and his colleagues sent in a petition on my behalf; and so the Faction people have supported me. I should be punished too." The court made note of this, but took no further action.⁷³
- FF Du Mi had shared in reputation with Li Ying, and the people of that time often referred to them as a pair, so they were put under arrest at the same time.⁷⁴[80]

respects a curious one, and it did not, as we have seen, ultimately affect the progress of the arrests. It is possible, again, that the intention of the anecdote is just to show Chen Fan's solidarity and support for Li Ying. Moreover, immediately after this entry, *HHS* tells us that when Chen Fan had left office as Grand Commandant, people everywhere turned their hopes to Li Ying (*HHS* 67/57:2195); this could have applied when he was already in jail, but it seems more likely that Li Ying was being looked upon as the leader of the anti-eunuch group in office after Chen Fan had gone.

On this basis, I would argue that there is no firm evidence to date the arrest of Li Ying and the others as early as the middle of Yanxi 9. [*HHJ* 22:14b dates the arrests to the ninth month, but this only adds to the confusion.]

Moreover, in terms of the development of the crisis between Emperor Huan and his officials, it seems a little more likely that the executions of Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi had been carried out before the eunuchs ventured to attack Li Ying. In that sense, the annals of *HHS* 7 present a more logical pattern of development.

And we may note also that from internal evidence Xiang Kai's two memorials were presented in the middle of the year, probably early autumn, and he mentions the cases of Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi, which were active at that time. One cannot believe he would have been silent on the mass arrests of the First Faction Incident if they had taken place at that time.

For these reasons I accept the date given by *HHS* 7:318, being the twelfth month of Yanxi 9, equivalent to Western 9 January-6 February 167.

See also deC, "Politics and Philosophy," 50 note 13, and "Political Protest," 12.

- EE *HHS* 65/55:2136 (6a), the Biography of Huangfu Gui.
- ⁷³ *HHS* 65/55 says that Huangfu Gui was widely admired for this gesture; on the other hand, it does something to demonstrate the isolation of politics at the court from military men on the frontier; and one may venture to suggest that Huangfu Gui perhaps saw this as one more opportunity to obtain relief from his post on the Trans-Liao command: passage D above.
- FF *HHS* 67/57:2198 (11b), the Biography of Du Mi in the Chapter on the Proscribed

On one occasion, when Du Mi was Chancellor of Beihai, he was making his spring tour of inspection and came to Gaomi. He saw Zheng Xuan, who at that time was the Bailiff of a district, and recognised his exceptional quality. He appointed Zheng Xuan to a position in his office, then sent him on to the University; Zheng Xuan eventually became a great scholar.⁷⁵ Du Mi later left office and returned to his own home, but he called frequently upon the [local] administrators and magistrates, and he often made recommendations and proposals.

Liu Sheng, a man from the same [Yingchuan] commandery as Du Mi, had also returned to his native region from an official post in Shu commandery. He kept his gates closed and his carriageway shut, and had no contact with anyone. The Administrator Wang Yu said to Du Mi, "Liu Jiling is an honest and high-minded gentleman. Many of the most senior officials have recommended him to me."⁷⁶

Du Mi realised that Wang Yu was seeking to get some reaction from him, so he replied, "Liu Sheng may rank with the counsellors, and you may treat him as an honoured guest; but when he knows that a thing is good, he does not support it, and when he knows that something is bad he does not speak out. To conceal one's feelings and keep to oneself, dumb as a cicada in autumn, that is criminal.

1796 "Now if there is a worthy man of honourable ambition and strong character, then I will make him known; and if there is someone of immoral and dissolute behaviour, then I shall report on him. By this means I hope to arrange that your excellency's rewards and punishment are appropriately given; and that will be of no insignificant help to your reputation!"

Wang Yu felt embarrassed, and thereafter showed Du Mi the utmost respect.

GG In the ninth month the Minister of the Household Zhou Jing became

Party.

74 This refers to Li Gu and Du Qiao in the time of Liang Ji, and to Li Yun and Du Zhong under the personal government of Emperor Huan: see note 75 to Yanxi 2.

75 The Biography of Zheng Xuan is in *HHS* 35/25:1207-12.

HHS 67/57 says that he was an assistant (佐 *zuo*) in a district when Du Mi recognised his talents. *HHS* 35/25, followed by *ZZTJ*, describes him as a Bailiff (嗇夫 *sefu*), the head of a district: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 103. It would appear, moreover, from *HHS* 35/25:1207, that Zheng Xuan was already committed to scholarship, and though we are told that he was proscribed from office when the Faction Incident arose, it is possible this was the only notable legacy of Du Mi's patronage.

76 Jiling 季陵 was the style of Liu Sheng.

Grand Commandant.

The Excellency of Works Liu Mao left office. In the winter, in the twelfth month the Minister of the Household Xuan Feng of Runan became Excellency of Works.

HH The Colonel of Elite Cavalry Dou Wu became Colonel of the City Gates.

When Dou Wu came to authority, he appointed many worthy scholars, he kept himself pure and he drove out corruption, [80] no bribes or presents were passed around, and the clothing and food for his wife and family were sufficient and no more. All the rewards and grants he obtained from the two palaces [of the emperor and the empress his daughter] were distributed among the students of the University or given as charity to the poor. As a result, everyone praised him and turned to him.

II When the Xiongnu and the Wuhuan heard that Zhang Huan was coming, they all came to surrender, two hundred thousand people altogether. Zhang Huan executed only the ringleaders, and the remainder were all pacified and accepted. Only the Xianbi went away outside the frontier.

JJ The court was concerned that it might not be possible to keep Tanshihuai under control,⁷⁷ so messengers were sent with seal and ribbon to enfeoff him as a king and to offer peace and alliance.⁷⁸

GG *HHS* 7:317-18 (14b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

HH *HHS* 69/59:2239 (1a), the Biography of Dou Wu.

II *HHS* 65/55:2140 (8b), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

JJ *HHS* 90/80:2989-90 (8b), the Account of the Xianbi.

⁷⁷ Tanshihuai, the great war-leader of the Xianbi, is first mentioned in *ZZTJ* 53:1733-34, in the chronicle for the year Yongshou 2: 156. Raiding by the Xianbi under his leadership is considered to have begun in that year: *HHS* 90/80:2989.

Tanshihuai was the first leader of the Xianbi to weld that nomad people into some semblance of a coherent state, though it may be argued that his "empire" was rather the domain of a pirate king than an organised political unity. His career is discussed in de C, *Northern Frontier*, 331-342, and also Gardiner and deC, "T'an-shih-huai."

⁷⁸ The phrase 和親 *heqin* is discussed by Yü, *Trade and Expansion*, 10 and 36-39, as a Chinese policy to establish relations with non-Chinese powers, roughly on the basis of equality rather than the simple tributary relationship. In *Cambridge China* I, 386-387: "Han Foreign Relations," Yü renders the phrase as "harmonious kinship," where the term *qin* implies a family connection, specifically when a woman of the Han imperial household was granted as wife to a barbarian chieftain. Apart from the marriage itself,

Tanshihuai refused to accept, and he raided and plundered all the more fiercely. He divided his territory into three regions. The Eastern Division ran from Youbeiping east to Liaodong, linking with the Fuyu, the Hui and Mo,⁷⁹ and containing more than twenty subordinate groups. The Central Division extended from Youbeiping westwards to Shanggu, and contained more than ten groups. The Western Division extended west from Shanggu as far as Dunhuang and the Wusun, with more than twenty groups. Each had a chieftain in charge.⁸⁰[82]

the treaty system also entailed an exchange of gifts between the two courts, generally to the advantage of the non-Chinese ruler.

⁷⁹ On these people, who inhabited Manchuria and Korea in Han times, see Gardiner, *Early History of Korea*. There is an Account of the Eastern Barbarians in *HHS* 85/75, and see also *SGZ* 30:841-63.

The Fuyu [Korean: *Puyō*] inhabited the region of the upper Sungari and Liao Rivers in central Manchuria; the Mo [*Maek*] and the Hui [*Ye*] appear to have inhabited the eastern part of the Korean peninsula.

⁸⁰ This putative empire of Tanshihuai was based primarily on the territory about his capital north of Dai commandery, in the area of present-day Huade in Inner Mongolia; de C, *Northern Frontier*, 334-337, including Map 11.

CHAPTER 56

*being Chapter 48 of the Chronicle of Han
and Part 3 of the reign of Emperor Huan
followed by Part 1A of the reign of Emperor Ling*

Yongkang 永康 1: 167 AD

10 February 167 - 29 January 168

1797

- A In the spring, in the first month the Xianlian group of the Eastern Qiang besieged Duoxu and plundered Yunyang.¹
- B The various tribes of the Dangjian rebelled once more. Duan Jiong attacked them at Luanjue and completely defeated them, so the Western Qiang were settled.²
- C Futai the King of Fuyu raided Xuantu. The Administrator of Xuantu, Gongsun Yu, attacked and defeated him.³
- D In the summer, in the fourth month the Xianlian Qiang ravaged the Three Adjuncts. They attacked and over-ran the two garrison camps [of the Tiger-Tooth troops in Jingzhao and those at Yong], killing more than a thousand men.⁴

A *HHS* 65/55:2140 (8b), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

¹ Duoxu and Yunyang were counties in Zuopingyi, which lay some fifty kilometres north of the former capital, Chang'an.

For the pronunciation of the place-name 祿禰, which would appear as Duiyu in modern standard Chinese, I follow the commentary of Yan Shigu to *HS* 28A:1545-46.

On the pronunciation of the second character of the clan-name 先零, I follow the commentary of the third century scholar Meng Kang 孟康 to *HS* 28B:1611: see also deC, *Northern Frontier*, 471 note 14.

B *HHS* 65/55:2148 (14a), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

² Luanjue was a county in Wuwei commandery, near the present-day city of Wuwei, in the Gansu Corridor north and west of the main stream of the Yellow River.

For the pronunciation of the place-name, where the second character would appear as *niao* in modern standard Chinese, see the commentary to *HHS* 65/55.

C *HHS* 7:319 (15a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

³ The Fuyu people inhabited the region north of present-day Shenyang, east of the Liao River in Manchuria. See note 78 to Yanxi 9.

D *HHS* 65/55:2140 (8b), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

⁴ First established in 110, at the time of the great Qiang rebellion, the two encampments of the Tiger-Tooth Chief Commandant near Chang'an and the garrison at Yong in Youfufeng were maintained as defence positions to guard the former capital and as training camps for recruits: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 50 and 100.

- E In the fifth month on the day *renzi* [4 Jul], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.⁵
- F After Chen Fan had been dismissed, all the ministers at court were frightened, and none now dared to speak in favour of the men of Faction.
- 1798 Jia Biao said, "The great misfortune will not be relieved unless I go to the west."⁶ So he went to Luoyang and spoke to the Colonel of the City Gates Dou Wu and to the Master of Writing Huo Xu of Wei commandery and others, persuading them to appeal for redress of the wrongs done to the men of Faction.
- G Dou Wu sent in a letter, saying, "I have heard of no period of good government since the time that your majesty came to the throne. The Regular Attendants and the officials of the Yellow Gates conspire to deceive and mislead you, and [83] appointments are given irresponsibly to quite unworthy people.
 "If you think back to the days of the Western Capital [under Former Han], it was through false ministers seizing power that the empire was brought to ruin.⁷ And now, if you do not take warning from the failures of the past but continue in the same way, then I fear the difficulties of the Second Emperor [of Qin] will surely come again, and the treachery of Zhao Gao may re-appear at any moment.⁸

E *HHS* 7:319 (15a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

⁵ The Treatise of the Five Powers lists this eclipse at *HHS* 108/18:3369, noting that it took place in the *Yugui* 輿鬼 constellation, also known as the Gui lunar mansion 鬼宿, being the central part of Western Cancer: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 103 and Star Map 7. The eclipse, which is identified as Oppolzer 3298, is mapped in Stephenson and Houlden at 212b.

The Treatise records the prognostication that this eclipse, taking place on a *renzi* day, foretold the flooding which took place in the following eighth month: passage Q below. The commentary of Liu Zhao, however, quotes *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, which says that an eclipse on a *renzi* day indicates the females of the harem are acting without restraint and a woman plans to harm the ruler.

F *HHS* 67/57:2216 (22b), the Biography of Jia Biao in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

⁶ Jia Biao was a man of Yingchuan commandery, which lay southeast of Luoyang.

G *HHS* 69/59:2239-40 (1b-2b), the Biography of Dou Wu.

⁷ Western Capital 西京 refers to Former Han, when the capital of the empire was at Chang'an. The text in *HHS* identifies the reference specifically to the usurpation of power by Wang Mang at the end of that dynasty.

⁸ On Zhao Gao, the treacherous eunuch minister of the weakling Second Emperor of Qin, see note 15 to Yanxi 2.

"Quite recently, your wicked subject Lao Xiu sent in an accusation of faction. As a result the former Director of Retainers Li Ying and others have been arrested and put to the question, and the matter now involves several hundred people. The case has now been under investigation for a whole year, but not one piece of firm evidence has been discovered.

"I am quite convinced that Li Ying and the others are men of most certain loyalty and steadfast honesty, with all ambitions centred upon your imperial house. Truly, these are the ministers who might serve your majesty like Hou [Ji], [the Excellency over the Masses] Xie, Yi [Yin] and Lü [Shang].⁹ Yet now they are falsely and wrongly accused by a criminal gang of wicked subjects. The empire is chilled at heart, and all within the seas are disappointed in their hopes.

"If only your majesty would pay heed, and apply your clear intelligence. Then everything would be brought to light, and the anxious feelings of both men and spirits would be allayed.¹⁰

"Now the new officials of the terrace and doors, the Masters of Writing Zhu Yu, Xun Kun, Liu You, Wei Lang, Liu Ju and Yin Xun are all worthy men of the state and good servants of the court, while the Gentlemen of the Masters of Writing Zhang Ling, Gui Hao, Yuan Kang, Yang Qiao, Bian Shao and Dai Hui are all men of the finest

⁹ Hou Ji 后稷 was minister of agriculture under Emperor Shun 舜: see, for example, the *Shun dian* 舜典 "The Canon of Shun" Chapter of *Shu jing*, II.1, 17 and 18; Legge, *CC* III, 43-44. The man's personal name was Qi 棄; his title, sometimes rendered as "Prince Millet," refers to his status as Prince of Tai 邰, combined with his responsibility for the grain which was the major staple of ancient China; cf. Karlgren, *Documents*, 7.

Xie 契 was the name of the Excellency over the Masses (司徒 *situ*: Legge: "Minister of Instruction") under Emperor Shun: *Shu jing*, II.1,19; Legge, *CC* III, 44, also Karlgren, *Documents*, 7.

Yi Yin 伊尹 was chief minister of Tang 湯, founder of the Shang 商 dynasty. See, for example, the *Yi xun* 伊訓 "The Instructions of Yi" Chapter of *Shu jing*, IV.4.1; Legge *CC* III, 191, and *Mengzi* VA, 6.5 and 7.6, and VB, 1.2; Legge, *CC* II, 361-363 and 370 (Lau, *Mencius*, 145-146 and 149-150).

Lü Shang 呂尚, known also by the title *Taigong* 太公 "Great Duke" of Qi 齊 was minister to Kings Wen 文 and Wu 武, founders of the Zhou 周 dynasty. See *SJ* 32:1477-81; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 34-40.

¹⁰ Variant editions of *ZZTJ* suggest that the character 神 *shen* in the text here should read 人 *ren*. This would agree with the reading of *HHS*, and the translation follows that emendation.

literary culture, with clear understanding of the laws.¹¹ There is a host of talented men suitable for appointment to positions either inside the capital or outside. But instead your majesty has entrusted authority to inexperienced officials, and you have given responsibility to creatures like the greedy *Taotie*.¹² Outside they control provinces and commanderies, inside they manage the personal affairs of your palace. You should dismiss each and every one of them, investigate their crimes and subject them to punishment.

"Give your trust to loyal and honourable men, and make proper

11 The expression *taike* 臺閣 "terrace and doors" evidently refers to the Imperial Secretariat. The office was sometimes described as the "Inner Terrace" (*zhong* 中 or *nei tai* 內臺): see, for example, the commentary of Li Xian to *HHS* 74/64A at 2396 note 2, quoting *Jin shu*; deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 68 note 65, and Ch'en, "*San t'ai chih-tu*."

A Master of Writing was in charge of each of the six bureaus (曹 *cao*) of the Secretariat, assisted by one or more Gentlemen (郎 *lang*) and Foreman Clerks (令史 *lingshi*).

The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHS* also lists Chen Fan as Director of the Secretariat and Hu Guang as the Deputy Director. At this time, however, they did not hold those positions, and Sima Guang therefore omitted them from the list. Chen Fan had been dismissed from office in the previous year for his support of the men accused of Faction (passage DD of Yanxi 9); he had been Director of the Secretariat in 159 (passage U of Yanxi 2). Hu Guang was at that time Excellency over the Masses (passage E of Yanxi 9); he had been Deputy Director of the Secretariat about 130 (*HHS* 44/34:1505).

It is hard to imagine the reason for such anachronism. Several of the men praised by Dou Wu appear later in opposition to the eunuchs, and an early historian may have wished to emphasise Dou Wu's support for leading scholars. On the other hand, Hu Guang was not closely associated with, nor even particularly sympathetic to, the anti-eunuch cause.

12 *Taotie* 饕餮 now commonly describes the formalised face that appears as a pattern of decoration on ancient bronzes and other traditional items. Here, however, Dou Wu is referring to a passage in *Zuo zhuan*, Wen 18; Legge, *CC* V, 283 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 555-556), which tells how

[The officer Jinyun 緡雲] in the time of the Yellow Emperor (黃帝 *Huangdi*) had a descendant who was devoid of ability and virtue. He was greedy of eating and drinking, craving for money and property. Ever gratifying his lusts, and making a grand display, he was insatiable, rapacious in his exactions, and accumulating stores of wealth. He had no idea of calculating where he should stop, and made no exceptions in favour of the orphan and the widow, felt no compassion for the poor and the exhausted. All the people under Heaven likened him to the three other wicked ones (who have been described immediately before), and called him Glutton [*Taotie*].

judgement between good and bad, so that right and [84] wrong, praise and blame are each given their appropriate place. It is the golden rule that you should consider only the public interest, and make judgements purely on the basis of who is the best, not upon personal favour. In this way, bad omens can be averted and you may expect to receive the favour of Heaven.

- 1799 "There have lately been reports that the Auspicious Grain and the Zhi Plant have appeared,¹³ and also a yellow dragon.¹⁴ Now the beginnings of good fortune certainly depend upon a man being lucky, but their fulfilment in prosperity requires that he shall then prove to be of excellent character. If virtue is present, then we have the beginnings [of good fortune]; but if virtue is not present, those are signs of disaster. If your majesty's actions do not accord with the will of Heaven, you cannot count these omens as a cause for rejoicing."¹⁵

When the letter was sent in, Dou Wu made excuse of ill health to return the seals and ribbons of [his position as] Colonel of the City

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- 13 The Auspicious Grain (嘉禾 *jia he*) is variously described: as a plant with stem five feet long and thirty-five ears, each with two grains; as having three roots, one stalk and nine ears; as piercing the mulberry tree as it grows, and having an ear large enough to fill a carriage box. See Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 341 note 360, discussing *Bohu tong* 5:3b and other sources.

The character *zhi* 芝 is used in present-day China as a generic term for the mushroom and other fungi: Stewart, *Materia Medica: Vegetable Kingdom*, 271. The Zhi Plant, however, is defined in the classics as the plant of long life, which usually comes out in the sixth month, but may vary its colour according to the season. It is said to grow when the ruler shows kindness and reverence to the aged. See Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 336 note 333, discussing *Bohu tong* 5:2b and other sources.

The Annals of *HHS* 7:319 record that the Auspicious Grain, and also a fall of Sweet Dew (甘露 *gan lu*) was reported by Wei commandery in the eighth month of this year. There is no reference, however, to the Zhi Plant, which had last been recorded in the time of Emperor Ming of Later Han, in 74 AD, when one sprouted in the imperial palace: *HHS* 2:121.

- 14 On the appearance of the yellow dragon, also recorded in the eighth month, see passage P below.
- 15 From the fact that the portents referred to by Dou Wu are dated in the eighth month, it seems clear that his memorial should have been presented in the latter part of the autumn. Passage K below, however, states that the amnesty for the release of the men accused of faction took place in the summer: on this question, see note 21 below.

Dou Wu, it may be observed, is following the model of Xiang Kai in his memorials of the previous year: if it appears at an inappropriate time, a so-called "good" omen can be a sign of misfortune. While this argument was used even by Confucius (note 52 to Yanxi 9), it is of course circular and highly subjective, and provides the *reductio ad absurdum* to all political criticism based upon portents.

Gates and [his enfeoffment as] Marquis of Huaili.

H Huo Xu also presented a memorial to plead for the prisoners,¹⁶ and the emperor became a little less angry.

I He sent the Regular Attendant Wang Fu to go to the jail and make further enquiry of Fan Pang and the other men of faction. All of them were exposed [in the courtyard] below the steps in wooden stocks which held head, hands and feet, and with their heads covered over.¹⁷

Wang Fu questioned them one by one, saying, "Each of you supports the other, just like lips and teeth. What does this mean?"

Fan Pang replied, "Confucius said, 'Look upon good as if to an ideal; look upon evil as if you were asked to thrust your hand into boiling water.'¹⁸ It is my wish to admire goodness and share its purity, and I am prepared to share the disgrace of those who hate evil. I have spoken of certain things which I believe the imperial government should be aware of. I do not understand why this should be regarded as factionalism.

"In former times, a man who cultivated his virtue could expect to bring down upon himself a mass of good fortune. Now, however, a man who cultivates his virtue obtains nothing but death.

"When I die, I wish to be buried on the slopes of Shouyang Mountain. On the one hand, I shall not be turning away from [85] Heaven, and at the same time I shall feel no shame before [Bo]yi and [Shu]qi."¹⁹

H *HHS* 67/57:2187 (3b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

16 The Biography of Huo Xu is in *HHS* 48/38:1615-17. We are told that he was enfeoffed for his loyalty to the throne at the time of the hegemony of Liang Ji, and later held various ministerial posts.

There is no mention of the memorial in favour of the men accused of faction in Huo Xu's biography, but in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party, though no text is given, Huo Xu's appeal is mentioned ahead of that from Dou Wu.

I *HHS* 67/57:2205-06 (15b-16a), the Biography of Fan Pang in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

17 Note 3 of the Tang commentary to *HHS* 67/57:2206 explains the phrase 三木 *sanmu* as describing wooden fetters about the neck, wrists and ankles. The phrase 囊頭 *nantou* indicates that the head was covered in some way.

18 *Lun yu* XVI.11; Legge, *CC I*, 314 (Lau, *Analects*, 141):

Confucius said, "Contemplating good, and pursuing it, as if they could not reach it; contemplating evil, and shrinking from it, as they would from thrusting the hand into boiling water: - I have seen such men, as I have heard their words."

19 According to legend, Boyi 伯夷 and Shuqi 叔齊 were the eldest and the youngest sons of the king of Guzhu 孤竹. Their father intended to grant the succession to Shuqi, but

Wang Fu had pity on him, changed his attitude, and had all the prisoners released from their fetters.

J Li Ying and the others had also implicated many relatives and clients of the eunuchs [in their confessions]. The eunuchs were alarmed at this, and suggested to the emperor that the time was ripe for an amnesty.²⁰

K In the sixth month on the day *gengshen* [12 Jul] there was an amnesty for the empire and the reign title was changed [to Yongkang].

All the men of faction, more than two hundred, were sent back to their home territories. Their names were recorded at the offices of the Three Excellencies, and they were barred from appointment for the rest of their lives.²¹

Shuqi refused to take precedence over his elder brother, and Boyi in his turn would not disobey his father's wishes. They therefore left the state to the second brother, and went into exile.

Hearing how well the Lord of the West 西伯 (later King Wen of Zhou 周文王) cared for the elderly, the two brothers went to his court, but they disapproved of the plans of his son, King Wu 武, to attack Shang 商/Yin 殷, and they withdrew to Shouyang Mountain 首陽山. They survived there for a time on wild plants, but eventually starved to death.

There is an account of the two brothers in *SJ* 61:2123-28, and a record of the praise given them by Confucius in *Lun yu* V.23 and VII.14.2; Legge, *CC* I, 181 and 199 (Lau, *Analects*, 80 and 88 [as VII.15]), but for Mencius' opinion, see *Mengzi* II, 2.22; Legge, *CC* II, 193-194 (Lau, *Mencius*, 79). For a discussion of the perhaps less flattering reality behind the legend, see Vervoorn, "Boyi and Shuqi: Worthy Men of Old?"

There were and are several mountains named Shouyang. Vervoorn suggests that the one associated with Boyi and Shuqi was in the northeast of China, near their ascribed home country of Guzhu. There was, however, a peak of that name just northwest of Luoyang, among the hills surrounding the city. For the purposes of Fan Pang's rhetoric, that would have done very well.

J *HHS* 7:319 (15a): Tang commentary to the Annals of Emperor Huan.

20 The commentary gives no indication of the earlier source for this information. Such a development, however, is not unlikely.

K *HHS* 7:319 (15a), the Annals of Emperor Huan; and *HHS* 67/57:2187 (3b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

21 It is from this time that the character *gu* 鋼 "proscribed" is associated with the character *dang* 黨 "party" or "faction": hence the compound 黨鋼 *dang gu* used as the common description of this anti-eunuch movement among the scholar-officials.

The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that the names of those who were proscribed were written down in the offices of the Three Excellencies (三府 *san fu*: not, as both *HHS* 7:318 and *HHS* 67/57:2187 have it, 王府 *wang fu*).

L Fan Pang went to pay a courtesy call upon Huo Xu, but made no formal thanks [for Huo Xu's memorial of support]. Someone criticised him for this omission, but Fan Pang replied, "In ancient times, Shuxiang did not call upon Qi Xi.²² How could I give thanks to Huo Xu?"

1800 Then Fan Pang went south to his home in Runan, and when the leading men of the commandery came out to welcome him their carriages were numbered in the thousands. Yin Tao and Huang Mu, men from his native village, acted as guards at his side, and helped in receiving his guests. Fan Pang said to Yin Tao and his companions, "If you follow me like this, it will only add to my misfortunes." He went hastily back to his home and remained there in retirement.

M Before this, when the imperial edict was issued calling for reports of those involved in faction, some of the commanderies and kingdoms submitted more than a hundred names. The Chancellor of Pingyuan, Shi Bi, was the only one who sent none.

As imperial letters became steadily more pressing, province and commandery officials would shave the head and bastinado members of their junior staff [in order to extort confessions].

An Assistant Officer from the province came to the guest quarters [at Pingyuan]²³ and complained, "The imperial letters show a

If the release of the men accused of faction indeed took place in the sixth month, then the dating of Dou Wu's memorial, from passage G above, is all the more curious - as we have seen in note 15, Dou Wu's letter as quoted refers to portents which were reported only in the eighth month of this year. It seems certain that at least a part of the document ascribed to Dou Wu is false; and it may be that none of it was genuine, and the whole story of Dou Wu's intervention was invented later.

L *HHS* 67/57:2206 (16a-b), the Biography of Fan Bang in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

²² *Zuo zhuan*, Xiang 21; Legge, *CC* V, 490-491 (Couvreur, *Chronique* II, 366-367), tells how Yangshe Xi 羊舌肸, whose style was Shuxiang 叔向, was imprisoned by the ruler of Jin 晉. The ruler's favourite offered to intercede for him, but he refused, saying that only the high minister Qi Xi 祁奚 could act. Qi Xi did indeed travel to the capital and spoke for Shuxiang, and Shuxiang was released. Qi Xi then went home without seeing Shuxiang, who for his part likewise sent no word of thanks but simply went to court.

The point made is that moral duty, not personal relationship, should govern official relations.

M *HHS* 64/54:2110 (8a-b), the Biography of Shi Bi.

²³ Assistant Officers (從事 *congshi*) were locally-appointed members of staff under the Inspector of a province, and some were sent on tour to one area of the province or

particular hatred for the men of Faction, and the instructions are clear and deliberate. Of the six [86] commandery units in Qing province, five have men of Faction. Is Pingyuan so well governed that it has none?"

Shi Bi replied, "The former kings established the proper bounds of the empire, and drew borders to define each territory. Just as different regions have different geography, so local customs are not the same.²⁴ It is perfectly possible that other commanderies may have [men of faction], and equally appropriate that Pingyuan does not have them. How can one make a meaningful comparison?"

"If all we did was follow the expectations of high officials, making false accusations against good and honest men, punishing people wrongfully on trumped-up charges, and acting unjustly to defy proper morality – then one could find men of Faction in every household. But even if you put me to death, I could not do that."

The Assistant Officer was extremely angry. He had the junior officers of the commandery arrested and jailed, and he sent in a report about Shi Bi. About this time, however, the faction affair was somewhat eased, and Shi Bi was able to buy his way out of the accusation by submitting money for redemption. He had saved a great many people.

N Of the men whom Dou Wu had recommended [in the memorial quoted

another, to supervise the administration of the commanderies and kingdoms: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 92.

24 The *HHS* text, omitted by *ZZTJ*, reports that the provincial officer remarked specifically that the neighbouring territory of Ganling had been an early centre of scholarly rivalry and factionalism: see passage H of Yanxi 9. It was remarkable, then, that such activity had no spread across the border into Pingyuan. Shi Bi had some explaining to do, and he emphasised the almost mystical importance of the borders between the administrative units of the empire.

Though Shi Bi is primarily concerned with the political debate, however, he is referring here to a basic tenet of Han cosmology: different regions of the empire have inherently distinctive customs. This theory of the relationship between the places where men live and their character is expressed most thoroughly in *SJ* 129:3261-70, translated by Swann, *Food and Money*, 437-448, and in *HS* 28B:1641-71, the *Treatise of Geography*.

The term rendered here as "custom" (風俗 *fengsu*), moreover, also held important moral significance for philosophy of the Han, referring in general terms to the nature of the state under proper administration. See for example, Nylan, "A Note on 'Custom' in the Han Dynasty," discussing the *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 of the contemporary scholar Ying Shao 應劭.

above], Zhu Yu was a man from Pei, Yuan Kang came from Bohai, Yang Qiao was from Kuaiji and Bian Shao was a man from Chenliu.

1801

O Yang Qiao was a man of graceful carriage and great elegance. He sent in a number of comments about questions of government. The emperor was delighted by his talents and good looks, and he wanted to marry Yang Qiao to a princess.²⁵ Yang Qiao refused very firmly, however, and would not hear of the proposal. Then he went on a hunger strike, and after seven days he died.

P In the autumn, in the eighth month, a yellow dragon was reported to have appeared in Ba commandery.

Before this, some people in that commandery had gone to a pond to wash. Seeing that the water was muddy, they said to one another in fun, pretending to be frightened, "There's a yellow dragon in the pond." The word spread about, and the Administrator, seeking a good reputation, sent in a report.[87]

Fu Jian, a junior officer of the commandery, objected, saying, "This is just a joke among *yamen* runners," but the Administrator refused to listen.²⁶

Q Six of the provinces had great floods, and the sea at Bohai flooded inland.²⁷

N This passage has been collated by Sima Guang from several different texts.

O *HHS* 38/28:1287 (11a), the Biography of Yang Xuan, younger brother of Yang Qiao.

²⁵ From *HHS* 38/28, it appears that the Yang was a family of ancient distinction. Formerly from Hedong in central China, it moved southeast to Kuaiji commandery when an ancestor was awarded a marquisate in that region for his support of Emperor Guangwu at the beginning of Later Han.

P *HHS* 107/17:3344 (2b-3a), the Treatise of the Five Powers.

²⁶ The Treatise goes on to say that the false report was accepted by the office of recorders and incorporated into the imperial annals (and it indeed appears in *HHS* 7:319). The Treatise further explains that because this report of what should have been a good omen proved to be false, the omen was in fact a bad one.

The prognostication is associated with the bad government of the time. The Treatise claims, moreover, that there were numbers of favourable omens falsely reported at this time: "all of this kind." See also Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 151.

Q *HHS* 7:319 (15a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

²⁷ The text of *ZZTJ* has two errors here, which may be checked against the text of *HHS* and have been noted by other editors; the amendments are followed by this translation:

- the character *yue* 月 "month" is miswritten for the character *zhou* 州 "province;"
- the last clause has omitted one of the characters *hai* 海.

R In the winter, in the tenth month the Xianlian Qiang raided the Three Adjuncts. Zhang Huan sent his Majors Yin Duan and Dong Zhuo to counter-attack, and they thoroughly defeated them. They cut off the heads of the leaders and captured or killed more than ten thousand others. The three [northern] provinces were peaceful and settled.²⁸

In discussion of Zhang Huan's achievement, it was held that he was worthy of being enfeoffed but in the end, because he refused to submit to the eunuchs, he received no such reward. He was granted instead the sum of two hundred thousand cash, and the right to have one person from his family appointed as a gentleman-cadet. Zhang Huan declined, but asked instead for permission to transfer his official domicile to Hongnong.

According to established regulations, men from the border regions were not permitted to migrate inwards. Because of Zhang Huan's particular merits, however, an imperial edict gave him special exemption.

S Dong Zhuo was appointed a Gentleman of the Palace. Dong Zhuo was a man from Longxi, a rough, fierce fellow, but cunning. The Qiang and the northern barbarians were afraid of him.

T In the twelfth month on the day *renshen* [20 Jan 168] Liu Kui, King of Yingtao, was re-established as King of Bohai.²⁹

On the day *dingchou* [25 Jan 168] the emperor died in the front

R *HHS* 65/55:2140 (9a), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

²⁸ Zhang Huan had been appointed chief of operations in the three provinces of You, Bing and Liang during the autumn of the previous year: passage G of Yanxi 9.

S *HHS* 72/62:2319 (1a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

T *HHS* 7:320 (15b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

²⁹ On the demotion of Liu Kui, twin brother of Emperor Huan, some two years earlier, see passage B of Yanxi 8. He had formerly been King of Bohai, a commandery-level unit, but when he was made King of Yingtao his fief was reduced to a single county. It is probable that the restoration of his former title entailed also the restoration of his fief to the same size and value as before.

Though *ZZTJ* does not mention it, *HHS* Annals gives the day of this rehabilitation as *renshen*, equivalent to 20 January 168, five days before the death of Emperor Huan: see immediately below. It is likely that the emperor's forgiveness of his brother came when he was already mortally ill, and the biography of Liu Kui at *HHS* 55/45:1798 refers to a testamentary edict (遺詔 *yizhao*), delivered as the emperor was dying. The record of disgrace, however, meant that Liu Kai could not be a contender for the imperial throne.

section of the Hall of Virtuous Light.³⁰

On the day *wuyin* [26 Jan 168] the Empress [Dou] was honoured as Empress-Dowager. The Dowager held court.³¹

- U Before this, after the Dowager Dou had been appointed empress, the emperor saw her very rarely, while the Chosen Lady Tian Sheng and others received his favours. The Lady Dou had bitterly resented this and now, even as the emperor's coffin was still at the front of the Hall, she killed Tian Sheng.³²[88]
- V The Colonel of the City Gates Dou Wu took part in discussions on the succession. He summoned the Imperial Clerk Liu Shu of Hejian, and asked him which members of the imperial clan in the empire were of good moral quality.³³ Liu Shu recommended Liu Hong, the Marquis of

³⁰ The Hall of Virtuous Light is described by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 35, as the major audience building of the Northern Palace. Emperor Huan may have breathed his last in public, but it is more probable his body was brought to the hall after death.

The funerary rites of an emperor of Han, largely based upon the traditional prescriptions of *Li ji*, *Yi li* and similar texts, are described in *HHS* 96/6, the Treatise on Ceremonial. Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 75-79, has rightly criticised the detailed account of the ceremony as presented by Sima Biao, but it appears that the body was prepared and placed in its coffin, and there was a period of lying in state, at least overnight, all carried out in the presence of the full court.

³¹ The constitutional position of an empress-dowager of Han in these circumstances was well established, and had been confirmed by recent examples, notably those of the Dowager Deng at the time of the death of Emperor He in 106, and that of the Dowager Liang, sister of Liang Ji, following the death of Emperor Shun in 144.

In accordance with this tradition, if the new emperor was a minor, the dowager held the regency; and if no heir-apparent had been named, she had the right to decide upon the succession by choosing a member of the imperial clan. So the Lady Dou now held great power.

U *HHS* 10B:445-46 (7a-b), the Biography of the Empress Dou of Emperor Huan.

³² *HHS* 10B gives more detail. Firstly, the Lady Tian Sheng had been regularly accompanied by eight other favourites: it is possible that Emperor Huan sought to obtain some benefit – as well as pleasure – from association with the magical number of nine.

Second, we are told that in the last days of his life the emperor had promoted Tian Sheng and her colleagues to be Honoured Ladies. This, however, did nothing to help them when he died without an heir and they came under the power of the vengeful Dowager.

V *HHS* 69/59:2241 (2b), the Biography of Dou Wu; and *HHS* 8:327-28 (1a-b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

Jiedu Village.

Liu Hong was a great-grandson of the Filial King of Hejian. His grandfather Liu Shu and his father Liu Chang had held the fief of Jiedu Village in succession.³⁴

1802 Dou Wu went in to tell the Dowager, and they decided on the matter within the forbidden apartments of the palace.³⁵

33 An Imperial Clerk was a member of the censorate and could be considered a trusted officer of the ruler. Since Liu Shu came from Hejian he was in a position to offer advice on candidates from that region.

For the pronunciation of the personal name, I follow the commentary of Hu Sanxing. *ZZTJ* has the character as 儵, but the editions of *HHS* and *HHSJJ* have 儵, and this appears correct.

34 There is an account of Liu Gong, Filial King of Hejian, and his descendants, in *HHS* 55/45:1808-09. He was a son of Emperor Zhang by a concubine. On his personal name, commonly but perhaps mistakenly given as Kai, see note 3 to Yanxi 4.

Liu Gong/Kai had a large number of sons. One of them, Liu Yi 翼, had been favoured by the regent Dowager Deng, who dominated the court of Emperor An. In 120, shortly before her death, the Lady Deng summoned the sons of the kings of Jibei and of Hejian to the capital. It was believed she was dissatisfied with Emperor An, and may even have considered replacing him (*e.g.* *HHS* 16:616), while she was apparently most impressed with Liu Yi and made him King of Pingyuan, where the royal line had lately died out. When the Dowager died in the following year, however, and Emperor An obtained full power, Liu Yi was subject to a suspicion of treason and was reduced in rank to be the marquis of a chief district. Ten years later in 130, at the request of Liu Yi's father, the county of Liwu 蠡吾 was separated from the kingdom of Hejian to provide him with a better fief.

Liu Yi was the father of Emperor Huan. In 132 thirteen other sons of Liu Gong/Kai were enfeoffed as marquises of villages, and it seems probable that Liu Shu 淑, grandfather of Liu Hong the future Emperor Ling, was among them. Liu Shu's son, Liu Chang 萇, father of the future emperor, evidently died as a comparatively young man.

Since Emperor Huan had been chosen for the throne from this lineage, it was not unreasonable that his successor should also come from that branch of the imperial family. On the other hand, Emperor Huan's father Liu Yi was a little different to the others, and there must have been many other male descendants of Liu Gong/Kai available for selection. It is difficult to appreciate how anyone could claim to recognise transcendent virtue in a boy eleven years old by Western reckoning: note 37 below. It is more probable that Liu Hong was chosen for his youth and potential malleability as much as for his allegedly splendid character.

35 The phrase is the same as that used to describe the manner of selection of Emperor Huan, and of his short-lived predecessor Emperor Zhi in the time of the Liang hegemony (*HHS* 7:287 and 6:276), and also of Emperor An, who had been placed upon the throne by the Dowager Deng in 106 (*HHS* 5:203).

With commission as a Household Counsellor,³⁶ Liu Shu and the Regular Attendant Cao Jie, both bearing Staves of Authority and leading a thousand men of the Yellow Gates, Rapid Tiger and Feathered Forest guards, were sent to escort Liu Hong [to the capital]. At that time he was age twelve *sui*.³⁷[89]

It was at this time and such circumstances that an empress-dowager had absolute authority to consult and decide as she pleased: note 31 above.

36 Household Counsellor was the highest rank of imperial adviser, without specific duties: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 25 and 29 [as Imperial Household Grandee].

37 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that there is confusion about the age at which Liu Hong, Emperor Ling ascended the throne.

- *HHS* 8:328 says that Liu Hong was aged twelve *sui* when he ascended the throne in the first month of the new year Jianning 1.
- *HHS* 8:357 says that Emperor Ling was thirty-four *sui* when he died in 189.
- Sima Guang then observes that *HHJ* 22:21a states that Liu Hong was aged twelve *sui* in the twelfth month of Yongkang 1, at the time he was chosen for the throne.
- Again, we are told that in Jianning 2, a year after his accession, when the men of Faction were attacked for the second time, Liu Hong was aged fourteen *sui*: passage P of Jianning 2.
- Finally, *HHS* 8 says that Emperor Ling was thirty-four *sui* when he died in Zhongping 6: 189.

From all this, Sima Guang concludes that Yuan Hong and *HHJ* are reliable, and that Liu Hong was born in Yongshou 2, generally equivalent to 156 AD. He was therefore twelve *sui* when he was chosen for the succession at the end of Yongkang 1, and he would have been formally aged thirteen *sui* at the beginning of the following year, when he actually ascended the throne.

The analysis is slightly confused by the fact that the present edition of *ZZTJ* has Sima Guang quoting *HHS* 8:328 as giving Liu Hong's age at the time of accession as thirteen: the present text says he was twelve, and this is, as Sima Guang observes, mistaken. It seems that the wording of the *Kaoyi* commentary has been altered to fit the correct interpretation: this means that Sima Guang's comments, as now recorded, make no sense.

Jianning 建寧 1: 168 AD

28 January 168 - 14 February 169

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *renwu* [30 Jan] the Colonel of the City Gates Dou Wu became General-in-Chief.¹ The former Grand Commandant Chen Fan became Grand Tutor and shared control of the Imperial Secretariat with Dou Wu and the Excellency over the Masses Hu Guang.²

A *HHS* 8:328 (1b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that *HHJ* 22:11b says Dou Wu was appointed General-in-Chief in Yanxi 9: 166, though he had been offered the honour and declined it several dozen times. Sima Guang, however, accepts the statement of *HHS* 8, and discounts the story in *HHJ* (which was probably invented to show off Dou Wu's fine character).

2 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that the Annals record Chen Fan's appointment as Grand Tutor after Emperor Ling had been placed upon the throne, but Chen Fan's biography at *HHS* 66/56:2164 quotes an edict of the Dowager appointing him, and attributes it to the period before the accession of the young Emperor.

Immediately after this, the biography quotes the letter sent by Chen Fan to the Masters of Writing (passage B below), which refers specifically to the fact that the new emperor has not yet been enthroned. At the same time, since Chen Fan had been dismissed from office eighteen months earlier (passage DD of Yanxi 9), it seems unlikely that he would have been in a position to issue remonstrances until he had been given some senior appointment.

A Grand Tutor was named for each new ruler, as a formal guide to his conduct. His status was above the Three Excellencies, and it was usually a life-time position; following the death of a Grand Tutor, a replacement was not normally appointed. The Grand Tutor under Later Han was a senior statesman, and could hold political power in the new government. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 5-7.

It was perhaps curious to appoint Chen Fan as Grand Tutor even before his formal pupil had been placed upon the throne, but the Dowager and Dou Wu were evidently anxious to have him involved in the government as early as possible.

Control of the Imperial Secretariat (錄尚書事 *lu shangshu shi*: literally "control of the affairs of the Masters of Writing") gave authority over edicts and other documents issued on behalf of the emperor.

Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 153-155, discusses the appointment under the rendering "Intendant of the Masters of Writing." Established in Former Han as 領 *ling shangshu shi* (see also note 15 to Yanxi 6), it was revived for Later Han in 75 AD, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Zhang, who came to the throne at the age of nineteen *sui* (*HHS* 3:129), and was the first of the series of youthful emperors in the restored dynasty. The position was associated with the General-in-Chief, the Grand Tutor or one or other of the Three Excellencies, and gave direct power in government, suitable to a time of regency when the emperor was not in a position to control the administration himself.

B At this time, just after the emperor's death and when the succession to the throne had not yet been decided, the Masters of Writing were frightened and anxious, and many of them made excuses of illness and failed to attend court.

Chen Fan sent a letter to criticise them, "The principles of the past require that duty be maintained even when the ruler dies. Now, since the new emperor has not yet been established the affairs of government are daily more urgent. How can you gentlemen "rest and loll upon your couches," abandoning your responsibilities in this time of trouble? Is this your sense of honour?"³

Embarrassed and ashamed, the Masters of Writing returned to their work.

1803

C On the day *jihai* [16 Feb] the Marquis of Jiedu Village [Liu Hong] came to the Watch-House at the Xia Gate.⁴ Dou Wu, bearing the Staff of Authority, was sent with the royal dark-covered chariot to bring him into the palace.⁵

On the day *gengzi* [17 Feb] the emperor took his position. The reign

The prefatory character 参 *can* "shared in" (which may also be understood specifically as "shared among three") is sometimes associated with the phrase *lu shangshu shi* in texts of this time, though in this context the expression *can* does not always indicate a triumvirate. In fact, with the exception of the period of Liang Ji's dominance, specifically from 147 to his fall in 159, all such appointments were shared by two or more officials. On this occasion, there were three: Dou Wu the General-in-Chief, Chen Fan the Grand Tutor and Hu Guang the Excellency over the Masses.

B *HHS* 66/56 (7a-b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

³ As the commentary of Hu Sanxing observes, the first part of this sentence echoes phrases from the *Gu feng* 谷風 and *Xiao bi* 小毖 Odes, *Shi jing* I.3.10 and IV.1 [iii].4; Legge *CC* IV, 56 and 600 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 35 at 22 and 289 at 249-250). The last clause is a direct quotation from the *Bei shan* 北山 Ode, *Shi jing* II.6.1; Legge, *CC* IV, 361, and Karlgren, *Odes*, 205 at 157-158.

C *HHS* 8:328 (1b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

⁴ The Xia Gate was the westernmost of the northern wall of the city of Luoyang. There was a police and guard station there, with lodgings for official purposes. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 43, but *cf.* note 39 to Yanxi 2.

The watch-house at the Xia Gate had also been used for the accommodation of Emperor Huan in the days before he was brought to the throne in 146: *HHS* 7:287.

⁵ The royal dark-covered chariot (王青蓋車 *wang qinggai che*) is described by *HHS* 119/29:3647 as a carriage appropriate to the Heir or other imperial son. It was presumably so named because of its cloth roof covering.

This type of carriage had been used at the time of the accession of Emperor Huan in 146, and also for Emperor An in 106: *HHS* 7:287 and *HHS* 5:203.

title was changed [from Yongkang to Jianning].

In the second month on the day *xinyou* [9 Mar] Emperor Xiaohuan was buried at Xuanling.⁶ His temple name was Weizong.⁷

On the day *xinwei* [19 Mar] there was an amnesty for the empire.

- D Before this, the Protector of the Qiang Duan Jiong had settled the Western Qiang,⁸ but the Xianlian and other groups of the Eastern Qiang had still not submitted. The General on the Liao Huangfu Gui and the General of the Household Zhang Huan had brought them in year after year, but each time they surrendered they would rebel again afterwards.⁹

⁶ The Xuanling 宣陵 tomb "Mound of Comprehension" lay southeast of Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 84-85.

⁷ A temple name (廟號 *miao hao*) was traditionally awarded to an emperor of superior quality and achievements, giving the right to a special chapel in the Imperial Ancestral Temple (宗廟 *zong miao*): see Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 55, and Dubs, *HFHD* I, 249-250 note 5. Rulers of the common sort were recorded only by their posthumous dynastic names (諡 *shi*), such as "Huan," which may be understood as "martial": see for example the work *Shi fa* 諡法, quoted in the Tang commentary to *HHS* 7:287.

The temple names of the two first emperors, Gao and Guangwu, contained the character 祖 *zu* "Founder": thus "Eminent Founder" (太祖 *taizu*) and "Epochal Founder" (世祖 *shizu*). Later rulers had the suffix 宗 *zong* "Exemplar": Emperor Huan's temple name Weizong 威宗 may be rendered as "Exemplar of Authority." [Emperor Gao of Former Han is frequently referred to as Gaozu, a composition from his temple name *taizu* and his dynastic title Gao.]

Though canonical tradition required that only seven previous rulers should be honoured by the title Founder or Exemplar, during the course of Later Han it had become common for all emperors who had reigned for any significant time to receive a temple name. Several years later, however, in 190, the scholar Cai Yong urged the dictator Dong Zhuo to deprive Emperors He, An, Shun and Huan of their undeserved distinction, and this was done: *HHS* 9:370 and *HHJ* 26:7a-8b; deC, *Establish Peace*, 55-58.

On the ancestral temples and sacrifices of Later Han, and the reforms of Cai Yong, see Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 105-108.

D ⁸ *HHS* 65/55:2148-49 (14a-15a), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

⁸ The campaigns of Duan Jiong against the Western Qiang, who occupied the frontier region west of the Yellow River, chiefly in Jincheng commandery and western Longxi, have been described earlier: e.g. passages LL of Yanxi 2 and T of Yanxi 8.

The account of this campaign of Duan Jiong, as recorded in his biography, has been translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 71-77, and is discussed by deC, *Northern Frontier*, 134-140.

⁹ See, for example, passage H of Yanxi 1, also passages G and II of Yanxi 9.

On Zhang Huan's position as General of the Household Protector of the Xiongnu, see passage G and note 15 to Yanxi 9.

Emperor Huan sent an edict to ask Duan Jiong, "The Xianlian and [other tribes of] the Eastern Qiang act [90] wickedly and rebelliously. Huangfu Gui and Zhang Huan have each held command of strong forces, but they have not been able to settle them in any reasonable time. I am thinking of giving you orders to move troops east for a new campaign, but I do not know whether this is a good idea. May I have your comments?"¹⁰

Duan Jiong replied, "In my humble opinion, though the Xianlian and other Eastern Qiang have often made rebellion, more than twenty thousand groups have surrendered to Huangfu Gui.¹¹ So the good have been sorted from the bad, and the remaining bandits are no great number.

"Now if Zhang Huan has been dragging his feet and delayed going forward, that is because he is concerned that though [the barbarians] may appear to be divided, they are in fact united. If that was the case, there would be trouble everywhere as soon as his soldiers made a move. On the other hand, if they keep their camps together from winter into spring and do not spread out, the men and their animals will waste and die; they will be destroyed by their very strength. So all [Zhang Huan] does is encourage surrenders, for in that way a strong enemy can be kept under control without taking action.

In my view, however, wolves are wild by nature, and it is difficult to treat them gently. When their strength is exhausted they will submit, but once our troops leave they will stir again. The only way to handle them is with a long spear in the side and a sharp sword at the neck.

"By my estimate, there are some thirty thousand Eastern [Qiang] groups close within the frontier [which have not surrendered]. Communications are not a serious barrier: this is not a situation of rival states like Yan, Qi, Qin and Zhao.¹² Yet they have long troubled Bing

10 Hitherto, Duan Jiong has been operating against the Western Qiang, outside the frontier. Now, however, he is being invited to turn his attention to the Eastern Qiang, living within Chinese territory east of the Yellow River.

11 As discussed by note 36 to Yanxi 8, the term *luo* "groups" is understood as the basic household unit of a nomadic people.

12 Yan 燕, Qi 齊, Qin 秦 and Zhao 趙 were rival kingdoms of the north during the Warring States period of the fourth and third centuries BC. Qi was in the region of Shandong and the North China Plain, Yan was based about present-day Beijing, Zhao controlled northern Shanxi and Qin occupied present-day Shenxi. Duan Jiong's argument is that the Qiang are in no way so well matched against Han as those states were against each other, nor are they capable of maintaining a defence on fixed lines: the country is open, and imperial armies will have no difficulty reaching the enemy.

and Liang provinces, and they raid and plunder the Three Adjuncts. The capitals of Xihe and Shang commanderies have been shifted back to the interior, while Anding and Beidi are once again isolated and in peril.¹³ For two thousand *li*, from Yunzhong and Wuyuan west as far as Hanyang, the Xiongnu and various Qiang have taken over territory. This is a hidden sore in our side which is festering and waiting to burst; if it is not cut away it will grow much worse.

Now if I can have five thousand cavalry and ten thousand foot-soldiers, with three thousand carts [for the supply train], then in three winters and two summers I shall crush [91] them and settle them for good. There need be no concern the expenses will go beyond 5,400 million cash.

1804 "If we do this, the Qiang will be completely broken, the Xiongnu will remain in submission, and the commandery and county administrations that have been shifted to the interior will be able to return to their original territory.

"I would estimate that when the Qiang rebelled during the Yongchu period [107-113], 24,000 million cash were spent in fourteen years. At the end of Yonghe [136-141] there were another seven years of costs totalling more than 8,000 million cash.¹⁴ After all that expense and waste, the Qiang are still not fully subjugated, and the evil that has been left will grow afresh. Here is the root of the problem. Unless we put some short-term strain upon the people now, we can never hope for a long-lasting peace.

"Inadequate and worn-out as I am, I humbly await instructions."

The emperor gave his assent and agreed to all that Duan Jiong had

¹³ Xihe and Shang commanderies occupied the region of the Ordos within the northern loop of the Yellow River. Their administrative head-quarters, however, had been shifted to the south at the time of the First Qiang Rebellion of 107-118; they were later restored, but were again withdrawn in 140, as a result of further trouble with the Qiang and the Xiongnu: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 311.

Anding and Beidi commanderies, which lay between the Wei valley and the Yellow River, had been under similar pressure, and their capitals were also withdrawn to the south in 141.

¹⁴ The Yongchu 永初 period was the first of the reign of Emperor An. The First Qiang Rebellion broke out in Yongchu 1: 107, and was not fully ended until 118: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 90-114.

The major Qiang and Xiongnu disturbances which caused the second withdrawal of the northern commanderies, discussed above, had broken out in Yonghe 永和 5: 140, during the reign of Emperor Shun: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 119-122.

proposed.

At this, Duan Jiong took command of more than ten thousand soldiers, with supplies for fifteen days, and went from Pengyang direct to Gaoping. He fought with the Xianlian tribes at Fengyi Mountain.¹⁵

The enemy were in great numbers, and Duan Jiong's men were frightened. Then Duan Jiong set three ranks of halberds, swordsmen and spearmen, flanked by crossbows, with light cavalry on each wing. He exhorted his officers and men, "Now we are several thousand *li* from home. If we advance, everything is won. If we retreat, all of us will die. Let each give his utmost to share in a glorious name."

Then he gave a great shout, and all his men joined the cry and charged with him. The cavalry came on the enemy flanks, and they struck them and broke them. The Qiang were thrown into complete disarray, and more than eight thousand of them were slain.

The Dowager Dou [who now controlled the court] awarded Duan Jiong an imperial letter of praise, saying, "When the Eastern Qiang are completely settled, we shall give double rewards to match the achievement. At the present time we grant Duan Jiong two hundred thousand cash, and the right to have a member of his family appointed a Gentleman of the Palace." Orders were given for the palace treasury to issue gold coins and silk as a bounty for the [92] expenses of the army. Duan Jiong was appointed General Who Routs the Qiang.

- E In the intercalary [third] month on the day *jiawu* [*jiazi*?: 11 May]¹⁶ [Liu Shu] the grandfather of the emperor was posthumously honoured as Xiaoyuan Emperor, and his wife of the Xia family became the Xiaoyuan Empress. The emperor's late father [Liu Chang] was named Xiaoren Emperor, and the emperor's mother of the Dong family became Honoured Lady of the Funerary Park of Circumspection.¹⁷

¹⁵ On this first campaign against the Eastern Qiang, see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 136-137 and Map 4 at 138. Fengyi Mountain is near Guyuan in present-day southern Ningxia.

E *HHS* 8:328 (2a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

¹⁶ The intercalary month of this year began on a *wushen* day, cyclical 43, and thus could not have contained a *jiawu* day, cyclical 41. It is possible that the characters *jiawu* 甲午 have been miswritten for *jiazi* 甲子, cyclical 1: the *jiazi* day of that month would have been equivalent to 11 May.

¹⁷ These retrospective imperial ranks and posthumous titles are a courtesy comparable to those granted to the ancestors of Emperor Huan: *HHS* 7:288.

The prefix *xiao* 孝 "Filial" is common to all emperors of Han except the two founders. The title Ren 仁 given to Emperor Ling's father had not been used in the

1805 In the summer, in the fourth month on the day *wuchen* [?]¹⁸ the Grand Commandant Zhou Jing died. The Excellency of Works Xuan Feng left office and the Commandant of the Guards of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, Wang Chang, became Excellency of Works.¹⁹

In the fifth month on the day *dingwei* [23 Jun], first of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.²⁰

The Palace Counsellor Liu Ju became Grand Commandant.

In the sixth month there were great floods in the capital district.²¹

F On the day *guisi* [8 Aug] rewards were given for the selection of the

dynasty before. Yuan 元, however, was the dynastic title of a noted ruler of Former Han, who reigned 48-33 BC.

The Lady Dong, widow of Liu Zhang and natural mother of the new emperor, was still alive, and it would naturally have been embarrassing for the party at court to give her imperial rank. She was therefore given title only as Honoured Lady. The tomb of Liu Chang, which was presumably near his fief in Hejian, was now given the name Shenling 慎陵: "Mound of Circumspection:" *HHS* 10B:446, being the biography of the Lady Dong. The title of the Lady Dong implied she should take up residence by the tomb of her late husband, and she did not accompany her son to the capital at this time. See further in passages B and C of Jianning 2.

A similar system had been used by the Dowager Deng after the death of Emperor He in 106, when she arranged for the palace concubines to reside by her late husband's tomb: *HHS* 10A:421. The same procedure was followed for the Lady Yan 嬰, mother of Emperor Huan, at the time of his selection for the throne in 146, when she was named Honoured Lady of the Funerary Park of Amplitude (Boyuan 博園), a title also derived from the renamed tomb of her late husband. After the death of the Dowager Liang in 150, the Lady Yan was awarded title as an empress-dowager: *HHS* 10B:441-42.

18 The fourth month of this year began on a *renshen* day, cyclical 9, and thus could not have contained a *wuchen* day, cyclical 5.

19 Palace of Prolonged Joy (長樂宮 *Changle gong*) was the name given to the residence of the Dowager Dou. As Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 38-39, remarks, the name was applied to the apartments within the imperial palace area where an empress-dowager was living: the apartments themselves had a substantive name, but this was over-ridden for the period that the dowager had her residence there. See also notes 70 and 72 below.

20 This eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3300, and is mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 213a.

The eclipse is recorded by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 108/18:3369, but the Treatise does not record the constellation in which the eclipse was observed, nor does it offer any prognostication. The commentary of Liu Zhao, however, quotes from *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, which says that an eclipse on a *dingwei* day indicates the ruler will die.

21 These floods are not mentioned at the relevant place in the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 105/15:3312.

emperor. Dou Wu was enfeoffed as Marquis of Wenxi and his son Dou Ji became Marquis of Weiyang. Dou Wu's nephews, Dou Shao and Dou Jing, were made marquises of Hu and of Xi District respectively.²² The Regular Attendant Cao Jie became Marquis of Chang'an District. Altogether eleven men received fiefs.

- G Lu Zhi of Zhuo commandery sent a letter to Dou Wu: "Your relationship to the court of Han is like that of Dan [the Duke of Zhou] and Shi [the Duke of Shao] to the house of Zhou."²³ You have set a sage

F *HHS* 69/59:2241 (2b), the Biography of Dou Wu; and *HHS* 78/68:2524 (12b), the Biography of Cao Jie in the Chapter on the Eunuchs; and *HJJ* 23:1b.

22 Weiyang, north of the Wei River near Chang'an, had been the site of ceremonies to the five gods (帝 *di*) during Former Han (e.g. Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 169-170 and 188), but there was no county of that name listed either in the Treatise of Geography of *Han shu*, nor in the Treatise of Administrative Geography of *Hou Han shu*. Hu Sanxing suggests that the name of some county was changed to Weiyang, and it was then granted as a fief to Dou Ji.

If this was done, the name may have been chosen to reflect the *Weiyang* 渭陽 Ode of *Shi jing* I.11.9; Legge, *CC* IV, 203 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 134 at 87), written in honour of a maternal uncle (舅氏 *jiushi*): it was attributed to Duke Kang of Qin 秦康公 (then only prince-in-waiting) recalling the brother of his mother, Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公, whom he had escorted back to take power in his home state after years of exile. It would thus have represented a particular compliment to Dou Ji.

Hu was a county in Youfufeng, south of the Wei River and southwest of Chang'an. The fief of Xixiang 西鄉 "West District" was probably not of county rank. The Dou family appear somewhat more restrained in their self-promotion than the Liang their predecessors, though we are not told the value of the pensions associated with the fiefs, and this was only the beginning of their time in power. See also the comments of Lu Zhi in passage G and the criticism of Wang Fu in passage K below at 1811.

Besides the enfeoffments, *HHS* 69/59 remarks that members of the Dou family were granted important supernumerary and military posts about the capital. Dou Ji became a Palace Attendant (侍中 *shizhong*: note 83 to Yanxi 2 and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59-60), Dou Shao became Colonel of the Footsoldiers, one of the five regiments of the Northern Army stationed at the capital, and Dou Jing was also made a Palace Attendant and Inspector of Horse of the Right of the Feathered Forest, giving command of a troop of the household guards.

G *HHS* 64/54:2113-14 (10a-11b), the Biography of Lu Zhi.

23 Dan 旦 was the given name of the sage Duke of Zhou 周公, son of King Wen 文 and younger brother of King Wu 武 of Zhou, and loyal guardian of his young nephew King Cheng 成. Shi 奭 was the given name of the Duke of Shao 召公, son of King Wen by a concubine, who served as a high minister in association with the Duke of Zhou. The biography of the Duke of Zhou is in *SJ* 33:1515-22; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 88-99, and the

ruler upon the throne, and now all the world has a centre to rely upon. Those who consider the matter regard this as your most significant achievement so far.

"However, the succession of one man to another within the same lineage requires no more than to open out a table and examine records in order to discover who is next in line. What is so difficult about it? The work has been done [93] by Heaven; so how can you extend rewards on that account, and build up your own position by this means?²⁴

"You should decline these great prizes and so keep your personal reputation intact."

Dou Wu could not agree.

Lu Zhi was eight feet two inches tall,²⁵ with a deep voice like a bell. By nature he was stern and upright, with a strong sense of morality. When he was young, he served Ma Rong, a great scholar of extravagant tastes, who had a constant supply of girls to sing and dance for him. Lu Zhi attended Ma Rong for many years, but never turned his eyes in their direction. Ma Rong admired him for this.

- H In consideration of Chen Fan's long record of virtue, the Dowager awarded him special enfeoffment as Marquis of Gaoyang District. Chen Fan wrote to refuse the honour, "I have heard that enfeoffment with a territory is the reward of good work and virtue. Though I would not claim my actions are always faultless, I admire the code of a

biography of the Duke of Shao is in *SJ* 34:1549-50; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 133-135. See also Legge, *CC* III, 352 note 3, and 420.

- 24 *HHS* 64/54 has a sentence at the beginning of this paragraph which *ZZTJ* has omitted. Lu Zhi cites the principles of the *Chunqiu*, expressed in *Zuo zhuan*, Chao 26; Legge, *CC* V, 718, (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 415-416):

When the queen has no son, another, the eldest son of the king, should be selected.

Where years are equal, the choice must fall upon the most virtuous. Where virtue is equal, the choice must be decided by [divination using] the tortoise-shell.

Lu Zhi is thus objecting not only to the rewards Dou Wu was granting himself, but to the very basis of the selection of Emperor Ling for the throne: it was not a matter of asking advice about who was most virtuous, it should simply have been a matter of checking the genealogy of the imperial clan to find the most senior representative; if there was any question of qualifications, then the choice was to be made by divination. The process should have been purely mechanical, and there was no place for significant intervention by the Dowager and her family.

- 25 This was equivalent to 188 cm, or six feet two inches English measure. Expected normal height for men of that time was about seven *chi* feet, some 162 cm or five feet four inches English measure. See note 3 to Yanxi 3.

gentleman: 'If you cannot obtain it by proper means, do not take it at all.'²⁶

1806 "Should I be arrogant enough to accept this fief,²⁷ then even if I went there with my face hidden, it would still cause august Heaven to shake with anger, and disasters would flow down upon the people. Where could I seek refuge from that?"

The Dowager would not agree, but Chen Fan maintained his refusal. Over time they exchanged as many as ten letters on the matter; and in the end Chen Fan did not receive the enfeoffment.

I Duan Jiong led light-armed troops to pursue the Qiang. He went out by the Qiao Gate,²⁸ marching day and night, and defeated them in a series of battles at Sheyan Marsh, Luochuan and on the banks of the Lingxian River. Then he fought them again at Lingwu Valley, and the Qiang were utterly defeated.²⁹

In the autumn, in the seventh month Duan Jiong came to Jingyang, and the remaining bandits, some four thousand groups, scattered among the hills and valleys of Hanyang.³⁰

Zhang Huan, the General of the Household Protector of the Xiongnu, sent in a message, "Though the Eastern Qiang have been defeated, it will be difficult to eliminate all their tribes. Duan Jiong is reckless and

H *HHS* 66/56:2168-69 (7b-8a), the Biography of Chen Fan.

²⁶ *Lun yu* IV.5; Legge, *CC I*, 166 (Lau, *Analects*, 72):

The Master said, "Riches and honours are what men desire. If they cannot be obtained in the proper way, they should not be held."

²⁷ From the fourth stanza of the *Juegong* 角弓 Ode of *Shi jing* II.7.9; Legge *CC IV*, 405 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 223 at 177):

One gets a place, and shows no humility -
Till they all come to ruin.

I *HHS* 65/55:2149-50 (15b-17b), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

²⁸ The Qiao Gate was the name of a pass through the line of the old Great Wall of the state of Qin 秦, south of the Ordos, near present-day Yulin in Shenxi. See deC, *Northern Frontier*, 137 and 31, also Map 4 at 138.

This passage is a continuation of D above. The second stage of the campaign is discussed by deC, *Northern Frontier*, 137-140, and the parallel text in the biography of Duan Jiong is translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 74-77.

²⁹ Lingwu Valley was probably in the hill country south of present-day Yinchuan in Ningxia: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 138 Map 4 and 490 note 15. Duan Jiong had thus driven his enemies westwards across the southern fringe of the Ordos.

³⁰ From Lingwu, the campaign now moved south towards the Wei: Jingyang county was in Anding commandery, and Hanyang commandery lay south and west, in the valley of the Wei.

resolute, but he should consider the fact that he will find it [94] hard to defeat them every time. Now is the time to treat the Qiang leniently, so that we have no worries in the future."

An edict with this argument was sent to Duan Jiong for comment. He replied, "It has always been my opinion that though the Eastern Qiang are very numerous they are nonetheless weak and easy to control. Upon that basis I first put forward my humble plan, designed for a lasting peace. In contrast, the General of the Household [Zhang Huan] argued that since the enemy were strong and difficult to conquer we should be lenient and accept their surrender. Through a clear decision of the sage-like court, accepting my foolish words, my strategy was put into effect and Zhang Huan's advice was not taken.

"Zhang Huan is embarrassed by this, so he harbours suspicion and hatred. He accepts the complaints of the rebellious Qiang, and he contrives sophistries. He says that my men have suffered several setbacks,³¹ and he also says that since the Qiang are born from one of the elemental powers it is impossible to destroy them completely,³² that the mountains and valleys are broad and high and cannot be fully cleared, that blood is flowing across the wilderness, and that an injured peace will bring disaster.³³

"I humbly beg to recall the times of Zhou and Qin, when the Rong and Di barbarians were the cause of harm.³⁴ Since the time of the Restoration [of Later Han], the Qiang marauders have been extremely numerous. It has proved impossible to eliminate them, and even when they surrender, it is only to rebel once more.

31 The modern editors of *ZZTJ* insert quotation marks at two places here, implying that Duan Jiong is citing directly from passages in Zhang Huan's document. The parallel text in the modern edition of *HHS*, however, does not agree, and the text gives no specific indicator of direct speech.

32 This evidently reflects the position indicated by the introduction to the Account of the Western Qiang, *HHS* 87/77:2869, which describes them as harsh and cruel, wild and rebellious, "animated by the spirit (氣 *qi*) of Metal 金 which pervades the western lands."

33 Zhang Huan's argument, rebutted by Duan Jiong in the next paragraph, is that the dishonourable conduct of breaking the peace with the Qiang when they had formally submitted to Han will bring down calamities from Heaven.

34 Rong 戎 was the name given to non-Chinese people of the west in classical times: *e.g.* the *Yu gong* 禹貢 Chapter of *Shu jing* III.1, 83; Legge *CC* III, 127 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 17). Di 狄 was the term for non-Chinese people of the north: *e.g.* the *Zhonghui zhi gao* 仲虺之誥 "The Announcement of Zhonghui" Chapter of *Shu jing*, IV.2, 7; Legge, *CC* III, 181.

1807 "Now the various groups of the Xianlian constantly cause trouble. They attack and destroy our cities and towns; they kill and plunder our people and their property; they break open tombs and leave the corpses exposed: they are a misfortune to both the living and the dead.

"When Heaven above shakes with anger, it uses the agency [of our ruler] to carry out its punishments.³⁵ In ancient times, when the state of Xing was without the true Way, the state of Wey attacked it, and good rains fell as the army went forward.³⁶ I have been urging our troops on all this summer, and we have regularly received good rains, the harvest is abundant and plentiful and the people have no sickness or ills. One may observe above the will of Heaven, which sends down no calamities; and one can see below, in human affairs, that our actions are harmonious and successful.[95]

"West from the Qiao Gate and east from Luochuan there are old frontier stations, cities and towns,³⁷ so communications are easy to maintain. This is not country which is deeply divided or dangerous. Carriages and horsemen can travel without difficulty or interruption.

"Now Zhang Huan is an official of Han with military appointment. He has held command of an army for two years, but has failed to pacify the bandits. He has the vain hope that with extravagant words, and by laying down arms, he may cajole an evil foe into surrender. But

35 From the *Yi xun* 伊訓 "The Instructions of Yi" Chapter of *Shu jing*, IV.4, 2; Legge, *CC* III, 194:

...great Heaven sent down calamities, employing the agency of our ruler, who had received its favouring appointment.

36 *Zuo zhuan*, Xi 19; Legge, *CC* V, 177 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 322-333), describes how the state of Wey 衛 was considering an attack upon the rival state of Xing 邢. At this time there was a drought and the ruler of Wey was advised by one of his officers:

Formerly there was a scarcity in [Zhou]; but after the conquest of [Shang/]Yin there ensued an abundant year. Now [Xing] acts without any regard to principle, and there is no leader among the princes. May not Heaven be wishing to employ [Wey] to punish [Xing]?

The ruler followed his advice, and rain came as soon as the army set out on the march.

37 The text here has the character 宮 *gong*, but the modern editors of *HHS* 65/55 prefer the emendation 官 *guan*. I follow this, understanding *guan* "office" as referring to frontier posts, military agricultural colonies, and other government installations.

If the character *gong* is accepted, then the phrase could be rendered "the cities and towns of the old dynasty" [of Former Han].

The region "west of the Qiao Gate and east of Luochuan" must refer to the land south of the Ordos, where Duan Jiong has just completed the second stage of his campaign. His point is that the territory has been settled by Han people before, and the infrastructure is still usable.

he is full of false excuses and empty arguments, unreliable and without a single item of proof.

"Why do I say this? In former times, when the Xianlian were rebellious, Zhao Chongguo settled them inside the border. When the Jiandang troubled the frontier, Ma Yuan shifted them to the Three Adjuncts. The Qiang at first submitted, but they eventually rebelled, and they have been a problem ever since.³⁸ All officials with foresight have been deeply concerned about this situation. Now the [Chinese] people of our border commanderies are few in number, and they are frequently injured by the Qiang. Yet some people want to allow [the Qiang] to surrender and transfer them to live amongst [the Chinese]. This is like planting brambles and thorns in a good field, or raising venomous snakes inside one's house.

"For these reasons, serving the majesty of Great Han, I have set up a plan for the long term. I intend to cut the problem out by the roots, so it will never grow again.³⁹

"My original estimate called for three years and 5,400 million cash.

³⁸ Zhao Chongguo, a general of Former Han, conquered the Qiang about the region of the Xining River in 61-60 BC, and forced many of the tribesmen to migrate east within the borders of the empire. See deC, *Northern Frontier*, 65, and the detailed analysis of the campaign in Dreyer, "Zhao Chongguo," 679-704.

At the beginning of Later Han, in the period 33-37 AD, the general Ma Yuan was responsible for the re-establishment and settlement of the frontier in the northwest. As part of that program, he forced many of the Xianlian tribespeople, who had been disturbing the territory west of the Yellow River, to move into the region of the Wei valley, where they might be better kept under control and supervision: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 73-75.

Both this memorial of Duan Jiong and the Discussion (論 *lun*) at HHS 87/77:2901, the end of the Account of the Qiang, criticise Zhao Chongguo and Ma Yuan for their policy. Though the dangers were indeed very great, however, and the end result was extremely serious for the empire, both texts are mistaken as to which tribes were moved by the commanders concerned: in fact, Zhao Chongguo transferred people of the Han 罕 and Qian 扞 groups, and Ma Yuan was the person who brought the Xianlian to the east. The name Jiandang 煎當, moreover, is surely a mistaken transposition of the characters for the Dangjian 當煎 people; and these were still Western Qiang, who had been defeated and pacified by Duan Jiong only a year or so earlier: e.g. passage B to Yongkang 1. See deC, *Northern Frontier*, 475 note 44.

³⁹ *Zuo zhuan*, Yin 6; Legge CC V, 21 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 39):

The Head of a State or of a clan looks upon evil relations as a husbandman looks upon weeds or grass, which must be removed. He cuts down, kills them, collects them, and heaps them up, extirpating their roots that they may not be able to grow; and then the good grain stretches itself out.

But now, after just one year, and with less than half the money spent, the remnants of the enemy are just a few embers, and they are on the point of total destruction.

"Though I receive imperial letters [with all respect], an army in the field may not be directed from the capital.⁴⁰ I ask you to put an end to this debate and give me full authority to deal with matters on the spot, so that we may not lose our present advantage."

1808

- J In the eighth month the Excellency of Works Wang Chang left office and the Minister of the Imperial Clan Liu Chong became Excellency of Works.⁴¹
- K Before this, when the Dowager was established [as Empress in 165], Chen Fan had played a considerable [96] role,⁴² and now that she held the regency she consulted him on every question of government, large or small. Chen Fan and Dou Wu were in complete accord and worked together to support the imperial house. They recommended famous and worthy men from every part of the empire, men such as Li Ying, Du Mi, Yin Xun and Liu Yu. All took place at court and shared in the affairs of government.⁴³

⁴⁰ *Huainan zi* 15:16a:

...a state may not be governed from outside [its borders]; an army in the field may not be directed from within [the capital].

J *HHS* 8:329 (2a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

⁴¹ According to the Biography of Wang Chang, *HHS* 56/46:1826, he left office on account of a large number of portents from water. This presumably refers to the floods about the capital in the sixth month: passage E above.

K *HHS* 66/56:2169-70 (8a-b), the Biography of Chen Fan; and *HHS* 69/59:2241-44 (3a-4b), the Biography of Dou Wu.

⁴² Sima Guang here summarises a passage from *HHS* 66/56, which tells how Emperor Huan wanted to make the Lady Tian Sheng his empress in succession to the Lady Deng Mengnü. Chen Fan, however, objected strongly, particularly on account of the poor family background of the Lady Tian, and he urged the claims of the well-born Lady Dou. Emperor Huan was compelled to accept. *Cf.* also passage U of Yongkang 1.

⁴³ Li Ying became Steward of the Palace of Prolonged Joy (*Changle shaofu* 長樂少府), responsible for the residence of the Dowager: *HHS* 67/57:2196 and note 19 above. Du Mi became Minister Coachman: *HHS* 67/57:2198. Liu Yu became a Palace Attendant: *HHS* 57/47:1857.

The position held by Yin Xun under the new regime is not certain. According to *HHS* 69/59:2241, the biography of Dou Wu cited here, and also *HHS* 57/47:1857-58, which has a biography of Yin Xun supplementary to that of Liu Yu, Yin Xun was appointed Director of the Imperial Secretariat. According to the biography of Yin Xun

As a result of this, all the gentlemen of the empire turned with hope to the new administration and looked forward to an era of Great Peace.⁴⁴

The emperor's wet-nurse Zhao Rao, however, and the various clerks of the harem apartments, were day and night by the side of the Dowager, while the Regular Attendants Cao Jie and Wang Fu made a point of establishing good relations with her and insinuating themselves into her favour. The Dowager trusted them and issued a number of edicts of enfeoffment or appointment [at their behest]. Chen Fan and Dou Wu were annoyed at this.

There came an occasion they met together at the court, and Chen Fan said privately to Dou Wu, "Cao Jie, Wang Fu and the rest of them have held power since the time of the late emperor, and they have confused and disturbed all the empire. Unless we execute them now, they will certainly upset things for us later."

As Dou Wu expressed full agreement, Chen Fan slapped his mat in delight.⁴⁵ Then Dou Wu called up his close colleague the Director of the Secretariat Yin Xun and they consulted and made plans together.⁴⁶

in *HHS* 67/57:2208, however, about this time he was Court Architect and then Minister of Finance. Yin Xun had formerly been Director of the Secretariat: passage L to Yanxi 2. It may be that the texts have mistakenly attributed Yin Xun's appointment in 159 to that which he held in 168; but it is also possible that Dou Wu deliberately appointed him Director of the Secretariat because of his former experience in that position.

44 The expression "Great Peace" (太平 *taiping*) could denote any form of good government. It had, for example, been used as a title by Emperor Ai of Former Han in 5 BC, at a time when he sought to restore the power and virtue of his dynasty: *HS* 11:340; Dubs, *HFHD* III, 30.

The phrase had also given its title to a work presented to the court two years earlier by Xiang Kai at the time of his memorials: passage S of Yanxi 9, but see particularly *HHS* 30/20B:1084, a paragraph not included in *ZZTJ* but translated and discussed in deC, *Portents of Protest*, 31-32.

In later times the concept of Great Peace became closely associated with religious or rebel doctrines, notably those of Zhang Jue, leader of the Yellow Turban rebellion in 184: passage D of Guanghe 6. It was not of itself, however, an anti-government slogan.

45 *ZZTJ* and *HHS* here have the character *tui* 推 "to push," but variant editions read *chui* 椎 "to beat," which seems more probable. The reading *tui* would indicate that Chen Fan had been sitting as he spoke with Dou Wu, but when the decision was made he stood up forcefully, perhaps slapping his hand on the ground as a sign of approval. The reading *chui* would indicate simply that he slapped the mat.

46 The events of this time at the capital, including the attempted coup of Dou Wu and Chen Fan against the eunuchs, are discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 95-98, and Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 484-490, translating from the biography of Dou Wu.

About this time [i.e. in the fifth month] there appeared the portent of an eclipse.⁴⁷ Chen Fan said to Dou Wu, "In former times Xiao Wangzhi was put into distress by the one fellow Shi Xian.⁴⁸ The situation will be still more difficult when you have to deal with scores of Shi Xians! At my age of eighty years, I wish to remove this danger from you. I recommend that you take the occasion of the eclipse as a reason to dismiss the eunuchs, in order to avert the omen from Heaven."

Then Dou Wu said to the Dowager, "It has been the ancient rule that Yellow Gates officials and Regular Attendants are responsible only for the protection of the doors to the harem apartments and for the control of the emperor's personal treasury and possessions. Yet now we [97] have them involved in the government and holding positions of considerable power. Their relatives and dependents are everywhere, and they abuse their authority with violence and greed. The whole empire cries out, and for this reason alone you should punish them and remove them so as to purify the court."

1809 The Dowager replied, "There have been eunuchs since the very beginning of Han. It is only necessary to punish those who have committed crimes. How can we do away with all of them?"

At this time the Regular Attendant Guan Ba, a man of considerable talent, had arbitrary authority within the palace. Dou Wu first reported [against him] and had him arrested, together with the Regular Attendant Su Kang and some others. All were found guilty and put to death.

Then Dou Wu made further accusations, calling for the execution of Cao Jie and his associates. The Dowager hesitated, for she was too soft-hearted to bear with the consequences of such action. And so the matter dragged on without any decision.

Chen Fan sent in a memorial, "Now the capital district is in turmoil and the streets are full of shouting and hubbub.⁴⁹ People say that Hou

⁴⁷ This eclipse of 23 June has been mentioned in passage E above.

⁴⁸ Shi Xian 石顯, Prefect of the Palace Writers, was a trusted and favoured eunuch of Emperor Yuan of Former Han. He was opposed by the scholar official Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之, who recommended that eunuchs should be dismissed from power. Shi Xian and his fellows accused Xiao Wangzhi of forming a clique; Xiao Wangzhi was dismissed and in 46 BC he was driven to commit suicide. See Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 430-433 and note 175, and Loewe, *Biographical Dictionary*, 607-608.

⁴⁹ This may have been literally true: passage K of Yanxi 9 records that the students of the Imperial University were in the habit of chanting slogans in favour of the leaders of the anti-eunuch party, and it is likely there were mass demonstrations at this time.

Lan and Cao Jie, Gongcheng Xin, Wang Fu and Zheng Li, together with the Lady Zhao [Rao the wet-nurse] and other members of the harem staff⁵⁰ are bringing the empire into disorder. Those who support this group rise and prosper, those who oppose them come to harm. The ministers at court are like trees in the Yellow River, drifting east or west. They do nothing but draw their salaries and seek to avoid trouble.

"Unless your majesty hastens to execute the members of this group, there will certainly be turmoil and change. The nation and state itself is under threat from an immeasurable misfortune.⁵¹ I wish your majesty would publish my memorial to all your attendants, so the evil-doers of the empire may know of my hatred for them."

The Dowager would not accept this proposal.

In this [eighth] month the White Planet [Venus] encroached upon the Commanding General star of the House constellation and then entered the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure.⁵² The Palace Attendant Liu Yu, who

50 *ZZTJ* has the phrase 諸尙書 "all the members of the Secretariat." *HHS* 66/56, however, includes the character *nü* 女 before the characters 尙書, thus indicating the harem apartments and the eunuchs who served there.

51 This is thinly-concealed reference to rebellion or at least a coup-d'état: *bian* 變 "change" and *luan* 亂 "disorder" are both synonymous with the fall of a government, and the phrase *sheji* 社稷 indicates the national altars of the soil and grain, and thus the state itself.

52 *Taibo* 太白 "Great White" describes the Western planet Venus, which in Chinese astrology is regarded as a fierce, harsh star, identified with the power of Metal. Its "encroachment" (*fan* 犯: *i.e.* apparent movement to the near vicinity) upon a constellation is a warning sign.

The House (房 *Fang*) constellation, one of the lunar mansions (*xiu* 宿), is the stars β , δ , π and ρ of Western Scorpio: ρ *Scorpii*, the lowest star of that group (*i.e.* the one closest to the horizon for an observer in the Northern Hemisphere) is called Commanding General (上將 *Shangjiang*): *JS* 11:300; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 96, and Star Map 3.

The Supreme Subtlety Enclosure (太微垣 *Taiwei yuan*) is ten stars in Western Virgo and Leo which have the appearance of a circle. In astrology, it represents the court of the emperor: *JS* 11:291-92; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 76-77, and Star Map 2.

These movements of the planet are described in the Treatise of Astronomy at *HHS* 102/12:3258: the prognostication, predictably, identifies them as symbolising a threat to Dou Wu and Chen Fan.

There is, however, some confusion over the date and nature of the phenomenon.

In context, *ZZTJ* states that the movement of Venus in the House group and Supreme Subtlety Enclosure took place in the eighth month: that month has been identified in passage J above. The Treatise of Astronomy, however, says that Venus

had long been expert in astrology, was very concerned at this, and he sent in a letter to the Dowager, saying, "I note that according to books of divination the gates of the palace should be kept [98] closed.⁵³ [This

was in the western part of the sky and entered the Enclosure in the sixth month, encroaching upon the major star on the south of the western side (σ *Leonis*) This star, however, is also known as Commanding General: *JS* 11:292; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 76. [Curiously, another star in the Enclosure, being α *Coma Berenices*, northernmost star of the eastern wall, is likewise known as Commanding General: *JS* 11:292; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 77; so altogether there are three stars of that name, two of them in the same constellation.]

HHS 69/59:2243, moreover, contains a memorial submitted to the Dowager by Dou Wu's supporter the astrologer Liu Yu, following the movement of the planet Venus from the west in the eighth month. Liu Yu reported that Venus had moved to the "Left-outside Horse" (左驂 *Zuocan*) star of the House constellation: in this, he is using another system of nomenclature for the four stars, identifying them with a quadriga: *JS* 11:300; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 96. Liu Yu noted that this was the Commanding General star (*i.e.* of the House constellation). Liu Yu then observed that Venus had entered the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure. He described the combination of movements as a warning to the general and the minister, and urged that swift action should be taken. [In my interpretation of the text of his memorial describing astronomical movements, I do not entirely agree with the punctuation of the modern edition of *HHS*.]

It seems, therefore, that Venus began its movement from the west in the sixth month and, following the ecliptic, first reached the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure (XII Right Ascension), moving particularly close to σ *Leonis*, the Commanding General star. Its apparent movement then continued west along the ecliptic until in the eighth month it reached the House constellation (XVI R.A.), where it impinged upon ρ *Scorpii*, the Commanding General star of that constellation.

It may be observed that Sima Guang does not pay a great deal of attention to the planetary portents listed in *HHS* 102/12, being the chapter of Sima Biao's Treatise of Astronomy concerned with events during the reigns of Emperors Huan and Ling.

In particular, from the fourth year of Yanxi: 161, Sima Biao recorded a number of signs and provided prognostications for them, but Sima Guang selected only the comet of 161 (passage D of Yanxi 4). The only other references in *ZZTJ* to signs in the heavens, such as the movements of Venus in 167, are based primarily upon the memorials of Xiang Kai – and Sima Biao does not report by any means all of those which Xiang Kai adduced: compare, for example, passage S of Yanxi 9 and the text of *HHS* 30/20B, as translated in deC, *Portents of Protest*. Again in the present instance, the movements of Venus are noted by Sima Guang not so much because of the records in the Treatise, but because they were cited in the memorial of Liu Yu. It appears that Sima Guang had reservations about Sima Biao's astrology.

⁵³ *ZZTJ* here punctuates the phrase *zhan shu* 占書 as the title of a specific book. *HHS* 69/59:2243, however, has the phrase *qi zhan* 其占 "its prognostication is...", and does not have the character *shu*.

is a time when] military and civil officials are at a disadvantage, and evil men are at the side of the ruler. I would wish you to take urgent measures to guard against it."

He also wrote to Dou Wu and to Chen Fan, warning them that the stars and constellations were confused and misleading, not favourable to great ministers, and they should take swift action to determine their great plans.

At this, Dou Wu and Chen Fan appointed Zhu Yu as Director of Retainers, Liu You as Intendant of Henan and Yu Qi as the Prefect of Luoyang. Dou Wu memorialised that the Prefect of the Yellow Gates Wei Biao be dismissed, to be replaced by the Attendant of the Yellow Gates Shan Bing, [a eunuch] who was his own personal supporter. He had Shan Bing memorialise for the arrest of Zheng Li, Master of Writing at the Palace of Prolonged Joy, and Zheng Li was sent to the Northern Prison [of the Yellow Gates].⁵⁴

Chen Fan said to Dou Wu, "The only way of dealing with these fellows is to arrest and kill them. What is the point of putting them further to the question?" Dou Wu would not agree. He gave orders for Shan Bing, together with Yin Xun and the Imperial Clerk Zhu Jin, to examine Zheng Li by various methods, and his confession implicated Cao Jie and Wang Fu. Yin Xun and Shan Bing now recommended the arrest of Cao Jie and others, and Liu Yu was sent to take the memorial into the palace.

1810

In the ninth month on the day *xinhai* [25 Oct] ⁵⁵ Dou Wu had left the

⁵⁴ The Palace of Prolonged Joy was the residence of an empress-dowager: note 19 above. Zheng Sa was evidently a senior clerical officer attached to her retinue.

The Prison of the Northern Office (北寺獄 *beisi yu*) is surely the same institution as the Prison of the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates (*huangmen beisi yu*) used for the detention of those arrested at the time of the First Faction Incident: note 69 to Yanxi 9.

⁵⁵ The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHS* 8:329 has the date miswritten as the *dinghai* 丁亥 day, cyclical 24. The ninth month of this year, however, began on an *yisi* day, cyclical 42. *HHJ* 23:3a has the date as the *xinhai* 辛亥 day, and it is evident that *HHS* has miswritten *ding* for *xin*.

We see immediately below, however, that Dou Wu's threat was discovered and the eunuchs' counter-attack was planned at night. Since *HHJ* makes it clear that the actual conduct of the coup by the eunuchs against Dou Wu took place on the *xinhai* day, the night it was planned must have been the one before, that of 24-25 October. The preliminary moves, involving the replacement of Wei Biao as Prefect of the

palace to spend the night at his own residence. Those who had charge of palace documents first advised Zhu Yu, [the eunuch who was] Clerk for All Purposes at the Palace of Prolonged Joy, [about the memorial].⁵⁶ Zhu Yu opened the memorial in secret and without authorisation. He cursed and said, "Any palace officials who have abused power may certainly be executed. But what crimes have we others committed? Yet we and all our families are now to be massacred!"

Then he called out loud, "Chen Fan and Dou Wu have sent in a memorial telling the Dowager to depose the emperor. This is high treason!"⁵⁷

That night he called up seventeen eunuchs, old friends and physically strong, including the Clerks of the Attendant Office of the Palace of Prolonged Joy Gong Pu, Zhang Liang and others, and they smeared blood upon their mouths and swore an oath together to kill Dou Wu and his associates.⁵⁸[99]

Cao Jie told the emperor, "There is trouble outside. I beg you to come to the front section of the Hall of Virtuous Light."⁵⁹ He had the emperor hold a sword and hop along,⁶⁰ and the wet-nurse Zhao Rao

Yellow Gates by Dou Wu's nominee Shan Bing, and the subsequent arrest of Zheng Li, took place the day before that, the *gengxu* day equivalent to 24 October.

56 This eunuch Zhu Yu 朱瑀 must not be confused with the gentleman Zhu Yu 朱寓, whom Dou Wu has just appointed Director of the Secretariat.

57 The phrase used is *dani* 大逆 "Great Refractoriness," whose categorisation is similar to that of "Great Iniquity" (大不敬 *da bujing*). See note 71 to Yanxi 2, and Hulsewé, *RHL*, 156-197.

58 Smearing blood on the mouth is reminiscent of the oath which Emperor Huan swore with his eunuch supporters as they planned the overthrow of Liang Ji in 159: passage J and note 28 of Yanxi 2.

59 This was the chief hall of the Northern Palace, the same building in which Emperor Huan had been laid in state: note 30 to Yongkang 1.

60 There is some uncertainty about the significance of the expression *bajian yongyue* 拔劍踊躍. The first two characters mean "to draw a sword," and the second pair indicate dancing, leaping or skipping. It may be that Cao Jie presented the whole affair to the young ruler as a game, or, in contrast, that the boy was given a sword to encourage his interest in its importance, allowing him to demonstrate his valour and authority. Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 488, says that he jumped [as he went] to the Hall of Virtuous Light, but Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 96, interprets the text as indicating that Cao Jie not only gave his emperor a sword, but showed him how to skip about as in a fencing practice.

and others acted as his escort. He took possession of the palace passes,⁶¹ and barred the doors of the harem apartments. Then he called in the subordinate officers of the Imperial Secretariat, threatened them with naked weapons, and had them draw up documents for an imperial edict to appoint Wang Fu as Prefect of the Yellow Gates with a Staff of Authority, that he might go to the Northern Prison and arrest Yin Xun and Shan Bing.

Shan Bing was suspicious and would not accept the edict, so Wang Fu struck and killed him. He also killed Yin Xun. Then he released Zheng Li and brought his soldiers back to seize the Dowager and take her seal and ribbon. He ordered the Palace Internuncios to guard the Southern Palace, barring the gates and closing the Covered Way.⁶²

Zheng Li and others were now sent with a Staff of Authority, accompanied by imperial clerks and internuncios, to arrest Dou Wu and his supporters.

Refusing to accept the edict, Dou Wu fled to the camp of the

It is possible that the young man exercised himself with feint passes and sidesteps even as he and his eunuch guides hastened through the courts and corridors to their meeting place.

61 Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 33, discusses the system of passes which was used in the imperial palace. Persons who lived within the palace compound were issued with iron tallies for each gate they were permitted to use, keeping one part of the tally themselves while the other was held by the guard at the gate. Visitors on special errands were issued with wooden tallies. Senior officials could be announced by attendants.

Once the passes had been withdrawn or cancelled, everyone in the palace was restricted to the immediate area they were in at the time.

62 The Covered Way (復道 *fudao*) was an elevated passage-way which linked the Northern Palace and the Southern Palace, passing above the intervening area of the city of Luoyang. It gave direct access between the two compounds, permitting the emperor and his attendants to move from one to the other without a procession through the streets. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 22.

As Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 97, observes, all the activity of the eunuchs had so far taken place within the Northern Palace. It appears that they now gave orders for the seizure of control in the Southern Palace and also, to ensure against any problem from that direction, they ordered the Covered Way be cut, perhaps merely by an enhanced guard, but possibly by destruction of part of its span.

Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 57-58, also observes that the Palace Internuncios (中謁者 *zhong yezhe*) who were sent to take up the guard positions were very probably eunuchs, indicating that Later Han had reinstated the system of Former Han which used this group of messengers for communication between the regular government and the imperial private apartments: *cf. Bureaucracy*, 49.

Regiment of Footsoldiers. With his nephew the Colonel of Footsoldiers Dou Shao he shot and killed some of the messengers [who were attempting to arrest him]. Then he called up several thousand men from the five regiments of the Northern Army, and they set up camp at the Capital Watch-House.⁶³ He issued an order to his troops, saying, "The Yellow Gate officials and the Regular Attendants have rebelled. Those who give their utmost strength in our cause will be enfeoffed as marquises and will have rich rewards."

When Chen Fan heard there was trouble he gathered some eighty clerks from his office, and they made an armed attack on the Gate of Continuing Brightness. Breaking through, they reached the Gate of the Masters of Writing.⁶⁴

⁶³ The Northern Army was the elite professional fighting force of the empire, normally stationed at the capital but available for military action elsewhere. As General-in-Chief, Dou Wu held formal command of the Army, and his nephew Dou Shao the Colonel of Footsoldiers commanded one of the five regiments. The other regiments were those of the Garrison Cavalry, the Elite Cavalry, the Chang River and the Archers Who Shoot at a Sound. Each had an establishment of some eight hundred officers and men, for a total strength about four thousand. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 117-118, and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 45-46.

The Capital Watch-House (都亭 *duting*) was the most important of the thirty-two watch-houses (*ting*) which served as police stations for local law and order in various precincts of the city and suburbs of Luoyang: note 39 to Yanxi

On this and other occasions, we are told that troops were assembled at the Capital Watch-House, so there was evidently an open area which could be used as a parade ground or assembly point. Bielenstein says that the exact site is unknown, but as Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 489 note 404, points out, after Dou Wu gathered his troops here he was soon confronted by forces controlled by the eunuchs who assembled outside the Vermilion Bird Gate (朱雀門 *Zhujuemen*); so the watch-house must have been in that vicinity: see further below. The Vermilion Bird Gate was the main gate in the south wall of the Northern Palace (Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 33-34), so the Capital Watch-House and the open space associated with it lay almost immediately to the south, either facing the palace directly or on the north-south main avenue of the walled city: the positioning, though not necessarily the scale, was probably analogous to Tiananmen Square in present-day Beijing.

Bielenstein, at 42-43, also mentions the custom by which, when the emperor returned from a tour of inspection or a hunt, he stopped briefly at the Capital Watch-House in order that the Three Excellencies and Nine Ministers could formally identify him before he re-entered the palace. This too suggests a site close to the palace.

⁶⁴ The Gate of Continuing Brightness was inside the Northern Palace, but it is not possible to identify its location more precisely, nor that of the Gate of the Masters of Writing: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 34. As Bielenstein observes at 97-98, Chen Fan was

1811 Baring his arms for the fight, Chen Fan shouted, "The General-in-Chief is loyal and protects the state! It is the Yellow Gates who are in rebellion! How can anyone say that the Dou clan is at fault?"

Wang Fu came out to face him. He heard what Chen Fan said and objected, "When our late ruler had barely left this world, and even his tomb was not completed, what merit had Dou Wu achieved that his [100] son and his nephews should be enfeoffed with three marquisates? And they constantly enjoy them-selves drinking and feasting, they have taken numbers of women from the Lateral Courts, and within the space of ten days or so their possessions and treasure have increased by the millions. If great ministers can behave in this way, what sort of morality do you call that? And you are the chief officer of the state, yet you have established an alliance with such a gang! How can you side with those rebels?"

He sent swordsmen to arrest Chen Fan. Chen Fan waved his sword and shouted at Wang Fu, and his words and expression were fierce and desperate. He was captured, however, and sent to the Northern Prison.

One of the cavalymen of the attendant offices of the Yellow Gates kicked angrily at Chen Fan and said, "Die, you old devil! How will you cut down our numbers and our salaries now?" That same day, they killed him.

L At this time the General of the Household Protector of the Xiongnu, Zhang Huan, had been called back to the capital.⁶⁵ Because he had just arrived and did not appreciate the true situation, Cao Jie and his fellows pretended to have the authority to appoint the Minister Steward Zhou Jing as Acting General of Chariots and Cavalry bearing the Staff of Authority, and he went with Zhang Huan to lead the soldiers of the five regiments against Dou Wu.

M As the night water-clock was drawing to its end,⁶⁶ Wang Fu led a combined force of a thousand men from the Rapid Tiger and Feathered

attempting to gain access to the Secretariat, where he might use his authority to halt the stream of edicts issued by his eunuch opponents.

L *HHS* 65/55:2140 (9a), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

65 Zhang Huan had just completed pacification of the three northern provinces: passage R to Yongkang 1.

M *HHS* 69/59:2244 (5a), the Biography of Dou Wu.

66 Needham, *Science and Civilisation* III, 319-322, and Needham, Wang and Price, *Heavenly Clockwork*, 85-94, discuss the water-clock, or clepsydra, of the Han period. The official system used two tanks for inflow, one for night and the other for the daytime, with the rate of flow checked and adjusted at dusk and at dawn.

Forest Guards to set up camp outside the Vermilion Bird Lateral Gate and join Zhang Huan and the others.⁶⁷

As their troops gathered below the palace wall they drew up their lines against Dou Wu, and as his men increased in number Wang Fu had them call out to their opponents, "Dou Wu is a rebel. You are men of the guard, and should protect the imperial palace. Why do you follow a rebel? The first to surrender will be given a reward." The soldiers of the regiments [of the Northern Army] had always been accustomed to fear the authority of the palace officials, so Dou Wu's followers gradually came over to Wang Fu.

Between dawn and the time of the morning meal⁶⁸ almost all Dou Wu's men changed sides. Dou Wu and Dou Shao fled, and the whole army chased them and surrounded them. They both committed suicide, and their heads were [101] displayed at the Capital Watch-House of

⁶⁷ From passage L immediately above, it appears that the forces commanded by Zhang Huan were being recruited from the Northern Army in rivalry to Dou Wu.

Wang Fu's contingent of Rapid Tiger and Feather Forest troops were palace guards, less well trained than the professionals of the Northern Army. *HHS* 69/59:2244 says that Wang Fu had about a thousand men, not only Rapid Tiger and Feather Forest guards but also Grooms of the Stables for Fine Horses and Warriors with Swords and Lances under the Captains at the Capital. This was a scratch force, comparable to that which had been used by Emperor Huan and his eunuch allies at the time of the coup against Liang Ji in 159: passage L of Yanxi 2. Wang Fu, however, had successfully dealt with Chen Fan's attempt to break into the Secretariat, and he now brought his following to join Zhang Huan and Zhou Jing.

The Vermilion Bird Gate was the main entrance to the Northern Palace, set in the southern wall of that compound; the Vermilion Bird was the sign of the south in Han cosmology. The gate tower was one of the tallest buildings in Luoyang, and is said to have been visible over forty *li*, some ten miles or eighteen kilometres: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 33-34 and note 63 above. The description as a Lateral Gate (掖門 *yi men*) is confusing. At 34 Bielenstein suggests that the Northern Palace had only two Lateral Gates, of the Left and the Right, which gave access to the harem apartments and were presumably established within the palace. At this time, however, it is clear that Wang Fu and his men were coming out from the palace to join the confrontation with Dou Wu at the Capital Watch-House. It is possible that the text of *HHS* 69/59 has been corrupted and the reference to a lateral gate is misplaced; but it may be that the Vermilion Bird Gate had a secondary entrance at the side of the main tower.

[The commentary of Hu Sanxing to this passage in *ZZTJ* says that the southern lateral gate of the Northern Palace was actually the Vermilion Bird Gate. Given the size of the tower and the importance of the entrance, however, it cannot be correct to describe the whole complex of the Vermilion Bird gate as simply a lateral gate.]

⁶⁸ The Qing commentator Hui Dong explains the phrase *shi shi* 食時 "the time for eating" as the double-hour *si* 巳, approximately 9 to 11 am.

Luoyang. Dou Wu's kinsmen, clients and relatives by marriage were arrested and executed, while the Palace Attendant Liu Yu and the Colonel of the Garrison Cavalry Feng Shu were also killed, with all their clans.⁶⁹

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N The eunuchs also made accusations against the General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger Liu Shu of Hejian, and the former Master of Writing Wei Lang of Kuaiji, saying they had shared in the plots of Dou Wu and his associates. Both committed suicide.⁷⁰

O The Dowager Dou was transferred to the Southern Palace,⁷¹ and the

⁶⁹ *HHS* 69/59:2241-42; Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 485, says that Liu Yu and Feng Shu had been given their appointments as Dou Wu's agents at the time of his plans to move against the eunuchs: on Liu Yu's appointment see passage K at 1808 above. Later, concerned at the ominous movements of Venus, Liu Yu advised swift action. Feng Shu, as commander of one of the regiments of the Northern Army, might have been expected to provide support for Dou Wu and Dou Shao, but his men were subverted by Wang Fu and Zhang Huan.

N
⁷⁰ Compiled by Sima Guang from *HHS* 67/57:2190 and 2201, as in note 70 below. The Biography of Liu Shu is in *HHS* 67/57:2190, the Chapter on the Proscribed Party. He was sent to prison and killed himself there. See also passage N and note 41 to Jianning 2.

The Liu Shu 劉淑 mentioned here must be distinguished from the Liu Shu 儵 who advised Dou Wu and the Empress-Dowager on the virtues of the future Emperor Ling: passage V of Yongkang 1. That Liu Shu, however, also died at this time: *HHS* 56/46:1834. Both should, of course, be also distinguished from the Liu Shu 劉淑 who was the grandfather, now dead, of Liu Hong, the new Emperor: passage V of Yongkang 1.

Wei Lang, with others, had been praised by Dou Wu in his memorial to Emperor Huan the year before: passage G of Yongkang 1. His biography is in *HHS* 67/57:2200-01, the Chapter on the Proscribed Party. A talented scholar, he was also an aggressive man: early in his career he was exiled from his home for fighting in a vendetta with naked weapons in the precincts of the county offices, and he had been an energetic Commandant of Jiuzhen commandery in the regions of present-day Vietnam. Emperor Huan admired him, but he was implicated in the First Faction Incident with Li Ying and his colleagues. Since that time he had remained out of office, but the favour of Dou Wu now served to condemn him. He took refuge at Niuzhu 牛渚 mountain by the Yangzi near present-day Nanjing, and there committed suicide.

O
⁷¹ *HHS* 10B:446 (7b), the Biography of the Empress Dou. *HHS* 10B, and parallel texts in *HHS* 69/59:2244 and *HHJ* 23:4a, all say that the Dowager was transferred to the Cloud Terrace (雲臺 *Yun tai*), which was a group of buildings on a raised platform: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 26-27. She was held there in house arrest.

[surviving] dependents of Dou Wu's family were exiled to Rinan.⁷²

- P All officials, from the excellencies and ministers downwards, who had been recommended by Chen Fan and Dou Wu or who had been their former officers and students, were now dismissed and proscribed from office.
- Q The Consultant Ba Su of Bohai had been involved at an early stage with Dou Wu's plans. Cao Jie and his colleagues did not know about it, so he was only proscribed from office. Later they found out, however, and orders were given for his arrest. Ba Su went of his own accord to the county office [of his home at Gaocheng in Bohai]. When the magistrate saw him, he brought him into a side chamber, took off his own seal and ribbon [of office], and suggested they go away together.
Ba Su said, "If a man is the servant of another, when he makes plans he does not dare to keep them secret from him, and when there is fault he does not seek to avoid punishment. Since I did not keep [my association with] Dou Wu's plans a secret, how can I dare to avoid his punishment?" And so he was executed.
- R Cao Jie was transferred to be Commandant of the Guards of the Palace of Prolonged Joy⁷³ and was enfeoffed as Marquis of Yuyang. Wang Fu was confirmed in his recent appointment as Regular Attendant and Prefect of the Yellow Gates. Zhu Yu, Gong Pu, Zhang Liang and others, six in all, were enfeoffed as marquises, and a further eleven eunuchs were given secondary marquises.⁷⁴

⁷² *HHS* 10B specifies the place of exile as Bijing 比景 county in Rinan commandery, the southernmost of the empire, about present-day Hué in Vietnam. This had also been designated as the place of exile for Liang Ji after his fall in 159: passage L of Yanxi 2.

P *HHJ* 23:4a.

Q *HHS* 67/57:2203 (14b), the Biography of Ba Su in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

R *HHS* 78/68:2524 (12b), the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

⁷³ As observed in note 19 above, Palace of Prolonged Joy was the name given to the residential apartments of the dowager. The Dowager Dou had just been moved to the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace (note 70 above), so those buildings were now described as the Palace of Perpetual Joy. As Commandant of the Guards, Cao Jie was responsible for her safety; or rather, in present circumstances, for her imprisonment.

⁷⁴ For his part in the enthronement of Emperor Ling, Cao Jie had already been made Marquis of Chang'an District: passage F above. According to *HHS* 78/68:2524, his pension at that time came from the tax revenue of six hundred households. His new marquise increased the revenue by the receipts from another three thousand households, while Zhu Yu's fief was given an income from 1500 households, the other five marquises each received 300 households, and the secondary marquises had a

- S So the mob of mean men gained what they wished, and the scholars and gentlemen all lost heart.[102]
- T An old friend of Chen Fan, Zhu Zhen of Chenliu, collected Chen Fan's corpse and buried it, and he also gave refuge and concealed his son Chen Yi.
The matter was discovered, Zhu Zhen was arrested and imprisoned, and his whole family was put in chains. Zhu Zhen was most brutally tortured, but he preferred to meet death rather than speak, and so Chen Yi was able to escape.
- U Hu Teng of Guiyang had been a Senior Clerk in Dou Wu's office. He placed Dou Wu's corpse in a coffin and carried out the funeral ceremonies. For this he was proscribed.
Dou Wu's grandson Dou Fu was at this time aged two *sui*. Hu Teng pretended that Dou Fu was his own child, and with the Foreman Clerk Zhang Chang of Nanyang they went to hide him in Lingling commandery. So his life was also spared.
- V Zhang Huan was appointed Minister of Finance and enfeoffed as a marquis for his good work. He was, however, extremely upset when he found out how he had been duped by Cao Jie and the eunuch party. He firmly refused [the fief].
- W The Excellency over the Masses Hu Guang was made Grand Tutor with control of the Secretariat.⁷⁵ The Excellency of Works Liu Chong

combined annual pension of two thousand *hu*, some 40,000 litres. We have not been given comparable figures for the value of the fiefs awarded to Dou Wu and his associates earlier in the year, but it appears that the eunuchs placed a higher value on their own services.

Among this group of eunuch nobility, however, the name of Wang Fu is absent. A long-time supporter and close associate of Cao Jie, he played a vital role in the coup against Dou Wu and Chen Fan, but for the time being he appears to have been content simply with maintenance of his former rank as a Regular Attendant, combined with the newly-acquired position as Prefect of the Yellow Gates which gave him close association with the emperor and formal control over all the eunuchs in his service: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64. Wang Fu was later enfeoffed for his part in the destruction of the unfortunate Liu Kui, brother of the late Emperor Huan: passage J of Xiping 1 below.

On secondary marquises (關內侯 *guannei hou*: also as "Marquis Within the Passes" and "Marquis Within the Imperial Domain"), see note 59 to Yanxi 9.

⁷⁵ As in note 2 above, when a Grand Tutor died the position was normally left vacant until a new appointment was made when the next emperor came to the throne. Hu

became Excellency over the Masses and the Minister Herald Xu Xu became Excellency of Works.

- 1813 In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *jiashen* [17 Dec], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.⁷⁶
 In the eleventh month the Grand Commandant Liu Ju left office. The Minister Herald Wenren Xi of Pei kingdom became Grand Commandant.
 In the twelfth month the Xianbi, together with the Hui and the Mo people, raided the two provinces You and Bing.
- X In this year Hede, younger uncle of the King of Shule, killed the king and took the throne for himself.⁷⁷
- Y Nanlou of Shanggu, a chieftain of the Wuhuan, had a following of more than nine thousand *luo* groups. Qiuliju of Liaoxi had a following of five thousand groups. Both men took title as kings. Supuyan of Liaodong, with a following of about a [103] thousand groups, styled himself the Severe King, and Wuyan of Youbeiping, with rather more

Guang's replacement of Chen Fan after his death at the hands of the eunuchs gave a useful degree of approval to the new regime.

S *HHS* 69/59:2244 (5a), the Biography of Dou Wu.

T *HHS* 66/56:2171 (9a-b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

U *HHS* 69/59:2244-45 (5a-b), the Biography of Dou Wu.

V *HHS* 65/55:2140 (9a), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

W *HHS* 8:329 (2a-b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

⁷⁶ This eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3301, and is mapped by Stephenson and Houlden, 213b.

The eclipse is recorded in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 108/18:3369, but the Treatise does not record the constellation in which the eclipse was observed, nor does it offer any prognostication. The commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 108/18:3361, however, discussing an eclipse in 70 AD [Yongping 13], quotes from *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, which says that an eclipse on a *jiachen* day foretells a period of rain and floods.

X *HHS* 88/78:2927 (22b-23a), the Account of the Western Regions.

⁷⁷ Shule was a city-state in the Western Regions near present-day Kashgar. *HHS* 88/78 provides further information: the King of Shule, an ally of China, was on a hunting expedition when he was shot and killed by Hede, who established an independent government. On later developments, see passage F of Jianning 3.

On the identification of Shule and its description in the time of Former Han, see Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 141-142.

than eight hundred groups, called himself Hanlu King.⁷⁸[104]

Y *HHS* 90/80:2984 (4a), the Account of the Wuhuan.

⁷⁸ On *luo* "household" groups, see note 36 to Yanxi 8. On the rise of these local chieftains in the northeast, see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 396 and 549 note 79, where it is suggested that the phrase transcribed as *Hanlu* may have been a rendering of a Wuhuan title equivalent to Shanyu or Khan.

Jianning 建寧 2: 169 AD:

15 February 169 - 3 February 170

- A In the spring, in the first month on the day *dingchou* [?] there was an amnesty for the empire.¹
- B The emperor brought [his natural mother] the Honoured Lady Dong from Hejian.
- C In the third month on the day *yisi* she was respectfully presented with the title of Xiaoren Empress, and lodged in the Palace of Perpetual Joy.²
- D Her elder brother Dong Chong was appointed Bearer of the Gilded Mace, and her nephew Dong Zhong became General of the Household for All Purposes.³
- E In the summer, in the fourth month on the day *renchen* [3 Jun] a dark snake appeared above the imperial throne. On the day *guisi* [4 Jun] there was a great wind, rain and hail, and thunderbolts. More than a hundred large trees were uprooted.⁴

A *HHS* 8:330 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

¹ The first day of this month was a *jiachen* day, cyclical number 41, and there was no *dingchou* day, cyclical number 14. There is evidently a miswriting.

HHS 8 describes this as a "great" amnesty, but Sima Guang has it simply as an amnesty. Cf. note 2 to Yongshou 3.

B *HHS* 10B:446 (7b), the Biography of the Dowager Dong.

C *HHS* 8:330 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

² The grant of title as Xiaoren Empress now matched the Lady Dong with her deceased husband, the father of Emperor Ling. For her previous position and treatment, see passage E and note 17 to Jianning 1.

HHS 10B:446, says that the Lady Dong took up residence in the Apartments of Excellent Virtue of the Southern Palace, and these were then named on her account as Palace of Perpetual Joy (*Yongle gong* 永樂宮): see Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 39, and compare note 19 to Jianning 1. The name "Perpetual Joy" had been used formerly, in similar circumstances, for the residence of the Lady Yan 嬪, mother of Emperor Huan: *HHS* 10B:442.

D *HHS* 10B:446 (8a), the Biography of the Dowager Dong; and *HHJ* 23:5a.

³ The positions of Bearer of the Mace and General of the Household were frequently used for members of the family of imperial relatives by marriage. Liang Ji and his father Liang Shang, for example, had each been at some time Bearer of the Mace, and Liang Ji was also General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger: *HHS* 34/24:1175 and 1178. Dou Shao, nephew of Dou Wu, had been General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger: *HHS* 69/59:2239.

E *HHJ* 23:5a-b.

1814 It was ordered that excellencies, ministers and junior officials should each send in sealed memorials.

F The Minister of Finance Zhang Huan wrote in as follows: "In former times the burial of the Duke of Zhou was [planned to be] held without proper rites, and Heaven showed its power."⁵

⁴ *HHS* 8:330, the Annals of Emperor Ling, has no reference to the appearance of the snake. We are told, however, of the wind, rain and hail, and of the request for sealed memorials.

The wind, rain and hail are also recorded by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 106/16:3335, where it is specified that the trees uprooted by the storm included those along avenues leading to the various suburban cult sites: Bodde, *Festivals*, 200. Bodde remarks that this misfortune could be, and no doubt was, interpreted as a sign of the loss of Heaven's favour for the dynasty; this is not, however, stated explicitly by the Treatise.

As the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes, there is confusion about the snake: beside the citation in *HHJ* 23, there are three other references.

- The Biography of Yang Ci at *HHS* 54/44:1776 tells how Yang Ci sent in a memorial on the appearance of a snake, and dates the event also to this year, Xiping 1: passage H below.
- The Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 107/15:3345, however, records the appearance of a snake above [on?] the imperial throne for the *jiawu* day of the fourth month of Xiping 1, being 20 May 172; the prognostication refers in general terms to the power held by the eunuchs and the weakness of the imperial house.
- Both *HHS* 65/55, the Biography of Zhang Huan, cited in passage F below, and *HHS* 57/47, the Biography of Xie Bi, cited in passage G below, date the snake portent to the summer of Jianning 2: 172.

If we are dealing with a single apparition, the records disagree whether it took place in this year, 169, or three years later, in 172. The memorials of Zhang Huan and Xie Bi refer particularly to the harshness with which Dou Wu and Chen Fan were regarded, and to the ill treatment of the Dowager Dou; such criticism was more topical in 169 than it was in 172. On the other hand, the Dowager died in 172, and there was controversy about the treatment she had received and the whether she was entitled to be buried in the tomb of Emperor Huan her former husband: passages D to F of Xiping 1. In 172, however, it appears that Zhang Huan was under political pressure for his opposition to the eunuchs, and he was perhaps less likely to have written in such terms: passage H of Xiping 1.

On weight of evidence, Sima Guang has accepted the date of *HHJ* 23 for the appearance of the snake, being the occasion for the memorial of Yang Ci as well as those of Zhang Huan and Xie Bi. However, though *HHJ* 23 and the biography of Zhang Huan in *HHS* 65/55 say that the creature appeared by the railings of the dais, *ZZTJ* follows *HHS* 107/15 and *HHS* 54/44 in describing the snake as appearing on or above the imperial throne 御坐上.

See further note 23 below, canvassing the possibility of two apparitions.

F *HHS* 65/55:2140-41 (9a-b), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

"Now Dou Wu and Chen Fan were loyal and upright, but they did not receive your imperial clemency, and that is the source of these evil omens. As a matter of urgency, they should be given proper burial, the members of their households and their dependents should be brought back from exile, and all those who have been condemned to suffer proscription on their behalf should be freed of that penalty.

"Furthermore, though the Dowager has residence in the Southern Palace, she is not being treated with appropriate grace and courtesy. None of the ministers at court will raise this matter, but people everywhere are concerned and upset. Your majesty should give thought to the great obligations, and return past kindness and care."⁶

The emperor was greatly impressed by Zhang Huan's words, and questioned the eunuchs. Since his attendants opposed any such idea, however, the emperor could not follow his inclinations.[105]

Again, Zhang Huan joined with the Master of Writing Liu Meng and others in presenting a joint recommendation that Wang Chang and Li Ying take part in selection of the Three Excellencies.⁷ Cao Jie and

⁵ Commentary to *HHS*, followed by that to *ZZTJ*, quotes a story from the *Shangshu dazhuan* 尚書大傳 "The Great Commentary to the *Classic of History*," 4:3a. (This work, ascribed to the scholar Fu Sheng 伏勝 of the third and second centuries BC, survives only in fragments.)

When the Duke of Zhou 周公 died, his nephew King Cheng 成 intended to bury him at Luoyang (here described as Chengzhou 成周). Heaven, however, sent a great storm of wind, rain and hail, uprooting trees and terrifying the people. King Cheng then changed the burial site to Bi 畢, the site of the tomb of King Wen 文: by this means the king showed that he regarded the late duke as a mentor rather than a subject.

A similar but rather more elaborate version of the story appears in *SJ* 33:1522; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 99-100.

⁶ The Dowager Dou was being held under house arrest in the Southern Palace: passage O of Jianning 1. Zhang Huan is reminding the emperor that he owes a duty to the lady as his titular "dynastic" mother, and also for arranging his accession.

Commentaries to *HHS* and *ZZTJ* note that Zhang Huan's expression 顧復之報 echoes the fourth stanza of the Lu 魯 Ode of *Shi jing* II.5.8; Legge, *CC* IV, 352 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 202 at 153):

O my father, who begat me!
 O my mother, who nourished me!.....
 Ye looked after me, ye never left me [顧我復我],
 Out and in ye bore me in your arms.

⁷ Li Ying was well known as an opponent of the eunuchs.

On Wang Chang as an associate of Li Ying and a protégé of Chen Fan, see passage U of Yanxi 8 and passage K of Yanxi 9. On his oppression of powerful

his associates were still more resentful of his proposals, so they had an edict sent down with a severe reprimand. Zhang Huan and his colleagues bound themselves and reported to the Ministry of Justice. After a few days, they were set free, having each bought remission of sentence by payment of three month's salary.

G The Gentleman of the Palace Xie Bi of Dong commandery sent in a sealed memorial as follows: "I have heard that

The cobras and other serpents

Are the auspicious intimations of daughters.⁸

Now it was the Dowager alone who decided matters within the inner apartments of the palace and brought your sage-like excellence to the throne. *The Classic of History* says:

The crimes of father or son, younger or elder brother, do not reach beyond the individual himself.⁹

How can the crimes of Dou Wu be imputed to the Dowager? Hidden away in an empty palace, suffering as if under hail and storm, her miseries have touched the heart of Heaven. How can your majesty face the world?

"Emperor Xiaohou did not cease his gracious treatment of the Lady

families, see passage V of Yanxi 8. He had been associated with the Dou family as Commandant of the Guards of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, then served for a short time as Excellency of Works during the Dou hegemony in the previous year: passages E and J of Jianning 1.

HHS 65/55 says that Zhang Huan had been transferred from Minister of Finance to Minister of Ceremonies.

G *HHS* 57/47:1858 (14b-16a), the Biography of Xie Bi.

8 From the seventh stanza of the *Sigan* 斯干 Ode of *Shi jing* II.4.5; Legge, *CC* IV, 306 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 189 at 131).

The commentary of Hu Sanxing cites this text as coming from the *Wuyang* 無羊 Ode, which comes immediately after the *Sigan* Ode; this, however, is a mistake.

9 Such a statement is ascribed to the *Kang gao* 康誥 "The Announcement to the Prince of Kang" Chapter of *Shu jing* at two places in *Zuo zhuan*, being Xi 33; Legge, *CC* V, 226 and Chao 20; Legge, *CC* V, 682 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 436, and *Chronique* III, 315). It does not, however, appear in the present text of *Shu jing*. The closest citation may be at *Shu jing* V.9, 16; Legge, *CC* III, 392 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 42), but that passage is really dealing with fathers and sons and brothers who fail to show proper family respect.

Han legal practice, however, based upon the laws of Qin, accepted the principle of collective responsibility, which could be applied to parents: e.g. Hulsewé, *RHL*, 112 ff, and "Ch'in and Han Law," 523.

Dou [after the destruction of Dou Xian],¹⁰ and the people of the time approved his fine conduct.

"According to the requirements of ritual, he who succeeds another takes position as his son.¹¹ Emperor Huan being thus in position to you as a father; how can you fail to treat the Dowager as your mother?

"I would wish that your majesty respect the influence of the moral teaching of Youyu [the sage Emperor Shun],¹² and take thought of the reminders offered by the Kaifeng Ode on the gentle treatment which is owed to a mother.¹³

1815 "I have also heard it said that: 'Men of mean spirit are of no use for

10 The Biography of the Empress Dou of Emperor Zhang, who, as Dowager, formally controlled the government in the first years of the reign of Emperor He, is in *HHS* 10A:415-16; that of her brother Dou Xian is in *HHS* 23/13:813-21.

In 92 Emperor He arranged a coup which destroyed the Dou family, but though Dou Xian and his brothers were compelled to commit suicide, the Dowager Dou continued to be treated with respect. When she died in 97, moreover, it was revealed that she had been responsible for the death of his natural mother, the Honoured Lady Liang. Emperor He was advised by his senior officials that he should strip her of her title and bury her in a tomb apart from her husband the late Emperor Zhang, but he issued an edict rejecting this proposal, referring to the requirements of ritual and the great obligations (大義 *da yi*), and the Lady Dou was buried with her husband in full funerary state.

11 The modern edition of *ZZTJ* punctuates this expression as a quotation from *Li [ji]*, but *HHS* 57/47 does not agree. Such a text is found in the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*, Zheng 1, but not in *Li ji* itself. It may best be interpreted as a general statement of principle.

12 Youyu 有虞 was a name borne by the mythical Emperor Shun 舜, Yu being apparently his dynastic title: Legge, *CC* III, 29-31 note.

In the *Yao dian* 堯典 "The Canon of Yao" Chapter of *Shu jing*, I.3, 12; Legge, *CC* III, 26 (Karlgrén, *Documents*, 4), it is recorded that Emperor Yao enquired about the character of Shun, and was told that his father, step-mother and half-brother were all of poor moral quality, but that because of his filial piety Shun had been able to live in harmony with them, and to lead them gradually to reform, so that they no longer acted wrongly.

The phrase *zhengzheng* 蒸蒸 used here by Xie Bi, which appears in *Shu jing* in the variant form 烝烝, is interpreted by Chinese commentators as indicating high moral quality based upon filial piety. See, for example, Tang commentary to *HHS* 57/47 which, however, ascribes the reference mistakenly to the *Shun dian* 舜典 "The Canon of Shun" Chapter of *Shu jing*).

13 The *Kaifeng* 凱風 Ode of *Shi jing*, I.3.7, is rendered by Legge, *CC* IV, 50-51, and by Karlgrén, *Odes*, 32 at 20. It refers to seven sons concerned about the toil and pain suffered by their mother, and their own inability to bring her ease.

developing the state or for maintaining a household.¹⁴

"Now there are worthy subjects who have long been kept at a distance, and have received no appointments or positions. On the other hand, you have granted great fiefs to your wet-nurse and to your personal favourites,¹⁵ and the great wind, the rain and the hail may also have appeared for this reason.[106]

"Moreover, the former Grand Tutor Chen Fan gave all his strength for your imperial house, but then he was suddenly attacked by a horde of evil men and was cruelly and unlawfully destroyed. This was such a shock as to affect all the empire. And now his students and former subordinates are also suffering proscription. As the man himself is gone, another hundred lives cannot redeem him.¹⁶ You should permit the return of his family and dependents, and you should release the bonds of proscription.

"Now the chief ministers are extremely important, and the fortunes of the state depend upon them. Among the four excellencies at the present time, only the Excellency of Works Liu Chong is completely honest and worthy.¹⁷ All the rest of them are false, men who encourage rebellion and who draw their stipend without working for it. Inevitably,

14 From *Yi jing*, hexagram Shi 師, sixth line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 36:

The Great prince issues commands,
Founds states, vests families with fiefs.
Inferior people should not be employed.

15 On the enfeoffment of the members of the eunuch party after the overthrow of Dou Wu and Chen Fan, see passage R of Jianning 1.

The expression Amu 阿母 here indicates the wet-nurse (乳母 *rumu*) of Emperor Ling, the Lady Zhao Rao. On her influence at court, see passage K of Jianning 1. Though there is no record of her title, it appears that she too had received a fief.

16 Xie Bi here presents an elegant reference to the *Huang niao* 黃鳥 Ode of *Shu jing*, I.9.6; Legge, *CC* IV, 198-200 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 131 at 84). This "Yellow Bird" Ode tells how at the funeral of Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公 his senior officers were compelled to follow him to the grave. It expresses sorrow at their fate, and it is generally interpreted as a criticism of an ancient barbaric custom. The last lines of each stanza are rendered by Legge as

Could he have been redeemed,
We should have given a hundred lives for him.

Xie Bi is saying that Chen Fan, like the unfortunate ministers of Qin, was not redeemed and is now dead; but the government, through proscription, is nonetheless requiring the hundred [official] lives of his innocent associates.

17 "Four excellencies" here indicates the regular Three Excellencies, being the Grand Commandant Wenren Xi, the Excellency over the Masses Liu Chong, and the Excellency of Works Xu Xu, plus the Grand Tutor Hu Guang: see note 2 to Jianning 1.

they 'break the tripod of the cauldron and overturn the gruel'.¹⁸ They should be dismissed on account of the ill omens. If you summon the former Excellency of Works Wang Chang, and the Steward of the Palace of Prolonged Joy Li Ying, they are both worthy to guide the affairs of state, and this medley of disasters and dangers will cease. The prosperity of the state may be established for a long time to come."

The eunuch attendants intensely disliked these proposals. Xie Bi was sent away to be Assistant in Guangling commandery, but left that post and returned home. Cao Shao, nephew of Cao Jie, was Administrator of Dong commandery, and he found some other pretext to arrest Xie Bi. Xie Bi was flogged to death in prison.

- H The emperor asked the Minister of the Imperial Household Yang Ci about the strange appearance of the snake, and Yang Ci sent in a sealed memorial, saying: "Now good things do not come without cause, nor misfortune without reason. If the man who rules as king has some intention in his mind, even though this is not yet expressed in his countenance, nevertheless the planets are influenced by it, and the *Yin* and *Yang* are affected in their changes.

"Now sovereign perfection has not been achieved, and so there come the portents of dragons and snakes.¹⁹ The Odes say that

18 From *Yi jing*, hexagram Ding 鼎, fourth line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 209:

The legs of the cauldron are broken.
The prince's meal is spilled
And his person is soiled.
Misfortune.

The commentary of Li Xian identifies the cauldron (鼎 *ding*) as referring to the senior ministers.

The term *zhikou* 致寇, "encouraging rebels," also reflects *Yi jing*, hexagram Jie 解, third line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 167:

If a man carries a burden on his back
And nonetheless rides in a carriage,
He thereby encourages robbers to draw near.
Perseverance leads to humiliation.

This is explained by Wilhelm as referring to

...a man who has come out of needy circumstances into comfort and freedom from want. If now, in the manner of an upstart, he tries to take his ease in comfortable surroundings that do not suit his nature, he thereby attracts robbers. And if he goes on thus, he is sure to bring disgrace upon himself.

Read in this fashion, the reference is very pointed against the new Emperor Ling.

- H *HHS* 54/44:1776 (12b-13b), the Biography of Yang Ci.

The cobras and other serpents

Are the auspicious intimations of daughters.²⁰

If only your majesty would meditate upon the true Way which, having the nature of the hexagram Qian,²¹ is hard and enduring, and make proper distinction between your [107] responsibilities within the palace and those toward your government. Restrain the power of those great ministers like Huangfu, and curb your affection for beautiful consorts.²²

"If you do this, then the effects of the snake omen may be dispelled, and auspicious portents brought to take their place."²³

19 The *Hong fan* 洪範 "The Great Plan" Chapter of *Shu jing* V.4, 9 to 16; Legge, *CC III*, 328-333 (Karlgrén, *Documents*, 30), discusses how the sovereign (皇 *huang*) may establish (建 *jian*) perfection (極 *ji*).

20 Cf. passage G and note 8 above, where this same quotation is used by Xie Bi. Xie Bi, however, used it to refer to the need to be more lenient to the Dowager Dou; Yang Ci, below, has it as a reference to the dangers of the harem.

21 From *Yi jing*, hexagram Qian 乾; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 5:

The movement of Heaven is full of power,

Thus the superior man makes himself strong and untiring.

22 The *Shiyue zhi jiao* 十月之交皇父卿士 Ode of *Shi jing* II.4.9; Legge, *CC IV*, 320-325 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 193 at 138-140), represents a criticism of the government of the Zhou dynasty under King You 幽 of the eighth century BC.

In the first line of the fourth stanza there is reference to 皇父卿士 "Huangfu the president" (or "prime minister") and in the last line to 豔妻 "the beautiful wife." Tradition interprets Huangfu (written in alternative form 皇甫 in this memorial of Yang Ci) as being a favourite of the King, and the beautiful wife is his consort Baosi 褒姒: both were regarded as responsible for the errors of his administration. See also note 5 to Yanxi 9 above.

The first line of the fifth stanza, 抑此皇父, is rendered by Legge simply as "This Huangfu," with the character 抑 *yi* understood as no more than an introductory particle. Yang Ci, however, echoing that line, advises that Emperor Ling should 抑皇父之權, using the alternative reading of *yi* as the verb "to repress, restrain."

23 Note 4 above discusses the dating of the snake omen which is said to have inspired this memorial of Yang Ci, as well as those of Zhang Huan and Xie Bi cited in passages F and G above.

If all three memorials were written at the same time, however, it is a little surprising that Zhang Huan and Xie Bi should concentrate such attention upon the misfortunes of the Dowager, the Dou family and Chen Fan, while Yang Ci's memorial, more fully preserved in *HHS* 54/44, does not mention that topic but rather criticises the emperor's favouritism for the eunuchs and his interest in his harem.

From that point of view, the memorial of Yang Ci fits better with a date of 172: on the one hand, the matter of the Dowager had largely ended with her death and burial the year before, while criticism of the emperor for his interest in his harem seems more

1816 Yang Ci was the son of Yang Bing.

I In the fifth month the Grand Commandant Wenren Xi and the Excellency of Works Xu Xu left office.²⁴ In the sixth month, the Excellency over the Masses Liu Chong became Grand Commandant, the Minister of Ceremonies Xu Xun became Excellency over the Masses, and the Minister Coachman Liu Ao of Changsha became Excellency of Works.

J Liu Ao had always been a follower of the Regular Attendants, and it was for this reason that he came to rank among the excellencies.²⁵

K An imperial edict sent the Internuncio Feng Shan to persuade the rebel Qiang scattered about in Hanyang to surrender.

Duan Jiong argued that since it was the time of spring farming the people would be spread across the countryside, and that although the Qiang had made a temporary surrender they would certainly begin their ravages again, for the county offices had no stores of grain. The best policy, therefore, was to take advantage of their present weakness and launch a further attack against them. Their power would surely be smashed.

likely to have been warranted in 172, when he was aged 17 *sui*, than in 169, when he was 14 *sui*, only twelve or thirteen by Western reckoning.

All three memorials, however, concern themselves with a snake portent, and Sima Guang has assumed, quite reasonably, that such a phenomenon occurred only once at this time. It may be, however, that there were in fact two: one in 169, as recorded by *HHJ*, and inspiring the memorials of Zhang Huan and Xie Bi; followed by a similar incident in 172, which was recorded in the Treatise and gave occasion for the memorial of Yang Ci.

24 In *HHS* 8, Wenren Xi's departure from office is described by the character 罷 *ba*, and that of Xu Xu by the character 免 *mian*. Though *ba* could be interpreted as dismissal and *mian* as voluntary retirement from office, Sima Guang appears to use the characters without distinction, and *bamian* is now a commonly used compound. The two terms appear interchangeable.

It will be recalled that both these men, with the Grand Tutor Hu Guang, had been criticised in the memorial of Xie Bi: passage G and note 17 above.

J From the *Fengsu tong* [yi] 風俗通義 of Ying Shao 應劭, cited by the commentary of the Qing scholar Hui Dong to *HHSJJ* 8:2b [330].

25 The Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 103/13:3282 lists a number of officials as being close associates of the eunuch faction during the last years of the reign of Emperor Huan. The list includes Liu Ao, described as Steward of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, which was the residence of the Dowager Dou: passage E and note 19 to Jianning 1. He must have taken up that post after the death of Emperor Huan.

So Duan Jiong took personal command, and advanced his positions to some forty or fifty *li* from Fanting Mountain, where the Qiang were encamped.²⁶ He sent the Major of Cavalry Tian Yan and the Brevet Major Xia Yu,²⁷ leading five thousand men, to go forward, attack and defeat them. The Qiang scattered and fled to the east, but gathered again at Shehu/Shoot Tiger Valley, setting armed guards at the upper and lower entrances.

Duan Jiong planned to destroy every one of them, and did not wish them to have any possibility of scattering and fleeing again.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, Duan Jiong sent a thousand men to Xi county to construct a barrier of trees against them, twenty feet across and forty *li* long.²⁸ Then he sent a detachment of seven

K *HHS* 65/55:2152-53 (17a-18b), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

26 The account of this campaign in *HHS* 65/55 has been translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 78-80, and it is discussed in deC, *Northern Frontier*, 140-141 and Map 4 at 138.

27 The military ranks of Duan Jiong's officers Tian Yan and Xia Yu have been given earlier in *HHS* 65/55 at 2150, describing the campaign of the summer of 168 which is summarised in passage I of Jianning 1.

The significance of the prefix 假 *jia* to the title of Major (司馬 *sima*) held by Xia Yu is not entirely clear. The Treatise of Officials at *HHS* 114/24:3564 describes it as "Assistant" (副貳 *fu'er*), but Bielenstein understands it as "Acting," comparable to the expression 行 *xing*: *Bureaucracy*, 121.

Largely agreeing with Bielenstein, I believe the term *jia* could be used to indicate an exceptional (and hence indeed short-term) appointment. The term "brevet," which was used in the British Army before the Second World War to indicate appointment above an officer's substantive position, may thus be an appropriate rendering. See further in deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 45-46.

28 The character here rendered as "barrier" is 柵 *zha*, which commonly refers to a fence or lattice work, and could indicate a simple palisade. The thickness of the work, however, being some seven and a half feet, more than 2.3 metres, indicates that it took the form of an abatis: a mass of felled trees with the branches pointing towards the enemy. This would be have been faster to construct and easier to defend than a single palisade.

Xi county in Hanyang commandery was south of the Wei River, while Fanting Mountain, the site of the recent defeat of the Qiang, is identified with a peak of the Liupan range north of the river on the border between present-day Gansu and Shenxi. The site of Shehu/Shoot Tiger Valley as below, however, has been a matter of debate.

In *Northern Frontier*, 491 note 18, I argue that the valley was probably south of the Wei. I suggest that the abatis was intended to prevent the Qiang seeking further refuge in the mountain country of the Qin Ling, and if it had been the north of the river such a barricade, even if it was over twelve miles or twenty kilometres long, would not have blocked off a sufficient number of possible escape routes.

thousand under the command of Tian Yan, Xia Yu and other officers, all with gags in their mouths,²⁹ on a night march to climb the mountains on the [108] west [of the valley], where they set camps and dug ditches about one *li* from the enemy. And he also sent the Major Zhang Kai and others, with three thousand men, to climb the mountains to the east.

The Qiang discovered this, and Duan Jiong thereupon joined Zhang Kai and his colleagues in an attack on the heights both east and west. The enemy were defeated in a full-scale assault, and were pursued [in both directions, from the middle of Shehu Valley] to the upper and lower passes, and through the mountains and the depths of the valleys.³⁰

1817 In every place the Qiang were routed, and Duan Jiong's men took the heads of nineteen thousand people, from the leaders downwards.

Four thousand men had surrendered to Feng Shan and his mission, and were settled separately in the three commanderies of Anding, Hanyang and Longxi.

This interpretation requires the earlier statement, that the Qiang fled east from Fanting Mountain, be disregarded: but since Xi county certainly lay essentially southwest of Fanting Mountain, it is hard to see how it can be correct. If the Qiang had gone east, not only would they have been nowhere near Xi county but they would have come closer to the centres of Chinese power and to Duan Jiong's own base. It might be suggested that the Qiang in fact fled east and that Duan Jiong then set the abatis to the "west," behind them; but the text and the commentary of *HHS* 65/55 both define the character 西 *xi* as the name of the county, and that emendation seems less likely.

29 There are several references to the placing of gags in the mouths of troops on a march when secrecy was required, in order to avoid the possibility of anyone breaking silence by accident or foolishness. It is, perhaps, rather a literary cliché than a reflection of common practice.

30 Curiously, though the text of *ZZTJ* has many of the same characters as the source in *HHS*, the effect of the description is different.

HHS 65/55:2153; Young, *Three Generals*, 79-80, says that the Qiang sent men to block the tracks between Tian Yan's forces and the river below them, to cut them off from their water supply. Duan Jiong then attacked along the river, and when the Qiang were driven back from their sortie they were exposed to attack from Tian Yan and from Zhang Kai. *ZZTJ*, however, omits all reference to these preliminaries, and implies that Duan Jiong came immediately with his main force to join Zhang Kai.

As a result of this attack, it appears that the Qiang were defeated on the heights, and Duan Jiong's forces thus broke into Shehu Valley. They then rolled up the defences from the centre, so that the pickets which had been set up at the expected entrance passes were taken from the rear. Rather than a natural fortress, the valley became a well-enclosed killing ground.

As a result of this, the Eastern Qiang were completely pacified.³¹

Altogether, Duan Jiong had fought one hundred and eighty engagements, had killed thirty-eight thousand of the enemy, and captured 427,000 head of various domestic and herding animals.³² The expenses of the campaign were over 4,400 million cash,³³ and rather more than four hundred of the men in his army had died. Duan Jiong's enfeoffment was changed to Marquis of Xinfeng county, with an estate of ten thousand households.³⁴

L Your servant Sima Guang remarks:
Heaven and Earth are the parents of all creatures, and the most highly endowed of these is man. The sincere, intelligent and perspicacious among men becomes the great sovereign, and the great sovereign is parent of the people."³⁵

Now the assorted barbarians in the various directions may have

³¹ After his campaigns two years earlier Duan Jiong had been credited with the pacification of the Western Qiang, on the frontier past the Yellow River: passage B of Yongkang 1.

³² *HHS* 65/55 specifies these animals, here described by the general term of 畜 *chu*, as including cattle, horses, sheep, donkeys, mules and camels.

In a more accurate accounting, *HHS* gives the figure of 427,500 head of animals, and 38,600 heads of the enemy; one is impressed with the attention to detail of the early records, but Sima Guang was content with a rounder number.

³³ The original budget for the operation, proposed to Emperor Huan and confirmed to the regency government, had called for expenditure of 5,400 million cash: passage D and then passage I of Jianning 1. Duan Jiong had also undertaken to complete the program in two and a half years ("three winters and two summers"). In fact, from the time of the original proposal to Emperor Huan in the latter half of 167 to the final massacre at Shehu Valley, just two years had elapsed.

³⁴ After his previous victory in the west Duan Jiong had been made marquis of a chief district, with revenue based upon the taxation of five hundred households. Xinfeng was a full county, in Jingzhao, east of Chang'an, and the value of the new fief was twenty times that of the old.

L Comment written by Sima Guang.

³⁵ From the first part of the *Tai shi* 泰誓 "Great Declaration" Chapter of *Shu jing*, V.1A, 3; Legge, *CC* III, 283-284.

This is the first chapter of the Zhou 周 section of the classic, and records the speech attributed to the future King Wu 武 of Zhou, describing the wickedness of the government of King Zhou 紂 of Shang 商/Yin 殷, and the justice of his campaign of conquest against that state.

natures that are different [to the Chinese],³⁶ but they still seek for advantage and would avoid harm, they love life and they hate death. In this, they are the same as other men.

In governing them, if one follows the right way, then they will be submissive and obedient; if one follows the wrong way they become rebellious and disturbed. This is quite appropriate and natural.

For this reason, the rule of the former kings provided that the barbarians were punished if they were rebellious, but treated with kindness if they were submissive. [109] Held in place on the four frontiers, they were not permitted to disturb the [Chinese] nation of ceremony and right conduct. That is all there is to it.

But how can one speak of the attitude of a parent if these people are regarded merely as animals or as grass and brambles; if no thought is taken as to whether or not they are behaving well, if no distinction is made between them, and if they are simply mown down or slaughtered indiscriminately?

Now the reason for the rebellions of the Qiang was that they had been oppressed and wrongly persecuted by the administrators of the commanderies and counties. The reason they had been able to rebel and had not been promptly suppressed was that the military commanders were incompetent.

If only good officers had been sent to drive them away beyond the frontiers, and if only good officials had been selected to shepherd them, there would surely have been no need for the officials in charge of border affairs to have taken such pleasure in that multitude of killings.

In government, the right way was not followed, so that even true Chinese were stirred up like a swarm of bees and so brought to rebellion and banditry. Should they too have all been executed?³⁷

In this respect, though Duan Jiming achieved good work in his victorious campaigns, no true gentleman could approve his conduct as a military commander.

M In the ninth month the barbarians of Jiangxia made a rebellion. The

³⁶ Sima Guang here lists the traditional four groups of non-Chinese peoples: the Man 蠻 of the south, the Yi 夷 of the east, the Rong 戎 of the west and the Di 狄 of the north: e.g. *Zuo zhuan*, Cheng 2; Legge, *CC V*, 343 and 349 (Couvreur, *Chronique II*, 33).

³⁷ Sima Guang evidently refers to the general uncertainty and discontent among the Chinese people of the northwest (here described as 華夏 *huaxia*), which culminated in the great rebellion of Liang province in 184: passage DD of Zhongping 1 and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 146-162.

provincial and commandery forces attacked and pacified them.

The Shanyue hills people of Danyang commandery besieged the Administrator Chen Yin. Chen Yin attacked and defeated them.³⁸

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N Before this, though Li Ying and his colleagues had been dismissed and proscribed from office [in 167],³⁹ all the scholars and gentlemen of the empire paid the highest respect to their conduct and cast all blame upon the court. They sought anxiously to emulate them, and were only concerned that they might fail to match their fine example.

Then people got together to publish lists which allocated titles [to the distinguished men of the empire]:⁴⁰[110]

Dou Wu, Chen Fan and Liu Shu were the Three Lords: "lord"

M *HHS* 8:330 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

38 The people known as Shanyue 山越 inhabited the hill country south of the Yangzi, in the region of present-day Zhejiang and southern Anhui and Jiangsu. The designation *yue* came from their position in the south and east, as in the kingdom of that name in the *Chunqiu* period, and the later states contemporary with Former Han, Minyue 閩越 and Dongyue 東越, in the region of present-day southern Zhejiang and Fujian province, and Nanyue 南越, which controlled Guangdong and the far south through most of the second century BC: see, for example, *SJ* 41:1739; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 418-448, and *HS* 95:2859-63 and 2847-59. It appears that the term could be used as a general description of non-Chinese people inhabiting the south-eastern and southern seaboard.

The capital of Danyang commandery under Later Han was at Wanling 宛陵, present-day Xuancheng in Anhui.

During the last years of Han, and notably at the beginning of the third century AD, there are increasingly frequent reports of disturbances from the Shanyue and of campaigns against them by Chinese forces. It is probable that this reflected a response of the hills people against developing pressure of Chinese immigration into this region of the lower Yangzi; it does not necessarily indicate that the native people themselves were particularly aggressive.

N *HHS* 67/57:2195-96 (10a-b), the Biography of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party;

and *HHS* 67/57:2187 (4a-b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

39 On this First Faction Incident, see passages Y to FF of Yanxi 9, and passages J and K of Yongkang 1.

40 The interpolation is taken from *HHS* 67/57:2187.

The compound expression 標榜 *biaobang* appears to have indicated a list displayed on placards. In the categories given below, my translations render the following special terms in the original: "lord" = 君 *jun*; "hero" = 俊 *jun*; "exemplar" = 顧 *gu*; "guide" = 及 *ji*; "treasurer" = 廚 *chu*. The characters transcribed *jun* are pronounced in different tones in Modern Standard Chinese, and would have been sounded differently in Later Han times: Karlgren, *GSR* 459a and 468t.

describes a person whose example the whole world might follow.⁴¹

Li Ying, Xun Yi, Du Mi, Wang Chang, Liu You, Wei Lang, Zhao Dian and Zhu Yu were the Eight Heroes: "hero" means a courageous man.⁴²

41 The biography of Liu Shu 劉淑 is in *HHS* 67/57:2190. A man from Hejian, the same commandery as Emperor Ling's family, he must, of course, be distinguished from the grandfather of the emperor, whose personal name was identical (passages V of Yongkang 1 and E of Jianning 1); and from Liu Shu 劉儵, also a man from Hejian, who had advised on the choice of Liu Hong as emperor and then escorted him to Luoyang (passage V of Yongkang 1): note 70 to Jianning 2.

The Liu Shu praised as a "lord" made his reputation as a scholar of the classics, with skill interpreting portents. He became a Palace Attendant and General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger, and in the time of the Dou regency he urged the elimination of the eunuchs. After the fall of Dou Wu and Chen Fan he was compelled to commit suicide: passage N of Jianning 1.

42 The personal name of Xun Yi 荀翊/翌 regularly appears as Yu 昱 in *HHS* and in *HHJ* 23:7b. *HHS* 8:330, however, refers to him as Xun Yi, and Sima Guang preferred that reading. His biography is in *HHS* 62/52:2050. A man from a great family of Yingchuan, he had been a firm opponent of the eunuchs and their clients when he was local administrator in Pei kingdom and in Guangling, and he was later associated with Dou Wu's plans for a coup against them.

The biography of Du Mi is in *HHS* 67/57:2197-98. A man from Yingchuan, he had been implicated in the First Faction Incident (passages AA and FF of Yanxi 9), but was restored to office during the Dou regency (passage K of Jianning 1).

The biography of Wang Chang is in *HHS* 56/46:1823-26. A man from Shanyang, he had earlier been praised by the students of the Imperial University for his firm, even cruel, control of powerful groups in Nanyang commandery (passages V of Yanxi 8 and K of Yanxi 9). He was Excellency of Works for a time during the Dou regency (passages E and J of Jianning 1). He died at home during the course of this year, Jianning 2.

The biography of Liu You is in *HHS* 67/57:2199-2200. A man from Zhongshan, he had a wide official career in the provinces and at the capital, at one time impeaching a nephew of Liang Ji. In 165, as Minister of Finance, he sent in a proposal for the confiscation of eunuch properties, but was imprisoned for his pains (passages L, Z and AA of Yanxi 8). He was appointed Intendant of Henan by the Dou group as they were preparing to move against the eunuchs (passage K of Jianning 1 at 1809) but was dismissed after the coup and died at home early in Jianning 2.

The biography of Wei Lang is in *HHS* 67/57:2200-01. A man of family from Kuaiji, he had been Administrator in the southern commandery of Jiuzhen (passage B of Yongshou 3), and was later a Master of Writing at the capital. He was compelled to commit suicide after the overthrow of Dou Wu and Chen Fan (passage N of Jianning 1).

Guo Tai, Fan Pang, Yin Xun and Ba Su, together with Zong Ci of Nanyang, Xia Fu of Chenliu, Cai Yan of Runan and Yang Zhi of Taishan, were the Eight Exemplars: "exemplar" means a person who is able to influence others by his virtuous conduct.⁴³

The biography of Zhao Dian is in *HHS* 27/17:948-49. A man from Shu commandery, he was the son of a former Grand Commandant and successor to his fief as a marquis. He held several ministerial posts, and was celebrated for his sense of honour and direct admonitions. He was Steward of the Palace of Prolonged Joy and then Minister of the Guards during the Dou regency, and was recommended for the post of Grand Tutor. About this time, however, he died. [Curiously, despite this information being available in in *HHS* 27/17, the introduction to the Chapter on the Proscribed Party, *HHS* 67/57 at 2190, says that nothing more is known of him than his name.]

Zhu Yu, a man from Pei kingdom, had been made Director of Retainers under the Dou regency at the time of the planned coup against the eunuchs (passage K of Jianning 1 at 1809).

43 The biography of Guo Tai is in *HHS* 68/58:2225-27. A man from Taiyuan, he became a leader of the students at the capital, celebrated for his skill at judging character (passages B to L of Yanxi 7). He died in the spring of Jianning 2, at the age of forty-two *sui*.

The biography of Fan Pang is in *HHS* 67/57:2203-08. A man from Runan, he made his reputation as an opponent of powerful families in the provinces (passage T of Yanxi 2). He was involved in the First Faction Incident as an opponent of the eunuchs (passage CC of Yanxi 9). Thereafter he remained in retirement (passage L of Yongkang 1).

Yin Xun was a man from a long-established official family of Henan. Director of the Secretariat at the time of Emperor Huan's coup against Liang Ji in 159, he was enfeoffed for his assistance at that time (passages L and Q of Yanxi 2). As Administrator of Runan, he spoke in favour of Fan Pang and other men of the commandery involved in the First Faction Incident. He was a close associate of Dou Wu against the eunuchs, and was killed at the time of the coup: (passage K of Jianning 1). There is a biography of Yin Xun in *HHS* 67/57:2208, and another is provided as supplement to that of Liu Yu in *HHS* 57/47:1857-58. The authority of the main biography, however, is questionable on some points: firstly, it describes Yin Xun as Minister for Finance in the time of the Dou regency, where other sources, more convincingly, have him as Director of the Secretariat (note 43 to Jianning 1); secondly, it says that he was sent to prison and committed suicide after the failure of the coup against the eunuchs, while the biography of Dou Wu, again more circum-stantially, says that he was killed by the eunuch Wang Fu during the course of that operation (passage K of Jianning 1 citing *HHS* 69/59:2243).

The biography of Ba Su is in *HHS* 67/57:2203. A man from Bohai, he twice held positions as magistrate of a county, but resigned each time because he disapproved of the character of his superiors. He later took junior office at the capital, and was involved in the planning of the coup by Dou Wu and Chen Fan against the eunuchs.

Zhang Jian, Zhai Chao, Cen Zhi and Yuan Kang, together with Liu Biao of Shanyang, Chen Xiang of Runan, Kong Yu of Lu kingdom and Tan Fu of Shanyang, were the Eight Guides: "guide" means a person who is able to lead others to follow those of good example.⁴⁴

After that failed, he shared the penalty of the leading conspirators (passage Q of Jianning 1). His biography adds that the Inspector Jia Cong 賈琮 was so impressed with his conduct he erected a stele in his honour.

The biography of Zong Ci is in *HHS* 67/57:2202-03. He was frequently recommended for office without accepting, and on the one occasion that he became a local magistrate in Henei he resigned in protest at the corruption of the Administrator. He later accepted an invitation to take a position at the capital but died on the road. He had a high reputation for his sense of honour among the scholars and gentry of Nanyang.

The biography of Xia Fu is in *HHS* 67/57:2201-02. He had a local reputation for scholarship and for independence from great families and the eunuchs.

The biography of Cai Yan is in *HHS* 67/57:2208-09. He had reputation as a scholar and as a good influence in his community. During the 150s he became Inspector of Ji province and opposed unlawful pressures from the eunuchs and from Liang Ji. Later, in 166 during Emperor Huan's government, he was dismissed for arguing on behalf of Cheng Jin, the Administrator of Nanyang accused by the eunuchs (passage U of Yanxi 9). He was appointed again to court by the Dou regency, but died of illness soon afterwards.

The biography of Yang Zhi is in *HHS* 67/57:2209. He was a man of old official family, who had held office but was proscribed after the fall of Li Gu in 147 (notes 75 to Yanxi 2 and 1 to Yanxi 3). He later became Inspector of Ji province and then Director of the Secretariat. He refused association with the eunuchs' supporters, and later, as Intendant of Henan, he made enemies for his strict treatment of the powerful families. Dismissed from office at the time of the First Faction Incident in 166-167, he died at home.

- 44 The biography of Zhang Jian is in *HHS* 67/57:2210-11. A man of Shanyang, he came to prominence as a local Investigator for his attack on the property of the eunuch Hou Lan (passage P of Yanxi 9).

Zhai Chao was the Administrator of Shanyang who appointed Zhang Jian and then supported him against Hou Lan. He had been dismissed and sent to convict service in 166 (passages P, Q and R of Yanxi 9).

The biography of Cen Zhi is in *HHS* 67/57:2212-13. A man from Nanyang, he had studied at Luoyang and was well-known among the leading scholars and officials there. He came to prominence as Officer of Merit in his commandery for strict and honest judgement of character: passages I and K of Yanxi 9. After the arrest of Cheng Jin, the Administrator who had appointed and supported him, he fled into hiding: passage W of Yanxi 9.

The biography of Yuan Kang is in *HHS* 67/57:2214; his surname Yuan 苑 is sometimes mistakenly written as Fan 范. A man from Bohai, he was praised, with

Du Shang, together with Zhang Miao and Wang Xiao of Dongping, Liu Ru of Dong commandery, Humu Ban of Taishan, Qin Zhou of Chenliu, Pi Xiang of Lu kingdom and Wang Zhang of Donglai, were the Eight Treasurers: "treasurer" means a person who is able to rescue people by means of his wealth.⁴⁵

others on this list, by Dou Wu in his memorial of 167: passage G to Yongkang 1. He was at that time a Gentleman in the Secretariat. Previously, as magistrate of Yingyin 穎陰, home county of the celebrated Xun 荀 family, he changed the name of their village to recognise their talents: *HHS* 62/52:2050. Then, as Administrator of Taishan, he supported and co-operated in the attacks of Zhai Chao and Zhang Jian against the clients of the eunuch Hou Lan; for this he was dismissed, imprisoned and then exiled to the far south. He returned, however, and eventually died at home.

There is a biography of Liu Biao in *HHS* 74/64B:2419-25, and another in *SGZ* 6:210-213. An associate of Zhang Jian, he traced his descent to the imperial house. Some thirty years later, during the civil wars at the end of Han, he became effectively independent as warlord Governor of Jing province.

The biography of Chen Xiang is in *HHS* 67/57:2213. A man of good family, he had, as an Imperial Clerk, sought to impeach Liang Ji for abuse of power. He was later Administrator of Dingxiang commandery, close to the northern frontier, and then Inspector of Yang province, where he had two administrators of the eunuch party sent to prison for wrongdoing. He became Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, head of the censorate, but was implicated in the First Faction Incident (passage AA to Yanxi 9). After a period of detention and torture in the Northern Prison of the Yellow Gates, he was allowed free, and died at home.

The biography of Kong Yu is in *HHS* 67/57:2213. Many members of his family had held official posts since the time of Former Han, and he himself inherited a marquisate. He was recommended several times for office but refused to accept. He was implicated in the First Faction Incident and proscribed, but became Prefect of Luoyang during the Dou regency. He left office in mourning for his teacher, then died at home.

The biography of Tan Fu is in *HHS* 67/57:2215. A man of poor family, he refused all offers of appointment but established himself as a teacher, with hundreds of students from all parts of the empire. Eventually, in the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling, he accepted appointment as a county magistrate in Liang state, but left office because he disapproved of the Administrator. He led a most frugal life, and died at home aged eighty *sui*.

45 The biography of Du Shang is in *HHS* 38/28:1284-87. A man of poor family, he served as Inspector of Jing province against rebels there from 162 to 165, but was disgraced for making a false report (passage I of Yanxi 5, passage N of Yanxi 7 and passage R of Yanxi 8). He was later Administrator of Liaodong and defeated the Xianbi in that region. He died at the age of fifty *sui* in 166.

The biography of Zhang Miao is in *SGZ* 7:221-29. As a young man he took pleasure in acting as a private redresser of wrong. In the civil war at the end of Han, he

When Chen Fan and Dou Wu came to power, Li Ying and the others were chosen once more for office, but when their patrons were destroyed they were again dismissed.⁴⁶

- O The eunuchs were full of anxiety and hatred for Li Ying and his associates, and edicts were sent down one after the other to confirm the proscription of the men of Faction.
- P Hou Lan had a particular enmity for Zhang Jian.⁴⁷ Zhu Bing was a

was first an associate of Cao Cao, but later turned against him to join the rival warlord Lü Bu and was killed on campaign.

The biography of Liu Ru is in *HHS* 67/57:2215. Admired by Guo Tai, he presented a detailed criticism to Emperor Huan, which was not accepted. Serving as Chancellor of Rencheng, he was brought to the capital by the Dou regency, but was implicated in the failed coup against the eunuchs and died in prison.

Humu Ban became Bearer of the Mace about 190. At the beginning of the civil war he was sent by Dong Zhuo to negotiate with the rebels led by Yuan Shao, but was killed by them.

Whereas *ZZTJ* here has the personal name of Wang as Xiao 孝, *HHS* 67/57 gives it as Kao 考. One of the texts must have been mis-copied. *HHS* 67/57: 2190 notes that Wang Kao/Xiao was Inspector of Ji province.

Otherwise, *HHS* 67/57:2190 says that Qin Zhou was Chancellor of Pei kingdom, Fan Xiang was a gentleman-cadet, and Wang Zhang was Minister Steward.

- 46 Though it is only at this stage of the chronicle we are told about the compilation of such a list of worthy men, it is most probable that this particular collection was put together in the time of the Dou regency, during the first part of 168, possibly as early as 166. It will be observed that a number of the men named died during 168, either through natural causes or as an immediate consequence of the success of the eunuchs against Dou Wu and Chen Fan; while the "Treasurer" Du Shang, as we have seen above, died in 166.

On the other hand, the men named were probably living at the time at the time the list was made: both Zhai Chao the former Administrator of Shanyang, and his protégé Zhang Jian, are included, together with Cen Zhi, who played a similar role to Zhang Jian in Nanyang. Cen Zhi's Administrator Cheng Jin is not mentioned, however, for he had been executed in 166.

The list given here is the only one whose record has survived in detail, but there must have been variant opinions and it seems certain that several different compilations were circulated, with categories based primarily on the number eight – a tradition which can be found in earlier texts and in other circumstances in Later Han. There was at least one other, more restricted, list: that of Zhang Jian and his comrades from Shanyang. See below and also deC, "Political Protest," 26-27.

- O *HHJ* 23:7a.
- P *HHS* 67/57:2188 (4b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Party; and *HHS* 67/57:2210 (18b), the Biography of Zhang Jian in that Chapter; and *HHJ* 23:7a.

man from the same district as Hou Lan; he was always deceitful and corrupt, and had been rejected by Zhang Jian.⁴⁸ With guidance from Hou Lan, he sent in a report that Zhang Jian and twenty-three others from his district had given themselves titles and had formed a factious association. They had elected Zhang Jian as their leader, and they were planning to bring the nation into danger.⁴⁹

47 Hou Lan came originally from Shanyang. As locally-appointed Investigator in the commandery, Zhang Jian had confiscated land in that area from Hou Lan, and also destroyed the tomb which he had set up for his mother: passage P of Yanxi 9.

The biography of Hou Lan at *HHS* 78/68:2523 ascribes Zhang Jian's destruction of the tomb to this year Jianning 2. Zhang Jian's biography, however, dates his appointment to Yanxi 8, and his patron the Administrator Zhao Chao had been dismissed by Yanxi 9: passages Q and R of Yanxi 9, also *HHS* 66/56:2164. It appears that Zhang Jian was now at the capital, and Hou Lan's hatred was inspired by the memory of what had occurred rather than by its immediacy.

48 *HHS* 67/57:2188 says that Zhu Bing was a man from the same district as Zhang Jian, but at 2210 it is indicated that he came from the same district as Hou Lan, and this is the interpretation followed by Sima Guang.

In fact, since the accusation relates to men from the same district as Zhang Jian, it is more likely that Zhu Bing also came from that district, and his accusation was to some extent inspired by Zhang Jian's rejection of him. It may well be that he reported against the brotherhood because he had been refused entry to it.

49 *HHS* 67/57:2188 lists the names and ranks. There were eight "heroes," eight "exemplars" and eight "guides," and we are told they had their names inscribed on a stele as memorial of their association.

Of these men, only Liu Biao appears in the list cited in passage N above. The other man from Shanyang on that main list, Tan Fu 檀敷, did not come from the same county and district as Liu Biao and Zhang Jian, though a certain Tan Bin 檀彬, perhaps a distant clansman of Tan Fu, is listed as a "hero." Otherwise, the members of this group do not appear to have become particularly distinguished politically, and it was probably little more than a local fraternity.

It may be observed also that evidence of other lists containing the name of Liu Biao have been preserved by different sources:

- the biography of Liu Biao in *HHS* 74/64B:2419 refers to him as an "exemplar," presumably echoing this Shanyang list;
- the biography of Liu Biao in *SGZ* 6:210, however, refers to him as a "hero";
- the commentary of Pei Songzhi to that reference in *SGZ* quotes first from the [*Hou*] *Han ji* of Zhang Fan, which gives the list of "exemplars" from the Shanyang group, including Liu Biao; Pei Songzhi, however, then also quotes the anonymous *Hanmo mingshi lu* 漢末名士錄, which contains another list of "associates" (友 *you*), being basically the eight "guides" of the main list but with the name of Fan Pang replacing that of Zhai Chao. This may be a corruption of the main list, but it may also represent a version which omitted the more senior Administrator Zhao Chao and included Fan Pang with his junior colleagues.

By imperial decree, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Zhang Jian and his fellows.

In the winter, in the tenth month⁵⁰ the Grand Prolonger of Autumn Cao Jie⁵¹ followed this up by arranging that senior ministers sent in a memorial saying, "We request that instructions be sent down to the provinces and commanderies that they should arrest and punish all the men [111] allied in faction, being the former Excellency of Works Yu Fang, together with Li Ying, Du Mi, Zhu Yu, Xun Yi, Zhai Chao, Liu Ru, Fan Pang and their colleagues."⁵²

⁵⁰ The Annals of Emperor Ling at *HHS* 8:330 give a more precise date, being the *dinghai* day of the tenth month, equivalent to 25 November.

⁵¹ *HHS* 8:330 ascribes this initiative solely to Hou Lan. It is *HHS* 67/57:2188 which now gives the leading role to Cao Jie.

The Grand Prolonger of Autumn was the official in charge of the residence of the empress: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 69-70. At this time, however, there was no empress yet established, and it seems likely that the title of Cao Jie has been miswritten. Cao Jie had been appointed Commandant of the Guards of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, in charge of the residence of the Dowager Dou, after the success of the eunuchs' coup in the previous year (passage R of Jianning 1), and it appears that he still held that post or a similar one (passage HH below refers to him as Coachman of the Palace of Prolonged Joy).

Cao Jie did become Grand Prolonger of Autumn (*HHS* 78/68:2524-25), but that was probably after the establishment of Emperor Ling's Empress Song, which took place in 171 (passage A of Jianning 4).

⁵² While the records of Li Ying and the others have been discussed above, the appearance of Yu Fang at this point is a little surprising.

There is a brief biography of Yu Fang at *HHS* 33/23:1154, attached to that of his great-grandfather Yu Yan 虞延. A man from Chenliu, Yu Fang had been a student of the Grand Commandant Yang Zhen 楊震, who fell victim of the intrigues at the court of Emperor An in 124: *HHS* 5:238 and 54/44:1766-67. After the accession of Emperor Shun in the following year, Yu Fang argued for the posthumous rehabilitation of Yang Zhen. Later in the reign of Emperor Shun and during the early years of Emperor Huan, Yu Fang became a protégé of the eunuch Cao Teng 曹騰: *HHS* 78/68:2519.

At the time of the overthrow of Liang Ji in 159, Yu Fang was a member of the Secretariat and was one of the men rewarded with enfeoffment by Emperor Huan for his assistance in the coup: passage Q to Yanxi 2. The honour was cancelled in 165, however, at the time of the disgrace of Emperor Huan's eunuchs: passage F to Yanxi 8. Yu Fang was Excellency of Works for a few months in 160 and 161: passages G of Yanxi 3 and D of Yanxi 4. Since that period of prominence, however, almost ten years earlier, he is not mentioned as a protagonist in the controversies of the time. His biography, however, says that he was a fierce opponent of the eunuchs, and it was for this reason he was named among the men of Faction.

It would appear that Yu Fang was at this time sixty or seventy years old.

1819 The emperor was at this time aged fourteen *sui*. He questioned Cao Jie and his fellows, "What does it mean, 'to form a clique'?"⁵³

They replied, "People who form cliques are men of Faction."

The emperor asked again, "What harm do men of Faction do, that you want to punish them?"

They replied, "They get together to promote one another, and they seek to act outside the law."

The emperor asked, "What do they want to do that is outside the law?"

The eunuchs replied, "They plan harm for the nation."

And then the emperor agreed to the recommendations of the memorial.⁵⁴

Q Someone said to Li Ying, "You can get away."

Li Ying replied, "If there are problems in affairs, one does not make excuses, and if one is at fault, one does not seek to evade punishment. That is the proper conduct of a minister. Now I am already sixty years old. Life and death are a matter of fate, and how can I escape?"

So he went to the Imperial Prison,⁵⁵ and he was there tortured to death. His students and former subordinates all suffered proscription from office.

Jing Gu, son of the Imperial Clerk Jing Yi, had become a pupil of Li

⁵³ "To form a clique" here renders the expression *gou dang* 鈎黨.

⁵⁴ "Outside the law" renders the expression *bugui* 不軌. "The nation," here as elsewhere, renders the expression *sheji* 社稷, literally "the altars to the gods of the soil and grain."

The commentator Hu Sanxing remarks sadly that although Emperor Ling asked these questions he was grossly deceived and kept ignorant of the true situation. He compares him to Emperor Yuan of Former Han, who also accepted blindly the advice of his eunuchs Shi Xian 石顯 and others, and whose failure in this regard is seen as one of the factors which brought about the decline and fall of that dynasty: *e.g.* Dubs, *HFHD* II, 294-297.

Q *HHS* 67/57:2197 (10b-11a), the Biography of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

⁵⁵ As Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 50-52, remarks, there were at least two prisons at Luoyang, one under the Ministry of Justice and the other administered by the Prefect of Luoyang. It is not specified which prison Li Ying went to, but it was probably that of the Ministry of Justice, for a minister would have been responsible for the broader, more political, offences.

Ying, but had not [at that stage] registered his name.⁵⁶ As a result, he was not affected by the proscription.

Jing Yi, however, said with a sigh, "I regarded Li Ying as a worthy man and sent my son to study with him. How can I avoid responsibility just because he failed to register his name?"

So he declared himself, left office, and returned to his home.

R Wu Dao, an Investigator in Runan commandery, received imperial orders to arrest Fan Pang. He took the document and went to Zhengqiang, but then closed the gates of the post-house [where he was lodging], took himself to bed and wept. No-one in the county could understand what was wrong.⁵⁷[112]

Fan Pang, however, heard about this, and said, "This must be something to do with me." So he went of his own volition to the local gaol.

The county magistrate Guo Yi was extremely upset. He came out, took off his seal and ribbon of office, and proposed they flee away together: "The world is large, why should you stay here?"

"If I die," said Fan Pang, "then the misfortune is ended. How can I involve you in my punishment, and also make my aged mother a fugitive?"

Then his mother came to say good-bye to him, and Fan Pang said to her, "Zhongbo is filial and respectful, and he will be able to look after you.⁵⁸ I shall follow my lord of Longshu to the Yellow Springs.⁵⁹ Those who live and those who die each have their appointed place. All I ask is that you restrain your natural sympathy, which is more than can

⁵⁶ It was evidently the custom for a young man to become the formal student (門生 *mensheng*) or, as here, pupil (門徒 *mentu*) of a senior scholar or official. In doing so, he appears to have been required to write his name on a tablet.

R *HHS* 67/57:2207 (16b-17a), the Biography of Fan Pang in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

⁵⁷ Zhengqiang 征羌 county was evidently the native place of Fan Pang.

⁵⁸ As in the text below, Zhongbo 仲博 was the style of a younger brother of Fan Pang. Fan Pang's own style was Mengbo 孟博.

⁵⁹ The Yellow Springs (黃泉 *huangquan*) is the place of the dead, comparable to the Western Classical underworld kingdom of Hades. See *Zuo zhuan*, Yin 1; Legge, *CC* V, 6 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 8).

As below, Longshu county in Lujiang commandery had been awarded as a fief in 58 AD to Xu Chang 許昌, who was a nephew of Emperor Guangwu's concubine the Beauty Xu: *HHS* 42/32:1428. The fief evidently continued for some generations. As for kingdoms and commanderies, the magistrate of a county fief had the title Chancellor (相 *xiang*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 108.

be borne, and do not add on my account to your sense of distress."

1820 Zhongbo was a younger brother of Fan Pang. "Lord of Longshu" refers to Fan Pang's father, Fan Xian, who had been Chancellor of the marquisate of Longshu.

Fan Pang's mother replied, "Your name now ranks with those of Li and Du. Even if you die for it, how can one have regret?⁶⁰ Those who achieve a glorious name, cannot also expect a long life."

Fan Pang had knelt to receive his mother's instruction, and he bowed to bid her farewell. He turned to his sons and said, "Should I wish you to act wrongly, [you are good enough to know] not to do so. If I cause you to act well, then [you must know that] I have never done anything wrong."

All those passing by on the road heard this, and everyone wept at the scene.

S Altogether more than a hundred of the men of Faction died, and their wives and children were sent to exile on the frontiers.⁶¹ The eunuchs made accusation of Faction against all those of powerful family in the

⁶⁰ Commentaries explain the reference to Li and Du 李杜 as indicating Li Ying and Du Mi, colleagues of Fan Pang in the Proscribed Party. Earlier, however, there had been upright and respected protestors with the same combination of surnames: Li Gu and Du Qiao at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Huan, and Li Yun and Du Zhong in 159. See, for example, passage FF and note 75 to Yanxi 2.

S *HHS* 8:330-31 (3a), the Annals of Emperor Ling; and *HHS* 67/57:2188 (5a), the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

⁶¹ At this point in the text of *HHS* 8 we are told also that the proscription was extended to "the five degrees of kinship" (五屬 *wu shu*), which would have involved relatives as distant in the male lineage as third cousins. It seems probable, however, that this is an anachronism.

- Where punishment was extended to relatives, it appears normally to have applied only to those within the third degree of kinship, not the fifth: see, for example, Hulsewé, *RHL*, 138.
- At passage B of Xiping 5: 176, moreover, we are told specifically that the proscription was at that time extended to five degrees of kinship; in 179 it was reduced again to three degrees: passage J of Guanghe 2.

I suspect, therefore, that when the proscription was applied in 172 it had effect upon only the three closest degrees of relationship, that it was extended four years later, but that a reference to this extension has crept into the text of *HHS* 8; there is no reference to it at this time in any other parallel text, such as *HHS* 67/57. Sima Guang therefore probably made a deliberate omission, or it is possible that his text of *HHS* did not contain that set of characters.

On the various degrees of relationship, see notes 6 to Xiping 5 and 41 to Guanghe 2.

empire and all Confucian scholars who acted honourably. Anyone who had a grudge against another took the opportunity to inform against him, and the slightest irritation was enough to involve a charge of Faction. Provincial and commandery offices followed the lead, and some men who had no connection with the matter nonetheless shared a miserable fate. As a result of this new inquisition, another six [113] or seven hundred people died or were exiled or dismissed or proscribed from office.

T When Guo Tai heard of the deaths of the men of Faction, he mourned them in private, saying, "*The Classic of Poetry* has,

Good men are going away,

And the country will certainly fall into ruin.⁶²

The House of Han is lost. They simply do not recognise the meaning of

I see a crow which will rest;

But upon whose house?"⁶³

Guo Tai made skilled judgements of individual moral conduct, but he never engaged in controversial discussion of affairs of state. For this reason, though he lived in turbulent and corrupt times, peril and misfortune did not reach him.⁶⁴

T *HHJ* 23:8b, with interpolation by Sima Guang.

62 From the fifth stanza of the *Zhan ang* 瞻卬 Ode of *Shi jing*, III.3.10; Legge, *CC IV*, 563 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 264 at 236-238). The whole of the ode is a complaint against misery and oppression caused by the influence of women and eunuchs upon the government.

63 From the third stanza of the *Zheng yue* 正月 Ode of *Shi jing*, II.4.8; Legge, *CC IV*, 316 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 192 at 135). This too is a lament on the misfortunes of a kingdom dominated by eunuchs and a royal favourite.

Crows (or ravens) were said to perch upon the house of a man who was wealthy and fortunate. The implication of the verses is that the royal house is no longer prosperous, and one must wait to see where the favour of Heaven and the affections of the people will turn.

64 I can find no parallel and original for this last paragraph, which seems to have been interpolated by Sima Guang. In his *Kaoyi* commentary, he notes that the remarks of Guo Tai are attributed by his biography in *HHS* 68/58:2226 as being occasioned by the fall of Chen Fan and Dou Wu in 168. Sima Guang preferred to follow *HHJ*, which refers to the arrests and proscription of 169.

HHS 68/58, however, says that Guo Tai died at home, aged forty-two *sui*, in the first Chinese month of Jianning 2, more than six months before the proscription. Having accepted that Guo Tai was in fact alive at the time, Sima Guang then evidently found it necessary to explain why he was not attacked with the other scholars and officials.

U Zhang Jian made his escape, in desperate straits. He sought refuge from house to house, and at each place, recognising his reputation and conduct, people endangered themselves in order to offer him assistance.

Then he came as a fugitive to Donglai and stayed at the house of Li Du. The magistrate of Waihuang, Mao Qin, came with troops to the gate.⁶⁵ Li Du brought Mao Qin inside to sit down and said, "Zhang Jian has run away from his punishment. Why should I shelter him? At the same time, if he should be here, it is my judgement that he is a celebrated scholar; is it really necessary for your honour to arrest him?"⁶⁶

1821 Mao Qin got up and set Li Du's mind at rest, saying, "Qu Boyu was reluctant to act alone as a true gentleman. Why do you insist on a monopoly of good and worthy behaviour?"⁶⁷

"I plan to share it with you," replied Li Du, "and your honour may take half the credit." Mao Qin sighed contentedly, and went away [without making an arrest].

Then Li Du brought Zhang Jian by side-roads to the house of Xi Ziran in Beihai, and from there he went to Yuyang and then across the frontier.⁶⁸

All along the route he had followed, scores of people were executed [for having given him shelter], and throughout the empire anyone who

U *HHS* 67/57:2210 (18b-19a), the Biography of Zhang Jian in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

65 The commentary of Hu Sanxing argues that the name of Waihuang 外黄 county, which was in Chenliu commandery, has been miswritten for that of Huang county, capital of Donglai.

66 Li Du addresses Mao Qin by the honorific *mingting* 明廷 "Excellent Court," evidently a reference to his position as a magistrate.

67 Qu Yuan 蘧瑗, an official of the state of Wey 衛 whose style was Boyu 伯玉, was host on two occasions to Confucius: *SJ* 47:1920 and 1926; Chavannes, *MH* V, 334 and 353. He is referred to in favourable terms by *Lun yu* XIV.26 and XV.6; Legge, *CC* I, 285-286 and 296. See also note 11 to Yanxi 7.

The present reference does not seem to fit with any of these, and one must assume it is based upon some apocryphal account which has since been lost. It was a catch-phrase, however, in Han times: see *HHSJJ* 67/57:19a, and 56/46:8b.

68 Zhang Jian had originally taken refuge with Li Du in Huang county in Donglai, on the northern coast of the Shandong peninsula. From there he returned west to Beihai, at the base of the peninsula, then travelled to Yuyang, north of present-day Tianjin and east of Beijing. From there he escaped over the frontier into the region of present-day Chengde, an area inhabited by the Wuhuan and Xianbi peoples.

had any involvement with him was arrested and tortured. Members of his family and clan were [114] slaughtered, and the [houses in] many of the commanderies and counties were ruined.

- V Kong Bao of Lu kingdom was an old acquaintance of Zhang Jian,⁶⁹ and when Zhang Jian was making his escape he went to call upon him. Kong Bao was not at home, but his younger brother Kong Rong, at that time aged sixteen, found him a hiding place.

Later this was found out, and the Chancellor of [Lu] kingdom arrested both Kong Bao and Kong Rong, and sent them to prison without having determined the culprit.

Kong Rong said, "I am the one who took the fugitive into our household. I should be punished."

Kong Bao, however, claimed, "That man came to seek help from me. It is no fault of my younger brother."

An officer told their mother about it, and she replied, "It is the oldest person in the household who has responsibility. I am the one to take the blame."

With every person in the household competing for the death penalty, the local offices could not come to a decision. The matter was referred to the court, and in the end, by imperial decree, Kong Bao was found to be responsible.⁷⁰

- W When the proscription of the men of Faction was ended [in 184], Zhang Jian returned to his native place [in Shanyang commandery]. He later became Minister of the Guards, and he died at the age of eighty-four.⁷¹

V *HHS* 70/60:2262 (4a-b), the Biography of Kong Rong.

⁶⁹ Kong Bao and Kong Rong claimed descent in the twentieth generation from the sage Confucius.

⁷⁰ Kong Bao was duly executed.

W *HHS* 67/57:2211 (19a), the Biography of Zhang Jian in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

⁷¹ On the end of the Proscription in 184, see passage F of Zhongping 1. The biography of Zhang Jian has further detail of his later career.

Following his return from exile, he was offered many appointments at the capital, but refused all of them. Some time after 196, however, when Emperor Xian, successor to Emperor Ling, was under the control of the warlord Cao Cao, Zhang Jian was called from retirement to be Minister of the Guards. He could not avoid the appointment, but refused to take any active role. He died at the city of Xu 許 in Yingchuan, where Cao Cao had established his capital.

- X When Xia Fu heard how Zhang Jian had escaped, he sighed and said, "He brought this misfortune upon himself, then pointlessly caused the involvement of other good and honest people. Ten thousand households suffered misfortune so that one man might escape death. How could he live with that?"

He himself cut off his beard to change his appearance, and went into the Linlu Mountains. He concealed his name and became the servant of a family of ironworkers, labouring in coal and the smoke until he was broken and worn.⁷² In two or three years no-one knew who he was.

Xia Fu's younger brother Xia Jing took silken cloth to search for him and take supplies. Xia Fu refused to accept [115] the offerings, saying, "How can you seek to offer gifts to one who would bring you misfortune?"

Before the proscription was lifted, Xia Fu had died.

- Y Before this, the father of the Regular Attendant Zhang Rang died, and Zhang Rang went back to Yingchuan for the funeral. Though people came from all over the commandery, none of the well-known scholars made an appearance and Zhang Rang was bitterly resentful. Chen Shi was the only person [of that gentry class] who paid his respects at the funeral.

Later, when the men of Faction were executed, Zhang Rang recalled Chen Shi's courtesy, and on his account there were many who were protected by him and pardoned.⁷³

- Z He Yong of Nanyang had been a close friend of Chen Fan and of Li Ying. [At the time of their fall in 168] he was also due to be arrested, but changed his name and went into hiding in Runan.

1822 Together with Yuan Shao, he [now] acted as a contact for those who

X *HHS* 67/57:2202 (13b-14a), the Biography of Xia Fu in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

72 Linlu county in Henei commandery was in the hill country of the Taihang Shan by present-day Linxian in Henan. The Treatise of Administrative Geography at *HHS* 109/19:3395 notes that iron was produced there.

Y *HHS* 62/52:2066 (14a), the Biography of Chen Shi.

73 Chen Shi had been imprisoned at the time of the First Faction Incident in 166-167: passage BB of Yanxi 9. His biography in *HHS* 62/52 places the incident of his attendance at the funeral after his release. He served for a short time as a clerical officer at the capital under the government of Dou Wu and Chen Fan.

Z *HHS* 67/57:2217 (23a), the Biography of He Yong in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

sought to escape, and he went frequently in secret into Luoyang. With advice from Yuan Shao, he gave help to well-known scholars who had been caught in the toils of the Faction affair, and they prepared ways for them to escape and go into hiding. Great numbers of people were saved.⁷⁴

- AA Before this, the Grand Commandant Yuan Tang had three sons, Yuan Cheng, Yuan Feng and Yuan Wei. Yuan Cheng had a son Yuan Shao and Yuan Feng had a son Yuan Shu.⁷⁵ Both Yuan Feng and Yuan Wei became well known, and they held a number of high positions while they were still young.

At this time the Regular Attendant Yuan She⁷⁶ wanted to obtain support from Yuan Feng and Yuan Wei, firstly because they came from a family of chief ministers, and secondly because they shared the same surname. As a result, the Yuan group became more prosperous and powerful than any others of the time; they were extremely wealthy and extravagant, quite different to any of the other families which had produced officials of excellency rank.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ The biography of Yuan Shao in *HHS* 74/64A:2373 indicates that he was living in Luoyang at this time. Yuan Shao came from a distinguished official family of Runan, and was acquiring a reputation as a young-tough-about-town. It appears he provided information about conditions within the capital so that He Yong could plan appropriately for his Scarlet Pimpernel operations.

Though Yuan Shao is described here as the son of Yuan Cheng, he was in fact adopted. He was probably the natural son of Yuan Feng by a concubine, and thus half-brother rather than cousin to Yuan Shu. See the Tang commentary to *HHS* 74/64A:2373, quoting the *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shansong.

- AA *HHS* 45/35:1523 (6a), the account of Yuan Wei supplementary to the Biography of Yuan An.

⁷⁵ The commentary of Hu Sanxing suggests that the personal name 術, which here follows the essential meaning, found in *Li ji*, of "a road," or "a way," should have been pronounced *sui*. This may indeed be correct (the pronunciation of Hu Sanxing's own personal name is itself the result of a special reading in *Lun yu* I.4: e.g. Legge, *CC* I, 139). The most common and accepted transcription, however, even for the character as it appears in *Li ji*, is *shu* (e.g. Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies* II, 807; Karlgren, *GSR* 497d), and I follow it.

⁷⁶ The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 24:1b has the personal name of this eunuch as Lang 朗 rather than She 赦, but that he has chosen to follow *HHS* 45/35.

In 159 the Regular Attendant Yuan She was a neighbour of the Lady Xuan, mother of the Empress Deng of Emperor Huan, and raised the alarm when Liang Ji sent men to kill her: passage I of Yanxi 2.

⁷⁷ Yuan An 袁安, whose biography is in *HHS* 45/35:1517-22, was a man from Runan. During the reign of Emperor Zhang he became Excellency of Works in 86 and then

- BB Yuan Shao was a man of strong build, with an air of authority. He admired men of breeding, and was a patron to those who became celebrated. Guests and clients assembled about him, and cloth-covered carriages [of the wealthy] and simple wagons [of the poor] filled the streets [which led to his gate].[116]
- CC Yuan Shu too was known for his gallant spirit.⁷⁸
- DD Yuan Feng's cousin Yuan Hong⁷⁹ was already a young man of strict principle. He studied while working on the land, and though Yuan Feng and Yuan Wei offered him food on many occasions, he would always refuse.⁸⁰ He observed how the times were falling into disorder and danger, while his own family was prosperous and affluent, and he

Excellency over the Masses in 87: *HHS* 3:156. He died in that office in 92, during the reign of Emperor He: *HHS* 4:173. He was an opponent of the pretensions of the imperial consort Dou clan, and in particular of the aggressive policy of Dou Xian against the Northern Xiongnu.

From that time, members of the Yuan family were distinguished as scholars and officials. Yuan An's son Chang was Excellency of Works for a little more than a year under the government of the Dowager Deng during the reign of Emperor An, but was disgraced and committed suicide in 117: *HHS* 5:224 and 226, and 45/35:1524. Yuan An's grandson Tang held position among the excellencies from the time of the accession of Emperor Huan under the aegis of the Liang family in 146 until he left the office of Grand Commandant in 153: *HHS* 6:282-298.

- BB *HHS* 74/64A:2373 (1b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- CC *HHS* 75/65:2438 (6a), the Biography of Yuan Shu.
- 78 The term *xia* 俠, which I express here as "gallant," but which is not easy to translate, is discussed by Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, particularly 185-195, and also by Liu, *The Chinese Knight-Errant*.
- In general terms, *xia* or 遊俠 *youxia* refers to patronage and to the gathering of clients, retainers or other dependents, outside the formal structures and conventions of government, and frequently accompanied by intimidatory or even violent conduct; which was often justified in terms of a superior, idealistic or simply aristocratic morality. Ch'ü observes at 189 that "most of the *yu-hsia* were people of humble origin," but this is a judgement based upon the whole period of Han. At this time, it would seem that leaders in the capital, such as Yuan Shao and Yuan Shu, generally came from privileged background, and unlawful violence in the provinces was often instigated by men of property: see, for example, passages L to Q of Yanxi 9.
- DD *HHS* 45/35:1525-26 (7a-8a), the Biography of Yuan Hong.
- 79 Yuan Hong was a grandson of Yuan Peng, who was the elder brother of Yuan Tang. Yuan Peng was thus an uncle of Yuan Feng and of Yuan Wei, and Yuan Hong was a first cousin once removed to Yuan Feng.
- 80 The biography of Yuan Hong in *HHS* 45/35 explains that he deliberately chose a life of humble obscurity, living in poor circumstances and rejecting offers of official appointment.

would sigh and rebuke his cousins, "Our excellent ancestor [Yuan An] was favoured and honoured, but later generations are lacking in the virtue which might enable them to maintain [that high position]. Instead, they contend in arrogance and extravagant living, and they struggle for power in an age of disorder. This is like the three Que of Jin."⁸¹

Later, when the Faction affair broke out, Yuan Hong intended to hide in the depths of the forests. Because of his old mother, however, he did not feel that he could go so far away. So he had a square building of earth constructed in the courtyard [of the family home], with no door, but a window through which food could be sent in. When his mother came to visit him he would go to the window to see her, but when she had left he closed it again. No other members of his family, not even his wife and children, were allowed to see him. He lived in this seclusion for eighteen years, and he died in the earthen house.⁸²

- EE Before this, when Fan Pang and his fellows criticised the imperial government, all officials from the excellencies down humbly accepted their admonitions. The students of the Imperial University contended with one another to follow their example. They believed that an age of civil learning was about to dawn, and that scholars in retirement would be restored to positions in the official service.
- 1823 Shentu Pan was the only person who expressed concern about this, saying, "Long ago, in the period of the Warring States, there were scholars in retirement offering opinions all over the place,⁸³ and it even

81 The Que 郤 clan, whose surname is also transcribed as Xi, was one of the great families of the state of Jin 晉 in the sixth century BC. Que Qi 錡 [whose personal name may also be transcribed as Yi], Que Chou 欒 and Que Zhi 至 held high official rank, and Que Zhi, in particular, gained a great victory over the rival state of Chu 楚 at the battle of Yanling 鄢陵 in 574 BC. They were, however, put to death by Duke Li 厲 of Jin because they were seen as a threat to his authority and they had made enemies of his personal favourites. See *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan*, Cheng 17; Legge, *CC* V, 403 and 404-405 (Couvreur, *Chronique* II, 159-163), and *SJ* 39:1680-81; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 324-326.

82 *HHS* 45/35 adds an anecdote telling how at the time of the Yellow Turban uprising of 184, Yuan Hong was so respected by the rebels for his love of the classics and his scholarship that they agreed not to attack his property. So people of the region took refuge with him, and escaped the general massacre.

EE *HHS* 53/43:1752 (10b-11a), the Biography of Shentu Pan.

happened that the rulers of the various kingdoms would sweep the ground before them in welcome.⁸⁴ Yet in the end there came the time of misfortune when scholars were buried and books were burned.⁸⁵ This is what we are looking at now."

So he took refuge in the region of Liang and Tang, built a house in the trees, and lived in the same fashion as the labourers.⁸⁶[117]

He was there for two years, and then Fan Pang and his colleagues were indeed involved in the misfortunes of the Proscribed Party. Shentu Pan was the only one who was preserved from the inquisition.

FF Your servant Sima Guang remarks:

If the empire is following the proper Way, true gentlemen assemble at the court of the ruler to correct misbehaviour by men of mean spirit, and there is no-one who dares not submit. When the empire has lost the Way, gentlemen retire into seclusion and do not speak out, hoping that they may avoid misfortune from the men of mean spirit; and yet it still happens that some of them fail to escape.⁸⁷

The men of Faction lived in an age of confusion and disorder, when all things were out of place and the four seas were in turmoil. They

83 From *Mengzi* IIB, 9.9; Legge, *CC* II, 282: "... sage sovereigns cease to arise, and the princes of the States give the reins to their lusts. Unemployed scholars indulge in unreasonable discussions..." (cf. Lau, *Mencius*, 114).

84 This refers to the manner in which it is recorded that King Zhao of Yan 燕昭王 received the scholar Zou Yan 鄒衍 [whose surname is also written 騶]: *SJ* 74:2345, and see also *SJ* 34:1558; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 144-145.

85 A reference, of course, to the celebrated persecution by the First Emperor of Qin: see, for example, *SJ* 6:254-55 and 258; Chavannes, *MH* II, 169-174 and 178-182.

86 Tang 碭 was a county in Liang 梁 kingdom, near the borders of present-day Anhui, Shandong and Henan provinces. There is a mountain of the same name close by. The *Treatise of Administrative Geography*, *HHS* 110/20:3426, notes that patterned stone was quarried from the mountain. Liang kingdom was next to Chenliu commandery, Shentu Pan's home country.

The biography of Shentu Pan in the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 3:4a, says that he built his hut using the trunk and branches of a large mulberry tree as upright and beams, filled in with brambles and grasses.

FF Comment written by Sima Guang himself.

87 Cf. *Yi jing*, hexagram *Kun* 坤, fourth line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 14:

A tied-up sack. No blame, no praise.

The commentary explains that this refers to a dangerous time, when a man of quality should keep away from public affairs. If he fails to do so, he will attract overwhelming hostility from powerful enemies, or will be compelled to accept unjustified celebrity for complaisance in a false situation.

sought to solve problems by the words of their mouths, giving judgements of good and bad as a means to wipe out evil and restore purity. They sought to seize snakes and vipers by the head, and trample⁸⁸ the tails of tigers and wolves. But it was they who were injured and wrongfully punished, and the misfortune reached their friends. Men of quality were destroyed, and the nation went on to disaster. The pity of it!

Only Guo Tai had the insight and understanding to preserve his own life,⁸⁹ while Shentu Pan realised what would happen and took appropriate action, not waiting till the final day.⁹⁰ This is exceptional wisdom!

GG On the day *gengzi* [? *wuxu*: 6 Dec], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.⁹¹

88 Other editions have the alternative reading 踐 for the character 蹠 which appears in the text. I follow them.

89 As the commentary of Hu Sanxing points out, Sima Guang is using the same words of praise as are applied to Zhong Shanfu 仲山甫, the minister who assisted King Xuan of Zhou 周宣王 in the early eighth century BC: see the fourth stanza of the *Zheng min* 烝民 Ode of *Shi jing*; Legge, *CC IV*, 543 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 260 at 229):

Intelligent is he and wise,
Protecting his own person;
Never idle, day or night,
In the service of the One Man.

Considering that Zhong Shanfu was praised as an active and energetic public official, while Guo Tai is described specifically as avoiding direct discussion of any matters of state (e.g. passage T above), Sima Guang's allusion must have been restricted to the first two lines.

90 Cf. *Yi jing*, hexagram *Yu* 豫, second line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes I*, 73:

Firm as a rock. Not a whole day.
Perseverance brings good fortune.

The commentary explains that a superior man perceives early signs of difficulty and discord and takes immediate action, not delaying for even a single day.

GG *HHS* 8:331 (3a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

91 This eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3303. It is recorded in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 108/18:3369. There, however, the day is given as *wuxu*, and a *wuxu* day was in fact the last day of the tenth month of this year. The Annals, followed by Sima Guang, must be mistaken.

The Treatise records that the eclipse was reported from Youfufeng, in present-day Shenxi; it was evidently not observed at that capital. The Treatise does not record in what constellation the eclipse was observed, nor does it offer any prognostication.

The commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 108/18:3362, however, discussing the eclipse of 23 July 92 AD [Yongyuan 4], during the reign of Emperor He, quotes from

In the eleventh month the Grand Commandant Liu Chong left office. The Minister Coachman Guo Xi of Fugou [in Chenliu] became Grand Commandant.⁹²

1824

The Xianbi raided Bing province.

HH Cao Jie, Coachman of the Palace of Prolonged Joy,⁹³ became seriously ill. By imperial edict he was appointed General of Chariots and Cavalry. Soon afterwards his condition improved, and he handed back the seal and ribbon [of that office].⁹⁴ He was again appointed as a Regular Attendant, with position as Specially Advanced and salary at Fully Two Thousand *shi*.⁹⁵[118]

II King Bogu of Gaogouli raided Liaodong. Geng Lin, Administrator of Xuantu, attacked him and compelled him to surrender.⁹⁶[119]

Qiantan ba 潛潭巴, the anonymous apocryphal work on the *Chunqiu*, which says that an eclipse on a *wuxu* day foretells the death of a ruler, and the whole nation will be in mourning. Liu Zhao also quotes from the book of prognostication by Jing Fang (see note 51 to Yanxi 9), which relates such an eclipse specifically to the destruction of the imperial consort clan. Soon afterwards, Emperor He destroyed the power of the Dou family of his Dowager: e.g. *HHS* 4:173, and see also note 5 to Yongshou 3.

92 *HHS* 111/21:3448 lists Fugou county in Chenliu. It is unusual for *ZZTJ* to give the county, rather than the commandery, of origin of an excellency: in this case, Sima Guang has taken the information from the commentary to *HHS* 8, which also tells us that the style of Guo Xi was Gongfang 公房.

HH *HHS* 78/68:2524 (13a), the Biography of Cao Jie in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

93 The Annals of Emperor Ling mentions this incident at *HHS* 8:331, describing Cao Jie as Coachman of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, and Sima Guang follows. *HHS* 78/68:2524, however, a little earlier in the biography of Cao Jie, says that he had been appointed Commandant of the Guards of the palace in the previous year: passage R of Jianning 1.

94 This parallels the honour paid to the eunuch Shan Chao, assistant to Emperor Huan in the coup against Liang Ji of 159. When he became ill later that year, he was appointed General of Chariots and Cavalry; he died early in 160: passages JJ of Yanxi 2 and C of Yanxi 3.

95 On the status Specially Advanced see note 52 to Yanxi 8.

The normal rank/salary of a Regular Attendant was Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi*: *HHS* 116/26:3593. This higher level of emolument was equal to one of the Nine Ministers.

II *HHS* 85/75:2815 (8a), the Account of Gaogouli in the Chapter on the Eastern Barbarians.

96 Gaogouli 高句驪, a name which is also transcribed as Gaojuli, which also appears in the shorter form of Gouli, and which is known by the Korean pronunciation of Koguryŏ, later became one of the great states of the Korean peninsula. Its history

during the Han period is discussed by Gardiner, *Early History of Korea*, 29-32. King Bogu [Korean: *Paekko*] appears to have come to the throne as a minor about 130 AD, and reigned for some sixty years.

HHS 85/75:2814 describes the Gouli people as being originally a branch of the Mo 貊. It seems likely that they had been incorporated into the confederacy of Tanshihuai (passage JJ of Yanxi 9), and it is thus possible that they had been involved in the raiding ascribed to the Xianbi, the Hui and the Mo at the end of the previous year (passage W of Jianning 1).

Jianning 建寧 3: 170 AD

4 February 170 - 22 February 171

- A In the spring, in the third month on the day *bingyin* [3 May], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.¹
- B Duan Jiong was recalled to the capital and was appointed a Palace Attendant.²
- Duan Jiong had served on the frontier for more than ten years, and not once had he slept in a comfortable bed. He shared all the discomforts of his officers and men, and every one would willingly die for him. He had been successful on every campaign.
- C In the summer in the fourth month the Grand Commandant Guo Xi left office. The Palace Counsellor Wenren Xi became Grand Commandant.
- In the autumn in the seventh month the Excellency of Works Liu Ao left office. In the eighth month the Minister Herald Qiao Xuan from Liang kingdom became Excellency of Works.
- D In the ninth month the Bearer of the Mace Dong Chong was found guilty of making unjustified requests on behalf of the staff of the Empress of [the Palace of] Perpetual Joy. He was sent to prison and died.³

A *HHS* 8:331 (3b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

¹ This eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3304. It is recorded in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 108/18:3369. The Treatise states that the eclipse was reported by the Chancellor of Liang kingdom, in the south of the North China plain; it was evidently not observed at that capital.

The Treatise does not record the constellation in which the eclipse was observed, not does it offer a prognostication. The commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 108/18:3358, however, discussing an eclipse in 30 AD [Jianwu 6], quotes from *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, which says that an eclipse on a *bingyin* day foretells a period of drought.

B *HHS* 65/55:2153 (18a), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

² *HHS* 65/55, translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 81, gives a brief description of the triumphal procession. His army numbered some fifty thousand Chinese and auxiliaries, there was a group of the celebrated "blood-sweating" horses 汗血千里馬 from Ferghana in central Asia (on which see, for example, Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 132-134 note 332), and more than ten thousand prisoners. Received west of Chang'an by the Minister Herald bearing the Staff of Authority, they were then escorted into Luoyang.

C *HHS* 8,331 (3b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

D *HHS* 8:332 (3b), the Annals of Emperor Ling, and *HHS* 10B:446 (8a), the Biography of the Dowager Dong.

³ The Dowager Dong, natural mother of Emperor Ling, had been given lodging in apartments named the Palace of Perpetual Joy; Dong Chong was the elder brother of the Dowager and thus an uncle of the emperor: passages B, C and D of Jianning 2. One

1825

E In the winter, Gu Yong the Administrator of Yulin, by honest and gracious conduct, induced the surrender of more than a hundred thousand of the Wuhu people. They were all brought into settlement within the borders of the empire, [their leaders] were granted caps and belts [as marks of official authority], and seven new counties were opened up and established.⁴

must assume that the eunuchs were concerned the Dong family might attempt to involve themselves in government, and dealt promptly and firmly with such pretensions.

E *HHS* 86/76:2839 (8b), the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

⁴ The Later Han commandery of Yulin occupied the western and northern part of present-day Guangxi, the basin of the West River and its major tributaries. The capital of the commandery was at Bushan 布山, by present-day Guiping: *HHSJJ* 113/23B:25a-26a, and *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* II, 63-64.

The Wuhu barbarians apparently gained their name from (or perhaps gave it to) a mountain now in Hengxian in Guangxi, and their territory was officially within the commandery of Yulin. *HHS* 86/76:2834 tells us that the Wuhu people were also referred to as the Danren 嗛人, and that they practised cannibalism. Their main centre at this time appears to have been the hill country west of the Bay of Canton, extending along the coast past the Leizhou peninsula to the region of the Gulf of Tongking: this was the area of Later Han Hepu and Jiaozhi commanderies: *e.g.* *HHS* 8:340 and 345. The new territory brought under the control of the imperial government would thus have been related rather to Hepu commandery than to Yulin, but it appears that the influence of Gu Yong had extended south across the West River and beyond his formal borders.

JS 15:464, the Treatise of Geography, says that Emperor Huan established a commandery called Gaoxing 高興 in this region, and that under Emperor Ling the name was changed to Gaoliang 高涼. In commentary to *HHSJJ* 86/76:8b, the Qing scholar Shen Qinhan suggests that the seven counties referred to here formed the territory of this new commandery. There is, of course, a slight anachronism involved, for this massive surrender is dated to the time of Emperor Ling, and there appears no good cause for a full commandery to have been established any earlier. Most interpretations place the commandery of Gaoliang in the third century AD as controlling the sea coast between the Bay of Canton and the Leizhou peninsula: *e.g.* *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* III, 31-32.

If a new commandery of Gaoxing/Gaoliang was indeed established at this time, it is not certain that it functioned for long. Neither name is mentioned in *HHS*, and there was a considerable rebellion of the Wuhu people in 178: *e.g.* *HHS* 8:340 and 345, also passages A of Guanghe 1 and B of Guanghe 4. Quite possibly the territory was abandoned, or re-subordinated to Hepu and the other neighbouring and longer-established commanderies. It appears to have been restored by the government of the southern state of Wu 吳 about 220: see, for example, Wu and Yang, *Sanguo junxian biao fu kaozheng*, 147c.

F Meng Tuo of [You]fufeng, Inspector of Liang province, sent his Assistant Officer Ren She with five hundred men from Dunhuang to join the Wu and Ji Colonel Cao Kuan and the Chief Clerk of the Western Regions Zhang Yan, with troops from Yanqi, Qiuzi, and Nearer and Further Jushi, altogether more than thirty thousand men, to punish Shule [for turning against Han].⁵[120]

They attacked the city of Zhenzhong, but after more than forty days they failed to capture it, and so they retreated.⁶

F *HHS* 88/78:2927 (23a), the Chapter on the Western Regions.

5 Passage X of Jianning 1: 168 has told how an uncle of the Chinese-allied ruler deposed and killed his nephew and took the throne for himself.

It appears that the Inspector of Liang province was taking the initiative in this attempt to restore imperial authority, though the bulk of the forces were drawn from central Asia. The troops from Dunhuang commandery were Chinese, presumably from the local garrison, but the others would have been levied from various allied states, possibly with a stiffening of Chinese officers.

Since the position of Protector-General had been abolished in 107, the Wu and Ji Colonel held chief command in the Western Regions, and was also responsible for general political supervision: Yü, *Trade and Expansion*, 142-144, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 110 and 112-113.

At various times there could be two positions: a Wu Colonel and a Ji Colonel, but it seems clear that in this instance there was only one. The title itself was based upon the fact that *wu* 戊 and *ji* 己 were the fifth and sixth of the Ten Celestial Stems and have a cosmological meaning indicating their position in the centre, with influence generally over the Western Regions. During Former Han such officers had been responsible for the establishment and maintenance of agricultural colonies for Chinese settlers: see, for example, Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 79. The Chinese presence in central Asia at this time, however, was not nearly so energetic.

The Chief Clerk of the Western Regions had earlier been a leading assistant to the Protector-General. With the disestablishment of that office, it appears that the Chief Clerk was maintained, most likely primarily concerned with civil matters, in some fashion as an assistant or junior associate to the Wu and Ji Colonel. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 113.

Yanqi was situated in the region of present-day Karashahr: Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 178 and 177 note 588. Qiuzi is usually identified with present-day Kucha: Hulsewé and Loewe, 163. Nearer and Further Jushi were in the region of present-day Turfan: Hulsewé and Loewe, 183-184. The auxiliaries were thus drawn from the region about present-day Urumqi and the north-eastern part of the Tarim basin, and would then have advanced along the Northern Silk Road against Shule, near present-day Kashgar. It is probable that the headquarters of the Chinese commanders at this time were also in the region of Turfan. See also deC, "Notes on the Western Regions."

6 The name of Zhenzhong 楨中 appears also as 損中. It is uncertain whether it was a full city, or simply a fortress.

From this time on, successive kings of Shule deposed and murdered one another, but the [Chinese imperial] court was not able to restore order.

- G Before this, the Regular Attendant Zhang Rang had a slave supervisor, who was responsible for all the affairs of his household and had great influence and power.

Meng Tuo was an extremely wealthy man. He became a close friend of this slave, showering him and his fellows with presents. They were all very grateful, and asked what they could do in return. Meng Tuo replied, "I should be pleased if you would simply bow to me."

At this time there was always a queue of hundreds and thousands of carriages outside Zhang Rang's gate, bringing clients who sought to call upon him. Meng Tuo went to visit Zhang Rang, but he arrived late and could not get through. Then, however, the senior slave came with a number of the others.⁷ They bowed to him in welcome on the road, then led his carriage forward into the gate.

All the clients were amazed, and remarked how excellent must be Meng Tuo's relations with Zhang Rang. They competed in offering valuable presents to gain his favour. Meng Tuo gave a share of these to Zhang Rang, and Zhang Rang was extremely pleased.

As a result of this, Meng Tuo was appointed Inspector of Liang province.[121]

A stele in the present-day Beilin collection at Xi'an is dedicated to the officer Cao Quan 曹全 and celebrates the success of this campaign. I believe, however, that it exaggerates the Chinese achievement, and that the more conservative historical record is correct. See deC, "Notes on the Western Regions," and also *Biographical Dictionary*, *sub voce*.

- G HHS 78/68:2534 (18b-19a), the Biography of Zhang Rang in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

⁷ This story is translated by Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 494.

Ch'ü identifies the phrase *cang tou* 蒼頭 (literally, "dark-green heads") as referring to slaves, particularly male slaves with special skills or particular responsibilities in the government or, as here, in a great household. See his note 160 on page 366, citing both contemporary records and modern Japanese scholars.

It seems that the expression "dark-green heads" distinguished slaves from free people, who were "black heads" (黎民 *li min* or 黔首 *qian shou*), and that in some circumstances slaves were actually required to wear a dark green cloth on the head.

Jianning 建寧 4: 171 AD

23 February 171 - 11 February 172

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *jiazi* [25 Feb], the emperor took the Cap of Manhood.¹ There was an amnesty for the empire, but the men of Faction were excluded from its benefits.

In the second month on the day *guimao* [4 Apr] there was an

A *HHS* 8:332 (3b-4a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

¹ The phrase used here, 加元服 *jia yuanfu*, referred to the ceremony of coming of age. A literal translation, taking the character *yuan* as representing the character 玄 *xuan*, would be "to put on black clothing."

There are traditional descriptions of this ceremony in *Yi li* 1: Couvreur, *Cérémonial*, 1-24, and in *Li ji* 9 and 10; Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies*, 602-605 and 690. A reconstruction of the ceremony as it was performed for rulers of Later Han appears in the Treatise on Ceremonial at *HHS* 94/4:3105: it called for the young emperor to receive four different kinds of cap, followed by a formal presentation at the Temple of the Eminent Founder. Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 86-88, however, analysing the transmission and content of this text, concludes that it represents a complicated ritual devised on the basis of ancient authorities by the scholar Cao Bao 曹褒 (biography in *HHS* 35/25:1201-05), and that his full ceremonial was used only for the capping of Emperors He and Shun in 91 and 129. Procedures for the other rulers were far simpler.

According to tradition, and also to the theories of *Bohu tong*; Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 613, a man should be capped when he reached twenty *sui*. During Later Han, however, though several emperors went through this ceremony after their ascent to the throne, all were younger than the prescribed age: Emperor He was capped in 91 at thirteen *sui* (*HHS* 4:171), Emperor An in 109 at sixteen (*HHS* 5:213), Emperor Shun in 129 at fifteen (*HHS* 6:256) and Emperor Huan in 148 at seventeen (*HHS* 7:292).

Emperor Ling was at this time sixteen *sui*: note 37 to Yongkang 1. The ceremony was probably related to the establishment of the Empress Song later in this year, though it may be observed that Emperor Huan had been married to his Empress Liang in 147, the year before he took the cap of manhood: *HHS* 7:291 and 292. This, however, was no doubt a priority for the regent Dowager Liang, elder sister of the new empress, and their brother Liang Ji.

The Treatise of Ceremonial at *HHS* 94/4:3105 says that auspicious days for the ceremony were a *jiazi* or *bingzi* day in the first month. All emperors appear to have followed this rule except Emperor An, whose ceremony took place on a *gengzi* day: he appears to have conformed to an earlier principle, which required only that a suitable day be divined for: e.g. *Yi li* 1; Couvreur, *Cérémonial*, 1-3, and commentary to *HHS* 5:212.

The Annals in *HHS* 8 also record that donations were given at this time to the various officials, and that an amnesty was issued for all the empire, excluding only the men of Faction.

earthquake.²

In the third month on the day *xinyou* [23 Apr], first of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.³

The Grand Commandant Wenren Xi left office. The Minister Coachman Li Xian of Runan became Grand Commandant.

1826

There was a great pestilence.⁴

The Excellency over the Masses Xu Xun left office. The Excellency of Works Qiao Xuan became Excellency over the Masses.

In the summer in the fourth month the Minister of Ceremonies Lai Yan of Nanyang became Excellency of Works.

In the autumn in the seventh month the Excellency of Works Lai Yan left office.

On the day *guichou* [?] the Honoured Lady Song was established as Empress.⁵ She was the daughter of the Bearer of the Mace Song Feng.⁶

² This earthquake is likewise recorded by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 106/16:3331. We are not told what territories were affected, but the prognostication is associated with the dominant position in the government held by the eunuchs Cao Jie and Wang Fu.

³ This eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3306. It is recorded by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 108/18:3359, but the Treatise does not say in which constellation it was observed, nor does it offer any prognostication.

The commentary of Liu Zhao, however, quotes from *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, which says that an eclipse on a *xinyou* day indicates that a woman is plotting against the ruler, and the commentary also says that the official Gu Yong 谷永 sent in a memorial criticising Emperor Ling for behaving towards inferiors without proper reserve. Though it seems somewhat far afield, this is presumably the same man as had lately arranged the submission of the Wuhu people during the previous year: passage E of Jianning 3.

⁴ This renewed outbreak of disease is also recorded by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 107/17:3351. It is probably connected to the epidemic recorded in 161: passage A of Yanxi 4. There will be further occurrences throughout the reign of Emperor Ling.

⁵ The short biography of the Empress Song has been studied by Goodrich, "An Empress of the Later Han." In Part I of that article, Goodrich translates the account of the ceremony of installation as recorded by the scholar-official Cai Zhi 蔡質, an expert on such matters, which has been preserved in the commentary of Liu Zhao to the Treatise on Ceremonial at *HHS* 95/5:3121-22.

As Goodrich discusses in note 9 of his article, there is uncertainty about the exact date of the ceremony. All sources are agreed that it took place in the seventh month: *HHS* 8, followed by Sima Guang, has the *guichou* day (cyclical 50), and so does *HHJ* 23:15b. The record of Cai Zhi, however, has the *yiwei* day (cyclical 32). All

The Excellency over the Masses Qiao Xuan left office. The Minister of Ceremonies Zong Ju of Nanyang was made Excellency over the Masses, and the former Excellency of Works Xu Xu became Excellency over the Masses.⁷

calculations, however, indicate that the seventh month began on a *jiwei* day (cyclical 56): so there should have been neither a *guichou* day nor an *yiwei* day in that month.

Moreover, as Goodrich observes, the account of the ceremony says that a leading role was played by the Grand Commandant Wenren Xi; but Wenren Xi had left that office in the third month of that year (see above). Goodrich raises the possibility that the character for "seven" has been miswritten for "two," and that the ceremony actually took place in the second month of that year: the second month did contain both a *guichou* and an *yiwei* day. The general agreement of the texts, however, and the manner in which the event is listed in chronological order within *HHS* 8 and *HHJ* 23 presents problems for such a textual amendment.

- 6 The biography of the Empress Song from *HHS* 10B:448-49 is translated and discussed by Goodrich in Part II of his article "An Empress of the Later Han."

The family of the Lady Song came from Youfufeng commandery, and we are told that she was great-granddaughter of a paternal uncle of the Honoured Lady Song of Emperor Zhang of Later Han. Her family had thus some precedent in the upper ranks of the harem, though it was a distant relationship, and there is no record of any male members of her clan distinguishing themselves in the imperial service.

The Lady Song had been brought into the harem during the annual selection in the previous year and she was at that time made an Honoured Lady: *HHS* 10A:448. Her biography says that her father was appointed Bearer of the Mace only after her establishment as empress. The same office had been granted to Dong Zhong, maternal uncle of Emperor Ling, in 169, and it was used quite frequently as a courtesy position for male relatives of consort families: passage D and note 3 of *Jianning* 2.

Song Feng was also enfeoffed as Marquis of the District of Buqi 不其鄉侯. It is notable that, while he received appointment and enfeoffment comparable to those awarded to members of consort families, neither was of particularly high rank, and while the Song family was acceptable, it did not have great prestige. Naturally enough, the eunuch officials of Emperor Ling were reluctant to see another clan of the relatives by marriage develop a political position.

- 7 Since the end of *Jianning* 2: 169, following the overthrow of Dou Wu there had been multiple changes in the membership of the Three Excellencies: nine dismissals or resignations and eleven new appointments, involving a total of ten men. The longest period of continuous office had been held by Xu Xun, Excellency over the Masses for twenty-two months from *Jianning* 2.6 to *Jianning* 4.3, and only one other man, Liu Ao as Excellency of Works from *Jianning* 2.6 to *Jianning* 3.7, had held the same post for more than a year. Two men, Liu Chong in *Jianning* 2.6, and Qiao Xuan in *Jianning* 4.3, had been transferred to higher position within the triumvirate and thus retained excellency rank for just over a year, while besides Xu Xu, who was now appointed Excellency of Works after having formerly been Excellency over the Masses, Wenren Xi had twice held the position of Grand Commandant.

B The emperor recalled how the Dowager Dou had brought him to the throne and, as recognition of this, in the winter in the tenth month on the day *wuzi* [16 Nov], first of the month, he brought all the officials to pay their respects to the Dowager in the Southern Palace. The emperor himself gave gifts and offered her good wishes for long life.

Following this initiative, the Prefect of the Yellow Gates Dong Meng spoke on several occasions about the injustices suffered by the Dowager. The emperor was deeply [122] affected by his arguments, and gave her increasing quantities of supplies and provisions.

Concerned at this, Cao Jie and Wang Fu made false accusation against Dong Meng, claiming that he had spoken improperly of the Dowager [Dong, the natural mother of Emperor, who resided in the] Palace of Perpetual Joy. Dong Meng was sent to prison and died there.

There are, of course, individual explanations for some of the changes of appointment, but it is clear there was a serious lack of continuity among these most senior, and traditionally most respected, positions at the head of the imperial service. It does not seem impossible that the eunuchs were to some degree involved in these frequent changes, for they would certainly have hindered the development of any alternative or rivalry to their dominance of the court.

Though many of the excellencies came from good background, the men themselves were not particularly distinguished: the majority appear in the records only on account of their appointment. Liu Ao was known as an associate of the eunuchs (passage J of Jianning 2), but Li Xian firmly opposed them in the dispute about the burial of the Dowager Dou in the following year (passage E of Xiping 1). Only two of the ten had notable careers before their appointment to the highest rank: Liu Chong, a member of the imperial clan who was Excellency of Works in the time of Dou Wu and Chen Fan, was known as a scholar and has a biography as a lenient official at *HHS* 76/66:2477-79; and Qiao Xuan, who has a biography at *HHS* 51/41:1695-97, came from an old official family and had a distinguished and varied career. So it would not be fair to say that all these senior officials were chosen merely for their family prestige and their personal complaisance with the eunuch-dominated court. Taken as a group, however, and given the circumstances of the political situation, they were unlikely to present a united and coherent centre of opposition.

The one exception to this pattern of frequent changes at the top of the bureaucratic hierarchy is the Grand Tutor Hu Guang. He had been appointed immediately after the destruction of the Dou clan in 168, with concomitant authority over the affairs of the imperial secretariat (passage W of Jianning 1), and he held that position until his death in 172 (passage B to Xiping 1). His policy, however, was that of the Vicar of Bray, which surely accounts for his long term of office: passage B to Xiping 1 below.

B *HHS* 10B:446 (7b), the Biography of the Dowager Dou.

C *HHS* 8:333 (4a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

C The Xianbi raided Bing province.[123]

CHAPTER 57

*being Chapter 49 of the Chronicle of Han
and Part 1B of the reign of Emperor Ling*

Xiping 熹平 1: 172 AD

12 February 172 - 31 January 173

1827

A In the spring, in the first month the emperor performed the ceremony of Ascending the Tomb at Yuanling.¹

Cai Yong of Chenliu, Senior Clerk in the office of the Excellency over the Masses, said: "I had heard that in ancient times there was no ceremony of sacrifice at the tomb, and formerly I would have said that the rituals of the present dynasty could well be reduced. Now that I have seen the splendour of the ceremony, however, I can appreciate the true feeling of filial piety that was shown by Emperor Ming [when he instituted the ritual]. We should not change the established ceremonial. It is the expression of an irreducible subtlety."²

A Commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 94/4:3103-04, the Treatise of Sacrifices, quoting from the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng at 8:13a-b.

¹ The date given by Xie Cheng for this incident is the fifth year of Jianning. The present year indeed began as Jianning 5; the new reign period of Xiping was proclaimed in the fifth month: passage C below.

Yuanling 原陵 "Mound of Beginning" was the tomb of the founding Emperor Guangwu of Later Han, who was the great-great-great-great grandfather of Emperor Ling. The ceremony of Ascending the Tomb (上陵 *shang ling*), is discussed in *HHS* 94/4:3104. It had been instituted by Guangwu's son Emperor Ming in 58, the year after his accession, and was a full and formal court occasion, attended by the officials, nobility and representatives of foreign countries.

² The celebrated scholar Cai Yong (133-192), nephew of Cai Zhi (note 7 to Jianning 4) took a particular interest in ritual and ceremonial.

This incident is discussed in Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 74. *ZZTJ* here has only an extract of the passage from Xie Cheng's *Hou Han shu*. In the fuller version, cited by Liu Zhao, Cai Yong goes on to explain to his colleagues that the "true meaning" of the ceremony was to inform the former emperors of the welfare of the state, and to have the Son of Heaven serve the dead as he would have served the living.

As a result of Sima Guang's abbreviations, two statements ascribed to Cai Yong have been conflated. The first part of Cai Yong's remarks are said by Xie Cheng/Liu Zhao to have been uttered at the time of the ceremony, but the last sentence of the translation is said to have been addressed to Hu Guang soon afterwards.

Hu Guang, at that time Grand Tutor (passage W of Jianning 1 and passage B below), was a notable scholar who was the patron and teacher of Cai Yong, and we are told that he encouraged Cai Yong to record the ceremony he had witnessed. Cai Yong indeed composed a manuscript treatise on sacrifices, which may have been the basis for much of the material extant today. As Mansvelt Beck remarks at 97, however, "We

B In the third month on the day *renxu* [18 Apr] the Grand Tutor Hu Guang died at the age of eighty-two *sui*.³

During a career of more than thirty years, Hu Guang had served six emperors and held office in each of the four positions of excellency.⁴ He was regarded with great respect and trust, and he never spent a single year out of office before being re-appointed. He brought a great number of the celebrated gentlemen of the empire to appointment: both Chen Fan and Li Xian, his former subordinates, had risen to share in his rank as excellency.⁵

1828 Hu Guang was experienced in matters of precedent, and could understand and explain any court regulations. For this reason there was a saying current in the capital, "When a myriad affairs are out of order, just ask Boshi; for charting a middle course, there is Lord Hu."⁶

On the other hand, he was weak and compliant, cautious and restrained. He always maintained a respectful demeanour and humble speech, seeking to please whoever might be in a position of power at the time. He lacked any spirit of upright and independent loyalty, and

must conclude that not a single line survives that can safely be attributed to Cai Yong's treatise..."

B *HHS* 44/34:1510 (10b-11b), the Biography of Hu Guang.

³ Hu Guang was thus born in 91 AD.

⁴ Hu Guang served under Emperors An and Shun, the two child emperors Chong and Zhi, Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling. He first came to office at the capital in the latter years of the reign of Emperor An, about 122 (*HHS* 44/34:1505), and was first appointed to excellency rank in 142, towards the end of the reign of Emperor Shun, when he became Excellency over the Masses (*HHS* 6:272).

Besides the regular posts of Grand Commandant, Excellency over the Masses and Excellency of Works, Hu Guang had also, as we have seen, been made Grand Tutor to Emperor Ling; hence the reference to four positions as an excellency.

⁵ Chen Fan, who died in the coup of 168 when Dou Wu was overthrown, had at that time held the position of Grand Tutor. He was thus a colleague of Hu Guang who was then the Excellency over the Masses: passage A of *Jianning* 1, and see also notes 2 and 75 to *Jianning* 1.

Li Xian had been appointed Grand Commandant in the previous year: passage A of *Jianning* 4.

⁶ Boshi 伯始 was the style of Hu Guang. He was the author of four books on Han ceremonial, being *Hanguan jiegu* 漢官解詁 "Explanatory Notes to Han Offices" [*Hanguan* itself is identified by Mansvelt Beck with the *Xiaoxue Hanguan pian* 小學漢官篇 "Han Offices Explained for Beginning Students" compiled by Wang Long 王隆 of the first century], *Boguan zhen* 百官箴 "Admonitions to the Hundred Officials," *Han zhidu* 漢制度 "Han Regulations," and *Han jiuyi* 漢舊儀 "Old Ceremonial of Han." On these, see Mansvelt Beck *Treatises*, 84-86, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 2-3.

for this reason the people of the empire thought little of him.[124]

- C [In the summer] in the fifth month on the day *jisi* [24 Jun] there was an amnesty for the empire and the reign period was changed [to Xiping].⁷

The Coachman of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, Hou Lan,⁸ was found guilty of luxury and arrogance, and of acting with arbitrary authority. Ordered to surrender his seal and ribbon of office, he killed himself.

In the sixth month there were great floods in the capital district.

- D The mother of the Dowager Dou died in Bijing,⁹ and the dowager became ill from grief and remorse. On the *guisi* day [18 Jul] she died at the Cloud Terrace.¹⁰

- E The eunuchs had long resented the Dou family. So they took the dowager's body in a clothing cart to the market-place in the south of the city and left it in a shed there for several days.

Cao Jie and Wang Fu wanted to have the funeral ceremonies carried out with rituals suitable for an Honoured Lady. The emperor said, however, "It was the Dowager who brought me to the throne and entrusted me with the great inheritance. How can I let her end her days as no more than an Honoured Lady?" So the funerary rites were carried out with the full ceremonial [appropriate to an empress].

Then Cao Jie and his fellows wanted to have the dowager buried in a separate tomb [to that of her husband Emperor Huan], while the position of the equal [consort's] tablet in the ancestral temple was allocated to that of the Honoured Lady Feng.¹¹ The emperor decreed

C *HHS* 8:333 (4a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

⁷ The text of *HHS* 8 contains the notation for summer, and also the name of the reign period. *ZZTJ* has omitted them.

⁸ Palace of Prolonged Joy was the title of the residence of the Dowager Dou, who was still held in honoured imprisonment in the Cloud Terrace apartments of the Southern Palace: passages O and R and notes 70 and 72 to Jianning 1. The Coachman was second in charge of those apartments: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 72-73.

⁹ Those members of the Dou family who had not been killed at the time of the coup in 168 had been sent into exile in Bijing county in Rinan commandery in the far south of the empire: passage O and note 71 to Jianning 1. The wife or concubine of Dou Wu, mother of his daughter the Dowager, was evidently among that number.

¹⁰ It was seven years since the Dowager Dou had come to the throne in 165 as the formal wife of Emperor Huan. She was probably about twenty years old at the time of her death.

E *HHS* 56/46:1832-33 (13b-14b), the Biography of Chen Qiu.

¹¹ As she was the last full wife of Emperor Huan, the late Dowager Dou should be buried in his tomb. According to prescribed ritual, moreover, a deceased widow was to be

that there should be a full court conference on the matter, with excellencies and ministers, and that the Regular Attendant Zhao Zhong should adjudicate.

At this time the Grand Commandant Li Xian was ill. He got out of his sickbed, supported himself by a small carriage, [and went to the conference] taking with him a potion of *fagara*.¹²

1829 He said to his wife, "Unless the dowager receives the same

honoured in the ancestral temple with the same ceremony as her late husband, while her spirit tablet shared his precedence. Having failed to reduce the ceremonial of the Lady Dou's funeral, the eunuchs now sought to downgrade her posthumous status.

The only Honoured Lady Feng referred to in *Hou Han shu* was a member of the harem of Emperor He at the beginning of the second century. After the death of the emperor in 105, when the Dowager Deng acceded to the government of the empire, she awarded the Lady Feng special honours, and referred to her as a comrade in the harem: *HHS* 10A:421. It is probable, however, that the Honoured Lady Feng referred to here was one of the concubines in the very large harem of Emperor Huan.

Emperor Huan had three empresses, the ladies Liang, Deng and Dou, but his favourite companions at the time of his death were the Lady Tian Sheng and her eight associates, all of whom had been made Honoured Ladies. Tian Sheng was killed by the Dowager Dou immediately after the death of Emperor Huan: passage U and note 32 to Yongkang 1. It is possible that the Honoured Lady Feng was one of the other eight, who survived the immediate jealous revenge and died some time later.

The Qing commentator Hui Dong, in commentary to *HHSJJ* 56/46:14a, notes that the *Lieyi zhuan* 列異傳 "Chronicle of Strange Events" ascribed to Cao Pi 曹丕, Emperor Wen 文 of the state of Wei 魏 of the Three Kingdoms period in the third century, has a story [at 116] of how the Honoured Lady Feng of Emperor Huan died, and then in the time of Emperor Ling her tomb was broken open by robbers, but although seventy years had passed her body and features were still well preserved. This would seem to confirm that Emperor Huan had an Honoured Lady of the Feng surname, but the gap of seventy years to the time of Emperor Ling is, of course, wrong, and actually suggests that it was the concubine of Emperor He who suffered the desecration in such good order.

See further below and notes 15 and 16.

- 12 The character 椒 *jiao*, now commonly interpreted as pepper, should at this time be understood as describing the *fagara* plant, or Chinese pepper, genus *Xanthoxylon*, of which various species are native to west and northwest China. The true black pepper is known as 胡椒 *hujiao*.

In Han times, *fagara* was a commonly available and substantially less expensive substitute for pepper. See, for example, Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 149-150, Stuart, *Materia Medica; Vegetable Kingdom*, 462-464 and 334 (Stuart renders *Xanthoxylon* in the variant form *Zanthoxylum*), and Bodde, *Festivals*, 66-67. See also the commentary of Hu Sanxing to this passage of *ZZTJ*.

Besides its use as a condiment, different varieties of *fagara* are used for assorted medical purposes. In the present context it appears that Li Xian was providing himself with an overdose.

sacrifices as the late Emperor Huan, I shall not return alive." [125]

When the conference began, there were several hundred people in attendance, but each looked at the other to speak first, and for a long time there was no-one who dared commence the debate.

Zhao Zhong said, "This is the time that the question must be settled."

The Minister of Justice Chen Qiu said, "The dowager was a woman of good family and abundant virtue. She was mother to all the empire. She should receive equal honours with the late emperor. There can be no doubt on the matter."

Zhao Zhong smiled and said, "It would be appropriate for Minister Chen to present a written justification of that statement."

Then Chen Qiu put forward the following document: "From the time the late dowager came to the Fragrant Chambers,¹³ she showed the virtues of intelligence and motherly feeling. When she encountered unfavourable times,¹⁴ she established our present +sagacious and intelligent ruler, and so she maintained the ancestral temple [of the imperial clan]. That achievement was most valuable.

"The late emperor died, and she met with great misfortune. She was transferred to an empty palace, and unhappily she has died young.

"Though her family incurred punishment, those affairs did not involve the dowager. If she is now buried apart from her husband, this will truly disappoint the expectations of the empire.

"As for the Honoured Lady Feng, her tomb has once already been broken into and robbed,¹⁵ so her bones have been exposed and

13 Fragrant Chambers (椒房 *Jiao fang*) is a term for the apartments of the empress. On *jiao*, the *fagara* plant, see note 12 above.

During Former Han, the empress's apartments in the Weiyang 未央 palace at Chang'an were ornamented with plasters of fragrant spices, and the nomenclature, probably also the custom, was continued by Later Han at Luoyang. See *HS* 97A:3958 commentary note 4 quoting Yan Shigu, *HHS* 41/31:1401 commentary note 7, and *HHS* 63/52:2075 commentary note 2 *bis*.

It is likely that the plaster was chosen not only for its smell and value as insulation, but also to provide sympathetic magic: like the true pepper, the *fagara* plant produces a multitude of seeds.

14 In the context of Chen Qiu's remarks, the phrase 不造 *buzao* refers to the death of Emperor Huan. The phrase 不幸 *buxing* "unhappily" below describes the death of the dowager.

15 As the commentary of Li Xian remarks, we are told in *HHS* 65/55:2153, the biography of Duan Jiong, that some time after that general's triumphal return from the campaigns against the Qiang about 170 (passage B and note 2 to Jianning 3), he had been appointed Intendant of Henan. Then, however, the tomb of the Honoured Lady Feng

scattered amongst those of criminals, and her spiritual soul is defiled and contaminated.¹⁶ Furthermore, that lady did no great work for the empire. How can she be raised to the equal of the highest honour?"

As Zhao Zhong considered Chen Qiu's argument, he responded from time to time by nodding his head. Then he laughed at Chen Qiu and said, "Minister Chen presents his argument very forcefully!"

Chen Qiu replied, "Chen Fan and Dou Wu suffered wrong, and the dowager was incarcerated without good reason. This is a constant source of anguish to me, and a cause of resentment and anger throughout the empire. I have spoken of that matter today; if I am punished for doing so, that would only fulfil a long-felt wish." [126]

Li Xian spoke: "I have always felt this way. He has expressed things exactly the way that I would." And all the other excellencies and ministers gave their support to Chen Qiu's argument.

Cao Jie and Wang Fu still attempted to maintain the debate, arguing that "The family of the Empress Liang [of Emperor Huan] was wicked, treacherous and rebellious, and she was given a separate tomb at

was broken into and robbed. Duan Jiong was held formally responsible and was demoted to the courtier's position of Counsellor Remonstrant.

16 The phrase used here is *hunling* 魂靈. According to beliefs current in the Han period, the *hun* was one of two elements of the soul of a human being. The *po* 魄 enabled the actions of the body, giving it movement and strength, while the *hun* directed activity, and incorporated the intellectual and spiritual qualities.

It was believed that after death the *po* remained with the body, while the *hun* undertook the dangerous journey to the next world. Initial sacrifices were designed to persuade the *hun* to return and restore the corpse to life; later, after these entreaties had failed, the mourners would offer assistance to the *hun* on its dangerous journey.

On these concepts, see Loewe, *Ideas of Life and Death*, 26, and *Ways to Paradise*, 9-12. The poems *Zhao hun* 招魂 "Summons to the Soul" and *Dazhao* 大招 "The Great Summons" in the *Chu ci* 楚辭 collection, reflect this concept; Hawkes, *Songs of the South*, 101-104.

On the other hand, it was also believed that when a person died a violent death the *hun* soul could still remain about the mortal world in the form of an apparition. See, for example, *Zuo zhuan*, Zhao 7; Legge, *CC V*, 618 (Couvreur, *Chronique III*, 140-142).

If the *hun* soul of the unfortunate Lady Feng could be disturbed and defiled by the robbery of her tomb, it would seem that the event had taken place soon after her interment. Furthermore, if the proposal that the Lady Feng should be granted position in the ancestral temple beside that of the late Emperor Huan was being made at this time, her death must also have been fairly recent – otherwise her position would have been fixed earlier. The Lady Feng, therefore, appears to have died and been buried shortly before the dowager, and the desecration of her tomb was a recent scandal.

All this goes to contradict the story told by *Lieyi zhuan* in note 12 above.

Yiling.¹⁷ Emperor Wu disgraced and dismissed his Empress Wei, and the Lady Li shared in his posthumous sacrifices.¹⁸ Now the crimes of the Dou family are very serious: how can it be permitted that the late dowager should share the imperial tomb?"

Li Xian memorialised in turn, "I observe that the Virtuous Empress Dou of Emperor Zhang ill-treated and brought the death of [the Lady Liang, who was posthumously honoured as] the Respectful and Remembered Empress. And the family of the Thoughtful Empress Yan of Emperor An was wicked, treacherous and rebellious. Yet Emperor He never had any intention of arranging a separate tomb [for the Empress Dou], and the court of Emperor Shun entertained no proposal for the demotion [of the Empress Yan].¹⁹

17 On the death and burial of the Empress Liang of Emperor Huan in 159, see passages C and O of Yanxi 2.

Since Emperor Huan was still alive at the time of the Lady Liang's death, and it was quite possible, as indeed happened, that there would be further empresses after her, the formal question of burial in the same tomb was less critical. On the other hand, after the overthrow of Liang Ji, Emperor Huan did reduce the tomb of his former empress to be that of an Honoured Lady, and he certainly made no arrangements to share her posthumous accommodation.

18 The biography of the Empress Wei Zifu 衛子夫 of Emperor Wu is in *HS* 67A:3949-50, and that of the Lady Li Furen 李夫人, which includes a rhapsody written in her honour by the emperor himself, is in *HS* 67A:3951-56.

On the trouble at Chang'an in 91 BC, when the Empress Wei and her son the Heir Liu Ju 劉據 both engaged in active insurrection against the aging Emperor Wu, see *HS* 6:208-09; Dubs, *HFHD* II, 114-115, and Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 37-45. As a result of that incident, the empress was summarily dismissed and committed suicide, while Liu Ju also killed himself.

The Lady Li had died several years earlier, probably about 100 BC, but she had been greatly favoured by Emperor Wu and her funeral was carried out with the ceremonial of an empress. The Emperor, who died in 87, did not name another consort after the fall of the Lady Wei. It was thus not unnatural that he should have given his former favourite some further posthumous honour, and after his death she was given full title as empress. See also Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 53-54.

19 The Honoured Lady Liang 梁 of Emperor Zhang was the natural mother of Emperor He, but in 79, soon after giving birth to him, she was brought to disgrace and death through the intrigues of Emperor Zhang's Empress Dou. Emperor He came to the throne in 88, under the regency of the Lady Dou, but in 92 he destroyed the power of the Dou family. When the Dowager Dou died in 97, however, Emperor He was told of the misfortunes she had brought upon the Lady Liang; he gave his mother the posthumous title of Gonghuai 恭懷 "Respectful and Remembered" Empress.

There was a proposal that the Lady Dou should not be buried in the same tomb as Emperor Zhang, but Emperor He refused to listen, expressing himself in much the same terms as Chen Qiu and Li Xian in this debate of 172. The Lady Dou was buried

1830 "As to the matter of the Empress Wei, it was Emperor Wu himself who dismissed her, so that case cannot be used as a precedent.

"Now the late Dowager of the Palace of Prolonged Joy still held her honourable title when she died, she held government for a time as regent, and she personally chose our present wise and sage-like ruler. This is a great and splendid achievement for the maintenance of the imperial line.

"The dowager took his majesty as her own son; how can his majesty fail to accept her as his mother? There is no way that a son can dismiss his mother, any more than a subject can dismiss his lord! The dowager must be buried with her late husband in the Xuanling tomb. This will be in full accord with the regulations of former times."

The emperor studied this memorial, and approved it.²⁰

F In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *jiayin* [8 Aug] the "Thoughtful" Empress of Emperor Huan was buried at Xuanling.²¹

with Emperor Zhang at Jingling 敬陵 "Mound of Reverence," southeast of Luoyang, with posthumous title as De 德 "Virtuous." See *HHS* 10A:416, and *Cambridge China* I, 281-282: Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, Restoration, and Later Han."

The Empress Yan Ji 閻姬 of Emperor An took that position in 115, and her family obtained important positions at court as a result of her elevation. Emperor An's only son, Liu Bao 劉保, was born in 115 to a concubine the Lady Li 李. The Empress Yan had the Lady Li poisoned soon afterwards, and in 124 the Yan group persuaded Emperor An to dismiss Liu Bao from the position of Heir. In the following year Emperor An died and the Yan put an infant on the throne, but when that child died a coup by a group of eunuchs overthrew their power and established Liu Bao, who became Emperor Shun. See *Cambridge China* I, 284-285: Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, Restoration, and Later Han," also Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 91-93, and deC, *Fire over Luoyang*, 216-225.

When the Lady Yan died in 126, she was given the posthumous title Si 思 "Thoughtful" and was buried in the same tomb as Emperor An, at Gongling 恭陵 "Mound of Respect," northwest of Luoyang. At the same time, the new emperor's mother the Lady Li was given the posthumous title of Gongmin 恭愍 "Respectful and Pitiful" Empress, she was buried at Gongbeiling 恭北陵, obviously in the immediate vicinity of Emperor An's tomb, and her tablet was placed in the ancestral temple. See *HHS* 10 B:437-38. These proceedings are very similar to those which had been followed in the time of Emperor He.

20 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 23:17b-19a has a different account of the debate, giving a rather larger role to Li Xian, but describing him only as Intendant of Henan, whereas it seems clear that he was at that time the Grand Commandant.

F *HHS* 8:333 (4b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

21 Xuanling 宣陵 "Mound of Comprehension" was the tomb of Emperor Huan, southeast of Luoyang. The posthumous title Si 思 "Thoughtful" was the same as that given to the Lady Yan, Empress and Dowager of Emperor An: note 20 above.

G Someone wrote on the tower of the Gate of the Vermilion Bird:²² "The empire is in great disorder. Cao Jie and Wang Fu have imprisoned and killed the dowager. The [127] excellencies and ministers draw their salaries but do nothing.²³ No-one speaks out loyally."

An imperial edict ordered the Director of Retainers Liu Meng to search out and arrest those responsible, and to report results every ten days. Liu Meng, however, considered that the criticisms were justified, and was reluctant to pursue the matter. After more than a month, the culprits had still not been found.

Liu Meng was held responsible for this failure and was demoted to Counsellor Remonstrant. The Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk Duan Jiong was appointed in his stead.²⁴

Duan Jiong made wide-ranging and energetic investigation, and he arrested over a thousand students of the Imperial University, lodging at Luoyang, who were implicated in the affair.²⁵ Cao Jie and his fellows

G *HHS* 78/68:2525 (13a), the Biography of Cao Jie in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

22 On the Gate of the Vermilion Bird, southern entrance to the Northern Palace at Luoyang, see note 67 to Jianning 1.

23 The phrase 尸椽 *shilu*, "to receive salary as a corpse," refers to an ancient funerary custom, the 尸位 *shiwèi* or 尸利 *shili*, by which, when sacrifices were offered to the deceased, a virgin boy or girl impersonated the dead person, sitting motionless to receive the respects paid by the descendants. From this came the analogy of a ruler or official who held position without taking proper action. See, for example, the *Wuzi zhige* 五子之歌 "The Songs of the Five Sons" Chapter of *Shu jing* III.1, 1; Legge, *CC* III, 156-157, and his note; *Li ji* 29.38; Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies* II, 504; and the commentary of Yan Shigu to *HS* 72:3089 note 10.

24 According to his biography in *HHS* 65/55:2153, Duan Jiong had returned to the capital about 170, following his victorious campaigns against the Xianlian tribes of the Eastern Qiang, and then held office successively as Palace Attendant, Bearer of the Mace and Intendant of Henan. He was dismissed from that last position on account of the desecration of the tomb of the Honoured Lady Feng, and was appointed to the less important office of Counsellor Remonstrant: note 15 above.

The Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk was the chief of the censorial offices: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 58-59, which renders the title as Palace Assistant Secretary, and deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 68-72. There is, however, no other record of Duan Jiong holding that office, and his biography states that he transferred directly from the position of Counsellor Remonstrant to be Director of Retainers – thus exchanging places with Liu Meng.

25 The phrase *yusheng* 游生 "journeying scholars" is interpreted as referring to students of the university who had come to lodge in Luoyang during their period of studies. There is no statement that they were executed; one may assume they suffered some physical punishment and a period of detention, but were then simply sent home, and very likely proscribed from office.

also had Duan Jiong report against Liu Meng on some other grounds, and Liu Meng was sentenced to labour service in the Enclosure of the Left.

H Before this, when Wang Yu was Director of Retainers he allied himself to the eunuchs, and he had sought some favour of Zhang Huan, who was at that time Minister of Ceremonies.²⁶ Zhang Huan refused him, and so Wang Yu accused Zhang Huan of Faction. Zhang Huan was proscribed from office [and returned to his own estates].²⁷

Before this, when Zhang Huan and Duan Jiong were dealing with the Qiang, they had been in disagreement.²⁸ Now that Duan Jiong was Director of Retainers, he planned to injure Zhang Huan by having him expelled, sent back to Dunhuang, and held there.²⁹

1831 Zhang Huan, however, sent Duan Jiong a piteous letter of request, and Duan Jiong let the matter rest.³⁰

I Before this, when Li Gao of Wei commandery was Director of Retainers, he had killed Su Qian of Hongnong on account of an old quarrel between them.³¹ Su Qian's son, Su Buwei, carried out the

H *HHS* 65/55:2141-42 (9b-10a), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

26 Zhang Huan had been appointed Minister of Finance after his assistance to the eunuchs in the coup against Dou Wu in 168: passage V of Jianning 1. He was later transferred to Minister of Ceremonies, but became unpopular for his outspoken support of Li Ying and his colleagues and his opposition to the eunuchs: passage F of Jianning 2. It may be noted that Liu Meng, who has just been replaced by Duan Jiong as Director of Retainers, had been associated with Zhang Huan in support of Li Ying.

27 The four characters 黨罪禁錮 *dangzui jin'gu* are presented here without any punctuation break, but I follow *HHS* 65/55:2141; Young, *Three Generals*, 53.

28 For the debate when Zhang Huan protested Duan Jiong's policy of extermination, see passage I of Jianning 1. His approach and that of Duan Jiong were quite opposed.

29 Zhang Huan was a native of the border commandery of Dunhuang, but had been granted the privilege of shifting his residence to the inner commandery of Hongnong, between Luoyang and Chang'an, as reward for his success in dealing with the troubles of the north: passage R of Yongkang 1.

30 The text of Zhang Huan's letter is at *HHS* 65/55:2142; Young, *Three Generals*, 53-54.

I *HHS* 31/21:1107-09 (12b-13b), the Biography of Su Buwei.

31 The Su family of Hongnong was one of long distinction, with ancestors who had served as military commanders against the Xiongnu during Former Han. The family continued to hold official rank under Later Han, though by the time of Su Qian and Su Buwei they were rather of local than of national significance.

The story of the vendetta is given in considerably more detail by the parallel text of *HHS* 31/21, and I supplement the *ZZTJ* account in the notes which follow. Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 311, mentions the affair, but although it is a noteworthy example of feuding among powerful clans in the latter years of Han, he does not expand upon it.

temporary burial but did not complete the funeral. He changed his name and gathered personal followers for vengeance.³²

Li Gao was transferred to be Minister of Finance. Hiding himself in a grain and fodder storehouse, Su Buwei tunnelled under a wall to gain entry to [128] Li Gao's bedroom. There he killed Li Gao's concubine and also his small son.³³

Li Gao was extremely frightened. He had planks laid on the floor instead of the usual mats, and he changed the place of his sleeping quarters nine times a night.

Su Buwei also dug up the grave of Li Gao's father, cut off the head

According to *HHS* 31/21:1107, Li Gao was an associate of the eunuch Ju Yuan, and became a county magistrate in Youfufeng. As a result of his contacts with Ju Yuan, he was able to exploit the people without any investigation or punishment, and he accumulated considerable stores of treasure. Then Su Qian was appointed as commandery Investigator; he seized Li Gao's ill-gotten property and had him dismissed and sent to labour service. Since Ju Yuan was disgraced in 165 (passage E of Yanxi 8), the origins of the feud must be dated before that time.

Su Qian later became Administrator of Jincheng commandery in Liang province, but for some reason resigned and left. Under the Han system, an official who left his post without formal imperial approval was not permitted to visit Luoyang without special authority. Su Qian nonetheless made a private visit to the capital. Li Gao had since been appointed Director of Retainers, with censorial power in the capital province, and he took the opportunity to have Su Qian arrested and flogged. Su Qian died under this treatment, but Li Gao continued the punishment on his corpse.

- 32 *HHS* 31/21 says that at this time Su Buwei was eighteen *sui* and had just been recommended for the imperial service. He did not take up the appointment, but removed his father's body to temporary resting in their home country, and in the preliminary ceremonial he swore an oath to Heaven to avenge Su Qian as the ancient statesman Wu Yun 伍員 (more commonly known by his style as Wu Zixu 伍子胥) had avenged his own father after he was murdered by the king of Chu. [See, for example, *SJ* 66:2172-76, which tells how the father of Wu Zixu was killed by King Ping of Chu 楚平王, so Wu Zixu took service with the rival state of Wu 吳 and eventually led an army of conquest against Chu. He then opened up the tomb of King Ping and flogged the corpse in vengeance.]

As a first move, Su Buwei sent his mother for security to the isolated Wudu commandery in the west. He changed his name, expended the family money to raise followers, and attempted an open attack on Li Gao but without success.

- 33 *HHS* 31/21 says that Su Buwei and some of his relatives gained access to the storehouse of the Enclosure of the Right (which supervised convict services: note 82 to Yanxi 2 and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 82), and from there they dug night after night for more than a month to break into the residence of the ministry of the Minister of Finance.

Just as Su Buwei got in, Li Gao had gone to the lavatory, and only his concubine and child were there. Su Buwei killed them both, left a note to show who the visitor had been, and went away.

of the corpse, took it away with him and hung it up in a market-place.³⁴

Li Gao sought to arrest Su Buwei but could not find him. Frustrated and furious, he spat blood and died.

As the result of an amnesty, Su Buwei was able to return to his own home, and he now buried his father with full ceremony.³⁵

Zhang Huan was formerly on good terms with the Su family, but Duan Jiong had been a close friend of Li Gao. Duan Jiong appointed Su Buwei [to his own staff] as Assistant Officer to the Director of Retainers, but Su Buwei was afraid; he claimed to be ill and would not go.

Duan Jiong was angry, and he ordered his Assistant Officer Zhang Xian to go to Su Buwei's house and kill him. First, however, he gave a vial of poison to Zhang Xian's father, telling him, "If Zhang Xian does not succeed in taking Su Buwei, you can drink this." So Zhang Xian arrested Su Buwei and over sixty other people from his household, and he killed them all.³⁶

34 *HHS* 31/21 says that with Li Gao alerted to the threat, Su Buwei rode day and night to Wei commandery, where he desecrated the grave and the corpse of Li Gao's father. He took the head first as an offering to display at the tomb of his own father Su Qian, and then hung it in the market-place with a notice to identify it.

Li Gao recovered the head and said nothing about yher affair, but he resigned his appointment and returned to his home country where he repaired and restored the grave.

35 *HHS* 31/21:1108-09 says that there was some criticism of Su Buwei's conduct, avenging his father's ills by desecrating another man's corpse. The arbiter Guo Tai, however (on whom see passages B to L of Yanxi 7), argued that Su Buwei had outstripped even the achievement of Wu Zixu, for Wu Zixu had carried out his vengeance with the aid of an army, while Su Buwei acted alone in successful defiance of the power of a great minister of state.

If we are to accept this interesting authority on the appropriate behaviour for filial piety among the scholars and gentlemen of Later Han, then it would seem that the vengeance of Su Buwei must have been completed by about 169, for Guo Tai died in the spring of that year: see his biography in *HHS* 68/58:2227.

HHS 31/21:1109 goes on to say that Su Buwei was invited to join the staff of Chen Fan when he was Grand Tutor: *i.e.* during 168. He declined the invitation, but he did accept local office as Senior Clerk of the Bureau for All Purposes in his own commandery of Hongnong.

36 Zhang Huan had evidently made contact with the Su family during his time in Hongnong. Despite the implications, however, it is not necessary to believe that Duan Jiong held any immediate hostility to Su Buwei. Certainly we are told that he invited him with courtesy (禮 *li*). It may well have been the refusal which stirred Duan Jiong to reconsider the case and take action. As a resident of Hongnong commandery, Su Buwei was within Duan Jiong's jurisdiction as Director of Retainers, and Duan Jiong evidently felt that his authority was sufficient to over-ride the previous amnesty.

J When Liu Kui, King of Bohai, was demoted to Yingtao, he had sought the good offices of the Regular Attendant Wang Fu to regain his original fief, and he promised to pay Wang Fu fifty million cash as a thanks offering.

When Emperor Huan restored Liu Kui in his testamentary edict, however, Liu Kui realised that Wang Fu had had no influence on the matter, and he was not willing to redeem his pledge.³⁷

The Regular Attendant Zheng Li and the Palace Attendant of the Yellow Gates Dong Teng had several times been in communication with Liu Kui. Wang Fu spied upon them in secret and then informed Duan Jiong.

In the winter, in the tenth month Zheng Li was arrested and sent to the Prison of the Northern Office [of the Yellow Gates], and it was arranged that the Director of the Imperial Secretariat Lian Zhong should make false complaint to the throne that "Zheng Li and his fellows have planned to receive Liu Kui and establish him as emperor. This is greatly refractory and impious."³⁸[129]

As a result of this, an imperial edict ordered the Inspector of Ji province to arrest Liu Kui and examine him for the truth of the matter.³⁹ Liu Kui was reprimanded and put under great pressure, and was ordered to commit suicide. His eleven concubines, seventy sons and daughters, and twenty-four serving-maids died in prison. The Tutor and the Chancellor and lower officials [of the kingdom of Bohai], all suffered execution.⁴⁰ Wang Fu and eleven associates were enfeoffed as marquises for their good work.

J *HHS* 55/45:1798 (1b), the Biography of Liu Kui.

³⁷ On the dismissal and subsequent reinstatement of Liu Kui, younger brother of Emperor Huan, see passages B of Yanxi 8 and T of Yongkang 1. *HHS* 8:320 dates the restoration of Liu Kui to his former fief in Bohai on the day *renshen*, equivalent to 20 January 168, and five days before the death of Emperor Huan. *HHS* 55/45 refers to the testamentary edict (遺詔 *yizhao*), delivered as the emperor was dying, and it may well be that Emperor Huan relented when he realised that his illness was fatal.

³⁸ On the accusation 大逆無道 *dani wudao* or 不道 *budao*, which served primarily to enhance a substantive fault into the category of treason or crimes against the natural order, see Hulsewé, *RHL*, 156-197.

³⁹ Bohai kingdom was in Ji province, and the Inspector evidently had authority to investigate even the kings who held fiefs in his region.

⁴⁰ The Chancellor of a kingdom was the head of the royal administration in the same fashion as an Administrator governed a commandery. The Tutor was an official appointed to supervise the personal activities of the king, though his role was generally quite formal. Most other officers of a kingdom were the same as those of a commandery. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 107.

- K In the eleventh month the heretic rebel Xu Sheng of Kuaiji made a rising at Juzhang. He called himself the Emperor of the Brightness of Yang, and his forces were numbered by the tens of thousands.
- 1832 Zang Min the Inspector of Yang province and Chen Yin the Administrator of Danyang were sent to attack him.⁴¹

K SGZ 46/Wu 1:1093, the Biography of Sun Jian; and HHS 8:334 (4b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

41 Xu Chang was one of a number of unorthodox teachers at this time, and his rebellion was not in itself of great importance. It has some significance, however, as a fore-runner and example of the trouble that would come ten years later with the Yellow Turbans of Zhang Jue in Zhongping 1: 184, and also as the occasion that the future general Sun Jian found opportunity to distinguish himself. There is, predictably, some disagreement about the name and style of such a minor figure, operating in one of the further regions from the capital.

1 SGZ 46/Wu 1 says that Xu Chang 許昌 proclaimed himself "Emperor of the Brightness of Yang," 陽明皇帝 and that he was assisted by his son Xu Shao 韶. The *Lingdi ji* 靈帝紀 of Liu Ai 劉艾, quoted in commentary note 2 to that text, adds that Xu Chang named his father as King of Yue 越王, but HHS 8 says that Xu Sheng 生 of Kuaiji named himself King of Yue.

2 *Dongguan Hanji* 3:5b names the rebels as Xu Zhao 昭, who called himself General-in-Chief, and his father Sheng 生, who was named King of Yue. HHS 58/48:1884, the biography of Zang Hong, son of Zang Min, and HHS 102/12:3258, the Treatise of Astronomy, both agree.

By changing the character 昭 *zhao* to *shao* 韶, Chen Shou, author of *SGZ*, avoided taboo on the personal name of Sima Zhao (211-265), posthumously entitled Emperor Wen of Jin 晉文帝 (*JS* 2:32 and 44), so the apparent disagreement between those two characters is not incompatible.

3 Nevertheless, while HHS and *Dongguan Hanji* refer to the rebels as Xu Sheng and his son Shao/Zhao, *SGZ* and *Lingdi ji* say that the rebels were Xu Chang, his son Shao/Zhao, and Xu Chang's father (unnamed, but presumably Xu Sheng). Sima Guang has combined the differing accounts, but his *Kaoyi* commentary does not discuss the matter.

There is one particular reason for suggesting that one of the rebel leaders was named Xu Chang. According to the apocryphal book *Chunqiu zuozhu qi* 春秋佐助期 "Helpful Forecasts from the *Spring and Autumn Annals*," which was in circulation during Later Han, the dynasty was to lose its dominion because of/by means of *xu chang*: 漢以許昌失天下 *Han yi xu chang shi tianxia*.

Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 117, matches this prophecy with the change of the name of the capital of Cao Pi, first Emperor of Wei, from Xu 許 to Xuchang 許昌 in 221, soon after he had compelled the abdication of Liu Xie, Emperor Xian of Han, in his favour: *SGZ* 2:77. *SGZ* 2:64 PC quotes from a long memorial which was presented at that time by Xu Zhi 許芝, Assistant to the Court Astrologer, discussing the prophecies which foretold the succession of Wei to Han, and including a reference to the passage from *Chunqiu zuozhu qi*, which he duly interprets in relation to the city of Xu/Xuchang, now Xuchang in Henan. On the political background of this memorial,

- L In the twelfth month the Excellency over the Masses Xu Xu left office. The Minister Herald Yuan Wei became Excellency over the Masses.⁴²

see Leban, "Managing Heaven's Mandate," particularly at 328, and Goodman, *Ts'ao P'i Transcendant*, 100-102.

It is very possible, however, that the heretic rebel of the Xu surname, operating in Kuaiji fifty years earlier, may have taken the personal name Chang because he expected to fulfil the prophecy on his own account – or he may have devised the prophecy to match his own name.

One may offer here an addition to the detailed analysis provided by Leban in his article cited above. Immediately after Xu Zhi cited the prophecy *Han yi xu chang shi tianxia* (which Leban interprets as "Han by Hsü rising will lose the world": reading *chang* in the meaning "rising"), he went on to quote a saying attributed to the former magistrate of Boma Li Yun, that "In Hsü a rising aura was seen at 'High-on-the-road' (塗高 *tu gao*)."

Leban observes that "High-on-the-road" refers to a common prophecy, which had also been cited by Yuan Shu during the course of the civil war which followed the death of Emperor Ling in 189: *HHS* 75/65:2439; deC, *Establish Peace*, 190-191. Leban, however, makes no comment on Li Yun, who was an interesting person in this context.

The story of Li Yun has been told in passage FF of Yanxi 2. His execution by Emperor Huan did a great deal of damage to that ruler's relationship with the scholar-officials of the bureaucracy, and Li Yun was remembered as a hero.

The biography of Li Yun, in *HHS* 57/47:1851-54, quotes at length from the fatal memorial. Li Yun did make references to a number of portents, he cited apocryphal texts, and he discussed the possibility of the fall of Han after a cycle of three hundred and sixty-four years, but the text of the memorial does not mention Xu or the phrase *xuchang*. It may be, of course, that the quotation is incomplete, but there is no evidence that Li Yun himself ever visited the city of Xu, so he was hardly in a position to report about it or its putative aura.

If Li Yun had spoken as Xu Zhi claimed, that would mean the association of *xuchang* with the fall of Han could be dated some ten years before the time of the rebel Xu Chang. It seems more probable, however, that Li Yun, some sixty years after his death, had become identified as a worthy man who made helpful predictions. To cite him as an authority supported the case that Xu Zhi was concerned to make, but the attribution was probably spurious, and tells us nothing about the origin of the prophecy.

As to the prophecy regarding "High-on-the-road," it seems that it may have first been promulgated in the mid-140s by a group of rebels in Dangtu 當塗 county, on the Huai River in Jiujiang: *HHS* 6:276 and 112/22:3486, discussed by Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 186, and deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 102 note 10. As the Tang commentary to *HHS* 75/65:2439 points out, the name of the state of Wei can also have the meaning of "high."

- L *HHS* 8:334 (4b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

⁴² The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 24:1a dates this change of offices three years later, in Xiping 4, but he has followed the text of *HHS* Annals.

The Xianbi raided Bing province.

- M In this year, the [Xiongnu] Shanyu [Ju]che'er died. His son the Tuteruo shizhujiu Shanyu succeeded him.⁴³[130]

M *HHS* 89/79:2964 (18b), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

⁴³ The Shanyu Juche'er had been threatened with dismissal after the rebellion of 166: passage I of Yanxi 1; on the dating of that rebellion see note 17 to Yanxi 1. He had, however, been allowed to maintain his puppet rule until his death. The personal name of the son and successor to Juche'er is not known and he is described only by his dynastic style.

Xiping 熹平 2: 173 AD

1 February 173 - 19 February 174

A In the spring, in the first month there was great pestilence.¹

On the day *dingchou* [4 Mar] the Excellency of Works Zong Ju died.

In the second month on the day *renwu* [4 Mar] there was an amnesty for the empire.

The Minister of the Imperial Household Yang Ci became Excellency of Works.

In the third month the Grand Commandant Li Xian left office.

In the summer, in the fifth month the Director of Retainers Duan Jiong became Grand Commandant.

In the sixth month there was an earthquake in Beihai.²

In the autumn, in the seventh month the Excellency of Works Yang Zi left office. The Minister of Ceremonies Tang Zhen from Yingchuan became Excellency of Works. Tang Zhen was a younger brother of Tang Heng.³

A *HHS* 8:334-35 (4b-5a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

¹ This outbreak is recorded in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 107/17:3351. It is the first such epidemic during the reign of Emperor Ling, but there would be several more in following years.

² The earthquake is listed in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 106/16:3331. The area of the incident is not specified, nor is any prognostication attached. A previous earthquake, however, in *Jianning* 4: 171, is interpreted as indicating excessive power in the hands of eunuchs.

Besides the earthquake, *HHS* 8 also mentions flooding by the sea in Donglai and Beihai, on the northern coast of the Shandong peninsula. This may have been a tsunami associated with the earthquake. The Treatise of the Five Powers records it at *HHS* 105/15:3312, and notes that people and property were swept away and destroyed.

HHS 105/15:3317, the Treatise of the Five Powers, cited also in commentary to *HHS* 8, tells how two great fish came from the sea, each of them eight or nine *zhang* 丈 long (eighty or ninety *chi* 尺 feet = 2.3 metres, so the fish measured some twenty metres), and two *zhang* high (about four and a half metres). They may have been beached whales. This is associated by Sima Biao with the death of the kings of Zhongshan and Rencheng in the following year: passages A and D of Xiping 3. Liu Zhao, however, quotes in his commentary from the *Yi zhuan* of Jing Fang (see note 51 to Yanxi 9), which says that when great fish come out from the sea it indicates that wicked men are gaining advancement and the worthy are becoming estranged. This, says Liu Zhao, fits excellently with the situation in the time of Emperor Ling, and how could such a major phenomenon as the appearance of two great fish be related merely to the two kings?

³ The statement of the relationship comes from the Annals of Emperor Ling in the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao, quoted in *SGZ* 6:179 PC note 6. Tang Heng was one of the five

In the winter, in the twelfth month the Grand Commandant Duan Jiong left office.

The Xianbi raided You and Bing provinces.

1833

On the day *guiyou* [19 Feb], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.⁴[131]

eunuchs who assisted Emperor Huan to overthrow Liang Ji in 159 (passages J and Q of Yanxi 2), but he had been disgraced in 165 (passage E of Yanxi 8). If Tang Zhen was indeed his younger brother, it is clear that the family influence had been maintained or restored.

The commentator Hui Dong of the Qing dynasty, however, at *HHSJJ* 8:5a, observes that there is a genealogical list which gives Tang Zhen quite a distinguished lineage, from a certain Tang Lin who was Director of the Imperial Secretariat in the time of Wang Mang. If both sources are correct, then the eunuch Tang Heng was the scion of a respectable family.

More probably, one of the relationships is falsely described. It is not possible to judge which, though Sima Guang obviously accepted the eunuch connection.

⁴ This eclipse, which is identified as Oppolzer 3312, is recorded in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 108/18:3370.

The Treatise notes that the eclipse took place in the Xu lunar mansion 虛宿, being β *Aquarius* and α *Equuleius*: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 99 and Star Map 4. The Treatise relates it to the excessive power of the eunuchs Cao Jie, Wang Fu and their colleagues.

Xiping 熹平 3 174 AD

20 February 174 - 8 February 175

A In the spring, in the second month on the day *jisi* [15 Apr], there was an amnesty for the empire.

The Minister of Ceremonies Chen Dan of Donghai became Grand Commandant.

In the third month Liu Chang, Reverent King of Zhongshan, died. He had no sons, and the kingdom was abolished.¹

In the summer, in the sixth month, Liu Kang, son of Liu Li the King of Hejian, was enfeoffed as King of Ji'nan so that he might maintain the sacrifices of the Xiaoren Emperor.²

B The Major of Wu commandery, Sun Jian of Fuchun, called up trained soldiers and obtained more than a thousand men. He assisted the province and commandery forces in their attacks on Xu Sheng.³

C In the winter, in the eleventh month Zang Min and Chen Yin thoroughly defeated Xu Sheng in Kuaiji and killed him.⁴

A *HHS* 8:335 (5a-b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

¹ Liu Chang, granted the posthumous title Mu 穆 "Reverent," was a descendant of Liu Yan 焉, a son of Emperor Guangwu, who had been enfeoffed with the kingdom of Zhongshan in 54: *HHS* 42/32:1449.

As the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes, the lists of successors to Liu Yan in *HHS* 42/32:1450 record that Liu Chang was succeeded by his son Liu Zhi 稚, and it was only after the death of Liu Zhi without an heir that the kingdom was abolished. There is no statement of when Liu Zhi died, nor any good way to reconcile the two contradictory accounts.

² Xiaoren 孝仁 was the posthumous imperial dynastic title awarded to Liu Chang 襄, the deceased father of Emperor Ling, who had in his lifetime been the Marquis of Jiedu Village: passage E of Jianning 1.

B *SGZ* 46/Wu 1:1093, the Biography of Sun Jian.

³ This represents the first appearance in this chronicle of Sun Jian, father of Sun Quan 孫權 the future ruler of the state of Wu 吳 in the Three Kingdoms period which followed the fall of Han. On the rebellion of Xu Sheng (or Xu Chang) see passage K and note 41 to Xiping 1.

Major (司馬 *sima*) was not a regular appointment in a province or commandery, and this commission of Sun Jian was evidently made for the period of emergency. His home county of Fuchun 富春, which lay upstream of present-day Hangzhou on the Tong or Fuchun River, was subordinate to Kuaiji commandery, so it was a local appointment.

C *HHS* 8:336 (5a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

⁴ One edition of *ZZTJ*, evidently following the text of *SGZ*, adds that Sun Jian followed Zang Min and Chen Yin in their attack against Xu Sheng.

Liu Bo, King of Rencheng, died. He had no sons and his kingdom was abolished.⁵

- D In the twelfth month the Xianbi raided Beidi. The Administrator Xia Yu led the [Xiu]chuge [tribe of the Xiongnu]⁶ in pursuit, and defeated them. He was transferred to become Protector of the Wuhuan.⁷
The Xianbi also raided Bing province.
- E The Excellency of Works Tang Zhen left office. The Steward of the Palace of Perpetual Joy Xu Xun became Excellency of Works.⁸[132]

⁵ The statement that the kingdom was abolished for lack of heirs comes from *HHS* 42/32:1444. The kingdom of Rencheng had originally been established by Emperor Zhang in 84 as the fief of Liu Shang 尙, grandson of Emperor Guangwu and son of the King of Dongping, Liu Cang 蒼. That line died out in 151, but in 161 Liu Bo, son of Liu Gong/Kai the late King of Hejian and thus an uncle of Emperor Huan, was enfeoffed with a restored kingdom of Rencheng in order that he might maintain the sacrifices of the previous ruler. See passage C and note 4 to Yanxi 4, also note 8 to Xiping 4.

D *HHS* 8:336 (5b), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *HHS* 90/80:2990 (8b-9a), the Account of the Xianbi.

⁶ On the Chuge 屠各, also known as the Xiuchuge 休屠各, group of the Xiongnu, who were rising to increasing prominence at this time: see note 16 to Yanxi 1 and also deC, *Northern Frontier*, 529-531 note 3.

HHS 90/80 at this point has miswritten the name as 休著屠各; with 著 and 屠 as duplicates for the same sound *chu*; 屠 seems more authoritative. Sima Guang used the shorter form 屠各, which is acceptable, but the extended variant is also commonly found.

⁷ The Protector of the Wuhuan was responsible not only for relations with that people, but also for dealings with the Xianbi: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 291.

E *HHS* 8:336 (5b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

⁸ The Palace of Perpetual Joy was the residence of the Dowager Dong, mother of Emperor Ling, who had come to the capital in 169: passages B and C and note 2 to Jianning 2. The Steward of that palace was the head of the dowager's household staff, with rank and salary comparable to that of a minister: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 72.

Xiping 熹平 4: 175 AD

9 February 175 - 28 January 176

1834

A In the spring, in the third month, an imperial edict ordered that Confucian scholars should produce a correct edition of the Five Classics. The Consultant Cai Yong was commissioned to write the text in the three scripts of Old Style, Seal and Clerical Style. They were then to be carved upon stone, and the stele set up outside the gate of the Imperial University.¹

A *HHS* 8:336 (5b), the Annals of Emperor Ling; and *HHS* 79/69A:2547 (2b), the Chapter on the Confucian Scholars.

¹ The Imperial University (太學 *taixue*) is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 68-71, who renders it as the "Academy." The complex lay about a kilometre outside the southern wall of the city of Luoyang, on the eastern side of the main north-south axis. Fragments of Stone Classics (石經 *shi jing*) have been found at that site. Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 70, has a detailed discussion of the preparation and erection of the stele.

HHS 79/69A:2547 says that from the beginning of the reign of Emperor Huan orthodox scholarship had become increasingly trifling and futile, while after the outbreak of the Faction Incident and the Proscription many of the best scholars had scattered; so that even more pointless and divisive controversies arose. In the course of such debates, some Academicians of the University were prepared to bribe the custodians of the Orchid Terrace (蘭臺 *Lantai*), the palace library where government documents and the canonical books were kept, to change the established text of the classics in order to fit their own theories. See Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 149 and 164, Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 30, and also *HHS* 78/68:2533. The latter text tells how the eunuch Li Xun 李巡 reported this to the emperor, while *HHS* 79/69A:2558 says that Cai Yong and other scholars also sent in memorials. See also the biography of Cai Yong at *HHS* 60/50B:1990.

It should be recognised, therefore, that while the engraving of the Stone Classics was a notable achievement of scholarship and calligraphy, its inspiration and necessity was a sign of moral bankruptcy in the official tradition of scholarship.

The Five Classics were the canonical works of the New Text, which had maintained its dominance of orthodox Confucianism throughout Later Han. *Bohu tong* 8:19b-20a; Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 608-609, being the formal statement of the Later Han New Text School, defines the canon, however, in two contradictory lists. The first has the Classic of Music 樂經 *Yue jing*, the Book of Changes 易經 *Yi jing*, the Classic of History 書經 *Shu jing*, the Classic of Poetry 詩經 *Shi jing*, and *Ritual* 禮; this last being the present-day *Yi li* 儀禮 plus *Li ji* 禮記: see Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, 234 (Boltz). The second list replaces *Yue jing* with *Chunqiu*.

At this period, five classics were recognised by academic chairs of the University: *Yi jing*, *Shu jing*, *Shi jing*, *Ritual* and *Chunqiu*; *Yue jing* was not a regular part of the canon. See, for example, Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 139-140, Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 186-189, and Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, *sub voce*.

The *Luoyang ji* 洛陽記 by Lu Ji 陸機 of the third century, quoted in commentary to the biography of Cai Yong at *HHS* 60/50B:1990, describes the arrangement of the stele but lists the classics as *Lun yu*, *Yi jing*, *Li ji*, *Shu jing* and *Chunqiu* with the Gongyang commentary. It is remarkable that the classic of poetry, *Shi jing*, does not appear to have been copied, being replaced by *Lun yu*. One explanation may be that the five texts chosen were vulnerable to forgery by enterprising scholars: all are in prose, and all are closely associated with the words and direct teachings of Confucius and his immediate followers; *Shi jing*, on the other hand, as a work of poetry was perhaps more widely and thoroughly known, and was rather a general work suitable for broad interpretation than a specifically didactic collection of material. (The main texts of *HHS* 60/50B:1990 and 79/69A:2547 both say that six classics were engraved, but the Qing commentator Hang Shijun argues that six must be a miswriting for five; Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 116 note 328 agrees, and the statement of *Luoyang ji* indeed seems very clear.)

We are told that the work of collation and engraving, commenced as a result of this edict in 175, was not completed until 183: *SJZS* 16:52a-b. Cai Yong was assisted by a number of other respected scholars, including Ma Midi, who was associated with the original memorial and whose name appeared on one of the tablets. The agreed text was written on the stones in cinnabar, then carved by engravers, and the stele were set up in an enclosure and protected by a tiled roof. The recognised classics were in two lines of an L running north-south and east-west, with five stele bearing the text of *Lun yu* set east-west at the foot of the L. Each of the stones is said to have been some two and a half metres high and one metre across.

On all this information, see the discussion in Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 70. Besides the texts already mentioned, he cites also the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 1b, and a letter from a certain Zhu Zhaoshi 朱超石 of the Jin period to his brother, of which fragments have been preserved: e.g. *HHS* 79/69A:2547-48 commentary note 7.

The tablets were severely damaged in the troubles of Luoyang at the end of Han and in subsequent generations. Already in the third century *Luoyang ji* records that the vast majority, twenty-nine out of an original forty-six, were in a state of ruin. Fragments, however, written in the Clerical script, have survived to the present day.

Of the three scripts said to have been used for the work, the so-called Old Style (古文 *guwen*) was based upon a pre-Qin model used for the classics which were unearthed from the ruins of a building said to have been the home of Confucius in Lu: see, for example, Legge, *CC* I, 12-13. The Seal form probably refers to the so-called Small Seal (小篆 *xiao zhuan*) style said to have been devised by the celebrated Li Si 李斯, minister of the First Emperor of Qin, and being the formal script imposed at the time of unification. The Clerical script (隸 *li*) is the plainer form, written with a brush, which is the regular classical style used today. In fact, however, the only authority for the use of three different scripts is *HHS* 79/69A, here followed by *ZZTJ*; from the pieces still extant, it appears the Clerical script was the only one used. We are told, moreover, by *SJZS* 16:52b and other sources, that the Three Kingdoms state of Wei 魏 carved another set of the classics during the Zhengshi 正始 period, that is between 240 and 248, and those inscriptions were carried out in the three forms of script. Various commentators have suggested that the sources have become confused on this matter,

1835/1836²

B It was intended that both senior scholars and junior students should accept these texts as authoritative. When the tablets were first erected, the carriages of those who came to see them and to take rubbings of them were numbered by the thousands every day, filling and blocking the roads.

Before this, opinion at court had been concerned that personal feelings might create factional connections in provinces and commanderies. As a result there was a regulation that where there was a marriage relationship between gentlemen of two provinces, neither should be permitted to act as supervisor in the other's home territory. In addition, there was established the Law of the Three Relationships. As the restrictions were applied very strictly, it became extremely difficult to recruit men for positions, and in You and Ji provinces there had been unfilled vacancies for a considerable length of time.³

and it seems indeed very likely. See, in particular, Pelliot, "Les classiques gravés sur pierre sous les Wei en 240-248."

Such fragments of the Later Han work as survive are recognised as early masterpieces of Chinese calligraphy in Clerical style. See, for example, Chen, *Chinese Calligraphers*, 38-40 and Figure 12. On the other hand, though they are generally accepted as being based upon the brushwork of Cai Yong, his involvement in the whole work and in the final production cannot be taken for granted. Cai Yong was banished to the north in 178: passage E of Guanghe 1. He benefited from a general amnesty in the following year and received permission to return to his home in Chenliu, but he was again driven away to the south. He remained in that second exile until he was compelled to return by the orders of the usurper Dong Zhuo in 189, by which time he had been away from the capital for twelve years: *HHS* 60/50B:2003. So although Cai Yong was surely involved with the Stone Classics project during its first three years, he may have been responsible for some of the calligraphy, and he was possibly consulted later from a safe distance, the greater part of the writing must have been done without him.

² At this point in the present edition of *ZZTJ*, the commentary on the Stone Classics extends over more than two pages. The main text being translated therefore resumes on page 1836.

B *HHS* 60/50B:1990-91 (8b-9b), the Biography of Cai Yong.

³ There are some problems on the Law of the Three Relationships (三互法 *sanhu fa*) as described and discussed here, the only place in *Hou Han shu*, or indeed any other text of which I am aware, that it is mentioned.

The provisions of the law are explained by commentary to *HHS* 60/50B in essentially the same fashion as the main text. The commentary, however, also gives an example from the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 4:1b, telling how Shi Bi 史弼, whose fuller biography is in *HHS* 64/54:2108-12, and who was a man from Chenliu

commandery in Yan province, was at one time appointed Administrator of Shanyang commandery in that province. His wife, however, was a woman of the Xue 薛 family in that commandery. As a result, Shi Bi could not hold the position, but was transferred to equivalent rank as Chancellor of Pingyuan in Qing province. This case must have arisen about 166: passage B and note 6 to Yanxi 8, and passage M of Yongkang 1.

From this example, two provisions of the law are apparent. First, it was generally permissible for an official to hold office as Administrator or Chancellor within his native province. Second, however, he could not hold office as Administrator or Chancellor over a commandery which contained his own native county or that of his wife's family. The function of the Law of Three Relationships was to extend the restrictions to cover not only the native place of the man himself but also those of his wife's family (and, though not stated here, but as I argue below, over that of his mother's family as well).

The term "Three Relationships" may be considered to echo the phrase "Three Clans" (三族 *san zu*), which is discussed by Hulsewé, *RHL*, 113-116, in the context of the awful penalty of Extermination of Relatives. There is, as Hulsewé observes, disagreement between traditional scholars, crystallised by the third century commentators Ru Shun 如淳 and Zhang Yan 張晏 in their discussion of *HS* 1B:67 at note 2. Ru Shun says that the Three Clans are those of the father – including, of course, the culprit himself, of the mother, and of the wife. Zhang Yan understands the phrase as referring not so much to these three lineages, but to the three generations, being that of the culprit's father and mother, that of the culprit, extending sideways to his brothers and his wife, and that of the culprit's children. As Hulsewé remarks, Zhang Yan's system assumes that the mother and the wife have entered the clan through marriage, so the number three refers to generations rather than to lineages.

The Tang commentator Yan Shigu endorses the interpretation of Ru Shun, but Hulsewé lists other analyses and explanations by various scholars, and observes that modern Chinese have tended to support Zhang Yan. Hulsewé then discusses occasions in Han history that relatives of a culprit have been punished, and from these examples he concludes that the terms *zu* and *san zu* were virtually identical in Han times, and that they largely followed Zhang Yan's interpretation, involving the extended family one generation above and below the culprit, subject of course, to the age, status and availability of the intended victim.

Hulsewé, however, does recognise cases where Ru Shun's interpretation may be applicable, and it would certainly appear that the term *san hu*, discussed here, lends itself appropriately to that explanation: *i.e.* that restrictions were placed upon an official holding government or supervision over territory which was his own native region, or that of his mother's clan, or that of his wife's family. On the different system of the Five Degrees of Kinship (五屬 *wu shu*), which was based primarily upon the male lineage, see note 6 to Xiping 5.

There is one other point of possible confusion in the text, being the expression 監臨 *jianlin*, which I have rendered as "[neither man should be permitted to] act as supervisor [in the other's home territory]." The character *jian* has the general meaning of "to supervise" or "to inspect," and in that sense can be an official title: *e.g.* Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 209. Partly presumably for that reason, and partly also on

Cai Yong sent in a memorial on this matter:⁴

"Now if we consider the two territories of You and Ji in ancient times, they are regions which produce armour and horses.⁵ In recent years, however, they have suffered war and famine, and have gradually been reduced to poverty and exhaustion. At the present time there are long delays in filling vacancies there. Junior officers and common people stretch their necks to look [for the arrival of the new officials], yet procedures in the offices of the Three Excellencies continue from one month to the next with nothing decided. When I have asked the reason for these delays I have been told that it is because of the Law of the Three Relationships.[133]

"The other eleven provinces are also affected by the prohibitions, but the problem in these two is extremely serious.

"Furthermore, the terms of some officers appointed to these posts have been restricted to [a certain number of] months or years. The positions then lie vacant, the region for ten thousand *li* is desolate and empty, and there is no control of affairs.

1837 "In my opinion, the prohibitions currently established by the Law of the Three Relationships should be simplified. Surely it is necessary only to display your spiritual authority and make clear your orders and commands. Then even if men are supervising one another's home

account of the consistent references to the two provinces 州 *zhou*, the commentary of Hu Sanxing appears to understand the whole discussion as relating to the question of appointment of Inspectors (刺史 *cishi*), and this interpretation is specifically followed by the Baihua translation at 1459.

On the other hand, it is more probable that Cai Yong's complaint addressed a significantly wider problem than just that of two positions of Inspectors not being filled. The example of Shi Bi, moreover, shows that the Law of Three Relationships applied to Administrators and Chancellors, and in his memorial below Cai Yong gives counter-precedents of a Chancellor of Liang and an Administrator of Kuaiji. There seems no reason to believe that the restrictions of the Law of the Three Relationships applied only to Inspectors, and every reason to assume that Cai Yong was concerned about a crippling impediment to the appointment of senior local government officials throughout the two provinces.

On the general policy of restriction of officials from serving in their native territories, see Yen Keng-wang, *Regional and Local Administration II*, 345-350.

4 *HHSJJ* observes that in the encyclopaedias *Taiping yulan* 348 and *Yiwen leiju* 60 there are versions of this memorial of Cai Yong which differ considerably from the text in *Hou Han shu*.

5 There are a number of traditional references to the warlike spirit of the people of these regions, and to the production of horses in the territory of the north. See, for example, *Zuo zhuan*, Chao 4; Legge, *CC V*, 596 (Couvreur, *Chronique III*, 75).

territory, they will be fearful and not dare to seek private advantage. If that is done, what need is there to be concerned about the Three Relationships?

"In former times Han Anguo was raised from a Palace Attendant [to become Clerk of the Capital in his own state of Liang], and Zhu Maichen came from obscurity and poverty to become Administrator in his own home territory.⁶ Both men were chosen for suitability and capacity, and they returned to govern their own home country. Why did the government of that time find no need to concern itself with the restriction of this Law of the Three Relationships, binding them with unnecessary regulation?

"I wish your majesty might follow the rulers of the past and remove this new law. Let provincial officials be chosen from among those competent to take such appointments, and send them to fill the vacant positions without limitations in terms of months and days nor with the restrictions of [the Law of] Three Relationships. By this means equitable administration will be maintained."

The court would not accept this proposal.

- C Your servant Sima Guang remarks:
Shuxiang had the saying, "When a state is about to perish, there will be many new enactments."⁷ The administration of an enlightened ruler makes careful selection of loyal worthy men and then employs them. Whether they serve in the court or outside, if they do well they are rewarded and if they have faults they are punished. There is no

⁶ Han Anguo of Former Han is discussed in note 55 to Yanxi 8. Born in Liang 梁 kingdom, he served for a time as the locally-appointed Palace Grandee. He later became an officer at the imperial court, and was briefly imprisoned, but was then sent back to Liang as Clerk of the Capital (内史 *neishi*), an associate of the Chancellor. His biographies are in *SJ* 108 and *HS* 52.

The biography of Zhu Maichen is in *HS* 64A:2791-94. Born about 165 BC, he was an impoverished scholar of Wu 吳 county, which in Former Han was under Kuaiji commandery. He later came to court and impressed Emperor Wu with his knowledge. He was given official positions, and about 123 he was appointed Administrator of Kuaiji in order to carry out military operations against the local non-Chinese people. See Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 276-277.

C Comment written by Sima Guang.

⁷ From *Zuo zhuan*, Zhao 6; Legge, *CC* V, 609-610 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 116-119). The expression occurs in a letter written by the minister of the state of Jin 晉, Yangshe Xi 羊舌肸, whose style was Shuxiang 叔向, to the minister Gongsun Qiao 公孫僑 of Zheng 鄭, whose style was Zichan 子產, criticising him for setting out the crimes and punishments of the state on a set of bronze tripods.

opportunity for private interest, laws are maintained without difficulty, and the world receives excellent government. What is the reason for this? It comes from attention to essentials.[134]

When officials are appointed at a time of weakness, there is no competent selection, but there are increasingly restrictive regulations and increasingly detailed prohibitions and precautions. When a man does well, he fails to receive his proper reward because of some technicality, and when another does evil, he escapes his due punishment through legal trickery. High and low, everyone is exhausted and confused, and the world is in disorder. What is the reason for this? It comes from chasing after inessentials.

During the reign of Emperor Ling the inspectors of provinces and the heads of commanderies and kingdoms were greedy as jackals and tigers, oppressing the people in most cruel and ruthless fashion; yet that was the time the court maintained the Law of Three Relationships. Looking upon it now, it could make one laugh. Thinking more deeply, however, it is a warning for us all.

- D Liu Tuo, grandson of Liu Jian the King of Hejian, became King of Rencheng.⁸

In the summer, in the fourth month seven of the commanderies and kingdoms suffered floods.⁹

D *HHS* 8:336-37 (5b-6a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

⁸ This represents a second restoration of the kingdom of Rencheng, which had been disestablished for reason of failure of the male line in the previous year: passage C and note 5 of Xiping 3.

ZZTJ follows the original text of *HHS* 8 in describing Liu Tuo as a grandson of Liu Jian. The commentary of the Qing scholar Qian Dazhao, however, says that *HHS* 42/32:1444 describes Liu Tuo as a son of Liu Jian. Subject to textual correction, it does indeed do so, and the Peking edition has changed *HHS* 8 accordingly.

Commentary to *HHS* 8 states that Liu Jian was a younger brother of the late Emperor Huan, but this does not seem correct: Emperor Huan was the son of Liu Yi, a son of Liu Gong/Kai, who had been made King of Pingyuan by the Dowager Deng but was later demoted and eventually became Marquis of Liwu 蠡吾 in the time of Emperor Shun: *HHS* 55/45:1808 and 1809, also *HHS* 7:287 and particularly note 34 to Yongkang 1. Liu Jian, on the other hand, was the son of Liu Zheng, who had inherited the title of his father Liu Gong/Kai as King of Hejian (*HHS* 55/45:1808). Liu Jian, therefore, who died in 151 (*HHS* 7:297), had been a cousin, not a brother, of the late Emperor Huan.

⁹ The Treatise of the Five Powers records this flooding at *HHS* 105/15:3312, but states that only three commanderies or kingdoms were involved.

In the fifth month on the day *dingmao* [7 Jun] there was an amnesty for the empire.

There was a fire in the funerary park at Yanling.¹⁰

1838

The Xianbi raided You province.

In the sixth month there was a plague of caterpillars in Hongnong and the Three Adjuncts.¹¹

E King Anguo of Yutian [Khotan] attacked Jumi, thoroughly defeated that state and killed its king.¹²

The Wu and Ji Colonel and the Chief Clerk of the Western Regions

The Treatise adds, however, that the floods did considerable damage to the autumn harvest, and *HHS* 8:337 records that in the autumn orders were given for taxes to be halved in those commanderies and kingdoms which had encountered disasters, and that in regions where the loss was over forty percent the tax should be remitted entirely. These additional items are not copied into *ZZTJ*.

10 Yanling 延陵 "Mound of Extension" was the tomb of Emperor Cheng of Former Han. It lay northwest of Chang'an on the northern bank of the Wei River.

This fire is also recorded by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 104/14:3296. The Treatise has no comment, but *HHS* 8 says that an imperial envoy was sent to offer special sacrifices at the tomb.

11 This plague is also recorded by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 106/16:3336. The Treatise associates the misfortune with the dominance of the eunuchs and the persecution of the men of Faction.

The remission of taxes recorded by *HHS* 8:337 and mentioned in note 9 above must also have been intended to alleviate the effects of this disaster in the west as well as those of the flooding to the east.

E *HHS* 88/78:2915 (7b), the Account of the State of Jumi in the Chapter on the Western Regions.

12 The Account of Yutian 于寘 is at *HHS* 88/78, 2915-16, immediately following the account of Jumi, and the state is discussed in Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 96-97 and note 147; Yutian has long been identified with the region of present-day Khotan.

The name of the state of Jumi 拘彌 appears as Wumi 扞彌 in *Shi ji* and in *Han shu*, but Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 94-96 note 138, conclude that the *Hou Han shu* version, followed here by *ZZTJ*, is correct. The territory was evidently on a tributary of the Tarim River, downstream of Yutian, and is identified with ruins in the vicinity of present-day Karadong on a dried-up arm of the Keriya River.

According to *HHS* 88/78 the population of Jumi at the time of Later Han was some 7,250 individuals, while that of Yutian was 83,000. Yutian and Shanshan 鄯善, which extended across the region of Lop Nor in the east of the Western Regions present-day Cherchen, were the two great states along the southern route around the Tarim basin. See also deC, "Notes on the Western Regions."

each raised troops to assist in establishing Dingxing, the hostage prince, as king. The number of his people was barely a thousand.¹³[135]

¹³ The Wu and Ji Colonel and the Chief Clerk of the Western Regions were Han officials responsible for imperial control in central Asia: note 5 to Jianning 3.

On the expression *shizi* 侍子 "Attending Prince" as reference to the son of the king of a non-Chinese state sent to the court of Han as hostage and warrant for his good conduct towards the imperial government, see Yang, "Hostages in Chinese History," 45.

The expedition against Shule in Jianning 3: 170 had been recruited from the states about Turfan and present-day Urumqi, and it would seem that Chinese imperial authority was at this time based in that region. Given the previous lack of success against Shule, and the obvious local power of Yutian, it is doubtful how successful the Chinese restoration of Jumi can have been. There is no further record of the state in *Hou Han shu*.

Xiping 熹平 5: 176 AD

29 January 176 - 15 February 177

A In the summer, in the fourth month on the day *guihai* [?], there was an amnesty for the empire.¹

The barbarians of Yizhou commandery rebelled. The Administrator Li Yong attacked and pacified them.

There was a great sacrifice held to pray for rain.²

In the fifth month the Grand Commandant Chen Dan left office. The Excellency of Works Xu Xun became Grand Commandant.

B In the intercalary [fifth] month the Administrator of Yongchang Cao Luan sent in a letter which argued:³

"Among the men of Faction, some are elders and seniors of utmost virtue, and others are active gentlemen of worth and courage. All are suitable to act as ministers to the royal house and as assistants in the great councils of state.

"Yet these people have suffered long proscription, and they remain disgraced in dust and mud. Others, who have planned rebellion or the

A *HHS* 8:337-38 (6a-b), the Annals of Emperor Ling

¹ There is difficulty with the date of this amnesty. The first day of the fourth month of this year was *renchen* (cyclical 29), and the last was *gengshen* (cyclical 57). So there was no day *guihai* (cyclical 60).

It does not seem possible to suggest any amendment to the text which is better than another.

² On the great ceremony of sacrifice for rain, see note 4 to Yanxi 1. The Treatise of the Five Powers remarks at *HHS* 103/13:3280 that there was a drought in the summer of this year. Commentary of Liu Zhao to that passage the inscription by Cai Yong for the stele in honour of the legendary worthies Boyi 伯夷 and Shuqi 叔齊: note 19 to Yongkang 1.

In that text, Cai Yong tells how there was drought throughout the empire. Su Teng 蘇騰, a scholar of Hedong commandery, dreamt that he was climbing Shouyang Mountain 首陽山 northwest of Luoyang, which was, according to some traditions, the last resting place of the two men. On the road he met a marvellous horseman messenger. When he woke up, he recalled the dream and reported the vision to the throne. As a result, the emperor sent special envoys from the capital and from the local government to climb the mountain and offer prayers, with an invocation written in his own hand. Soon afterwards, clouds gathered and a good rain fell.

B *HHS* 67/57:2189 (5a), the Chapter on the Proscribed Party; and *HHJ* 24:1b.

³ It is the text of this letter which is recorded by *HHS* 24. Otherwise *ZZTJ* has essentially followed the account of the incident in *HHS* 67/57.

greatest iniquities,⁴ yet receive pardon through an amnesty. What crimes have the men of Faction committed, that they alone should suffer your unrelieved anger?

"It is for this reason that ominous misfortunes and other strange phenomena have appeared, and that floods and droughts recur in such numbers. If you extend your generosity to these men, you will be following the will of Heaven."

When the emperor received this document he was extremely angry. An edict was issued to the Director of Retainers and to Yi province, that Cao Luan should be arrested and sent in a cage cart to the prison at Huaili. He was flogged to death with the bastinado.⁵

In addition to this, an edict ordered provincial and commandery authorities to seek further for any students, former officers, fathers and sons or brothers [of men of the Proscribed Party] who currently held office, and these people too were to be dismissed and [136] forbidden further employment. The proscription was extended to the fifth degree of kinship.⁶

4 The expression used here is *dani* 大逆 "Great Refractoriness;" see Hulsewé, *RHL*, 156, and note 57 to Jianning 1.

5 Yongchang commandery, of which Cao Luan was Administrator, was in the far southwest of the empire, about the area of Dali Lake in present-day Yunnan. It was supervised by the Inspector of Yi province.

Huaili was the capital of Youfufeng commandery; the city lay west of present-day Xi'an on the northern bank of the Wei River. The prison there was under the control of the Director of Retainers.

According to *HHS* 8:338, which has a note of this incident, Cao Luan suffered public execution.

6 The five degrees of kinship (五屬 *wu shu*) are explained by commentary to *HHS* 67/57 as being defined by the intensity of mourning affected for a deceased relative, in terms of clothing worn and of the length of time that the ritual was maintained. Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 312-313, translates a part of the present passage from *HHS*, and in his exhaustive note 274 on pages 313-317 he discusses the extent of these provisions and the relatives who would be affected.

The five grades which appear to have operated during Han were as follows:

1 *zhancui* 斬衰 "unhemmed coarse garment," with mourning for a nominal three years; actually only "into the third year" or twenty-five months (see also note 1 to Yanxi 2); in general terms this applied to the father, the son, and the wife for her husband;

2 *zicui* 齊衰 "hemmed coarse garment," with varying mourning periods of three years, one year and three months; applying to the mother, the wife, brothers and nephews in the male lineage, paternal grandparents and great-grandparents, and the eldest grandson by a principal wife;

1839

C In the sixth month on the day *renwu* [15 Aug] the Minister of Ceremonies Liu Yi of Nanyang became Excellency of Works.

In the autumn, in the seventh month the Grand Commandant Xu Xun left office. The Minister of the Imperial Household Liu Kuan became Grand Commandant.

In the winter, in the tenth month the Excellency over the Masses Yuan Wei left office.

In the eleventh month on the day *bingxu* [17 Dec?],⁷ the Household Counsellor Yang Ci became Excellency over the Masses.

In this year the Xianbi raided You province.[137]

3 *dagong* 大公, requiring garments of fine hempen cloth with a mourning period of nine months; applying to first cousins of the male line, grandsons other than the eldest by the principal wife;

4 *xiaogong* 小公, requiring garments of finer hempen cloth with a mourning period of five months; applying to the paternal grandfather's brothers and their children, brothers' grandsons, father's brothers' grandsons and grandfather's brothers' grandsons (*i.e.* great-uncles, first cousins once removed and second cousins);

5 *sima* 總麻, requiring garments of the finest hempen cloth with a mourning period of three months; applying to great-grandsons and notably to the paternal great-grandfather's brothers and their descendants, being clansmen descended from the same common ancestor four generations removed.

The list above, and the more detailed description given by Ch'ü, is concerned with the male lineage, and though there is provision for the *zicui* ceremonial, mourning of the second grade, to recognise the death of a mother or a wife, no account is taken of any other members of the clans of relatives by marriage. In this, one may observe the contrast with the Three Relationships (三互 *san hu*) discussed in note 3 to Xiping 4.

Even if it was restricted to the male lineages, however, it may be imagined that this level of interdiction was very wide spread, affecting people with minimal connection to, and quite possibly no contact with or knowledge of, the original man of Faction.

Normal Han practice was to involve relatives only to the third degree of kinship, and it appears this was the first occasion proscription had been extended to five degrees. *HHS* 8:330 says that the five degrees were effective from the beginning of this proscription in 169, but that statement is not followed by Sima Guang and I have argued that it is a misplaced reference to the present affair. See note 61 to Jianning 2, but *cf.* Hulsewé, *RHL*, 139.

C *HHS* 8:338 (6b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

⁷ There was no *bingxu* day (cyclical 23) in the eleventh month of this year; a *bingxu* day was the second-last of the tenth month, and I have taken that as the most likely correct reading: the notation for the eleventh month would thus be mistaken.

Xiping 熹平 6: 177 AD

16 February 177 - 5 February 178

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *xinchou* [2 Mar], there was an amnesty for the empire.

In the summer, in the fourth month there was great drought. Seven provinces suffered from locusts.¹

B Orders were given that the Three Excellencies should sent in lists of senior officials who had been oppressive and extortionate, and they should be dismissed.

Yang Qiu of Yuyang, Chancellor of Pingyuan, was found guilty of undue cruelty and was summonsed to attend the Ministry of Justice. The emperor, however, took into consideration his former good work of quelling banditry when he was Administrator of Jiujiang. He was granted a special pardon and was appointed as a Consultant.²

A *HHS* 8:339 (6b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

¹ *HHS* 103/13:3280, the Treatise of the Five Powers, lists the drought without further comment.

The Treatise records the plague of locusts at *HHS* 105/15:3319. The prognostication relates the omen to the ill-fated expedition against the Xianbi later in this year: passage E below. We are not told which provinces were affected, but it seems most likely that they were in the region of the Yellow River basin and the North China Plain, the territories north of the Huai River.

B *HHS* 77/67:2498 (7b), the Biography of Yang Qiu in the Chapter on the Stern Officials.

² A man of old official family, Yang Qiu was a very tough customer.

When he was still young he became skilled in the handling of weapons and horsemanship. On one occasion a local officer in the commandery insulted Yang Qiu's mother, and Yang Qiu gathered a few score like-minded fellows, killed the man and slaughtered his family. As a result of this enterprise he became celebrated, and was recommended for office in the imperial service. He held a number of positions at the capital and in the provinces, and was noted both for his ability and for his brutality. It appears that his appointment to Jiujiang and his suppression of the disturbances there had taken place one or two years earlier, and the transfer to Pingyuan was his next immediate post. The Jiujiang troubles are not mentioned elsewhere in the history.

The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that there is some difficulty in relating this stage in the career of Yang Qiu with the appointment of members of the Three Excellencies: according to *HHS* 77/67 it was the Excellency of Works Zhang Hao who sent in the report on the harsh officials, and he did so in response to the unfortunate omen of drought. As Sima Guang observes, however, Zhang Hao only became Grand Commandant in the following year (passage C of Guanghe 1), and there is no record that he was ever Excellency of Works. Furthermore, there was no drought recorded in this period other than the one in Xiping 5 and the one just cited above.

C The Xianbi raided the three border regions.³

Several score merchants and other fellows of mean origin had been gathered together as Filial Sons of the Mound of Comprehension. By imperial edict, all of them were appointed as Members of the Suite of the Heir-Apparent.⁴

1840

In the autumn, in the seventh month, the Excellency of Works Liu Yi left office. The Minister of the Guards Chen Qiu became Excellency of Works.

D Before this, Emperor Ling had always been very fond of literary scholarship, and had himself composed a "Discussion of the Emperor [Fu] Xi" in fifty sections.⁵ He chose scholars skilled in composition, particularly rhapsodies, and had them attend at the Gate of the Vast Capital. Later, he also gathered experts in the calligraphy of [govern-

Sima Guang has amended the text to refer merely to the Three Excellencies in general, and not to any named individual.

C *HHS* 8:339 (6b-7a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

³ The phrase 三邊 *san bian* is interpreted by commentary to *HHS* 8 as indicating the northern, eastern and western frontiers. I suspect it may rather be a term for the three border provinces of You, Bing and Liang.

⁴ Xuanling 宣陵 "Mound of Comprehension" was the name of the tomb of Emperor Huan: passage C and note 6 to Jianning 1. However, no such title as Filial Sons (孝子 *xiaozi*) has formerly appeared in association with this or any other tomb.

There was at this time no Heir: Liu Bian, elder son of Emperor Ling, had been born of the Empress He in 176, but we are specifically told that Emperor Ling died without having named him or any other son as Heir: e.g. *HHS* 69/59:2247 and passage G to Zhongping 6. Even when there was no Heir, however, thirteen Members of the nominal Suite were selected from among men of "respectable family" (良家 *liang jia*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 78, citing *Han guan* 漢官; on "respectable family," see note 51 to Yanxi 8. The positions were comparable, though lower in rank and prestige, to the gentlemen-cadets, potential officials on probation: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 24 and 140, and deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 14.

Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 203 note 70, discusses this particular set of appointments. He suggests the accusations of mean and merchant background may have been no more than the slander of enemies, but he also makes the plausible suggestion that this development represented another form of sale of offices.

D *HHS* 60/50B:1991-98 (9b-13b), the Biography of Cai Yong.

⁵ *Huang Fu bian* 皇義篇: Fuxi 伏羲 was one of the mythical founding rulers of the Chinese world, said to have been responsible, among other achievements, for the development of writing. See, for example, Chavannes, *MH* I, 1-9, translating and discussing the *Sanhuang benji* 三皇本紀 by Sima Zhen 司馬貞 of Tang, which is frequently found as an appendix to the *Shi ji* of Sima Qian.

ment documents written on] tablets one foot long, official scripts and the Bird Seal style.⁶ Altogether, there were now several score [of these litterateurs and calligraphers].

The Libationers of the Palace Attendants Yue Song and Jia Hu brought in a great number of worthless sycophants, who took delight in petty village gossip.⁷ The emperor was extremely pleased with them, he treated them [138] with quite inappropriate favour, and he continually neglected his formal duties.

About this time an edict was sent to all officials, that they should present an analysis of the most important concerns of the government. Cai Yong sent in a sealed memorandum which read:⁸

"Now the ceremonies of Welcoming the Ethers of the Seasons at the Five Suburban Sites,⁹ of worship at the Imperial Ancestral Temples,¹⁰

⁶ The phrase *chiyi* 尺一 refers to the imperial edicts drafted on "documents one foot long": note 58 to Yanxi 2.

Bird seal (鳥篆 *niao zhuan*) was one of the eight formally recognised styles of calligraphy, ornate and highly decorative, and frequently incorporating the character *niao* itself as a part of the design: Chen, *Chinese Calligraphers*, 22.

Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 27-28, suggests that the Gate of the Vast Capital was an interior gate of the Southern Palace, but deC, *Fire over Luoyang*, 217 note 46, has argued that it lay within the Northern Palace.

Knechtges, "Court Culture," 31, suggests that the interest of Emperor Ling did much to establish calligraphy as a significant genre of art for centuries to come.

⁷ It is probable, as Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 28, implies, that the so-called "village gossip" (閭里小事 *lǐlǐ xiǎoshì*) was actually a study of local customs and other matters of folklore and popular culture: cf. the Treatise of Bibliography, *HS* 30:1745, being the comments of Ban Gu on the catalogue of 小說 *xiaoshuo* in the imperial library of Former Han.

⁸ The text which follows is a summary and extract of a major document of seven parts which is preserved *in extenso* by *HHS* 60/50B:1993-98.

The ritual sites and ceremonies listed and discussed below and in the notes which follow are also considered by deC, *Fire over Luoyang*, 29-41.

⁹ On the ceremony of Welcoming the Ethers of the Seasons (迎時氣 *yíng shíqì*), which took place at appropriate times of the year at the Five Suburban Altars (五郊 *wu jiao*) situated at Cult Sites (北 *chao*), about Luoyang, see Bodde, *Festivals*, 192-196, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 76-77.

In accordance with the theories of the Five Powers, matching seasons, directions, colours and other aspects of the cosmos, the ceremony of Welcoming Spring was held at the altar in the east on the first day of that season, the ceremony for summer was held at the site in the south, that for autumn was in the west and the ceremony for winter was held in the north. There was also the Suburban Altar of the Centre, which was in fact southwest of the city: sacrifices were offered there eighteen days before the first day of autumn, representing the middle of the year.

and of Entertaining the Aged at the Hall of the Circular Moat,¹¹ these are the great work of the man who holds the imperial position, and this is the responsibility handed down to him from his ancestors.

"Yet those in authority have on several occasions neglected their duties and failed to carry out these ceremonies, giving some such excuse as the mourning period for a subordinate state, the birth of a child within the imperial palace, the illness or death of some junior official.¹² Forgetting the importance of ritual and respect, they give

Though there was naturally provision for the emperor to take the lead in these ceremonies, they could be carried out by officials of the court: Bodde, *Festivals*, 194 ff, and Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 102.

- 10 On the Imperial Ancestral Temples during Later Han, see Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 105-108, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 54-56.

The Temple of the Eminent Founder (高廟 *Gao miao*) at Luoyang, dedicated to Emperor Gao the founder of Former Han, was established by Emperor Guangwu in 26 AD. It is likely that Guangwu intended this to become the shrine of the rulers of his own restored house of Han, but after Guangwu's death his son, Emperor Ming, established a new ancestral Temple of the Epochal Founder (世祖廟 *Shizu miao*) for Guangwu's spirit tablet and then, at his own death, ordered that his tablet should be placed there also. This custom was followed for all the emperors of Later Han who had reigned as adults. It is not known in which part of Luoyang the temples were situated, but they were evidently close beside one another within the confines of the city.

Besides the ceremonies at the Imperial Ancestral Temples, the rituals of the clan also called for sacrifices at the various imperial tombs. As Mansvelt Beck observes, the program was surely burdensome by the time of Emperor Ling, and some effort was made to simplify matters: *HHS* 99/9:3197.

- 11 The Hall of the Circular Moat (辟雍 *Biyong*) is described by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 66-68. It was situated in the vicinity of the Imperial University, outside the southern wall of the city of Luoyang. Surrounded by water, crossed by four bridges, it was either open or had just a low wall, so that spectators outside the moat could see the ceremonies.

The Hall was inaugurated by Emperor Ming in 59, with the Spiritual Terrace (靈臺 *Ling tai*) and the Bright Hall (明堂 *Ming tang*). Thereafter the Hall was used regularly for the Great Archery ceremony (大射 *Da she*), which was performed twice annually, in the third month and in the ninth month (Bodde, *Festivals*, 365-366; Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 67) and also for the ceremony of Entertaining the Aged (養老 *Yang lao*), held in the tenth month. On this latter ceremony, see Bodde, *Festivals*, 364-372, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 67.

- 12 The phrase "those in authority" (有司 *yousi*) indicates the senior ministers of state, particularly the Three Excellencies, and the use of it here implies that the control of the ceremonies, though formally a matter for the emperor's personal interest and activity, was at this time very largely a matter of delegation.

The mourning period for a subordinate state (蕃國 *fan guo*), *i.e.* the kingdom held by a cadet branch of the imperial house, may be taken to refer to the deaths of the kings

attention to works on taboo and avoidance, and they injure the grand canon for reasons which are merely petty.

"From now on, the system of ritual observances should follow the ancient canon; this will form an appropriate response to the strange phenomena of wind, thunder and other ominous signs.¹³

"Moreover, in ancient times when the ruler was taking gentlemen into his service, each feudal lord was required to send one man each year.¹⁴ In the time of Emperor Wu the commanderies presented Filial and Incorrupt candidates, and there were also selections of Worthy and Good and of Literary Scholars. In this manner, celebrated ministers appeared in serried ranks, and the state flourished in both the civil and the military arts. So the Han has a number of different ways of obtaining men to serve.¹⁵

1841 "On the other hand, calligraphy and painting, essays and rhapsodies, these are the skills of petty fellows, men who lack the ability to carry on great affairs of state.

"When your majesty first came to the throne, your first priority was to read through the classics. Only in the spare time from that occupation would you concern yourself with other writings, and they were no more than a past-time, an alternative to the *Boyi* game.¹⁶ They can never serve as the basis for education and selection to official

of Zhongshan and Rencheng three years earlier: page 1833 at passages B and D of Xiping 3. The birth of a child within the imperial palace surely refers to the birth of Liu Bian, eldest son of Emperor Ling, who was born of the Empress He in Xiping 5: 176.

13 Apart from the generally portentous phenomena, droughts, floods and plagues, which have been recorded for this and previous years, we may observe in particular that in 169 there had been wind, rain and hail which uprooted trees along the avenues leading to the cult sites, and on two further occasions officials proceeding to the eastern suburb and to the western suburb had been met by storms so violent that the ceremonial canopies were blown away and a new procession had to be formed. See Bodde, *Festivals*, 200, citing *HHS* 106/16:3335.

14 Commentary to *HHS* 60/50A here quotes from the early Han work *Shangshu dazhuan* 尚書大傳 "The Great Commentary to the *Classic of History*" (on which see note 5 to Jianning 2) 2:1a, which states that each of the feudal lords would offer the Son of Heaven one gentleman every three years.

15 Cai Yong is arguing that the forms of nomination and recommendation already established are quite sufficient to obtain suitable recruits for the imperial civil service. There is no cause for Emperor Ling to seek new routes for people such as the scholars at the Gate of the Vast Capital and his other favourites.

16 The *Boyi* 博奕 game is evidently the same as, or related to, the gambling board game *liubo* 六博 or *bosai* 博塞: note 87 to Yanxi 2. It is now commonly identified with a form of "Surrounding Chess" *weiqi* 圍棋 related to the Japanese game of Go.

position.[139]

"Now, however, we have all these scholars contending for advantage, and there is a ferment of composition. At the highest level, they use the classics for commentary and parable. At the worst, they produce haphazard collections of common gossip. One could compare it to a variety show. And quite frequently they copy others, to such a degree that it is plagiarism.

"Whenever I receive an edict at the Gate of Abundant Reform, I examine the quality [of the candidates for office], but I note that even those who fail to reach the proper standard receive appointment nonetheless.¹⁷ Once the court has extended its grace to them, it is difficult to withdraw or change the situation. If they merely receive an official emolument, this is already far more than they deserve; it is quite wrong that they should be given responsibility for governing the people or hold positions in the provinces and commanderies.

"In former times Emperor Xiaoxuan assembled Confucianists at the Stone Canal Pavilion, and Emperor Zhang gathered scholars in the White Tiger Hall.¹⁸ They made a comprehensive analysis to explain the meaning of the classics. These were great and excellent affairs, representing the true Way of action for both [the sage kings] Wen and Wu [of Zhou], and they should be followed. Some [studies require] small ability and a low standard of excellence, and one can take note of

17 The Gate of Abundant Reform 盛化門 appears only in this passage of *HHS*, and I find no other reference to it in the texts of the time. Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, has no discussion.

Cai Yong at this time appears to have held the comparatively low court rank of Consultant, without specific duties, but we have seen the importance attached to his calligraphy and scholarship in the matter of the collation and carving of the Stone Classics, a work still in progress at this time: passage A and note 1 to Xiping 4. The Gate of Abundant Reform may have been the site of his office, associated with the library at the Orchid Terrace. It is not possible to assess how he came to have access to documents concerning appointment, but he can have had no direct authority in the matter.

18 The conference on the classics in the Stone Canal Pavilion (石渠閣 *Shiqu ge*) was held under the auspices and in the presence of Emperor Xuan of Former Han in 51 BC it is discussed by Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 92-94. The proceedings resulted in an increased number of officially recognised schools of Confucian study, with additional Academicians appointed to the Imperial University.

The conference on the classics in the White Tiger Hall (白虎觀 *Bohu guan*), held under the auspices and in the presence of Emperor Zhang of Later Han in 79 AD, determined the official teachings and the endorsed status of the New Text School of Confucianism. See Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions*, and deC, "Scholars and Rulers," 63-64.

them, but Confucius did not consider it appropriate to carry them any further.¹⁹

"Again, some little time ago Filial Sons of the Mound of Comprehension were made Members of the Suite of the Heir-Apparent.²⁰ I have heard that Emperor Xiaowen ordered the period of mourning [at his death] should extend to only thirty-six days.²¹ Even rulers who have succeeded to his position, and those with the intimate connection of father and son, and the excellencies and ministers and the other ranks of officials who had received most generous favour, all bow to his wishes and dare not exceed the limits that he set.

"But now [we have these] petty fellows, of false and empty quality, with no essential relationship of flesh and blood, who never received any personal favour [from the late ruler]. They are, moreover, quite without the real quality [suitable for] official appointment, and they lack the proper natural sympathies. There is no way in which [these appointments] can be justified.[140]

"And there are even criminals amongst their number. When the funeral cortege of the Thoughtful Empress [Dou] of Emperor Huan was about to move off on its way to the burial, and even as the sacrifices were being offered to the spirit of the road,²² a fellow in Dong commandery who had stolen another man's wife ran off to join the mourning group. His own county administration was seeking his arrest, and he was eventually captured and punished. It is difficult to express one's full opinion on the futility and dishonesty of this dirty

19 Commentary to *HHS* 60/50B quotes from *Lun yu* XIX.4; Legge, *CC* I, 340-341 (Lau, *Analects*, 153), being comments ascribed to the disciple Zixia 子夏:

Even in inferior studies and employments there is something worth being looked at; but if it be attempted to carry them out to what is remote, there is danger of their proving inapplicable. Therefore, the superior man does not practise them.

Cf. also the Treatise of Bibliography, *HS* 30:1756, being comments of Ban Gu on the catalogue of rhapsodies in the imperial library of Former Han; Watson, *Chinese Rhyme-Prose*, 111-112.

20 On this matter, see passage C and note 4 above.

21 On the limitation of the court mourning period by Emperor Wen of Former Han in 157 BC, see note 1 to Yanxi 2.

22 The Dowager Dou of Emperor Huan had died in the sixth month of 172 and was buried in the seventh: passages D and F of Xiping 1.

Commentary to *HHS* 60/50B quotes the commentary of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 to *Zhou li* 6 (25):37b; Biot, *Rites* II, 98, explaining the phrase 祖載 *zuzai* as referring to the farewell sacrifice *zu*, made at the hall where lying in state had been held, at the time when the coffin was loaded *zai* onto the carriage to be taken to the tomb.

mess.²³

"The official entourage of the Heir should be chosen on the basis of personal virtue. How can one accept these worthless creatures from the grave-mounds? Their deceit and falsity should be made clear, and they should be sent back to their native villages."

After this letter was presented, the emperor did attend in person at the ceremony of Welcoming the Ethers in the Northern Suburb, and he also carried out the ceremonies at the Hall of the Circular Moat.²⁴ In addition, an edict was issued that all those men who had been appointed Members of the Suite of the Heir from the position of Filial Sons of the Mound of Comprehension should be transferred to become assistants and commandants [in various county administrations].²⁵

23 The phrase *xuwei* 虛偽, which I render here as "futility and dishonesty" appears one paragraph earlier as a description of the men concerned. It is better understood there as "false and empty quality."

24 The ceremony of Welcoming the Ethers of the Season in the north was appropriate for winter, and was held at the beginning of the tenth month, early in November according to the Western Julian calendar: Bodde, *Festivals*, 197. Similarly, the ceremony of Entertaining the Aged was also to be carried out in the tenth month: Bodde, *Festivals*, 367. See also notes 9 and 11 above.

25 Cai Yong's proposal had been that the new members of the Suite of the Heir should simply be dismissed from their cadetships and sent home: they might then encounter the legal authorities waiting for them, or perhaps (and he would have regarded this as most unlikely) they might receive regular local nomination as Filial and Incorrupt.

In a compromise decision, however, the court gave these men immediate appointment as assistants and commandants in county-level administrations, where they would be subordinate to the magistrate. This was the lowest level of commissioned rank in the imperial service, and it offered small expectation of future promotion to high office.

Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 100-101, states that the magistrate of a county ("Prefect" [令 *ling*] or "Chief" [長 *zhang*]) was the lowest local official appointed directly by the central government. The evidence on the question is thin, but I follow Yen Keng-wang, *Regional and Local Administration* 1A, 220-221 and 1B, table facing 344. His analysis indicates that Assistants and Commandants of counties were appointed by the central government.

Where there is information about the previous career of such Assistants and Commandants, moreover, it appears that they had come from the ranks of cadets at the capital. The present incident, the transfers of former Members of the Suite of the Heir, also indicates that such appointments were made by the central government, not simply by provincial administrations.

[We should also note the early appointment of Sun Jian, first mentioned in passage B of Xiping 3: 173. Following his success against the religious rebel Xu Sheng in that year he received an imperial letter and became a county Assistant. The imperial

1842

E The Protector of the Wuhuan Xia Yu sent in a proposal: "The Xianbi have raided our borders more than thirty times since spring. I ask permission to raise troops from all the commanderies in You province and to go outside the frontier to attack them. In the period of one winter and two springs I shall certainly be able to destroy them."²⁶

Before this, the Protector of the Qiang Tian Yan had been found guilty and sentenced for some fault.²⁷ He had since received a pardon, but he now wanted to establish some achievement in order to restore his credit. He asked the Regular Attendant Wang Fu to get him a military command, and Wang Fu recommended that he be granted troops to join Xia Yu in the attack. The emperor appointed him General of the Household Who Routs the Xianbi.

Many leading ministers did not agree, and a conference was called so that all officials to discuss the question in the court.[141]

Cai Yong advised as follows: "Military campaigns of punishment have been carried out since ancient times, and they are always important. The occasions may vary, and relative strengths may be different; some operations are successful and some are not; and plans may be good or bad. One cannot expect the result will always be the same.

"At the time of the amazing military energy of the Epochal Ancestor [Emperor Wu of Former Han], generals and commanders were fine and fierce while government wealth and taxation were full and abundant. They campaigned far and wide, but within a few decades the officials and people were exhausted and there was regret for the former

recognition marked his commission into the senior ranks of the bureaucracy – albeit at the lowest level – and enabled his later career, with appointment as a commandery Administrator: *SGZ* 46/Wu 1:1093; deC, *Generals of the South*, 83-85.

E *HHS* 90/80:2990-94 (9a-11a), the Account of the Xianbi.

²⁶ Xia Yu had been one of the chief lieutenants of Duan Jiong in the campaigns of extermination against the Qiang at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling (passage K of Jianning 2), and he had achieved success against a major invasion by the Xianbi three years before (passage D of Xiping 3). The tone of his memorial, with its reference to "one winter and two springs" is reminiscent of the claim by Duan Jiong that he could destroy the Xianlian Qiang in the space of "three winters and two summers" (passage D of Jianning 1 at 1803); a boast which Duan Jiong had indeed fulfilled.

²⁷ Tian Yan had also been a chief lieutenant of Duan Jiong in his campaigns against the Qiang: passage K of Jianning 2. We have no further details of the crime for which he had been convicted.

policy.²⁸ How much more would this apply now, when we lack resources both of men and of goods, and matters are far worse than they were in the past?

"Since the Xiongnu have fled away, the Xianbi have become powerful and prosperous and have occupied their former territory. They can claim a hundred thousand soldiers, skilled and strong, and their ideas and understanding are steadily increasing. Add to this the facts that our guard-passes and barriers lack strength; that our prohibitions [against trade] are full of holes, and that fine gold and good iron are in the hands of the enemy while they also have renegades from Han to serve them as masters of strategy; then in the sharpness of weapons and the clash of horse they are more dangerous than were the Xiongnu.

"In former times, Duan Jiong was a fine general leading trained men expert in war, but it still took him more than ten years to deal with the Western Qiang.²⁹ Now the talents and planning of Xia Yu and Tian Yan are not necessarily superior to those of Duan Jiong, and the hosts

²⁸ The great campaigns of Emperor Wu of Former Han against the Xiongnu are well known. See, for example, Loewe, *Military Operations in the Han Period*, and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 183-185.

The commentary of Hu Sanxing here refers to the so-called Edict of Anguish and Sorrow for Luntai (輪臺哀痛詔 *Luntai aitong zhao*). Luntai was a territory in the Western Regions, now about Bugur on the north of the Tarim basin: Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 166 and note 527. *HS* 96B:3912-14 tells how in 90 BC, towards the end of the reign of Emperor Wu and after many years of fighting, a proposal to establish military colonies in this region was rejected by an imperial edict which referred to the burdens which had been placed upon the people, to recent military disaster, and to the present sad state of the frontier defences; Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 168-176, and see also Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 64-65. The Edict of Anguish and Sorrow is referred to also in the Appreciation (贊 *zan*) of *HS* 96B:3929; Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 202.

²⁹ Duan Jiong was first engaged against the Western Qiang, on the north-western frontier of the empire beyond the Yellow River, in 159 (passage LL of Yanxi 2) and his final campaign against them took place in 167 (passage B of Yongkang 1). This was followed by the further series of attacks against the Eastern Qiang until the massacre at Shehu/Shoot-Tiger Valley in 169 (passage K of Jianning 2).

Cai Yong is referring specifically to Duan Jiong's campaigns against the Western Qiang. The attacks against the Eastern Qiang, which Xia Yu has taken as his model, were successful military operations against vulnerable people living within the frontiers of the empire; the Western Qiang, however, operating on or beyond the borders, had required a great deal more effort. In that sense, Xia Yu's proposed attack on the Xianbi should not be compared to the recent achievements of Duan Jiong.

of the Xianbi are no weaker [than were the Western Qiang]. Yet these men make meaningless calculations, and expect the operation will be complete in the space of two years. If there should be a series of military misfortunes, how will they obtain a breathing space? They will have to make further levies of troops, and the need for reinforcement will continue without end. This will become a drain on all the people of China, and will reduce our strength against the barbarians.

"The threat of misfortune on the frontier is like an itch on the hand or the foot; if China Proper should fall into difficulty, that would be an ulcer of the breast or the back.[142]

"There are still robbers and bandits in the commanderies and counties, and they cannot be eliminated. In such a situation, how can we hope to deal with a foreign enemy as well? In former times, Gaozu accepted humiliation at Pingcheng, and the Empress Lü disregarded an insolent letter.³⁰ If you compare that period with the present day, which was the more prosperous?

"Heaven granted us mountains and rivers, Qin constructed the Great Wall, and Han has set up frontier defences. The purpose of all these was to maintain separation between the inside and the out, and to preserve the distinction of their customs.

1843 "If there were no concern that we might be invaded, then [such an

³⁰ In 201 BC Emperor Gao of Han, on campaign against the Shanyu Modun 冒頓 of the Xiongnu, was encircled and besieged at the city of Pingcheng 平城, near present-day Datong in Shanxi. The *Xin lun* 新論 of Huan Tan 桓譚, who lived at the end of the first century BC and the beginning of the first century AD, has the story that Gaozu escaped from the trap only through the intervention of the wife of the Shanyu: a Chinese agent, Chen Ping 陳平, approached her, saying that Gaozu was intending to buy his freedom by presenting Chinese women to Modun, and that when her husband met such beauties she would not be able to retain his affections. As a result, the lady persuaded the Shanyu to let the Chinese army escape. See Dubs, *HFHD* I, 116-117, translating *HS* 1B:63, and his note 2 to 116, translating the extract from *Xin lun* quoted in commentary to *SJ* 56:2057-58, also *SJ* 110:2894; Watson, *RGH* II, 166, and *HS* 94A:3753. Huan Tan remarks that the stratagem, long kept secret but which he claimed to reveal, was "shabby, mean, awkward and evil."

After the emperor's death, when his dowager Empress Lü controlled the government, Modun sent her a letter, suggesting that since they were both now old and without wife or husband, they should get together and console one another. The Chinese court was grossly offended by such presumption and the Empress Lü considered killing the messengers and launching a military campaign. She was reminded, however, of the difficulties at Pingcheng, and persuaded that such insolence from barbarians was better ignored: *HS* 94A:2754-55, *SJ* 110:2895; Watson, *RGH* II, 167.

attack as is currently proposed] could certainly be feasible; but how can we estimate the long-term chances of evenly-balanced warfare with an enemy numerous as ants? We may defeat them on occasion, but can we be sure of complete success? – and can we risk the danger of a long-drawn war, which would cost so much time and so many resources?

"In former times, Liu An the King of Huainan protested at the attack on Yue, saying,³¹ 'If the men of Yue are prepared to face death in order to resist authority, while ordinary conscript troops will retreat after suffering a single casualty, then even if you took the head of the King of Yue, it would still be a source of embarrassment to Great Han.' And now it is proposed that we should use the common people against this horde. The imperial authority will be disgraced among the outer barbarians. Even if everything goes as it is claimed it will, this is nonetheless a source of danger. And how much worse will it prove if the fighting does not go according to plan!"

The emperor would not accept this argument. In the eighth month, Xia Yu was sent out by Gaoliu, Tian Yan by Yunzhong, and the Emissary to the Xiongnu Zang Min led the Southern Shanyu out by Yanmen. Each had command of ten thousand cavalry. They travelled on three routes some two thousand *li* beyond the frontier.³²

31 Liu An the King of Huainan, a grandson of the founding Emperor Gao of Han, was a distinguished scholar and the patron of the school reflected in the work *Huainan zi* 淮南子: for example, Ames, *Art of Rulership*, xv-xvi. In 122 BC he was accused of plotting rebellion and was executed: e.g. Dubs, *HFHD* II, 58. His biography is in *HS* 44:2144-52.

HS 64A:2776-85 contains the text of a memorial from Liu An, written in 135, seeking to dissuade the youthful Emperor Wu from embarking on a campaign against the Minyue 閩越 people of the south-eastern seaboard. The passage cited by Cai Yong is at 2784.

Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 250, notes that Liu An in this memorial also makes the argument, raised earlier by Cai Yong, that natural barriers divide China from those regions where the imperial government had no business to interfere.

32 Gaoliu was the chief county of Dai commandery, near present-day Yanggao in Shanxi northeast of Datong, and provided an assembly point for troops drawn from You province. Yunzhong commandery was in the valley of the Dahei River in Inner Mongolia, about present-day Hohhot, a suitable position for gathering forces from Bing province. Yanmen commandery lay between these two.

Though their assembly and departure points were different and we are told that they went out by three routes, the Chinese forces were operating on a comparatively narrow front, and it is probable that the columns joined up soon after they had left the frontier.

Tanshihuai ordered the chieftains of his three divisions to gather their forces and intercept them. Xia Yu and the others were totally defeated. Having lost all their insignia and their baggage, each of them made their escape with only a few dozen horsemen. Seventy or eighty percent of the Chinese troops died.³³[143]

The three commanders were brought to prison by cage cart, paid ransom and became commoners.

F In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *guichou*, first of the month [9 Nov], there was an eclipse of the sun.³⁴

The Grand Commandant Liu Kuan left office.

[In the eleventh month (?)] on the day *xinchou* [27 Dec?] there was an earthquake in the capital district.³⁵

In the eleventh month [?] the Excellency of Works Chen Qiu left office.

In the twelfth month on the day *jiayin* [9 Jan 178] the Minister of Ceremonies Meng Yu of Henan became Grand Commandant.

On the day *gengchen* [4 Feb 178] the Excellency over the Masses Yang Ci left office.

³³ On the Xianbi chieftain Tanshihuai and the organisation of his state into three divisions, see passage JJ of Yanxi 9. For discussion of Tanshihuai and the disastrous campaign of 177, see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 329-344, particularly 338-341. We must assume that the Chinese had gone too far into the steppe and were isolated and surrounded. This was the first major defeat of a Chinese army since the beginning of Later Han, though we are told below that the commanders managed to escape back into China.

F *HHS* 8:339-340 (7a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

³⁴ This eclipse is recorded by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 108/18:3370. It is said to have been reported by the Chancellor of Zhao, in present-day southern Hebei. No such event, however, is recorded by Oppolzer.

The Treatise does not include a prognostication, but the commentary of Liu Zhao records a memorial from the minister Gu Yong 谷永, which claims that the eclipse is a sign of oppressive taxation and of government disregard for the people, and that it indicates there will be rebellion and change.

³⁵ The earthquake is recorded by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 106/16:3332; there is no prognostication.

From the order of the chronicle, it would appear that this day *xinchou* (cyclical 38) should have fallen in the tenth month. There was, however, no *xinchou* day in the tenth month of this year, which ended on a *xinsi* day (cyclical 18).

The indication of the eleventh month, which follows this entry both in *HHS* 8 and in *ZZTJ*, appears to have been misplaced. I interpret the date as referring to the *xinchou* day of the eleventh month.

The Minister of Ceremonies Chen Dan became Excellency of Works.

1844

G The Administrator of Liaoxi, Zhao Bao, was a man from Ganling.³⁶ When he came to his office he sent messengers calling his mother, his wife and children to join him. Just as they were passing through Liucheng,³⁷ ten thousand Xianbi broke through the frontier to raid and plunder. Zhao Bao's mother, wife and children were taken prisoner. Then the enemy went forward with these hostages to attack the commandery capital [at Yangle] and Zhao Bao led twenty thousand horsemen to face them in battle array.

The Xianbi brought out Zhao Bao's mother so that he could see her. Zhao Bao called in sorrow to his mother, "As your most unworthy son, I sought to earn a salary so that I might offer you constant care. I had no idea of bringing misfortune upon you. Formerly I was your son, but now I am the servant of the state. My sense of honour will not permit

G *HHS* 81/71:2692-93 (20a-21a), the Biography of Zhao Bao in the Chapter on the Men of Unusual Conduct.

36 The story of Zhao Bao is discussed in deC, *Northern Frontier*, 462-463 note 53, with particular reference of the site of Liucheng, on which see note 37 below.

Liaoxi commandery under Later Han extended along the northeastern shore of the Gulf of Liaodong.

Zhao Bao's biography says that he was a cousin of the high-ranking eunuch Zhao Zhong, but that he disapproved of eunuch involvement in government and refused to have anything to do with his powerful relative. He appears to have risen to his position as Administrator of this frontier commandery by the accepted route of service in local government, followed by recommendation as Filial and Incorrupt, then a term as magistrate of a county.

The account of Zhao Bao's relationship to Zhao Zhong is an unusual reference to a palace eunuch of Later Han coming from gentry background. Cao Jie is also said to have been a man of distinguished family (*HHS* 78/68:2524), but most other eunuchs mentioned in the history are described only by their place of origin, normally one of the commanderies of central China.

37 Liucheng 柳城 had been a county city during Former Han, but lost that distinction under Later Han, though it was evidently still a significant population centre. One scholarly tradition places the ancient site in the valley of the present-day Daling River. My own interpretation, however, suggests that Liucheng was situated on the shore of the Gulf of Liaodong southwest of present-day Jinxi: *Northern Frontier*, 462-463 note 53.

Based upon that interpretation, I suggest further that the capital of Liaoxi commandery, Yangle 陽樂, as below, must have been in the region of present-day Jinzhou in Liaoning, southern Manchuria; not, as some reconstructions would suggest, in Hebei east of Beijing.

me to follow private affection at the expense of the dictates of loyalty. I would die ten thousand deaths if only I could be spared this wrongful act."

His mother replied to him from afar, "Weihao,³⁸ each person has their own fate. How can we be concerned for one another if we harm loyalty and honour to do so? You must carry out your duty!"[144]

At the appropriate time, therefore, Zhao Bao advanced to the attack. The enemy were totally defeated, but his mother and his wife both died in the fighting.

Zhao Bao wrote in to ask leave to return home for the funeral. The emperor sent messengers of condolence and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Yu.³⁹ When the funeral rites were completed, however, Zhao Bao said to the men of his district, "It would not be loyal for a man to accept a salary but avoid the difficulties of office. It is quite unfilial, however, for a man to cause the death of his mother in order to maintain his own position of honour. In such a situation, how can I stand and face the world?" He vomited blood and died.[145]

³⁸ Weihao 威豪 was evidently the style of Zhao Bao.

³⁹ Yu county was in Qinghe in Ji province, just north of the Yellow River on the North China plain.

Guanghe 光和 1: 178 AD

6 February 178 - 25 January 179

A In the summer, in the first month the Wuhu barbarians of Hepu and Jiaozhi rebelled. They attracted support from the people of Jiuzhen and Rinan, and they attacked and destroyed commandery and county offices.¹

The Grand Commandant Meng Yu left office.

In the second month on the day *xinhai*, first of the month [7 Mar], there was an eclipse of the sun.²

On the day *guichou* [9 Mar] the Minister of the Imperial Household Yuan Pang of Chen kingdom became Excellency over the Masses.

On the day *jiwei* [15 Mar] there was an earthquake.³

1845

B The School at the Gate of the Vast Capital was established. It was ordered that provincial and commandery administrations, and the Three Excellencies, should nominate students. Some [of those who graduated] went out as Inspectors or Administrators, others were appointed in the central government as Masters of Writing or Palace Attendants. Several of them were enfeoffed as marquises or given lesser orders of noble rank. All true scholars and gentlemen felt ashamed to be classed with such fellows.⁴

A *HHS* 8:340 (7a-b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

¹ The Wuhu people inhabited the coastal region between the Bay of Canton and the Leizhou peninsula. They had been brought under imperial control in 170, when their territory was made into the new commandery of Gaoliang: passage E and note 4 of *Jianing* 3.

² This eclipse is recorded by the *Treatise of the Five Powers* at *HHS* 108/18:3370, but no prognostication is given. *Oppolzer* has no such eclipse.

³ The earthquake is recorded by the *Treatise of the Five Powers* at *HHS* 106/16:3332. This, and a further tremor two months later (passage C below), are both related by *Sima Biao* to the dominance of Emperor Ling's government by his eunuch attendants.

B Hua Qiao, *Hou Han shu* 1:1a.

⁴ The formal establishment of the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital is also described in *HHS* 8:340-41 and commentary to that text. The School is discussed by *Bielenstein*, *Lo-yang*, 28.

We have already seen, at passage D of *Xiping* 6, that there were students at the Gate of the Vast Capital. This "establishment," therefore, is best interpreted as the formal recognition of the School as an institution with official status. In particular, it seems to be at this time that orders were given for students to be nominated in a similar fashion for the established candidacies such as Filial and Incorrupt and Flourishing Talent, and for graduates from the school to be transferred as a matter of course to

C In the third month on the day *xinchou* [26 Apr] there was an amnesty for the empire and the reign title was changed [to Guanghe].

The Minister of Ceremonies Zhang Hao of Changshan became Grand Commandant. Zhang Hao was a younger brother of the Regular Attendant Zhang Feng.⁵

In the summer, in the fourth month on the day *bingchen* [11 May], there was an earthquake.⁶

In the Office of the Palace Attendants a hen changed into a cock.⁷

The Excellency of Works Chen Dan left office. The Minister of Ceremonies Lai Yan became Excellency of Works.[146]

responsible official positions at the capital or in the provinces. In this respect, of course, the School represented a major alternative and challenge to the traditional forms of scholarship as a means to government office.

C *HHS* 8:341 (7b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

5 Zhang Hao's relationship to the eunuch Zhang Feng is mentioned in the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao, 1:6b, quoted in the Pei Songzhi commentary to *SGZ* 6:179.

Commentary to *HHS* 8 has a brief anecdote from the *Soushen ji* 搜神記 "Record of Enquiries about the Spirits" compiled by Gan Bao 干寶 of the early fourth century, telling how Zhang Hao found a mysterious golden seal when he was Chancellor of Liang kingdom. There is, however, nothing of his relationship to the eunuch.

6 This earthquake, like that of the second month, is recorded in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 106/16:3332: passage A above.

7 This phenomenon is discussed in more detail by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 103/13:3273. It is the only item in the category of "Portents involving Chickens" (雞禍 *ji huo*).

The Office of the Palace Attendants was in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. As Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 49, remarks in another context, it appears that such offices regularly contained living quarters and lodgings.

According to the Treatise, the change was not complete: the plumage of the bird changed from that of a hen to that of a cock, but the head remained the same. A memorial from Cai Yong addressed the matter. He pointed out that a similar change had taken place at the imperial palace in 49 BC, during the reign of Emperor Xuan of Former Han, and at the residence of the Imperial Chancellor in 48 BC, just after the accession of Emperor Yuan: *HS* 27B/2:1370. He associated those omens with the rise to power of the Wang family, which ultimately took the throne, and he applied the warning to the government of Emperor Ling. However, since the head of the bird had not changed, there was still time for reform.

Sima Biao refers to the rebellion of the Yellow Turbans under Zhang Jue, observing, however, that there was still no change in policy, and so eventually all fell into ruin. However, just as Cai Yong related the omens of Former Han to the rise in power of a consort clan, connected to the throne by females, a more appropriate interpretation would surely relate to the power of the eunuchs, who could be seen as half-man and half-woman.

In the sixth month on the day *dingchou* [31 Jul] a black emanation resembling a dragon, more than a hundred feet long, came down in the Eastern Court of the Hall of Gentle Virtue at a time when the emperor was present.⁸

In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *renzi* [5 Aug?], a dark rainbow appeared in the courtyard of the Rear Hall of the Jade Hall.⁹

⁸ This phenomenon is also described by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 107/17:3351-52. We are told that the hall was in the Northern Palace, but the name is given as Gentle Brightness (文明 *Wenming*), which reading is accepted by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 37.

It appears that the mist (氣 *qi*) was initially black, as the covers of a chariot, but it developed into a multitude of colours with a shape like that of a dragon, a well-defined head and a body one hundred feet long.

The Treatise says that Emperor Ling asked Cai Yong about this, and quotes his reply. Cai Yong observed that the apparition had no feet or tail, and identified it as a snake rather than a dragon. He then quoted a number of authorities, relating the omen to harem influence, to military problems, and to a general lack of virtue in the government and amongst its servants.

The commentary of Liu Zhao contains a further extract from the memorial. As Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 164-165, observes, Cai Yong's comments were originally presented in a single document, but Sima Biao has split this text among the records of the various portents which he discussed. See passage E and note 19 below.

The interpretation of Sima Biao refers the apparition to the rise of the influence of the Lady He, future empress, to the rebellion of the Yellow Turbans, to the seizure of power by Dong Zhuo, and the ultimate downfall of the dynasty.

⁹ This phenomenon is not mentioned in the Treatise of the Five Powers, but the commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 107/17:3352 note 3 quotes the *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shansong, 1:7a, which mentions the occurrence and observes that the emperor was again present at the time. The incident appears similarly in the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Ying at 3b, though the date is given only by year, and the place is described as the forecourt of the Rear Hall of the Hall of Exalted Virtue (崇德 *Chongde*). *HHS* 54/44:1779, moreover, the Biography of Yang Ci cited immediately below in passage D, refers to the phenomenon as appearing in the front of the Hall of Excellent Virtue (嘉德 *Jiade*).

The Jade Hall was in the Southern Palace (Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 26), the Hall of Exalted Virtue was in the Northern Palace (Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 35-36), and the Hall of Excellent Virtue was in the Southern Palace (Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 25). On the weight of evidence it seems that the rainbow appeared in the Jade Hall complex.

HHS 8, followed by *ZZTJ*, describes the colour of the rainbow only as 青 *qing*. Yuan Shansong and Xie Ying, however, both say that it was both *qing* and 赤 *chi*; Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 164, interprets it as blue and red.

The day given by *HHS* 8 and followed by *ZZTJ* is *renzi* 壬子 (cyclical 49), but there was no such day in the seventh month of this year, which ended on a *dingwei* day

- D An imperial edict summoned the Household Counsellor Yang Ci and others to attend at the Gate of Metal and Shang,¹⁰ and they were asked how these omens and strange occurrences might be halted.¹¹

Yang Ci replied, "The Apocrypha of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* say: 'When Heaven sends a rainbow, all the world is angry and all within the seas is in confusion.'¹² A period of four hundred years of government is reaching its end.¹³ Now a gang of concubines and

(cyclical 44). It seems most likely that the character *zi* has been miswritten for 午 *wu*: the *renwu* day (cyclical 19), was the fourth day of the seventh month of Guanghe 1, equivalent to 5 August 178.

- D *HHS* 54/44:1779-80 (14b-16b), the Biography of Yang Ci.
 10 According to the Collected Works of Cai Yong, 6:6b, which preserves the text of this memorial, the conference took place on the tenth day of the seventh month, equivalent to 11 August.

The Gate of Metal and Shang was an internal gate of the Northern Palace, giving access from the west to the Hall of Exalted Virtue: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang* 35-36. *HHS* 54/44 says that the discussion was held in an office (署 *shu*) of the gate, which was a part of the Exalted Virtue complex of buildings, and that besides Yang Ci, Cai Yong was also invited.

The biography of Cai Yong at *HHS* 60/50B1998 adds the names of the scholars Ma Midi 馬日磾, Zhang Hua 張華 and Shan Yang 單颺. It too says that the group attended first at the Gate of Metal and Shang but was then brought to the Hall of Exalted Virtue, where they were questioned not by Emperor Ling in person but by the eunuchs Cao Jie and Wang Fu speaking on his behalf. At some stage, however, it appears that Cai Yong believed he had the right to confidential communication with the ruler himself: see his plea at 1847 below.

- 11 As Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 163-164, observes, the full series of portents was even more impressive and disconcerting than those selected by *ZZTJ*. Besides the recorded (though false) eclipse, the two earthquakes, the sex-changing chicken, the misty dragon or snake and the two-coloured rainbow, we are also told of locusts (Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 105/15:3319) of a meteor 流星 *liu xing* (Treatise of Astronomy at *HHS* 102/12:3258), and of a man dressed in white who claimed to be a member of the fallen Liang family come to take the throne (Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 107/17:3346-47).

Later in the year there would be a comet (彗星 *sou xing*), appearing for more than eighty nights (*HHS* 102/12:3258 and passage F and note 32 below) and another eclipse of the sun (passage H below). As Mansvelt Beck remarks, this was indeed an *annus mirabilis*.

- 12 The phrase *Chunqiu chan* 春秋占 is punctuated as a book title by the modern editions of both *ZZTJ* and *HHS*. Commentary to *HHS*, however, which is quoted by Hu Sanxing, cites a similar passage from a work entitled *Chunqiu yan Kong tu* 春秋演孔圖 "The *Spring and Autumn Annals* Displaying the Plan of Confucius."
 13 It was now almost four centuries since the establishment of the Han dynasty by Emperor Gaozu in 206 BC. Yang Ci is forecasting the end of an era.

eunuchs have combined to dominate the court, and they cheat and deceive your celestial intelligence.

"Moreover, a horde of petty fellows have been gathered at the Gate of the Vast Capital. They compose rhapsodies and stories, and they are favoured by the common people. They recommend and urge one another forward, and within a few weeks or a month each of them receives promotion.

1846 "Yue Song has position as a senior attendant and Ren Zhi is in the privy secretariat,¹⁴ while Que Jian and Liang Gu have received quite inappropriate favours and enfeoffments.

"In these circumstances, the status of a proper official with a seal at his girdle is brought down to the level of these fellows from the fields and paddies. In their mouths are the words of Yao and Shun, and in their conduct they match the most distinguished men of the past, yet they are abandoned and cast aside to the ditches and the gutters, and are cared for no more.

"So caps and shoes are topsy-turvy, and mountains and valleys have changed their places.¹⁵ Fortunately, however, imperial Heaven has passed down omens and signs of warning.

"The *Book of Zhou* has said, 'If the Son of Heaven observes strange signs, then he will reform his virtue. If a feudal lord observes strange signs, then he will reform his government. If a minister or great officer observes strange signs, then he will reform the manner in which he carries out his duties. If [147] an ordinary gentleman or commoner observes strange signs, then he will reform himself.'¹⁶

"If only your majesty would dismiss these artful but deceitful

14 The phrase *changbo* 常伯 is understood to indicate Yue Song's post as a Palace Attendant: see passage D of Xiping 6. The phrase *neiyán* 內言 refers to the position of Ren Zhi as a Master of Writing.

15 The first part of this sentence echoes an expression occurring in *Chu ci* 楚辭, as, for example, 17:11a, in the *Dao luan* 悼亂 poem of the Nine Longings (九思 *Jiu si*) collection; Hawkes, *Songs of the South*, 176: "Hats and shoes tied up together."

The second expression reflects the third stanza of the *Shiyue zhi jiao* 十月之交 Ode of *Shi jing*, II.4.9; Legge, *CC IV*, 322 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 193 at 138-139):

High banks become valleys,

Deep valleys become hills.

Alas for the men of this time!

How does [the king] not stop these things?

Both may be taken as a criticism of men of mean quality being promoted to the highest positions.

16 There is no text such as this in any of the Confucian classics.

ministers, and keep them at a distance; and if you would invite men of true distinction.¹⁷ Break up the one-foot tablets, and put a halt to this search for pleasure.¹⁸ Then we may hope that high Heaven will withdraw its warnings and all uncertainty among the people can be dispelled."

E In his reply, the Consultant Cai Yong said:¹⁹ "I have ventured to consider the various strange happenings, and all of them are signs of a state that is being destroyed. Heaven has never ceased its abundant attentions to Great Han, and for this reason it has repeatedly produced

17 The phrase *heming zhi ren* 鶴鳴之人, literally "men of whom the crane calls," but rendered here as "men of true distinction," reflects the *Heming Ode* of *Shi jing*, II.3.10; Legge, *CC IV*, 296-297 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 184 at 127). The crane was known for its carrying cry, and the phrase could be interpreted as a reference to men of widespread reputation.

18 On the formal establishment of the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital, see passage D of Xiping 6.

The phrase *chiyi* 尺一 "one-foot tablets" normally refers to official documents: note 58 to Yanxi 2. This style of writing was taught at the school.

The phrase *panyu* 槃游 reflects a term used by Mencius: *Mengzi* IIA, 4; Legge, *CC II*, 198, and *Mengzi* VIIB, 34; Legge, *CC II*, 496. In particular, the former passage is rendered: "But now the princes...abandon themselves to pleasure... - they in fact seek calamities for themselves." (Cf. Lau, *Mencius*, 81 and 201).

While it is possible to understand Cai Yong's objection to frivolous compositions such as rhapsodies, it is more difficult to appreciate his opposition to such a practical skill as the drafting of formal documents. Two reasons may be adduced, however: firstly, that the essential study for an official should be the Confucian classics, and other skills may be added only to that firm foundation; and secondly that he and other colleagues in the regular imperial service objected in principle to this irregular route of entry and the people who took advantage of it.

From the evidence, however, albeit hostile, the curriculum was an interesting one. On the practical side, it included the style and technique of drawing up official documents; in more imaginative fashion, it included the arts of the rhapsody and of calligraphy. It is arguable that a graduate of such an institution would have been at least as well equipped to handle affairs of government as an official who had spent his time studying the texts of current Confucianism. But there was, of course, a moral and political dimension to the argument.

E *HHS* 60/50B:1998-2002 (14a-17b), the Biography of Cai Yong.

19 As indicated, this text is taken from the account of the memorial presented at the conference by Cai Yong as recorded in his biography. Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 164, points out, however, that Cai Yong's comments have come to us in fragments, with other parts scattered among the relevant items in the *Treatise of the Five Powers*. Two of these extracts are cited in notes 6 and 7 above.

Another text of the memorial appears in the *Collected Works of Cai Yong*.

manifestations and signs to serve as warning or punishment. Its intention is that the ruler should receive the influence, and should change his policy from one of danger to hat of safety.

"Now a rainbow has descended, and a chicken has changed its sex. These are signs that the interference of women in affairs of government has come to a critical point. In former times the wet-nurse Zhao Rao was honoured before all the empire, but she was a slanderer and a flatterer and displayed excessive pride. Then there was the case of Huo Yu, servant at the gate of the Palace of Perpetual Joy, who relied upon his influence with authority, and was constantly involved in wrongful dealings.²⁰ Now the roads and streets are buzzing with gossip about a certain Lady Cheng; and if we examine her reputation then it is clear that she too will be a disaster for the state.²¹ At the highest level, a watchful guard should be established, with clear prohibitions. And at the same time we should be very careful of [such people as] Zhao Rao and Huo Yu, who constitute a notable danger.

"The Grand Commandant Zhang Hao was recommended by Huo Yu. The Minister of the Imperial Household Wei [or Xing] Zhang has a reputation for greed and corruption.²² And the Colonel of the Chang River Regiment Zhao Xuan and the Colonel of Footsoldiers He Sheng have both received timely favours and abundant good fortune. They should think on the calamities which come of putting petty men in office, and consider how they might attract good fortune by seeking to withdraw themselves and bring worthy men out from seclusion.[147]

"To my humble observation, the Minister of Justice Guo Xi is mature, sincere and generous. The Household Counsellor Qiao Xuan is intelligent and upright, and the former Grand Commandant Liu Chong

²⁰ The Palace of Perpetual Joy was the residence of the Dowager Dong, natural mother of Emperor Ling: passage C of Jianning 2.

On the wet-nurse Zhao Rao, who was involved in the coup against Dou Wu and Chen Fan in 168, see passage K of Jianning 1; on her enfeoffment, see note 15 to Jianning 2.

Huo Yu is mentioned only in this text. It appears that he was a menial who had at some time attracted the attentions of Emperor Ling.

²¹ This Lady Cheng is evidently the adopted daughter of the eunuch Cheng Huang, married to the Court Architect Yang Qiu: see below.

²² Though *ZZTJ* gives this man's surname as Wei 偉, *HHS* 60/50B has it as Xing 姓. The commentary of Zhou Shouchang, cited in *HHSJJ* at 15a, concludes that Xing is indeed correct: the matter is somewhat confused by the fact the character *xing* has itself the meaning of "surname," while both Wei and Xing are most unusual surnames.

Wei/Xing Zhang is not referred to anywhere else in the texts.

is a person of true loyalty and honesty. These should serve as pillars of the state, and your majesty should regularly consult their opinion.

1847 "The high counsellors and great officers are the four limbs of the ruler.²³ Their selection is a weighty responsibility, and requires careful discrimination between the good and the bad. It is quite wrong to pay attention to the criticisms of petty officials against such senior ministers.

"Again, it would be appropriate to reduce the production of the artisans in the office of the Master of Techniques, and the literary effusions of the Vast Capital school,²⁴ as a means to demonstrate your concern [for the present situation and the ominous signs]. Those recommended as Filial and Incorrupt by senior officials should be gentlemen selected according to the highest standards. Recently, however, the imperial summons has been issued without sufficient care, and there has been occasion to reprimand the Three Excellencies on this account. Now, moreover, there is selection and accelerated promotion based upon skill in these minor literary forms. This opens the opportunity for private favouritism, and it ignores the prescriptions of all enlightened rulers. The hearts of the multitude cannot accept this system, but none dare voice an objection.

"I wish your majesty might be hard-hearted enough to get rid of these evil associates, that you take into account the general good of the empire, and respond to the wishes of Heaven. If the sage court undertakes self-denial, then your attendants and close ministers will also be influenced and changed, the people will contain their demands, and there will be an end to misfortunes and omens. It is the Way of Heaven to punish the arrogant, but the gods and spirits reward

23 The phrase 宰相大臣 *zaixiang dachen* may be understood as a general term for the highest officials of the empire.

24 The office of the Master of Techniques (尙方 *shangfang*, also rendered as Master of Recipes) is discussed by Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 52 and 61. It is described as a workshop in the palace where articles such as knives and swords were made for the emperor's personal use. From passage L below, however, it appears that the staff also included painters and decorators.

Cai Yong's juxtaposition of the workshop and the new School at the Gate of the Vast Capital shows his opinion of the scholarship that Emperor Ling was patronising: meretricious, idiosyncratic, and quite inessential to the true purposes of government. Both the trinkets from the workshop and the literary compositions of the school were luxuries which could well be dispensed with.

modesty.²⁵

"Now, if ruler and minister do not respect one another's confidences, then the ruler will suffer because his secret affairs are leaked to others, while the minister may encounter the misfortune of death.²⁶ I trust that you would treat this memorial with care, and do not allow an officer like me, offering you complete loyalty, to suffer from the hatred of wicked men." [149]

When he received this document, the emperor studied it and sighed. Then he got up and changed his clothes. Cao Jie was spying on him from behind, and he reported everything to his colleagues.²⁷ As a result, the matter leaked out. Those who had been criticised by Cai Yong thought now only of revenge.

Before this, Cai Yong had some disagreement with the Minister Herald Liu He, and his uncle Cai Zhi, who was Minister of the Guards, also had a quarrel with Yang Qiu the Court Architect.²⁸ Yang Qiu, moreover, was the husband of the [adopted] daughter of the Regular Attendant Cheng Huang.

Cheng Huang then issued an anonymous circular saying that, "Cai Yong and Cai Zhi have on several occasions sought favour for their private interests from Liu He, but Liu He refused their importunities. Cai Yong is resentful and seeks harm Liu He."

As a result, an imperial edict referred the matter to the Masters of Writing, to investigate Cai Yong's conduct.

Cai Yong responded to the accusation, "Truly I am ignorant and foolish, and failed to pay attention to the misfortunes which might come as a consequence [of giving my advice]. Your majesty has not considered the honest words of a loyal servant. You should have maintained secrecy. Now that slanders have suddenly appeared, you have become doubtful and seek to put blame upon me.

²⁵ Cai Yong here quotes from *Yi jing*, hexagram Qian 謙 "Modesty"; cf. Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 66.

²⁶ Cai Yong here quotes from *Yi jing* 7:6b [*Xi ci* 繫辭]; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 330.

²⁷ The phrase 更衣 *geng yi* may describe simply a change of garments, as on account of a change in the temperature of the day, or it may be euphemism for a visit to the lavatory. In either event, the document was left in such a fashion that Cao Jie was able to discover its contents.

²⁸ *HHS* 60/50B describes Liu He as Excellency of Works. That office, however, was held at this time by Lai Yan: passage C above. Liu He was appointed Excellency of Works from Minister Herald in the third month of the following year: passage A of Guanghe 2. Sima Guang corrects an anachronism.

"I am forty-six years old. My one interest in life is to maintain my name as a loyal minister, and from this point of view death holds many attractions. My only regret would be that your majesty will never again hear honest advice."

Cai Yong and Cai Zhi were sent to the Luoyang Prison. They were impeached for "presenting slanders against high ministers of state and for abusing senior officials: Great Iniquity; for public execution."²⁹

1848 When this report was sent in [from the office of the Masters of Writing, the Imperial Secretariat], the Regular Attendant Lü Qiang of Henan, concerned that Cai Yong was innocent, offered a strongly-worded appeal on his behalf. For his part, the emperor also reviewed the memorials that Cai Yong had sent. The edict ordered "Remission of death by one degree.³⁰ [The accused] and their dependents shall be shaved and collared and banished to Shuofang. They shall not benefit from any amnesty." [150]

Yang Qiu sent retainers to assassinate Cai Yong as he was on the road to exile, but the men were so impressed by his honourable qualities that none would carry out the deed. Yang Qiu also bribed the local authorities to kill Cai Yong by poison, but they too warned Cai Yong. So he was able to escape assassination.³¹

F In the eighth month there was a comet in the Heavenly Market.³²

²⁹ On the categorisation "Great Iniquity" (大不敬 *da bujing*), which had also been levied against the critic Li Yun in the time of Emperor Huan, see passage FF and note 71 to Yanxi 2.

³⁰ On remission of the death penalty by one degree, see Hulsewé, *RHL*, 129, and note 40 to Yanxi 2. The sentence appears to have been equivalent to the heaviest form of hard labour, which began with a bastinado and had the additional penalties of shaving the head and applying an iron collar and leg chains.

³¹ We shall see in passage L below that Yang Qiu was also a determined opponent of the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital. This political agreement with Cai Yong, however, had no effect upon his determination to pursue their private quarrel.

F *HHS* 8:341 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

³² This comet (星孛 *xing bo*) is discussed and described further by the Treatise of Astronomy at *HHS* 102/12:3258.

The Heavenly Market Enclosure (天市垣 *Tianshi yuan*) is a broad circle of stars extending over Western Hercules, Serpens and Ophiuchus: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 84 and Star Maps 3 and 4.

The comet is recorded as having appeared first to the north of the Kang lunar mansion 亢宿, being the eastern part of Western Virgo: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 83 and 95 and Star Map 3. It entered the Heavenly Market Enclosure and thereafter moved southeast through a dozen lunar mansions for more than eighty days until it

In the ninth month the Grand Commandant Zhang Hao left office. The Minister of Ceremonies Chen Qiu became Grand Commandant.

The Excellency of Works Lai Yan died.³³ In the winter, in the tenth month the Colonel of Garrison Cavalry Yuan Feng became Excellency of Works.

- G The Empress Song was not receiving the emperor's favours. Many of the concubines in the harem, benefiting from their own good fortune, combined to slander and injure her.

The concubine Song of Liu Kui the King of Bohai was an aunt of the empress, and the Regular Attendant Wang Fu was afraid that the empress held resentment against him [for the misfortunes of Liu Kui].³⁴ He accused her of holding to the Way of the Left and of praying to the spirits.³⁵ The emperor believed this and an order was issued that her seal and ribbon be withdrawn. The empress retired to the Drying House and died there of grief.³⁶ Her father Song Feng, Marquis of Buqi District, and her brothers all suffered execution.

- H On the day *bingzi*, last of the month [27 Nov], there was an eclipse of the sun.³⁷

disappeared in the region of the Heavenly Parkland (天苑 *Tian yuan*), being the western part of Western Eridanus: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 110 and Star Map 6.

The prognostication in the Treatise relates this comet to the transfer of the capital from Luoyang to Chang'an in 190 after the death of Emperor Ling and the seizure of power by Dong Zhuo.

- 33 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHS* 24:6b explains Lai Yan was suffering from a long illness, and left office for that reason.

- G *HHS* 10B:448 (8b-9a), the Biography of the Empress Song of Emperor Ling.

- 34 For the miserable treatment meted out to Liu Kui by Wang Fu, and the king's unhappy death, see passage B of Yanxi 8, passage T of Yongkang 1 and particularly passage J of Xiping 1.

- 35 The biography of the Empress Song has been translated, with annotations, by Goodrich, "An Empress of the Later Han," II, 190-191. At note 26 on pages 200-201 Goodrich discusses the significance of the expression *zuodao* 左道 "Way of the Left" and concludes that it was a general term for witchcraft. A similar accusation may have been levied against the Empress Deng of Emperor Huan at the time of her deposition in 165: *HHS* 106/16:3331, the Treatise of the Five Powers; cf. passage G of Yanxi 8.

- 36 On the Drying House and the convenient death of grief, which may have been a euphemism for enforced suicide, see note 21 to Yanxi 8.

- H *HHS* 8:342 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

- 37 The Treatise of the Five Powers lists this eclipse at *HHS* 108/18:3370, noting that it took place in the Ji lunar mansion 箕宿, being a part of Western Sagittarius: Ho,

I The Master of Writing Lu Zhi wrote in to say:³⁸ "Many men of the Proscribed Party are innocent of any crime. They would benefit from an amnesty, and that would redress the wrong which has been done them.

"Again, members of the family of the Empress Song, though quite without guilt, have their bones abandoned and their bodies scattered abroad, and have not been granted proper burial. To give peace to their wandering ghosts, you [151] should give orders that their remains may be gathered and put to rights.³⁹

"Again, there are occasions when the administrators of commanderies and the inspectors of provinces transfer from one post to another several times in the course of a single month. You should arrange for reports of their achievements so that their abilities may be assessed, and even if it is not possible for men to remain in their positions as long as nine years, they should at least continue for three.⁴⁰

1849 "Again, matters of selection and promotion should be in the hands of those who are formally entrusted with that responsibility, and all private approaches for appointment in the government should be strictly forbidden.

Astronomical Chapters, 98 and Star Map 4. The eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3323, mapped in Stephenson and Houlden at 214a.

The Ji constellation is identified with the inner palace and the harem, including the residence of the empress. The Treatise relates this eclipse to the dismissal of the Empress Song because the emperor had given credence to slanders against her.

I *HHS* 64/54:2117 (12b-13a), the Biography of Lu Zhi.

38 Lu Zhi took the occasion of the eclipse to present this memorial. He prefaced his remarks by a long introductory passage on the significance of portents, and an enumeration of the remedies which the emperor should be prepared to embark upon. He then itemises the specific policy actions which should be taken to fulfil these remedies.

Sima Guang has not followed Lu Zhi's full pattern, but introduces each item by the expression *you* 又 "Again,..."

39 Lu Zhi refers here to the *hun* 魂 soul, which was supposed to depart the body for the afterworld: Loewe, *Ideas of Life and Death*, 26 and 114. In the fuller text of the memorial in *HHS*, Lu Zhi identifies these spirits as causing sickness, and urges the emperor that giving them proper burial will help to cure this. See also note 16 to Xiping 1.

40 The phrase *jiuzai* 九載 refers to the *Shun dian* 舜典 "The Canon of Shun" Chapter of *Shu jing*, II.1, 27; Legge, *CC* III, 50 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 8), describing how every three years there was an examination *kao* 考 of the merits of officials, and promotions and demotions were carried out only after three such periods, nine years in all.

"Again, the correct form of conduct for the emperor himself requires that he have no private property, but should concern himself with the great business of government. He should ignore all petty matters."

The emperor would not accept these comments.

- J In the eleventh month the Grand Commandant Chen Qiu left office. In the twelfth month on the day *dingsi* [7 Jan 179] the Household Counsellor Qiao Xuan became Grand Commandant.⁴¹
- K The Xianbi raided Jiuquan. The numbers of their people increased day by day, and there was no region of the border country which did not suffer from them.
- L An imperial edict ordered the office of the Master of Techniques in the palace to prepare thirty-two portraits of Yue Song, Jiang Lan and other scholars of the [School at the Gate of the] Vast Capital, to serve as inspiration for the students.⁴²

The Director of the Secretariat Yang Qiu wrote to protest, "I observe that Yue Song, Jiang Lan and their fellows are all of mean origin, petty men who are no more than the tools of others. They rely upon those who have held positions for generations, they depend upon the influence of powerful men, and they flutter their eyelashes in obsequious fashion as they seek for advancement.

"Some of these people may present an item of *fu* rhapsody, and others fill bamboo strips with bird seal calligraphy.⁴³ By this means they are admitted to the ranks of the Gentlemen [152] of the Palace, while their images are set up in red and black.⁴⁴

"And there are some who have never set brush to paper on any official document, and who do not understand the art of rhetoric, but

J *HHS* 8:342 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

⁴¹ Qiao Xuan was one of the men recommended earlier in the year by Cai Yong: passage E above.

K *HHS* 90/80:2994 (11a), the Account of the Xianbi.

L *HHS* 77/67:2499 (7b-8a), the Biography of Yang Qiu in the Chapter on the Stern Officials.

⁴² This statement is taken from the text of the memorial of Yang Qiu, which Sima Guang quotes directly below.

⁴³ See passage D of Xiping 6.

⁴⁴ The colours described here are *dan* 丹 cinnabar red, and *qing* 青 the colour of nature, being variously black, green or blue.

get other people to compose on their behalf. They corrupt and cheat all proper procedures; yet each receives your imperial favour. They are false as an empty cicada skin, fallen in the dirt. As a result, those who know about it laugh, while the empire as a whole is sad and grieved.

"I have heard of setting out pictures in order to demonstrate encouragement or warning, or to serve as a model of good and ill for the ruler. But I have never before heard that when mean and petty fellows compose a few false words of praise, they can then presume to such absurdly high office, and even have their portraits put on display.

"Now the Imperial University and the Eastern Lodge are quite enough to maintain scholarship and sagely cultivation.⁴⁵ I ask that selection through the [School at the Gate of the] Vast Capital be abolished. This would remove the scandal from the empire."

The memorial was presented, but no action was taken.

M In this year there was opened for the first time a market for the sale of offices at the Western Quarters. Each person appointed gave money in accordance with the position.

For an office with salary and rank at Two Thousand *shi*, the fee was twenty million cash; for rank and salary at Four Hundred *shi*, the fee was four million cash. When a man particular virtue was appointed, he was assessed only half the amount, and some people paid only a third. A store house was established in the Western Garden to hold the proceeds.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ The Eastern Lodge, situated in the Southern Palace, was the major imperial library, a centre for literary work by some of the most distinguished scholars of the empire, and the place where the continuing history of Later Han, eventually known as *Dongguan Hanji*, was composed. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 29-30.

We are told that Emperor Ling had a portrait of the distinguished scholar Gao Biao 高彪 painted in the Eastern Lodge: *HHS* 80/70B:2652. As Bielenstein observes, this implies that there may have been a collection of such works: this, of course, would make the rivalry of the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital, with its parallel set of pictures, yet more galling.

M *HHS* 8:342 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *Shanyang gong zaiji* quoted in commentary to *HHS* 8:342;
and *HHS* 52/42:1731 (18b), the Biography of Cui Lie;
and *HHJ* 25:4a.

⁴⁶ Hu Sanxing suggests that the Western Quarters (西邸 *xi di*) were in the Western Garden, as below, and this is most probable.

The Western Garden (西園 *Xi yuan*), situated within the Northern Palace and associated with the harem, was a favourite resort of Emperor Ling. It had existed at least since the early years of the reign of Emperor Shun, for *HHS* 78/68:2524 records

Some people would go to the gate and send in their bids in writing for positions as magistrates, and the price varied whether the county in question was good or bad, fertile or poor.

Wealthy men paid their money first, but those who were poor could take up their appointments and pay double price later.

1850 And there were private orders from the emperor that the imperial attendants should sell positions as excellencies and [153] ministers; an excellency cost ten million cash; a minister five million.

Formerly, when Emperor Ling was a marquis he had been very poor.⁴⁷ After he came to the throne he despised Emperor Huan for the fact that he had never managed to accumulate possessions for himself, and had held no money of his own. So Emperor Ling sold offices and took the proceeds in order to establish his own privy purse.⁴⁸

that the eunuch Cao Jie held a guard appointment there before being transferred to office in the harem. Emperor Ling spent vast quantities of money on its embellishment and his entertainments there became notorious: *HHS* 63/53:2091 and *HHS* 8:346: passage E of Guanghe 4 below.

There was also a Western Park (西苑 *Xi yuan*), created by Emperor Shun in 132: *HHS* 6:262. The similarity of names is a potential source of confusion, but the Western Park lay outside the city while the Western Garden was inside a palace compound: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 78 and 81.

47 Before his accession, Emperor Ling held the petty fief of Marquis of Jiedu Village by inheritance from his father: *HHS* 8:327 and passage V of Yongkang 1.

48 The sale of offices under the government of Emperor Ling has been discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 78, and *Bureaucracy*, 140-141 and notes page 203. There is more recent analysis in deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 41-44.

In his adaptation of the sources, Sima Guang has to some extent blurred the information provided by the texts, and there are some slight anachronisms and omissions.

HHS 8:342 refers specifically to secondary marquises, Gentlemen Rapid as Tigers and of the Feathered Forest, and other lesser positions. The text then continues immediately to refer to the private arrangements for excellencies and ministers.

The statement that the wealthy could pay in advance and others were allowed to defer payment at extravagant rates is related specifically to the appointment of Cui Lie as Excellency over the Masses, which took place in 185: *HHS* 8:351 and passage G to Zhongping 2. That text says also that the sale of offices and noble ranks was being carried out from the Gate of the Vast Capital; but this is probably a calumny or corruption of text inspired by disapproval of the School at the Gate.

As Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 141, observes, there had been previous sales of offices and fiefs, first documented in the time of Emperor Wen of Former Han (*HS* 50:2307 with commentary of Ru Shun 如淳 of the third century), but later carried out most energetically by Emperor Wu as a means to finance his great campaigns against

the Xiongnu (*HS* 24B:1158, 1159, 1167, 1171; Swann, *Food and Money*, 249, 254, 283-285, 300-301).

Again, under Later Han, there had been sales of the positions of gentlemen Rapid as Tigers or of the Feathered Forest, Cavalrymen Dressed in Red and Warrior in the Encampments, together with some minor posts in the ministerial offices at the capital and the noble rank of Quintuple Grandee at the time of the Qiang rebellion in 109: *HHS* 5:213 and note 13 to Yanxi 4. In 161 the government of Emperor Huan ordered the compulsory purchase of Gentleman, Cavalryman and Warrior appointments, together with the noble rank of secondary marquis: passage D of Yanxi 4.

On this basis, it is likely that the present decision called for the sale of quite junior positions in the hierarchy of officials: the references to "Rapid as Tigers" and "Feathered Forest" should be taken as indicating appointments only as Gentlemen in those corps; there was already precedent for the sale of the secondary marquises.

The significant changes at this time appear to have been, firstly, that proceeds from the sales went to the private purse of Emperor Ling and not into the public treasury and, second, the introduction of private (私 *si*) trading in the appointment of the highest officers of state, a trade from which both the Emperor and his eunuch agents profited.

The text from *HHJ*, moreover, is dated in that work to Zhongping 2: 185, and it appears from other sources that it was about that later time that the sale of offices for private imperial profit was established in fullest form: see passage S to Zhongping 2, and the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao, 1:7a-b.

It therefore appears that some part of the present description refers to future developments, that the general traffic in offices may not have developed until later, and that the reference by *Shanyang gong zaiji* to the store house in the Western Garden actually describes the Hall of Ten Thousand Gold Pieces which was set up in 185.

I suggest, therefore, that the sale of offices under Emperor Ling began in a comparatively small way in 178, concerned first only with noble ranks and with comparatively junior or cadet appointments in the official bureaucracy, with the proceeds used for the emperor's personal and discretionary use. The traffic increased, and in 185 it was extended to the whole official system. The situation as *ZZTJ* describes it here, however, was not to apply for another few years.

As to the private arrangements for sale of appointments as excellency or minister, which also appear to have begun in 178, besides Cui Lie who took office in 185, *HHS* 52/42 also mentions the names of Duan Jiong, Fan Ling and Zhang Wen, who are described as men of real merit, but nonetheless paid fines in similar fashion.

- Duan Jiong was appointed Grand Commandant for the first time in 173, but resigned on the grounds of ill health later in the same year: passage A of Xiping 2 with *HHS* 8:334, and *HHS* 65/55:2154. His second appointment was in 179, but he was impeached a month later for collusion and conspiracy with the eunuch Wang Fu, and he died in prison: passages A and F of Guanghe 2. Though it did him little good, this second appointment must have been the one subject to payment.
- Fan Ling became Grand Commandant in 188, but left office just one month later: passage E of Zhongping 5.

N The emperor once asked his Palace Attendant Yang Qi, "How do I compare with Emperor Huan?"

Yang Qi replied, "Your majesty resembles Emperor Huan in the same manner as Yu-Shun compares in virtue with Tang-Yao."⁴⁹

The emperor was not pleased, and said, "You're an obstinate fellow, a true descendant of Yang Zhen. When you die, there will surely be another flock of birds."

Yang Qi was a great-grandson of Yang Zhen.⁵⁰

- Zhang Wen was Excellency of Works from 184 to 185, was then appointed to command against the rebels of Liang province in the northwest, and was then given simultaneous appointment as Grand Commandant in 186, holding that post for about a year: passage L of Zhongping 1, passage N of Zhongping 2, passage B of Zhongping 3, and passage E of Zhongping 4.

In the pattern now established, tenure as an excellency seldom lasted as long as a year, so one can hardly suggest that the fee for appointment was a sensible investment. We must assume that the honour of holding these most senior positions, even for a short time, had some attraction; and, of course, that there was considerable pressure on men of appropriate experience to take such posts and pay the money. At this level, moreover, it appears that suitable candidates had adequate private means – men like Cui Lie could put up five or ten million cash – a sign of the inability of the imperial government to find more regular means of tapping the financial resources of the empire as a whole.

At the lower level there was certainly hardship, and the system would lead to corruption and extortion as men sought to recoup their investment in office by extracting wealth from the communities in their charge. As I have suggested, however, this full development may have come a few years later.

N *HHS* 54/44:1768 (7b), the biography of Yang Qi.

49 Yu-Shun 虞舜 and Tang-Yao 唐堯 are fuller names for the sage-emperors Shun 舜 and his predecessor Yao 堯. See, for example, the *Yao dian* 堯典 "The Canon of Yao" Chapter of *Shu jing*; Legge, *CC* III, 15-16 and 26, with notes. One sage-ruler was like another, but Yang Qi is being a little sarcastic.

50 Yang Zhen had been a minister during the time of Emperor An, and was Grand Commandant in 123. When a faction associated with the clan of the Empress Yan arranged the dismissal of Emperor An's son Liu Bao, future Emperor Shun, Yang Zhen was dismissed at their instigation, driven to commit suicide, and was refused proper burial. After Emperor Shun had been brought to the throne in a counter-coup, Yang Zhen was posthumously rehabilitated and his family was rewarded. A formal burial ceremony was held, and as it was taking place a flock of great birds came and stayed for ten days to pay their respects.

The biography of Yang Zhen is in *HHS* 54/44:1759-68, and the story of his burial is told at 1767. The biography of Yang Qi is attached to that of Yang Zhen at 1768.

Yang Qi was a grandson of Yang Zhen's eldest son Yang Mu. Yang Zhen's third son, Yang Bing, and Yang Bing's son Yang Ci both became excellencies during the reigns of Emperors Huan and Ling. Yang Ci's son Yang Biao also gained that rank, but

- O The Tuteruo shizhuji Shanyu of the Southern Xiongnu died.⁵¹ His son Hucheng succeeded him.[154]

in the rather different circumstances of the reign of Emperor Xian; he was a second cousin of Yang Qi.

- O *HHS* 89/79 2964 (18b), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

⁵¹ *HHS* 89/79 in fact states that the Shanyu had died in the previous year, after the disastrous attack against the Xianbi of Tanshihuai, which he had joined as part of the column led by Zang Min: passage E of Xiping 6.

It seems likely that the entry in the chronicle is misplaced. Most probably the Shanyu, whose personal name is not recorded, died at the end of the Chinese year Xiping 6, but the ceremony of enthronement for his successor was not carried out until the beginning of this following year, Guanghe 1.

Guanghe 光和 2: 179 AD

25 January 179 - 13 February 180

A In the spring there was great pestilence.¹

In the third month the Excellency over the Masses Yuan Pang left office. The Minister Herald Liu He was appointed Excellency over the Masses.²

On the day *yichou* [15 May] the Grand Commandant Qiao Xuan left office, and was appointed a Palace Counsellor. The Palace Counsellor Duan Jiong became Grand Commandant.

B Qiao Xuan's young son had been at the gate of the family mansion when he was seized by kidnappers, who then took refuge in a tall building [on the property] and sought to ransom him. Qiao Xuan, however, refused to give anything.

The troops of the Director of Retainers and the Intendant of Henan came and surrounded Qiao Xuan's house, but dared not move against the criminals [for fear of endangering the child]. Qiao Xuan, however, looked at them angrily and cried, "These are wicked men and evildoers. How can I let banditry loose upon the state for the sake of one child's life?" He ordered them to attack, and his son was killed in the fighting.

Qiao Xuan then advised the emperor that "Whenever there is a kidnapping any-where in the empire, the offenders should always be killed. It is not permissible for ransoms to be paid in money or goods; that just opens the way to further crime." As a result of this, kidnapping for ransom came to a complete halt.

C There was an earthquake in the capital district.³

A *HHS* 8:342 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

¹ This outbreak is recorded also in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 107/17:3351. No prognostication is attached.

HHS 8 records that officials were sent out on tour to distribute medicines.

² The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 24:6b dates this change of appointment to the *dingsi* day of the second month, and gives the personal name of the new appointee as Shao 邵. Sima Guang has chosen to follow *HHS* 8.

There was in fact no *dingsi* day in the second month of this year. The *dingsi* day of the third month was 7 May.

B *HHS* 51/41:1696 (11b), the Biography of Qiao Xuan.

C *HHS* 8:342-43 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

³ The earthquake is recorded in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 106/16:3332. No prognostication is attached.

1851

The Excellency of Works Yuan Feng left office. The Minister of Ceremonies Zhang Ji became Excellency of Works.

In the summer, in the fourth month on the day *jiaxu*, first of the month [24 May], there was an eclipse of the sun.⁴

- D Wang Fu, Cao Jie and their fellows were wicked extortionists and abused their power. From their position behind the scenes they influenced everything, both inside and out. The Grand Commandant Duan Jiong had a close association with them.[155]

The fathers and elder brothers, sons and younger brothers of Cao Jie and Wang Fu were appointed as ministers, colonels, governors, administrators and magistrates.⁵ They spread across the empire, and wherever they held office they were greedy and cruel.

Wang Fu's adopted son Wang Ji was Chancellor of Pei, and was particularly oppressive and tyrannical.⁶ Whenever he had a man killed, he would place the corpse on a cart, accompanied by a placard listing the person's crimes, and have it taken to each of the counties under his jurisdiction. In summer months the flesh would rot away, but he still tied the bones together and sent them around till they had travelled through the whole commandery. Everyone who saw them was terrified. Altogether, during the five years that he spent in that post, Wang Ji killed more than ten thousand people.

The Director of the Secretariat Yang Qiu would slap his thigh to

⁴ This eclipse is recorded in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 108/18:3370. No prognostication is attached. The eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3324, and is mapped in Stephenson and Houlden at 214b.

D *HHS* 77/67:2499-2500 (8a), the Biography of Yang Qiu in the Chapter on the Stern Officials;
and *HHS* 78/68:2325 (13b), the Biography of Cao Cie in the Chapter on the Eunuchs;
and *HHS* 77/67:2501 (9b), the Biography of Wang Ji in the Chapter on the Stern Officials.

⁵ The imperial eunuchs had been given the right of adoption by Emperor Shun in 135: *HHS* 6:264. We see below an account of the activities of the adopted son of Wang Fu, and a later reference to his wife and other children.

The reference to the office of "governor" (牧 *mu*) is a literary variant on the position of Inspector (刺史 *cishi*), being the official in charge of a province at that time. Governors were not appointed to provinces in this period until 188: passage B and note 4 to *Zhongping* 5.

⁶ This account of Wang Ji is presented as a supplement to the biography of Yang Qiu in *HHS* 77/67.

express his anger, and said, "If I became Director of Retainers,⁷ how could I tolerate this crowd?" And then he really was transferred to be Director of Retainers.

E Wang Fu had sent some of his attendants to the borders of Jingzhao, where they set up a toll station and collected goods worth more than seventy million cash. The Intendant of Jingzhao, Yang Biao, reported this to the Director of Retainers. Yang Biao was the son of Yang Ci.

F At this time, Wang Fu was taking a holiday at his private estate, and Duan Jiong had just presented a [formal] offer of self-incrimination on account of the recent eclipse. Yang Qiu went to the gate of the palace to offer thanks for the favour [of his new appointment], then presented memorials on the crimes and wrongdoing of Wang Fu and Duan Jiong, together with the Regular Attendants Chunyu Deng, Yuan She, Feng Ta and others.

On the day *xinsi* [31 May]⁸ Wang Fu, Duan Jiong and the others were all arrested and sent to the Luoyang Prison, together with Wang Fu's sons the Steward of the Palace of Prolonged Joy Wang Meng and the Chancellor of Pei Wang Ji. Yang Qiu took personal charge of the examination, and Wang Fu and the others suffered the full extent of the five torments.⁹

Wang Meng had at one time in the past been Director of Retainers, and he said to Yang Qiu, "Father and son, we are [156] both liable to

⁷ Here, and in the following text, the shorter term *sili* 司隸 is used for the full title *sili xiaowei* 司隸校尉. The office of *sili* had existed under Former Han, but the title was changed in 89 BC by the addition of the designation *xiaowei*, with broad additional powers. Later in that dynasty, and during Later Han, the office was somewhat reduced in importance, but its powers in the capital province were still, as Yang Qiu was to demonstrate, very considerable. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 84-85, and deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 68. Bielenstein renders the title *sili xiaowei* as "Colonel Director of Retainers," distinguishing it from the earlier *sili*, but since I normally deal with Later Han I have – except in "Inspection and Surveillance" – used the shorter form.

E *HHS* 54/44:1786 (19a), the Biography of Yang Biao.

F *HHS* 77/67:2499-50 (8a-9b), the Biography of Yang Qiu in the Chapter on the Stern Officials.

⁸ The precise date comes from the Annals, *HHS* 8:343.

⁹ Enumerations of the five forms of torture (五毒 *wudu*) vary, but the classical repertoire may be listed as the imposition of fetters and the cangue, beating with a whip and with a bamboo, binding with cords, which may have implied hanging up without support, and burning with hot irons. See, for example, the commentary of Wang Xianqian to *HHSJJ* 51/41:2a-b.

execution. But there is still the principle of seniority. You may spare my father some of the pain."

Yang Qiu replied, "Your crimes and wickedness are beyond description, and even death is not sufficient to wipe out the debt. And you dare talk about seniority in order to ask for some remission!"

Wang Meng cursed him, "In former times, you served us as our slave. And now you are a slave that has turned against his master. The cruel treatment you give us this day will later be returned to you."

Yang Qiu had men put earth into Wang Meng's mouth to silence him, and had him beaten with both a bamboo and with a wooden cudgel. Wang Fu and his sons all died from the beating.¹⁰ Duan Jiong committed suicide.

1852 Then the body of Wang Fu was exposed at the Xia Gate of the city,¹¹ with a large placard which read, "The traitor minister Wang Fu." His property and treasure were confiscated, while his wife and [other] children were exiled to Bijing.¹²

Now that Yang Qiu had executed Wang Fu, he wanted to proceed further with a memorial against Cao Jie and his party. So he gave instructions to his Assistant Officer for Officials at the Capital,¹³ "My first priority is the chief rascals among the powerful and the honoured [the eunuchs and others within the palace], then I shall consider the rest. As to the excellencies, ministers and great clans such as the Yuan, you can deal with them yourself. Why should I become involved there?"

When the powerful heard of this, they were all extremely nervous, and Cao Jie and his fellows did not dare take any leave.

¹⁰ The death of the accused in such a fashion while their case was being examined, had the advantage of saving Yang Qiu from any need to justify his accusations to a formal investigation.

¹¹ The Xia Gate was the westernmost on the northern wall of the city of Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 13 and 15.

¹² The county of Bijing 比景 in Rinan commandery, in the furthest south of the empire, had been used similarly as a place of intended banishment for Liang Ji (passage L of Yanxi 2), and for the banishment of the family of Dou Wu (passages O of Jianning 1 and D of Xiping 1).

¹³ According to *HHS* 117/27:3613-14, the Treatise of Officials, the Assistant Officer [of the Bureau] for Officials at the Capital (都官曹從事 *duguan [cao] congshi*) was one of the locally-appointed officers under the Director of Retainers, responsible for supervision and reporting on officials in Luoyang: see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 85-86 [as Attendant Official]. This text adds the prefix 中 *zhong* to the title, but it is surely the same officer that is described.

About this time, the Honoured Lady Yu of Emperor Shun died,¹⁴ and all the officials assembled for the funeral. As they returned, Cao Jie saw the corpse of Wang Fu exposed by the road [outside the Xia Gate]. He brushed away his tears with a sigh and said, "We bite and eat one another. How can it be that dogs now lick his carcass?"¹⁵ And he said to the other Regular Attendants, "From now on we must stay within the palace and not go out to our private estates."

Cao Jie then went direct to the forbidden apartments and spoke to the emperor: "Yang Qiu was formerly a harsh and cruel official, and the offices of the Three Excellencies called for his dismissal. It was only because of some petty achievements in Jiujiang that he was again given [157] appointment [at the capital].¹⁶ But he is a man with several black marks against his record, and he is liable to act excessively and impetuously. He should not be allowed to continue as Director of Retainers, maintaining this hasty and brutal administration."

So the emperor transferred Yang Qiu to be Minister of the Guards.

At this time Yang Qiu was out on a tour of inspection of the imperial tombs. Without waiting for the official instructions to be prepared, Cao Jie had the Director of the Secretariat summon him to his new appointment.¹⁷

When Yang Qiu received this urgent summons, he went to the emperor and said,¹⁸ "Though I am not a man of pure and lofty conduct, I bear general responsibility to act as a dog or a kite [in cleaning up the work of evildoers]. I have so far put to death Wang Fu and Duan Jiong,

14 The Honoured Lady Yu was a concubine of Emperor Shun and the mother of his son and short-lived successor the infant Emperor Chong: *HHS* 6:275. According to her biography in *HHS* 10B:440, although she was the mother of an emperor her substantive rank had only been that of a Beauty (美人 *meiren*): Emperor Shun died before she could be raised in honour, and Liang Ji was unwilling to share his authority by accepting her as a dowager. In *Xiping* 5: 176, however, she was given the title of Honoured Lady of the Funerary Park of [the Mound of] Glory (憲陵貴人 *Xianyuan guiren*), so named after the tomb of Emperor Shun): *HHS* 8:337.

15 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 24:8a has a different version of the story, saying that when Cao Jie paid his respects to the corpse of Wang Fu on the road, Yang Qiu threatened him in the same terms, "traitor minister," as the placard describing Wang Fu; and this caused Cao Jie to take thought.

16 See passage B and note 2 to *Xiping* 6.

17 The phrase *chiyi* 尺一 refers to the imperial edicts drafted on "documents one foot long." See note 58 to *Yanxi* 2, and *cf.* note 18 to *Guanghe* 1.

18 Several editions of *ZZTJ* follow the parallel text in *HHS* 77/67 and include the two characters 叩頭 *koutou* at this point in the text.

but they were of small account, no more than foxes, and that is not an achievement to show the empire. I ask that you maintain my commission just one month more; then I shall certainly bring the wolves and owls to acknowledge their wickedness."

He kowtowed until the blood flowed. Those [in attendance upon the emperor] in the upper part of the hall, however, said with a loud voice, "Does the Minister of the Guards oppose the imperial command?" And this was repeated two or three times, until Yang Qiu at last accepted his new commission.¹⁹

G As a result of this, Cao Jie, Zhu Yu and their fellows regained some of their influence and power, and Cao Jie was granted authority over the Imperial Secretariat.

1853

Shen Zhong, a Gentleman of the Palace from Liang, sent in a letter saying, "When your majesty first came to the throne, you could not take full control of affairs. The dowager gave all her attention to nurture and care for you, and took temporary control as regent. It was under those circumstances that the Regular Attendants Su Kang and Guan Ba received their due punishments,²⁰ while the Grand Tutor Chen Fan and the General-in-Chief Dou Wu investigated other members of their faction, seeking to cleanse the court and the government. Zhu Yu, Marquis of Huarong, realised that their activities had been discovered and that he himself would also suffer misfortune, so he set a plot for rebellion, brought disorder upon the imperial house, rampaged through [158] the palace and seized the official seals and ribbons. He put pressure upon your majesty, gathered the ministers together, and drove a wedge between the true affection of a natural mother and son.²¹ As a result, Chen Fan and Dou Wu were executed,

G *HHS* 78/68:2526-27 (13b-14b), the Biography of Cao Jie in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

19 In passage K below we are told that in the fifth month of this year Liu Kuan was appointed Grand Commandant from Minister of the Guards. If that is correct, and Liu Kuan was appointed direct from one post to another, there had been no vacancy for the ministerial position until then.

It seems likely that this portion of the chronicle is misplaced, and it was not until Liu Kuan's promotion that the eunuchs were able to force the transfer of Yang Qiu from Director of Retainers to this unwanted position, of higher status but less immediate power.

20 See passage K of Jianning 1 at 1809.

21 Even allowing for rhetoric and hyperbole, Shen Zhong is going a little far when he describes the relationship between the young Dowager Dou and the still younger

as were Yin Xun and others.

"Since this time, moreover, they have brought disorder and harm to the nation, they have granted one another rewards and enfeoffments, and their fathers and sons, elder and younger brothers, have been loaded with honours and fortune. The common fellows who have received their affection and favour are spread throughout the provinces and commanderies, some rise to the rank of the Nine Ministers, and a few have taken position as one of the Three Excellencies. Not content with this accumulation of high salary and important position, moreover, they also enrich their private households, storing up masses of goods and treasure, embellishing and refurbishing their mansions and estates. They take over whole villages and city districts, they steal from the public water supply in order to develop their own fisheries, and their horses and carriages, costumes and adornments, are comparable to those of the imperial house itself.

The excellencies, ministers and other officials keep their mouths shut and are silent; none dare to speak out. The governors of provinces and administrators of commanderies all follow the way the wind is blowing, and in their selection of candidates for office they reject the worthy men and put forward fools. It is for this reason that locusts appear,²² and that there is so much trouble from barbarians and bandits. Heaven has been angry about this for more than ten years now, so year after year there have been eclipses above and earthquakes below, in attempts to reprimand the ruler and bring him to his senses, that he may weed out those [of his ministers and attendants] who are unsuitable.

"In former times Gaozong took note of a portent from the crowing

Emperor Ling as being that of "flesh and blood" (骨肉 *gurou*) and mother and son (母子 *muzi*). The dowager was certainly the formal dynastic mother of an emperor brought to the throne, but there was no natural relationship, and indeed the emperor's true mother, the Lady Dong, was deliberately kept away from Luoyang. See note 17 to Jianning 1.

- ²² There had been a plague of locusts at the beginning of the previous year: passage A of Xiping 6. No such visitation is recorded for this year, but the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 105/15:3319-20 says that an imperial decree remarked upon the number of occasions that locusts had appeared over the previous years, and asked ministers for comments and advice. Cai Yong gave references to apocryphal works, blaming the phenomenon upon the laxity, greed and cruelty of the government, and Sima Biao himself adds a comment referring to the requirement that officials being appointed to a new position should pay money into the emperor's private treasury in the Western Garden.

of a pheasant, and so he achieved the restoration [of the Shang/Yin dynasty].²³ At the present day, the spirits of Heaven and Earth are advising you to express your awful anger. When Wang Fu and his sons had their heads chopped off, men and women meeting on the road, even strangers, would express their joy as if an enemy of their father or mother had been removed. It is truly extraordinary that your majesty again shows concern for the remnants [159] of this group of wicked servants, and does not proceed to destroy them all.

"In former times [the ruler of] Qin trusted in Zhao Gao, and so brought his state into danger.²⁴ And [the ruler of] Wu brought misfortune upon himself by making use of a eunuch.²⁵ If you pardon the crimes of that group of evildoers because of your generous and gentle nature, then all their wicked plots will come to fruition together, and though you will later have regrets, what can then be done?"

23 Gaozong was the posthumous title of King Wuding 武丁 of the Shang 商/Yin 殷 dynasty. The *Gaozong yong ri* 高宗彤日 "The Day of the Supplementary Sacrifice of Gaozong" Chapter of *Shu jing*, IV.9, 1: Legge, *CC* III, 264-266 (Karlgrén, *Documents*, 26), tells how a pheasant appeared and crowed during the ceremony, and the counsellor Zuji 祖己 took the opportunity to warn his ruler.

Wuding was the fourth descendant of the King Pan'geng 盤庚, who had brought about the restoration (中興 *zhongxing*) of the dynasty. He was known as a monarch who sought good advisers and who governed the state well. See also *SJ* 3:102-03; Chavannes, *MHI*, 195-197.

There is disagreement among sources and scholars whether Zuji's warning was given to Wuding when he was sacrificing to the founding ancestor Tang 湯, or to a descendant of Wuding when he was sacrificing to Wuding himself; modern scholarship tends to the latter interpretation. In any event, Zuji's warning related chiefly to an undue emphasis being given to the worship of ancestors.

24 The eunuch Chancellor Zhao Gao was the celebrated deceiver and traitor of the Second Emperor of Qin, who brought the downfall of the dynasty by his machinations. See *SJ* 6:264-75; Chavannes, *MHI*, 191-217, and note 15 to Yanxi 2.

25 *Zuo zhuan*, Xiang 29; Legge, *CC* V, 548 (Couvreur, *Chronique* II, 524), tells how a prisoner of war from Yue 越 was brought to the state of Wu 吳, where he was made a doorkeeper (閽 *hun*) and placed in charge of the ruler's boat. He took his revenge, however, by stabbing and killing the ruler.

The Gongyang and Guliang commentaries to this text state that the doorkeeper was a *xingren* 刑人 (*i.e.* had suffered mutilation), and Guliang describes him as a eunuch (寺 *si*). Legge questions this last assertion, arguing that though doorkeepers often suffered amputation of the feet they were not necessarily castrated. Shen Zhong here uses the phrase *xingren*, however, and we may assume that he did interpret the term as indicating a eunuch, guarding the private life of the ruler.

"I have been a Gentleman for fifteen years,²⁶ and have seen and heard for myself all that Zhu Yu has done; it is indeed more than August Heaven can pardon.

1854 "I wish your majesty would consider this matter for just a moment,²⁷ that you would examine and judge your subject's memorial, then sweep away that crowd of vagabonds to appease the anger of Heaven. Put Zhu Yu to the question, and if things are not the way I describe them, then I am willing to be boiled alive and have my wife and children driven into exile; this would surely put a stop to any idle slanders."

The memorial was left to lie, and received no reply.

H The Regular Attendant Lü Qiang was honest and loyal, concerned for the public good. In a general issue of enfeoffments, the emperor granted him the marquisate of a chief district, but Lü Qiang firmly refused and sent in a memorial explaining his position: "I have heard of the great covenant of Gaozu, that a subject who has not achieved good work should not be enfeoffed.²⁸ This was to give proper importance to imperial fiefs and to provide clear warning [against unworthy grants].

"The Regular Attendant Cao Jie and his associates are of mean origin, and are personally of poor moral quality. They slander and flatter and fawn upon their master, they are plausible and wicked in their search for favour. They commit the crimes of Zhao Gao, but have not yet received his punishment of being torn apart with chariots.²⁹

²⁶ Although Shen Zhong is described at the beginning of this passage, and in the parallel text in *HHS* 78/68, as a Gentleman of the Palace (郎中 *langzhong*), that was only a probationary post under a General of the Household, and was normally held for no more than three years before appointment to substantive office: see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 27.

Since we are told that his memorial was in some way related to Cao Jie's involvement with the Masters of Writing, it is more probable that Shen Zhong was a member of staff in the Imperial Secretariat: not a Gentleman of the Palace, but a Gentleman of the Masters of Writing (尚書郎 *shangshu lang*).

²⁷ The phrase 漏刻 *louke* refers to one degree of measurement on the clepsydra (*lou*): the day was divided into one hundred of these *ke* units: e.g. Needham, *Science and Civilisation* III, 322.

H *HHS* 78/68:2528-31 (14b-17a), the Biography of Lü Qiang in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

²⁸ On this matter, see note 79 to Yanxi 2.

²⁹ On Zhao Gao, see note 24 above. Execution by having the four limbs tied to different chariots, which were then driven off in different directions, was a form of punishment prescribed for traitors, though it does not seem to have been used during Han:

Unaware of this, your majesty makes heedless grants of soil wrapped in rushes.³⁰ You found states and vest families with fiefs, but inferior people are employed.³¹

"And they also involve members of their families, all weighted with gold and ribboned with purple.³² They collaborate in evil factions and join in every [160] manner of wickedness. *Yin* and *Yang* are forced from their proper seasons, the work of farming is disordered and confused, the affairs of men go awry, and the pattern of nature is disturbed.

"I recognise that the enfeoffments have already been carried out, and so my remarks are too late. The reason I risk death with my foolish but loyal words is because I truly wish that your majesty would abandon your mistaken policy, and that there will be an end to such errors hereafter.

"I have also heard that in the harem apartments of the palace there are several thousand and more chosen ladies, and the expense of clothing and feeding them every day is several hundred measures of gold. In recent times, grain has not been expensive but many households are hungry. According to normal rules, [when people are hungry] it indicates the grain is priced high, but in fact it is now cheap. The reason is that so many taxes are required to supply the local government offices [that people must sell their grain in order to pay].³³ Even when people are cold they are reluctant to don clothing, and in

Hulsewé, *RHL*, 109-112. In fact we are told that Zhao Gao was killed with a sword by Ziyang 子嬰 the last ruler of Qin: *SJ* 6:275; Chavannes, *MH* I, 217.

30 The traditional ceremony of enfeoffment included the handing over of a symbolic package of soil wrapped up in rushes (茅土 *maotu*): e.g. *HS* 99A:4090; Dubs, *HFHD* III, 242.

31 Lü Qiang has rather unkindly adapted the text of *Yi jing*, Shi 師, six at the top; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 36:

The great prince issues commands,
Founds states, vests families with fiefs.
Inferior people should not be employed.

Lü Qiang quotes the second and third line, but changes the negative character *wu* 無 in the last line to the positive *shi* 是.

32 The expression 重金兼紫 *chongjin jianci* refers to the seals and ribbons of the highest offices of state. An edict of 25 AD established the insignia of marquises and excellencies as a seal of gold (金 *jin*) with a ribbon of purple (紫 *ci*): *HHS* 120/30:3675-76 commentary to the Treatise of Carriages and Robes quoting *Dongguan Hanji*, and cf. Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 238 ff.

33 For the rendering of this very elliptical passage, I follow commentary to *HHS* 78/68.

time of hunger they are unwilling to eat [because of the prior demands of taxation]. The people are in distress, yet no-one has pity for them.

"Those women in the palace are useless. They crowd the rear apartments, and even if all the people of the empire exhausted their strength in farming and in the manufacture of silk, it would not be enough to keep them supplied.

"Again, there was an occasion that an edict invited the Consultant Cai Yong to answer questions at the Gate of Metal and Shang.³⁴ Cai Yong did not dare keep his understanding of the Way to himself and allow the state to fall into disorder,³⁵ so he answered directly and forcefully, criticising honoured ministers and censuring the eunuchs. Your majesty, however, failed to keep his comments confidential, but allowed them to be known. The ringleaders among the wicked all licked their lips and sharpened their tongues in competition to chew him up, and so that slanderous circular was fabricated.³⁶

1855 "Then your majesty accepted the slanders against Cai Yong: you had him suffer punishment, with his family and household, old and young driven far away. Surely this was turning away from a loyal subject![161]

"Now your ministers take the example of Cai Yong as a warning. On the one hand they are afraid they will suffer immeasurable difficulties in their public life, and they also fear they may suffer harm from some private assassin.³⁷ I know that your court will not receive honest advice again!

"The former Grand Commandant Duan Jiong was one of the finest military heroes of the age, with long experience of affairs on the frontier. He served in the wars from the time he was a child with hanging locks,³⁸ and his achievement reached its culmination when his hair was white with age. He served two emperors [yourself and

34 This refers to the general summons of the previous year: passage D of Guanghe 1. For Cai Yong's advice to the emperor, and its consequences, see passage E of Guanghe 1.

35 Lü Qiang is here echoing a phrase from *Lun yu* XVII.1; Legge, *CC* I, 317-318 (Lau, *Analects*, 143):

"Can he be called benevolent who keeps his jewel in his bosom and leaves his country to confusion?"

36 This must refer to the anonymous slander against Cai Yong which was circulated by the eunuch Cheng Huang: passage E of Guanghe 1 at 1847.

37 This refers to the attempt against Cai Yong's life, after his disgrace, by a retainer of Yang Qiu: passage E of Guanghe 1 at 1848.

38 The phrase *chuífǎ* 垂髮 "hanging hair" refers to the traditional style of young children, whose hair was arranged in tufts hanging down.

Emperor Huan your predecessor] one after the other, his glory and merit were unique in splendour, and your majesty recognised him and appointed him, so that he held position among the Three Excellencies.

"But then he suffered false accusation from the Director of Retainers Yang Qiu, and was brought to death while his family was banished far away. All the empire was miserable and disappointed, and worthy ministers felt cheated of their hopes.³⁹

"You should recall Cai Yong and restore him to office, and you should bring Duan Jiong's family and dependents back from their exile. If you do that, then loyal and honest men will see the road open before them, and the resentments of the people will be dispelled."

The emperor recognised Lü Qiang's loyalty, but could not accept his recommendations.

- I On the day *dingyou* [16 Jun] there was an amnesty for the empire.
- J He Hai, magistrate of Shanglu county,⁴⁰ sent in a letter saying, "According to the Rites, cousins descended from the same great-grandfather should live apart and have separate property. The favour and courtesy they pay one another is slight, and the connection is very distant. At this time, however, the proscription of the men of Faction extends to the five degrees of relationship.⁴¹ This does not accord with

³⁹ There is some pleasure in finding at least one person prepared to condemn the shabby fashion in which Duan Jiong was done to death. Regardless of his association with the eunuchs, his services to the empire, however brutally carried out, deserved better treatment than he obtained at the hands of Yang Qiu. See passage F above.

I *HHS* 8:343 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

J *HHS* 67/57:2189 (5a-b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

⁴⁰ Shanglu county was in Wudu commandery in Liang province, near Wudu in present-day southern Gansu, the hill country of the western frontier of the empire.

⁴¹ The extension of the proscription had been ordered three years earlier: passage B of Xiping 5 and, on the degrees of kinship defined by the requirements of mourning (五屬 *wu shu*), see note 6 to that text. He Hai uses the term *wu zu* 五族 "the five degrees of relationship," but the meaning here is evidently the same as *wu shu*.

The fourth grade of mourning, *xiaogong* 小公, applied to descendants of the brothers of the paternal grandfather 從祖 *zongzu*, that is those having a common great-grandfather 曾祖 *zengzu*, being second cousins in the same generation in the male line. The fifth grade of mourning, *sima* 總麻, applied to descendants of the brothers of the paternal great-grandfather, that is those having a common great-great grandfather, being third cousins. (A note by Hu Sanxing identifies the *sima* mourning with descent from the *zongzu*, but this does not agree with the calculations of Ch'ü T'ung-tsu, nor with the edict cited in *HHS* 8 and discussed in note 42 below.)

the words of the canon, and it is in conflict with the established and regular models of conduct."

The emperor took note and became aware of the situation. As a result, all those related to members of the Proscribed Party only by descent from the same great-[162]grandfather, or by lesser degrees, were released from proscription.⁴²

K In the fifth month the Minister of the Guards Liu Kuan became Grand Commandant.

L The General of the Household Protector of the Xiongnu Zhang Xiu was on bad terms with the Southern Shanyu Hucheng.⁴³ Zhang Xiu arrested and executed [Hucheng], then appointed Qiangqu, the Worthy King of the Right, as Shanyu.⁴⁴

In the autumn in the seventh month Zhang Xiu was found guilty of failing to make prior request before he carried out the execution. He was summonsed and brought by cage cart to the Ministry of Justice,

See also Hulsewé, *RHL*, 153-154 note 185, and the translation of this passage by Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 315.

42 There is slight contradiction between this and the immediately preceding passage. According to the Annals in *HHS* 8, the edict of amnesty issued on 16 June provided for the release from proscription of those relatives of the men of Faction of the fourth (*xiaogong*) and more distant degrees of mourning relationship (specifically the fifth, *sima*, degree). Commentary to that text refers to the representations of He Hai as being instrumental in the decision, and *HHS* 67/57, cited in the present passage, does not contradict such an interpretation.

Sima Guang, however, has omitted the reference to the easing of the proscription from his citation of the amnesty, and by placing the story of He Hai's representations after it he implies that the reform was the subject of a separate, later edict.

In any event, the provisions for the involvement of relatives of the men of Faction in proscription from office now reverted to the normal practice of Han, which had probably applied from 169: *cf.* note 61 to Jianning 2.

K *HHS* 8:343 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

L *HHS* 89/79:2964 (18b), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

43 The character *hu* 護 "Protector" here is miswritten for *shi* 使 "Emissary." The regular title of the Chinese resident at the court of the Southern Xiongnu was General of the Household Emissary to the Xiongnu, while the term Protector was used for the officials who dealt with the Qiang or with the Wuhuan and Xianbi. The text of *HHS* 89/79 at this point refers to Zhang Xiu only as "General of the Household;" *ZZTJ* has sought to add the full version of the title and has thus created the error.

44 The Worthy King of the Right (右賢王 *you xian wang*) was the second member of the royal clan in rank after the Shanyu. The Worthy King of the Left was senior to him, and normally received the succession. See deC, *Northern Frontier*, 177.

where he died.

M Before this, the Palace Attendant Liu Shu, an elder brother of the Excellency over the Masses Liu He, had been involved in the plot with Dou Wu [against the eunuchs in 168] and had died at the same time.⁴⁵

1856 The Steward of the Palace of Perpetual Joy Chen Qiu said to Liu He, "You are a member of the imperial clan and you hold position as one of the Three Excellencies.⁴⁶ All the empire looks to you with respect as a guardian of the nation. How can you behave like an empty echo, sitting complacently and taking no action?"

"Now Cao Jie and his fellows are quite unrestrained in the harm they do, and they have long held position as attendants at court. Your own brother the Palace Attendant suffered at their hands.

"What you should do now is recommend that the Minister of the Guards Yang Qiu be transferred to become Director of Retainers, so that he may arrest Cao Jie and his fellows and punish them. Then the government will produce sage leadership and the empire will benefit from great peace. People stand tiptoe in hope and expectation that this will come to pass."

"Those wicked servants have many eyes and ears," replied Liu He. "I fear we would suffer misfortune before we could bring our own arrangements together."

The Master of Writing Liu Na said, "When a man is acting as a pillar of the state, but offers no support in time of danger, what use is he?"⁴⁷ So Liu He gave his consent and agreed a plan with Yang

M *HHS* 56/46:1834 (15a), the Biography of Chen Qiu.

45 Liu Shu was the man who advised the Dowager Dou and her father Dou Wu to set Liu Hong, future Emperor Ling, upon the throne: passage V of Yongkang 1.

46 The phrase *taiding* 台鼎 is interpreted as referring to the three highest ministers of state under the Zhou dynasty, and hence also to those of Han. The *San tai* 三台 "Three Platforms" were a group of stars in the south of Western Ursa Major which were identified with the three chief ministers: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 80 and Star Map 2. The character *ding* refers to a three-legged cauldron, an item of sacred ritual and also a symbol of the stability of the state.

47 Liu Na is quoting the words of Confucius from *Lun yu* XVI.1; Legge, *CC* I, 307 (Lau, *Analects*, 138):

When he can put forth his ability, he takes a place in the ranks of office; when he finds himself unable to do so, he retires from it. How can he be used as a guide to a blind man, who does not support him when tottering, nor raise him up when fallen. Confucius' argument was that it was the duty of a minister to serve his lord even in times of difficulty or when his own correct policies were in disfavour.

Qiu.[163]

The junior wife of Yang Qiu was a daughter of Cheng Huang,⁴⁸ so Cao Jie and his colleagues had a source of information. They gave Cheng Huang large bribes, and they also applied threats. Cheng Huang was frightened, and he told Cao Jie of Chen Qiu's plan.

Then Cao Jie and his associates told the emperor about it, and said, "Liu He is in written communication with Liu Na, Chen Qiu and Yang Qiu. They are planning treason." The emperor was extremely angry.

In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *jiashen* [30 Nov] Liu He, Chen Qiu, Liu Na and Yang Qiu were all sent to prison, where they died.

N The Banshun barbarians of Ba commandery made a rebellion.⁴⁹ The Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk Xiao Yuan was sent to take command

In the translation I amend the meaning slightly: firstly, the characters *dongliang* 東梁 refer rather to the ridgepole and beams of a building than to the pillars; but I suggest the English idiom fits better. Secondly, though Liu Na quotes the last sentence of the extract from *Lun yu* in full, I have not reflected the reference to assistance for a blind man, but simply followed on the metaphor.

ZZTJ has shortened the record of this discussion with Liu He, and slightly confused the account in the process. *HHS* 56/46 says that Chen Qiu spoke to Liu He in the terms ascribed to him above, and then Liu Na, who had been a Master of Writing but was later transferred out to be Colonel of Footsoldiers, also urged Liu He to action. It was to Liu Na, not to Chen Qiu, that Liu He spoke of the danger from the eunuchs' spies, and Liu Na replied to this sign of weakness by quoting the words of Confucius. From the comments of Cao Jie given below, it appears that at least some of the discussion and of the planning which followed took place by letter.

48 Confusingly, Chen Qiu and Yang Qiu had the same character for their given names, and the text of *ZZTJ* does not make it clear which had the treacherous concubine. The source text, from *HHS* 56/46, is part of the biography of Chen Qiu, and we might therefore have assumed that he was the husband betrayed, but we have in fact been told earlier that the Lady Cheng, adopted daughter of the eunuch Cheng Huang, was a concubine of Yang Qiu: passage E of *Guanghe* 1.

N *HHS* 8:343 (8b-9a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

49 The Account of the Banshun people is in *HHS* 86/76:2842-43, the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

The Banshun inhabited the northern part of present-day Sichuan and had long been associates of the Chinese: they sent contingents to assist the founding Emperor Gao of Han in his war to conquer the empire at the end of the third century BC, and they were allies of Later Han against the Qiang at the beginning of the second century AD: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 107.

over the Inspector of Yi province and attack them.⁵⁰ The campaign was not successful.

In the twelfth month the Minister of the Imperial Household Yang Ci became Excellency over the Masses.

The Xianbi raided the two provinces of You and Bing.[164]

⁵⁰ The Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk was formally the head of the imperial censorate. On occasion, officers of the censorate had been sent as imperial agents on special missions outside the capital, and they were sometimes given command of military operations. On this aspect of their duties, see deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 73-74.

In time of major disturbance within a province, the Inspector was authorised to take command of troops raised within the various commanderies in order to coordinate operations. In the present instance, Xiao Yuan was sent to take control over the troops which had been raised, presumably in order to add authority to the provincial headquarters. It seems likely that by this time there was some unease about the level of competence of provincial inspectors – men of comparatively junior rank – in dealing with such considerable and now frequently-exercised responsibilities, for the system of provincial government was changed a few years later: passage B of Zhongping 5.

Guanghe 光和 3: 180 AD

14 February 180 - 1 February 181

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *guiyou* [?],¹ there was an amnesty for the empire.

In the summer in the fourth month there was a rebellion among the barbarians of Jiangxia commandery.

In the autumn there were earthquakes in Jiuquan.²

In the winter there was a comet in the Wolf and Bow constellations.³

1857

The Xianbi raided the two provinces of You and Bing.

B In the twelfth month on the day *jisi* [8 Jan 181] the Honoured Lady He

A *HHS* 8:344 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

¹ The first day of this month was *gengzi* (cyclical 37), and there was no day *guiyou* (cyclical 10). It does not seem possible to determine where the error lies and what was the true date of the amnesty.

² *HHS* 106/16:3332, the Treatise of the Five Powers, states that from the autumn of Guanghe 3 to the spring of the following year the territory of Biaoshi 表氏 in Jiuquan, near present-day Gaotai in western Gansu, suffered a series of more than eighty earthquakes, accompanied by springs of water or geysers bursting from the ground. The county city was devastated, with government offices and private dwellings reduced to rubble, and the damage was so bad that the city was transferred and rebuilt on a new site.

³ This comet (星孛 *xing bo*) is discussed and described further by the Treatise of Astronomy at *HHS* 102/12:3259.

The Wolf star (狼 *Lang*) is Western Sirius the Dog Star, α of Canis Major; identified in Chinese astronomy as part of the Jing lunar mansion 井宿, the [Eastern] Well: Chavannes, *MH* III, 310 note 3 and 353; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 111, Star Map 7.

The Bow (弧 *Hu*) constellation is described by *SJ* 27:1306 as four stars, by *JS* 11:306 as nine stars, southeast of the Wolf star; thus extending across the border of Western Canis Major and *Puppis* of Argo: Chavannes, *MH* III, 353, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 111, Star Map 7.

The comet is recorded as having appeared first in these constellations, from whence it travelled east to enter the Zhang lunar mansion 張宿, being five stars in Western Hydra: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 104, Star Map 7.

The prognostication in the Treatise identifies the constellation Zhang with the territory of Zhou; that is, the heartland of Eastern Zhou before the establishment of the Qin empire, and thus the region about Luoyang. The comet is a sign of rebellion and war, and its appearance is said to have foretold the great levy of troops at the imperial capital in order to combat the Yellow Turban rebellion four years later. *Cf.* the prognostication for the second comet of Guanghe 1: 178: passage F and note 32.

was made empress.⁴ Her elder brother, He Jin the Administrator of Yingchuan, was called to the court and appointed a Palace Attendant.⁵

The empress was a woman from a butcher's family in Nanyang. She had been brought into the harem by selection, and then bore the emperor a son, Liu Bian. It was for this reason she was made empress.⁶

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- B *HHS* 8:344 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Ling; and *HHS* 69/59:2246 (6a), the Biography of He Jin; and *HHS* 10B:449 (9b-10a), the Biography of the Empress He of Emperor Ling.
- 4 *Kaoyi* commentary observes that *HHJ* 24:10b dates the establishment of the Empress He to the eleventh month of this year. Sima Guang preferred to accept the more detailed information provided by *HHS* 8.
- 5 *HHS* 69/59 says that He Jin was actually the half-brother of the Lady He: she was his younger sister by a different mother. After she had first received imperial favour, He Jin was brought to the capital on probation as a Gentleman of the Palace, and later became General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger. He was then sent to provincial office as Administrator of Yingchuan.

The post of Palace Attendant gave special access to the emperor as counsellor, with rank/salary Equivalent to 2000 *shi*: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59-60. In following years, He Jin was appointed Court Architect, with rank/salary of 2000 *shi* (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 81), and then to the important position of Intendant of Henan, administrator of the capital commandery.

- 6 The He family came from Wan county, the capital of Nanyang commandery.

According to *HHS* 10A:400, the introduction to the biographies of the empresses and other imperial concubines, there was a selection made in the region (鄉中 *xiangzhong*) of Luoyang at the time of the tax assessment in the eighth month of each year. Various officers of the palace and the harem, including a physiognomist (相工 *xiang gong*), chose young women of respectable family (良家 *liang jia*: note 51 to Yanxi 8), aged between thirteen and twenty *sui*, for recruitment into the imperial harem. Because of the importance of Nanyang in the empire, including its position as the home region of the imperial family of Later Han and of a number or earlier empresses and senior concubines, it appears that women of this territory were also passed under scrutiny.

The occupation of a butcher was, naturally enough, regarded as a humble one, though from this example it does not appear to have acted as a disqualification. The Lady He's father was already dead at the time of his daughter's elevation, and he was later paid posthumous honours: *HHS* 10B:449. *HHS* does not state specifically that he had himself been a butcher, and the statement may have been no more than a canard against the newcomers. *HHJ* 24:10b-11a says simply that the Lady He was selected into the harem as a person of respectable family.

There was also a story, cited from the *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 of the contemporary Ying Shao 應劭 by commentary to *HHS* 10B:449, that the Lady He was admitted to the harem only because the selection officers had been bribed. On the other hand, she was evidently a woman of striking appearance, seven *chi* 尺 feet and one *cun* 寸 inch tall (some 165 centimetres or about 5 feet 6 inches English measure) and

C In this year there were constructed the Jade Sceptre Park for Bird-Netting and the Park of Spiritual Jade.⁷

D The Excellency over the Masses Yang Ci protested,⁸ "The system of the former emperors was that on the left they opened up the Vast Pond and on the right they constructed the Shanglin Park.⁹ They were neither extravagant nor parsimonious, and so they achieved the proper balance required by ceremony.

"But now you are arranging great surveys outside the city in order to construct parks and pleasure grounds. You will ruin fertile land, destroy fields and gardens and drive away the inhabitants, all to maintain herds of wild birds and beasts. Surely this cannot be regarded as dealing with them 'as if you were guarding your infants.'¹⁰

Emperor Ling himself appears to have endorsed the choice. See also Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 126 and 390.

C ⁷ *HHS* 8:345 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

⁷ These parks are discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 81. They appear to have been situated to the south of Luoyang, a short distance beyond the outer suburban wall of the capital, and were of moderate size.

Commentary to *HHS* 8 says that the Jade Sceptre Park was established in two parts, an Eastern Park with circumference of rather more than two kilometres, which included the Terrace of the Fish Dam (魚梁臺 *Yuliang tai*), and a Western Park, with circumference of four and a half kilometres.

In his discussion, Bielenstein includes reference to the memorial of protest by Yang Ci cited in passage D below.

D ⁸ *HHS* 54/44:1782-83 (16b-17b), the Biography of Yang Ci.

⁸ According to *HHS* 54/44, this memorial was submitted while the parks were being planned, and the reference to "surveys" below would confirm this. The chronicle order of *ZZTJ*, however, implies that they had been completed.

⁹ In the time of Later Han there were two parks named Shanglin 上林 "Supreme Forest." One, the Shanglin Park of Former Han, west of the earlier capital Chang'an, was still to some degree maintained and occasionally visited by the emperors of Later Han. The other was a new foundation, on a much smaller scale, which lay a short distance to the west of Luoyang. See note 5 to Yanxi 1, and also Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 81-83. Yang Ci is referring to the latter, more modest, establishment.

The Vast Pond (鴻池 *Hong chi*) was east of Luoyang on a lower reach of the Gu River 穀水 which flowed by the city, and covered an area of some 450 hectares. It had been established as an imperial park in the early years of Later Han, and was probably developed further by Emperor Huan: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 80-81.

¹⁰ From the *Kang gao* 康誥 "The Announcement to the Prince of Kang" Chapter of *Shu jing*, V.9, 9; Legge, *CC III*, 389 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 40):

Deal with them, as if you were guarding your infants, and the people will be tranquil and orderly.

"There are already five or six parks outside the city,¹¹ quite enough to make anyone content, and adequate for all the four seasons.¹² You should consider the meaning of the humble palace of Yu of Xia and the Open Terrace of the Grand Exemplar [Emperor Wen],¹³ and preserve

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- 11 Tang commentary to *HHS* 54/44 gives a list:
- the Western Park (西苑 *Xi yuan*), established in 132: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 81;
 - the Park of Illustrious Light (顯陽苑 *Xianyang yuan*), established in 159: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 81;
 - the Shanglin Park: note 9 above;
 - the Park of Vast Virtue (鴻德苑 *Hongde yuan*), constructed by Emperor Huan, which may have been an extension or an improvement to the Vast Pond: note 8 above and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 80-81;
 - the Park of Tranquil Joy (平樂苑 *Pingle yuan*), set about the Lodge (觀 *guan*) of Tranquil Joy and established by Emperor Ming in 62 as a site for the statues of the Feilian 飛廉 monster and the Bronze Horse 銅馬 which had been brought from Chang'an. It was evidently situated within the suburbs to the north of the city: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 61.

There were also gardens maintained within and near to the capital, which are discussed and described by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 77-80. These included a Fruit Garden or Orchard (果園 *Guo yuan*), whose products served the palace, and a Southern Garden (南園 *Nan yuan*) outside the city beyond the Luo River. The Western Garden (西園 *Xi yuan*), which must be distinguished from the Western Park listed above, lay within the Northern Palace; it was the favoured pleasure ground of Emperor Ling and the site of his new offices for receipt of payments: passage M and note 46 to *Guanghe* 1. The Eastern Garden (東園 *Dong yuan*) was a workshop for imperial and state funerary equipment: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 78-79.

- 12 Commentary to *HHS* 54/44 explains the phrase *si jie* 四節 as referring to the spring hunt (蒐 *sou*), the summer hunt (苗 *miao*), the autumn hunt (獮 *xian*) and the winter hunt (狩 *shou*). See *Zhou li* 7 (29):13a-17a; Biot, *Rites* II, 171-179, and *cf.* the fragment of *Bohu tong* translated by Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 655, where the spring hunt is called *tian* 田 and *sou* is the name of the autumn hunt. These were formal, traditional and ritualistic prescriptions. In the imperial calendar of Han, it appears the major hunting seasons were autumn and winter: Bodde, *Festivals*, 327-332 and 382-386.
- 13 Commentary to *HHS* 54/44 quotes a saying of Confucius about the sage Emperor Yu 禹, founder of the Xia 夏 dynasty, from *Lun yu* VIII.21; Legge, *CC* I, 215 (Lau, *Analects*, 95):

He lived in a low mean house, but expended all his strength on the ditches and water-channels. I can find nothing like a flaw in Yu.

HS 4:134; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 272, being the Appreciation (贊 *zan*) at the end of the Annals of Emperor Wen of Former Han, whose temple name (廟號 *miao hao*) was Grand Exemplar (太宗 *Taizong*), tells how Emperor Wen at one time intended to make a roofless terrace (露臺 *lu tai*), but was advised that the cost would be a hundred catties of gold. The emperor said, "A hundred catties of gold is the estate of ten families of

the poor from excessive toil." [165]

When he received this memorial, the emperor thought of halting the program, but he asked the Palace Attendants Ren Zhi and Yue Song about it.¹⁴ They replied, "In former times the hunting park of King Wen [of Zhou] extended a hundred *li*, but the people considered it small. The park of King Xuan of Qi was five *li*, but the people considered it to be large. If you share it with the common people, it will be no harm to the government."¹⁵

The emperor was pleased, and so he constructed the parks.

E The Banshun barbarians in Ba commandery made a rebellion.¹⁶
1858

F Rebels of Cangwu and Guiyang attacked the commandery and county

medium means. I have received the palaces and apartments of the deceased emperors and have constantly been afraid that I may disgrace them; why should I build this terrace?" This anecdote is also quoted in commentary to *HHS* 54/44.

14 The *Kaoyi* commentary observes that *HHS* 54/44 describes Yue Song as a Regular Attendant, which would mean that he was a eunuch. He was, however, a graduate of the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital (passage L of Guanghe 1) and he has earlier been noted among the Palace Attendants (passages D of Xiping 6 and D of Guanghe 1). *HJJ* 24:10b describes both men as Palace Attendants, and Sima Guang has followed that text.

15 A reference to the celebrated passage in *Mengzi* IB.2, 1 and 2: Legge, *CC* II, 153-154 (Cf. Lau, *Mencius*, 61):

King [Xuan of Qi 齊宣王] asked, "Was it so, that the park of King [Wen of Zhou 周文王] contained seventy square *li*?" Mencius replied, "It is so in the records."

"Was it so large as that?" exclaimed the king. "The people," said Mencius, "still looked upon it as small." The king added, "My park contains only forty square *li*, and the people still look on it as large. How is this?"

"The park of King [Wen]," was the reply, "contained seventy square *li*, but the grass-cutters and fuel-gatherers had the privilege of entrance into it; so also had the catchers of pheasants and hares. He shared it with all the people, and was it not with reason that they looked upon it as small?"

Ren Zhi and Yue Song have exaggerated the difference between the two parks discussed by Mencius and his royal interlocutor.

We are told that the imperial hunting parks of Later Han were sometimes opened to those in need, and it is evidently upon this basis that Emperor Ling's advisers could assure him that he resembled King Wen rather than King Xuan. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 81-82, citing *HHS* 3:134, *HHS* 4:175, *HHS* 5:206 and 212.

E *HHS* 86/76:2843 (11b), the Account of the Banshun people in the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

16 This was evidently a revival or continuation of the troubles of the previous year: passage N of Guanghe 2.

offices.¹⁷ The Administrator of Lingling, Yang Xuan, prepared several dozen horse-drawn carriages, loaded them with baskets of quicklime, and tied strips of cloth to the horses' tails. He also constructed war-chariots, with archers and crossbow-men.

When they came to battle, he placed the horse-drawn carriages at the front, and the lime was thrown up with a favouring wind. The enemy could not see.

Then he set fire to the cloth [which had been tied to the horses' tails]. The horses were terrified, and fled into the midst of the enemy ranks.

Then he had the war-chariots brought from the rear, bows and crossbows firing at random, while the sound of gongs and drums shook the air.

Overwhelmed as if by waves, the enemy force was smashed and scattered; uncounted numbers were killed or wounded in the pursuit which followed. They took the heads of the leaders, and the whole commandery territory was now at peace.

When Yang Xuan sent in his report, however, Zhao Kai the Inspector of Jing province contradicted him, stating falsely that Yang Xuan had not personally defeated the rebels, and that he was making a wrongful claim for the credit.

Yang Xuan sent in a memorial to defend himself, but Zhao Kai had factional support, and so Yang Xuan was summonsed with a cage cart. He was held strictly isolated and in close detention, without any means by which he might put his own case. Then he bit his arm until the blood ran and wrote a statement on his clothing, giving all the circumstances of his defeat of the rebels and the manner in which Zhao Kai [166] had borne false witness. He arranged for one of his relatives to go to the palace in secret and present the document.

By imperial edict, Yang Xuan was completely exonerated and was appointed as a Consultant. Zhao Kai was punished for his slander.

F *HHS* 38/28:1288 (11a-b), the Biography of Yang Xuan.

17 Cangwu commandery was in Jiao or Jiaozhi province, south of the Nan Ling ranges in the region of present-day northeast Guangxi. Guiyang, in Jing province, lay across the divide, in present-day southeast Hunan.

So the rebels were operating across a provincial border, and the trouble was sufficiently widespread to involve the administration of Lingling commandery, in Jing province immediately north of Cangwu, while the Inspector of that province was required to supervise these operations. On this system, see also, for example, note 50 to *Guanghe* 2.

Yang Xuan was a younger brother of Yang Qiao.¹⁸[167]

¹⁸ On Yang Qiao, a worthy man of the time of Emperor Huan, see passage O of Yongkang 1.

CHAPTER 58

*being Chapter 50 of the Chronicle of Han
and Part 2 of the reign of Emperor Ling*

Guanghe 光和 4: 181 AD

2 February 181 - 20 February 182

1859

A In the spring, in the first month, there was appointed for the first time an Assistant of the Stables for Thoroughbreds, responsible for collecting horses from among the commanderies and kingdoms.¹ 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 *gengzi* [9 May?], there was an amnesty for the empire.²

B The Wuhu barbarians of Jiaozhi had long been making trouble, and the provincial and commandery authorities could do nothing to control them. Liang Long and other men of Jiaozhi also rebelled, and they attacked and occupied several commanderies and counties. An edict promoted Zhu Jun of Kuaiji from magistrate of Lanling to be Inspector of Jiaozhi. He attacked Liang Long and beheaded him, he captured several tens of thousands of men, and within a few weeks everything had been settled. Because of his good work, he was enfeoffed as marquis of a chief village and was summoned to court as Counsellor Remonstrant.³

A *HHS* 8:345 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

¹ On this appointment, see also Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 37.

² The fourth month of this year began on a *guihai* day (cyclical 60), and therefore contained no *gengzi* day (cyclical 37). It is possible that the characters *gengzi* 庚子 have been miswritten for *gengwu* (cyclical 7). The *gengwu* 庚午 day of the fourth month was equivalent to 9 May 181 in the West.

B *HHS* 71/61:2308-09 (7b-8a), the Biography of Zhu Jun;
and *HHS* 8:345 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *HHS* 86/76:2839 (8b), the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

³ On a marquisate of a chief village, see note 37 to Yanxi 2.

We have been told earlier that the Wuhu people of this region, largely inhabiting the coastal region south of the West River between the Bay of Canton and the Leizhou peninsula, had been brought under the control of the new commandery of Gaoliang in 170: passage E and note 4 of Jianning 3. Rebellion had broken out among these people, however, in 178: passage A of Guanghe 1. This was the rebellion that Zhu Jun was appointed to deal with.

C In the sixth month on the day *gengchen* [18 Jul] there was rain and hail, with the hailstones as big as hens' eggs.⁴

1860

In the autumn, in the ninth month on the day *gengyin*, first of the month [26 Sep], there was an eclipse of the sun.⁵

The Grand Commandant Liu Kuan left office. The Minister of the Guards Xu Yu became Grand Commandant.

In the intercalary month, on the day *xinyou* [27 Oct], there was a fire in the offices of the Lateral Courts and the Long Lanes, at the east

HHS 8 and *HHS* 86/76 refer to the Wuhu people as living in the region of Jiaozhi [commandery] and Hepu, but *ZZTJ* has abbreviated the text so that it can be read as indicating the whole provincial region of Jiaozhi. The troubles do appear to have been wide spread: *HHS* 86/76 mentions also the commanderies of Jiuzhen and Rinan, on the further coast of Vietnam, while *HHS* 71/61 says that the bandit named Liang Long 梁龍 "Dragon Liang," had even brought the Administrator of Nanhai commandery to join his rebellion.

HHS 71/61 states that Zhu Jun was appointed Inspector of Jiaozhi in Guanghe 1: 178, but *HHS* 86/76 has the disturbances commencing in that year, with Zhu Jun's appointment and success in Guanghe 4: 181. Since the biography goes on to say that Zhu Jun was successful in a matter of weeks, and since *HHS* 8 confirms that the rebellion was defeated in Guanghe 4, we may accept that the troubles had begun in 178, and they were put down by Zhu Jun, newly appointed to be Inspector of Jiaozhi, in 181.

This rebellion certainly involved the Wuhu people, so it is likely that the recently-established commandery of Gaoliang was involved in the disorder, and the new organs of local administration in that region would have suffered most serious attacks. In the subsequent resettlement, it is probable that the commandery was quietly abandoned. Certainly it is not mentioned again in *HHS*. See note 4 to Jianning 3.

C *HHS* 8:345-46 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

4 The exact date of this portent is given in *HHS* 8, but the information on the size of the hailstones comes from the commentary of Li Xian to that text, quoting *HHS* 105/15:3315, the Treatise on the Five Powers. Sima Biao there relates the phenomenon to the power of eunuch officials in the government.

5 This eclipse is listed in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 106/16:3370. It was observed in the lunar mansion Jue 角宿, being α and ξ of Western Virgo: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 94-95, and Star Map 2. The eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3329 and is mapped in Stephenson and Houlden at 215a.

Sima Biao offers no prognostication for this eclipse, but the commentary of Liu Zhao quotes from *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, which says that an eclipse on a *gengshen* day indicates high officials and military officers will suffer execution, that there will be great floods, and that many people will be killed.

of the Northern Palace.⁶[168]

The Excellency over the Masses Yang Ci left office. In the winter, in the tenth month, the Minister of Ceremonies Chen Dan became Excellency over the Masses.

The Xianbi ravaged You and Bing provinces.

D Tanshihuai died and his son Helian succeeded him. Helian was neither so capable nor so strong as his father, and he was greedy and licentious. Later he led a raid on Beidi, and a man of that commandery shot him and killed him.⁷

Helian's son Qianman was still a child, so Helian's nephew Kuitou took the throne. When Qianman grew up he fought against Kuitou and the people were scattered. Kuitou died and his younger brother Budugen took the throne.

E In this year the emperor ordered a market set up in the harem apartments and had all his women trade there.⁸ They robbed and

⁶ The Lateral Courts (掖庭 *yiting*) described the harem apartments, and the Prefect of the Long Lanes (永巷令 *yongxiang ling*) was a eunuch official in charge of serving women: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64. Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 39, refers to this outbreak.

The Treatise of the Five Powers also records this event at *HHS* 104/14:3296. Sima Biao gives no prognostication, but the commentary of Liu Zhao quotes from a memorial of the former minister Chen Fan, quoted in his biography at *HHS* 66/56:2161: passage RR of Yanxi 2.

Chen Fan there referred to the manner in which "The woman of Chu was grieved and the Western Palace burnt," a reference explained further by the Tang commentary, note 4 at 2162, quoting the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*, Xi 20, interpreted by the scholar He Xiu 何休 of Later Han, who tells the story of how Duke Xi of Lu 魯僖公 was compelled for political reasons to take a concubine from the state of Qi 齊 and abandon his former lady from Chu 楚. The disaster to the Western Palace 西宮, a section of the harem, reflected this unhappy decision.

D ⁷ *HHS* 90/80:2994 (11b), the Account of the Xianbi.

⁷ *HHS* does not give exact years for the deaths of either Tanshihuai or of Helian, and the placing of the events at this point in the chronicle is the judgement of Sima Guang. It seems probable that Tanshihuai died in the early 180s, and Helian met his death about 185-187. See deC, *Northern Frontier*, 342-343.

HHS 90/80 specifies that the man who shot Helian was an expert marksman of Lian 廉 county in Beidi. Lian county was in the vicinity of present-day Yinchuan in Ningxia.

HHS also observes that even before his death Helian's poor character had cost him the allegiance of a good half of his father's former subjects.

E ⁸ *HHS* 8:346 (9b-10a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

⁸ This text is also translated by Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 391. The phrase *cainü* 采女 "Chosen Lady" describes the lowest rank of recognised concubine in the imperial

fought one another, and the emperor dressed as a peddler, joined the crowd and drank wine and feasted with them.

On another occasion, they were playing with dogs in the Western Garden, and the emperor dressed one with the Cap of Worthy Advancement and tied a sash about it.⁹

Again, there was a time he rode in a chariot drawn by four donkeys, managing the reins himself, and raced around the park. All the capital imitated the new fashion, and the price of donkeys rose to equal that of horses.¹⁰

1861

- F The emperor was in the habit of laying by money and treasure for himself. He arranged that all valuable goods from the empire, and all tribute sent in from the commanderies and kingdoms, went first to the inner palace. He took a share for himself and called it his commission.¹¹

harem: *HHS* 10A:400 and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 74. In this instance, however, it appears to be a general term for the ladies of the palace.

In the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 103/13:3273, Sima Biao records this custom of Emperor Ling among his list of misfortunate omens relating to clothing (服妖 *fu yao*).

- 9 Commentary to *HHS* 8 quotes *Sanli tu* 三禮圖 "Illustrations to the Three Classics of Ritual" which describes the Cap of Worthy Advancement 進賢冠 as being seven Han inches (approximately 16 cm or 7 English inches) high at the front, three inches (7 cm/2.5 inches) high at the back, with a length of eight inches (18.5 cm/7.5 inches). It was worn by civil officials. There were several different works of this time entitled *Sanli tu*, one of which was ascribed to the second century scholar Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, but they have all been lost.

The Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 103/13:3272 also records this conduct of Emperor Ling among the misfortunate omens relating to clothing. One of the dressed-up dogs once escaped and ran through the more public parts of the palace. Sima Biao observes in scathing fashion that this was a sign of how improper appointments were made, so that ministers of the government were in fact no better than dogs. (The Roman Emperor Caligula appears to have had similar views: it is said that at one time he proposed to appoint the horse Incitatus as a consul on the grounds that he was more intelligent than the donkeys who sat in the senate.)

- 10 In the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 103/13:3272, in a fashion by now predictable, Sima Biao quotes *Yi jing* and *Shi jing* to show that this disturbance of the natural order foretold the usurpation of power by Dong Zhuo in 189, the incursions of northern barbarians, and the general ruin of the empire.
- F *HHS* 78/68:2532-33 (17a-b), the Biography of Lü Qiang in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.
- 11 The term "commission" renders the Chinese phrase *daoxing fei* 導行費. On Emperor Ling's interest in a personal treasury, the Western Quarters, probably maintained at the

The Regular Attendant Lü Qiang sent in a memorial to protest: "All the wealth of the empire comes from the benevolence of nature and then is brought to your majesty. How can you make distinction between public funds and your private reserves?"

"Now the Master of Techniques appropriates valuable goods sent in by the commanderies, and the Palace Wardrobe gathers silk from the tribute of the empire.¹² The offices in the Western Garden withdraw funds from the treasury of the Ministry of Finance, and the palace stables take horses which belong to [169] the Minister Coachman. 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 local expenditure is increasing without any gain in revenue. As dishonest ministers take profits, the common people of the empire suffer loss. Besides this, ministers who flatter you are only too glad to offer treasures from their private hoards in order to curry favour and gain advancement.

"According to the old regulations, the selection of officials was the particular responsibility of the offices of the Three Excellencies. 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. If a man failed to do well he was handed over to the Masters of Writing for impeachment and was then sent to the custody of the Minister of Justice. It was the Ministry of Justice which carried out further investigation and administered punishment. Under that system, the excellencies were always responsible for appointments to office, they regularly consulted their subordinates, and they took note of the conduct and abilities of their candidates. Even then, despite such 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 even cases where imperial orders are dispatched

Western Garden, see passage M of Guanghe 1. Liang Ji had had a similar policy in the time of Emperor Huan: passage E of Yanxi 2.

¹² On the office of the Master of Techniques, the palace workshop, and on the Imperial Wardrobe, see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 52 and 61; also *HHS* 116/26:3596, the *Treatise on the Officials*, and on the office of the Master of Techniques, also note 24 to Guanghe 1. The prefix *zhong* 中 here specifies that these two offices were part of the emperor's personal administration, and would also indicate eunuch influence: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 67.

without the knowledge of the Three Excellencies nor of the Masters of Writing. So the excellencies have been relieved of their duty for selection and appointment, and the Masters of Writing are no longer concerned when anyone behaves badly. 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?"

The memorial was sent in, but nothing was done.

- G The Empress He was a jealous woman. When the Beauty Wang gave birth to an imperial son, Liu Xie, in the harem apartments, she poisoned her.¹³ The emperor was furious and wanted to depose the empress, but the eunuchs spoke on her behalf and dissuaded him.[170]
- H The Grand Prolonger of Autumn Cao Jie, Marquis of Huarong, died. The Regular Attendant Zhao Zhong took his place as Grand Prolonger of Autumn.¹⁴[171]

G *HHS* 10B:449-50 (9b-10a), the Biography of the Empress He.

¹³ Beauty (美人 *meiren*) was the second rank of concubine after that of Honoured Lady. See *HHS* 10A:400 and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 74.

Liu Xie, second son of Emperor Ling, was destined to be the last sovereign of Han, abdicating to Cao Pi 曹丕 and the dynasty of Wei 魏 in 220. When he died in 234 he was given posthumous title as Emperor Xian 獻.

H Passage compiled by Sima Guang from *HHS* 78/68:2527 and *HHS* 78/68:2534, the biographies of Cao Jie and of Zhao Zhong in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

¹⁴ The apartments of the empress were known as the Palace of Prolonged Autumn: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 38-39. The Grand Prolonger of Autumn 大長秋 was the eunuch official who acted as chamberlain to the empress: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 69-70 and 72.

Guanghe 光和 5: 182 AD

21 February 182 - 9 February 183

1862

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *xinwei* [6 Mar], there was an amnesty for the empire.¹

B Because of rumours, an edict commanded the excellencies and ministers to impeach those heads of provinces, commanderies and kingdoms who were corrupt and were exploiting the people. The Grand Commandant Xu Yu and the Excellency of Works Zhang Ji always tried to do as the eunuchs wished, and they regularly took bribes. When relatives or friends of the eunuchs acted corruptly and without discipline, [Xu Yu and Zhang Ji] paid no attention. On the other hand, they threatened to punish some twenty-six men of the border commanderies who were known to be pure and honest and loved by the people.

The local officers and people came to the capital to plead on behalf of the accused, and the Excellency over the Masses Chen Dan sent in a memorial:² "The Excellency and the Minister bias their reports, whether of praise or blame, to favour their own faction. This is like setting loose the kite and caging the phoenix."

The emperor accordingly condemned Xu Yu and Zhang Ji, and the men who had been summonsed to the capital on account of the false reports were now appointed as Consultants.

C In the second month there was a great pestilence.³

A *HHS* 8:346 (10a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

¹ *HHS* 8 describes this as a "great" amnesty, but Sima Guang has it simply as an amnesty. Cf. note 2 to Yongshou 3.

B *HHS* 57/47:1851 (9a-b), supplement to the Biography of Liu Tao.

² The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that *HHS* 57/47 says that the future warlord Cao Cao was associated with Chen Dan in submitting this memorial, and the *Wei shu* 魏書 of Wang Shen 王沈, cited in *SGZ* 1:3 PC, does say that Cao Cao submitted a memorial at this time. Sima Guang, however, observes that Cao Cao was only a Consultant, and it was unlikely he would be in a position to associate himself directly with one of the excellencies. Several officials had submitted a memorial on this line, and Cao Cao may well have done so too, but it would not have been a joint document with Chen Dan.

C *HHS* 8:346-47 (10a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

³ This epidemic is also recorded in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 107/17:3351. Since the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling, similar outbreaks had been recorded in 171, 173 and 179: passage A of Jianning 4, passage A of Xiping 2, and passage A of Guanghe 2.

In the third month the Excellency over the Masses Chen Dan left office.⁴

In the summer, in the fourth month, there was a drought.⁵

The Minister of Ceremonies Yuan Wei became Excellency over the Masses.

In the fifth month on the day *gengshen* [13 Jul] there was a fire in the offices of the Palace of Perpetual Joy.⁶

In the autumn, in the seventh month, there was a comet in the Supreme Subtlety [Enclosure].⁷[172]

It is possible that the frequency of epidemics at this time was an encouragement to faith-healers and their disciples, and assisted the growth of such unorthodox teachings as that of Zhang Jue and the Yellow Turbans.

No prognostication is recorded, but commentary by Liu Zhao to the record of the epidemic of 161 notes the theory that such a pestilence is brought about through the impositions of heavy taxation for extravagant constructions. See note 2 to Yanxi 4.

4 According to *HJJ* 24:11a, which dates the incident to the fourth month of Guanghe 4, Chen Dan was dismissed as being inadequate for his responsibilities.

5 This drought is also recorded in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 103/13:3280. No prognostication is recorded, but a reference in the following year relates that misfortune to the excessive power and wealth of the eunuchs.

6 The Palace of Perpetual Joy (永樂宮 *Yongle gong*) was the residence of the Dowager Dong, natural mother of Emperor Ling. She had come to the capital in 169, and was installed in the Hall of Excellent Virtue (嘉德殿 *Jiadedian*) of the Southern Palace, which set of apartments was then given that title: passage C and note 2 to Jianning 2.

HHS 104/14:3296, however, describing this fire, says it took place in the Northern Palace, and that the Perpetual Joy apartments were at that time associated with the Hall of Virtuous Light (德陽殿 *Deyang dian*). It appears the Dowager Dong had shifted her residence in the intervening years, and the formal name had been duly transferred to her new abode. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 39.

The title of the residence of the Dowager Dou, widow of Emperor Huan but not the mother of an emperor, had been Palace of Prolonged Joy (note 19 to Jianning 1); while the current residence of the Empress He was called Palace of Prolonged Autumn (note 14 to Guanghe 4).

7 This comet (彗星 *sou xing*) is also recorded in the Treatise of Astronomy at *HHS* 102/12:3259.

The Supreme Subtlety Enclosure (太微垣 *Taiwei yuan*) is a broad circle of stars extending over Western Virgo and Leo: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 76-78 and Star Map 2.

This comet is said to have appeared first in the vicinity of the Three Platforms (三台 *San tai*), being six stars in Western Ursa Major, north of the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure, which represent the seats of the Three Excellencies: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 80 and Star Map 2. (The phrase *San tai* also appears with the meaning of Three Terraces, and describes, not the Three Excellencies, but the palace offices of the

D The Banshun barbarians raided and plundered Ba commandery.⁸ Campaigns had been sent against them year after year, but they had not been subdued. The emperor had it in mind to make a great levy of troops, and he asked the opinion of Cheng Bao of Hanzhong, the Reporting Officer from Yi province⁹

1863 Cheng Bao replied: "The seven clans of Banshun have been good allies of the empire since the time of the Qin dynasty, and for this reason they have been exempt from tribute and taxes. Their men are brave and excellent fighters.

"During the Yongchu period (107-113), when the Qiang barbarians invaded the region of the Han and all the commanderies and counties were destroyed, the Banshun people came to help us. The Qiang were killed or driven away, and they spoke of the Banshun soldiers as 'devil troops'.¹⁰ They told their fellow-tribesmen, and warned them never to go south again. Later, in the second year of Jianhe (148), when the Qiang made another great invasion, the Banshun people helped us

Masters of Writing, the Imperial Secretariat, together with the Imperial Clerks of the censorate and either the Internuncios or the Office of Insignia and Credentials: see deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 65, citing Ch'en Ch'i-yün. In the present instance, however, I follow the rendering of Ho and the interpretation given by *JS* 11:293.)

The comet travelled east into the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure as far as the star of the Heir (太子 *Taizi*), 93 *Leonis*, and the star of the Favourite Courtier (幸臣 *Xing chen*), 209 *Leonis*: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 78 and Star Map 2. It was visible for some twenty days.

The prognostication of this comet in the Treatise relates it to the current power and evil influence of the eunuchs and to the changes and disorder that took place with the death of Emperor Ling in 189.

D *HHS* 86/76:2843 (11a-b), the Account of the Banshun people in the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

⁸ The outbreak of this rebellion was recorded in 179: passage N of *Guanghe* 2.

⁹ Each year, commandery and royal administrations were required to send a report of their activities, and an accounting of revenues to the capital. A local officer accompanied this mission with the designation of Reporting Officer (上計吏 *shangji li*). A man from the spot, he could, as in this case, be asked for advice; and the Reporting Officer was at this time regarded as a candidate for commissioned office: Yen, *Regional Administration* II, 260-265, and deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 19.

¹⁰ This refers to the time of the Great East Qiang Rebellion, and particularly to the Qiang attack southwards in 114: see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 97-107, and *HHS* 87/77:2889. One may observe that a leader of the defence in Hanzhong at that time was the local official Cheng Xin, very likely a kinsman of Cheng Bao.

The phrase "devil troops" here renders the Chinese expression *shen bing* 神兵.

break up their attacks and defeat them.¹¹ When the General of the Van Feng Gun made his southern campaign into Wuling (in 162), it was once again the Banshun people that helped him to success.¹² Quite recently (in 176), when there was trouble in Yizhou, the Administrator Li Yong had the Banshun people to help him put it down.¹³

"A people who have shown themselves so loyal to us and so valuable would not rebel without good cause. Now the local and district officers are taking heavy taxes from them and they are being 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 throats. They have complained of the suffering and injustice to their commandery and provincial offices, but 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. Then everything will be settled quite simply. There is no need for a military campaign." [173]

The emperor took his advice. Cao Qian was appointed Administrator and an edict was proclaimed to grant an amnesty. All the people came at once to submit.

E In the eighth month it was ordered that an observation tower should be built, four hundred feet high, on the Ating road.¹⁴

In the winter, in the tenth month, the Grand Commandant Xu Yu left office.¹⁵ The Minister of Ceremonies Yang Ci became Grand Commandant.

The emperor went on a hunting expedition to the Shanglin Park. He

11 This refers to an attack by the White Horse (白馬 *Baima*) Qiang against the Dependent State of Guanghan: *HHS* 87/77:2897.

12 On this campaign, see passages I and J of Yanxi 5.

13 On this campaign, see passage A of Xiping 5.

E *HHS* 8:347 (10a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

14 It is not possible to identify the site of this building, nor give a further description of it. There is likewise no account of the site of the village, district or station of Ating 阿亭.

15 According to *HHJ* 24:11a, which dates the incident to the tenth month of Guanghe 4, Xu Yu was dismissed for mistaken recommendations of men who should be summoned to court.

travelled through the Hangu Pass and also made a tour to the Guangcheng Park.¹⁶

In the twelfth month the emperor returned to the capital and paid a visit to the Imperial University.

F Huan Dian became an Imperial Clerk.¹⁷ The eunuchs were uneasy at

¹⁶ The text of *HHS Annals*, followed closely by *ZZTJ*, is somewhat abridged and elliptical, so much that it is difficult to tell where the emperor went, or how long he was away from his capital.

The previous entry in the *Annals*, as here in *ZZTJ*, refers to the tenth month, and we are told at the end of this entry that he "returned" (還 *huan*) and visited the Imperial University at Luoyang in the twelfth month. In between these two vague dates he took part in a hunt (校獵 *jiaolie/xiaolie*: note 4 to Yanxi 1) in the Shanglin Park, travelled through (歷 *li*) the Hangu Pass, and then went hunting again (巡守 *xunshou*) in the Guangcheng Park.

The imperial hunts are discussed in note 4 to Yanxi 1, and the imperial hunting parks in note 5 to Yanxi 1. Former Han had a great Shanglin Park near Chang'an, and it was maintained at least in part by Later Han, but the new dynasty established a second, smaller, park of the same name close to Luoyang, while there was also a Guangcheng Park south of that city.

Emperor Huan is recorded as visiting the Guangcheng Park and a Shanglin Park in 158 and 163, but both expeditions seem to have involved only the region of Luoyang: passages D to Yanxi 1 and C to Yanxi 6. On this occasion, however, the length of time that Emperor Ling appears to have been away from Luoyang, and the reference to travelling through the Hangu Pass and then returning to Luoyang, suggest that he may have visited the region of Chang'an.

On the other hand, it is clear that the emperor did not pay a formal visit to the old capital, for there is no mention of any ceremonies, nor of attendance at ritual sites such as the ancestral temples or tombs of the Former dynasty. [One may compare the visit to Chang'an by Emperor An in 124, described at *HHS* 5:240, and mentioned in note 5 to Yanxi 5.] Given the information we have, it is not possible to decide which Shanglin Park received the imperial visit, but the balance of probability leans towards that close to Luoyang, and the passage through the Hangu Pass was rather a quick visit than a full journey to the west.

F *HHS* 37/27:1258 (6b), the Biography of Huan Dian.

¹⁷ An Imperial Clerk/Attendant Imperial Clerk was an officer of the censorate: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 58-59 [as Attending Secretaries], and deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 71-72.

Huan Dian reached this position after a clerical appointment in the office of the Excellency over the Masses Yuan Wei, being promoted with the appellation First Class (高第 *gaodi*). According to Cai Zhi of the second century AD, quoted in the commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 116/26:3600, this was a regular method of selection for Imperial Clerks, and it appears that there was a sense of career appointment. On the term *gaodi*, see deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 32-34.

his appointment. Huan Dian always rode a piebald horse and there was a saying about him in the capital:

Walking, walking, better watch your step,

Beware the Clerk on the piebald horse.¹⁸

Huan Dian was a grandson of Huan Yan.¹⁹[174]

18 行行且止, 避聽御史; the last characters of the lines rhyme: Karlgren, *GSR* 961*a* and 975*a*.

19 The biography of Huan Yan is in *HHS* 37/27:1257, immediately preceding that of Huan Dian. The family came to prominence through the qualities of Huan Rong, who was renowned for his scholarship at the beginning of Later Han and became Grand Tutor to Emperor Ming. Huan Yan, his grandson, had risen to be Grand Commandant in the early 140s, during the reign of Emperor Shun.

Guanghe 光和 6: 183 AD

10 February 183 - 30 January 184

1864

A In the spring, in the third month on the day *xinwei* [30 May], there was an amnesty for the empire.

In the summer, there was a great drought.¹

B The mother of the empress was granted the title Lady of Wuyang.²

C In the autumn the Yellow River broke its banks in Jincheng and flooded over twenty *li*.³

There was an avalanche in the mountains of Wuyuan commandery.⁴

D Before this, Zhang Jue of Julu had been worshipping the Yellow Emperor and Laozi and preaching magic and devilry among the people, calling his doctrine the Way of Great Peace.⁵ He used charmed water to treat illness, and he made those who were sick kneel down and confess their faults. Some got better, and so people worshipped and

A *HHS* 8:347 (10b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

¹ This drought is also listed in the Treatise on the Five Powers at *HHS* 103/13:3280. Sima Biao associates it with the excessive power and wealth of the eunuchs.

Despite the drought, the Annals state in a single entry for the end of this year that there was an excellent harvest: *HHS* 8:347. Sima Guang, in his *Kaoyi* commentary, notes the discrepancy and remarks that he has decided not to include that statement.

B *HHJ* 24:11b.

² The county of Wuyang was in Nanyang commandery. *HHS* 10B:449 dates this enfeoffment to the year after the establishment of the empress in Guanghe 3: 180. *HHS* 10B says that the personal name of the mother of the Empress He was Xing 興, and adds the information that the father of the empress, He Zhen 何真, who had died earlier, was granted posthumous appointment as General of Chariots and Cavalry.

C *HHS* 8:347 (10b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

³ The flooding is listed in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 105/15:3312, with no further information or comment.

⁴ The avalanche is mentioned in the Annals at *HHS* 8, but not in the relevant section of the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 106/16:3334.

D *HHS* 71/61:2299 (1a-b), the Biography of Huangfu Song; and *SGZ* 46/Wu 1:1094, the Biography of Sun Jian.

⁵ Huang-Lao 黃老 may be interpreted as referring to the Yellow Emperor (黃帝 *Huangdi*) and the sage Laozi 老子, but the term was often used to describe a combination deity. See, for example, Maspero, *Le Taoisme*, 93-94; Seidel, *Divinisation de Lao Tseu*, 36-43; and, on the worship of Huang-Lao by Emperor Huan in 166, *HHS* 7:317; deC, "Harem," 36-42, *Portents of Protest*, 82-83 note 70, also passage F of Yanxi 9.

On the concept of Great Peace (太平 *Taiping*), see note 44 to Jianning 1.

believed in him.

Zhang Jue sent out disciples to travel through every part of the empire and to convert the people of the eight provinces Qing, Xu, You, Ji, Jing, Yang, Yan and Yu to his deceitful doctrines.⁶ Some sold their property and left their homes to follow him. The pilgrims blocked the roads, and more than ten thousand of them became ill and died before they reached him. The officials in the commanderies and counties did not understand what was really going on, and instead they reported that Zhang Jue reformed men by his fine teaching and that this was why the people turned to him.

- E The Grand Commandant Yang Ci, who was at this time still Excellency over the Masses, sent in a memorial to say: "Zhang Jue is deceiving and exploiting the common people. When amnesties are granted, instead of repenting, 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 [175] 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 shall isolate his party and can then punish the ringleaders. Everything would be settled without trouble."⁷

About this time, however, Yang Ci was dismissed, so the matter was simply pigeon-holed.

- F Liu Tao, Senior Clerk under the Excellency over the Masses, then sent in another memorial.⁸

⁶ These provinces covered the east of the empire, but not the north-western region of Liang province, the western territory of Yi province in present-day Sichuan and Yunnan, nor the far south, present-day Guangdong, Guangxi and Vietnam. And though it appears below that the influence of Zhang Jue's teaching was felt in Luoyang, the capital region and province of Sili is not specifically mentioned.

E *HHS* 54/44:1784 (17b), the Biography of Yang Ci.

⁷ Yang Ci was Excellency over the Masses from the end of 176 (passage C of Xiping 5) to the beginning of 178 (passage F to Xiping 6).

HHS 54/44 indicates that this statement, here described as a memorial, was actually the text of a discussion between Yang Ci and his clerk Liu Tao as below. Yang Ci raised these points with Liu Tao, and Liu Tao encouraged him to present them in a memorial.

F *HHS* 57/47:1849 (7b-8a), the Biography of Liu Tao.

1865 Repeating Yang Ci's suggestions, he added that, "Zhang Jue's secret plans are increasingly threatening. The empire is full of whispers and rumours, and it is claimed that Zhang Jue and his followers have gained entry to 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 taboo: they compare notes privately but are reluctant to say anything in public. Your majesty should issue a clear edict for the arrest of Zhang Jue and his supporters, with rewards of land from the state for those who capture them. If any dare evade your call, they can share the same punishment."

The emperor did not take the matter seriously, and just at that time an edict commissioned Liu Tao to write a commentary, the *Chunqiu tiaoli*, on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

G Then Zhang Jue set up thirty-six Divisions. 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 had leaders appointed. They spread the story that "The azure sky is dead, and a Yellow Heaven will take its place. When the year is *jiazi* great fortune will come to the world."⁹ They used chalk to write

⁸ Though it appears the memorial of Yang Ci must have been submitted about 177, and Liu Tao was at that time his Senior Clerk (notes 6 and 7 above), *HHS* 57/47 indicates that Liu Tao offered his own memorial in the current year, Guanghe 6: 183. By that time he was no longer a member of the office of the Excellency over the Masses, but had been appointed as an Imperial Clerk, an officer of the censorate, and we are told that he sent this memorial jointly with the junior officials Yue Song 樂松 and Yuan Gong 袁貢.

G *HHS* 71/61:2299-2300 (1b), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

⁹ The characters *jiazi* 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 which was to follow Guanghe 6, 184 AD by Western reckoning, was attributed with the characters *jiazi* and thus marked the beginning of a new cycle. For a millenary doctrine such as Zhang Jue's, this was a most suitable omen for the beginning of the rebellion that was to overthrow the established order of the world.

In theories of the Five Powers (五行 *wu xing*), moreover, the colour yellow was recognised as the symbol of the Power of Earth which would succeed the Power of Fire under whose auspices the dynasty of Han was reigning. Though a blue sky was not specifically associated with the colour symbolism of Han, a yellow Heaven would certainly be a clear sign for the future, and would also, of course, relate appropriately to the Yellow Emperor or Huang-Lao deity who held an important position in the

the characters *jiazi* on the walls and gates of the capital city, of the offices and on the yamen of the provincial and commandery administrations.

The Large Division Leader Ma Yuanyi, with some others, had collected several tens of thousands of men in Jing and Yang provinces, and had arranged a date for a rising at Ye. Ma Yuanyi came in and out of the capital several times, he gained the support of the Regular Attendants Feng Xu and Xu Feng, and they agreed on the fifth [176] day of the third month [3 April 184] for a coup at the inside and an attack from without.[177]

doctrines of Zhang Jue and other popular religious leaders. For discussion on the theories of the political influence of the Five Powers, see *Cambridge China* I, 230 and 255: Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, Restoration, and Later Han," and 337 and 360: Mansvelt Beck, "Fall of Han." On *jiazi* and the yellow Heaven as popular concepts at this time, see deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 37.

Zhongping 中平 1: 184 AD

31 January 184 - 17 February 185

A In the spring, one of Zhang Jue's disciples, Tang Zhou of Ji'nan,¹ sent a message to the court telling of the plot. Ma Yuanyi was arrested and was torn asunder by chariots at Luoyang.²

An edict ordered the Three Excellencies and the Director of Retainers to arrest and question all the attendants and guards of the palace and the common people of the capital district who were followers of Zhang Jue's teaching. More than a thousand people were executed.

Orders were sent to Ji province that Zhang Jue and his followers should be arrested. Realising their plans had been discovered, however, they sent messengers riding day and night with orders for the Divisions to rise together. They wore pieces of yellow cloth as a badge, and the people of that time called them the Yellow Turban rebels.³

In the second month,⁴ Zhang Jue named himself Lord of Heaven General, his younger brother Zhang Bao was named Lord of Earth General, and Zhang Bao's younger brother Zhang Liang was named Lord of Man General.⁵

1866 Government offices everywhere were burned down, towns and villages were looted, and provincial and commandery administrations

A *HHS* 71/61:2300 (1b-2b), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

¹ The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that *HHJ* 24:12a describes Tang Zhou as a man from Jiyin commandery, but he has chosen to follow *HHS* 71/61.

² The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that *HHJ* 24:14b-15a says Ma Yuanyi and some fellow-conspirators were executed on the *yimao* day of the fifth month, 7 June in the Western calendar. This would have been two months after the date we are told had been planned for the rising, early in the third month: passage G of Guanghe 6 immediately above. Though the executions could have been carried out some time after the discovery of the plot, it is unlikely they would have been delayed so long. Sima Guang has preferred the order of events in *HHS* 71/61.

³ The rendering "Yellow Turban" for the term *huangjin* 黄巾 is now traditional, and I follow it. In fact, the insignia was surely no more than a fillet of yellow cloth bound about the temples – a form of headgear still used for some traditional religious ceremonies such as funerals; also by Japanese kamikaze pilots during the Second World War and by the late Yukio Mishima.

⁴ The dating of the second month is given by *HHS* 8:348.

⁵ There is disagreement among the texts as to the order of birth and the titles taken by Zhang Jue's brothers. The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that the *Jiuzhou Chunqiu* of Sima Biao, cited in *SGZ* 46/Wu 1:1094 PC, describes Zhang Liang as the second brother and Zhang Bao as the third, while *HHJ* 24:12a follows the same order, but writes the given name Liang as 良 rather than 梁. Sima Guang follows *HHS* 71/61.

were forced to abandon their offices; most of the officials ran away. Within a few weeks the whole empire had responded to the rebellion, and the capital was in fear and trembling.

- B The people of Anping and Ganling seized their kings and made cause with the rebels.⁶
- C In the third month on the day *wushen* [2 Apr] the Intendant of Henan He Jin was made General-in-Chief and was enfeoffed as Marquis of Shen.⁷ He took command of the guards of the divisions of the Right and of the Left and of the Feathered Forest, together with the five regiments [of the Northern army] and led them to camp at the Capital Watch-House.⁸ They prepared weapons and equipment to keep order in the capital. Commandants were appointed for the eight passes of Hangu, Taigu, Guangcheng, Yique, Huanyuan, Xuanmen, the Meng Crossing and the Xiaoping Crossing.⁹

B *HHS* 8:348 (10b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

⁶ Liu Xu, King of Anping, and Liu Zhong, King of Ganling, were both descendants of Emperor Zhang: *HHS* 55/45:1808 and 1806, also *HHS* 50/40:1674.

C *HHS* 8:348 (10b), the Annals of Emperor Ling; and *HHS* 69/59:2246 (6a), the Biography of He Jin; and *HHS* 71/61:2300 (2a), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

⁷ *HHS* 69/59 says that He Jin received his fief as reward for discovering the plot of Ma Yuanyi.

Shen county was in Runan commandery.

⁸ The guards of the Right and the Left were two of the corps of cadets under the Generals of the Household. As young men on probation for commissioned rank in the civil service, they would be of limited use in serious combat. The Gentlemen of the Feathered Forest were recruited from among the sons and grandsons of men who had died in battle, and from worthy families of the northwest, and I have suggested that they were a corps of military officer cadets. The troops of the Five Regiments of the Northern Army were fully professional soldiers, and formed the central strategic reserve of the empire. See deC, *Northern Frontier*, 46-47.

On the Capital Watch-House (都亭 *duting*), which had been the site of the confrontation between the eunuch forces and those of Dou Wu at the time of the coup of 168, see note 63 to Jianning 1. It appears to have been situated a short distance south of the main Vermilion Bird Gate of the Northern Palace, and had an open area of ground suitable for military gatherings.

⁹ The Eight Passes (八關 *baguan*) lay in a circle about Luoyang:

- the Hangu 函谷 Pass was on the road leading westwards to Chang'an, by present-day Xinan in Henan;
- the Yique 伊闕 Pass, north of present-day Yichuan in Henan, controlled passage along the Yi River south of Luoyang;

D The emperor summoned all his ministers to a council. The Administrator of Beidi, Huangfu Song, gave his opinion that the proscription of the men of Faction should be ended, [178] and there should be a greater distribution of the resources of the palace treasury and of the horses in the Western Garden stables to equip the army.¹⁰ Huangfu Song was a nephew [the son of an elder brother] of Huangfu Gui.

E The emperor asked the Regular Attendant Lü Qiang what he thought of the proposal, and Lü Qiang replied, "The proscription has been maintained for a long time and the people [affected by it] have been made angry and resentful. Unless they are given a pardon, they could easily join Zhang Jue. The rebellion would become very much more serious and it would be too late to do anything about it.

"I ask now that you first execute those of your attendants who are greedy and corrupt, issue a complete amnesty for the men of Faction, and examine all the inspectors and heads of command-eries and kingdoms to see which are competent. After that, there will be no more trouble from rebels."

The emperor was frightened and accepted his policy.

F On the day *renzi* [5 Apr] an amnesty was issued for all men of Faction in the empire, and those who had been exiled were allowed to return

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- the Taigu 太谷 Pass, south of Luoyang, guarded the road leading across the Xionger Shan towards Nanyang commandery;
 - the Guangcheng 廣成 Pass, west of present-day Linru in Henan, controlled passage along the Ru River and also represented a southern outpost of the Yique and Taigu routes;
 - the Huanyuan 輾輓 Pass, northwest of Dengfeng in Henan, guarded the road past Song Mountain leading southeast from Luoyang towards Yingchuan commandery;
 - the Xuanmen 旋門 Pass, near present-day Sishui in Henan, close to the line of the modern railway, guarded the road which led due east to the North China plain;
 - the Meng Crossing 孟津, sometimes rendered as the Meng Ford, was on the southern bank of the Yellow River northeast of Luoyang and south of present-day Meng county in Henan;
 - the Xiaoping Crossing 小平津, west of the Meng Crossing and almost due north of the capital, also gave passage across the Yellow River.

D *HHS* 71/61:2300 (2a), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

10 The commentary of Hu Sanxing to this passage identifies the Western Garden stables with those under the control of the Assistant of the Stables for Thoroughbreds, established three years earlier: passage A of Guanghe 4.

E *HHS* 67/57:2189 (5b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Party; and *HHS* 78/68:2533 (17a), the Biography of Lü Qiang in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

home. Only Zhang Jue was omitted from the amnesty.

Trained soldiers were raised from the empire,¹¹ and the General of the Household of the North Lu Zhi was sent to attack Zhang Jue. Huangfu Song, as General of the Household on the Left, and the General of the Household on the Right Zhu Jun were sent to attack the Yellow Turbans of Yingchuan.

- G At this time, the Regular Attendants Zhao Zhong, Zhang Rang, Xia Yun, Guo Sheng, Duan Gui and Song Dian had all been enfeoffed and treated with great favour. The emperor would often say, "Regular Attendant Zhang Rang is my father and Regular Attendant Zhao Zhong is my mother."
- 1867 Fully confident of their position, therefore, the eunuchs built great houses for themselves, rivalling the imperial palace. On one occasion the emperor wanted to climb the Observation Terrace in the Palace of Perpetual Peace,¹² but the eunuchs were frightened he would see their mansions. They sent the harem official Shang Dan to say, "The Son of Heaven must never climb high, for if he does so his people will be impoverished and scattered."¹³ From this time on, the emperor never

F *HHS* 8:348 (10b-11a), the Annals of Emperor Ling; and *HHS* 71/61:2300 (2a), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

11 *HHS* 8 adds that a general summons was sent out, requiring all provincial and commandery administrations to gather horses and crossbows, and instructing them to recommend the sons and grandsons of former military officers and those among the common people who had some understanding of warfare, that they might attend at Luoyang for possible appointment.

G *HHS* 78/68:2534-36 (19a-20a), the Biography of Zhang Rang and of Zhao Zhong in the Chapter on the Eunuchs; and *HHS* 78/68:2533 (18a), the Biography of Lü Qiang in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

12 The Palace of Perpetual Peace is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 46-47. It was a detached pleasure ground northeast of the Northern Palace within the walls of the city of Luoyang, with a lake and bamboo groves.

Commissioned in 179 for verification of calendrical calculations, the Observation Terrace 候臺 was an official structure under the administration of the Court Astrologer: *HHS* 92/2:3042. It was evidently not the same as the tower whose construction had been ordered two years earlier: passage E to Guanghe 5.

ZZTJ here has the character *chang* 常 "on one occasion"; *HHS* 78/68 has the character *chang* 嘗 "frequently."

13 Commentary to *HHS* 78/68 notes that this warning to Emperor Ling was evidently based upon *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, the anonymous apocryphal work on the *Chunqiu* which is cited frequently by Liu Zhao in his commentary to the Treatise of the Five

climbed a tower again.[179]

When Feng Xu and Xu Feng were found out, however, the emperor turned on his eunuch attendants and said, "You always said it was the men of Faction who plotted rebellion, and you had me proscribe them from office and some were executed. But now it appears that the men of Faction are servants of the state while you people follow Zhang Jue. Why shouldn't I have you beheaded?"

The eunuchs kowtowed and said, "This was all the fault of Wang Fu and Hou Lan." One by one they asked permission to resign, and sent messages to recall their relatives and fellow-clansmen who held office in the provinces and commanderies.

Zhao Zhong, Xia Yun and others made false accusations against Lü Qiang, saying that he had discussed affairs of state with the men of Faction, that he had read and re-read the biography of Huo Guang,¹⁴ and that he and his brothers spread dirt and corruption everywhere they went. The emperor sent Palace Attendants of the Yellow Gates, bearing arms, to bring Lü Qiang to court.

When Lü Qiang received the 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.

Zhao Zhong and Xia Yun now added further slanders: "When Lü Qiang was called to court, he had no idea what questions would be put to him, but he went straight outside and killed himself. It is only too clear that he was guilty." All Lü Qiang's family were put in prison and their property was confiscated.

- H The Palace Attendant Xiang Xu of Henei sent in a memorandum criticising the emperor's close attendants. Zhang Rang made false accusation against him, saying that he was a supporter of Zhang Jue and planned to act as traitor within the gates. He was arrested and sent

Powers in the section on eclipses, and which appears to have been popular at this time: *e.g.* note 5 to Guanghe 4.

14 The Biography of Huo Guang is in *HS* 68:2931-59. The Huo family was one of the leaders of the imperial relatives by marriage during the first century BC, and Huo Guang held a dominant position at court from the time of the death of Emperor Wu in 87 BC. In particular, in 74 BC, after the death of Emperor Zhao, Huo Guang first put Liu He 劉賀 upon the throne, then arranged for his dismissal and replacement by Liu Pingyi 病已, who became Emperor Xuan of Han. One assumes that the significance of Huo Guang's biography was that the reader might have similar ideas of overbearing power and enforcing an abdication. On Huo Guang, see Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 66-79, and *Cambridge China* I, 182-184: Loewe, "The Former Han dynasty."

to the Northern Prison of the Yellow Gates, and was killed there.

I The Gentleman of the Palace Zhang Jun of Zhongshan sent in a memorial, "It is my humble opinion that the reasons Zhang Jue was able to raise troops and make his rebellion, and that the people love him and trust him, are because your ten Regular Attendants have sent family members, relatives and dependents to take control of the provinces.¹⁵

1868 "They steal the wealth of the people by cruel taxation and they plunder and rob the poor. The people have no way to tell their grievances, and so they make plans for rebellion and [180] gather together as bandits. You should take the heads of 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 Zhang Jun'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 Prison in Luoyang, and they offered all their property for the use of the army.¹⁶ The emperor told them to put their caps and shoes back on and continue to serve him as they had always done. He was angry with Zhang Jun, and said, "The man's a fool. How could he claim that all my Regular Attendants are bad?"

The [office of the] Imperial Clerks saw the way he felt, so they sent in a false report that Zhang Jun had studied the teachings of the Yellow Turbans. Zhang Jun was arrested and flogged. He died in prison.

J On the day *gengzi* [?*gengwu*=23 Apr] the Yellow Turban of Nanyang, Zhang Mancheng, attacked and killed the Administrator Chu Gong.¹⁷

H *HHS* 81/71:2694 (21b), the Biography of Xiang Xu in the Chapter on the Men of Unusual Conduct.

I *HHS* 78/68:2535 (19a), the Biography of Zhang Rang and Zhao Zhong in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

15 There were twelve Regular Attendants at this time, and *HHS* 78/68:2534 lists their names. Zhang Jun is giving only an approximate figure.

16 The parallel text in *HJJ* 24:15b says that the eunuchs also offered their adopted sons and brothers as volunteers for the front against the rebels.

J *HHS* 8:348 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

17 It seems clear from the chronicle of *HHS* 8:348 that this date was in the third month, but the third month of this year began on a *bingwu* day (cyclical 43), and there was no *gengzi* day (cyclical 37). It seems likely that *gengzi* 庚子 should read *gengwu* 庚午, the day equivalent to 23 April.

K *HHS* 54/44:1784 (17b), the Biography of Yang Ci;

- K The emperor asked the Grand Commandant Yang Ci for his opinion of the Yellow Turban outbreak. Yang Ci replied in straight-forward fashion, very much to the point, and the emperor was not pleased.
In the summer, in the fourth month, Yang Ci left office because of the rebellion. The Minister Coachman Deng Sheng of Hongnong became Grand Commandant.
Some time later, as the emperor was looking over some earlier records, he found the memorials written by Yang Ci and Liu Tao to warn against Zhang Jue. He enfeoffed Yang Ci as Marquis of Linjin and Liu Tao as Marquis of Zhongling District.¹⁸
- L The Excellency of Works Zhang Ji left office. The Minister of Finance Zhang Wen became Excellency of Works.
- M Huangfu Song and Zhu Jun had combined forces of more than forty thousand men and they marched together, each with an army, to attack [the Yellow Turbans in] Yingchuan.¹⁹ Zhu Jun fought the rebel Bo Cai and was defeated. Huangfu Song went forward to hold Changshe.²⁰[181]
- N The Yellow Turbans of Runan defeated the Administrator Zhao Qian at Shaoling.²¹
- 1869 The Yellow Turbans of Guangyang killed the Inspector of You province Guo Xun and the Administrator Liu Wei.
- O Bo Cai besieged Huangfu Song at Changshe. Huangfu Song had fewer soldiers under his command than the enemy, and his men were frightened. The enemy had constructed their camp from grass and bushes. As a strong wind came on to blow, Huangfu Song ordered his

and *HHS* 8:348 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

18 On these memorials, written about 177, see passages E and F of Guanghe 6. *HHS* 54/44 says that the emperor discovered the memorials when he was browsing amongst some old documents during a visit to the Southern Palace,

The statement of Liu Tao's enfeoffment comes from his biography in *HHS* 57/47:1849.

L *HHS* 8:348 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

M *HHS* 71/61:2300-01 (2a), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

19 At this point, a variant edition includes the phrase 黃巾 "Yellow Turbans."

20 The city of Changshe was north of present-day Xuchang in Henan.

N *HHS* 8:349 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

21 Shaoling county was east of present-day Yancheng in Henan, near the north-western border of Runan with Yingchuan.

troops to mount the walls with tinder-grass in their hands. He sent a forward party of his strongest to travel by hidden paths to the outside of the siege-lines, where they lit great fires and sounded their battle-cry. The men on the walls raised torches in reply, and Huangfu Song led a sortie from the city with drums and shouts. As they charged the enemy lines, the rebels were terrified and fled in disorder.

About this time the Commandant of Cavalry, Cao Cao of Pei kingdom, arrived with reinforcements, and in the fifth month Huangfu Song, Cao Cao, and Zhu Jun combined their armies and returned to the attack.²² They completely defeated the rebels and cut off heads by the tens of thousands. Huangfu Song was enfeoffed as marquis of a chief district.

- P Cao Cao's father Cao Song was the adopted son of the Regular Attendant Cao Teng. There is no way to tell his family origins, although some said he was a member of the Xiahou clan.²³ When Cao Cao was young he was clever and ingenious and could adapt himself to any situation, but he sometimes took the law into his own hands, and he was casual or frivolous, paying little attention to his duties. Few people of that time saw anything remarkable about him, and only the Grand Commandant Qiao Xuan and He Yong of Nanyang thought him unusual.

O *HHS* 71/61:2301 (2a-b), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

²² This is the first appearance in the chronicle of the celebrated warlord who founded the Three Kingdoms state of Wei and was posthumously honoured as Emperor Wu. It is doubtful, however, that the troops he brought were sufficient to have made a great difference to the campaign. See, for example, deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 39.

P *SGZ* 1:1-2, the Biography/Annals of Cao Cao, posthumously entitled Emperor Wu of Wei 魏武帝.

²³ The biography of Cao Teng is in *HHS* 78/68:2519, the Chapter on the Eunuchs, an account of Cao Song is attached to that biography.

SGZ 1:2 PC observes that *Cao Man zhuan* 曹瞞傳, an anonymous work by a subject of the rival state of Wu 吳 of the Three Kingdoms period, and the [*Wei-Jin*] *shiyu* of Guo Song, both say that Cao Song was a member of the Xiahou clan. DeC, *Imperial Warlord*, 20-25, discusses the question and concludes that he was indeed a member of the Xiahou.

Q *HHS* 67/57:3218 (23b), the Biography of He Yong in the Chapter on the Proscribed Party.

R *SGZ* 1:3 PC quoting the [*Wei-Jin*] *shiyu* of Guo Song; and *HHS* 68/58:2234-35 (7a-8a), the Biography of Xu Shao; and *SGZ* 1:3 PC quoting the *Yitong zayu* of Sun Sheng.

Qiao Xuan said to Cao Cao, "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."

Q He Yong saw Cao Cao and he sighed and said, "The house of Han is falling, and this is the man who will give peace to the empire."

R Qiao Xuan said to Cao Cao, "You have made no name for yourself yet. You should get in touch with Xu Zijiang." This Xu Zijiang was Xu Shao, the nephew of Xu Xun. He was fond of [182] grading people and had an appreciative eye for others' good qualities. He and his cousin Xu Jing 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 Runan, at the beginning of each month, all the people would gather to hear them publish their moral critiques.²⁴ At one time Xu Shao became Officer of Merit in his commandery, and when the local officers heard about it they became most careful and diligent in their conduct.²⁵

Cao Cao went to see Xu Shao and asked him, "What sort of a person am I?" Xu Shao despised him and refused to answer. Cao Cao pressed him again, and then Xu Shao replied, "You? A good servant in time of peace, a dangerous chieftain in time of trouble." Cao Cao went away feeling very pleased.

1870

S When Zhu Jun attacked the Yellow Turbans his Major Protector of the Army,²⁶ Fu Xie of Beidi, 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

²⁴ This biography of Xu Shao appears in the same chapter as that of the celebrated moral critic and analyst Guo Tai.

As the commentary of Hu Sanxing observes, this pattern of assessment may be seen as the origin of the later system of appointment of officials on the basis of local evaluations by the "Impartial and Just." See Holzman, "Les neuf catégories et l'Impartial et Juste."

²⁵ The Officer of Merit was responsible for selection of local personnel and for recommendations of Filial and Incorrupt candidates from the commandery for probation and possible commission into the imperial civil service

S *HHS* 58/48:1873-74 (7a-8a), the Biography of Fu Xie.

²⁶ Major (司馬 *sima*) was a regular military rank: e.g. *HHS* 114/24:3564, the Treatise of Officials. The prefix Protector of the Army (護軍 *hujun*) may be traced to the Former Han and Qin period, when it indicated a senior official responsible for discipline: e.g. *HS* 19A:737; deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 62 note 46. Fu Xie was probably acting as an adjutant to Zhu Jun.

appointed the sixteen chancellors. He well understood that if evil-doers were not driven away good men would never come forward.²⁷

"Now Zhang Jue has led a rebellion in Zhao and Wei, and the Yellow Turbans are causing disorder in six provinces. This shows how trouble can begin at home and spread across the world. We have received your commission to attack and destroy the criminals and we obey your commands. Since we first entered Yingchuan we have been successful in every battle. Though the Yellow Turbans are numerous they are no cause for anxiety to your court.

"My real concern, however, is that although we may be controlling the waters, we are doing nothing about the source, and the spreading flood may yet do more damage. Your majesty is loving and virtuous, generous and forgiving; you cannot bear to be too strict, so your eunuch servants usurp power and your loyal ministers are unable to come forward.

"Even when Zhang Jue has been beheaded and his followers have changed their clothing and submitted to law and order,²⁸ your servant

²⁷ Yu 虞 was the dynastic designation of Emperor Shun. The *Shun dian* 舜典 "The Canon of Shun" Chapter of *Shu jing*, II.1, 12; Legge, *CC III*, 39-40, tells how Shun, as chief minister for Emperor Yao 堯, banished the Minister of Works (共工 *gong gong*) to You 幽 island, confined Huandou 驩兜 on Mount Chong 崇山, drove the chief of the Sanmiao 三苗 and his people into Sanwei 三危 and kept them there, and held Gun 鯀 as a prisoner for life on Mount Yu 羽山. "These four criminals being thus dealt with, universal submission prevailed throughout the empire." (But *cf.* Karlgren, *Documents*, 5, which has Shun's last deed as the killing of the criminal Gun, and emphasises the achievement of the "four condemnations.")

Later in that chapter, at *Shu jing* II.1, 17 to 25, we are told how, after the death of Emperor Yao, when Shun took the throne himself, he commissioned his nine ministers: Legge, *CC III*, 42-49 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 5-7).

Zuo zhuan, Wen 18; Legge, *CC V*, 282-283 (Couvreur, *Chronique I*, 553-556), on the other hand, tells how sixteen worthy descendants of ancient rulers were given office by the future Emperor Shun when he was minister to Yao, and as a consequence, when Yao was dead, "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."

So Shun appointed the sixteen worthy chancellors in the time of Emperor Yao, possibly before dealing with the four criminals, and later, after his accession, he appointed or confirmed in office his nine ministers. Fu Xie to some extent confuses the traditions.

²⁸ The commentary of Hu Sanxing explains that when the Yellow Turbans have been defeated they will abandon their insignia of rebellion and return to plain clothing as true subjects of the empire.

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 wicked men and virtuous men should not take part in government together. [183] Wicked men realise that when a good man's work is noticed, the signs of their own destruction appear. They will use deceit and falsehood and will combine to create distrust and hypocrisy. A mother may doubt her own true son, and three men can set a tiger in the market-place.²⁹ Unless you are careful to test whether you are being deceived or told the truth, your loyal subjects will find themselves in the predicament of [Bo Qi at] Duyou.³⁰

"Your majesty should remember how Yu-Shun dealt with the four criminals, and should quickly arrange the execution of your false advisers. Then good men will be glad to come forward and evil will naturally disappear."

1871 Zhao Zhong saw this memorial and was most annoyed. When Fu Xie attacked the Yellow Turbans he gained great success, and it was felt that he deserved enfeoffment. Zhao Zhong, however, made false accusations against him. The emperor remembered Fu Xie's memorial and did not punish him; but he did not enfeoff him either.

T Zhang Mancheng had been camped in the vicinity of Wan for some three months, but in the sixth month the Administrator of Nanyang, Qin Jie, attacked him and killed him.

U The region of Jiaozhi produced many precious commodities. Over the years many of the Inspectors had been dishonest in their administration, and whenever they had taken enough money they

²⁹ On Zeng Can 曾參, see note 45 to Yanxi 7.

In *Zhanguo ce* 7:6b-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 untrue, enough false witnesses can sometimes make it appear true.

³⁰ Bo Qi, whose biography is in *SJ* 73, was a general of the state of Qin 秦 in the third century BC. In 257 he fell out of favour with the king, was degraded to become a common soldier and was later sent from the capital to Duyou 杜郵, a village outside the wall. The king and his advisers convinced themselves that Bo Qi must have resented the way they had treated him, and they satisfied them-selves that some of his statements had shown a rebellious spirit, so they sent him a sword and compelled him to commit suicide. See *ZZTJ* 5:182, where Bo Qi is described by his title as Lord of Wu'an 武安君.

T *HHS* 71/61:2309 (8a), the Biography of Zhu Jun; and *HHS* 8:349 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

would transfer to another post.

The officers and people were angry and made a rebellion. They seized the Inspector, and the Administrator of Hepu Lai Da, and they named [their leader] General Who is Pillar of Heaven. The offices of the Three Excellencies selected Jia Cong of Dong commandery, magistrate of Jing, to be Inspector of Jiaozhi.³¹

When Jia Cong reached his territory, he enquired about the reasons for the rebellion. Everyone told him, "The taxation requirements were far too heavy and took everything the people had. The capital is a long way away and no-one heard their complaints. The people had nothing to live on and that is why they have gathered together as rebels."

Then Jia Cong issued a proclamation to say that everyone should carry on his occupation in peace, and he received and comforted the homeless refugees and remitted the taxes and corvée levies. Only [184] the most troublesome ringleaders were executed, and he then made careful selection of the best men to show their ability as heads of counties. The disturbance was settled within a year, and all the people were at peace. There was a popular song in the streets and alley-ways:

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

U *HHS* 31/21:1111-12 (15a-b), the Biography of Jia Cong.

31 Jing county was in Henan commandery, near present-day Zhengzhou in Henan. Jia Cong's biography says that he was selected to deal with this considerable emergency after special consideration by the central government offices.

The seven commanderies of the far south were grouped under a provincial unit or circuit (部 *bu*) called Jiaozhi 交趾 – the name Jiao province (交州 *Jiaozhou*) was not given to the region until about 203: see *JS* 15:464-65; *HHS* 113/23:3533, the Treatise of Administrative Geography, refers to the territory as Jiao province, but see the remarks of Wang Xianqian, criticising Sima Biao's terminology, in *HHSJJ* at 30b. Because of the distance from the capital, the Inspector of the region had the special authority of the Staff of Authority (節 *jie*), giving power of summary judgement without prior reference to the throne: *HHS* 118/28:3618, the Treatise of Officials, commentary quoting *Dongguan Hanji*.

Because of the special nomenclature of the provincial region, there were two different units in the south which had the name Jiaozhi: the commandery of that name, headed by an Administrator, in the Red River delta about present-day Hanoi; and the province-level unit headed by an Inspector. There was a similar situation in the western part of the empire, where Yi province (益州 *Yizhou*) included a commandery called Yizhou: e.g. *HHS* 113/23:3512.

V Huangfu Song and Zhu Jun followed up their success with campaigns against the Yellow Turbans of Runan and Chen kingdom. Chasing Bo Cai as far as Yangdi, and attacking Peng Tuo at Xihua, they defeated both of them. The remaining rebels surrendered or scattered, and three commanderies [Yingchuan, Runan and Chen] were pacified. Then Huangfu Song sent in a report to the throne, giving credit to Zhu Jun for his work, and Zhu Jun was advanced in fief to be Marquis of Xi District and was transferred to appointment as General of the Household Who Maintains the Rebels in Order.³² An imperial edict ordered Huangfu Song to attack Dong commandery and Zhu Jun to attack Nanyang.

W Lu Zhi, General of the Household of the North, had attacked Zhang Jue and defeated him in one battle after another, and had killed or captured more than ten thousand men. Zhang Jue and his followers fled to take refuge in Guangzong.³³ Lu Zhi built a siege-wall, dug a moat around the city, and constructed scaling ladders. He was ready for the final attack when the emperor sent Zuo Feng, Attendant at the Yellow Gates, to see how things were going. Someone told Lu Zhi that he should prepare presents for Zuo Feng when he left, but Lu Zhi refused to do so.

When Zuo Feng returned to the capital he said to the emperor, "It would be easy to destroy the rebels in Guangzong, but General Lu allows his army to rest behind strong defences, and simply hopes that some punishment from Heaven will befall the rebels."

1872 The emperor was angry, a cage cart was sent to bring Lu Zhi back to the capital, and he was sentenced to death commuted by one degree.³⁴[185]

V *HHS* 71/61:2301 (2b), the Biography of Huangfu Song; and *HHS* 71/61:2308 (8a), the Biography of Zhu Jun.

32 In passage F above, we have seen the appointment of Generals of the Household, normally a position at court, to command on active service against the Yellow Turban rebels. We now have one of the first appointments designated by a flowery slogan. There are a number of occasions hereafter that an officer entitled General of the Household, with similar identification, appears as a commander on active service.

It is not possible to say in which county Zhu Jun was granted his fief of "West District" (西鄉 *Xixiang*).

W *HHS* 64/54:2118 (13a-b), the Biography of Lu Zhi.

33 The county city of Guangzong in Julu lay east of present-day Wei in Henan.

34 On this penalty, see note 35 to Yanxi 2, and Hulsewé, *RHL*, 129.

X *HHS* 72/62:2320 (1b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

- X The General of the Household of the East, Dong Zhuo of Longxi, was sent to take his place.
- Y Zhang Xiu of Ba commandery had cured people's sickness by magical tricks, and his teaching was in many respects like that of Zhang Jue.³⁵

Y *HHS* 8:349 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
with the [*Lingdi*] *ji* of Liu Ai quoted in commentary to that passage;
and *SGZ* 8:263;
and *SGZ* 8:264 PC quoting the *Dian lue* of Yu Huan.

35 As the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes, the evidence on the personal name of the leader of this rebellion of the Five *Dou* of Rice sect (五斗米 *wudou mi*), is contradictory.

HHS 8, Liu Ai and *Dian lue* all give the name as Zhang Xiu 張脩. The main text of *SGZ* 8, however, which presents the more coherent account of the career of Zhang Lu, who later took the headship of the movement, states that Zhang Lu's grandfather was named Ling 陵 (sometimes Daoling 道陵), that he moved from Pei in the east to Hanzhong and that he established the Five *Dou* of Rice sect. Zhang Ling was then succeeded by his son Zhang Heng 衡, and when Zhang Heng died Zhang Lu took over the leadership. This listing, of course, leaves no space for a teacher called Zhang Xiu; moreover, we are told by *SGZ* 8 that Zhang Lu attacked and killed a man of that name who had been an officer of the provincial Governor Liu Yan, appointed in 188: passage B of Zhongping 5.

In commentary at the end of the quotation from *Dian lue*, evidently basing himself upon the main text of *SGZ* 8, Pei Songzhi argues that the personal name of Zhang Xiu has been miswritten for that of Zhang Heng. Sima Guang, however, accepts the plain statement of *HHS* 8, and discounts the statement of Liu Ai connecting Zhang Xiu with the Rice Sect.

It seems possible that Zhang Xiu of Ba commandery had at some time taken an active position of leadership in the Rice Sect, parallel and in some rivalry to the spiritual authority of Zhang Heng; and that he was later killed by Zhang Lu, inheriting his father's position. Certainly, if we accept the statement of *HHS* 8, that Zhang Xiu rebelled in this year, Zhongping 1: 184, the reference to the time of Liu Yan is an anachronism, possibly interpolated to emphasise Zhang Lu's essential loyalty to the house of Han.

The history is considerably confused, not only through the normal lack of interest shown by Chinese historians of the Confucian persuasion for such heterodox sects, but also through the hagiographic tradition which came to surround the founders of the modern Taoist church. It should be observed, moreover, that the teachings and practices of a sect could change very considerably in the course of evolution under different leadership at different times, and it is extremely difficult to judge what stage of development is being described in any particular text.

This question has naturally attracted a great deal of attention and debate. Among other discussions are those of Eichhorn, "Chang Jio und Chang Lu;" Seidel, "Image of the Perfect Ruler," 222-227; Maspero, *Taoisme*, 97; Michaud, "Yellow Turbans;"

He ordered families where there was sickness to offer up five *dou* of rice, and he was called the Five *Dou* of Rice Teacher.³⁶

In the autumn, in the seventh month, Zhang Xiu gathered his followers to make rebellion and they raided the commanderies and counties. The people of that time called them the Rice Rebels.

Z In the eighth month Huangfu Song fought the Yellow Turbans at Cangting and captured their leader Bu Si.³⁷ Dong Zhuo had attacked Zhang Jue without success and was condemned for his failure. On the day *yisu* [25 Sep] an edict ordered Huangfu Song to attack Zhang Jue.

AA In the ninth month Liu Xu the king of Anping was found guilty of impious conduct and was executed. His kingdom was abolished.

BB Before this, Liu Xu had been kidnapped by the Yellow Turbans, and the people of his kingdom paid a ransom to get him back. The court was of the opinion that he should be restored to his kingdom, but the Consultant Li Xie said "Liu Xu proved incapable of fulfilling his duty as a vassal lord, and he injured and disgraced your sacred dynasty. He should not be returned to his kingdom." Overruled, Li Xie was found guilty of slandering the imperial clan and was made a convict in the Enclosure of the Left. Within a year, however, the king had been executed, and Li Xie was reappointed as a Consultant.³⁸

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."³⁹

Fukui, *Dōkyō no kiso teki kenkyū*, 4; Chen Yinke, "Taoism and the Maritime Provinces;" and deC, *Generals of the South*, 356-361, and *Imperial Warlord*, 291-294.

³⁶ The *dou* measure of capacity in Han times was a fraction under two litres.

Z *HHS* 71/61:2301 (2b), the Biography of Huangfu Song; and *HHS* 72/62:2320 (1b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo; and *HHS* 8:350 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

³⁷ Cangting was a village in Dong commandery, now north of Fan in Shandong.

AA *HHS* 8:350 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

BB *HHS* 63/53:2090 (14a), the Biography of Li Xie.

³⁸ There is confusion here. According to *HHS* 63/53, Li Xie had been Chancellor of Anping, upon which basis he would certainly have an opinion on what should be done about the king. It should seem that he was dismissed from that post and imprisoned, and after his vindication he was given appointment at the capital as a Consultant.

³⁹ Li Xie was the surviving son of the distinguished minister Li Gu: passage B of Yanxi 3. The saying evidently refers to the manner in which Li Gu had opposed the appointment of the youthful Liu Suan 劉纘, Emperor Zhi質, in 145 and that of Emperor Huan in 146. The General-in-Chief Liang Ji and his sister the Dowager had determined the succession, but Li Gu objected on each occasion that the new candidate

CC In the winter, in the tenth month, Huangfu Song fought with Zhang Jue's younger brother Zhang Liang at Guangzong. Zhang Liang's forces were well-trained and courageous, and Huangfu Song could make no headway. On the following day, he kept the gates of his camp closed, giving his soldiers a rest and waiting to see what would happen. He realised that the enemy would be less keyed-up and ready for him, so during the night he prepared his men for a sortie. At cock-crow they charged the enemy lines, they fought through the [186] morning and into the afternoon, and then they completely defeated the rebels. They cut off Zhang Liang's head and took thirty thousand others, while more than fifty thousand fled to the Yellow River and drowned.

1873 Zhang Jue had already died of an illness, but they broke open his coffin, defiled his corpse, and sent his head to the capital.

In the eleventh month, Huangfu Song made an attack on Zhang Jue's younger brother Zhang Bao, at Xiaquyang. He cut off his head and killed or captured more than a hundred thousand others.⁴⁰

Then Huangfu Song was appointed General of Chariots and Cavalry on the Left with authority as Governor of Ji province, and was enfeoffed as Marquis of Huaili.⁴¹

was too young, and urged that a mature ruler should be chosen. Naturally enough, the Liang family did not want this, for it would have removed their opportunity to control the government through a regency. Li Gu was dismissed and was later executed. See *HHS* 63/53:2085-87, and note 75 to Yanxi 2.

CC *HHS* 71/61:2301-02 (2b-3a), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

⁴⁰ The date of the battle is given by the annals in *HHS* 8:350. Xiaquyang appears to have been the headquarters of the Zhang brothers; it was a county in Julu, now west of Jin county in Henan.

HHS 71/61 says that in this operation Huangfu Song was assisted by the Administrator of Julu, Guo Dian 郭典 of Youfufeng. Guo Dian had evidently been maintaining a resistance to the rebellion on its home ground for some months, but he is not mentioned by the annals in *HHS* 8 nor by *ZZTJ*, and it does not appear that he gained any notable reward.

⁴¹ These were considerable appointments, particularly in combination.

The title of General of Chariots and Cavalry was formally the third military rank in the empire: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 122-123. In recent times, however, it had often been held in an honorary form by members of the clan of imperial relatives by marriage or by favoured eunuchs such as Shan Chao and Cao Jie.

The county of Huaili was the capital of Youfufeng commandery, one of the Three Adjuncts (三輔 *sanfu*), about the former imperial city of Chang'an. The ancient site is now close to Xingping in Shenxi. *HHS* 71/61 adds that the value of the fief was the revenue of eight thousand households, drawn not only from Huaili but also from the neighbouring county of Meiyang, near present-day Wugong in Shenxi.

Huangfu Song was a leader who could understand and sympathise with his men. Whenever his army halted to make camp he made sure that all the tents were set up in order before he went to his personal 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.

- DD The Xianlian Qiang of Beidi joined with bandits from Fuhan and Heguan to make rebellion.⁴² Beigong Boyu and Li Wenhou, of the Auxiliary of Loyal Barbarians from Huangzhong, were elected generals of the combined forces.⁴³ They killed the Protector of the Qiang Ling Zheng. Bian Zhang and Han Sui, men of Jincheng, were well-known in the western provinces, and the rebels forced them to join their army and gave them positions among the leaders with particular responsibility for military affairs.⁴⁴ Chen Yi the Administrator of Jincheng was killed, and the commandery and provincial headquarters were attacked and burned.
- EE [Before this] the Administrator of Wuwei had presumed on his high position to indulge his lust and greed.⁴⁵ Su Zhenghe of Wudu, an Assistant Officer of Liang province, sent in a report of his crimes, but the Inspector Liang Gu was frightened and thought of killing Su Zhenghe in order to avoid the responsibility [of impeaching such a

DD *HHS* 72/62:2320 (1b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

⁴² This rebellion of Qiang and others, with Chinese renegades, brought the end of Han control over Liang province in the northwest. It is discussed by deC, *Northern Frontier*, 146-149 ff, and by Haloun, "The Liang-chou Rebellion."

Fuhan and Heguan were counties of Longxi commandery, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River above present-day Lanzhou, on the frontiers of the empire.

⁴³ Huangzhong 湟中 described the region of the Huang or Xining River, which flows from the area of Qinghai to join the Yellow River near present-day Lanzhou; it was the territory of Jincheng commandery of Later Han.

The Loyal Barbarians from Huangzhong 湟中義從胡 was an auxiliary force, initially recruited from among the Little Yuezhi 小月氏 by the Protector of the Qiang Deng Xun 鄧訓 towards the end of the first century, but which later included also Qiang and other non-Chinese people. See deC, *Northern Frontier*, 86.

⁴⁴ Bian Zhang and Han Sui did not rise to immediate prominence, and they did not at any time hold joint leadership: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 150 and note 25 at 493. The rebellion, however, is often identified in Chinese texts as that of Bian Zhang and Han Sui.

EE *HHS* 58/48:1879-81 (10b-12a), the Biography of He Xun.

⁴⁵ The histories do not record the name of this wicked official.

high official].⁴⁶ He asked the advice of the Chief Clerk of Hanyang, He Xun of Dunhuang.⁴⁷ Su Zhenghe had once done He Xun a bad turn, and someone suggested to him that here was an opportunity to repay the injury. He Xun said, "If my official advice harmed a good man, it would not be loyal. If I took advantage of another's time of danger, it would not be kind." [187] So he dissuaded Liang Gu 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?" Liang Gu gave up the idea. Su Zhenghe went to thank He Xun, but He Xun refused to see him, saying, "I gave my advice on behalf of Commissioner Liang, not for Su Zhenghe."⁴⁸ And he liked him no better than before.

Later [at the time of the rebellion], the Inspector Zuo Chang embezzled great quantities of grain from the military supplies, and He Xun protested. Zuo Chang was angry, and he sent He Xun with the Attendant Officials Xin Zeng and Kong Chang to make a separate camp and face the rebels near Ayang.⁴⁹ He expected He Xun to make mistakes in military affairs and he would then be able to punish him, but He Xun instead fought a series of successful engagements. As Beigong Boyu moved against Jincheng, He Xun urged Zuo Chang to send troops to the relief, but Zuo Chang refused to do so.

1874 Then Chen Yi died, and Bian Zhang and the others came forward to besiege Zuo Chang in Ji.⁵⁰ Zuo Chang sent orders to He Xun and other outlying troops to come to help him. Xin Zeng and the other leaders were reluctant and hesitant, but He Xun said to them angrily, "In ancient times, when Zhuang Jia was late for his appointment Sima

⁴⁶ Assistant Officers were local officers of a province, some of whom were responsible for supervising the commandery units: deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 56.

⁴⁷ The surname of this man is sometimes transcribed as Gai, but I follow the alternative classical pronunciation, which appears indicated by the commentary of Hu Sanxing to this passage, subject to amendment of the first character of the *fanqie* spelling 徒+盍 to read 徒: see Karlgren, *GSR* 642*q*.

He Xun was a commissioned official. The Administrator of a regular commandery had an Assistant, but in a frontier commandery the equivalent title was Senior Clerk: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 95. Hanyang was considered to be a frontier region.

⁴⁸ The expression *shijun* 使君, rendered as "Commissioner," was a term of address or reference for the head of a province.

⁴⁹ Ayang county, in the north of Hanyang, was south of present-day Jingning in Gansu.

⁵⁰ Ji county, the capital of Hanyang commandery, was south of present-day Gangu in Gansu.

Rangju put him to the sword. Do you think you're more valuable than Zhuang Jia?"⁵¹ Xin Zeng and the others were frightened, and they followed him.

As He Xun came to Ji, he scolded Bian Zhang and his followers for their mutiny and their rebellion. They all replied, "If Commissioner Zuo had listened to you the first time and had sent soldiers to us, we might have maintained our allegiance. But now things have gone too far: we cannot surrender." They broke off the siege and went away.

The rebel Qiang were besieging the Protector Xia Yu in the Herding Office,⁵² and He Xun gathered provincial and commandery troops to relieve him. They came as far as Hupan but were defeated there by the Qiang. He Xun had fewer than a hundred men with him and he had been wounded three times. He sat down, refusing to move, and pointed to a wooden mile-pillar, saying, "Let my body rest here."

Dianyu, of the Goujiu tribe of the Qiang,⁵³ held the rest of the enemy at bay with his sword, saying, "Chief Clerk He is a worthy man. It would be a crime against Heaven for one of you to kill him." He [188] Xun looked up and cursed him, "You dog of a rebel, what do you know about it? Come slay me quickly." All looked at one another in amazement. Dianyu got down from his horse and offered it to He Xun,

51 *SJ* 64:2157-58, in the biography of Sima Rangju 司馬攬菑, tells how he was made general of the armies of the state of Qi 齊 in the fifth century BC. Zhuang Jia 莊賈 was a courtier appointed to the army, but he arrived late for an appointment, and Sima Rangju had him executed under military law. When messengers arrived from the duke of Qi to ask for mercy, Sima Rangju answered them, "When a commander is with his army, he is not required to accept all the orders of his sovereign."

52 Xia Yu, leader of the ill-fated expedition against the Xianbi of Tanshihuai in 177 (passage E of Xiping 6), had evidently been appointed Protector of the Qiang in replacement of Ling Zheng, lately killed by the rebels (passage DD above).

The Herding Office was the administrative establishment for the Liuma Horse Park 流馬苑, or Pasture of Roaming Horses, which was maintained in Hanyang commandery, under the Minister Coachman, to provide horses for the army and the government. See *HHS* 115/25:3582, the Treatise of Officials, and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 486 note 62 and 494 note 29,;cf. Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 36.

The site of the office, and of the place Hupan where the nearby battle was fought, cannot be more precisely identified.

53 Dianyu had been the name of a celebrated leader of the Qiang in the first century: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 79 and 84; *HHS* 87/77:2879-80. There is no way to know whether there was any direct connection with this chieftain a hundred years later; the present Dianyu may only have adopted the name as a compliment to his illustrious predecessor. On the variant writing and pronunciation of the second character, see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 476 note 2.

but He Xun refused to mount and so he was captured by the Qiang. Admiring his loyalty and courage, the tribesmen did him no harm, but sent him back to Hanyang. The Inspector Yang Yong later recommended him as Administrator of Hanyang.

FF The remnants of Zhang Mancheng's party elected Zhao Hong as their leader, and their strength increased once more until they were over a hundred thousand. They occupied Wan city.⁵⁴ Zhu Jun and local commanders under the Inspector of Jing province, Xu Qiu, collected their forces and besieged the rebels. They attacked the place from the sixth month to the eighth, but without success.

1875 Some senior officials at the capital memorialised for Zhu Jun's recall, but the Excellency of Works Zhang Wen wrote to the emperor, "In ancient times, Qin used Bo Qi and Yan gave office to Yue Yi. Both spent years doing nothing, but in the end their enemies were defeated.⁵⁵ Zhu Jun has already gained considerable success in Yingchuan, and now he is leading his army against the south and his plans are settled. All military writers caution against changing generals in the middle of a campaign. We may wait for days or even months, but he will eventually produce results." So the emperor kept Zhu Jun in his command, and then Zhu Jun attacked Zhao Hong and cut off his head.

The rebel leader Han Zhong re-occupied Wan and opposed Zhu Jun once more. Zhu Jun sent in an attack from the southwest with battle-cries and drums, and all the enemy went to deal with it. Zhu Jun himself led picked troops secretly to the northeast, and they climbed the wall and got into the city. Han Zhong withdrew to the citadel, but he was frightened and asked to surrender. All the officers thought they should accept his plea, but Zhu Jun said, "In warfare, things may look

FF *HHS* 71/61:2309-10 (8a-9a), the Biography of Zhu Jun.

⁵⁴ First leader of the Yellow Turbans in Nanyang commandery, Zhang Mancheng had gained initial success but was defeated and killed by the Administrator Qin Jie: passages J and T above.

⁵⁵ Bo Qi and Yue Yi were generals of the Warring States period at the end of the Zhou dynasty. Bo Qi served the state of Qin 秦, and in a military career of thirty-five years he captured more than seventy cities from the neighbours and rivals of that state.

Yue Yi served the northern state of Yan 燕. When the king wanted to make an attack on Qi 齊, Yue 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 Bo Qi is in *SJ* 73, that of Yue Yi is in *SJ* 80. On Bo Qi see also note 29 above.

the same but be quite different in reality. In ancient times, when the Xiang family opposed the Qin dynasty, the people had no recognised ruler, so it was necessary to offer rewards in order to encourage new recruits.⁵⁶ At the present day, all the world is united in our empire, and it is only the Yellow Turbans who are in rebellion. If we accept their surrender, it will not encourage the people to practise virtue; [189] but if we kill them it will be sufficient warning for everyone to avoid evil conduct. If we take them in now, we open the way to ideas of rebellion: when bandits see advantage they will come forward to attack us, and when they find themselves in difficulty they will simply ask to surrender. Enemies of the state everywhere will become bolder and more dangerous. This is not a good plan." So he continued to press his attacks, but after several engagements he had still not captured the fortress.

Zhu Jun climbed a hill of earth to look over the scene, and he turned to his Major Zhang Chao and said, "I have it! The enemy have a tight siege-ring about them, and inside their camp they must be quite desperate. They have asked to surrender and have been refused, they want to break out but 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 we have a hundred thousand to deal with! The best thing to do is break off the siege and combine our forces to enter the city. When Han Zhong sees the siege has opened he will certainly come out, and as he comes from his defences he will be less vigilant. That is the easy way to destroy him."⁵⁷ So they opened the siege, and Han Zhong did come out to fight. Zhu Jun attacked and completely defeated him and they took more than ten thousand heads.

Qin Jie the Administrator of Nanyang killed Han Zhong, and the remaining rebels chose Sun Xia as their leader. He went back to camp in Wan, and Zhu Jun pressed his attacks still more fiercely.

GG Leading his troops, the Major Sun Jian was the first to climb the walls, and on the day *guisi* [11 Jan 185] they stormed Wan city. As

⁵⁶ This refers to the time of rebellion against the Second Emperor of Qin in 209-206 BC. The rebel forces eventually came under the supreme command of Xiang Yu 項羽, who established himself briefly as hegemon. See, for example, the biography/annals of Xiang Yu in *SJ* 7:298; Chavannes, *MH* II, 252-253, and *SJ* 7:316-17; Chavannes, *MH* II, 284-292.

⁵⁷ Variant editions of *ZZTJ* here include the character *yi* 易 "easy," which appears also in the original passage of *HHS* 71/61.

Sun Xia fled, Zhu Jun chased him into the Jing Hills of Xi'e,⁵⁸ where he defeated him once more and cut off another ten thousand heads.

The Yellow Turbans were now defeated and scattered, and the remnants were dealt with by provincial and commandery governments. Thousands of people were executed in a single commandery.

In the twelfth month, on the day *jisi* [16 Feb 185] there was an amnesty for the empire and the reign-title was changed [to Zhongping].⁵⁹

1876

HH Wang Yun of Taiyuan, Inspector of Yu province, defeated the Yellow Turbans and obtained letters written to them from supporters and clients of Zhang Rang. He sent them to [190] the emperor. The emperor was furious with Zhang Rang, but Zhang Rang kowtowed and begged for pardon, and in the end he was able to avoid any punishment.

As a result of this, Zhang Rang found a way to get Wang Yun into trouble, and Wang Yun was sent to prison. An amnesty was issued soon afterwards and he was re-appointed Inspector, but little more than a week later he was summonsed again on another charge.

Unwilling to see Wang Yun suffer ignominy and disgrace, Yang Ci sent one of his attendants to say to him, with many apologies, "It is because of Zhang Rang that you have been summonsed like this twice in a single month. Evil and difficulty crowd around you, and they are quite unpredictable. Your best policy is to take your own life first."⁶⁰

Some of Wang Yun's Assistant Officers thought to bring matters to

GG *SGZ* 46/Wu 1:1094, the Biography of Sun Jian;
and *HHS* 8:350 (12a), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *HHS* 71/61:2310 (9a), the Biography of Zhu Jun;
and *HHJ* 24:18a.

58 Xi'e county was in Nanyang commandery, north of present-day Nanyang in Henan. The Jing Hills are part of the watershed between the basin of the Han River and that of the Yi and Luo tributaries of the Yellow River further north.

59 Up to this time, the year had been counted as the seventh of the Guanghe period. It was only now, two days before the end, that the reign-title was changed and the year became known as the first of Zhongping 中平 "Peace Achieved."

HH *HHS* 66/56:2172-73 (10a-11a), the Biography of Wang Yun.

60 Though Yang Ci's advice seems remarkably pessimistic, it is presumably based upon the idea that Wang Yun had little hope against his determined eunuch enemies, and by committing suicide he might spare his family from further legal implication and punishment.

a crisis point, and with tears in their eyes they came to offer him a draught of poison. Wang Yun growled to them, "I am the emperor's servant. If I have done wrong in his eyes, then I must accept his punishment and answer for my faults before the world. How can I seek death by taking poison?"⁶¹ Tossing the cup aside, he got up and went out to the cage cart.⁶²

When Wang Yun arrived [at the Ministry of Justice at the capital],⁶³ the General-in-Chief He Jin sent in a memorial jointly with Yang Ci and Yuan Wei to plead for his life,⁶⁴ and they obtained a remission of his charges.⁶⁵[191]

61 The commentary of Hu Sanxing notes that this sentence is an echo of the words of Wang Jia 王嘉, recorded in his biography in *HS* 86:3502, and that the character *ru* 乳 should read *ju* 咀.

Wang Jia was Imperial Chancellor (丞相 *chengxiang*) under Emperor Ai, but was dismissed and executed for his opposition to the emperor's favourite Dong Xian 董賢.

62 Wang Yun was at this time still in his office as Inspector of Yu province. The Assistant Officers were the locally recruited officers of his administration, and the cage cart from the capital, with the summons for Wang Yun's arrest, was waiting outside.

63 Variant editions of *ZZTJ*, following *HHS* 68/58, include the characters *ting wei* 廷尉 "Minister/ Ministry of Justice" at this point of the text.

64 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that *HHS* 68/58 describes Yang Ci as Excellency over the Masses and Yuan Wei as Grand Commandant, but points out that neither man held such office at this time. Yuan Wei was actually Excellency over the Masses, not Grand Commandant (passage C of Guanghe 5). Yang Ci had left the office of Excellency over the Masses in 181 (passage C of Guanghe 4), then became Grand Commandant in the following year (passage E of Guanghe 5), but had left that office earlier in the present year (passage K above); at the time in question he was probably Director of the Imperial Secretariat (*HHS* 54/44:1784).

65 The chronology of Wang Yun's misfortunes is confused, particularly as regards amnesties and/or pardons. *HHS* 66/56 says that he was sent to prison and then received the benefit of the amnesty "in the following year" (明年 *mingnian*), which would be Zhongping 2. In fact, however, no amnesty was granted in Zhongping 2, and the next available was in the second month of Zhongping 3: passage A of that year. Moreover, the biography continues to tell of an amnesty in the winter, which specifically excluded Wang Yun from its benefits: *HHS* 66/56:2173. But the only amnesty in the winter season about this time was the one recorded at the time of the change of reign period to Zhongping, immediately above. We are then told that Wang Yun was released (得解釋 *de jieshi*), again "in the following year."

Most probably, Wang Yun obtained the incriminating documents in the first months of this year (Guanghe 7/Zhongping 1: 184), at an early stage of the rebellion, and the evidence he sent in was in some part responsible for the emperor's anger at his eunuch attendants described in passage G above. His first release and reappointment as Inspector would then have taken place during the course of the year, and he was

evidently the beneficiary of a specific pardon rather than a general amnesty. Later, after his second arrest, he was excluded from the benefits of the amnesty given at the time of the change of reign title, but he again obtained an individual release during the course of Zhongping 2: 185.

Wang Yun's biography remarks that after he was released for the second time, he changed his name and went to take refuge in the border country between Chenliu in Yan province and Henei commandery in Sili.

Zhongping 中平 2: 185 AD

18 February 185 - 6 February 186

A In the spring, in the first month, there was a great pestilence.¹

In the second month on the day *jiyou* [28 Mar] there was a fire in the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace. On the day *gengxu* [29 Mar] there was a fire at the gate of [the Hall of] the Achievement of Joy.²

B The Regular Attendants Zhang Rang and Zhao Zhong encouraged the emperor to make a levy of ten cash on every *mou* 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.³

A *HHS* 8:351 (12a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

¹ This epidemic is also recorded in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 107/17:3351. Similar outbreaks had been recorded in the previous fifteen years (see note 3 to Guanghe 5), but this was the last of such magnitude for thirty years, until Jian'an 22: 217.

² These fires are described in detail by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 104/14:3297, and they are discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 31.

The fire began in the rafters of the Cloud Terrace building, and spread to several halls, to the Orchid Terrace, and to two other palace offices. *HHS* 8 notes that the fire was not put out for two weeks.

The Hall of the Achievement of Joy (樂成殿 *Lecheng dian*) was in the Southern Palace, and was evidently the first major building to be affected by the spread of the fire from the Cloud Terrace. The text here and in *HHS* refers to the structure as *Le chengmen* 樂城門 "City Gate of Joy," and the commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 104/14 suggests that it was the central gate of the Southern Palace. However Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 108 note 99, and at 27, observes that the text of the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao, as quoted by commentary to *HHS* 8, describes it as the Hall of the Achievement of Joy, and argues that the reading in the main *HHS* text is corrupt.

Predictably, prognostication for the portent emphasises the spiritual and official importance of the buildings which were affected, and draws particular attention to the Cloud Terrace. This complex, said to have been first constructed in the time of the Zhou dynasty, was established on a raised platform. During Later Han it had been used for literary discussions and also for the residence of the Dowager Dou after the overthrow of Dou Wu: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 26-27, and note 70 to Jianning 1. The omen as a whole foretold the fall of Han, and in particular the great fire which burnt through the capital in the troubles after the death of Emperor Ling in 189.

Regardless of the portentous significance of the conflagration, however, Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 37, emphasises that this fire was the most serious to affect the palaces over the whole period of Later Han. He does, however, express reservations on the extent of the fire as recorded by the Treatise: *Lo-yang*, 109 notes 119 and 120.

B *HHS* 78/68:2535 (19b), the Biographies of Zhang Rang and Zhao Zhong in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

1877

C Lu Kang the Administrator of Le'an sent in a memorial of protest, "In ancient times, when Duke Xuan of Lu set a tax on the arable land, a plague of locusts made their appearance.⁴ When Duke Ai increased the taxes, Confucius himself disapproved.⁵ It is surely even worse to seize people's property in order to make these useless statues. You would be ignoring the warnings of the sages and will be following the mistaken conduct of weak rulers."

The emperor's close attendants slandered Lu Kang, saying that he was comparing the sacred government of the emperor with the ruined

³ A *mou* 亩 (commonly written 畝 and often pronounced *mu*) was rather more than a tenth of an English acre, or 0.04 of a hectare. At this time, it appears to have been assumed that the average annual yield of a *mou* would be some 3 *hu* 斛 (about 60 litres) of grain. Traditionally, land tax under the Han was paid at the rate of one-thirtieth of the assumed produce, which would thus have been one *dou* 斗, about two litres. See, for example, Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 74-75, based upon the calculations of the philosopher Zhongchang Tong 仲長統, writing about this time: *Han Agriculture*, 239.

Since the price of grain fluctuated considerably, and the histories normally record only the extreme figures of good harvest or dearth, it is difficult to assess the impact of the new levy, though Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 79, suggests an arbitrary cash value of 60 cash per *shi* 石 of grain, which would represent a value of a little more than 100 cash for the 3 *hu* of the nominal yield per *mou*.

One may note that the levy was probably a single payment, charged against capital held in land, not a continuing tax. It may have fallen quite heavily upon the landed classes, and indirectly upon their poorer tenants.

On the other hand, considering the recent ravages of the Yellow Turban rebellion and the continuing trouble in Liang province, not to mention the other difficulties of the government, this was hardly a politic, appropriate or sensible time for such an additional impost.

C *HHS* 31/21:1113 (16b-17a), the Biography of Lu Kang.

⁴ The Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*, Xuan 15, ascribes a plague of locusts to the increased taxes: cf. Legge, *CC* V, 329.

⁵ *Zuo zhuan*, Ai 11; Legge, *CC* V, 826 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 676-677) tells how the duke of Lu 魯, on the advice of his minister Jisun 季孫 proposed to increase the land tax. He sent a messenger to ask Confucius for his opinion. Confucius gave no formal reply, but said privately to the messenger,

"... If [Jisun] 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 [Jisun] wish to act according to the laws, there are the statues of the Duke of [Zhou] still existing. If you wish to act in an irregular manner, why do you consult me?"

states of the past; Great Iniquity.⁶ A cage-cart was sent to bring him to the Ministry of Justice. The Imperial Clerk Liu Dai sent in a memorial to explain the case, and Lu Kang was allowed to retire to his own village. Lu Kang was a grandson of Lu Xu.⁷

- D Another edict demanded that each province and commandery unit send a quota of timber and patterned stone to the capital.⁸ The eunuchs repeatedly claimed that quantities of material were not up to standard. Having forced the price down to just a tenth of its original cost, they then sold it on. Again, the eunuchs would delay acceptance of the goods, so that timber was left in heaps to rot and the palaces remained unfinished year after year. As the inspectors and administrators also took personal commissions, the people groaned under the burden.

It was further ordered that cavalymen of the Western Garden should travel among the provinces and commanderies [192] to hasten the transport. They disturbed the local administrations, and they too collected bribes.

Every official, from inspectors and administrators down to Abundant Talent and Filial and Incorrupt candidates, whenever they were appointed or promoted, had to contribute cash for 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 smaller commanderies were in proportion. Those due to be given office had first to go to the Western Garden and negotiate a price before they could take up their

⁶ Categorisations such as "Great Iniquity" (大不敬 *da bujing*: interpreted by Hulsewé, *RHL*, 156, as "*nefas*"), identified conduct as a gross offence against morality or against the state, and rendered the offender liable to very severe penalties. See also notes 71 to Yanxi 2 and 57 to Jianning 1.

⁷ A junior officer in the time of Emperor Ming, Lu Xu 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. Lu Xu had remained unmoved when torture was applied to him, but 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, he and his associates were pardoned, although they were proscribed from office for the rest of their lives. The biography of Lu Xu is in *HHS* 81/71:2682-83, in the Chapter on the Men of Unusual Conduct.

D *HHS* 78/68:2535-36 (19b-20a), the Biographies of Zhang Rang and Zhao Zhong in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

⁸ *HHS* 78/68 identifies the material as fine timber and patterned stone from Taiyuan and Hedong commanderies, in present-day Shanxi, and from Didao, the chief county of Longxi commandery, near present-day Lintao in Gansu.

posts. The more honest of them begged not to go, but all were compelled to do so.

Then Sima Zhi of Henei was appointed as the new Administrator of Julu. Since he was known to be poor and honest, his fee was reduced to three million cash. When he received his orders, however, he sighed and said, "I should be father and mother to my people, yet instead I am supposed to rob my flock because of present custom. I cannot do that." He made excuses and said he was sick, but the court refused to accept his resignation. He travelled as far as the Meng Crossing,⁹ and from there he sent in a memorial setting out in the strongest terms what was wrong with the whole system. He then killed himself by taking poison.

The memorial came before the throne, and the emperor called a temporary halt to the collection of money for the palace building fund.

E Zhu Jun was made General of Chariots and Cavalry on the Right.¹⁰
1878

F From the time of Zhang Jue's rebellion, bandits and rebels had sprung up everywhere. There was Ox-horn Zhang of Boling,¹¹ Flying Swallow Chu of Changshan, and innumerable other groups under such leaders as Yellow Dragon, Enclosure of the Left, Yu Digen, White Rider Zhang, Liu Shi, Zuo with the Long Moustache, Grand Design to

⁹ On the Meng Crossing over the Yellow River on the road from Luoyang to the north, see also note 9 to Zhongping 1.

E *HHS* 71/61:2310 (9a), the Biography of Zhu Jun.

¹⁰ *HHS* 71/61 says that Zhu Jun was also appointed a Household Counsellor (光祿大夫 *guanglu dafu*), with enfeoffment as Marquis of Qiantang 錢唐 in the region of present-day Hangzhou, enhanced by the appellation Specially Advanced (特進 *tejin*), which permitted him to remain in attendance at the court rather than being required to reside in the territory of his fief. See note 52 to Yanxi 8.

F *HHS* 71/61:2310 (9a-b), the Biography of Zhu Jun;
and *SGZ* 8:261:the Biography of Zhang Yan;
and *SGZ* 8:261 PC quoting the *Jiuzhou Chunqiu* of Sima Biao.

¹¹ Boling was the site of the tomb of Liu Yi 劉翼, the father of Emperor Huan and former Marquis of Liwu 蠡吾. When Emperor Huan was brought to the throne in 146, his father was given posthumous title as an emperor and his tomb-site was recognised with suitable ceremony: *HHS* 55/45:1809. In 158 the territory was separated from Zhongshan and established as a separate commandery: *HHS* 7:303.

ZZTJ has taken the surname Zhang for the bandit Oxhorn from *SGZ* 8; *HHS* 71/61 has "Green Ox-horn" (青牛角 *Qing Niujue*). Years later in 193, the warlord Yuan Shao destroyed the bandit groups of the Black Mountains, and one of his victims is said to have been Green Oxhorn: *HHS* 71/6A:2310, *SGZ* 6:194. The later reference may be an anachronism, or another bandit chieftain may have taken a similar sobriquet.

Pacify Han, Director of Retainers Who Scales the City Wall, Lord of Thunder, Floating Clouds, White Sparrow, Phoenix Yang, Poison Yu, Five Deer, Big-eyes Li, Bo Rao, Sui Gu and Kujiu "Dry Grub."¹² The larger of them controlled twenty or thirty thousand men, the smaller

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- ¹² As *HHS* 71/61 observes, these various bandit leaders were identified by nicknames. Some of them are obvious enough, such as White Rider Zhang 張白騎 for a leader who rode a white horse [whom *SGZ* 14:472 and 18:545 identifies with the personal name Cheng 晟]; Zuo with the long moustache (reading *zhang* 丈 for the variant *wen* 文), and Lord of Thunder who probably had a very loud voice. There are a few which are difficult or even impossible to interpret:
- apart from the personal agility of "Flying Swallow" described below, a celebrated concubine of Emperor Cheng of Former Yan had been known as Flying Swallow Zhao 趙飛燕: e.g. *HS* 97B:3988; Wilbur, *Slavery*, 418, and note 48 to Yanxi 8;
 - "Enclosure of the Left" (左校 *Zuoxiao*) probably took his name from the title of the officer responsible for convict labourers under the Court Architect: see note 82 to Yanxi 2;
 - in the *nom de guerre* Yu Digen 于氏根 [also as 于 羝根], the character *yu*, which could be a surname, is also identified by commentary to *HHS* 71/61 with hairiness, the character *di* 氐 was the name of a group of non-Chinese people in the west, and the character *gen* may refer to a base, or to something hanging down. In the absence of any further information, the nickname may be taken as referring to the commander's facial hair, though it may have been a lower part of the body;
 - the character *feng* 鳳 may be the personal name of a chieftain whose surname was Yang 楊, but it is more probably a sobriquet "Phoenix," possibly referring to his splendid manner of dress;
 - the characters *wulu* 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 Wulu Chongcong 充宗, who was Minister Steward in 38 BC: *HS* 19B:820. In this text, however, the three characters immediately following cannot possibly be treated as a personal name, so Wulu must refer to one of the leaders, perhaps in reference to some badge that he bore;
 - Bo Rao 白繞 may be a genuine name, but the character *rao* refers to coiling and winding, and it could be rendered as "White Circles";
 - similarly, in Sui Gu 睚固, the first character, when pronounced *sui*, is an uncommon surname, but also has the meaning of deep-set eyes, so the combination could be understood as reference to a fixed, presumably fierce, gaze [*HHS* 71/61 has the first character as *qi/xi* 畦, referring to a plot of land or a field boundary, but this does not seem helpful];
 - in the name of the bandit known as Kujiu 苦蝨, the character *jiu* [also as 𧈧] normally occurs as part of the compound *jiuqi* 蝨蟻, describing a large wood-boring maggot, traditionally admired for its whiteness and its length: see, for example, Legge, *CC* IV, 95, commenting on the *Shi ren* 碩人 Ode (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 57 at 38). If the character 苦 is read as its homonym *ku* 枯, the name may be rendered as "Dry Grub," and its owner was probably clean shaven and bald.

some six or seven thousand.

Ox-horn Zhang and Flying Swallow Chu combined their forces to attack Yingtao,¹³ but Ox-horn was struck by an arrow and mortally wounded. Before he died, he ordered [193] his followers to obey Flying Swallow as their leader, and Flying Swallow changed his surname to Zhang. Flying Swallow's personal name was Yan [meaning a swallow] and he was quick and agile and brave, 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.¹⁴ All the commanderies north of the Yellow River were exposed to their attacks and the court could do nothing to stop them.

Then Zhang Yan sent messengers to the capital with a memorial asking to surrender, and he was appointed General of the Household Who Pacifies Disorder and given charge of all the affairs of the hills and valleys north of the Yellow River. Every year he was entitled to nominate Filial and Incorrupt candidates and to send in Reporting Officers.¹⁵

- G The Excellency over the Masses Yuan Wei left office. In the third month the Minister of Justice Cui Lie became Excellency over the Masses. Cui Lie was an elder cousin of Cui Shi.¹⁶

At this time it was common practice for the Three Excellencies to obtain their appointments by submitting money to the Western Garden through the Regular Attendants and the imperial nurses. Though Duan Jiong, Zhang Wen and others had great achievements and a fine reputation, they still had to pay their money before they could receive promotion to the highest rank. Cui Lie submitted five million cash through a nurse, and only then was he made Excellency over the

13 Yingtao county in Julu was south of present-day Ningjin in Hebei.

14 The territory of the Black Mountain bandits was based upon the eastern ridges of the Taihang mountains.

15 Flying Swallow Zhang thus possessed the same rights and responsibilities as the administrator of a commandery.

G *HHS* 8:351 (12a-b), the Annals of Emperor Ling; and *HHS* 52/42:1731 (18a-b), the Biography of Cui Lie.

16 Cui Shi, author of *Zheng lun* 政論, has a biography in *HHS* 52/42:1725-31, to which that of his cousin Cui Lie is attached. On the Legalist philosophy of *Zheng lun*, see Balazs, "Crise sociale et philosophie politique."

Masses. On the day of his inauguration, with the emperor in attendance and all the court gathered for the ceremony, the emperor turned to his favourites and said, "We should have kept him waiting a bit longer. We could have got ten million out of him."

1879 The Lady Cheng, standing beside him, replied, "Lord Cui is one of the leading men of Ji province. Why should he be prepared to buy his office? You do not realise how lucky you are. It was only through my work that you got anything at all."

As a result of this, Cui Lie's reputation suffered a considerable decline.[194]

H Beigong Boyu and his forces plundered the Three Adjuncts, and an edict ordered Huangfu Song, General of Chariots and Cavalry on the Left, to move into Chang'an and attack them.¹⁷

I At this time, the whole of Liang province was in continual disorder and rebellion, and the court had constant need for corvée service and taxes. Cui Lie proposed that Liang province be abandoned, and the emperor called a general council of excellencies, ministers and court officials to discuss the question.

The Consultant Fu Xie spoke most vehemently against the idea, saying, "If only the Excellency over the Masses was executed, all the troubles of the empire would be at an end." The Masters of Writing protested that Fu Xie had abused a great minister in open court, and the emperor called upon Fu Xie to justify himself.

Fu Xie replied, "Fan Kuai considered Modun to be treacherous, and gave his opinion very forcefully. He did not offend against the proper conduct of a subject in any way, but Ji Bu could say nonetheless that 'Fan Kuai should be executed.'¹⁸

H *HHS* 8:351 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

17 The Three Adjuncts (三輔 *sanfu*), were the three commanderies about the old capital Chang'an: Jingzhao, Youfufeng and Zuopingyi.

I *HHS* 58/48:1875 (8a-b), the Biography of Fu Xie.

18 *HS* 37:1976-77 tells how Modun 冒頓, Shanyu of the Xiongnu, sent a presumptuous letter to the dowager Empress Lü of Emperor Gao and regent for Emperor Hui of Former Han. Fan Kuai 樊噲 urged that the imperial armies should attack the Xiongnu, but Ji Bu 季布 pointed out that when the armies of Han had tried such a strategy of offence, and Fan Kuai was one of the generals, they had come into serious danger in the campaign about Pingcheng 平城: note 30 to Xiping 6. See also, for example, the Account of the Xiongnu in *HS* 94A:3753-55, and *SJ* 110:2894-95; Watson, *RGH* II, 165-167.

"Now Liang province is one of the most important and valuable districts of the empire and a bulwark of our state. When Gaozu first came to power, he sent Li Shang on a special mission to settle the lands west of the Long Mountain.¹⁹ When the Epochal Exemplar [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 Xiongnu.²⁰

"But now the officials have lost control, and have let the whole province fall into rebellion. Cui Lie is one of the highest ministers, yet he takes no thought to the real needs of the state and has no plan to restore order. Instead he proposes to abandon ten thousand *li* of territory, and I have the gravest concerns about his strategy. Should the region be taken by the barbarians, they could cause trouble by their great military strength, and this would be of utmost danger to our empire and a serious loss to the nation.

"If Cui Lie failed to realise the consequences of his policy, he is a fool. If he knows what he is saying, he is a traitor."

The emperor thought Fu Xie's argument excellent, and he rejected Cui Lie's proposal.

J In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day *gengxu* [28 May] there was great rain and hail.²¹[195]

In the fifth month the Grand Commandant Deng Sheng left office. The Minister Coachman Zhang Yan of Henan was made Grand Commandant.

K In the sixth month Zhang Rang and eleven other Regular Attendants

Fu Xie's claim is that if a minister suggests a foolish and dangerous policy, suggestions for his execution, even from the body of the court, are quite justifiable.

19 When the future Emperor Gao was first named King of Han under the hegemony of Xiang Yu 項羽 in 206, he sent his officer Li Shang 鄼商 to take control of the regions of Longxi, Beidi and Shang commanderies in preparation for his attack on the kingdoms which had been established about the former heartland of Qin 秦 in the region of the Wei River. See the biographies of Li Shang in *SJ* 95:2660 and *HS* 41:2074; also Dubs, *HFHD* I, 65-70.

20 Epochal Exemplar (世宗 *Shizong*) was the temple-name of Emperor Wu of Former Han. During his reign the empire of Han expanded northwest along the Gansu corridor, establishing the four commanderies of Jiuquan, Zhangye, Wuwei and Dunhuang. See, for example, Loewe, *RHA* I, 58-60, deC, *Northern Frontier*, 61, and *Cambridge China* I, 391: Yü, "Han Foreign Relations."

J *HHS* 8:351 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

21 The rain and hail are recorded also in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 105/15:3315, but no prognostication is attached.

were enfeoffed as full marquises for their good work during the campaign against Zhang Jue.

1880

L In the autumn, in the seventh month, there was a plague of locusts in the Three Adjuncts.²²

M When Huangfu Song was fighting Zhang Jue, he passed through Ye and saw that the mansion of the Regular Attendant Zhao Zhong was far more luxurious than the regulations allowed. He sent in a memorial and it was confiscated. On another occasion, the Regular Attendant Zhang Rang had privately solicited a bribe of fifty million cash and Huangfu Song refused to give it. As a result, both Zhao Zhong and Zhang Rang sent in memorials saying that Huangfu Song had fought one battle after another, but had gained no success and was wasting his resources.

Huangfu Song was recalled, his seal and tassel as General of Chariots and Cavalry on the Left were taken away, and the value of his fief was reduced by six thousand households.

N In the eighth month the Excellency of Works Zhang Wen was made General of Chariots and Cavalry, with the Bearer of the Gilded Mace Yuan Pang as his assistant, and was sent against Beigong Boyu. The General of the Household [of the East] Dong Zhuo was made General Who Routs the Caitiffs and was ordered, with Zhou Shen the General Who Terrifies Criminals, to act under Zhang Wen's command.

O In the ninth month, the Specially Advanced [Marquis] Yang Ci became Excellency of Works. In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *gengyin* [4 Nov?], Yang Ci died. He had been marquis of Linjin, and his posthumous title was Brilliant Cultivation.²³

K *HHJ* 25:2b.

L *HHS* 8:351 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

²² This plague of locusts is not recorded in the relevant section of the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 105/15:3319.

M *HHS* 71/61:2304-05 (4b-5a), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

N *HHS* 8:351 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *HHS* 72/62:2320 (1b-2a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

O *HHS* 54/44:1785 (18a-b), the Biography of Yang Ci,
and *HHS* 8:352 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Ling, with commentary.

²³ *ZZTJ* and *HHS* 8 agree that Yang Ci was appointed Excellency of Works in the ninth month and died in the tenth month. The tenth month of this year, however, began on a *bingshen* day (cyclical 33), and could not have included a *gengyin* day (cyclical 27).

The Household Counsellor Xu Xiang became Excellency of Works; he was a son of Xu Xun.

P The Counsellor Remonstrant Liu Tao sent in a memorial to say, "A short time ago the empire suffered the disorders of Zhang Jue, and since then we have the rebellion of Bian Zhang on our hands. Now the rebel Qiang from [196] the west have already attacked Hedong, and I am afraid they may grow strong enough to attack the capital itself. Our people think only of running to escape death; they have no intention of standing to fight for their lives. As the rebels in the west continue to advance, the Chariots and Cavalry General [Zhang Wen] is isolated and in serious danger. Should he be defeated, there would be no way to rescue him.

"Though I realise I may cause you displeasure by speaking too much about this, I feel I must give you my opinion. When the state is at peace, a minister may enjoy the good fortune, but when danger approaches he should be willing to sacrifice himself. I respectfully resubmit these eight immediate and urgent points."

In the rest of the document, he presented a general argument that the troubles of the empire all came from the eunuchs.

The eunuchs spoke against Liu Tao: "When the Zhang Jue business arose, imperial edicts displayed your majesty and grace, and since that time all rebels have repented. Now the world is at peace, yet Liu Tao casts a slur upon your sage-like government and takes it upon himself to speak heresy and evil. There have been no reports from the provinces or commanderies, so where does Liu Tao get his information? He is probably in league with the rebels."

Liu Tao was arrested and sent to the Northern Prison of the Yellow

The Qing dynasty commentator Qian Daxin suggests that the identification of the month has been misplaced in the chronicle, and that the *gengyin* day referred to was that of the ninth month. That day was equivalent to 4 November.

Yang Ci had been dismissed from his position as Grand Commandant in the summer of the previous year, but he was later granted a marquisate: passage K of Zhongping 1. According to his biography in *HHS* 54/44:1784, he returned to office as Director of the Imperial Secretariat and was then offered appointment as Minister of Justice; this latter, however, he declined.

Since he was out of office, and held a fief as a marquis, Yang Ci could have been required to leave the capital and reside at his nominal estates. The status of Specially Advanced, however, permitted him to continue at court and maintain his lodging at Luoyang.

P *HHS* 57/47:1849-51 (8a-9b), the Biography of Liu Tao.

Gates, where he was questioned every day with steadily increasing torture. He said to the messengers, "I regret that I cannot match the performances of Yi Yin of Shang nor Lü Shang of Zhou; it seems my lot resembles the three virtuous men of Yin."²⁴

- 1881 "Now above the emperor kills those ministers who give honest advice, and below he causes suffering and distress to the people. If this goes on much longer, it will be too late to repent." He choked and died.

The former Excellency over the Masses Chen Dan was a loyal and upright man, but the eunuchs hated him. They slandered him and he died in jail.

- Q Zhang Wen led more than a hundred thousand men, horse and foot collected from several different commanderies, and set his camp at Meiyang. Bian Zhang and Han Sui also brought their troops to Meiyang, and Zhang Wen fought with them there, but he often failed to gain the advantage.[197]

In the eleventh month Dong Zhuo combined forces with Bao Hong of Youfufeng to attack Bian Zhang and Han Sui. They thoroughly defeated them, and Bian Zhang and Han Sui fled to Yuzhong.²⁵

Zhang Wen sent Zhou Shen to pursue the rebels with thirty thousand men. Sun Jian, Adviser to the Army,²⁶ said to Zhou Shen,

²⁴ Yi Yin 伊尹 was the great minister and counsellor of King Tang 湯, founder of the Shang 商 dynasty. Lü Shang 呂尚 was a great minister of kings Wen 文 and Wu 武, founders of the Zhou 周 dynasty.

At the end of the Shang 商/Yin 殷 dynasty there were three worthy ministers who were prepared to remonstrate with the wicked last ruler, King Zhou 紂. *Lun yu* XVIII.1; Legge, *CC I*, 331 (Lau, *Analects*, 149):

The Viscount of Wei 微子 withdrew from the court. The Viscount of Ji 箕子 became a slave [and jester to King Zhou]. Bigan 比干 remonstrated with him [King Zhou] and died. Confucius said, "The Yin dynasty possessed these three men of virtue."

According to legend, the Viscount of Ji, or Jizi 箕子 [Korean: Ki-ja], travelled to the lands of Korea, where he became the ancestor of the marquises of Chaoxian 朝鮮: Gardiner, *Early History of Korea*, 9-11.

Q *HHS* 72/62:2320 (2a-b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

²⁵ Yuzhong county in Jincheng commandery was in the vicinity of present-day Lanzhou in Gansu.

²⁶ *ZZTJ* here has the characters *can junshi* 參軍事, a title which appears frequently towards the end of Han and during the Three Kingdoms period. It is discussed briefly, as *canjun*, in *JS* 24:740. The commentary of Hu Sanxing quotes Du You, compiler of *Tong dian*, who suggests at 189/3 that this is an early reference to the office; and *HHS* 72/62 would appear to support that interpretation.

"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 their supply routes. If you, my general, follow with the main body of the army, the enemy will be in distress and will not dare to fight. They will run away to the Qiang; then we can join forces to attack them and all Liang province will be settled." Zhou Shen would not agree, but led his whole army to besiege Yuzhong city. Bian Zhang and Han Sui sent soldiers out to camp at Ku Yuan Gorge,²⁷ and they cut Zhou Shen's supply lines instead. Taking fright, Zhou Shen abandoned his baggage train and fled.

Zhang Wen also sent Dong Zhuo forward with thirty thousand men to attack the Xianlian Qiang, but the Qiang and other barbarians from the north surrounded him north of Wangyuan.²⁸ His supplies were cut off and running low. There was a river crossing nearby, and he built a dam there as if he planned 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, the dammed-up stream was so deep that there was no way to cross. He made his way back to [You]fufeng.²⁹

In the biography of Sun Jian in *SGZ* 46/Wu 1:1905, however, we are told that Zhang Wen recommended Sun Jian *yu* 與 *can jun shi*, which may be translated as "to take part in the affairs of the army." So Sun Jian was a member of Wen's staff, but *can junshi* was not necessarily an official military title at this time.

Besides this, *Tong dian* as cited above, and also the *Tong zhi* of Zheng Qiao at 693/2, both refer to the appointment of Tao Qian 陶謙 as *can junshi* under Zhang Wen about this time, and they cite the biography of Tao Qian in *SGZ* 8:247. Here too, however, though it is certainly possible that Zhang Wen was the first to appoint officials with this style, the text may better be read as a sentence rather than as a formal title.

²⁷ *ZZTJ* here follows *HHS* 72/62, but *SGZ* 46/Wu 1:1098-99 PC quotes the *Shanyang gong zaiji* of the Jin dynasty historian Yue Zi, recording comments of Dong Zhuo on this campaign, which has the name as Caiyuan 蔡園. There is no way to tell which is correct, and the place cannot now be precisely identified, though it was presumably a pass on the upper reaches of the Wei River.

²⁸ Wangyuan county in Hanzhong commandery is now northwest of Tianshui in Gansu.

²⁹ *HHS* 72/62 remarks that Dong Zhuo was the only commander who managed to keep his forces intact after this unhappy offensive; and we may note that he had also played a leading role in the initial success at Meiyang.

In these circumstances, the following passage R, which records advice alleged to have been given to Zhang Wen by the staff officer Sun Jian, makes little sense. One is inclined to regard it as a fictional anecdote, devised by hagiographers of Wu, to enhance their hero's reputation for perspicacity. See deC, *Northern Frontier*, 156-157.

1882

R Zhang Wen sent orders by imperial authority to summon Dong Zhuo, but Dong Zhuo delayed a long time before he went. Zhang Wen reprimanded him, but Dong Zhuo answered back. Sun Jian came forward and whispered to Zhang Wen, "Dong Zhuo has no concern that he may be punished, so he acts proud and talks big. Because he failed to respond to your summons in time, you should execute him according to military law." Zhang Wen said, "Dong Zhuo has a fine reputation in all the territory between the Yellow River and the Long Mountain.³⁰ If I kill him now, we shall have no support when our army moves to the west."

Sun Jian said, "Your excellency, you are the leader of an imperial army and your authority makes the empire tremble. Why must you rely on Dong Zhuo? Look at the way he speaks: he does not even pretend to courtesy towards you. He treats his superiors lightly and has no sense of respect. This [198] is one crime. Bian Zhang and Han Sui have defied the law for more than a year and now is the time to advance and punish the rebels, yet Dong Zhuo says we cannot go. He delays the army and makes the people uncertain. This is a second crime. Dong Zhuo holds an official position but has nothing to show for it, he waited a long time before he answered your summons, he acts with disrespect and holds himself high. This is the third crime.

"The famous leaders of the past were given an axe to rule their armies, and any of them would cut off a man's head if it served his purpose.³¹ Yet now you extend consideration to Dong Zhuo and refrain

From another point of view, we may observe in the records of this period a number of occasions when Dong Zhuo is cast in a bad light. To a considerable degree, this is surely a result of later opinion that he was the usurper who brought down the dynasty of Han, so that some historians sought opportunity to show the early signs of his wicked character, and others found incidents to demonstrate how a particular individual was perspicacious in his distrust and distaste for the future tyrant.

R SGZ 46/Wu 1:1095, the Biography of Sun Jian.

³⁰ Zhang Wen is referring to the eastern part of Liang province, beyond the reach of the Yellow River about present-day Lanzhou. Long Mountain lies north of the Wei River, and was on the border of Sili and Liang. A man from Longxi commandery, Dong Zhuo had served some thirty years as a fighting man on the frontier, he was admired for his physical strength, and he was well known and respected by the local Chinese and by the Qiang.

³¹ An axe (鉞 *yue*) was the ancient symbol of military authority; see, for example, the *Mu shi* 牧誓 "The Speech at Mu" Chapter of *Shu jing*, V.2, 1; Legge, CC III, 300 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 29), where King Wu of Zhou 周武王 carries a golden (or

from punishing him. This is where you will lose and destroy the authority of the law."

Zhang Wen could not bear to act like that, and he said to Sun Jian, "Go back, or Dong Zhuo will get suspicious." So Sun Jian left the hall.³²

- S In this year the emperor built the Hall of Ten Thousand Gold Pieces in the Western Garden. He brought gold and cash and silk from the Ministry of Finance to store it there,³³ and he deposited several tens of millions of cash with the Attendants at the Yellow Gates and Regular Attendants. In Hejian he bought land and houses and built a pleasure palace for himself.³⁴[199]

yellow) battle-axe as he addresses his army. According to the commentator Song Zhong 宋衷 of the third century, a commander granted the battle-axe had authority to execute on his own initiative; Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 24-29, particularly at 28.

- 32 On the doubtful validity of this story, see note 29 above.

S *HHS* 78/68:2536 (20a), the Biographies of Zhang Rang and Zhao Chong in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

- 33 On the establishment in 178 of the Western Quarters office in the Western Garden as a place for the collection of revenue paid personally to the emperor, see passage M of Guanghe 1. The Hall of Ten Thousand Gold Pieces is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 78.

The Minister of Finance was the public treasurer of the empire: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 43 [as Grand Minister of Agriculture]. See also Bielenstein's comments at 47 on the fusion of financial functions under Later Han and the opportunity this gave for such embezzlement by Emperor Ling.

- 34 Hejian was the home country of Emperor Ling before he was brought to the throne.

Zhongping 中平 3: 186 AD

7 February 186 - 26 January 187

A In the spring, in the second month, Zhao Ci, a soldier in Jiangxia, led a mutiny and killed the Administrator of Nanyang, Qin Jie.

On the day *gengxu* [24 Mar] there was an amnesty for the empire.

B The Grand Commandant Zhang Yan left office. A messenger was sent to Chang'an with a Staff of Authority to appoint Zhang Wen as Grand Commandant. This was the first time one of the Three Excellencies had held his appointment outside the capital.¹

C The Regular Attendant Zhao Zhong was named General of Chariots and Cavalry, and the emperor ordered him to recommend those who had done good work in the wars against the Yellow Turbans.

Zhen Ju, the Bearer of the Mace, said to Zhao Zhong, "Fu Nanrong was with the armies in the east and did well, but he never received a fief. Many people in the empire were discouraged that such a man failed to gain recognition. Now you, my general, hold a most important post. You should bring this worthy man to notice and right the wrong that has been done him. That is the sort of thing that people like to see."

1883 Zhao Zhong accepted this idea, and he sent his younger brother Zhao Yan, who was Colonel of the City Gates, to present his compliments to Fu Xie and say to him, "Fu Nanrong, just make a bit of response to my brother, and a marquissate with ten thousand households is yours."

Fu Xie, looking very serious, turned him down, "If I did well and no one noticed, that is simply a matter of luck. But how can I seek a reward by under-hand means?"

Zhao Zhong was extremely angry, but he was afraid of Fu Xie's reputation and dared not harm him. Fu Xie was sent out to be

A *HHS* 8:352 (13a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

B *HHS* 8:352 (13a), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *HHS* 72/62:2321 (2a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

¹ When Zhang Wen was first appointed General of Chariots and Cavalry to command against the rebels from Liang province, he left his position as Excellency of Works and it was taken over by Yang Ci: passages N and O of Zhongping 2. Now, however, while still serving as a general in the west, he was appointed Grand Commandant, more senior of the Three Excellencies.

C *HHS* 58/48:1876-77 (8b-9a), the Biography of Fu Xie.

Administrator of Hanyang.

- D The emperor ordered the Prefect of the Palace Gardens Song Dian to repair the Jade Hall in the Southern Palace, and he set the Prefect of the Lateral Courts Bi Lan to cast four bronze statues and four bells; both officers were issued with two thousand *hu* of grain.[200]²

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 Gate of Tranquillity to bring water into the palace. He had chain pumps and a thirsty crow set up at the west of the bridge, to spray water 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.³

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- D *HHS* 78/68:2537 (20b), the Biography of Zhang Rang and Zhao Zhong in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

² A *hu* 斛, sometimes rendered as "bushel," was a measurement of capacity equivalent to a *shi* 石, a quantity just under twenty litres. As Two Thousand *shi* was the rank/salary of a minister, it appears that Song Dian and Bi Lan each received a full year's salary in a single payment.

³ The Gate of Tranquillity (*Ping men* or 平城門 *Ping chengmen*) was the main gate in the south wall of Luoyang, leading directly to the Southern Palace: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 23. On the water-works of Bi Lan, see also Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 32-33.

Heavenly Deer (天祿 *tianlu*) are described as similar to ordinary deer, but with long hair and only one horn; they were a canting sign of good fortune.

Needham, *Science and Civilisation* IV:2, 345 and 358, suggests that the deer and the frogs (蝦蟆 *hama*) were *noria*, worked by human power, as it is unlikely the current in the moat on the southern side of the city was strong enough to lift the water required. Needham understands *tianlu* as "Heavenly Pay-off" and *hama*, which he reads as *xiamu*, as "Spread-eagled Toad;" he suggests the term may indicate some form of gear-wheel.

Bielenstein discusses the constructions at *Lo-yang*, 32 and 109 notes 132 to 135. Though he agrees that they were probably *noria*, he interprets them as made in the form of animals, and suggests that the mouths of the deer and the frogs were the nozzles of fountains.

The phrase *fan che* 翻車 is interpreted by Needham as a square-pallet chain pump. The "thirsty crow" (渴烏 *kewu*) is traditionally described as a form of syphon, but in this context it was probably some form of suction-lift pump.

Both *HHS* 8 and *HHS* 78/68 say that the machines included devices for spraying the streets (灑道 *sa dao*), but both Bielenstein and Needham understand the phrase as simply a general term for distributing water. Similarly, both identify the phrase *nanbei jiaolu* 南北郊路 as referring to the main roads of the walled city. In his discussion of the lay-out of the city, however, at *Lo-yang*, 41-45, Bielenstein observes that the major avenues were normally described as *jie* 街, while *lu* were lesser roads. In these circumstances, the term *jiaolu* would refer better to the streets *lu* of the suburbs *jiao*; it

E In the fifth month on the day *renchen*, last of the month [4 Jul], there was an eclipse of the sun.⁴

In the sixth month the Inspector of Jing province Wang Min attacked Zhao Ci and killed him.

The General of Chariots and Cavalry Zhao Zhong left office.

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

Slandered by the eunuchs, the former Grand Commandant Zhang Yan was sent to prison and died.

In the twelfth month the Xianbi raided the two provinces You and Bing.

F Zhang Wen was recalled to the capital.[201]

is likely that the chief thoroughfares of the walled city had already some facility for settling dust, and Emperor Ling's project extended it to the suburbs.

E *HHS* 8:353 (13a-b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

⁴ This eclipse is listed by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 106/16:3370. It is identified as Oppolzer 3340, and is mapped in Stephenson and Houlden at 215b.

Sima Biao offers no prognostication for this eclipse, but the Commentary of Liu Zhao quotes from the *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, which says that an eclipse on a *renchen* day indicates that there will be great floods and mist, and influence of the power of *Yin*.

Zhongping 中平 4: 187 AD

27 January 187 - 14 February 188

1884

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *jimao* [16 Feb], there was an amnesty for the empire.

In the second month some bandits of Rongyang killed the magistrate of Zhongmou.¹ In the third month the Intendant of Henan, He Miao, attacked and destroyed them. He was appointed General of Chariots and Cavalry.

B Han Sui killed Bian Zhang, Beigong Boyu and Li Wenhou, took over their troops so that he commanded more than a hundred thousand men, and went forward to besiege the headquarters of Longxi commandery. The Administrator, Li Xiangru, rebelled against Han and made an alliance with Han Sui.

C Geng Bi the Inspector of Liang province led the troops of six commanderies to attack Han Sui. Geng Bi had appointed Cheng Qiu as his Headquarters Officer, but Cheng Qiu was in league with a gang of profiteers and extortioners, and all the gentry and common people hated him.²

Fu Xie the Administrator of Hanyang said to Geng Bi, "Commissioner, you do not have great experience in administration, and the people are not yet accustomed to you. When the rebels hear your powerful army is approaching, they will unite against you. Men from the border country are excellent fighters, and it will be hard to match their attacks. In contrast, our men have been called up only recently, and the officers and soldiers are not used to one another. If some trouble should appear within our ranks it will be too late for regrets.

"The best thing is to let the army halt for a time and build up morale. Make your rewards clear and your punishments certain. When you take pressure off the rebels in such a fashion, they are sure to say

A *HHS* 8: 352-53 (13b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

¹ Rongyang and Zhongmou were counties in Henan commandery, Rongyang by present-day Yingce, and Zhongmou by present-day Zhongmou, both in Henan province.

B *HHS* 72/62:2321 (2b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

C *HHS* 58/48:1877-78 (9a-10a), the Biography of Fu Xie.

² The Headquarters Officer of a province (治中從事 *zhizhong congshi*) was a local man but a close associate of the Inspector. He was responsible for appointments to office and recommendations of candidates to the imperial capital: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 92 [as Attendant Clerk for the Bureau of Headquarters].

to themselves that we are afraid of them. Such evil men will certainly struggle for power, and they will soon be quarrelling amongst themselves. When that happens, you will be leading people who know what they are fighting for against a thoroughly disorganised enemy. You need only sit and wait for success to come." Geng Bi would not accept his advice.[202]

In the summer, in the fourth month, as Geng Bi came to Didao his Attendant Officer led a mutiny and joined the rebels.³ They killed Cheng Qiu first and then they killed Geng Bi.

The rebels now came forward to attack Hanyang. There were few soldiers and no reserves of food in the city, but Fu Xie held firm.⁴

At this time, there were several thousand barbarian horsemen from Beidi who had joined the rebels and were now involved in the siege. They had been well-treated by Fu Xie in the past, and they came and made the kowtow outside the walls of the city, asking him to accept their escort back to his native village.

Fu Xie's son Fu Gan, 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 to maintain defence; you should accept the invitation of these Qiang and other tribespeople and go back to our homeland. Wait until a worthy man appears, and then join him."

1885 Even before he had finished speaking, Fu Xie 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.⁵ Zhou of Yin was cruel and tyrannical, yet Boyi died for him because he could not eat the millet of the conquering Zhou dynasty.⁶ I have met a time of disorder and I cannot fulfil my true ambition. I have taken his salary, so how can I seek to avoid his time of danger? Where else can I go? I must die

³ Didao, by present-day Lintao in Gansu, was the chief county of Longxi commandery.

The Attendant Officer of a province (別駕從事 *biejia congshi*) was a senior local appointee who accompanied the Inspector on tour: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 92 [as Aide-de-Camp].

⁴ The capital of Hanyang commandery was at Ji 冀, south of present-day Gangu in Gansu..

⁵ From *Zuo zhuan*, Cheng 15; Legge, *CC V*, 388 (Couvreur, *Chronique II*, 116):
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.

⁶ On Boyi, see note 19 to Yongkang 1. Fu Xie cites him as example of a man who remained true to his allegiance, even though the sovereign to whom he gave his loyalty was personally unworthy of such respect.

here! You have talent and understanding; I hope you will do your best. My Registrar, Yang Hui, shall act as my Cheng Ying."⁷

Wang Guo, a man of Didao, sent the former Administrator of Jiuquan Huang Yan to say to Fu Xie, "The empire is gone forever from the government of Han. Magistrate, would you be prepared to become our leader?" Fu Xie put hand to his sword and shouted at Huang Yan, "You, an official with a seal, have become the messenger-boy for a gang of rebels!" He led out his soldiers in a charge, and died in the thick of the fray.

- D Ma Teng of [You]fufeng, who had been Major under Geng Bi, also led his troops in rebellion, and he joined forces with Han Sui. With Wang Guo as their leader, they plundered the Three Adjuncts.[203]
- E Because the bandits and rebels had not been pacified, the Grand Commandant Zhang Wen left office. The Excellency over the Masses, Cui Lie, was made Grand Commandant. In the fifth month the Excellency of Works Xu Xiang became Excellency over the Masses and the Minister of the Imperial Household Ding Gong of Pei kingdom became Excellency of Works.
- F Before this, Zhang Wen had raised three thousand shock cavalry from among the Wuhuan of You province to use them in Liang province.⁸ The former Chancellor of Zhongshan, Zhang Chun of Yuyang, asked to be given the command, but Zhang Wen turned him down and appointed the magistrate of Zhuo, Gongsun Zan of Liaoxi.

When the army reached Ji,⁹ the Wuhuan found that no supplies had

⁷ *SJ* 43:1783-85; Chavannes, *MH* V, 19-22, tells how Cheng Ying 程嬰 preserved the posthumous heir of the noble Zhao 趙 family after the head of the clan had been assassinated. In the same fashion, Yang Hui was to act as the guardian of Fu Gan.

D *HHS* 72/62:2321 (2b-3a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

E *HHJ* 25:4b.

F *HHS* 73/63:2353 (1a), the Biography of Liu Yu; and *SGZ* 8:239, the Biography of Gongsun Zan; and *HHJ* 25:5a-b.

⁸ The Wuhuan tribespeople of the northeast had regularly served as auxiliaries and mercenaries with the armies of Later Han: see, for example, deC, *Northern Frontier*, 387-391.

⁹ The Ji 薊 county referred to here is the capital of Guangyang commandery in You province, by present-day Beijing. It must be distinguished from the Ji 冀 county which was the capital of Hanyang in Liang province, by present-day Gangu in Gansu: note 4 above.

been issued, and many of them deserted and went back home.

- 1886 Annoyed not to have been given the command, Zhang Chun made alliance with Zhang Ju, a man from the same commandery, who had at one time been Administrator of Taishan, and with a chieftain of the Wuhuan, Qiuliju. Together they attacked Ji, killing Gongqi Chou the Protector of the Wuhuan, Liu Zheng the Administrator of Youbeiping, and Yang Zhong the Administrator of Liaodong. Their forces now numbered more than a hundred thousand and they set their base at Feiru.¹⁰ Zhang Ju was proclaimed emperor, while Zhang Chun took the titles of General Who Governs the Universe and King of Peace and Settlement.¹¹ They sent a letter to the provinces and commanderies to say that Zhang Ju was destined to succeed the Han, and that the Son of Heaven should leave his place and send his excellencies and ministers to welcome the new ruler.
- G In the winter, in the tenth month, the bandit Ou Xing of Changsha took title as a general. He commanded an army of more than ten thousand men. An edict appointed the Consultant Sun Jian as Administrator of Changsha, and he attacked the bandits and pacified them. Sun Jian was enfeoffed as Marquis of Wucheng.¹²
- H In the eleventh month the Grand Commandant Cui Lie left office. The Minister of Finance Cao Song was made Grand Commandant.¹³ [204] In the twelfth month the Chuge barbarians rebelled.¹⁴

The city of Ji in Guangyang had evidently been nominated as assembly place for the Wuhuan troops, and once they had a first taste of the supply problems they had little difficulty in breaking ranks and returning to their home county on the northern borders.

- 10 Feiru county in Liaoxi commandery was north of present-day Lulong in Hebei.
- 11 It is possible that the phrase *anding* 安定 represents a place-name, but it seems more likely to have been a slogan. On this rebellion, see also deC, *Northern Frontier*, 399.
- G SGZ 46/Wu 1:1095, the Biography of Sun Jian.
- 12 The county of Wucheng was in Wu commandery, south of the Tai Lake near present-day Huzhou in Zhejiang.
- H HHS 8:355 (14a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.
- 13 Cao Song, adopted son of the eunuch Cao Teng and father of the future warlord Cao Cao, was very wealthy, and certainly paid heavily for his appointment: see passage M to Guanghe 1 and G to Zhongping 2. He held the office, however, for less than six months: passage E to Zhongping 5.
- 14 The Chuge or Xiuchuge people, whose name appears in varying forms and pronunciations, were a clan of the Xiongnu who rose to particular prominence about

In this year secondary marquises were sold for five million cash.

- I Chen Shi, former magistrate of Taiqiu, died. More than thirty thousand men came from every part of the empire to attend his funeral.¹⁵

In his own village, Chen Shi dealt 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 have Master Chen despise you."

When Yang Ci and Chen Dan were appointed as excellencies and ministers, and officials all paid them respects, they would sigh that Chen Shi was the man worthy of the highest positions, and they were ashamed to take precedence over him.[205]

this time: see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 321, 351-352 and 529 note 3, also notes 16 to Yanxi 1 and 6 to Xiping 3.

I *HHS* 62/52:2066-67 (14a-b), the Biography of Chen Shi.

15 Taiqiu county in Pei is now Yong in Henan. Chen Shi had served as a magistrate in a number of counties, but had been involved in the First Faction Incident of 166-167. Because he had shown courtesy to the leading eunuch Zhang Rang, however, he and many colleagues escaped punishment after the fall of Dou Wu and Chen Fan in 169: passage Y of Jianning 2. Chen Shi, however, remained in retirement and refused later invitations to office.

CHAPTER 59

*being Chapter 51 of the Chronicle of Han
and Part 3 of the reign of Emperor Ling*

Zhongping 中平 5: 188 AD

15 February 188 - 3 February 189

1887

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *dingyou* [29 Feb], there was an amnesty for the empire.

In the second month there was a comet in the Purple Palace Enclosure.¹

Some remnants of Yellow Turban rebels under Guo Da made a rising at Bobo valley in Hexi.² They ravaged Taiyuan and Hedong commanderies.

In the third month the Chuge barbarians attacked and killed Zhang Yi, the Inspector of Bing province.

B Observing the many difficulties of the imperial house, the Minister of Ceremonies Liu Yan of Jiangxia put forward a proposal: "There are soldiers and bandits in every direction, but since the authority of the Inspectors is too slight they have no means to deal with them. Moreover, as unworthy men are appointed to office, there is further cause for rebellion. The office of Inspector should be changed to Governor, and strong ministers of good reputation should be selected

A *HHS* 8:355 (14a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

¹ This comet (星孛 *xing bo*) is also recorded in the Treatise of Astronomy at *HHS* 102/12, 3260.

The Purple Palace (紫宮 *Zigong*), also known as the Enclosure of Purple Subtlety (紫微垣 *Ziwei yuan*), is a broad circle of stars extending over the Western Draco, Ursa Major and Cameleopardus: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 67-71 and Star Map 1.

This comet is said to have appeared first in the Kui lunar mansion 奎宿, being Mirach and other stars of Andromeda and Pisces: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 103 and Star Map 5. It then travelled by retrograde motion into the region of the Purple Palace. It was visible for sixty days.

The Purple Palace is identified with the imperial palace. The prognostication of this comet in the Treatise relates it to the change of ruler and the collapse of the dynasty that followed the death of Emperor Ling in the following year.

² The commentary of Hu Sanxing notes that *Hexi* 河西 here is miswritten for the commandery of Xihe. The Bobo valley 白波谷 is east of present-day Fencheng in Shanxi. Based on the meaning of the character 波, the name of this bandit group is sometimes rendered as "White Wave," but that is probably an over-translation.

to occupy these posts."

1888 For himself, Liu Yan hoped to be appointed Governor of Jiaozhi, but the Palace Attendant Dong Fu of Guanghan spoke to him privately and said, "The capital district will fall into disorder, and the region of Yi province has omens of the Son of Heaven."³ So Liu Yan changed his plans and asked for Yi province.

About this time Que Jian, the Inspector of Yi province, was causing unrest by his levies for government service, and reports were heard far off. Then Geng Bi and Zhang Yi were killed by bandits; and so the court followed Liu Yan's advice. They chose men of ministerial rank and from the Imperial [206] Secretariat to be Governors of provinces, each to hold office according to his original salary.

1889 Liu Yan was made Governor of Yi province, the Minister Coachman Huang Wan became Governor of Yu province, and the Minister of the Imperial House Liu Yu of Donghai became Governor of You province. The importance of office in the provinces begins from this.⁴

C Liu Yan was a descendant of the Respectful King of Lu, and Liu Yu was a grandson in the fifth generation from the Respectful King of Donghai. Liu Yu had previously been Inspector of You province, the barbarians and the people had admired his grace and honesty, and so he was given the post. Dong Fu and the Prefect of the Grand Granary Zhao Wei both left their offices and followed Liu Yan into Shu.

D An edict ordered that troops of the Southern Xiongnu be sent to help

B *HHS* 75/65:2431 (1a-2a), the Biography of Liu Yan.

³ The commentary of Hu Sanxing here includes a long extract from the work of Cai Yong, taken from his work of detailed commentary, *Yueling zhangju* 月令章句 "The Monthly Ordinances [Chapter of *Li ji*] Arranged by Chapters and Sentences", of which there is an account in *JS* 11:307-09; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 113-115. The "Starfield System," identifying portions of the sky with regions and provinces of the empire and making prognostications upon that basis, is discussed by Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 121-125.

⁴ The system of Governors, with full authority over the commandery units of each province, had been used for a time by Former Han: deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 59-60. This, however, was the first occasion it was introduced by Later Han. Though the change can be dated from these initial appointments, not all provinces were affected, and many regions still had Inspectors, with more limited control over local administration.

C *HHS* 75/65:2431 (1a-2a), the Biography of Liu Yan; and *HHS* 73/63:2353-54 (1a-b), the Biography of Liu Yu.

Liu Yu attack Zhang Chun, and the Shanyu Qiangqu sent the Worthy King of the Left to lead cavalry into You province. The people of the kingdom were afraid there would be no end to the levy of soldiers, and for this reason the Xiluo of the Right Division rebelled,⁵ joined the Chuge barbarians, more than a hundred thousand men altogether, and attacked and killed Qiangju. The people of the kingdom set up his son the worthy King of the Right Yufuluo as Zhizhi shizhuhou Shanyu.

E In the summer, in the fourth month, the Grand Commandant Cao Song left office.

In the fifth month the Steward of the Palace of Perpetual Joy Fan Ling of Nanyang became Grand Commandant.

In the sixth month he left office.

F Ma Xiang, Zhao Zhi, and other bandits of Yi province raised troops at Mianzhu, styled themselves Yellow Turbans, and killed the Inspector Que Jian. They went on to attack Ba commandery and Jianwei, and within a few weeks they had defeated and destroyed the forces of three commanderies. Their army was several ten thousand men, and Ma Xiang called himself Son of Heaven.

Jia Long, an Assistant Officer of the province, led officers and people to attack Ma Xiang and the others. After several days the rebels were defeated and fled, the territory of the province was at peace, and Jia Long collected his troops to receive Liu Yan.[207]

1890 Liu Yan shifted his administration to Mianzhu, settled the unrest, and was careful to act generously and to obtain the support of the people.

G Seven of the commanderies and kingdoms had great floods.⁶

D *HHS* 89/79:2964-65 (18b-19a), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

⁵ The Xiluo clan inhabited the western part of the Xiongnu territory under general Chinese supervision. The commentary of Hu Sanxing suggests that they were connected to the royal house of the Shanyu, and had taken the name from the dynastic title Xiluo shizhu di 醯落尸逐鞬, held by the first Southern Shanyu Bi 比 in the mid-first century: *HHS* 89/79:2939 and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 233.

On this rebellion, see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 347, and on the Chuge group see note 16 to Yanxi 1.

E *HHS* 8:355-56 (14b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

F *SGZ* 31/Shu 1:866, the Biography of Liu Yan.

G *HHS* 8:356 (14b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

⁶ These floods are recorded also in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 105/15:3312, though the Treatise refers to only six commanderies or kingdoms. The commentary of

H Chen Yi, son of the former Grand Tutor Chen Fan, met the master of astrology Xiang Kai at the residence of Wang Fen the Inspector of Ji province. Xiang Kai said, "The stars are unfavourable to the eunuchs. All the Yellow Gates officers and the Regular Attendants will surely be destroyed." Chen Yi was glad of it.⁷

Wang 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 counties and they needed to raise troops.

At this time the emperor was planning a tour of the north to his old home in Hejian. Wang Fen and his fellow conspirators planned to intercept the party with their soldiers, kill all the Regular Attendants and the officers of the Yellow Gates, then depose the emperor and set the Marquis of Hefei upon the throne.⁸

They told the Consultant Cao Cao about their plan. Cao Cao 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:

Liu Zhao, however, notes that the *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shansong lists seven, being Shanyang, Liang, Pei, Pengcheng, Xiapi, Donghai and Langye. The flooding was thus most severe in the south of the North China plain, between the Yellow River and the Huai.

H SGZ 1:4, the Biography of Cao Cao;
and SGZ 1:4 PC quoting the *Jiuzhou Chunqiu* of Sima Biao;
and SGZ 1:4-5 PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen.

7 This is a late reference to Xiang Kai, the man who sent in memorials against the government of Emperor Huan more than twenty years earlier: passage S of Yanxi 9 and deC, *Portents of Protest*, particularly at 95-96 note 84. He is described here as *shushi* 術士, a general reference to his understanding of the occult.

Chen Fan was the ally of Dou Wu overthrown and killed by the eunuch coup of 168: passage K of Jianning 1.

8 The city of Hefei was north of present-day Hefei in Anhui. The marquisate had been granted to Jian Xin 堅鐔, a supporter of Emperor Guangwu in the early years of Later Han. Only four successors are recorded after Jian Xin's death in 50 AD, the last being his great-grandson: *HHS* 22/12:783-84.

So although there may have been a Marquis of Hefei in 188, we may assume that the Jian 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.

This plot and Cao Cao's potential involvement, as below, is discussed by deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 40-41. The idea that an unknown marquis from a distant region could be a successful figurehead to replace the emperor seems quite impracticable, and there must be uncertainty as to how much, if any, of the story is true.

they were Yi [Yin] and Huo [Guang].

"Yi Yin and Huo Guang both acted honestly and with complete loyalty, they held position as chief ministers and so controlled the government, and they acted in accordance with the wishes of the people. For these reasons they were able to calculate their following and carry out the enthronement.⁹

"Now you are considering only the easy points of the past and you do not appreciate the difficulties of the present. So you plan to do something out of the ordinary and you are confident of success. Isn't that dangerous?"

I Wang Fen also discussed his plans with Hua Xin and Taoqiu Hong of Pingyuan. Taoqiu Hong was prepared to join, but Hua Xin stopped him, saying, "A coup such as this is a great matter, even Yi Yin and Huo Guang found it difficult. Wang Fen is an ineffectual fellow, and no fighting man. He is sure to fail." So Taoqiu Hong gave up the idea.[208]

J About this time, in the middle of the night there was a red emanation which stretched across the northern sky from east to west. The Court Astronomer sent in a memorial, "There is a secret plot in the north. The emperor should not travel there." So he did not go.

Wang Fen was ordered to disband his soldiers, and was recalled to the capital soon afterwards. Becoming frightened, he abandoned his seal and ribbon of office and fled. When he reached Pingyuan he killed himself.

K In the autumn, in the seventh month, the Colonel of the Archers Who Shoot at a Sound Ma Midi became Grand Commandant. Ma Midi was a descendant of Ma Rong.

In the eighth month there were established for the first time the eight

⁹ Yi Yin was chief minister to Tang, first ruler of the Shang dynasty. After the death of Tang, the Heir Taijia 太甲 displayed inadequate virtue. Yi Yin therefore sent him from the palace to reside near the tomb of the late king for the whole period of mourning; Taijia was thus reformed. See part 1 of the "Taijia" chapter of *Shu jing*; IV.5A; Legge, CC III, 199-204.

On Huo Guang, chief minister during Former Han, who deposed the heir Liu He from the imperial position and gave his place to Emperor Xuan, enforcing an abdication, see, for example, note 13 to Zhongping 1, also Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 66-79, and *Cambridge China I*, 182-184: Loewe, "The Former Han dynasty."

I SGZ 13:401, the Biography of Hua Xin.

J SGZ 1:4 PC quoting the *Jiuzhou Chunqiu* of Sima Biao.

Colonels of the Western Garden:

- 1891 the Attendant of the Yellow Gates Jian Shi was Colonel of the First Army;
 the General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger Yuan Shao was Colonel of the Second Army;
 the Colonel of the Garrison Cavalry Bao Hong became Colonel of the Third Army;
 the Consultant Cao Cao became Colonel Who Arranges the Army;
 Zhao Rong became Colonel on the Left Assisting the Army;
 Feng Fang became Colonel on the Right Assisting the Army;
 the Counsellor Remonstrant Xia Mou became Colonel of the Left;
 Chunyu Qiong became Colonel of the Right.

All were under the command of Jian Shi.¹⁰

From the time of the Yellow Turban rebellion the emperor had paid attention to military affairs. Jian Shi 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.

- L In the ninth month the Excellency over the Masses Xu Xiang left office, the Excellency of Works Ding Gong was made Excellency over the Masses, and the Minister of the Imperial Household Liu Hong of Nanyang became Excellency of Works.

The Minister of the Guards Dong Zhong, Marquis of Tiao, was appointed General of Agile Cavalry. Dong Zhong was the son of the

K *HHS* 8:356 (14b), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
 and *HHS* 8:356, commentary quoting the *Shanyang gong zaiji* of Yue Zi;
 and *HHS* 69/59:2246-47 (6b-7a), the Biography of He Jin.

10 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that he has preferred the list of titles of these colonels as given by *Shanyang gong zaiji* to that of *HHS* 69/59. Similarly, he disregards the main text of *HHS* 74/64A:2375, the Biography of Yuan Shao, which gives his title as Colonel Supporting the Army (佐軍校尉 *zuojun xiaowei*), while commentary again quotes *Shanyang gong zaiji*, with the same text as in *HHS* 8. Cf., however, *HHS* 58/48:1882, the Biography of He Xun, and *HHS* 103/13:3270, the Treatise of the Five Powers, which both give the title of Yuan Shao's commission as Colonel Supporting the Army. As the Qing commentator Hui Dong observes, at *HHSJJ* 74/64A:2a, there is a variety of different versions of these titles.

On these commissions, see also Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 78. As he remarks, this special force was very likely financed from the emperor's personal treasury maintained in the Western Garden. It appears to have been designed as an imperial private army and, as we see below, supreme command was given to a eunuch.

elder brother of the Dowager of Perpetual Joy.¹¹

In the winter, in the tenth month, the Yellow Turbans of Qing and Xu provinces made another rising, and ravaged commanderies and counties.[209]

M Those who studied the ethers¹² considered that the capital district would have great military affairs, and that the two palaces would flow in blood.¹³

The emperor sought to avoid this. He made a great levy of soldiers from all directions and held manoeuvres by the Lodge of Tranquil Joy. A great platform was set up, with twelve ceremonial umbrellas on top, each a hundred feet high. Northeast was a smaller platform, with nine 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 *jiazi* [22 Nov] the emperor himself came out to the army and stood below the great umbrellas, while the General-in-chief He Jin took place below the smaller umbrellas. Wearing armour and riding a mailed horse, the emperor was hailed as "General Supreme". He went about the army three times, then came back and

L *HHS* 8:356 (14b-15a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

11 The Lady Dong, Dowager of the Palace of Perpetual Joy, was the natural mother of Emperor Ling: note 2 to Jianning 2. The information concerning Dong Zhong's relationship to her – he was thus a first cousin of Emperor Ling – and his enfeoffment comes from *HHS* 10B:447.

M *HHS* 69/59:2246-47 (16b), the Biography of He Jin.

12 Though the term *wang qi* 望氣 may be taken as a general term for observation of ominous signs, I interpret it here as referring to the ceremony of "Watching the Ethers," normally expressed as *hou qi* 候氣. A ceremony held each season, it is discussed by Bodde in his article on "The Chinese Cosmic Magic known as Watching for the Ethers."

The theory was that variations of the *Yin* and *Yang* forces from one month to the other during the year could be seen through the expulsion of ashes from one or more of twelve pipes, arranged in musical tones and set into the earth. In practical terms, no such phenomenon could take place, but it was a subject of considerable interest at the end of Later Han, and it is discussed in *HHS* 91/1:3014-15, the Treatise on Pitchpipes and the Calendar. The description of the ritual in this text is ascribed to Cai Yong. From general discussion, it appears that the observers were supposed to be able to ascertain the quality of the government – and the procedure may be seen as another occasion for indirect criticism of current policies.

13 The "two palaces" are the Northern Palace and the Southern at Luoyang.

handed the soldiers over to He Jin.¹⁴

N The emperor asked the Colonel Who Exterminates the Caitiffs He Xun,¹⁵ "If I practice for war like this, what do you think of it?" He Xun 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. This is no way to show bravery; it is simply wasted effort."

"Excellent," said the emperor. "I am sorry you did not come earlier, for not one of my ministers has said this to me before."

1892 He Xun said to Yuan Shao, "His majesty is intelligent, but he is deceived by those about him." He made plans with Yuan Shao to kill the favourites. Jian Shi became concerned about this, and he sent He Xun away to serve as Intendant of Jingzhao.

O In the eleventh month Wang Guo besieged Chencang.¹⁶ An edict ordered that Huangfu Song be appointed once more as General of the Left, to take command over the General of the Van Dong Zhuo, combining their forces to oppose Wang Guo with forty thousand men.

P As Zhang Chun and Qiuliju plundered in the four provinces of Jing, Xu, You and Ji, an edict ordered the Commandant of Cavalry Gongsun Zan to attack them. Gongsun Zan fought them at Shimen in the Dependent State.¹⁷ Zhang Chun and his forces were completely defeated, and Zhang Chun abandoned his wife and children and fled across the border. [210] All the men and women whom he had kidnapped were recovered.

Without waiting for reinforcements, Gongsun Zan advanced deep

14 The Lodge of Tranquil Joy, in the western suburbs of Luoyang, is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 61, who refers also to this great review of troops by Emperor Ling. The date is given by *HHS* 8:356.

N *HHS* 58/48:1881-82 (12a), the Biography of He Xun.

15 He Xun had earlier been Administrator of Hanyang: passage EE of Zhongping 1. His biography explains that he had retired from that office and was later given this colonel's command.

O *HHS* 71/61:2305 (5b), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

16 Chencang county was in Youfufeng, east of present-day Baoji in Shenxi.

P *HHS* 73/63:2358 (4b-5a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan.

17 On the position of the Dependent State of Liaodong, which I have argued occupied the valley of the Bolang 白狼 "White Wolf" River, now known as the Daling, see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 39 and 460-465 note 53, and *Imperial Warlord*, 232-235. Commentary to *HHS* 73/63 explains Shimen 石門 as the name of some hills of the Song Ling range, near present-day Chaoyang in Liaoning.

into enemy territory; but then the tables were turned and he was besieged at Guanzi fortress in Liaoxi by Qiuliju and his army.¹⁸ Over two hundred days, with his army scattered and his supplies exhausted, five or six out of ten of his officers and men died.

Q Dong Zhuo said to Huangfu Song, "The situation of Chencang is extremely perilous, I ask permission to go quickly to its relief."

"No," said Huangfu Song. "One may fight a hundred battles and be victorious one hundred times, but it is far better to make the other man's soldiers surrender without fighting. Though Chencang is small, its defences are strong and in good order; it will not be easy to capture. Wang Guo is strong, but when he has attacked Chencang and failed to take it, his army will certainly be in low spirits. When they are discouraged, we shall attack them. That is the way to complete success. Why would you relieve the city?"

Wang Guo attacked Chencang for more than eighty days, but was unable to capture it.[211]

¹⁸ The site of this stronghold cannot be identified, though it was very likely in the mountain country of the Song Ling between the present-day Daling River and the seacoast of the Gulf of Liaodong.

Q *HHS* 71/61:2305 (5a-b), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

Zhongping 中平 6: 189 AD

4 February 189-22 February 190¹

A In the spring, in the second month Wang Guo's army was discouraged and exhausted. As he raised the siege and set off, Huangfu Song sent his men to attack him.

"You cannot do that," argued Dong Zhuo. "By the rules of warfare, a desperate bandit is not pressed, a retreating army is not pursued."

"No," replied Huangfu Song. "At first I did not attack because I wanted to avoid their early strength. Now I attack to take advantage of their weakness. What I am attacking is an army that is discouraged, not an army that is in retreat.

1893 "Moreover, Wang Guo's army is running away and his men have no intention of fighting. With disciplined troops we strike at confused ones; this is no matter of desperate bandits."

He went on alone to attack them, leaving Dong Zhuo as rear-guard. In a series of engagements he completely defeated them, cutting off some ten thousand heads. Dong Zhuo was ashamed and angry, and he now had a grudge against Huangfu Song.²

¹ In this one calendar year three reign-titles were proclaimed:

In the fourth month, on the day *wuwu* [15 May], after the death of Emperor Ling and the accession of his eldest son Liu Bian, the year was proclaimed as the first of the Guangxi 光熹 period: *HHS* 8:357.

In the eighth month, on the day *xinwei* [25 September], after the massacre of the eunuchs and the return of the Emperor to the capital under the control of Dong Zhuo, the reign-title was changed to Zhaoning 昭寧: *HHS* 8:359.

In the ninth month, on the day *jiayu* [28 September], after the deposition of the young Emperor and his replacement by Liu Xie, future Emperor Xian, the title was changed to Yong-Han 永漢: *HHS* 9:367.

Finally, in the intercalary twelfth month, on the day *wuxin* [19 February 190], three days before the end of the Chinese year, the previous reign-titles were all cancelled and the year was again calculated as the sixth of the Zhongping 中平 period: *HHS* 9:369.

A *HHS* 71/61:2305 (5b), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

² 窮寇勿迫，歸衆勿追。According to the commentary to *HHS* 71/61, Dong Zhuo is here quoting from the *Sima bingfa* 司馬兵法 (also known as *Sima fa*) being the book of the art of war ascribed to Sima Rangju 司馬穰苴 of the fifth century BC: note 50 to Zhongping 1. These aphorisms are missing from the present-day text of that work, but they do appear in slightly different form in *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法 7: 歸師勿遏...窮寇勿迫; Minford, *Art of War*, 211-212: note 21 to Yanxi 4.

B *HHS* 72/62:2321-22 (3a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

C *HHS* 73/63:2354 (1b-2a), the Biography of Liu Yu; and *SGZ* 8:240, the Biography of Gongsun Zan.

B Han Sui and the other leaders deposed Wang Guo and forced the former magistrate of Xindu, Yan Zhong of Hanyang, to take overall command of their forces. Then Yan Zhong took ill and died, and Han Sui and the others struggled for power and began to kill one another. So they were gradually weakened.

C Liu Yu, Governor of You province, arrived in his territory and sent messengers with warnings to the Xianbi. He demanded they send the heads of Zhang Ju and Zhang Chun; they would be well rewarded. Qiuliju and his allies were glad to hear that he had come. Each sent messengers and then they all went back home. As their followers surrendered or scattered, Zhang Ju and Zhang Chun fled across the frontier.

Liu Yu sent in a memorial that all the troops in camp should be disbanded, leaving only Gongsun Zan, Colonel Who Brings the Caitiffs to Surrender, with command of ten thousand horse and foot in Youbeiping.

In the third month Wang Zheng, a retainer of Zhang Chun, killed Zhang Chun and sent his head to Liu Yu. Gongsun Zan wanted to destroy the Wuhuan completely, but Liu Yu planned to bring them to submit through generosity and good faith. So there was enmity between him and Gongsun Zan.[212]

D In the summer, in the fourth month on the day *bingzi* [miswritten for *bingwu*, 3 May], first of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.³

The Grand Commandant Ma Midi left office. Messengers were immediately sent to appoint Liu Yu, the Governor of You province, as Grand Commandant, and he was enfeoffed as Marquis of Rongqiu.⁴

D *HHS* 8:357 (15b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

³ This eclipse is listed in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 106/16:3371. It is identified as Oppolzer 3347, and is mapped in Stephenson and Houlden at 216a.

Both *HHS* 8 and *HHS* 106/16 give the day as *bingwu* 丙午, which was indeed the first day of the fourth month of this year. *ZZTJ* has confused the two characters *zi* 子 and *wu* 午.

Sima Biao remarks that the emperor died ten days after this eclipse.

⁴ Like Zhang Wen in 186 (passage B of Zhongping 3), Liu Yü held the office of Grand Commandant while stationed outside the capital. He continued to serve as Governor of You province.

Under Former Han, Rongqiu had been a county in Donghai (*HS* 28A:1588, the Treatise of Geography), but it does not appear in the Treatise of Administrative Geography of Later Han. The city had evidently lost its county status at the beginning

E Jian Shi hated the General-in-Chief He Jin, and with all the Regular Attendants he urged the emperor to send He Jin west to attack Han Sui. The emperor agreed.

He Jin learnt privately of the plot, and he sent in a memorial that Yuan Shao should be sent to collect the soldiers of the two provinces of Xu and Yan. This was a means to delay, because Yuan Shao had to return before he himself went to the west.

F Before this, several of the emperor's children had died young. When the Empress He gave birth to a son Liu Bian, he was brought up at the house of a Taoist named Shi Zimiao, and he was called Lord Shi.⁵

1894 The Beauty Wang had given birth to a son Liu Xie. The Dowager Dong brought him up herself, and he was called Lord Dong.

G All the ministers asked that an Heir should be named. In the emperor's opinion, Liu Bian was frivolous and lacked dignity, and he was thinking of awarding the succession to Liu Xie, but he had made no final decision.⁶ About this time he became very ill, and he entrusted Liu Xie to the care of Jian Shi.

of the restored dynasty, but it had probably been re-established by the time Liu Yü was awarded the territory as a fief.

E *HHS* 69/59:2247 (7a), the Biography of He Jin.

F *HHS* 10B:449-50 (10a), the Biography of the Empress He of Emperor Ling, with commentary quoting the *Xiandi Chunqiu* of Yuan Ye.

5 Though 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 elsewhere for a time hope that they might escape it. In similar fashion, about 100 AD the infant sons of Emperor He were removed from the palace for safe-keeping; only the Empress – later Dowager – Deng, knew where they were: *HHS* 10A:421.

Nothing more is known of Shi Zimiao.

G *HHS* 69/59:2247 (7a), the Biography of He Jin.

6 Though it was common for the Heir to be the eldest son of the emperor by his chief wife, during his lifetime the ruler had undisputed authority to designate whichever of his sons he preferred. Should he die without formally naming an heir, however, that authority descended upon his empress, now dowager: note 31 to Yongkang 1.

On the birth of Liu Xie and the murder of his mother the Lady Wang, see passage G of Guanghe 4.

HHS 10B:540 records that Emperor Ling mourned the death of the Lady Wang and composed a Rhapsody Reflecting upon Virtue (追德賦 *Zhuidé fu*) and a Hymn to Excellent Conduct (令義頌 *Lingyi song*) in her memory. Tang commentary to *HHS* 9:367 quotes from the *Hou Han ji* of Zhang Fan, which says that Emperor Ling believed the boy looked like himself, and chose the name Xie 協 for him, with the meaning "resembles me."

H On the day *bingchen* [13 May] the emperor died in the Hall of Excellent Virtue.⁷

H *HHS* 8:357 (15b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

⁷ The Hall of Excellent Virtue was in the Southern Palace: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 25.

HHS 8 says that Emperor Ling was thirty-four *sui*. He was therefore born in Yongshou 2, generally equivalent to 156 AD. See also note 37 to Yongkang 1.

FINDING LIST

of texts identified as sources for *Zizhi tongjian* 54-59

"Passages" of the text are identified in the left-hand margin of the translation, and the annotations contain "Finding Notes:" identifications of the sources which Sima Guang used as the basis for that passage. This list presents a summary of those notes.

Each passage is identified in abbreviated form: thus Ys3C refers to passage C of the text and translation for the third year of the Yongshou period. Similarly,

Yx indicates the Yanxi period	Yk the Yongkang period
Jn the Jianning period	Xp the Xiping period
Gh the Guanghe period	Zp the Zhongping period.

The sources identified are listed by chapters of *Hou Han shu* [HHS] and other early texts, with comments by Sima Guang and other scholars.

From the *Hou Han shu* of Fan Ye:

HHS 7: Ys3A, Ys3B, Ys3D, Ys3F, Yx1A, Yx1D, Yx1C, Yx2A, Yx2C, Yx2M, Yx2O, Yx2Q, Yx2R, Yx2AA, Yx2II, Yx2JJ, Yx2KK, Yx3A, Yx3C, Yx3G, Yx3J, Yx4A, Yx4C, Yx4D, Yx5A, Yx5C, Yx5E, Yx5G, Yx5I, Yx5K, Yx6A, Yx6C, Yx6E, Yx7M, Yx7O, Yx7R, Yx8A, Yx8C, Yx8G, Yx8H, Yx8M, Yx8N, Yx8O, Yx8R, Yx8S, Yx8W, Yx8Y, Yx9A, Yx9C, Yx9E, Yx9G, Yx9GG Yk1C, Yk1E, Yk1K, Yk1Q, Yk1T

HHS 8: Yk1V Jn1A, Jn1C, Jn1E, Jn1J, Jn1W, Jn2A, Jn2C, Jn2I, Jn2M, Jn2S, Jn2GG, Jn3A, Jn3C, Jn3D, Jn4A, Jn4C, Xp1C, Xp1F, Xp1K, Xp1L, Xp2A, Xp3A, Xp3C, Xp3D, Xp3E, Xp4A, Xp4D, Xp5A, Xp5C, Xp6A, Xp6C, Xp6F, Gh1A, Gh1C, Gh1F, Gh1H, Gh1J, Gh1M, Gh2A, Gh2C, Gh2I, Gh2K, Gh2N, Gh3A, Gh3B, Gh3C, Gh4A, Gh4B, Gh4C, Gh4E, Gh5A, Gh5C, Gh5E, Gh6A, Gh6C, Zp1B, Zp1C, Zp1F, Zp1J, Zp1K, Zp1L, Zp1N, Zp1T, Zp1Y, Zp1Z, Zp1AA, Zp1GG, Zp2A, Zp2G, Zp2H, Zp2J, Zp2L, Zp2N, Zp2O, Zp3A, Zp3B, Zp3E, Zp4A, Zp4H, Zp5A, Zp5E, Zp5G, Zp5K, Zp5L, Zp6D, Zp6H

HHS 10B: Yx2B, Yx2P, Yx2BB, Yx8G, Yk1U, Jn1O, Jn2B, Jn2D, Jn3D, Jn4B, Xp1D, Gh1G, Gh3B, Gh4G, Zp6F

HHS 16/6: Yx7T

HHS 19/9: Yx2G

HHS 25/15: Yx8BB

HHS 30/20B: Yx9S

HHS 31/21: Xp1I, Zp1U, Zp2C

HHS 34/24: Yx2E, Yx2E, Yx2F, Yx2D, Yx2I, Yx1B, Yx2L, Yx2N

HHS 37/27: Gh5F

HHS 38/28: Yx5B, Yx5D, Yx5F, Yx5I, Yx6B, Yx7N, Yx8K, Yx8R, Yk1O, Gh3F

HHS 41/31: Yx2QQ, Yx2NN, Yx2PP

HHS 42/32: Yx4C

HHS 44/34: Yx2M, Xp1A

HHS 45/35: Yx2W, Yx6F, Jn2AA, Jn2DD

HHS 48/38: Yx2SS, Yx8X

HHS 51/41: Yx1F, Yx1J, Gh1B

HHS 52/42: Gh1M, Zp2G

HHS 53/43: Yx2Z, Yx2U, Yx2Y, Yx2V, Yx6I, Yx7D, Yx7I, Jn2EE

Finding List

- HHS 54/44*: Yx2MM, Yx2OO, Yx6F, Yx7Q, Yx8D, Yx8P, Jn2H, Gh1D, Gh1N,
Gh2E, Gh3D, Gh6E, Zp1K, Zp2O
- HHS 55/45*: Xp1J
- HHS 56/46*: Yx1K, Yx8R, Yx8V, Xp1E, Gh2M
- HHS 57/47*: Ys3E, Yx2FF, Yx8F, Yx8Q, Jn2G, Gh5B, Gh6F, Zp2P
- HHS 58/48*: Zp1S, Zp1EE, Zp2I, Zp3C, Zp4C, Zp5N
- HHS 60/50B*: Xp4B, Xp6D, Gh1E
- HHS 61/51*: Yx2M, Yx2S, Yx2HH, Yx7A
- HHS 62/52*: Yx9B, Yx9BB, Jn2Y, Zp4I
- HHS 63/53*: Yx3B, Zp1BB
- HHS 64/54*: Yx3E, Yx8B, Yk1M, Jn1G, Gh1I, Zp1W
- HHS 65/55*: Yx1H, Yx2LL, Yx3F, Yx3K, Yx4F, Yx4H, Yx5B, Yx5L, Yx6G, Yx6H,
Yx8T, Yx9D, Yx9G, Yx9EE, Yx9II, Yk1A, Yk1B, Yk1D, Yk1R, Jn1D, Jn1I,
Jn1L, Jn1V, Jn2F, Jn2K, Jn3B, Xp1H
- HHS 66/56*: Yx2MM, Yx2RR, Yx6D, Yx8U, Yx8X, Yx8Z, Yx9M, Yx9O, Yx9R,
Yx9U, Yx9DD, Jn1B, Jn1H, Jn1K, Jn1T, Zp1HH
- HHS 67/57*: Yx2T, Yx8L, Yx8AA, Yx9H, Yx9I, Yx9J, Yx9K, Yx9L, Yx9N, Yx9P,
Yx9U, Yx9W, Yx9X, Yx9Y, Yx9Z, Yx9AA, Yx9CC, Yx9FF, Yk1F, Yk1H,
Yk1I, Yk1K, Yk1L, Jn1N, Jn2N, Jn2P, Jn2Q, Jn2R, Jn2S, Jn2U, Jn2W, Jn2X,
Jn2Z, Xp5B, Gh2J, Zp1E, Zp1Q
- HHS 68/58*: Yx7C, Yx7D, Yx7F, Yx7G, Yx7H, Yx7J, Yx7K, Yx8I, Jn1Q, Zp1R
- HHS 69/59*: Yx7P, Yx7S, Yx8X, Yx9HH, Yk1G, Yk1V, Jn1F, Jn1K, Jn1M, Jn1S,
Jn1U, Gh3B, Zp1C, Zp5K, Zp5M, Zp6E, Zp6G
- HHS 70/60*: Jn2V
- HHS 71/61*: Gh4B, Gh6D, Gh6G, Zp1A, Zp1C, Zp1D, Zp1F, Zp1M, Zp1O, Zp1T,
Zp1V, Zp1Z, Zp1CC, Zp1FF, Zp1GG, Zp2E, Zp2F, Zp2M, Zp5O, Zp5Q, Zp6A
- HHS 72/62*: Yk1S, Zp1X, Zp1Z, Zp1DD, Zp2N, Zp2Q, Zp3B, Zp3F, Zp4B, Zp4D,
Zp6B
- HHS 73/63*: Zp4F, Zp5C, Zp5P, Zp6C
- HHS 74/64A*: Jn2BB
- HHS 75/65*: Jn2CC, Zp5B, Zp5C
- HHS 76/66*: Yx4B, Yx4E, Yx7L, Yx8N
- HHS 77/67*: Xp6B, Gh1L, Gh2D, Gh2F
- HHS 78/68*: Yx2J, Yx2Q, Yx2DD, Yx2JJ, Yx2CC, Yx3C, Yx8E, Yx9P, Yx9Q,
Jn1F, Jn1R, Jn2HH, Jn3G, Xp1G, Gh2D, Gh2G, Gh2H, Gh4F, Gh4H, Zp1E,
Zp1G, Zp1I, Zp2B, Zp2D, Zp2S, Zp3D
- HHS 79/69A*: Xp4A
- HHS 80/70A*: Yx2H
- HHS 81/71*: Xp6G, Zp1H
- HHS 85/75*: Jn2II
- HHS 86/76*: Ys3B, Yx3H, Yx3I, Yx5H, Jn3E, Gh3E, Gh4B, Gh5D
- HHS 87/77*: Yx4G
- HHS 88/78*: Jn1X, Jn3F, Xp4E
- HHS 89/79*: Yx1E, Yx1G, Yx1I, Xp1M, Gh1O, Gh2L, Zp5D
- HHS 90/80*: Yx9JJ, Jn1Y, Xp3D, Xp6E, Gh1K, Gh4D

from the commentary of Li Xian to the *Hou Han shu* of Fan Ye:

Yk1J, Zp2O

from Treatises of the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao, as appended to the *Hou Han shu* of Fan Ye:

Finding List

HHS 98/8: Yx9F
HHS 107/17: Yk1P

from other fragments of the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao: Yx7C

from the *Hou Han ji* of Yuan Hong:

HHJ 22: Yx2X, Yx7B, Yx7I, Yx8B, Yx8D

HHJ 23: Yx7C, Yx7D, Yx7E, Yx7H, Yx7J, Jn1F, Jn1P, Jn2D, Jn2E, Jn2O, Jn2P,
Jn2T

HHJ 24: Xp5B, Gh6B, Zp1GG

HHJ 25: Gh1M, Zp2K, Zp4E, Zp4F

from the *Sanguo zhi* of Chen Shou:

SGZ 1, the Biography of Cao Cao: Zp1P, Zp5H

SGZ 8: Zp1Y, Zp2F, Zp4F, Zp6C

SGZ 13: Zp5I

SGZ 31 (Shu 1): Zp5F

SGZ 46 (Wu 1): Xp1K, Xp3B, Gh6D, Zp1GG, Zp2R, Zp4G

from texts quoted in the commentary of Pei Songzhi to:

Dian lue by Yu Huan: Zp1Y

Jiuzhou chungiu by Sima Biao: Zp2F, Zp5H, Zp5J

Wei-Jin shiyu by Guo Song: Zp1R

Wei shu by Wang Shen: Zp5H

Yitong zayu by Sun Sheng: Zp1R

from other works:

Dongguan Hanji: Yx2M

Fengsu tongyi by Ying Shao: Jn2J

Hou Han shu by Hua Qiao: Gh1B

Hou Han shu by Xie Cheng: Yx2Y, Xp1A

Lingdi ji by Liu Ai: Zp1Y

Shanyang gong zaiji by Yue Zi: Gh1M, Zp5K

Comments by Sima Guang: Jn2L, Jn2FF, Xp4C

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of works cited in the Notes to the Translation

The Bibliography was originally compiled in 1989. Some more recent works have been cited in the new edition and are included below.

Common abbreviations:

BMFEA *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* [*Ostasiatiska Samlingarna*], Stockholm

Cambridge China I

Twitchett and Loewe [eds], *The Cambridge History of China: Volume I, The Ch'in and Han Empires*

CC Legge, *The Confucian Classics*

ESWSBB *Ershiwu shi bubian* 二十五史補編

HJAS *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*

PFEH *Papers on Far Eastern History*, Australian National University, Canberra

QJHHS *Qijia Hou Han shu* 七家後漢書

SBY *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 collection

SBCK *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 collection

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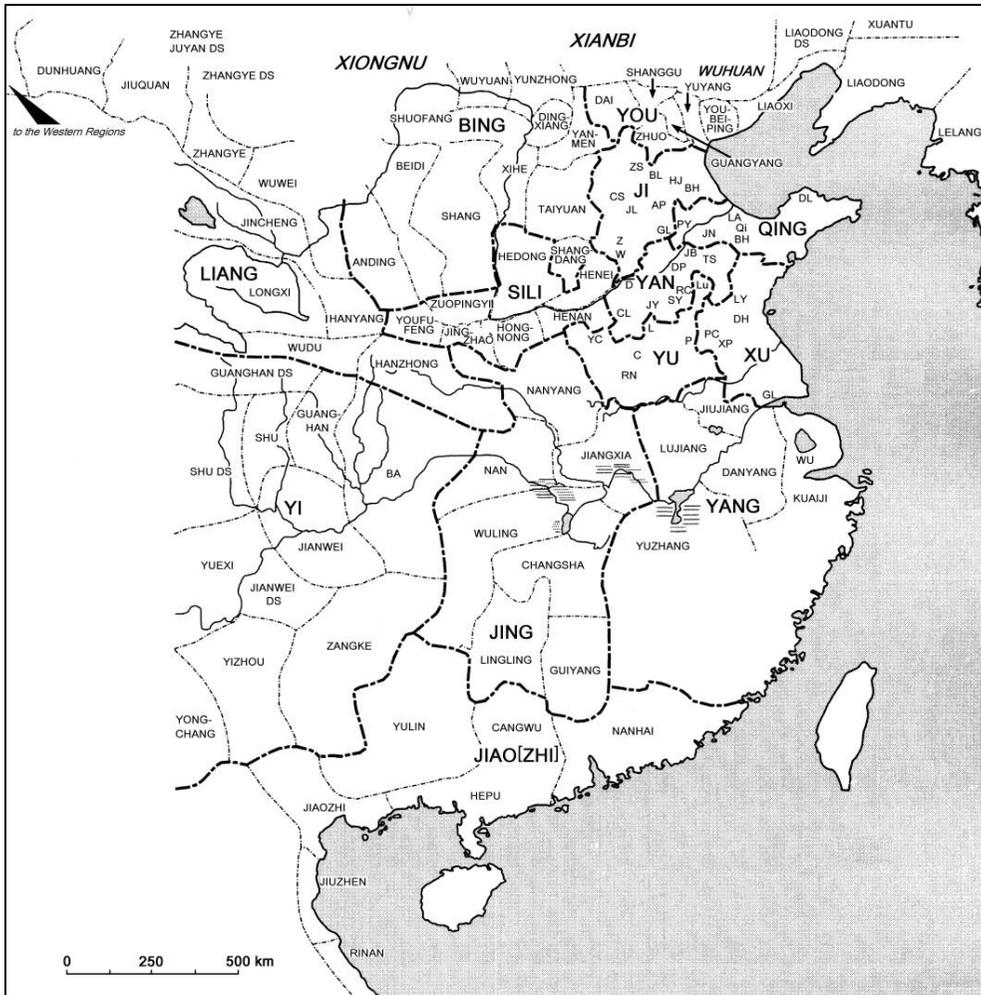
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BH	Bohai	DL	Donglai	D	Dong commandery
BL	Boling	JN	Ji'nan	DP	Dongping
CS	Changshan	LA	Le'an	JB	Jibei
GL	Ganling	PY	Pingyuan	JY	Jiyin
HJ	Hejian	QI	Qi	RC	Rencheng
JL	Julu			SY	Shanyang
W	Wei			TS	Taishan
Z	Zhao				
ZS	Zhongshan				
		Xu province		Yu province	
		DH	Donghai	C	Chen
		GL	Guangling	L	Liang
		LY	Langye	Lu	Lu
		PC	Pengcheng	P	Pei
		XP	Xiapi	RN	Runan
				YC	Yingchuan