TO ESTABLISH PEACE
Internet edition 2003

VOLUME 2
being the Chronicle of the Later Han dynasty
for the years 201 to 220 AD
as recorded in Chapters 64 to 69 of the Zizhi tongjian of Sima Guang
translated and annotated by Rafe de Crespigny

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FOREWORD
to the Internet edition 2003

Since the hard-copy of *To Establish Peace* is now out of print, and is easily available only through specialist libraries, it seems appropriate to offer the text in electronic form to those who may be interested in the history of the Three Kingdoms, perhaps the most tumultuous and romantic of all Chinese history. I have other work at [http://www.anu.edu.au/asianstudies/decrespigny/](http://www.anu.edu.au/asianstudies/decrespigny/), and I have also placed Volume 1 of *To Establish Peace* at that site.

In the presentation below, the original English-language of the 1996 edition has been preserved, with a few minor corrections, but the requirements of the internet have compelled a number of changes in format.

Firstly, no characters are included. There are, however, detailed references to Chinese works, and those wish to do further research and checking should have no difficulty in identifying the relevant texts. Given the convenience of searching electronic documents, moreover, I have not included an index.

Second, rather than running heads to show the chapter or year on each page, at intervals and throughout the notes I indicate in the margin the year which is under consideration: thus *Ja 6: 201* means that the text is rendering the chronicle for the first year of Jian'an, roughly equivalent to 201 AD.

Third, annotations are not provided as footnotes, but appear as additions to the text, in a smaller font, at the end of each annual chronicle. Reference points are indicated by full-size numbers in the body of the main text.

Other technical details from the hard–back edition are explained in the introductory material to Volume 1.

Subject to these alterations and a few amendments, the present document gives the original text of the 1996 translation of the chronicle from 201 to early 220 AD.

Rafe de Crespigny
Canberra
October 2003
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD to the Internet edition of Volume 2  
LIST OF MAPS  
CHRONOLOGY 201–220 AD  

**TRANSLATION AND NOTES**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER 64</th>
<th>pages of the 1996 edition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 6:</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 7:</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 8:</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 9:</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 10:</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 11:</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 12:</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 13:</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 14:</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 15:</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 16:</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 17:</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 18:</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 19:</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 20:</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 21:</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 22:</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 23:</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jian'an 24:</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huangchu 1:</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BIBLIOGRAPHY of works cited in the Notes  

Part I: Early Chinese texts included in Volume 1  
Part II: Modern texts included in Volume 1
FINDING LIST of texts identified as sources for *Zizhi tongjian* 59–69
LIST OF MAPS

[Maps do not have quite the same numbers, nor the same titles, as in the 1996 edition.]

Map 01  The Later Han empire in 189 AD [duplicate from volume 1] immediately below

Map 02 to Map 13  see volume 1

Map 14  Ji province 191–205 before Jian’an 7

Map 15  Southern Bing province and Hedong 201–206 before Jian’an 8

Map 16  Cao Cao in the northeast 206–207 before Jian’an 12

Map 17  The Red Cliffs campaign 208 before Jian’an 13

Map 18  The lower Yangzi 208–220 before Chapter 66

Map 19  The lower Wei valley 211 before Jian’an 16

Map 20  The provinces re-arranged by Cao Cao 213 before Jian’an 18

Map 21  Western China 211–220 before Chapter 67

Map 22  Operations about Hanzhong 215–220 before Chapter 68

Map 23  Jing province 210–220 before Jian’an 19

Map 24  The decisive campaigns 219–222 before Chapter 69

Map 01: The Later Han Empire in 189 AD

This map shows the provinces, commanderies, kingdoms and dependent states about 189, at the time of the death of Emperor Ling. For the generality of the empire, commandery units are shown with their boundaries, but in the North China plain they are indicated by the sites of their capitals, with abbreviated names as listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ji province</th>
<th>Qing province</th>
<th>Xu province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AP Anping</td>
<td>BH Beihai</td>
<td>DH Donghai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BH Bohai</td>
<td>DL Donglai</td>
<td>GL Guangling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BL Boling</td>
<td>JN Ji’nan</td>
<td>LY Langye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CS Changshan</td>
<td>LA Le’an</td>
<td>PC Pengcheng</td>
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<tr>
<td>GL Ganling</td>
<td>PY Pingyuan</td>
<td>XP Xiapi</td>
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<tr>
<td>HJ Hejian</td>
<td>QQi</td>
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<tr>
<td>JL Julu</td>
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<tr>
<td>W Wei</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z Zhao</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZS Zhongshan</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Yan province</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>CL Chenliu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>D Dong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP Dongping</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Yu province</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
On the northern and western frontiers, **DS** indicates a dependent state.

Notes to Map 01:
When Emperor Ling came to the throne in 169 the commandery of Hongnong was renamed Hengnong to avoid taboo on his personal name. The variant form, however, seldom appears.

The commanderies of Han'an, divided from Youfufeng, and Nan'an, from the northern part of Hanyang, were short-lived establishments designed to deal with different stages of the rebellion in Liang province from 184: de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 494–495 notes 35 and 37.

The administrative headquarters of Anding, Beidi, Shang, Shuofang and Xihe had been withdrawn from their frontier regions during disturbances of the Xiongnu in the early 140s. Though the commanderies were formally maintained on the map, Chinese imperial authority in the Ordos was now very slight: *e.g.* Northern Frontier, 310–311.

A commandery named Gaoxing or Gaoliang was established from the eastern part of Hepu in the far south about 170, but appears to have been abandoned in the early 180s: *e.g.* de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 36.

Apart from these and a few lesser changes of names and boundaries, the official geography of China at the death of Emperor Ling was essentially the same as at the time of the census during the reign of Emperor Shun about 140 AD. In the years of civil war from 189, however, a multitude of new commanderies and administrative units were established by one warlord of another, too many and too contradictory to be reflected in a general map. The regional maps which accompany this translation reflect local changes where appropriate, and an excellent overall summary is provided by the *Sanguo junxian biao* of Wu Zengjun, supplemented by Yang Shoujing.
CHAPTER 64

Jianan 6: 201
Liu Bei flees to Liu Biao in Jing province 2041

Jianan 7: 202
Yuan Shao dies, succeeded by his youngest son Shang 2044

Jianan 8: 203
Cao Cao defeats the Yuan brothers, then withdraws 2048
Yuan Tan asks Cao Cao for help against Yuan Shang 2050
Sun Quan attacks Huang Zu in Jiangxia, destroying his fleet 2052

Jianan 9: 204
Cao Cao besieges Ye city 2053
Cao Cao defeats Yuan Shang and captures Ye 2055
Cao Cao turns against Yuan Tan 2057
Gongsun Du dies in Liaodong, succeeded by his son Kang 2057

Jianan 10: 205
Cao Cao destroys Yuan Tan 2060
Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi flee to the Wuhuan in Liaoxi 2060
Cao Cao drives the Wuhuan across the frontier 2061

CHAPTER 65

Jianan 11: 206
Cao Cao defeats Gao Gan and settles Bing province 2066

Jianan 12: 207
Cao Cao defeats the Wuhuan at White Wolf Mountain 2070
Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi are killed by Gongsun Kang 2073

Jianan 13: 208
Sun Quan destroys Huang Zu 2078
Cao Cao becomes Imperial Chancellor of Han 2079
Cao Cao attacks Liu Biao in Jing province 2080
Liu Biao dies and his son Cong surrenders to Cao Cao 2082
Sun Quan makes an alliance with Liu Bei to oppose Cao Cao 2092
Zhou Yu and the allied army defeat Cao Cao at the Red Cliffs 2093

CHAPTER 66

Jianan 14: 209
Sun Quan attacks Hefei without success 2098
Sun Quan's forces capture Jiangling and Nan commandery 2098
Jianan 15: 210
death of Zhou Yu 2102
Liu Bei occupies the south of Jing province 2103

Jianan 16: 211
Cao Cao defeats Han Sui, Ma Chao and the warlords of Liang province at the battle of Huayin 2108
Liu Zhang invites Liu Bei into Yi province 2110

Jianan 17: 212
Cao Cao attacks Sun Quan 2118
Liu Bei turns against Liu Zhang 2118

Jianan 18: 213
Cao Cao returns to Ye, leaving no-man's land south of the Huai 2118
Cao Cao enfeoffed as Duke of Wei 2119
Ma Chao is driven from Liang province and joins Zhang Lu 2123

CHAPTER 67

Jianan 19: 214
Xiahou Yuan destroys the warlords of Liang province 2126
Liu Zhang surrenders to Liu Bei, who takes over Yi province 2128
Cao Cao kills the Empress nee Fu and two imperial children 2134

Jianan 20: 215
Cao Cao's daughter become Empress 2135
Sun Quan attacks Liu Bei's territory in Jing province 2136
Liu Bei cedes Changsha, Jiangxia and Guiyang to Sun Quan 2138
Cao Cao attacks Zhang Lu in Hanzhong 2138
Zhang Lu surrenders to Cao Cao 2142

Jianan 21: 216
Cao Cao becomes King of Wei 2144

CHAPTER 68

Jianan 22: 217
Cao Cao attacks Sun Quan 2148
Sun Quan makes formal surrender, Cao Cao withdraws 2149
Cao Cao names Cao Pi as his heir 2150

Jianan 23: 218
Liu Bei moves against Hanzhong 2155

Jianan 24: 219
Liu Bei defeats Xiahou Yuan and occupies Hanzhong 2157
Liu Bei proclaims himself King of Hanzhong 2159
Guan Yu defeats Cao Cao's forces in Jing province and besieges Cao Ren in Fan city 2161
Lü Meng leads the forces of Wu to attack Jing province behind Guan Yu 2168
Guan Yu is destroyed, and Sun Quan takes the middle Yangzi 2170

CHAPTER 69
Huangchu 1: 220
Cao Cao dies at Luoyang 2175
TO ESTABLISH PEACE
CHAPTER 64
being Chapter 56 of the Chronicle of Han
[containing Part 6 of the reign of Emperor Xian]

Jian'an 6: 201 AD
[21 January 201 – 11 February 202]
2041

A In the spring, in the third month [miswritten for the second month] on the day dingmao [22 Mar], first of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.1

B Cao Cao went to gather grain at Anmin.2 He was going to follow his success against Yuan Shao with an attack on Liu Biao, but Xun Yu said, "Yuan Shao has just been defeated, and his followers will be unhappy. You should take advantage of his difficulties and settle with him for good. Instead, however, you plan to lead the army away to the Yangzi and the Han. If Yuan Shao collects the remnants of his forces and attacks you from behind, you will be finished." Cao Cao gave up the idea.

C In the summer, in the fourth month Cao Cao drew up his troops along the Yellow River. He attacked Yuan Shao's men at Cangting and defeated them.3

In the autumn, in the ninth month Cao Cao returned to Xu city.

Cao Cao led his army to attack Liu Bei in Runan, and Liu Bei fled to Liu Biao. Gong Du and the others were all scattered.4

2042

D When Liu Biao heard Liu Bei had arrived he came out from the city in person to welcome him, treating him as an honoured guest. He added to the number of his troops and sent him to camp at Xinye.5

Liu Bei remained in Jing province for several years. On one occasion that he was in attendance upon Liu Biao he got up to go to the lavatory, and as he came back he was weeping. Liu Biao was surprised and asked him what was wrong. "In earlier times," replied Liu Bei, "I never left the saddle, and my thighs were thin. Now I do not ride any more, they have become fat and
flabby. Days and months pass like a stream, and old age will come, but I have achieved nothing. That is why I am sad."

E Cao Cao had sent Xiahou Yuan and Zhang Liao to besiege Chang Xi [at Tan city] in Donghai.6 After several months their supplies were exhausted, and they considered whether they should withdraw their troops.

Zhang Liao said to Xiahou Yuan, "During the past few days, whenever I walk about the camp Chang Xi has looked at me very carefully, and there have not been many shots fired. This surely means that he is undecided and has no heart for the fight. I shall try to talk with him, and I may be able to win him over."

He sent a messenger to Chang Xi, "The Duke [Cao Cao] has sent a letter for me to hand to you."

Then Chang Xi came down and spoke with Zhang Liao, and Zhang Liao told of Cao Cao's miraculous ability in war, how he embraced all the world with his virtue, and how those who joined him early would receive great rewards. So Chang Xi promised to surrender.

Then Zhang Liao, alone and without escort, went up the Sangong Hill and into Chang Xi's house to pay respects to his wife and children. Chang Xi was pleased and he went with Zhang Liao to Cao Cao. Cao Cao sent him back [to Donghai].

[Ja6: 201]

F Zhao Wei besieged Liu Zhang in Chengdu.7 The Dongzhou men were afraid they would be punished and destroyed, so they joined forces [with Liu Zhang] and Zhao Wei was driven back. They pursued him to Jiangzhou and killed him there.8

G Pang Xi was frightened. He sent his subordinate officer Cheng Qi to go to his father Cheng Ji, Prefect of Hanchang, with orders to send troops recruited from the Zong people.9 Cheng Ji replied [to his son], "None of our people have caused any trouble, and no matter what slanders are spoken [to Liu Zhang], we must stay absolutely loyal. Should [Pang Xi] have any plan for rebellion, I would not dare follow him."

Pang Xi sent Cheng Qi a second time to argue with his father, but Cheng Ji said, "I have received favour from the Governor [Liu Zhang], and I shall always be loyal to him. You are an officer in the commandery, and you must naturally do everything you can for your Grand Administrator. But it would be better to die than do something dishonourable."
Pang Xi became angry and he sent a messenger to Cheng Ji to say, "Unless you obey your Grand Administrator, misfortune will come to your family." Cheng Ji answered, "When Yue Yang ate his child, it was not that he lacked the feelings of a father for his son, but because there were greater principles at stake which forced him to it. If you made Qi into soup, I would still drink it." Then Pang Xi offered apologies to Liu Zhang and made peace with him. Liu Zhang promoted Cheng Ji to become Grand Administrator of Jiangyang.

The court heard there was trouble in Yi province. The General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes Niu Dan was made Inspector of Yi province and Liu Zhang was summoned to become a minister. He refused the appointment.

Zhang Lu taught superstition. Those who were sick were required to confess their sins, and he said prayers for them. It was no practical help in curing them, but masses of ignorant people, confused and foolish, vied with one another to serve him. Those who offended the law were granted pardon three times before they were punished, while he did not appoint civil officials, but all were governed by Libationers. Both Chinese and non-Chinese people were pleased with this, and none of the refugees that came to live in this area dared to disobey his teachings.

Later, he attacked and occupied Ba commandery. The court was not strong enough to fight him, so he was given title as General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who Maintains the People in Peace, and was also appointed Grand Administrator of Hanning. He sent up tribute, but that was all.

Some people found a jade seal in the ground, and his followers wanted to honour Zhang Lu as King of Hanning. His Officer of the Bureau of Merit Yan Pu of Baxi objected, "The Han valley contains over a hundred thousand households. The people are prosperous, the soil is rich, and on all four sides we have strong barriers against attack. If you give aid to the Son of Heaven above, then you play the part of Duke Huan and Duke Wen. For next best you could emulate Dou Rong, and you will never lack for wealth or honour. At present, with authority to make appointments and sufficient power to maintain your independence, you have no need for a
royal title. I ask you not to take it at this time, for if you do you will bring down misfortune." Zhang Lu accepted this advice.

NOTES to Jian’an 6: 201

A  HHS 9, 382 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.
B  HHS 9, 382 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

1 The eclipse is recorded in these terms by HHS 9, but HHS 108/18, 3371, the Treatise on the Five Powers, says it fell on the guiwei day of the tenth month. As the Qing scholar Hong Liangji observes, however, this duplicates the following entry, for an eclipse in Jian’an 13: the latter is correct, so this entry is false and HHS 9 is basically correct.

The text, however, should refer to the second month, not the third: there was no dingmao day (cyclical number 4) in the third month, but the second began with a dingmao day, equivalent to 22 March 201 in the Julian calendar of the West. With these amendments to the record, the eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3373.

C  SGZ 10, 314 (15b–16a), the Biography of Xun Yu;

D  SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 876 (11a), the Biography of Liu Bei;

E  SGZ 17, 517 (1b–2a), the Biography of Zhang Liao.

2 ZZTJ commentary quotes SJZ 8, 7a, to show that Anmin village was on the eastern bank of the Ji River, west of Shouzhang county in Dongping, southeast of present-day Dongping in Shandong. This was near the Great Marsh, well to the east of Cao Cao’s former position at Guandu. Cao Cao was drawing supplies from far afield, and SGZ 10 adds that he obtained only a small quantity, not enough to match the resources of Yuan Shao north of the river.

F  SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 876 (11a) PC quoting Jiuzhou chunqiu.

3 The Cangting Crossing of the Yellow River was north of present-day Yanggu in Shandong, and east of the area of Anmin.

4 Liu Bei had commanded a detached force for Yuan Shao, in association with a bandit group led by Gong Du: passage U of Jian’an 5.

5 Xinye county in Nanyang, present-day Xinye in Henan, was the centre of Liu Biao’s defences in the north against Cao Cao.

6 Chang Xi had been defeated by Cao Cao in the previous year (passage D of Jian’an 5), but had evidently maintained his position in Donghai commandery. Sangong “Three Excellencies” Hill, mentioned below, is identified in the commentary of Lu Bi with a feature near present-day Tancheng in Shandong. The Han city of Tan was the capital of Donghai commandery, so this was evidently where Chang Xi had regrouped and maintained his defence.

7 On this rebellion, see passage UU of Jian’an 5.
8 Jiangzhou, the capital of Ba commandery of Han, was on the northern bank of the Jialing River where it joins the Yangzi, at present-day Chongqing. Hanmo yingxiong ji says that Zhao Wei was killed by his own officers.

[Ja6: 201]

G SGZ 45 (Shu 15), 1089 (23b–24a), the Eulogy for Cheng Ji; Huayang guo zhi 5, 6b.

9 SGZ 45 has the name of the son of Cheng Qi as Yu. ZZTJ has followed Huayang guo zhi. On the Zong people of Hanchang, see note 69 to Jian'an 5.

10 Zhanguo ce 7, 2a; Crump, Chan–kuo ts'e, 371, tells how Yue Yang commanded the army of Wei during the Warring States period. He besieged Zhongshan while his son was in the city. The ruler of Zhongshan killed Yue Yang's son, boiled the body and sent the soup to Yue Yang. Yue Yang drank it, and continued to attack and storm the city.

11 Jiangyang is present–day Luzhou in Sichuan. During Later Han, the county was in Jianwei commandery; it appears that it now became the capital of a separate commandery.

[Ja6: 201]

H SGZ 31 (Shu 1), 869 (10b) PC quoting [Han] Xiandi chunqiu.

[Ja6: 201]

I SGZ 8, 263–64 (44a–46a), the Biography of Zhang Lu; Huayang guo zhi 2, 3a–b.

12 On the teachings of Zhang Lu and his previous history, see passage JJ and note 61 to Chuping 2. The term "superstition" renders the phrase guidao "teachings about demons and spirits."

13 The title Libationer (jijiu) appears under Han administration, and Cao Cao later established several offices with that style (e.g. passage R to Jian'an 13). Here, however, it appears to reflect particularly the theocratic government of Zhang Lu.

14 Hanning was the name given by Zhang Lu to the Han commandery of Hanzhong, and until Zhang Lu's surrender to Cao Cao in 215, both names are found. From 215, the territory again appears as Hanzhong, but according to the Hou Han shu of Yuan Shansong, quoted by ZZTJ commentary, Hanzhong was divided at that time, and a new commandery of Hanning was established about Anyang county, east of present–day Zhenggu in Shenxi.

15 On the hegemon rulers Duke Huan of Qi and Duke Wen of Jin, see, for example, note 30 to Chuping 3.

16 The biography of Dou Rong is in HHS 23/13. He established a position as a warlord in the northwest at the time of civil war after the fall of Wang Mang, and in 29 AD he allied himself with the founding Emperor Guangwu of Later Han. His family held great power for generations afterwards.
Map 14: Ji province 191–205
Jian'an 7: 202 AD
[10 February 202 – 30 January 203]
2044

A In the spring, in the first month Cao Cao brought his army to Qiao,1 then to Junyi, and he set the Suiyang Canal in order.2 He sent messengers to make great sacrifice to Qiao Xuan,3 and then he brought the army forward to Guandu.

B After his army had been defeated, Yuan Shao was ashamed and angry. He became ill and spat blood and in the summer, in the fifth month, he died.4 Before this,5 Yuan Shao had three sons, Tan, Xi and Shang. Yuan Shang was the favourite of Yuan Shao's later wife from the Liu clan, who often praised him to Yuan Shao. Yuan Shao had planned to appoint him his successor, but had not made any formal announcement.

He had Yuan Tan succeed to the inheritance of his [Yuan Shao's] elder brother, and sent him out as Inspector of Qing province. Ju Shou had objected, "There is a common saying: 'if ten thousand men chase a hare, and one man catches it, his rivals will stop.' That is because the thing is settled.6

"Tan is the eldest, and should be your successor, but you are sending him away. Trouble will come from this."

"I want each of my sons to govern a province," replied Yuan Shao, "then I can judge which is best." He made his middle son Yuan Xi Inspector of You province and his sister's son Gao Gan Inspector of Bing province.7

C Pang Ji and Shen Pei had always been on bad terms with Yuan Tan, but Xin Ping and Guo Tu both supported him, so they had a feud with Shen Pei and Pang Ji.

When Yuan Shao died, all the people wanted to set up Yuan Tan, since he was the eldest son. Shen Pei and his party were afraid Yuan Tan would succeed and that Xin Ping and his fellows would harm them. So they forged a will of Yuan Shao appointing Shang as his successor, and when Yuan Tan arrived he failed to gain the inheritance.

Yuan Tan went to camp at Liyang and styled himself General of Chariots and Cavalry. Yuan Shang gave him a few soldiers and sent Pang Ji to stay with him. Yuan Tan asked for additional troops, but Shen Pei and the others
advised Yuan Shang not to give them to him. Yuan Tan was angry, and he killed Pang Ji.

2045

In the autumn, in the ninth month, Cao Cao crossed the Yellow River and attacked Yuan Tan. Yuan Tan reported to Shang that he was in difficulties, and Yuan Shang left Shen Pei to hold Ye city while he went in person to help Yuan Tan against Cao Cao. The brothers were defeated, however, in one battle after another, and they withdrew to positions of defence.8

Ja7: 202

D Yuan Shang sent Guo Yuan, the Grand Administrator of Hedong whom he had appointed, to join Gao Gan and the Southern Shanyu of the Xiongnu in an attack on that commandery. He sent messengers to make alliance with Ma Teng and the other leaders within the passes, and Ma Teng and the others gave secret undertakings.

E Every city Guo Yuan passed fell to him, and only the civil officer of Hedong commandery, Jia Kui, held out in Jiang.9 Guo Yuan attacked it fiercely, and when the city was about to fall some elders made an agreement with him that they would surrender if he promised not to harm Jia Kui. Guo Yuan agreed.

He wanted Jia Kui to enter his service, and took a sword to threaten him, but Jia Kui made no move. The attendants brought him to make the kowtow, but Jia Kui swore at them, "How can an officer of the empire bow to a brigand?" Guo Yuan was angry and was going to kill him.

One man laid his body across Jia Kui and asked Guo Yuan to pardon him, while when the junior officials and people in Jiang heard Jia Kui might be killed they climbed on the city walls and shouted, "If Guo Yuan turns back on the agreement and kills our worthy leader, it would be better for all of us to die."

So Guo Yuan put Jia Kui in prison at Huguan,10 shut him in a dungeon and closed the top with a cartwheel. Jia Kui said to his guards, "Is there no brave man here, that you let a good fellow die like this?" A certain Zhu Gongdao happened to hear what he said. He came by night, stole in and brought Jia Kui out, broke his fetters and arranged his escape. He would not [at that time] give his name.11

F Cao Cao sent the Colonel Director of Retainers Zhong Yao to besiege the Southern Shanyu at Pingyang, but the relief [Guo Yuan] arrived before they could capture the place.12
Zhong Yao sent the Prefect of Xinfeng, Zhang Ji of Pingyi, to win Ma Teng over. Ma Teng was uncertain and could not decide whom he should fight for. Fu Gan said to him, "Men of the past had the saying: 'He who accords with virtue will prosper, and the men that opposes virtue will lose.' Lord Cao supports the Emperor and punishes cruelty and rebellion. His laws are clear and his government is ordered. High and low follow his commands. You could say that he follows the true Way.

"The Yuan, on the other hand, rely on their strength, they turn their backs to the royal commands, and they urge on barbarians to oppress China. You can say that they oppose virtue.

"You have always given loyal service, but you have not always used your full strength. You have private contacts with both sides, and you hope to sit back and watch the result. I fear that when things are decided there will be accusations made and punishments carried out, and you will be one of the first to be executed!" Ma Teng was frightened.

"A wise man," continued Fu Gan, "can change ill fortune to good. As Lord Cao is at grips with the Yuan, Gao Gan and Guo Yuan have attacked Hedong together. Lord Cao has planned for every possibility, but he cannot be certain Hedong will be safe. If you send soldiers to attack Guo Yuan, he will be attacked on two sides [with the forces of Hedong and with your own], and his army can surely be taken. With one blow you cut off an arm of the Yuan clan and free a whole district from peril. Lord Cao will surely be grateful, and nothing could rival your fine reputation." So Ma Teng sent his son Ma Chao with more than ten thousand men to support Zhong Yao.

Before this, because Guo Yuan's army was so large, all the officers wanted to abandon Pingyang. Zhong Yao observed, however, "The Yuan are strong and Guo Yuan is coming against us. The people inside the passes have secret contact with him, and the one reason they have not rebelled is that they respect our authority. If we give up and go away it will show them how weak we are, and they will all turn against us. Even if we wanted to retreat, could we manage it? We would be defeating ourselves without a fight.

"Guo Yuan, moreover, is a headstrong fellow, accustomed to success. He will certainly take small account of our army. If he crosses the Fen River to camp, and we attack him while he is part-way across, then we can thoroughly defeat him."
When Guo Yuan arrived, he did march straight ahead to cross the Fen. Everyone tried to stop him but he would not listen. While half of his force had still to cross Zhong Yao attacked and completely defeated him.

When the fighting was over the men of the army all said Guo Yuan was dead, but they could not find his head. Guo Yuan was a nephew of Zhong Yao. After dark, Pang De of Nan'an, a Colonel under Ma Chao, brought out a head from his quiver. Zhong Yao saw it and wept. Pang De apologised to Zhong Yao, but Zhong Yao replied "Guo Yuan was my nephew, but he was also an enemy of the state. Why apologise?"

After this, the Southern Shanyu also surrendered.

Liu Biao sent Liu Bei to make raids in the north. He came to She, and Cao Cao sent Xiahou Dun, Yu Jin and other generals to oppose him.

Liu Bei suddenly set fire to his camp and went off. Xiahou Dun and the others set out in pursuit, but the Major-General Li Dian of Julu said, "The enemy had no reason to run away, and I am sure they will lay an ambush. The road to the south is narrow and the trees and bushes are thick. You should not follow him."

Xiahou Dun and the others refused to listen, but left Li Dian behind as guard while they followed the chase. They did indeed fall into an ambush and their soldiers were utterly defeated. Li Dian came to rescue them, and then Liu Bei went back.

Cao Cao sent a letter to Sun Quan, asking him to send a son as hostage. Sun Quan called his ministers into conference.

Zhang Zhao, Qin Song and others were uncertain and could not decide. Sun Quan brought Zhou Yu to discuss the matter with his mother the Lady Wu. Zhou Yu said, "In ancient times, when Chu was first established as a vassal state [of the Zhou dynasty], it had not so much as a hundred 里 of territory. The men who succeeded to the fief, however, were worthy and able. They enlarged its territory and expanded the borders, so they controlled Jing and Yang as far as the southern sea. The work was handed on, and fortune continued over nine hundred years."

"Now you have inherited the property of your father and your brother, and the people of six commanderies. Your soldiers are good, you have plenty of supplies, and your people obey your commands. You can get copper from the hills and salt from the sea. There is wealth and
abundance within your borders and your subjects have no thought of rebellion. What can threaten you? Why send hostages?

"Once you have sent hostage, you will be forced into close alliance with Cao Cao, and once you are in alliance, you will be forever at his beck and call. This way you will be under another man's control, and in the end you will have nothing more than the seal of a marquis, a dozen servants, a few chariots and a few horses. Is this the same as a seat facing south and the style of 'the solitary man'?20

"The best thing is to refuse his demand and wait quietly to see what happens. If Cao Cao can become the leader of loyal men and set the empire to rights, there will be plenty of time for you to join him. If he plans oppression and disorder, he will destroy himself very quickly. How can he harm us?"

"Gongjin's advice is right," added the Lady Wu. "Gongjin [Zhou Yu] is the same age in years as Bofu [Sun Ce], and only one month younger. I look upon him as a son, and you should respect him as an elder brother."21

So Sun Quan sent no hostages.22

NOTES to Jian'an 7: 202

A SGZ 1, 23 (52b–53a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

1 Qiao county in Pei commandery, near present-day Boxian in Anhui, was Cao Cao's home country.

Though ZZTJ does not mention it, while Cao Cao was at Qiao he issued a proclamation justifying his loyal conduct and his desire for the well-being of the state. After that he made his further moves to Junyi.

[A7: 202]

2 Junyi county in Chenliu was west of present-day Kaifeng in Henan. Suiyang county in Liang was south of present-day Shangqiu in Henan. ZZTJ commentary explains that the Suiyang Canal was the section of the Sui River which flowed east of that county. Cao Cao was thus developing his lines of communication from the region of the Yellow River towards his home country and the southeast.

3 Qiao Xuan, whose biography is in HHS 51/41, was a man of Suiyang county. A distinguished official who became Grand Commandant in the time of Emperor Ling, he had shown Cao Cao favour at an early stage of his career: de Crespigny, Huan and Ling 1, 181.

[B7: 202]

B SGZ 6, 201 (61b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;
HHS 74/64A, 2383 (8a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;
SGZ 6, 203 (61b) PC quoting Dian lue;
SGZ 6, 195–96 (51a–b) PC quoting Jiuzhou chunqiu.
Yuan Shao’s biographies in SGZ 6 and HHS 74/64A, 2403, do not mention the date of his death. The Annals, HHS 9, 382, give it as the gengxu day of the fifth month, equivalent to 28 June 202 in the Julian calendar of the West.

As ZZTJ commentary observes, the rivalry of Yuan Shao’s three sons is described more extensively by HHS 74/64A at an earlier stage, dated about 195.

This was indeed a common saying. ZZTJ commentary quotes the early text Shenzi, while HHS commentary at 2383 adds references to the Zì Sìzi and the Book of Lord Shang.

Jiuzhou chunqiu notes that initially Yuan Tan was not appointed as a full Inspector, but only as a Chief Controller (dudu).

HHS 74/64B and SGZ 6 [as amended] both say that the fighting lasted from the ninth month to the second of the following year, when the Yuan brothers retreated. See also note 2 to Jian’an 8.

Jiang county in Hedong was near present-day Houma in Shanxi. It appears that Jia Kui was a local officer who was acting as Chief of the county.

According to Wei lue, quoted by SGZ 15, 481 PC, Jia Kui’s original given name was Qu. Though the name is written with identical characters, it does not appear this Jia Kui was any relation to the celebrated scholar of the first century whose biography is in HHS 36/26. Indeed, the fact that he had or took an identical given name shows he could not be a member of a junior generation: filial piety would forbid it.

Huguan county in Shangdang commandery of Ping province was east of present-day Changzhi in Shanxi. The Hu Pass led eastwards through the Taihang Mountains to Ji province on the North China plain, and was evidently Guo Yuan’s major line of communications.

Wei lue, quoted by SGZ 15, 480 PC note 2, says that Zhu Gongdao had not earlier connection with Jia Kui. A second extract of Wei lue in SGZ 15, 480 PC note 3, says that Jia Kui later discovered the name of his rescuer. Then Zhu Gongdao was found guilty of a capital crime. Jia Kui attempted to intercede for him, but without success; when the execution was carried out, he wore mourning dress on his behalf.

Pingyang county in Henei was on the Fen River about present-day Linfen in Shanxi. The current Shanyu of the Xiongnu, Huchuquan, had taken up residence there in 195: passage TT of Xingping 2.
According to SGZ 13, 393, the Shanyu had already rebelled and Zhong Yao was besieging him before Guo Yuan began his invasion. (Variant editions of ZZTJ here read Guo Yuan, rather than "relief.") From the reference to Huguan above (note 10), and the siege of Jiang (passage E), it appears that Guo Yuan advanced west from Shangdang commandery to the valley of the Fen at Jiang county in Hedong, then turned north to join Huchuquan at Pingyang in Henei. We may accept that news of the attack reached Zhong Yao while he was investing Pingyang, and at that time he sent for aid from Ma Teng, who held power in the valley of the Wei: see below.

13 These are the words of the village elder (sanlao) Lord Dong of Xincheng, addressed to the future Emperor Gao, founder of Former Han, in 205 BC, urging him to justify his campaign against Xiang Yu on the grounds that he had killed their overlord, the Provisional Emperor: HS 1A, 34; Dubs, HFHD I, 75; cf. SJ 8, 370; Watson, RGH I, 67.

14 This clause is in the account of Fu Gan’s speech in Zhan lue. Though it does not appear in the text followed by the Beijing edition of ZZTJ, it is included by many other versions.

15 Nan’an commandery was established from the western part of Hanyang in 188, at the time of the Liangzhou rebellion: see commentary to HHS 113/23, 3517, quoting Qinzhou ji, and de Crespigny, Northern Frontier, 494 note 35 and 148 map 5.

16 As the Kaoyi commentary of Sima Guang observes, SGZ 13 refers to the surrender only of the Shanyu, but SGZ 15, 472, says that Gao Gan surrendered at the same time. This last, however, seems unlikely: cf. passage M of Jian’an 9.

17 She county in Nanyang, southeast of present-day Ye in Henan, lay just on the border of Runan commandery in Yu province, controlled by Cao Cao. Liu Biao had given Liu Bei responsibility for the north of his territory: passage D of Jian’an 1.

The pronunciation of this name is confused. The regular sound is Ye, which is used for the modern place. ZZTJ commentary, however, follows a fanqie spelling and suggests the sound should be zhe, while the place-name appears to have been sounded traditionally as she, as in references to the Duke of She in the Chunqiu period (e.g. de Crespigny, Huan and Ling II, 381, following Legge, CC V, 909, and Couvreur, Chronique III, 784), and there are echoes of such a pronunciation in Karlgren’s reconstruction of characters in that phonetic group: GSR 633. I here follow the traditional version.

18 The history of the state of Chu is told in SJ 40; Chavannes, MH IV, 337–417.

19 The Zhang Hills, in the south of Danyang commandery, had been known for the production of copper since Former Han times: SJ 129, 3167, HS 28B, 1666–68, HS 28A, 1592; Swann, Food and Money, 444–445, de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 47–48. Sea salt was extracted from the low-lying coastal region between the mouth of the Yangzi and
Hangzhou Bay: one county in Wu commandery was actually named Haiyan: *HHS 113/23, 3489.

20 The term *gu* "solitary man" was long established as the self-designation of an independent ruler, comparable to the royal plural in English: as Queen Victoria, "We are not amused."

21 The style of Zhou Yu was Gongjin, that of the late Sun Ce was Bofu. On the early association between the two, see for example passage BB of Xingping 1.

22 In fact, it is uncertain whom Sun Quan could really have been expected to send. He was at this time only twenty years old, and although he could have had a son, the eldest known is Sun Deng, born in 209: *SGZ 59 (Wu 14), 1363–65*. Cao Cao's request is natural enough, and the pattern of debate is sensible for the time, but it is difficult to fit the people involved. See also de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 224 note.
In the spring, in the second month, Cao Cao attacked Liyang, and he fought with Yuan Tan and Yuan Shang below the walls. Yuan Tan and Yuan Shang were defeated and put to flight. They went back to Ye.

In the summer, in the fourth month Cao Cao pursued them to Ye, and he gathered their wheat harvest.

Cao Cao's officers all wanted to follow up their victory with a direct attack. Guo Jia, however, argued that, "Yuan Shao loved those two sons, but neither was proclaimed as his heir. Now they are rivals for power, and each has his own party. If we press them hard they will protect one another, but if we go easily they will begin to quarrel. The best plan is go south against Jing province and wait for something to happen. When things have changed, we can attack them, and the whole affair can be settled in a single blow."

"Excellent!" said Cao Cao, and in the fifth month, leaving his commander Jia Xin in camp at Liyang, he returned to Xu city.

Yuan Tan said to his brother Shang, "My equipment is no good. That is why Cao Cao defeated me. Now that Cao Cao's army is retreating, his men will be thinking of going back to their homes. If we go out and surprise him before he is across [the Yellow River] we can totally upset him. We must not miss this chance."

Yuan Shang was doubtful. He gave Yuan Tan no additional troops, nor did he change his equipment. Yuan Tan was extremely angry.

Then Guo Tu and Xin Ping said to Yuan Tan, "It was on Shen Pei's advice that your father sent you away and made you heir to your uncle." So Yuan Tan brought his forces to attack Yuan Shang, and they fought outside the gates [of the city of Ye]. Yuan Tan was defeated, and he withdrew to Nanpi.

The Aide-de-Camp Wang Xiu of Beihai led officials and people from Qing province to come to the aid of Yuan Tan, and Yuan Tan planned to go back again to fight Yuan Shang.

"Elder and younger brothers are like right and left hands," argued Wang Xiu. "If a man is going into combat, and he cuts off his right hand and says, 'I am certain to win,' how can that be? If you show no affection for your brother, why should the empire have any good will towards either of you?
"There are people who speak slander in the hope of some short-term advantage. They are pressing you into a family quarrel, but I beg you to close your ears and pay no attention. If the two of you would cut off the heads from some of your false ministers and become friends again, you could control the whole country and act in the empire as you please." Yuan Tan would not accept this advice.

Yuan Tan's officer Liu Xun raised a force at Tayin to oppose Yuan Tan, and all the other cities supported him. Yuan Tan sighed, "Now the whole province has rebelled. What have I done wrong?"

Wang Xiu said, "Guan Tong is Grand Administrator of Donglai. Although he is on the coast, he has not rebelled, and he will certainly come to help." Some ten days later Guan Tong did come to help Yuan Tan. His wife and children, whom he left behind, were killed by bandits.

Yuan Tan made Guan Tong Grand Administrator of Le'an.

In the autumn, in the eighth month Cao Cao attacked Liu Biao. His army came to Xiping.

Yuan Shang led an attack on Yuan Tan and completely defeated him. Yuan Tan fled to Pingyuan and closed the city in a firm defence. Yuan Shang besieged him tightly. Yuan Tan sent Xin Pi, younger brother of Xin Ping to go to Cao Cao and ask for help.

Liu Biao wrote in protest to Yuan Tan, "When a gentleman finds himself in difficulty, he does not ally himself with an enemy state. When friendship comes to an end, he does not abuse his former comrades. How much serious must it be to abandon your own kinsfolk and turn to your father's enemy? You act against the moral teachings of all the ages and you shame me as an ally."

"Even though Jizhou [Yuan Shang] may act insolently and fail to conduct himself as a younger brother, a generous ruler should nonetheless bend his will, humble himself, and concentrate on bringing affairs to success. When that is done, let the empire decide the rights and wrongs. Surely that is the honourable way to behave."

He wrote also to Yuan Shang, "Metal and wood, water and fire, they complement each other by their very opposition, and they can be used by men only when they have been brought into harmony."
"Qingzhou [Yuan Tan] is emotional and hasty, and he confuses right and wrong. A generous ruler, however, will be broad-minded and open-hearted, great enough to make allowance for weaknesses and to forgive misconduct. The first priority is to get rid of Cao Cao and destroy your father's enemy. When that is done, you can discuss the rights and wrongs of the situation. Surely that is the best policy?

"But unless you change your mind, even the barbarians will despise you, and how can I, sharer in the oath, continue to give aid in your wars? This is the way Han Lu and Dongguo [Suan] wore each other out, so they both fell prey to an old peasant."13

Neither of the brothers would accept Liu Biao's advice.

E Xin Pi arrived at Xiping, saw Cao Cao and gave him Yuan Tan's message. Many of those in attendance held that Liu Biao was strong and that he should be settled first, while Yuan Tan and Yuan Shang were no longer a concern.

Xun You said, "With all the activity throughout the empire, Liu Biao does nothing but hold his position between the Yangzi River and the Han. You can see he has no ambitions anywhere else. The Yuan, on the other hand, hold the territory of four provinces, with almost half a million men under arms. Yuan Shao gained people's affections by his leniency, and if his two sons can agree and maintain the inheritance they will be a source of endless trouble in the empire.

"Now, however, the brothers have fallen out and will not join forces. If they stayed together they would be hard to deal with, but if you take them while they are squabbling then the whole empire can be settled. We must not lose this chance." Cao Cao agreed.

2051 A few days later, however, Cao Cao changed his plan: he would first settle Jing province, leaving Yuan Tan and Yuan Shang to wear one another out. Xin Pi, had been watching his expression. He realised what he had in mind and he spoke to Guo Jia. Guo Jia told Cao Cao, and then Cao Cao said to Xin Pi, "Can I trust Yuan Tan? Can I be sure to defeat Yuan Shang?"

"Your excellency," replied Xin Pi, "has no reason to be concerned about Yuan Tan's loyalty. You have only to consider his military strength. When the brothers first began to fight one another, they had no idea they might be making an opening for anyone else: they thought they could decide the empire between themselves
"Now, however, one of them is suddenly asking your help, and you can see from this [how weak they are]. Xianfu [Yuan Shang] has Xiansi [Yuan Tan] in trouble, but he cannot defeat him, and this is because his strength is exhausted.

As their men-at-arms suffer defeat outside, and their ministers of counsel are killed within, the brothers slander and quarrel with each other. Their state is divided in two, and they have been in this situation for a whole year. Their soldiers' clothes have lice, there is drought, there are locusts, and there is famine everywhere. Such disasters from Heaven above reflect the chaos afflicting the affairs of men below. Anyone can see they are done for. Now is the time Heaven has abandoned Yuan Shang.

"If you move against Ye, for his own preservation Yuan Shang must go back to guard his base. And as he does so, Yuan Tan will follow at his heels. Attacking an enemy distressed and desperate, striking a rebel discouraged and weary, with your power, it will be like strong wind moving the autumn leaves. Heaven has put Yuan Shang into your hands.

"Supposing, however, that you neglect the opportunity and attack Jing province instead? That territory is flourishing and content, with a unified government. Zhonghui said, 'Take their states from those who are in disorder, and deal firmly with those on the road to ruin.' The two Yuan pay no attention to external strategy, but plot against one another inside their own camp. They may be called disordered. The settled folk have no food, and the refugees have no provisions. They may be called ruined. In the morning they cannot be sure of the evening, and the people have no means to sustain their lives.

"If, on the other hand, you fail to settle them now and decide to wait another year, then next harvest there may be grain, and your enemies will have recognised their errors. They will reform their government and revive their power, so you will have lost the chance to use your soldiers.

Far the best policy for you now is to follow Yuan Tan's request and bring him help. Of all your enemies, none are greater than those to the north of the Yellow River, while once you have brought the north of the River under control, then your imperial army will have gained its full strength, and all the empire will tremble before you."
In the winter, in the tenth month Cao Cao came to Liyang. When Yuan Shang heard that Cao Cao had crossed the Yellow River, he broke off the siege of Pingyuan and turned back to Ye.

Yuan Shang’s officers Lü Kuang and Gao Xiang rebelled and turned to Cao Cao, but then Yuan Tan had generals’ seals carved in secret and sent them to Lü Kuang and Gao Xiang. Cao Cao realised Yuan Tan was not dealing honestly, but to set his mind at rest he had his son Cao Zheng take Yuan Tan's daughter in marriage, and then he led his army back.

Sun Quan went west to attack Huang Zu. He destroyed Huang Zu's fleet, and only his fortress still held out. Then the hills bandits made another rebellion and Sun Quan had to go back.


[He also ordered] Taishi Ci, Chief Commandant of Jianchang, to take command at Haihun, while the Majors With Separate Commands Huang Gai, Han Dang, Zhou Tai and Lü Meng were sent to occupy the important cities as prefects and chiefs and to attack the Shanyue. All was settled.

The people of Jian’an, Hanxing and Nanping made trouble; each district had more than ten thousand men. Sun Quan sent He Qi, Chief Commandant of the Southern Region of Kuaiji, to attack them. He pacified all the territory, re-established the counties and cities, and levied ten thousand soldiers. He was promoted to Colonel Who Pacifies the East.

NOTES to Jian’an 8: 203

A SGZ 1, 23 (53b–54a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 6, 202 (62b–63a), the post-Biography of Yuan Shao;
HHS 74/64B, 2409 (1a), the post-Biography of Yuan Shao;
SGZ 14, 434 (11a–b), the Biography of Guo Jia.

1 The Kaoyi commentary of Sima Guang notes the miswriting of the months in SGZ 6: see note 8 to Jian’an 7.

2 The Kaoyi commentary of Sima Guang observes that HHS 74/64B says Yuan Shang made a successful counter-attack, and this was why Cao Cao withdrew to Xu city. SGZ 6, however, does not mention the incident: cf. passage B following. Sima Guang therefore discounts the story.

ZZTJ commentary, however, notes that in his celebrated “Second Memorial at the Beginning of a Campaign,” presented to the court of Shu–Han in 228, Zhuge Liang refers...
to Cao Cao being hard pressed at Liyang: SGZ 35 (Shu 5), 923 PC quoting Han-Jin chunqiu, Fang, Chronicle I, 258. Hu Sanxing suggests this may imply Cao Cao suffered a set-back, and he argues that the historians of Wei would have suppressed any such record. The commentary of Lu Bi to SGZ 6 tends to agree, noting that the text of the letter of Liu Biao to Yuan Tan in HHS 74/64B (see passage D below) mentions the brothers' defeat of a powerful enemy at Ye, while Cao Cao himself issued a statement soon afterwards referring to punishment or demotion for those of his officers who were unsuccessful on campaign: SGZ 1, 23; not recorded in ZZTJ.

On the other hand, SGZ 6, followed by ZZTJ, states that Cao Cao gathered the harvest, which certainly indicates control of the field. SGZ 6 also adds that Cao Cao stormed the city of Yin'an, near present-day Neihuang; though that was some fifty kilometres southeast of Ye, near the Yellow River, and would be rather associated with Jia Xin's holding position than with close investment of Ye.

Since we know the campaign lasted six months, it seems reasonable to assume the statement in passage C of Jian'an 7, the previous year, that the Yuan brothers were invariably defeated, is exaggerated. Cao Cao surely suffered some setbacks, and he may indeed have lost an encounter outside Ye. Overall, however, it seems likely he did withdraw of his own accord, maintaining a bridge-head on the north of the Yellow River about Liyang.

[a8: 203]

B  HHS 74/64B, 2409–10 (1a–b), the post-Biography of Yuan Shao;
SGZ 11, 346 (18a–b), the Biography of Wang Xiu.

3 Nanpi, by present-day Nanpi in Hebei, was the capital of Bohai commandery. So Yuan Tan had retreated some three hundred kilometres northeast of Ye, to the region of the coast by the mouth of the Yellow River.

On Yuan Tan's appointment as heir to his uncle, which weakened his claim to succeed his father, though he was the eldest son, see passage B of Jian'an 7.

4 Tayin county was in Pingyuan commandery of Qing province, west of present-day Jiyang in Shandong. Yuan Tan was formally Inspector of Qing province: passage B of Jian'an 6.

5 Le'an commandery in Qing province lay across the mouth of the Yellow River, substantially closer to Yuan Tan's core position than Donglai, which was on the point of the Shandong peninsula.

[a8: 203]

C  SGZ 1, 24 (55a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

6 Xiping county was in Runan, by present-day Xiping in Henan, and a short distance east of Ye county, the point of Liu Bei's attack in the previous year: passage I of Jian'an 7.

[a8: 203]

D  HHS 74/64B, 2410–13 (1b–3b), the post-Biography of Yuan Shao;
SGZ 6, 203–04 (63b–65a) PC quoting Weishi chunqiu.

7 The text of Liu Biao's letter to Yuan Tan as preserved in HHS 74/64B is slightly different to the version in Weishi chunqiu, while the letter to Yuan Shang is only in the latter text, which is also quoted by commentary to HHS 74/64B.

Commentary to HHS 74/64B notes that both letters appear also in the Collected Works (ji) of Wang Can, who was at this time in the service of Liu Biao and evidently composed them for him. See passage EE of Jian'an 13.
These words are ascribed to Gongshan Buniu. See *Zuo zhuan*, Ai 8; Legge, *CC* V, 816–817 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 647):

Gongshan Buniu was an officer of the state of Lu in the early fifth century, but left for exile in Wu. Later, the king of Wu planned an attack on Lu, and he asked and obtained advice from one of Gongshan Buniu’s colleague refugees from Lu. When Gongshan Buniu heard of this, he criticised him in these terms: even though they had been compelled to leave their state, they still owed patriotic duty, and should defend it to the death rather than support an assault against it.

This comes from the biography of Yue Yi in *SJ* 80, 2433: Nienhauser, *GSR* VII, 259. A descendant of Yue Yang (note 10 to Jian’an 6), Yue Yi was commander–in–chief of Yan in the early third century BC. A new ruler, however, drove him away with enmity and distrust. After several military set-backs, however, the king asked Yue Yi to return, and he replied in a conciliatory letter. See also Crump, *Chan–kuo ts’e*, 543–547.

Liu Biao had a long–standing alliance with Yuan Shao: e.g. passage U of Jian’an 3.

The phrase Jizhou “Ji province” refers to Yuan Shang, who held the title of Governor. Similarly below, Liu Biao refers to Yuan Tan as Qingzhou “Qing province,” from his appointment as Inspector there.

ZZTJ commentary gives examples: metal can cut wood, but an axe is no use without a handle; water can put out fire, but fire is necessary to boil water.

Han Lu was the finest hound in the world and Dongguo Suan the most cunning hare. Han Lu chased Dongguo Suan over hill and dale until both collapsed of exhaustion. A farmer working in the fields saw them fall, and he was able to walk across and take them both. See *Zhanguo ce* 4, 11a; Crump, *Chan–kuo ts’e*, 159.

Xianfu was the style of Yuan Shang, Xiansi the style of Yuan Tan.

This refers particularly to the fate of Pang Ji: passage C of Jian’an 7.

See the "Announcement of Zhonghui" Chapter of *Shu jing* IV.2.7; Legge *CC* III, 181 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 107):

Take their states from the disorderly, and deal summarily with those going to ruin.

As ZZTJ commentary observes, Xin Pi is no longer acting as a messenger for Yuan Tan, but is giving advice as a supporter of Cao Cao.

Lu Kuang and Gao Xiang had surrendered to Cao Cao, but by sending seals of his own Yuan Tan was attempting to enlist them as his own supporters.

As ZZTJ commentary observes, from the discussion with Xin Pi in passage E above, one can hardly believe Cao Cao was dealing honestly either.

Huang Zu was Grand Administrator of Jiangxia under Liu Biao, guarding the entrance to the middle Yangzi against the Sun group: passages JJ of Jian’an 1 and S of Jian’an 4. There was
also a personal feud, for Huang Zu had been the commander of Liu Biao's army when Sun Jian, father of Sun Ce and Sun Quan was killed: passage DD of Chuping 2.

SGZ 47 has also the characters for Kuaiji commandery, and this is followed by ZZTJ. As ZZTJ commentary, Lu Bi and the editors of the Beijing edition all observe, however, the biography of Lu Fan in SGZ 56 (Wu 11), 1310, has no reference to Kuaiji, and that territory, far away to the east, makes no sense in this context.

22 Le'an city was near present-day Dexing in Jiangxi, on the Dongan River east of the Poyang marshlands. According to the Treatise of Geography in JS 15, 462, and the Treatise of Administrative Geography in Song shu 36, 1088, Le'an was established as a county by the state of Wu, and was administered by Poyang commandery, which was set up in 210: passage G of Jian'an 15. This new county must be distinguished from Le'an commandery in Qing province: passage B above.

The biography of Taishi Ci, SGZ 49 (Wu 4), 1190, says he was appointed Chief Commandant of Jianchang by Sun Ce. Jianchang county was in Yuzhang, by present-day Gaoan in Jiangxi, on the Jin or Rui River west of the Poyang marshlands (see note 33 to Jian'an 3). Taishi Ci's appointment gave him military authority over six counties in this region, with headquarters at Haihun.

Huang Gai is not mentioned in SGZ 47, but his biography in SGZ 55 (Wu 10), 1284–85, describes his activity in dealing with the Shanyue. Cf. also the biographies of Han Dang at SGZ 55 (Wu 10), 1285–86, of Zhou Tai at SGZ 55 (Wu 10), 1287–88, and of Lü Meng at SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1273.

The term Shanyue describes the non-Chinese people of the hill country in southeastern China, as distinguished from Shanmin "hills people," who may be understood as Chinese renegades or refugees, and may also be described, when recalcitrant, as Shanzei or (as above here) Shankou "hills bandits." See also note 22 to Jian'an 3.

He Qi's appointment as Colonel Who Pacifies the East was made in the following year, Jian'an 9, by which time the first stage of expansion through this region was complete. By and large, moreover, though it was carried out on behalf of Sun Ce and then Sun Quan, the enterprise had been He Qi's own initiative, and it is somewhat misleading to say that Sun Quan ordered him to the fray.

On this achievement of He Qi, see de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 328–330.
Jian'an 9: 204 AD
[18 February 204 – 6 February 205]

A In the spring, in the first month Cao Cao crossed the Yellow River. He dammed the Qi River into the Bo Canal to make a route for his supplies.1

2053 In the second month Yuan Shang made another attack on Yuan Tan at Pingyuan,2 leaving his officers Shen Pei and Su You to hold Ye. Cao Cao brought his army forward to the Yuan River.3 Su You was going to change sides, but the plan was discovered and he fled to Cao Cao. Cao Cao came forward to Ye and made hills and tunnels to attack it.

Yin Kai, Yuan Shang's Chief of Wuan, maintained a camp at Maocheng to keep the supply road open from Shangdang.4 In the summer, in the fourth month, leaving Cao Hong to face Ye, Cao Cao went in person to attack Yin Kai, defeated him and came back. He also attacked Yuan Shang's officer Ju Gu at Handan and captured that city.5

Han Fan, Prefect of Yiyang, and Liang Qi, Chief of She, both surrendered with their counties.

B Xu Huang said to Cao Cao, "The Yuan have not yet been defeated, and all the cities that are thinking of surrender will listen carefully for news of how you handle this affair. You should reward these two counties generously in order to encourage others."6 Cao Cao followed this advice, and Han Fan and Liang Qi were both honoured as Marquises Within the Imperial Domain.7

C Zhang Yan, leader of the Black Mountain bandits, sent a messenger to Cao Cao asking for support, and Cao Cao appointed him General Who Pacifies the North.

D In the fifth month Cao Cao destroyed his hills and tunnels, and ordered a moat of forty li to be dug right around the city [of Ye]. At first he had it made shallow, to appear that it could easily be crossed, and when Shen Pei saw it he laughed and made no move to attack. Then, however, in a single night Cao Cao dug it further, twenty feet wide and twenty feet deep, and he brought in the water of the Zhang River. More than half the people in the city died from starvation.
In the autumn, in the seventh month Yuan Shang returned with more than ten thousand men to the relief of Ye.

Before they arrived, he wanted to let Shen Pei know what was going on, and he sent his Master of Records Li Fu of Julu to go ahead into the city.

Li Fu broke his staff of authority and tied it at the side of his horse, and he put on a flat-topped turban. Taking three horsemen with him, he went by night towards Ye. Styling himself as a Chief Controller, he passed through the northern camps of the siege, following signs towards the east. Every once in a while he found fault with the officers and men on sentry duty and punished them accordingly, and in this way he passed through Cao Cao's camp and came to the southern face of the siege position opposite the Zhang Gate. Again, he found fault with the men on picket duty, arrested them and tied them up. Then he broke away from Cao Cao's lines, galloped to the walls and called to the men above. The guards drew him up with a rope, and so he got in.

When Shen Pei and the others saw Li Fu, they wept for joy, the drums were sounded, and they called out "Ten thousand years!" News of his exploit came to Cao Cao's army, but Cao Cao just laughed and said, "It is not just a matter of getting in. He has yet to come out again!"

Li Fu realised the guard outside would be tighter and that he would not be able to play the same trick. He asked Shen Pei to send all the old people and the weak out from the city as a means to save food. During the night, they chose several thousand, had each carry a white flag, and sent them off from three gates to surrender. Once again, Li Fu led his three horsemen. Dressed like the people surrendering, they went out with them and disappeared into the dark. So they broke through the siege-lines and made their escape.

As Yuan Shang's force approached, Cao Cao's officers said, "This is an army coming home, and they will be fighting for themselves. Best keep away from them." "If Yuan Shang comes by the main road," remarked Cao Cao, "we should indeed keep away. If he comes through the western hills, however, then we have him." 10

Yuan Shang did come through the western hills. He moved east to Yangping village, seventeen li from Ye, and set camp by the Fu River. He lit a fire in the night as a signal to the city, and the people in the city lit another fire in reply.
Intending to join Yuan Shang and break up the siege, Shen Pei made a sortie to the north of the city. Cao Cao faced and attacked him, and Shen Pei was defeated and went back. Yuan Shang, also defeated, he fled to Quzhang and fortified himself there. Cao Cao laid siege to him, but before he had closed the ring Yuan Shang became frightened and sent messengers asking to surrender. Cao Cao refused, and encircled him yet more closely.

Yuan Shang fled by night and took refuge in the Qi Hills. Cao Cao went forward and besieged him again. As their forces engaged, Yuan Shang's officers Ma Yan, Zhang Yi and others came to surrender. Yuan Shang's forces were completely scattered, and he fled to Zhongshan. They captured all his baggage, his seal and ribbon and other insignia, together with his clothing. They showed these to the people in the city [of Ye] and the defenders were quite discouraged.

Shen Pei, however, gave orders to his men, "Hold firm and fight to the end! Cao Cao's army is in trouble and Youzhou [Yuan Xi] is almost here. There is no cause to worry that we have lost a leader." When Cao Cao went out to inspect the siege-works, Shen Pei had cross-bows concealed to shoot at him, and they only narrowly missed.

Shen Pei's nephew, Shen Rong, was colonel at the eastern gate. In the eighth month, on the day wuyin [13 Sep], Shen Rong opened the gates during night and let Cao Cao in. Shen Pei fought them in the streets, but Cao Cao's men captured him alive.

[Ja9: 204]

G Xin Ping's family had been held in the prison at Ye. Xin Pi rode there at once to get them out, but Shen Pei had already had them killed. Cao Cao's men had bound Shen Pei, and as they brought him to their tents they met Xin Pi. He slashed Shen Pei across the face with a whip, and cursed him, "Now, slave, you will die!"

Shen Pei looked at him and said: "Dog, it is only because of people like you that my Ji province has been destroyed. I am sorry I was not able to kill you, but do you now have any right to say whether I live or die?"

Some time later Cao Cao had Shen Pei brought before him, and said, "When I was riding about earlier you fired several shots at me!"

"I am sorry they were too few!" answered Shen Pei.

"You were loyal to the Yuan," said Cao Cao. "How else could you have behaved?" He wanted to let him live, but Shen Pei was firm and proud: he
would neither bend nor make excuses, while Xin Pi and others never ceased to weep and beg [for his death]. So he was executed.

Zhang Ziqian, a man from Ji province who had surrendered earlier, had long been an enemy of Shen Pei. He laughed and said to him, "I have done better than you, Zhengnan." 18

In a harsh voice, Shen Pei replied, "You are a turncoat. I am a loyal minister. Even though I must die, I would never change places with you." When he came to the execution ground he swore at the man with the axe and demanded to be allowed to face north, saying, "My master is out there."

2056 Cao Cao went to sacrifice at the tomb of Yuan Shao, and wept for him so that the tears flowed. He comforted Yuan Shao's wife, gave their treasure back to his family, and presented them with silk and cloth. They also received an allowance of grain from the government.

Before this, when Yuan Shao and Cao Cao raised troops together [against Dong Zhuo in 190], Yuan Shao asked Cao Cao, "If this affair should fail, what territory would you take?"

"What would your idea be?" asked Cao Cao.

"In the south," replied Yuan Shao, "I would hold the Yellow River, and in the north I would reach to Yan and Dai. Then I could collect the hosts of barbarians in the north and turn south to fight for the empire. That should do it."

"I," said Cao Cao, "would use the wise and strong men of the empire, and I would govern them loyally and honestly. That way, I could manage anything."

In the ninth month an edict gave Cao Cao command as Governor of Ji province, but Cao Cao relinquished that appointment and reverted to Governor of Yan province.

Before this, Yuan Shang had sent his Attendant Official Qian Zhao of Anping to go to Shangdang and organise supplies for his army. Before he could return, however, Yuan Shang had fled to Zhongshan.

Qian Zhao suggested to Gao Gan that he bring the troops of Bing province to receive Yuan Shang, and join forces to watch events. Gao Gan
refused, so Qian Zhao went east to Cao Cao, and Cao Cao re-appointed him as an Attendant Official of Ji province.

Cao Cao also appointed Cui Yan as Aide-de-Camp [of Ji province].

He remarked to Cui Yan, "I have looked at the household registers, and there are just on three hundred thousand families. So this is a big province."

"The empire is fallen asunder," replied Cui Yan, "and the two Yuan brothers took up arms against one another. All those people of Ji, their bones were left bleaching in the wilderness. I have not heard you make any inquiries about the customs of the people, nor how you can help them in their distress. Instead, you calculate the numbers of their armed men. Do you really consider that to be the most important question? Is this what the men and women of my province must expect from you?" Cao Cao looked shamefaced, and thanked him.

Because of his good work, Xu You acted proudly and arrogant. There was a time he was present in open assembly, and he called Cao Cao by his childhood name, saying, "But for me, you would never have taken Ji province." Cao Cao laughed and said, "You are right," but he was really quite annoyed, and in the end he killed him.

In the winter, in the tenth month there was a comet in the Eastern Well.22

Gao Gan surrendered Bing province. Cao Cao re-appointed him as Inspector.23

While Cao Cao was besieging Ye, Yuan Tan had again turned away to seize Ganling, Anping, Bohai and Hejian.24 He attacked Yuan Shang in Zhongshan. Yuan Shang was defeated and fled to Gu'an to join Yuan Xi.25 Yuan Tan collected his [Yuan Shang's] forces and came back to camp at Longcou.26

Cao Cao wrote to Yuan Tan and accused him of breaking their agreement. He cancelled the marriage alliance, sent back Yuan Tan's daughter, and moved to attack him.
In the twelfth month Cao Cao’s army was at Qimen. Yuan Tan captured Pingyuan, but went then back to hold Nanpi, setting his camp by the Qing River.

Cao Cao entered Pingyuan and established general control over all the counties [of that territory].

Cao Cao recommended Gongsun Du as General Who is Firm and Majestic, with enfeoffment as Marquis of Yongning District. "I rule Liaodong like a king," replied Gongsun Du. "What is this Yongning place?" He stored the seal and tassel in his arsenal.

In this year Gongsun Du died and was succeeded by his son Gongsun Kang. Gongsun Kang enfeoffed his younger brother Gongsun Gong as Marquis of Yongning.

Since Qian Zhao had held command of the Wuhuan for the Yuan family, Cao Cao now sent him to Liucheng to keep the barbarians under control. Just at that time King Qiao [i.e. Supuyan] had five thousand horsemen ready to help Yuan Tan, and Gongsun Kang had also sent Han Zhong to grant him a seal and ribbon as Shanyu. King Qiao held a great assembly of his leaders, and Han Zhong was present.

King Qiao asked Qian Zhao, "Once before, Lord Yuan said that he held command from the Son of Heaven to appoint me Shanyu. Now Lord Cao is saying that he will tell the Son of Heaven and have me made Shanyu properly. And besides all this, there is an envoy with insignia from Liaodong. Which is the right one?"

"Formerly," replied Qian Zhao, "Lord Yuan held office and had power to make appointments. Later, however, he opposed the imperial commands, so now Lord Cao has taken his place. He is willing to arrange that you be given title as Shanyu by the proper authority. The miserable commandery of Liaodong, how dare they claim to grant credentials?"

Han Zhong said, "My Liaodong is east of a vast sea, with millions of soldiers and with the services of the Fuyu, the Hui and the Mo. These days, honour goes to the strong. What makes Cao Cao so special?"

Qian Zhao shouted at Han Zhong, "Lord Cao is sincere and respectful, wise and understanding. He supports the Son of Heaven, he attacks rebels but is kind to those who submit. He gives peace to the four seas. You, master and servant, you are stupid and disobedient. You hide away in the
furthest corners of the empire and turn your backs to the royal commands. You want to usurp appointments and you interfere in the powers of the Emperor. You should be killed at once. How dare you rudely and lightly slander a great man!” He seized Han Zhong by the neck, brought him to the floor, and drew a sword to cut his head off.

King Qiao, startled and frightened, ran barefoot to grasp Qian Zhao and ask mercy for Han Zhong. All his attendants turned pale.

Qian Zhao went back to his seat, and then he told King Qiao and the others who would win and who would lose, and what was the right course to follow. All came down from their mats, knelt in obeisance and received his words with respect. So the king made excuses to the messengers from Liaodong, and he disbanded the cavalry that he had prepared for Yuan Tan.

[Ja9: 204]
Q Gui Lan, Grand Chief Controller of Danyang, and the Commandery Assistant Dai Yuan killed the Grand Administrator Sun Yi.31 General Sun He was in camp at Jing city, and he hurried to Wanling,32 but Gui Lan and Dai Yuan killed him too. They sent a messenger to Liu Fu, Inspector of Yang province [appointed by Cao Cao] that he should come and stay at Liyang so Danyang could join him.33

Gui Lan went in to take over the commandery offices, and he wanted to compel Sun Yi’s widow, a woman of the Xu clan, to marry him. The Lady Xu put him off, saying, “I beg to wait until the end of the month, when I shall have completed the sacrifice and taken off my mourning clothes. Then I will attend your orders.” Gui Lan agreed.

The Lady Xu secretly sent a man she trusted to tell Sun Gao, Fu Ying and others, trusted former officers of Sun Yi, that they should get rid of Gui Lan. Sun Gao and Fu Ying wept and gave their promise, and they called privately on some twenty men who had served Sun Yi in his time and been favoured by him. They made an oath together and prepared their plans.

When the last day of the month came, the sacrifice was arranged. The Lady Xu wept out her grief, but then she stopped, put off her mourning clothes and bathed in scented herbs. She talked and laughed and appeared happy. From the highest rank to the lowest, everyone was sick and sad, surprised she could act in such a way. Gui Lan spied upon her and was convinced he could trust her.

The Lady Xu called Sun Gao and Fu Ying to stand inside her door as she sent someone to invite Gui Lan. She went forward to greet him, bowed just
once, then called aloud, "Gentlemen, show yourselves!" Sun Gao and Fu Ying came out together and killed Gui Lan, and the other men went and killed Dai Yuan.

The Lady Xu changed back into her mourning clothes and offered the heads of Gui Lan and Dai Yuan as sacrifice to the tomb of Sun Yi. All the army was shaken and afraid.

When Sun Quan heard there was trouble, he turned back from Jiaoqiu. He came to Danyang and destroyed the remnants of Gui Lan's and Dai Yuan's supporters. Sun Gao and Fu Ying were commissioned as military officers, and their companions were given rewards.

Sun Shao, son of Sun He, was seventeen years old. He collected the remnant of Sun He's forces to hold camp at Jing city. As Sun Quan was leading the army back to Wu he came to the camp by the night and feigned an attack to surprise them. All the soldiers, however, manned the walls. They sent out the summons for assistance, they were prepared and watchful, their shouts shook the ground and they shot several arrows at the men outside. Sun Quan had someone explain who it was, and then they stopped. Next day, he saw Sun Shao and appointed him Colonel Who Upholds Courage with command of all his father's troops.

NOTES to Jian'an 9: 204

A SGZ 1, 25 (56a–57b), the Biography of Cao Cao; SGZ 6, 202 (67b–68a), the post-Biography of Yuan Shao.

1 The main stream of the Qi River at this time joined the Yellow River south of Chaoge city: see note 37 to Chuping 2, and Zhongguo lishi ditu ji II, 48.

SJZ 9, 24b, describes the Bo Canal as an extension of the Qi River south of Neihuang (northeast of present-day Neihuang in Henan). SJZ 9, 8b, says Cao Cao made a dam on the lower reaches of the Qi, above the junction with the Yellow River, directing water into the Bo Canal and developing a water transport route northeast past Neihuang to the Qing River: see Zhongguo lishi ditu ji III, 11–12.

2 HHS 74/64B, 2414, dates this attack to the third month.

3 According to SJZ 9, 36a, the Yuan River flowed south of Ye. According to SGZ 6, it was fifty li from the city.

4 Wuan county was about present-day Wuan in Henan, northwest of Ye, and the fortification at Maocheng was evidently to the west, in the foothills of the Taihang mountains.

5 Handan, east of Wuan at present-day Handan in Henan, was the capital of Zhao kingdom.

[Ja9: 204]

B SGZ 17, 528 (16a–b), the Biography of Xu Huang.
Xu Huang's advice actually related only to Han Fan. Han Fan had first offered only a false submission, but Xu Huang was then sent to deal with him, and he persuaded Han Fan to a genuine surrender.

Yiyang was in Zhao, northeast of Handan. She was in Wei, west of Wuan, on the upper course of the Zhang River and thus controlled communications with Bing province and threatened the flank of the Yuan loyalists (note 4 above).

The appointments as Marquis Within the Imperial Domain come from SGZ 1, 25.

On Marquis Within the Imperial Domain (guannei hou: Bielenstein renders the title more literally as "Marquis Within the Passes"), nineteenth of the twenty orders of aristocratic rank, see Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank," 152–154, and de Crespigny, Huan and Ling II, 296–297 note 53.

The appointment was next below that of a full marquis, the highest that could be obtained by a commoner under the Han dynasty. Though it sometimes passed from father to son, it appears the title was not normally hereditary.

In theory, a Marquis Within the Imperial Domain should not have been granted any specific territory as his fief, since the Land Within the Passes (guannei) had been the domain of the emperor under Former Han, and the tradition of the past implied that no subject could control land there. There were, however, some occasions a Marquis of the Imperial Domain was awarded an estate in one region of the empire or another, though it was probably not so great as that of a full marquis. More frequently there was a cash pension.

SGZ 8, 261 (40b), the Biography of Zhang Yan.
SGZ 1, 25 (57b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 6, 202 (68a), the post-Biography of Yuan Shao.
SGZ 15, 484 (31b–32b) PC quoting the Biography of Li Fu from Wei lue.

The position of Chief Controller is here a comparatively low-ranking officer responsible for discipline, similar to that in passage JJ of Xingping 2. Compare passages B of Jian'an 4 and B of Jian'an 7, where it indicates a substantial appointment with authority as a military governor, and passage J of Jian'an 4, where it designates the commander of a major division in Yuan Shao's army.

The city of Ye had seven gates. The Zhang Gate, also known as Zhongyang, was the main gate of the southern wall.

SGZ 1, 25 (57b–59a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 6, 202 (68a–69a), the post-Biography of Yuan Shao;
HHS 74/64B, 2416 (5b–6a), the post-Biography of Yuan Shao.
Sunzi bingfa 7, 38a; Griffith, Art of War, 109: "Do not thwart an enemy returning homewards."

ZZTJ commentary explains Cao Cao's thinking as follows: if Yuan Shang came by the main road, he committed his troops to open combat, and in those circumstances they would indeed do their utmost, without thought of any alternative; by coming through the hills, however, Yuan Shang and his men had the option of protecting themselves among
the defensible places there, and they would lose their enthusiasm to fight in defence of their homes. Compare passage E and note 5 of Jian’an 3.


*Cao Man zhuan*, quoted by *SGZ* 1, 25 PC, tells how scouts sent out by Cao Cao reported that Yuan Shang was approaching from the west and had reached Handan. Cao Cao then knew he would defeat him.

Handan is almost due north of Ye, on the line of the modern railroad. Rather than moving directly towards Ye, across the plain southwest from Pingyuan, Yuan Shang chose an oblique approach: passing by on the north, he then turned through the foothills of the Taihang range to advance on Ye from the northwest.

12 Quzhang is a place at a bend (qu) of the Zhang River.

13 *SGZ* 1 has the Qi Hills, but *SGZ* 6 names the place as Lankou, while *HHS* 74/64B, 2416, has the variant writing. The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes the alternatives, but says that he chose to follow *SGZ* 1.

*HHS* commentary says there was a Lancuo Hill close to Ye, and this is the place referred to: The Qing scholar Gu Zuyu, cited by *SGZ* 1, 58b, says that the hills lay west of the city, and were also known as Qi. Lankou was presumably the entrance to a pass or valley within the range of the Qi Hills.

14 Yuan Xi, third of the sons of Yuan Shao, had been appointed Inspector of You province by his father: passage B of Jian’an 7.

15 *ZZTJ* commentary notes that the name of the eastern gate at Ye was Jianchun.

16 Xin Pi, who had now joined Cao Cao, was a younger brother of Yuan Tan’s adviser Xin Ping: passage D of Jian’an 8.

17 As *ZZTJ* commentary explains, Shen Pei’s fate was now in the hands of Cao Cao. Xin Pi had no authority on the matter.

18 Zhengnan was the style of Shen Pei.

19 Dai was the name of a commandery under Han, but the phrase Yan and Dai here refers to the two ancient states of that name, being the territory on the north of the imperial frontiers.

20 The phrase appears in *Zuo zhuan*, Chao 1; Legge *CC V*, 580 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 31), where the adviser Zichan refers to the quarrel of two princely brothers: the third-century commentator Du Yu explains that *xun* means *yong* “to use.”

K *SGZ* 12, 373 (13a) PC quoting *Wei lue*.
The text at this point has the characters Moujia "So-and-so:" Yu Huan, author of *Wei lue*, evidently respected the taboo on Cao Cao's name and did not record it.

Cao Cao's regular style was Mengde, but according to *Cao Man zhuan*, by an anonymous author believed to be a subject of the rival state of Wu, quoted by *SGZ* 1, 1 PC, Cao Cao's childhood name (*xiaozh*) was Aman.

This comet is also described and discussed in *HHS* 102/12, 3261, the Treatise of Astronomy, where the date is given as the eleventh month.

The Eastern Well constellation (*Dongjing*) is the Jing lunar mansion, the twenty–second, being Western Gemini; Schlegel, *Uranographie I*, 410 and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 103 and Star Map 7.


We may note that in the twelfth month of this year, 7 January 205 of the Julian calendar, the eclipse Oppolzer 3382 took place over the Pacific Ocean east of China, about 1450E, 190N. The eclipse is mapped by Stephenson and Houlden, 218, but it was 90% obscured and does not appear in Chinese records.

Gao Gan was a nephew of Yuan Shao, who had appointed him as Inspector of Bing province. The core of his territory was Shangdang commandery, west of Ye: passage B and note 10 to Jian’an 7.

*SGZ* 1 describes Gao Gan as the Governor of Bing province, and he may well have taken the higher title at some stage. If so, the re–appointment by Cao Cao, not surprisingly, represented a formal demotion.

These commandery units were in the north and east of Ji province. Zhongshan, where Yuan Shang had taken refuge, was in the central north.

The expression indicates that Yuan Tan had again turned away from the alliance agreement with Cao Cao. As we have seen (note 19 to Jian’an 8), the history of this relationship is written from Cao Cao's point of view. It does appear, however, that Yuan Tan was supposed to have joined Cao Cao's forces for the attack on Ye. Instead, he sought to extend his own position.
Gu'an county was in Zhuo commandery in You province, west of present-day Dingxing in Hebei, and just north of the border with Zhongshan in Ji province. Yuan Xi was Inspector of You province: note 14 above.

The city of Longcou, by present-day De county in northern Shandong, was evidently an important communications point on the borders of Pingyuan and Bohai between the Qing and Ban rivers: see note 64 to Chuping 3.

It is difficult to make sense of these manoeuvres as described by ZZTJ. They are confused by ZZTJ's punctuation of Qimen as a place-name, and by uncertainty as to who was originally in possession of the city of Pingyuan:

*HHS 74/64B* says that in the twelfth month Cao Cao attacked Yuan Tan and brought his army to Qimen. Yuan Tan fled by night to Nanpi, then established his encampment by the Qing River.

*SGZ 6* says that as Cao Cao advanced against him, Yuan Tan captured Pingyuan, then Nanpi, then set his own camp at Longcou. In the twelfth month Cao Cao brought his army to Qimen. Yuan Tan did not come out [to fight], but withdrew by night to Nanpi, where he established his encampment by the Qing River.

*SGZ 1* says that after sending back Yuan Tan's daughter, Cao Cao brought his army forward. Yuan Tan was afraid. He first seized Pingyuan, then fled to defend Nanpi. In the twelfth month Cao Cao entered Pingyuan, and took over the counties of that region.

We may note that neither punctuated editions of *HHS 74/64B* nor *SGZ 6* show Qimen as a proper name. Of the other places named:

The county city of Pingyuan, near present-day Pingyuan in Shandong just north of the Yellow River, was the capital of the commandery unit of Pingyuan. Despite an attack by Yuan Shang earlier this year, it had remained in the possession of Yuan Tan: passage A above. It is difficult to see, therefore, how Yuan Tan could have been said to have captured it (*ba*) at this time.

Nanpi was the capital of Bohai commandery, near present-day Nanpi in Hebei, and rather more than a hundred kilometres north of Pingyuan. Yuan Tan had set his base there in the previous year (passage B of Jian'an 8), and from this headquarters he had taken control over the northeast of Ji province (passage N above).

The Qing River flowed northeast through the northern part of Ganling commandery (formerly named Qinghe), passed Nanpi on the west and then entered the sea near present-day Tianjin. Yuan Tan's camp was evidently just outside the city of Nanpi.

Longcou, described above as Yuan Tan's forward position, was near the Qing River northeast of Pingyuan city and southeast of Nanpi. As Yuan Tan withdrew from there, his natural route lay northeast, down the Qing River, to Nanpi.

If Cao Cao was attacking Yuan Tan, we would expect him to move first against his first line of defence at Longcou. When Yuan Tan retreated Cao Cao could turn east to seize Pingyuan, held until then by Yuan Tan's forces, leaving Nanpi until later.

For his part, it appears that Yuan Tan came forward to Longcou, but abandoned that position and retreated to Nanpi, where he set up another defensive position beside the Qing River. He had held Pingyuan up to that time, but was now unable to protect it.
So the statement about the taking of Pingyuan is confused: it was a success for Cao Cao, not an achievement of Yuan Tan, and it took place after Yuan Tan's retreat. Indeed, Cao Cao first captured (ba) the county city of Pingyuan, capital of the commandery, then established a loose authority (lue ding), not yet full government, over the whole commandery.

Qimen should be regarded not as a place in its own right, but identified as "the gates of [Yuan Tan's camp at Longcou]."

Passage A of Jian'an 5 describes how the campaign was concluded at Nanpi in the following year.

[Ja9: 204]
O  SGZ 8, 252 (28a), the Biography of Gongsun Du.
28 It is not possible to identify this district (xiang) of Yongning.
[Ja9: 204]
P  SGZ 26, 730 (13b), the Biography of Qian Zhao.
29 On Supuyan, chieftain of the Wuhuan and an old ally of Yuan Shao, who also styled himself Qiao, the "Severe" King, see passages SS of Xingping 2 and C of Jian'an 4.
30 The Fuyu [Puyô] and the associated Hui [Ye] and Mo [Maek] peoples (the latter two often combined as the Huimo) were non-Chinese peoples on the east of Liaodong commandery in present-day Manchuria. There is an account of them in SGZ 30, 841–42, and see Gardiner, Early History of Korea, 29 and 22.
[Ja9: 204]
Q  SGZ 51 (Wu 6), 1215 (14b–15b) PC quoting Wu li;
SGZ 51 (Wu 6), 1214–16 (14b–15b), the Biography of Sun Shao.
31 This story is discussed in de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 233–234.

Gui Lan's appointment as Grand Chief Controller was presumably a comparatively junior post of military police in the commandery, comparable to that of a regular Commandant (wei), and with similar rank to that of the civil assistant, Dai Yuan. Cf. note 8 above and Introduction at xxv.

32 Wanling, present-day Suancheng in Anhui, was the capital of Danyang commandery.

Jing city (jingcheng) describes Dantu in Wu commandery, by present-day Dantu in Jiangsu. It may have been given the designation "capital city" on account of its central strategic position in the holdings of the Sun family, but ZZTJ commentary suggests it comes from its position on top of a ridge of hills overlooking the Yangzi.

33 Liu Fu had been appointed by Cao Cao in 200; his headquarters were at Hefei: passage JJ of Jian'an 5. Liyang county in Danyang, by present-day He county in Anhui, was a major crossing place of the Yangzi: passage CC and note 56 of Xingping 1, and passage FF of Xingping 2.

34 Jiaoqiu county was one of the Sun family bases in Yuzhang commandery: note 45 to Jian'an 4.

Jian'an 10: 205 AD
[7 February 205 – 26 January 206]
A  In the spring, in the first month Cao Cao attacked Nanpi.1 Yuan Tan came out to fight and casualties were high. Cao Cao wanted to break off for a time, but the Gentleman-Consultant Cao Chun said, "Our army is isolated, we are a long way into enemy territory, and it will be difficult to keep this position for long. Now we have gone forward, however, if we go back without victory we shall certainly lose face." He beat a drum to lead the soldiers in attack, and the battle was won.

2060  Yuan Tan ran away, and he was killed in the pursuit.2

B  Li Fu, announcing himself as Master of Records of Ji province,3 asked to see Cao Cao and said, "In this city, the strong oppress the weak and the hearts of the people are troubled and disturbed. I suggest you give orders for someone who has just surrendered, and who is known and trusted by the people, to announce your policy."

So Cao Cao sent him into the city to make proclamation to the people that all should carry on business as usual, with no disturbance. The city was quiet.

C  Cao Cao now cut off the heads of Guo Tu and his fellows and all their wives and children.4

D  Yuan Tan had sent Wang Xiu to Le'an to supervise grain transport. When Wang Xiu heard Yuan Tan was in trouble, he led the soldiers under his command to come and help him, but as they came to Gaomi they learned of Yuan Tan's death.5

Wang Xiu got down from his horse and wept and said, "Without a master, where shall I turn?" He went to Cao Cao and begged Yuan Tan's body for burial. Cao Cao agreed, and he then sent Wang Xiu back to Le'an to take charge of the supplies for the army.

All the cities under Yuan Tan had submitted and only the Grand Administrator of Le'an, Guan Tong, did not surrender. Cao Cao ordered Wang Xiu to take Guan Tong's head, but Wang Xiu believed Guan Tong was the loyal servant of a fallen state, and he loosed his bonds and sent him to Cao Cao. Cao Cao was pleased and pardoned him, and he appointed Wang Xiu as a Senior Clerk in [his] offices as Minister of Works.6
Guo Jia encouraged Cao Cao to appoint many of the famous scholars of Qing, Ji, You and Bing as clerical officials to increase support for his regime among the people, and Cao Cao did this.

At the time of the Guandu campaign, Yuan Shao had Chen Lin write his proclamations. Chen Lin accused Cao Cao of a multitude of crimes, even attacked his family and ancestors, and thoroughly abused and slandered him. When the Yuan were defeated, Chen Lin came to Cao Cao, and Cao Cao said, "When you wrote those proclamations for Yuan Benchu, you needed only to insult me. Why attack my father and grandfather?" Chen Lin begged his pardon. Then Cao Cao forgave him and had him act as joint head of his secretariat with Ruan Yu of Chenliu.

Before this, Wang Song of Yuyang had occupied Zhuo commandery. Liu Fang, a man of that commandery, now persuaded him to offer his territory to Cao Cao. Cao Cao appointed Liu Fang Adviser to the Army of the Minister of Works.

Yuan Xi was attacked by his officers Jiao Chu and Zhang Nan, and he fled with Yuan Shang to the Wuhuan in Liaoxi.

Jiao Chu proclaimed himself Inspector of You province, and persuaded the civil officials in all the commanderies to abandon the Yuan and transfer their allegiance to Cao Cao. He drew up his troops, several ten thousand in number, and sacrificed a white horse to confirm the covenant, giving orders that, "Anyone who turns away will be killed." None dared look up, and each in turn smeared the blood on their mouths [to accept the oath].

The Aide-de-Camp Han Heng of Dai commandery said, "I have received great favours from the lords Yuan, father and son. Even though they are defeated and lost, I would be lacking in honour if I were neither wise enough to aid them nor strong enough to give my life for them. To face north to Cao Cao [and honour him as ruler], I cannot do that."

Everyone present turned pale in fear for Han Heng, but Jiao Chu said, "Great affairs must be founded on justice, and one man will make no difference to our success or failure. Let him hold to his principles, for he is an example of loyal service for us all." So they left him alone.

Jiao Chu and his fellows went over to Cao Cao. They were all enfeoffed as full marquises.
In the summer, in the fourth month Zhang Yen, leader of the Black Mountain bandits, led his forces to surrender, more than a hundred thousand men. He was enfeoffed as Marquis of Anguo Village.

Zhao Du, Huo Nu and other men of Gu'an killed the Inspector of You province and the Grand Administrator of Zhuo commandery, while the Wuhuan of three commanderies attacked Xianyu Fu at Gongping.

In the autumn, in the eighth month Cao Cao attacked Zhao Du and his companions and killed them. He crossed the Lu River to relieve Gongping, and the Wuhuan fled back across the borders.

In the winter, in the tenth month Gao Gan heard Cao Cao had attacked the Wuhuan. He again rebelled in Bing province, arresting the Grand Administrator of Shangdang and bringing troops to hold the entrance to the Hu Pass. Cao Cao sent his officers Yue Jin and Li Dian to attack him.

Zhang Cheng of Henei had ten thousand men under arms and was plundering between the Xiao [Hills] and Mian[chi]. Zhang Yan of Hongnong raised troops to join him.

Wang Yi, Grand Administrator of Hedong, was recalled, but Wei Gu, a Senior Clerk in the commandery, with the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Fan Xian and others, went to the Colonel Director of Retainers Zhong Yao to ask that he remain. Zhong Yao would not approve. Wei Gu and his fellows pretended that they were asking for Wang Yi because of his good reputation, but in fact they had secret contact with Gao Gan.

Cao Cao said to Xun Yu, "Officially, the leaders west of the passes have submitted to us, but amongst themselves they are planning treachery. Zhang Cheng plunders and causes trouble between Xiao and Mian, and he has links with Liu Biao in the south. If Wei Gu and the others follow his example, they could be a real danger. At this moment, Hedong is a key point in the empire. Can you suggest a reliable man to keep the place under control?"

Xun Yu replied, "The Grand Administrator of Xiping, Du Ji of Jingzhao, is brave enough to cope with danger and wise enough to deal with any situation."

So Cao Cao appointed Du Ji as Grand Administrator of Hedong. Zhong Yao urged Wang Yi to hand over his insignia of office, but Wang Yi took the
seal and tassel with him and went straight from Hebei to present himself at Xu city.16

Wei Gu and his associates sent several thousand soldiers to block the Shan Crossing, and when Du Ji came up he was held there for several months.17

Cao Cao ordered Xiahou Dun to attack Wei Gu and the others, but before they had arrived, Du Ji said, "Hedong has thirty thousand households, and they cannot all wish to be in rebellion. With soldiers holding them down, however, those who wish to stay loyal have no leader. It is only natural that they are frightened, so they listen to Wei Gu. Wei Gu and his men have seized full power, and they will certainly fight to the death.18 If we attack them without success there will be no end of trouble. If we attack them and win, we destroy the people of a whole commandery.

"On the other hand, Wei Gu and his fellows have not yet made a public break from the imperial authority. They claim they are asking for their former master [Wang Yi], and I am sure they will not harm me if I come as their new ruler. I shall go to them direct, without an escort, and take them by surprise. Wei Gu has many ideas, but he cannot make decisions. He will certainly pretend to accept me, and if I can just stay in the commandery for a month that will give me time to arrange some plan to keep them quiet."

So he went by side-roads over the Dou Crossing.19

2063 Fan Xian wanted to kill Du Ji as a means to intimidate the people, but for the time being he waited to see what Du Ji would do. He beheaded the Master of Records and some thirty other officials [of the commandery] outside his gate, but Du Ji showed no sign of anxiety.

Then Wei Gu said, "If we kill him it will be no loss to Cao Cao, but will simply give us a bad name. In any case, I know I can keep him in hand." So they accepted him [as Grand Administrator of Hedong].

Du Ji said to Wei Gu and Fan Xian, "You, Wei and Fan, are among the leading families of Hedong, and I rely upon you entirely for my administration. There is, however, a code of conduct established for rulers and their ministers: as we must share in success or defeat, so in all important matters we should take counsel together." He appointed Wei Gu as Chief Controller, acting also as his Assistant with command over the Bureau of Merit, while all troops, more than three thousand men, were put under Fan Xian's command.20 Wei Gu and the others were pleased, and though they pretended to serve Du Ji they paid no thought to him.
Then Wei Gu planned a great levy of troops. Du Ji was concerned about this, and said to him, "Such large-scale recruitment will surely make the people uneasy. Far better raise troops gradually, and pay them wages." Wei Gu agreed, but he got very few soldiers.

Du Ji also said to Wei Gu and his fellows, "It is only human nature that a man should be concerned for his family. Let your officers take turns to go home on leave. There will be no difficulty recalling them when you need them." Wei Gu and his party wanted to be popular, so they followed his advice. As a result of Du Ji's advice, while loyalists outside were making secret plans to support him, the rebels were divided and scattered and had all gone back to their homes.

About this time White Rider [Zhang Cheng]22 attacked Yuan [county in He]dong,23 and Gao Gan entered Huoze.24 Du Ji knew that the counties would remain loyal to him, so he went out of the city with a few score horsemen, occupied a strong fort, and set up his defences. Many of the officials and people held their cities on Du Ji's behalf, and within a few weeks he had gathered more than four thousand men.

Wei Gu and the others joined Gao Gan and Zhang Cheng, and they attacked Du Ji together, but they could not overcome him. They attempted to take over the counties, but they could capture none of them.

Cao Cao sent the Gentleman-Consultant Zhang Ji to go to the west and raise the leaders within the passes, Ma Teng and his fellows. They brought soldiers together to attack and destroy Zhang Cheng and his allies. They took the heads of Wei Gu, Zhang Yan and some others, but all the rest of their followers were pardoned.

Then Du Ji governed Hedong, and he was careful to act generously and kindly. When people came to open a lawsuit, he would tell them what was right and what was wrong and then he would send them back to think it over; so the elders of the people blamed themselves for any quarrel, and they no longer enjoyed going to law.

He encouraged the planting of mulberry trees and gave advice on rearing cattle, and every family became prosperous and wealthy. After that he established schools, and he chose for office only men of filial piety and brotherly love. He kept weapons in repair and he was fully prepared for war, and so Hedong had peace.
Du Ji stayed in the commandery for sixteen years, and he was always judged the best administrator in the empire.

Xun Yue, Inspector of the Private Library and Palace Attendant, wrote the Shenjian in five sections and presented it to the throne. Yue was the son of an elder brother of Xun Shuang.25

At this time Cao Cao controlled the government and the Emperor was no more than a figure–head. Xun Yue sought to advise the Emperor, but none of his plans were put into effect, so he wrote this book. In general outline, it said:26

"The art of good government lies in first doing away with the four harmful things, then promoting the five good points.

"Falsehood disrupts custom, selfishness destroys the law, unruliness breaks the controls, extravagance ruins good order. Until these four have been eliminated, no program of government can be carried out: these are the four harmful things.

"Encouraging farming and mulberry–growing so as to nourish the living, judging between good and bad in order to keep customs well, spreading teaching as a means to manifest reform, setting up military preparations to maintain authority, making rewards and punishments clear so that all laws are consistent: these are the five points of good government.

"If a man does not fear death, you cannot awe him with punishments, and if a man does not love his life, you cannot encourage him with good treatment. For this reason man who holds high position must first increase his people's property in order to settle their ambitions; this is called 'nourishing life'.

"The good or ill merit of a work depend upon its intention, and unwarranted slander or praise may be discovered through careful enquiry. [If those who make appointments are careful to] listen to reports and check the facts, to ensure that the name matches reality, then it will impossible for officials to hold power by deceit and so disturb the people. In such case, customs will have neither fault nor perversity, and people will have no inclination to evil. This is what is meant by 'keeping customs well'.

"Honour and shame are the essence of reward and punishment. If a gentleman is trained with rituals and teaching to distinguish honour or shame, that will change his inner nature, while fetters or the whip applied to a petty fellow will change his outward behaviour.
"When teaching and reform are abandoned, people of medium quality are brought down to the level of petty fellows. When teaching and reform are maintained, such ordinary people can be brought to the Way of the gentleman. This is what is meant by 'manifesting reform'.

"Men who hold high positions should prepare for war, so they may always be ready for the unexpected. In time of peace they entrust responsibility for military training to the civil administration, so that when there is an emergency the armies are ready. This is what is meant by 'maintaining authority'.

"Reward and punishment are the handles of good administration. If rulers grant few rewards, it is not because they are ungenerous, but because rewards offered indiscriminately do not encourage good conduct. If rulers are sparing in their punishments, it is not because they have pity for the people; but rather because punishments applied at random do not discourage bad behaviour. When rewards provide no incentive, it is called 'restraining the good'; if punishments have no effect, it is called 'setting loose evil'.

"When those in high positions can avoid holding their subjects back from the good and do not drive them to the bad, then the law of the state is established. This is what is meant by 'laws being consistent'.

"When the four harmful things are done away with and the five good points established; and if they are practised sincerely and maintained firmly; behaving simply without being casual, and acting leniently without being loose – then the Emperor may sit with clothing draped and hands folded, practising etiquette and the rules of propriety, and all within the seas will be at peace."
NOTES to Jian'an 10: 205

A  SGZ 9, 276 (16a–b), the Biography of Cao Chun.
1  On Cao Cao's advance to Nanpi, see passage N of Jian'an 4.
2  The story of Yuan Tan's somewhat cowardly death is in HHS 74/64B, 2417.

[Ba10: 205]

B  SGZ 15, 484 (32b–33a) PC quoting the Biography of Li Fu from Wei lue.
3  Li Fu had been Master of Records under Yuan Shang: passage E of Jian'an 9.

[Ba10: 205]

C  HHS 74/64B, 2417 (6b), the post–Biography of Yuan Shao.
4  SGZ 1, 27, says Cao Cao also "punished" (zhu) Yuan Tan's wife and children: this may or
    may not have entailed execution.

[Ba10: 205]

D  SGZ 11, 346–47 (19a), the Biography of Wang Xiu.
5  Wang Xiu had earlier been appointed Grand Administrator of Le'an commandery, which
    was in Qing province by the mouth of the Yellow River: passage B of Jian'an 8. Wang Xiu's
    biography, however, describes later how he acted as an adviser to Yuan Tan, so either he
    did not in fact go to Le'an on the occasion of that first appointment, or he came back and
    was sent out again.

    Gaomi county was in Beihai in Qing province, near present–day Gaomi in Shandong, on
    the south of the peninsula. Le'an commandery was closer to the site of Yuan Tan's last
    stand at Nanpi, so it appears Wang Xiu had been given a commission to range widely along
    the Shandong peninsula in search of supplies.

6  Cao Cao had held substantive office as Minister of Works under Han since 197: passage W
    of Jian'an 1.

[Ba10: 205]

E  SGZ 14, 424 (11b) PC quoting Fuzi.

[Ba10: 205]

F  SGZ 21, 600 (8b–10a), the sub–Biography of Chen Lin.

[Ba10: 205]

G  SGZ 14, 456–57 (42a–b), the Biography of Liu Fang.

[Ba10: 205]

H  SGZ 6, 206 (70b), the post–Biography of Yuan Shao;
    SGZ 1, 27 (61b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

[Ba10: 205]

I  SGZ 8, 261 (40b), the Biography of Zhang Yan.
7  Zhang Yan had already established an association with Cao Cao at the time of his attack on

[Ba10: 205]

J  SGZ 1, 27 (62a), the Biography of Cao Cao.
8  Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi had set their base at Gu'an in Zhuo commandery, but they had
    lately been driven away to the Wuhuan in the north: passages M of Jian'an 9 and H above.
    The disturbance by Zhao Du and his companions was evidently a move in sympathy with
    the Yuan brothers.
Gongping county was in Yuyang commandery, northeast of Miyun in present-day Hebei, at the far north of the North China plain. Xianyu Fu was an ally of Cao Cao, and had been his agent in You province since 200: passage M of Jian'an 5.

The Wuhuan of the three commanderies were the groups from Liaoxi, headed by Tadun, from Liaodong, led by Supuyan, and from Youbei ping, under Wuyan. The Yuan brothers had fled to take refuge with Tadun (passage H above), and in association with Zhao Du they now sought to re-establish a position in the north.

The Lu River was one of the streams which flowed from the high ground of the frontier, past present-day Beijing to the east, and entered the sea north of present-day Tianjin: de Crespigny, Northern Frontier, 406.

According to SGZ 1, Cao Cao embarked on his campaign in the north in the eighth month, and had returned to Ye by the tenth month. Gao Gan evidently thought Cao Cao would be more firmly committed to dealing with the Wuhuan than he actually was at this stage.

Huguankou describes the entrance (kou) to the Hu Pass in Huguan county of Shangdang, the main route from the North China Plain into this region of the Taihang Mountains and present-day Shanxi: passage E and note 10 to Jian'an 7.

SGZ 15, 472 (13b), the Biography of Zhang Ji;
SGZ 13, 394 (5a) PC quoting Wei lue;
SGZ 16, 494–95 (8a–10a), the Biography of Du Ji.

The Treatise of Administrative Geography, HHS 109/19, 3401, says the Two Xiao hills were in the county of Mianchi in Hongnong. The phrase Xiao–Mian jian here indicates the south of the valley of the Yellow River downstream of the Sanmen Gorge in Henan.

This Zhang Yan is not the same as Zhang Yan, former leader of the Black Mountain bandits who had lately surrendered to Cao Cao: passage I above.

Du Ji had been recommended to Cao Cao by Xun Yu earlier, and was appointed Grand Administrator of Xiping, and at the same time Colonel Protector of the Qiang, with the Staff of Authority, evidently a roving commission in the far west: SGZ 16, 494.

Xiping commandery was set up in the western part of Jincheng commandery of Han, on the upper Xining River in Liang province: JS 14, 433, says that the capital was at Xidu. The commandery may have been established as the base for Du Ji’s earlier appointment. See also de Crespigny, Northern Frontier, 500 note 64.

Hebei was a county in Hedong commandery, just north of the Yellow River near present-day Ruicheng in Shanxi.

The Shan Crossing of the Yellow River, also known as the Mao Crossing, was in the north of Shan county in Hongnong (SJZ 4, 21b). The capital of Hedong commandery was at Anyi, and Du Ji was approaching his designated territory from his former post in the west, along the southern bank of the Yellow River.

This clause is omitted from the basic text of the Beijing edition, but it appears in two Song editions, and also in SGZ 16.

According to SJZ 4, 19a, the Dou Crossing of the Yellow River was northeast of the former Hu city, thus north of present-day Lingbao in Henan. It was upstream from the Shan or Mao Crossing, south of Hebei county in Hedong commandery.

Fan Xian thus held command of the local militia, which Wei Gu was the civil assistant with responsibility for military discipline, selection of staff, and general administration.
ZZTJ commentary observes that if the soldiers were to be paid rather than summarily conscripted on the basis of an emergency, the number recruited would be limited by the resources of the commandery; and there was evidently not a great deal of money available.

SGZ 18, 545, refers to a rebellion of White Rider (Boji) Zhang in Hongnong at this time, and he was destroyed by Ma Teng in the same fashion as Zhang Cheng described below. White Rider was evidently a nom-de-guerre of Zhang Cheng.

HHS 71/61, 2310, followed by ZZTJ 58, 1878, refers to White Rider Zhang among the bandit leaders who arose after the rebellion of the Yellow Turbans in 184: cf. de Crespigny, Huan and Ling II, 567 note 12.

There is a Yuan county listed under Hedong in HHS 109/19, 3398, the Treatise of Administrative Geography. On the basis of a note in the commentary of Liu Zhao to the Treatise, which refers to hills in the east, together with this present reference, ZZTJ commentary argues that Yuan has been miswritten for Dongyuan.

Wang Xianqian, however, in HHSJJ 109/19, 18a, believes the simple entry for Yuan is correct, and the character dong in the text of SGZ 16, followed by ZZTJ, appears because the character he, as in Hedong commandery, has been omitted. So it is the transmission of SGZ which is at fault, not that of HHS treatise.

Neither the Beijing edition of HHS, not that of SGZ, notice the debate, but Zhongguo lishi ditu ji II, 42, shows the county as Dongyuan. Whatever its name, the city lay southeast of present-day Yuanqu in Shanxi (and it is also possible that Dongyuan is the name of a sub-county town or village in Yuan county.)

Huoze county in Hedong was near Yangcheng in Shanxi. Both Huoze and [Dong-] Yuan were in the east of the commandery, near the border with Shangdang.

Shenjian was originally composed in five pian; modern editions, which appear essentially complete, are divided into five juan. The life of Xun Yue and his work the Shenjian have been studied and translated by Ch'en Ch'i-yün.

This text of ZZTJ is based upon the précis in HHS and HHJ rather than upon direct reference to Shenjian, and it reflects only an early part of the work: Shenjian 1.6–1.14: Ch'en, Mind of Late Han China, 107–112.

This phrase is used of Guan Zhong, great minister of Duke Huan of Qi, in Guo yu 6, 6a.

At this point this edition of ZZTJ has du "only." Other editions follow the original text of HHS 62/52, and read juan "remove;" du is evidently corrupt.
TO ESTABLISH PEACE
CHAPTER 65
being Chapter 57 of the Chronicle of Han
[containing Part 7 of the reign of Emperor Xian]

Jian’an 11: 206 AD
[27 January 206 – 14 February 207]

2066
A In the spring, in the first month there was a comet in the Northern Dipper.1

B Cao Cao led an attack on Gao Gan. He left his eldest son Cao Pi to guard Ye, with the Aide-de-Camp Cui Yan to guide him.2

Cao Cao besieged Huguan, and in the third month the city surrendered. Gao Gan went to the Xiongnu to ask for help, but the Shanyu would not receive him. Gao Gan fled with a few horsemen, hoping to escape south into Jing province, but Wang Yan, Chief Commandant at Shangluo,3 arrested him and cut off his head. All Bing province was pacified.4

C Cao Cao appointed Liang Xi of Chen commandery as Major With a Separate Command and Inspector of Bing province. There was still disorder in the region: the barbarians were threatening, officials and people had run away to join the tribes, and families with armed retainers gathered troops and plundered everywhere.

2067 When Liang Xi came to office he encouraged the people to return. He summoned most courteously all the chiefs of powerful families, recommended them for promotion, and sent them to attend [Cao Cao's] headquarters. When they had left, he gathered their fighting men into an auxiliary force, and when the main army went out on campaign he arranged for the officers to take them over as volunteers. When these had gone, he sent their families off to Ye, and one way or another he transferred tens of thousands of people there.5 If anyone disobeyed he raised troops to attack them, and he took more than a thousand heads. Tens of thousands of others surrendered and joined him.

The Shanyu was now respectful and obedient, the tribal chieftains bowed to the ground, and they all submitted and served the empire as if they were registered Chinese citizens. The borders were peaceful and the people spread over the cultivated land. Liang Xi encouraged farming and gave advice on mulberry-growing. Whatever he ordered was done and whatever
he forbade was stopped. The elders sang his praises: of all the officials they had heard of and known, there had never been an Inspector like Liang Xi.

D Liang Xi put forward recommendations of scholars such as Chang Lin, Yang Jun, Wang Xiang and Xun Wei of Henei, and Wang Ling of Taiyuan, men who had left their homes and come to take refuge in his territory. Cao Cao gave them appointments as chiefs of counties, and each of them later became famous.6

E Before this, Zhongchang Tong of Shanyang had come as a refugee scholar to Bing province and visited Gao Gan. Gao Gan received him extremely well, and asked him about the affairs of the day.

Zhongchang Tong said to him, "You seek to act as a hero, but you lack the talents. You show respect for scholars and gentlemen, but you choose the wrong men. I give you strong warning." Gao Gan thought well of himself and was not pleased at what Zhongchang Tong said, so Zhongchang Tong left him.

When Gao Gan was dead, Xun Yu recommended Zhongchang Tong as a Gentleman of the Masters of Writing. He wrote a treatise called Changyan, which discussed good and bad government.7 In summary, it said:

F8 "The powerful man who is worthy of the Mandate of Heaven has at first no share in the empire. Since he has no share in the empire, there are fighting men everywhere who rise up against him. When all those who contest him in wisdom are exhausted, and when all those who compete with him by force have been defeated, then they come to a situation where they can no longer resist him and their strength can no longer match his. Then at last they bow their heads and bend their necks, and accept his yoke.

2068 "Then there is a regular succession, so powerful men limit their ambitions, and the hearts of the people are satisfied. The highest position is held steadily by one family, and power rests with a single man. At such a time, even though a fellow of meanest ability holds the position, his grace will match Heaven and Earth, and his authority equals that of the spirits. Thousands of Dukes of Zhou or Confucius could not rival his wisdom, and a million Meng Ben or Xia Yu could not contend with him in courage.9

"Later, however, a stupid ruler receives the inheritance. He sees that no one in the empire dares oppose him, and he believes himself secure as Heaven and Earth. So he gives free rein to his private desires, he hastens to
carry out his evil intentions. Ruler and ministers share the display of their vices, high and low act wrongfully, the government and people is neglected, and all is abandoned and in disarray.

"The men whom he trusts with office and treats as his friends are nothing but persuasive flatterers. Those whom he favours and honours are only the relatives of his empress or of his various concubines. They burn up the riches of the empire and they cut the bone and marrow of living people. In resentment and hatred his subjects have nowhere to turn, and disasters and rebellion appear together. The heart of the empire is disturbed and confused, and barbarians make raids and incursions. Like falling earth and shattered tiles, the dynasty disappears in a single day.

"Those whom I once cared for as children or grandchildren are now bandits and enemies who would drink my blood. It reaches a point that [the Mandate] has shifted and power is gone, yet still the ruler does not waken and repent. Surely that is because wealth and high birth foster brutality, while licence and vice bring stupidity and cruelty.

"Survival and fall are the revolving fate of dynasties, just as good order and rebellion follow one upon the other. This is the great constant of the Way of Heaven."

[Ja11:206]

G In the autumn, in the seventh month Zhang Meng, Grand Administrator of Wuwei, killed the Inspector of Yong province, Handan Shang. The provincial troops attacked and killed him. Meng was a son of Zhang Huan.

H In the eighth month Cao Cao went east to deal with the pirate Guan Cheng. When he came to Chunyu, he sent his officers Yue Jin and Li Dian to attack Guan Cheng. They defeated him and Guan Cheng fled to islands in the sea.

Chang Xi rebelled again, and Cao Cao sent Yu Jin, who attacked and beheaded him.

I In this year, the son Liu Xi of the late [Liu] Rong, formerly King of Langye, was made King of Langye. The eight kingdoms of Qi, Beihai, Fuling, Xiapi, Changshan, Ganling, Jiyin [for Jibej] and Pingyuan were all abolished.

2069

J The Wuhuan had taken advantage of the disturbances in the empire, and made raids which kidnapped more than a hundred thousand Chinese families. Yuan Shao had set up their chief men as Shanyu, while he had
pretended that the daughters of his personal followers were his own children, and gave them away as wives for the barbarian chiefs.

Tadun, the Wuhuan of Liaoxi, was particularly powerful and had been very well-treated by Yuan Shao.16 Yuan Shang and his brothers therefore turned to him for support, and he made several incursions over the borders in hope of helping Yuan Shang regain his former territory.

Intending to attack Tadun, Cao Cao dug the Pinglu Trench and the Quanzhou Trench to bring up his supplies.17

Sun Quan attacked two camps of hills bandits at Mo and Bao and pacified them.18

NOTES to Jian’an 11: 206

A HHS 9, 384 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.
1 The constellation of the Northern Dipper (Beidou) is the seven stars of the Western Big Dipper in Ursa Major, the Great Bear; Schlegel, Uranographie I, 502, and Ho, Astronomical Chapters, 73–74 and Star Map 1.

The comet is described and discussed by the Treatise of Astronomy, HHS 102/12, 3261, which says it appeared with its head in the Northern Dipper and its tail stretching into the Purple Palace and the Northern Arranger.

The Purple Palace (Zigong), or Enclosure of the Ziwei (Ziwei yuan), is a great circle of stars about the North Celestial Pole, extending through Western Draco, Ursa Major, Cepheus and Cameleopardus; Schlegel, Uranographie I, 508ff and Ho, Astronomical Chapters, 71 and Star Map 1. "Northern Arranger" (Beizhen) refers to the group Gouzhen "Angular Arranger," a line of stars extending across the polar region from Ursa Major to Cameleopardus: Schlegel, Uranographie I, 525–526, and Ho, Astronomical Chapters, 67, Figure 5 at 68, and Star Map 1.

The prognostication in the Treatise, somewhat unconvincingly, relates this comet to the forced abdication of Emperor Xian in favour of Cao Cao's son, Cao Pi, almost twenty years later.

[Ja11:206]

B SGZ 1, 28 (63a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao.
2 Cao Pi, born in 186, was at this time twenty years old. The basis for this statement, however, comes from the biography of Cui Yan in SGZ 12, 368, and refers to the time Cao Cao went to campaign against Jing province, two years later, rather than to this occasion.
3 Shangluo county in Jingzhao was at present-day Shang county in Shanxi, on the road to the Wu Pass which led across the watershed into Jing province.
4 As the following passage, describing the achievement of Liang Xi, shows, it is too much to say that Bing province was now pacified. There was certainly no major resistance, but operations against Gao Gan and others had been largely restricted to Shangdang commandery, and Cao Cao had no strong influence in any territory north of the Fen River.
What Liang Xi did was first to recognise the family and clan retainers as an official militia, then transfer them into the main army, where they were separated from their former overlords and made subject to military discipline. After that, he sent the wives and children of these men to Cao Cao's capital at Ye, where they could be supervised and held hostage for good behaviour.

Biographies of Chang Lin and Yang Jun are in SGZ 23, that of Wang Xiang is in SGZ 21, and that of Wang Ling is in SGZ 28.

Changyan was originally composed in thirty-four pian, but modern reconstructions contain only fragments in two juan. On the philosophy of Zhongchang Tong, see Balazs, "Political philosophy and social crisis."

As with the Shenjian of Xun Yue, this passage of ZZTJ is based upon the précis provided by HHS 49/39, not upon direct reference to the text of the work: cf. passage M and note 25 to Jian'an 10.

On the legendary heroes Meng Ben and Xia Yu, see note 10 to Jian'an 5 and SJ 79, 2407.

This echoes a remonstrance addressed by Xie Ye to the licentious Duke Ling of Chen of the early sixth century. The Duke was at the centre of scandal when he and two of his ministers shared the favours of a lady at court, each of them wearing an item of her under-clothing and boasting of their success in public: Zuo zhuan, Xuan 9; Legge CC V, 305 (Couvreur, Chronique I, 599).
was indeed fulfilled. *SGZ* 18, 547–48 PC quotes *Wei lue*, which refers also to the prophecy, and has a detailed account of the quarrel between Handan Shang and Zhang Meng.

According to *Wei lue*, the fatal quarrel took place in Jian'an 14 and 15, not in Jian'an 11. *ZZTJ*, however, has followed the annals of *HHS* 9.

*SGZ* 1, 28 (63b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

Chunyu county was in Beihai, northeast of present-day Anqiu in Shandong.

Chang Xi had surrendered to Cao Cao in 201, and had been allowed to maintain his position in Donghai commandery: passage E of Jian'an 6.

*SGZ* 1 at this point notes also the abolition of Changlu commandery, which had been established by Cao Cao in 198, at the time he first obtained general control of this region south of the Shandong peninsula: passage S of Jian'an 3. The territory was re-incorporated into Langye.

*HHS* 9, 384 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

Liu Rong was the great-great grandson of Liu Jing, a son of Emperor Guangwu of Later Han. When Liu Rong died in 193, the inheritance of his kingdom was not continued, either because the ramshackle government at Chang'an which had succeeded Dong Zhuo was not interested in doing so, or perhaps because the local head of the province, Tao Qian, wished to remove the royal connection.

The biography of Liu Rong, however, *HHS* 42/32, 1452, tells how when Cao Cao was Grand Administrator of Dong commandery in 191–192, Liu Rong’s brother Miao visited Chang’an and commended his loyalty to Emperor Xian. Cao Cao was grateful, and now he had gained effective power in this area, the family was rewarded.

*HHS* 9 gives the name of the first kingdom as Jiabei, but the commentary of the Qing scholar Qian Daxin notes that *ZZTJ* is correct in reading it as Qi. The Palace and other editions agree.

Qian Daxin also observes, however, that Jiinyin had not been maintained as a kingdom since 126, when Liu Bao, Emperor Shun, ascended the imperial throne; he had formerly been King of Jiinyin. Qian Daxin suggests that Jiinyin should read Jiabei, and this amendment is confirmed by *HHS* 55/45, 1807, which says that Jiabei was ended as a kingdom in this year.

All but one of these kingdoms had been of commandery size. Fuling, however, was a county within Jiujiang. In 87 AD, Liu Yan, Marquis of Fuling and a son of Emperor Guangwu, was finally promoted, after a chequered career, to be King of Fuling, with five counties in his state and his residence at Shouchun: *HHS* 42/32. 1445. The kingdom thus comprised a part of Jiujiang commandery.

*SGZ* 1, 28 (64a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
*SGZ* 30, 835 (9a), the Account of the Wuhuan.

On Tadun as war-leader of the Wuhuan, see passage E of Jian'an 4, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 403–404.

On the site of these two works, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, Map 12 at 406, discussed at 407–408, and note 100 at 552–555. It seems most probable that the Pinglu "Pacify the Caitiffs" Trench connected the Hutuo and Gu Rivers near Raoyang, south of Cao Cao’s headquarters at Yi city, while the Quanzhou Trench ran parallel with the coast near
present-day Tianjin, connecting the Yi River with the Baoqiu and Ju Rivers. From that point there was a further extension eastward, known later as the Xinhe "New River."

[Ja11:206]
K  See note 18 below.
18  These camps were in the vicinity of present-day Jiaxu in Hubei, on the frontier between the territory of Sun Quan and Liu Biao's local commander Huang Zu.

This passage in ZZTJ appears to be based upon SGZ 51 (Wu 6), 1206, the biography of Sun Yu, and SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1260, the biography of Zhou Yu; there is no reference to this action in the annals/biography of Sun Quan himself, SGZ 46 (Wu 2) at 1117. The texts, however, do not agree closely: in particular the inhabitants of the camps are described by ZZTJ as "hills bandits" (shanzei), whilst neither SGZ 51 nor SGZ 54 have that statement. In fact, the people involved were probably refugees from the disorders of the north who had established the camps for self-defence: de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 237–238 and 327.
In the spring, in the second month Cao Cao came from Chunyu back to Ye.

On the day dingyou [21 Mar] Cao Cao suggested to the throne that some twenty ministers of excellent conduct should be enfeoffed, and they all became full marquises.

He also reported most favourably on the Marquis of Wansui Village, Xun Yu, and in the third month Xun Yu’s fief was increased by a thousand households.1 [Cao Cao] also wanted to have him rank with the Three
Excellencies but Xun Yu sent Xun You to make it clear that he would refuse such an honour. After more than ten attempts, Cao Cao gave up the idea.

Cao Cao planned to attack the Wuhuan, but his officers said, "Yuan Shang is an enemy in flight. The barbarians are selfish and have no feeling of affection for him, so why should they support him? If we advance deep into their territory, Liu Bei will certainly persuade Liu Biao to raid Xu city. Should they make trouble there, you will have no chance for second thoughts."

Guo Jia argued, "Your authority makes the empire tremble, but the northern barbarians rely upon the fact that they are a long way away. They will certainly not be prepared against you. If we take advantage of their miscalculation and attack them quickly, they can be defeated and destroyed.

"Yuan Shao, moreover, treated the people and barbarians well, and Yuan Shang and his brother are still there. The only reason the people of the four provinces obey you now is because of your military strength, for they have not yet seen the true grace of your government. If you go off on campaign in the south, then Yuan Shang will use the resources of the Wuhuan to gather followers willing to die for him. Once the northern barbarians are on the move, the Chinese and the eastern barbarians will join them. This would give Tadun ideas and allow him to plan aggression. And if that happens I fear both Qing and Ji provinces will be lost to us.

"Liu Biao, on the other hand, is the sort of fellow who does nothing but sit and talk, and he knows that his ability is no match for Liu Bei. If he gives Liu Bei an important post he must be concerned that Liu Bei will become too powerful, but if he gives him a lesser position Liu Bei will be reluctant to serve him. Even though you are leaving your territory empty and going to fight far away, you still have no cause for concern." Cao Cao agreed.

They marched to Yi, and Guo Jia said, "In war, speed like a spirit is the best. Now you want to make a surprise attack on people a thousand li away. If you have too much baggage it will be difficult to move fast enough. The enemy will hear of it and will certainly be ready for you. The best thing to do is leave the baggage behind and make a forced march with light troops. That way, you take them by surprise."

Before this, Yuan Shao had sent several messengers to ask Tian Chou in Wuzhong to enter his service, and he granted him the seal of a general so
that he might hold the territory [in his service]. Tian Chou had always rebuffed him.2

Then Cao Cao settled Ji province, and Xing Yong of Hejian said to Tian Chou, "For more than twenty years, since the rebellion of the Yellow Turbans, the land within the four seas has been bubbling like a cauldron, and people have become homeless refugees. I hear that Lord Cao's government is firm and strict. The people are weary of disorder, and now that disorder has reached its limit, it will soon be settled. Let me be the first." He packed up and went back to his own village.

"Among Heaven's people, Xing Yong is the first to appreciate the situation," observed Tian Chou.3 Cao Cao appointed Xing Yong as an Attendant Official in Ji province.

Tian Chou was angry because the Wuhuan had killed many of the leaders of his commandery, but though he wanted to attack them he did not have enough men. Then Cao Cao sent messengers to summon him, and Tian Chou urged his servants to hasten his packing. The servants said to him, "Lord Yuan always treated you with respect, and courteous orders were brought to you five times, but you quite properly refused to submit to him. Now you have a single envoy from Lord Cao, and you act as if you are afraid you may never get there. Why?"

"This," laughed Tian Chou, "is something you just do not understand." He went with the messengers to Cao Cao's army, he was appointed Prefect of Tiao,4 and he accompanied the army to Wuzhong.

At this time there were summer rains and floods. Low-lying areas near the sea were flooded, the roads were blocked with mud, and the enemy held the main crossings. The army could not get forward.

Cao Cao was concerned, and he asked Tian Chou about it. Tian Chou told him, "This road is always flooded in autumn and summer. Too deep for carts or horses, too shallow for boats, it has been difficult for a long time.5

"In the past, [You]beiping commandery was administered from Pinggang, and there was a road from Lulong through to Liucheng.6 It has been broken and abandoned for two hundred years, since the Jianwu period, but there is still a small pathway you can follow.7

2072 "The enemy commanders will be convinced that any substantial force must come [directly east] from Wuzhong, and that if it cannot get forward it will have to go back. They will be idle and make no preparations. If you quietly turn the army about, however, and go from the mouth of Lulong to
the narrow gorges of Botan, you emerge onto open ground. The road is close by and easy to reach. You can catch them unawares and Tadun will be taken without a fight."8

"Excellent!" said Cao Cao, and he led his army back. He wrote a great sign on wood at the side of the road by the water, saying: "It is the middle of summer, and the road is impassable. We are waiting for autumn or winter to resume the advance." Enemy scout-riders saw it, and they really believed the great army had gone away.

Cao Cao ordered that Tian Chou act as guide. They climbed the hills of Xuwu,9 filling up gorges and gullies for over five hundred li, passed by Botan and Pinggang, then headed east through the lands of the Xianbi towards Liucheng.10

E While they were still two hundred li short, the enemy realised what had happened. Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi, with Tadun, the Shanyu Louban of Liaoxi and the Shanyu Nengchendizhi of Youbeiping,11 came with tens of thousands of horsemen to oppose them.

In the eighth month, as Cao Cao climbed White Wolf Mountain,12 he was suddenly faced by great numbers of the enemy. His baggage was in the rear and he had few armoured men. All about him were afraid. Cao Cao climbed the slope, he saw a weakness in the enemy lines, and he loosed his soldiers to the attack. Zhang Liao commanded the van, and the enemy host was utterly defeated. They took the heads of Tadun and many of his tribal chiefs and lesser commanders, while over two hundred thousand barbarians and Chinese surrendered.

F Supuwan [i.e. Supuyan], Shanyu of Liaodong,13 fled with Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi to the Grand Administrator of Liaodong, Gongsun Kang. They still commander several thousand horse, and some people urged Cao Cao to follow up and attack them again.14 Cao Cao said, "I shall arrange that Gongsun Kang cuts the heads off Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi and sends them to me. No need to bother with soldiers."

2073

In the ninth month Cao Cao brought his men back from Liucheng. Gongsun Kang wanted to gain credit for taking Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi, so he first hid soldiers inside a stable, then invited the two men in. Before they had sat down, Gongsun Kang called the men in hiding to arrest them. Then he took their heads, and also that of Supuwan, and sent them to Cao Cao.15
Some of Cao Cao's officers asked him, "You went back, and then Gongsun Kang beheaded Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi. How did you arrange it?"

"He was always afraid of Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi," explained Cao Cao. "If I put pressure on them they naturally joined forces, but when I eased it they were sure to betray one another. That is all there was to it."  

Cao Cao exposed Yuan Shang's head, and gave orders to the whole army that "Anyone who dares weep for him will be executed." Only Qian Zhao made sacrifice and wept for grief. Cao Cao admired his loyalty, and recommended him as Abundant Talent. 

By this time winter had come. There was a drought, with no water for two hundred li, and the army was also short of food. They killed several thousand horses for their meat, and they dug wells over three hundred feet deep to get water.

When Cao Cao returned, he made a list, asking the names of all who had given warnings before he began the campaign. No-one knew the reason, and everybody was afraid, but Cao Cao gave handsome rewards, saying, 'When I set out on that expedition, I took risks in the hope of good results. Even though I was successful, I was aided by Heaven. This is not the right way to do things. Your advice offered the plan for complete safety, and for that I give rewards. Do not hesitate to speak up in future.'

In the winter, in the tenth month on the day xinmao [10 Nov] there was a comet in the Tail of the Pheasant.

On the day yisi [24 Nov] some Yellow Turbans killed [Liu] Yun, King of Ji'nan.

In the eleventh month Cao Cao came to the Yi River. The Wuhuan Shanyu Pufulu of Dai commandery and Nalou [i.e. Nanlou] of Shang[gu] came to offer congratulations.

When the army returned home, good work was discussed and rewards were given. Tian Chou was made marquis of a village with five hundred households, but he said, "I first sought to avenge Lord Liu [Yu], and I led the people away. Now my fine ambition has come to nothing, and instead I gain personal advantage. This was not what I wanted." He refused
it firmly and would not accept. Realising how strongly he felt about it, Cao Cao did not press him.

2074

L As Cao Cao was engaged in the north Liu Bei advised Liu Biao to attack Xu city, but Liu Biao would not agree. Then they heard Cao Cao was coming back, and Liu Biao said to Liu Bei, "I did not accept your plan, and I let this great chance slip."

"The empire is now in fragments," replied Liu Bei, "and warfare renews itself every day. One opportunity may have gone, but why should it not come again? Seize the occasion next time, and you will have no cause for regret."

[Ma12:207]

M In this year Sun Quan went west to attack Huang Zu. He captured his people and came back.

N Sun Quan's mother the Lady Wu was seriously ill. She called Zhang Zhao and others to her, and entrusted them with the future of the state. And so she died.

O Before this, Zhuge Liang of Langye had been living at Longzhong in Xiangyang. He always compared himself to Guan Zhong and Yue Yi, but at that time no-one would agree with him, save Xu Shu of Yingchuan and Cui Zhouping, a son of Cui Lie.

When Liu Bei was in Jing province, he asked Sima Hui of Xiangyang about scholars.

"Confucianists and ordinary scholars," answered Sima Hui, "what can they know about the important affairs of the day? Only exceptional men comprehend such matters. In this region we have both a hidden dragon and a young phoenix."

Liu Bei asked who they might be, and Sima Hui replied, "Zhuge Kongming and Pang Shiyuan [Pang Tong]."

Xu Shu went to call upon Liu Bei at Xinye, and Liu Bei held him in high regard. Xu Shu said to him, "Zhuge Kongming is a sleeping dragon. Would you like to see him?"

"Can you bring him with you?" asked Liu Bei.

"This man you go to visit,' explained Xu Shu. "You cannot make him come to you. You must be willing to attend him yourself."
So Liu Bei went to Zhuge Liang, and he had to call three times before he was allowed to see him. Then he dismissed his attendants and said, "The house of Han is all but gone, and an evil minister is stealing the mandate. Taking no count of my poor virtue, nor my feeble strength, I wish to extend true justice to the empire. My wisdom and skill, however, are shallow and short, so I act wildly and mistakenly, and now I have come down to this. Even so, my hopes are not ended. Can you say if I shall ever be successful?"

"Cao Cao has an army of a million men," replied Zhuge Liang. "He holds the Son of Heaven and so commands the lords. You are no match for him. Sun Quan occupies the east of the Yangzi, and three of his family have held power there already. The terrain is difficult to approach, its people are loyal, and he has worthy and able men in his service. You can ally with him for mutual support, but you cannot make plans against him.

"In the north Jing province holds the Han and the Mian, and it gains enormous profit from the southern sea. East it joins with Wu and Kuaiji, west it reaches to Ba and Shu. Here is a country which is valuable in war, yet its master cannot hold it. It is almost as if Heaven gave it to you.

"Yi province has borders difficult to attack, a thousand li of fertile lands, and soil which is the treasury of Heaven. Liu Zhang is dull and weak, and Zhang Lu controls the north. They have many people and a prosperous country, yet they show no sympathy for their subjects. All the wise and able men will be dreaming of a benevolent ruler.

You are a descendant of the house of Han, and your loyalty and sense of honour are known to all the world. If you bestride Jing and Yi, and hold their strategic passes; if you deal well and peacefully with the barbarians of the west and south and make alliance of friendship with Sun Quan; if you maintain order and good government inside and watch for opportunity in the rest of the empire: then the work of a hegemon may be achieved and the house of Han can rise once more."

"Excellent!" exclaimed Liu Bei, and his affection for Zhuge Liang became closer every day. Guan Yu and Zhang Fei were jealous, but Liu Bei explained to them: "I need Kongming like a fish needs water. Please do not mention the subject again." So Guan Yu and Zhang Fei ceased their objections.

P

In his judgment of men, Sima Hui was sensitive and clear as a mirror. Pang Degong, from the same county [Xiangyang], had established a great reputation, and Sima Hui treated him as an elder brother. Each time Zhuge
Liang went to Pang Degong's house he would go forward alone and make his salute at the foot of the bed. Pang Degong never objected. Pang Degong's nephew, Pang Tong, was a dull fellow when he was young, and only Pang Degong and Sima Hui could recognise his quality. Pang Degong once described Kongming [Zhuge Liang] as a dragon dormant, Shiyuan [Pang Tong] as a young phoenix, and Decao [Sima Hui] as a mirror of water: it was for this reason Sima Hui used those words when he described the two men to Liu Bei.

NOTES to Jian'an 12: 207

A  SGZ 1, 28–29 (65a), the Biography of Cao Cao; SGZ 10, 316 (19a), the Biography of Xun Yu; SGZ 10, 317 (19b) PC quoting Xun Yu biezhuan.

1 Xun Yu had first been enfeoffed in 203: SGZ 10, 315.

B  SGZ 1, 29 (65b), the Biography of Cao Cao; SGZ 14, 434 (12a–b), the Biography of Guo Jia.

C  SGZ 11, 341–42 (12a–13a), the Biography of Tian Chou; SGZ 12, 382 (25a), the Biography of Xing Yong.

2 On Tian Chou's original settlement in Wuzhong county, near the northern frontier of the empire, see passage Q of Chuping 4.

3 This echoes the account by Mencius of how the great minister Yi Yin decided to take service with the sage ruler Tang, founder of the Shang/Yin dynasty: Mengzi 5A.7; Legge, CC II, 363 (Lau, Mencius, 146).

4 Tiao county was near present-day Jing county in Hebei, in the far south of Bohai commandery, and almost three hundred kilometres from Wuzhong.

D  SGZ 11, 342 (13a), the Biography of Tian Chou; SGZ 1, 29 (65b–67a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

5 Tian Chou and Cao Cao are discussing the coast road northeast from Youbeiping towards Liaoxi, the line of the modern railway from Beijing to Shenyang.

6 Cao Cao's chief object of attack was the city of Liucheng. His first line of attack, supported by the canal works prepared in the previous year (passage J of Jian'an 11), had been directly along the shore of the Gulf of Bohai. Tian Chou is now offering him an oblique approach through the hill country beyond the frontier.

Liucheng had been a county under Former Han, but was disestablished by Later Han. Zhongguo lishi ditu ji II, 27–28 and 61–62, show the city in the valley of the Daling River. In de Crespigny, Northern Frontier, 460–465 note 53, however, I argue that Liucheng was on the coastal plain, southwest of present-day Jinxi in present-day Liaoning. The notes which follow are supported by more detail in Northern Frontier, 408–411, 555–557, and Map 13 at 409.
7 Tian Chou's phrase "in the past" refers to Former Han, when the commandery of Beiping or Youbeiping extended north across the hill country into the region of present-day Chengde in Hebei. The capital of the commandery was at Pinggang county, southwest of present-day Ningcheng in Liaoning: HS 28B, 1624, and see Zhongguo lishi ditu ji II, 27–28.

Lulong, now identified as the Xifeng Pass on the Luan River, is described by SGZ 1 as a frontier pass (sai). This was evidently the line of the Later Han frontier: the road beyond was abandoned in the Jianwu period of Emperor Guangwu at the beginning of the restored dynasty. Lulongkou below refers to the mouth of the pass.

8 Botan had been a county in Yuyang commandery of Former Han (HS 28B, 1624), but the territory was abandoned by Later Han. The former city was west of present-day Chengde, but the gorges [or "narrow places" xian] of Botan must refer to the general region of the upper Luan valley.

9 Xuwu county in Youbeiping was east of Wuzhong, west of present-day Zunhua in Hebei, and just south of the Lulong/Xifeng pass.

10 The lands (ting) of the Xianbi must describe the region east of present-day Chengde towards the Nulu'erhu Shan.

[Ja12:207]

E SGZ 1, 29 (67a–67b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

11 HHS 90/80, 2984, and SGZ 30, 834, followed by passage C of Jian'an 4, have the name of the leader of the Wuhuan in Youbeiping as Wuyan, but SGZ 1 here has Nengchendizhi. SGZ 30, 835, refers to a Nengchendi as leader of the Wuhuan in Dai commandery in 218.

One would expect Wuhuan from Youbeiping to have taken part in the battle. ZZTF commentary suggests that Nengchendi[zhi] was another name for Wuyan, but it may be that troops from Dai commandery under Nengchendi[zhi] were also there; or else this is just an error.

12 During Former Han there had been a county called Bolang "White Wolf" in Youbeiping (HS 28B, 1624); it was abolished by Later Han and was now beyond the frontier. The eponymous mountain was by present-day Lingyuan in western Liaoning.

Cao Cao was approaching Liucheng through the hill country from the west, and had reached the valley of the Daling River, which runs parallel to the coast, separated from it by the ranges of the Song Mountains. At this point the Wuhuan recognised his approach and came to fight.

[Ja12:207]

F SGZ 1, 29–30 (67b–68b), the Biography of Cao Cao; SGZ 6, 207 (71a) PC quoting Dian lue.

13 ZZTF here follows SGZ 1 in writing the name of the Wuhuan leader Supuyan with the final character instead of. Cf. passage C of Jian'an 4, which follows the form in HHS 90/80, 2984. As ZZTF commentary observes, these certainly refer to the same man. SGZ 30, 835, has the name as. During Han, all these would have been close variants of the same phonetic value

14 SGZ 1 says that Cao Cao's advisers wanted him to attack Gongsun Kang, not just chase after the Yuan brothers.

15 SGZ 30, 835, says that the Wuhuan leaders Tadun and Wuyan also fled with Supuyan to Gongsun Kang, and that they too were killed and their heads sent to Cao Cao.
16 Dian lue and HHS 74/64B, 2418, say that Yuan Shang was in fact planning a coup to take over Gongsun Kang's forces.

[Ja12:207]

G SGZ 26, 731 (14b), the Biography of Qian Zhao.

17 Unlike the nomination as Filially Pious and Incorrupt, which formally required a period of probation, recommendation as Abundant Talent permitted the candidate to be appointed instantly to a senior official post.

Hitherto Qian Zhao, who had joined Cao Cao from the Yuan party, had been only an Attendant Official, a junior, locally-appointed officer of Ji province: passage I of Jian'an 9. His biography does not mention, however, what substantive position he was appointed to now.

[Ja12:207]

H SGZ 1, 30 (68a) PC quoting Cao Man zhuan.

18 The constellation of the Tail of the Pheasant (Chunwei) is the Yi "Wing" lunar mansion, the twenty-seventh, a group of stars in the Western constellations Crater and Hydra; Schlegel, Uranographie I, 466–467, and Ho, Astronomical Chapters, 104 and Star Map 3.

This comet is also described and discussed in HHS 102/12, 3261, the Treatise of Astronomy. The Treatise says that this part of the sky indicates Jing province, and Sima Biao then quotes the scholar Zhou Qun, who was at that time a junior officer in Yi province, and who foretold the death of Liu Biao in the following year, followed by the surrender of Jing province to Cao Cao by Liu Biao's son Liu Zong. The biography of Zhou Qun is in SGZ 42 (Shu 12), 1020–21.

[Ja12:207]

I HHS 9, 384 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

19 It is appropriate that the Wuhuan of Dai commandery should now acknowledge Cao Cao's power (though cf. the reference to Nengchendi in note 10 above).

It is most unlikely, however, that any significant number of Wuhuan would have come from Shang commandery, which lay far to the west within the Ordos loop of the Yellow River. More probably, the text has miswritten Shang for Shanggu commandery, which was immediately east of Dai. Furthermore, the name of Nalou is probably a variant of Nanlou, who was described as the leader of the Wuhuan of Shanggu in passage C of Jian'an 4.

SGZ 1 describes these men as "acting" (xing) Shanyu. Yuan Shao had appointed them as full Shanyu, but Cao Cao was evidently not so generous.

[Ja12:207]

K SGZ 11, 342 (13b–14b), the Biography of Tian Chou.

20 On Tian Chou's original service to Liu Yu, see passage Q of Chuping 4.

[Ja12:207]

L SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 877 (12a) PC quoting Han–Jin chunqiu.

21 Cf. the debate and arguments of Guo Jia in passage B above.

[Ja12:207]

M SGZ 47 (Wu 2), 1117 (4b), the Biography of Sun Quan.

22 This, with the seizure of the camps at Mo and Bao in the previous year (passage K of Jian'an 11), prepared the ground for the final attack on Huang Zu's headquarters by the

[Ja12:207]
N SGZ 50 (Wu 5), 1196 (2b), the Biography of the Lady Wu.
23 The text of SGZ 50 (Wu 5), gives the date of death of the Lady Wu five years earlier, in Jian’an 7: 202, and the chronicle of SGZ 47 (Wu 2), 1116, agrees. The commentary of Pei Songzhi to the entry in SGZ 50, however, quotes the Zhi lin by Yu Xi of the Jin dynasty, which says that the correct date was Jian’an 12: there was an interruption in the tribute payments recorded from Kuaiji commandery in Jian’an 12 and 13, and it is argued that the gap was caused by the mourning period for the death of the Lady Wu. The amendment has been accepted by ZZTJ, without explanation or comment by Sima Guang in his Kaoyi.

[Ja12:207]
O SGZ 35 (Shu 5), 911–12 (1a–5a), the Biography of Zhuge Liang;
SGZ 35 (Shu 5), 911 (2a) PC quoting Han-jin chunqiu;
SGZ 35 (Shu 5), 913 (3b–4a) PC quoting Xiangyang ji.
24 There is a mountain named Longzhong west of present-day Xiangyang.
Zhuge Liang’s father, Zhuge Gui, died early and Zhuge Liang accompanied his uncle Zhuge Xuan, who was for a time Grand Administrator of Yuzhang and served Liu Biao. Then Zhuge Xuan also died, and Zhuge Liang remained in private life. The main text of SGZ 35 says that Zhuge Xuan held his appointment in Yuzhang from Yuan Shu, and then took refuge with Liu Biao; Xiandi chunqiu, quoted by PC, says that he held it in the service of Liu Biao, but was driven away and killed by a local rebellion.
25 The biography of the great minister Guan Zhong of the state of Qi is in SJ 62, and the Guanzi book records his teachings.

The biography of Yue Yi, statesman and general of the state of Yan who conquered the state of Qi, is in SJ 80; see also Crump, Chan–kuo ts’e, 204, 293 and 543, and de Crespigny, Huan and Ling II, 561 note 54, also note 9 to Jian’an 8.
26 The information that Cui Zhouping was a son of Cui Lie comes from SGZ 35 (Shu 5), 911 PC quoting the Family Register (pu) of the Cui clan.
27 Kongming was the style of Zhuge Liang; Shiyuan that of Pang Tong.
Xiangyang ji, quoted by SGZ 35 (Shu 5), 913 PC, refers to Sima Hui by his style Decao. The biography of Pang Tong in SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 953, mentions Sima Hui as an expert in judging character, and an accompanying passage from Xiangyang ji identifies him as Sima Decao: see passage O below, and also the commentary of Lu Bi to SGZJ 37 (Shu 7), 1a, quoting Sima Hui biezhuan.
The extract from Xiangyang ji in SGZ 37 (Shu 7) refers again to Sima Hui’s description of Zhuge Liang as a “dragon,” though there, as in the comment of Xu Shu below, he is said to be “dormant/lying” (wò) rather than “hidden” (fū). ZZTJ uses Sima Hui’s personal name rather than his style.
28 Three of his family; literally “three generations in succession.” In fact it was only two generations, Sun Jian and his sons Sun Ce and Sun Quan; moreover, though the family came from that region, Sun Jian had never held territorial power in the lower Yangzi.
29 The names Han and the Mian refer to the same stream. The Mian, rising in the hill country of Wudu commandery in present-day southern Gansu, was one of the chief sources of the Han River, and often gave its name to the upper reaches above Hanzhong commandery, in
the south of present-day Shenxi. Either name, however, could be used to describe the whole length. See SJZ 27 and 28, which describes the whole river under the name Mian, and the analysis of SJZS 27, 2b, quoting Kong Anguo of Former Han and Ru Shun of the third century AD, also the commentary of Lu Bi in SGZJJ 1, 70b, quoting the commentary of Hu Sanxing to ZZTJ 65, 2076 below, discussing the site of Xiakou in passage C of Jian’an 13.

30 Ba commandery lay immediately west of Jing province, but Shu commandery was further away, west of Chengdu, and Guanghan commandery lay between the two. The phrase Ba and Shu here refers not so much specifically to the two commanderies, but rather to the territory of the two ancient states of that name, and in general to the whole of Yi province in the west.

[Ja12:207]
P SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 953 (1a–b), the Biography of Pang Tong; SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 953–54 (2a–2b) PC quoting Xiangyang ji.

31 The term used here is chuang, which may be understood as a bed, but perhaps refers here rather to a divan or a chair, a slightly less intimate item of furniture for a meeting. Use of the chair was just developing in China at this time: see Fitzgerald, Barbarian Beds, and cf. note 8 to Jian’an 16.
Jian'an 13: 208 AD
[4 February 208 – 21 February 209]

A In the spring, in the first month the Minister over the Masses Zhao Wen recommended Cao Cao's son Cao Pi for office. Cao Cao reported that, "Zhao
Wen has recommended a junior member of my family. His judgement cannot be trusted." He had the Emperor dismiss him.1

B Cao Cao returned to Ye, and he built the Xuanwu Pond to exercise his fleet.2

C Before this, Gan Ning of Ba commandery had brought eight hundred retainers to join Liu Biao.3 Liu Biao was a weak man and would not practise for war. Gan Ning realised Liu Biao was certain to fail and he was afraid that when Liu Biao's followers were scattered he would share their fate. He wanted to go east into Wu.4

Huang Zu, however, was at Xiakou,5 and Gan Ning's troop could not get past. He was obliged to stay three years with Huang Zu, who treated him as no better than an ordinary soldier.

Then Sun Quan attacked Huang Zu. Huang Zu's army was defeated and driven back, and Sun Quan's Colonel Ling Cao led soldiers in close pursuit. Gan Ning was expert with bow and arrows. Commanding his own men in the rearguard, he shot Ling Cao and killed him.6 So Huang Zu was able to escape.

Back in camp, however, Huang Zu treated Gan Ning no better than before. Su Fei, Chief Controller to Huang Zu, recommended Gan Ning several times, but Huang Zu refused to give him a commission. Gan Ning wanted to leave, but was afraid he would not be able to make his escape. Then Su Fei spoke to Huang Zu, and Gan Ning was appointed as Chief of Zhu,7 so he got away to Sun Quan.

Zhou Yu and Lü Meng both recommended him, and Sun Quan treated him with particular courtesy, just like the most senior followers.

Gan Ning offered a plan to Sun Quan: "The prosperity of Han declines further every day, and Cao Cao will eventually usurp power. The southern part of Jing province, with its natural barriers of hills and rivers, is truly the western defence-line of your state. I know Liu Biao: he cannot plan far ahead, and his sons too are poor quality; neither of them is capable of inheriting or maintaining his fortune. Your honour should plan to deal with them early, before Cao Cao can get at them.

"The first thing is to take Huang Zu. He is now very old and quite senile, his treasure and food are in short supply, the men about him are greedy and undisciplined and his officers and soldiers are discontented. His fleet
and armaments are damaged, blunted and in disrepair, he pays no attention to farming and his army has neither order nor authority. If your honour goes to attack him now, his defeat is assured.

"Once you have destroyed Huang Zu's army, drum the advance to the west and occupy the Passes of Chu. Your power will grow and extend, and you will eventually be able to take over the territory of Ba and Shu."

Sun Quan was most impressed with this, but Zhang Zhao, who was in attendance at this time, objected that, "The people in Wu are unsettled. Should the army leave I fear there will surely be rebellion."

Gan Ning said to Zhang Zhao, "Our ruler has given you position like [Emperor Gao of Former Han gave to] Xiao He. If all you can do is sit and worry about rebellions, how will you compare to the men of ancient time?"

Sun Quan raised a cup of wine and gave it to Gan Ning, saying, "This year, Xingba, I go to the attack. Like this wine, I have decided to entrust it to you. Just make the plans we need to defeat Huang Zu. Why need you object to anything Chief Clerk Zhang may say?"

Then Sun Quan went west to attack Huang Zu. Huang Zu had set two ships covered with ox-hide to guard the channel across Miankou, and he had a great rope of coir-palm fibre, with stones attached as anchors. Above this were a thousand men with crossbows to give covering fire. The arrows poured down like rain, and the army could not get forward.

The Lieutenant-General Dong Xi and the Major With a Separate Command Ling Tong were together in the van, each leading a hundred volunteers in double armour. They boarded a great barge, charged the covered ships, and Dong Xi himself cut the two ropes with his sword. The enemy ships were swept sideways down-stream and the main body of Sun Quan's forces could now go forward.

Huang Zu had ordered his Chief Controller Chen Jiu to lead his fleet into battle, but Lü Meng, Chief Commandant Who Pacifies the North, urged on the van and himself cut off Chen Jiu's head. Following up this success, the men went forward by land and water. They came to the walls, attacked them with all their might, and so they stormed the fortress.

Huang Zu fled and they chased him and cut off his head. Several ten thousand men and women were taken prisoner.
Earlier, Sun Quan had two boxes made, intending them for the heads of Huang Zu and Su Fei. When he held the victory feast for his officers, Gan Ning came before his mat and kowtowed. His blood and tears flowed together, and he said to Sun Quan, "Su Fei showed me favour in the past. Had it not been for him I would now be neglected bones in a ditch, and I could never have come under your standard. Even if Su Fei's crimes are worthy of death, I beg you, let him keep his head."

Sun Quan was touched, but he said, "If I leave him to you, what happens if he runs away?"

"Su Fei has escaped the misfortune of having his head divided from his body," replied Gan Ning, "and he has received the gift of a new life. Even if we chased him away he would not go. Why should he plan to escape? If he does go away, let my head take his place in the box."

So Sun Quan pardoned Su Fei.

Ling Tong was angry that Gan Ning had killed his father Ling Cao. He always wanted to kill Gan Ning, but Sun Quan ordered him not to make trouble, and he stationed Gan Ning and his troops elsewhere.

In the summer, in the sixth month the positions of the Three Excellencies were abolished and the posts of Imperial Chancellor and Imperial Counsellor were restored. On the day guisi [9 Jun] Cao Cao was appointed Imperial Chancellor.

Cao Cao appointed the Aide-de-Camp of Ji province, Cui Yan, as Senior Clerk in the Department of the West under the Imperial Chancellor, and Mao Jie of Chenliu, former Senior Clerk in the Department of the East under the Minister of Works, took an equivalent post under the Chancellor. The Prefect of Yuancheng, Sima Lang of Henei, became Master of Records, his younger brother Yi became Senior Clerk for Literary Scholarship, and the Master of Records of Ji province, Lu Yu, became Consultant Foreman Clerk in the Department of Legal Administration. Yu was a son of Lu Zhi.

Cui Yan and Mao Jie were together in charge of promotions, and the men they recommended for appointment were all scholars of purity and honesty. There were many with fine reputations who lacked personal integrity, but none such gained advancement. Cui Yan and Mao Jie brought forward the honest and the true and dismissed the flowery and the false, they advanced the quiet and the humble, and they repressed the flatterers and politicians.
From this, all the scholars of the empire acted modestly and tried to do their best.

Though a minister had honour and favour, he dared not possess a better carriage or finer raiment than regulations allowed. When senior officials came back from their posts they had dirty faces and shabby clothing and they rode in wood-carts, and when commanders of the army visited the administrative offices they wore court dress and came on foot. Officials were incorrupt and the people kept good order.

Cao Cao heard of this, and he sighed with admiration, saying, "If the men in office are like this, then the people of the empire can govern themselves. What more need I do?"16

L When Sima Yi was young he was already intelligent, and he had ambitious plans. Cui Yan said to his elder brother Sima Lang, "Your young brother has a clear intelligence and a keen sense of justice, firm decision and exceptional bravery. You are not so good as that!"

2080 Cao Cao heard about this and appointed Sima Yi to office, but Sima Yi sought to excuse himself on the grounds that he had rheumatism. Cao Cao was angry and was going to have him arrested. Sima Yi was frightened and took the post.17

M Cao Cao sent Zhang Liao to camp at Changshe.18 Just before he set out some men in the army planned to rebel, and during the night they raised the alarm and started fires. The whole army was in confusion, but Zhang Liao said to the men with him, "Do not move! This is not the whole camp in mutiny. It is just a few men making noise to throw others into panic."

Giving orders to the army, "Those that are loyal, stay quiet and still," Zhang Liao led a few dozen body-guards and set himself in the middle of the camp. Soon everything was settled, then they caught the ringleaders and killed them.

N While Zhang Liao was camped at Changshe, Yu Jin was at Yingyin and Yue Jin at Yangdi.19 Each acted as he saw fit, and they refused to co-operate. Cao Cao sent the Master of Records under the Minister of Works, Zhao Yan, to act as liaison officer to the three armies and give counsel on all matters. So the three commanders came to agreement.20
Before this, the General of the Van Ma Teng and the General Who Maintains the West in Peace Han Sui had been sworn brothers, but later there were quarrels between their private retainers and they became enemies. The court sent the Colonel Director of Retainers Zhong Yao and the Inspector of Liang province Wei Duan to make peace between them, and Ma Teng was called in to camp at Huaili.

Cao Cao was planning to attack Jing province, and he sent Zhang Ji to persuade Ma Teng to leave his followers and come back to the court. Ma Teng promised to do so, but then became hesitant, and Zhang Ji was afraid he might change his mind. So he sent orders to the counties to hasten their preparations to receive [Ma Teng], and have the heads of commandery administrations ready to welcome him outside their capitals. Ma Teng had no choice but go to the east.

Cao Cao recommended Ma Teng as Commandant of the Guards, while his son Ma Chao was appointed a Lieutenant-General with full command of his forces. All his family and dependents, however, were moved to Ye.

In the autumn, in the seventh month Cao Cao went south to attack Liu Biao.

In the eighth month, on the day dingwei [21 Sep] the Superintendent of the Imperial Household Chi Lü of Shanyang became Imperial Counsellor.

On the day renzi [27 Sep] the Grand Palace Grandee Kong Rong was publicly executed.

Kong Rong had relied upon his well-known ability, and he often made fun of Cao Cao or abused him. He enjoyed saying unusual things and he was insubordinate and discourteous. Because of Kong Rong’s great reputation in the empire, Cao Cao pretended to be tolerant and agreeable, but in fact he thoroughly disliked it.

Then Kong Rong sent in a memorial that, "The Emperor should follow the regulations for royal domains established by the ancient kings. No feudal lord should be enfeoffed within a thousand li of the imperial capital." Cao Cao felt Kong Rong was beginning to go too far and he disliked him still more.

Kong Rong had quarrelled earlier with Chi Lü, and with Cao Cao's encouragement, Chi Lü now built a case against him. He had the Libationer Planner to the Army of the Chancellor, Lu Cui, send in a
memorial to say that, "When Kong Rong was in Beihai he saw that the royal house was in trouble, so he called an army together and sought to plan rebellion.26 He has spoken to an envoy from Sun Quan and he has slandered the imperial court.27 "Furthermore, he talked extravagantly with the worthless scholar Ni Heng,28 and they praised one another: Ni Heng said to Kong Rong, 'Zhongni [Confucius] is not dead!' and Kong Rong replied, 'Yan Hui lives again!'29 This is Great Refractoriness and Impiety, to be punished with the utmost rigour."30

Then Cao Cao arrested Kong Rong and killed him, together with his wife and children.

Before this, Zhi Xi of Jingzhao, a friend of Kong Rong, had often warned him that he held his principles too firmly, that this would certainly bring him suffering, and he would regret it. When Kong Rong was dead, no-one at Xu city dared collect his remains. Only Zhi Xi went and looked after the body, saying, "If Wenju has left me and is dead, what have I to live for?"31 Cao Cao arrested Zhi Xi and intended to kill him, but then he pardoned him.

Before this, Liu Biao had two sons, Qi and Zong. Liu Biao had arranged for Zong to marry the niece of his later wife of the Cai clan, so the Lady Cai loved Zong and disliked Qi. Cai Mao, younger brother of Liu Biao's wife, and his sister's son Zhang Yun were both in Liu Biao's favour, and every day they would slander Qi and praise Zong.

Liu Qi was worried. He asked Zhuge Liang how he might secure his position, but Zhuge Liang refused to answer him. A little while later they climbed a tower. Liu Qi ordered that the ladder be taken away, and then said to Zhuge Liang, "Here we are not high enough to touch Heaven nor low enough to reach the ground. Any words you speak will reach my ears alone. Can you not say something?"

Zhuge Liang replied, "Have you never heard how Shensheng stayed inside and so came into danger, while Chong'er went away and saved himself?"32 Liu Qi took the point, and made secret plans to leave the capital.

About this time Huang Zu died. Liu Qi asked to take his post, so Liu Biao appointed him as Grand Administrator of Jiangxia.33

Then Liu Biao became very ill, and Liu Qi returned to attend his sick-bed. Cai Mao and Zhang Yun were afraid that if he saw Liu Biao, then father and
son would be reunited, and Liu Biao would change his mind about the succession. So they said to Liu Qi, "The General has ordered you to look after Jiangxia, and that is a most important post. Now you have left your people and come back without permission. You will only upset him and make his illness worse. This is not the way to show filial respect." They stopped him outside the doorway and refused to let him see his father. Liu Qi wept and went away.

Then Liu Biao died, and Cai Mao, Zhang Yun and their party had Liu Zong take the succession. Liu Zong sent the seal of a marquis to Liu Qi, but Liu Qi was furious and threw the seal on the ground. He intended to go back for the funeral and use the occasion to make trouble, but it was at this time Cao Cao's army came up, and Liu Qi fled south of the Yangzi.

Several of Liu Zong's officers, including Kuai Yue the Grand Administrator of Zhangling and Fu Xu, Senior Clerk in the Department of the East, urged him to surrender to Cao Cao. They argued that "There are important principles for opposition and for obedience, and settled situations of strength and weakness.

"When a servant refuses to obey his master, he turns from the Way of right action. With a newly-created Chu to resist China proper, that is sure to be dangerous. And to ally with Liu Bei to face Lord Cao, that is no match.

"On these three points you are at a disadvantage: how can you cope with him? And are you equal to Liu Bei? If Liu Bei cannot match Lord Cao, even if you held all of Chu you could not hold your position. And if Liu Bei is indeed a match for Lord Cao, he will never agree to serve you." Liu Zong agreed.

In the ninth month Cao Cao came to Xinye. Bearing his credentials of office, Liu Zong went to receive Cao Cao and surrender the province.

Cao Cao's officers suspected a trap, but Lou Gui said, "The empire is fallen into confusion and each leader seeks to obtain authority from the Emperor as a means to increase his power. Now Liu Zong has brought his credentials, and this shows he is completely reliable." So Cao Cao brought his soldiers forward.

All this time Liu Bei had been in camp at Fan, but Liu Zong had not dared let him know about the surrender. When Liu Bei at last heard something, he
sent one of his close attendants to ask Liu Zong what was going on, and Liu Zong sent his subordinate official Song Zhong to tell him the news. By this time Cao Cao had already reached Wan, and Liu Bei was surprised and greatly alarmed.

"You people did this," he said to Song Zhong, "and you gave me not a word of warning. Now, when disaster has come, you at last let me know. Isn't that the limit!" Drawing his sword, he turned on Song Zhong, "If I cut your head off now, it would make me feel no better, and since we shall not see one another again, a man of honour would be ashamed to kill a fellow like you." He sent Song Zhong away.

Liu Bei then called his followers to council. Some suggested that if he attacked Liu Zong he could take over Jing province. Liu Bei said, "As Liu Jingzhou was dying, he entrusted his orphans to me. I cannot turn from this obligation and seek my own advantage. When I die, how could I show my face to Liu Jingzhou?"

Liu Bei led his troops away. As he passed by Xiangyang he rode fast on horseback to call out to Liu Zong, but Liu Zong was afraid and would not show himself. Many of Liu Zong's attendants and the people of Jing province turned to Liu Bei. Liu Bei passed Liu Biao's grave and took his leave of him, he wept and went away.

By the time he came to Dangyang Liu Bei's followers numbered more than a hundred thousand, the baggage was in several thousand carts, and he could travel only about ten li in a day. He sent Guan Yu separately in a fleet with hundreds of ships to wait for him at Jiangling.

Someone said to Liu Bei: "You should go quickly to defend Jiangling. Though you have a great number of people with you, there are not many men with armour. If Lord Cao's soldiers should catch you, how will you cope with them?"

"In carrying out a great affair," replied Liu Bei, "the people are the essential thing. Now the people have turned to me, how can I desert them?"

Xi Zuochi discusses this:
It was when Liu Xuande [Liu Bei] was in difficulty and danger that he truly showed his loyalty and sense of honour. His situation was pressing and his affairs were troubled, but his words never departed from the right Way. He remembered his last promises to Jingsheng [Liu Biao], and all the army respected him for his feelings. He refused to abandon the people that came
to join him, and he was prepared to share their misfortunes. In the end he achieved the great design, and surely he deserved it.46

W  Liu Zong’s officer Wang Wei said to him, "Cao Cao has heard you are surrendering and that Liu Bei has run away. He will certainly relax his precautions, and will come to you with only a light escort. If you give me a few thousand soldiers I shall intercept him in the passes and Cao Cao can be taken. When you have captured Cao Cao your authority will make all the empire tremble. You will be perfectly secure, and can look for yet greater things." Liu Zong would not approve.47

X  Because of the arsenal there, Cao Cao was afraid Liu Bei might occupy Jiangling, so he left his baggage and went to Xiangyang with light-armed troops. There he learned Liu Bei was already past, so he took five thousand picked cavalry in close pursuit. In a single day and night they covered more than three hundred li to the Chang Slope in Dangyang.48 Abandoning his wife and children, Liu Bei fled away with Zhuge Liang, Zhang Fei, Zhao Yun and a few score horsemen. Cao Cao captured all his army and his baggage.

Y  The mother of Xu Shu was captured by Cao Cao, and Xu Shu made his excuses to Liu Bei. Pointing to his breast, he said, "In the beginning, the reason I sought to plan with you for the hegemony was because of this square inch of territory [the heart]. Now I have lost my mother, my heart is confused, and can be no help in your affairs. I therefore beg leave to go." He went over to Cao Cao.49

Z  Zhang Fei commanded twenty horsemen as rearguard. He held the river and broke the bridges down, he looked fierce and shook his lance, shouting, "I am Zhang Yide.50 Come and die with me." None of Cao Cao’s men dared go near him.

AA  Someone said to Liu Bei, "Zhao Yun has fled to the north." Liu Bei threw a hand-axe at him, saying, "Zilong would never desert me."51 Soon afterwards Zhao Yun came up, bringing Liu Bei’s son Shan with him.

BB  They met the fleet commanded by Guan Yu, and so crossed the Mian. Liu Bei was joined by Liu Qi and over ten thousand men of his army, and he brought them all to Xiakou.52
Cao Cao brought his army forward to Jiangling. He appointed Liu Zong Inspector of Qing province. He also enfeoffed Kuai Yue and fourteen other men as marquises. He released Han Song from prison, treated him with the courtesy of a friend, and set him to make gradings of the good and the bad officials of the province. All his nominees were given posts.

Han Song was made Grand Herald, Kuai Yue became Superintendent of the Imperial Household, Liu Xian became a Master of Writing and Deng Xi became Palace Attendant.

Wen Ping of Nanyang, a high military officer in Jing province, had kept his camp apart outside. When Liu Zong surrendered he called Wen Ping to join him, but Wen Ping replied, "If I cannot keep the province intact, then I wait for punishment [a phrase of apology and refusal]."

Only when Cao Cao had crossed the Han did Wen Ping go to him. "Why do you come late?" asked Cao Cao.

"In former days," replied Wen Ping, "I failed to assist Liu Jingzhou serve the state. Though Jingzhou is dead, I was still hoping to hold the line of the Han and maintain that territory intact. That way, if I lived I would not be turning my back on the orphaned and weak, and if I should die there would be no shame below the ground. The decision, however, has been taken out of my hands, and so we come to this. Indeed, I am sad and ashamed and I had no face to come earlier to audience." He sobbed and wept.

Cao Cao was sorry for him, and he addressed him by his style, "Zhongye, you are truly a loyal servant." He treated him with great courtesy, allowed him to retain all his troops, and appointed him Grand Administrator of Jiangxia.

Before this, when Yuan Shao was in Ji province, he sent messengers to invite the gentry of Runan to join him. He Xia of Xiping considered that in Ji province the terrain was flat and the people were numerous, and this was what an ambitious man would look for. A land open on all sides to war, it was not so good as Jing province, where the territory was difficult and there were few people. It would be better to go there. So he turned to Liu Biao.

Liu Biao treated him as a respected guest, but He Xia said [to his companions], "The reason I did not go to Benchu [Yuan Shao] was that I was avoiding an area where there would be fighting. In an age of confusion, it is
unsafe to keep near any leading man. Wait long enough, and slander and misfortune are certain to come." He went south to Wuling commandery.

Liu Biao had appointed Liu Wangzhi of Nanyang as an Attendant Official. Two of his friends, however, were executed by Liu Biao on account of false accusations. Since he himself had made honest criticisms which were not well-received, Liu Wangzhi sent in a petition asking to go home.

Liu Wangzhi’s younger brother Yi said to him, "When Zhao [Jianzi] killed [Dou] Mingdu, Zhongni [Confucius] turned away. You can take Hui of Liuxia as a model: stay at court and maintain your virtue regardless of others’ wickedness; or you can follow the example of Fan Li: go away and change your occupation. Just sitting there disapproving is no use at all."59

Liu Wangzhi would not follow this advice, and he too later came to grief. Liu Yi fled to Yang province.

Han Ji of Nanyang had avoided a summons from Yuan Shu and went to live in the Shandu Hills. Then Liu Biao also called him up, and he moved to Chanling. Liu Biao was extremely angry, and Han Ji became afraid, so he obeyed the summons. He was appointed Chief of Yicheng.60

Pei Qian of Hedong was also treated with great courtesy by Liu Biao, but he said privately to Wang Can, son of Wang Chang,61 and to Sima Zhi of Henei, "Governor Liu lacks the ability to rule as a hegemon, but he compares himself to the Lord of the West. His destruction will come very soon."62 So they too had gone south to Changsha.

Cao Cao now appointed Han Ji as Junior Clerk in the Department of Officials under the Imperial Chancellor, and Pei Qian was Adviser to the Army of the Imperial Chancellor.

He Xia, Liu Yi and Wang Can became clerical officers, and Sima Zhi was made Prefect of Jian.63 Each of them had established a fine reputation among the people.64

In the winter, in the tenth month on the day guiwei [27 Oct], first of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.65

Before this, when Lu Su heard Liu Biao was dead, he said to Sun Quan, "Jing province is a direct neighbour to our state. The Yangzi and the mountains are difficult to approach and secure to defend, there are ten thousand li of
fertile territory and the people are prosperous. If we can take it and hold it, this can become the base for an empire.

"Now Liu Biao has just died, his two sons are in disagreement, and the leaders of their army have divided loyalties. Liu Bei is a hero of the empire.66 He quarrelled with Cao Cao and went to stay with Liu Biao, but Liu Biao was jealous of his abilities and never gave him an important post. If Liu Bei joins Liu Biao's sons, and if they can set things in order, then we should keep peace with them and make an alliance of friendship. If, on the other hand, they continue to disagree, we should make other plans to achieve the great design.

"I ask permission to take a message of condolence to Liu Biao's sons. Whilst I am there, I can show our sympathies and make friends with the men who hold authority in their army, and I shall urge Liu Bei to collect Liu Biao's forces and join us against Cao Cao. Liu Bei will certainly be pleased and will accept your call. If he agrees, the empire can be settled. Unless I go at once, however, I fear Cao Cao may get there first." Sun Quan sent Lu Su off.

As Lu Su reached Xiakou, he learnt that Cao Cao was already moving into Jing province. Travelling day and night, he came to Nan commandery, but by that time Liu Zong had surrendered and Liu Bei had fled south.

Lu Su went straight to meet him, and caught up with him at the Chang Slope in Dangyang.67 He put forward Sun Quan's ideas, and discussed the situation of the empire to explain why they should be friends. Then he asked Liu Bei, "Yuzhou,68 where do you plan to go?"

"I have an old friend," answered Liu Bei, "Wu Ju, who is Grand Administrator of Cangwu. I shall go and join him."

"Sun the General Who Exterminates Caitiffs," replied Lu Su, "is wise and generous. He respects worthy men and treats scholars with courtesy. All the leaders of the lands beyond the Yangzi have joined him, and he now controls six commanderies. His soldiers are well-trained, he has quantities of supplies, and he is strong enough to maintain his independence.

"Now I suggest that the best plan for you is to send a reliable friend to make alliance with the Sun clan in the east, so you may act together in everything.

"But you want to join Wu Ju? He is an ordinary fellow, far away in a distant commandery, and sooner or later someone will take him over. How can you trust yourself to him?"
Liu Bei was extremely pleased with this suggestion. Lu Su also told Zhuge Liang, "I am a friend of Ziyu," and they immediately became friends. Ziyu was Liang's elder brother Zhuge Jin, who had fled the troubles and gone east of the Yangzi, where he became Chief Clerk to Sun Quan.

Liu Bei followed Lu Su's advice, and he went forward to stay at Fankou in E county.

Cao Cao was about to lead his men eastwards down the Yangzi from Jiangling. Zhuge Liang said to Liu Bei, "The matter is urgent. Please give me authority to seek help from General Sun." So he went with Lu Su to Sun Quan.

Zhuge Liang saw Sun Quan at Chaisang and said to him, "All within the seas is in confusion. You have raised soldiers east of the Yangzi, Liu Yuzhou [Liu Bei] has collected an army south of the Han, and together we are fighting Cao Cao for the empire. Cao Cao has cut down his most dangerous rivals, and has settled almost all of them. Now he has overwhelmed Jing province, and his authority makes the four seas tremble. The hero has no land to fight from, so Yuzhou has fled here.

"I ask you to measure your strength, and give him a place to defend himself. If you are ever going to use the people of Wu and Yue against the power of central China, then the sooner you do it the better. If you cannot do this, then why have you not restrained your troops, curbed your armed men, and turned north to serve Cao Cao? You pretend you will submit and obey, but you have really not made up your mind. Time is pressing: unless you make a decision, misfortune will come very soon."

"If things are the way you describe," enquired Sun Quan, "then why does Yuzhou not submit to him?"

"Tian Heng was a single man from Qi," replied Zhuge Liang, "but he protected his honour and refused to disgrace himself. Liu Yuzhou is a descendant of the royal house, his courage and ability are known through all the world, and he is respected and admired by the people and the gentry as naturally as water returns to the sea. If a man such as that cannot succeed, that may be a decision of Heaven, but how could he submit to another?"

Sun Quan was furious. "I am not going to collect the lands of Wu and an army of a hundred thousand men and put them under someone else's orders. I have made my calculations. And as to the idea that Yuzhou is the
only man who can face up to Cao Cao: Yuzhou has just been defeated, how is he to resist this threat?"

"Though his army was defeated at the Chang Slope," said Zhuge Liang, "the troops that have come back to him, together with the fleet commanded by Guan Yu, amount to ten thousand men, all armed and trained. And Liu Qi has joined him with fighting men from Jiangxia, again no fewer than ten thousand men.

"Cao Cao's forces have come a long way, and they are exhausted and distressed. I have heard that when they chased after Yuzhou their light cavalry went over three hundred li in a single day and night. This is what is meant by the proverb, 'The last flight of a strong crossbow cannot pierce plain silk from Lu,' while The Art of War forbids it, saying this will surely bring the greatest general to his downfall.74

"The men from the north, moreover, are not trained to fight in river country, while the people of Jing province who turn to Cao Cao are doing so because they are compelled by military force, not because they want to.

"Now if you can indeed order your brave commanders to take twenty or thirty thousand men, to join with Yuzhou and ally our forces, then Cao Cao's army will certainly be destroyed. When his army is destroyed he will have to go back to the north, and in this way the power of Jing [under Liu Bei] and of Wu [under Sun Quan] will be greatly increased: we can balance Cao Cao like the legs of a tripod cauldron. The chances of victory and defeat rest on this day!"75 Sun Quan was most impressed, and he raised the question with his ministers.

II At this time Cao Cao sent a letter to Sun Quan, "I have lately received an imperial command to attack all criminals. My standards point to the south, and Liu Zong has bound hands. I control a fleet with eight hundred thousand men, and I plan to come hunting with you in Wu."76

When Sun Quan showed this to his ministers, they all trembled to hear it and turned pale.

JJ The Chief Clerk Zhang Zhao and others said,77 "Lord Cao is like a jackal or a tiger. He holds the Son of Heaven to justify his attacks, and whatever he does he can claim to support the court. If we oppose him now, it will appear as disobedience to the throne.

"Furthermore, the Long River [the Yangzi] is your critical line of defence against him, but Cao Cao now controls Jing province and all its territory. Liu Biao had a fleet trained, with thousands of armoured boats and other ships
of war. If Cao Cao sails all this along the Yangzi and supports it with foot-soldiers, he will be coming against us by land and water.

"In other words, Cao Cao controls the line of the river as well as we do, and in sheer military strength we have nothing to match him. In our humble opinion, the best policy is to receive him."

Only Lu Su did not speak.

Then Sun Quan got up to go to the lavatory, and Lu Su followed him under the eaves. Realising what he wanted, Sun Quan took Lu Su by the hand and said, "What do you have to say?"

"I have listened to their suggestions," replied Lu Su, "and those people are misleading you. You cannot make useful plans with them. I could welcome Cao Cao, but not you.

"Let me explain. If I surrender to Cao Cao, he will send me back to my home district, to be graded for name and rank, and at the very least I would become a junior Attendant Official. So I could ride in a carriage drawn by oxen, with an escort of soldiers, and could mingle with the gentry. Then I would be promoted and in the end I would be sure to finish with a province or a commandery.

"On the other hand, if you surrender to Cao Cao, where would you go? I urge you to decide this great plan before it is too late. Do not take those fellows' advice."

Sun Quan sighed with admiration, "Those others disappointed me, but you set forth a grand strategy. That is just what I looked for."

At this time Zhou Yu was away on a mission in Poyang, and Lu Su urged Sun Quan to call him back.

When Zhou Yu arrived, he said to Sun Quan, "Though Cao Cao pretends to be a minister of Han, he is in fact the enemy of the state. Through your spiritual warfare and heroic talents, building on the great achievements of your father and your brother, you control the east of the Yangzi, with several thousand li of territory, well-trained soldiers, good supplies, and men glad to serve you. You should march across the empire and act for the house of Han, doing away with oppression and driving out disgrace.

"Cao Cao, moreover, brings on his own destruction. Why should you surrender to him?"

"Let me calculate things for you. The north is not yet settled. Ma Chao and Han Sui are still in the west of the passes, and they are a danger to Cao
Cao's rear. At the same time, Cao Cao is leaving his saddled horses, and is taking boats and oars to contend with Wu and Yue. Furthermore, it is now the depths of winter, so his horses will have no fodder. He is forcing an army from central China on long marches to the region of the Yangzi and the lakes. His men have no experience of the marsh country and they will certainly get sickness. All these points are signs of danger in war, yet Cao Cao hastens blindly forwards.

"This is the time to take him. Give me twenty or thirty thousand trained soldiers and let me go forward to Xiakou. I guarantee to defeat him for you."

"That old brigand," observed Sun Quan, "has long wanted to end the Han and take the empire for himself. He had the two Yuan, Lü Bu, Liu Biao and me to worry about. Now the others are dead, and I am the only one that remains. Between the old brigand and me, one must lose out. You say I should attack, and that is just what I think too. Heaven has sent you to me."

MM Drawing his sword, he chopped the desk in front of him, saying, "Any officer who still dares argue for surrender will be the same as this desk." And he dismissed the assembly.

That night Zhou Yu spoke again with Sun Quan, and said, "When those men saw Cao Cao's letter about eight hundred thousand soldiers and sailors, they were all frightened, and the advice they offered was given without any thought whether the figure was true or whether he was simply boasting. It was quite pointless.

"Now check the real situation. The troops he brought with him from central China were no more than a hundred and fifty or a hundred and sixty thousand, and they have been on hard active service for a long time. Then he got men from Liu Biao, seventy or eighty thousand at most, and their loyalty is still suspect.

"So he is using sick and weary men to control an army with possible disaffection. Even though he has great numbers, there is certainly nothing to be worried about. I am certain fifty thousand good soldiers will be enough to deal with them. Do not worry about it."

Sun Quan clapped him on the back and replied "Gongjin, you put things just the way I hoped. Zibu [Zhang Zhao], Wenbiao [Qin Song] and the others are all concerned for their women and children, and they consider only their own interests. I am disappointed in them. Only you and Zijing [Lu Su] agree with me: Heaven that has sent you to my aid."
"It will be difficult to collect fifty thousand soldiers immediately, but I have already chosen thirty thousand, and all their ships, supplies and equipment are prepared. You and Zijing [Lu Su] and Lord Cheng [Pu] go out in the van, and I shall continue to send you men and further supplies.

"If you can deal with him, then everything will have been decided in our favour. If things turn out badly, come back to me here, and I shall myself fight the deciding battle against Mengde [Cao Cao]."

So he appointed Zhou Yu and Cheng Pu as Controllers of the Left and of the Right in command of forces to join Liu Bei against Cao Cao.85 Lu Su was named Colonel Who Assists the Army, to help in planning.

Liu Bei was at Fankou, and every day he sent out patrols along the river to watch for Sun Quan's army. The scouts saw Zhou Yu's ships appear, and they hastened to tell Liu Bei.

Liu Bei sent men to receive them, but Zhou Yu said, "I command the army and I cannot leave my post. If your master will be gracious enough to call upon me, that is just what I expect!"

So Liu Bei travelled in a simple boat to call upon Zhou Yu. He said to him, "So you have decided to oppose Lord Cao. That is excellent. How many fighting men do you have?"

"Thirty thousand," replied Zhou Yu.

"I fear they will not be enough," observed Liu Bei.

"They will be enough," remarked Zhou Yu. "Just watch me deal with him."

Liu Bei wanted to call Lu Su and some others for a council of war, but Zhou Yu said, "I have my orders, and I am not going to avoid responsibility. If you want to see Zijing, go call on him yourself."

Liu Bei was quite put out, but he was also very impressed.

They went forward to meet Cao Cao at the Red Cliffs.86 Cao Cao's army was now weary, and there was sickness. In the first attack, Cao Cao's men gained nothing, and they went back to the north of the Yangzi. Zhou Yu and his forces were on the south bank.

Huang Gai, a divisional commander under Zhou Yu, said, "The enemy are many and we are few. It will be difficult to hold them for long. Just at this moment, in Cao Cao's array the ships of the fleet are joined stem to stern. We can burn them and put them to flight."
He took ten covered ships of war, filled them with tinder grass and dried wood, poured oil inside, then covered them with tent curtains and set up flags. He prepared light fast boats and fastened them to the sterns. And before this he had sent a letter to Cao Cao pretending he wanted to surrender.

At this time a strong wind was blowing from the southeast. Huang Gai collected his ten ships and put them in the van. Half-way across the Yangzi he set sail, and the other ships followed him in order.

Cao Cao's men all came from their camps to look, and they pointed and said that Huang Gai was coming to surrender. When he was just over two li from the northern army, he set all the ships on fire.

The fire was fierce and the wind was strong, and the ships went like arrows. The whole of the northern fleet was burnt, and the fire reached the camps on the bank. In a very short time there was smoke and flame stretched across the sky, and a whole multitude of men and horses were burned or drowned and died.

Zhou Yu and the allies led a light-armed force to follow up the assault. They beat their drums with a mighty roar, and the northern army was utterly smashed.

Cao Cao led his troops on foot to escape by the Huarong road. They encountered mud and mire, and the road became impassable. Heaven sent a great wind, and the sick soldiers had to carry grass on their backs to fill the road before the horsemen could get across. They were trodden down by the men and horses, sunk into the mud, and a whole mass of them died together.

Liu Bei and Zhou Yu advanced by land and water, and they pursued Cao Cao to Nan commandery. All Cao Cao's men were starving and sick, and the greater part of them died.

Then Cao Cao left the General Who Subdues the South Cao Ren, with the General Who Traverses the Open Country Xu Huang, to hold Jiangling, and the General Who Breaks the Enemy Line Yue Jin to hold Xiangyang. He took the rest of his army back to the north.

Zhou Yu and Cheng Pu had an army of twenty or thirty thousand men, but the river held them away from Cao Ren and they could not attack. Gan Ning asked to go forward by an indirect route and seize Yiling. He stormed the city and occupied it.
Xi Su, an officer of Yi province, brought his troops to surrender. Zhou Yu recommended that they be allocated to increase the command of Lü Meng, General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who Traverses the Open Country. Lü Meng said generously, "Xi Su is a brave man who can offer good service and has come a long way to join us. In fairness we should increase his command, not take men away from him."

Sun Quan approved, and he restored Xi Su's troops to him.

Cao Ren sent troops to besiege Gan Ning, and Gan Ning was hard pressed and asked help from Zhou Yu. The officers held that the soldiers were too few to divide them up, but Lü Meng said to Zhou Yu and Cheng Pu, "Leave Ling Gongji [Ling Tong] at Jiangling. If you and I go we can break the siege and do away with the danger, and it will not take long. I guarantee Gongji can hold out for ten days."

Zhou Yu followed this plan. They completely defeated Cao Ren's forces at Yiling and returned with three hundred horses. The men's confidence was doubled, and Zhou Yu crossed the Yangzi and camped on the northern bank to oppose Cao Ren directly.

In the twelfth month Sun Quan in person led an army to besiege Hefei. He also sent Zhang Zhao to attack Dangtu in Jiujiang, but Zhang Zhao had no success.

Liu Bei, recommending Liu Qi as Inspector of Jing province, led his soldiers south to occupy four commanderies. The Grand Administrators of Wuling, Jin Xuan, of Changsha, Han Xuan, of Guiyang, Zhao Fan, and of Lingling, Liu Du, all surrendered, while Lei Xu, leader of a force in Lujiang, brought twenty or thirty thousand men to join Liu Bei.

Liu Bei appointed Zhuge Liang as General of the Gentlemen of the Household Master of the Army, and sent him to take charge of the three commanderies Lingling, Guiyang and Changsha, and to levy sufficient taxes for the needs of the army. Lieutenant-General Zhao Yun held command as Grand Administrator of Guiyang.

When Liu Zhang, Governor of Yi province, heard that Cao Cao had captured Jing province, he sent his Aide-de-Camp Zhang Song to pay respects.
Zhang Song was a man of short stature and erratic behaviour, but he had insight and he was shrewd and brave.

Cao Cao at this time had captured Jing province and put Liu Bei to flight, and he did not receive Zhang Song with proper courtesy. The Master of Records Yang Xiu suggested he should offer Zhang Song a new appointment, but Cao Cao would not agree.

So Zhang Song was angry. He went back and urged Liu Zhang to break with Cao Cao and ally with Liu Bei, and Liu Zhang did so.98

XX Xi Zuochi discusses this:99
In the past, Huan of Qi once boasted of his own good work, and so nine states turned rebel.100 For a short time Cao Cao made show of his pride, and so the empire divided into three. Both worked hard for many years, and yet they lost it all in a nod. Is that not sad?

YY Cao Cao thought again of Tian Chou's good work, and was sorry he had allowed him to refuse all honours.101 "It may have pleased the man himself," he remarked, "but it means the royal laws do not have full effect."

He again enfeoffed Tian Chou, with the same rank. Tian Chou sent in a memorial to justify his refusal, and swore he would turn the offer down though his life depended on it. Cao Cao would not listen, and still wanted him to accept.

This was repeated four times, but still Tian Chou refused. The high officials impeached him, for "Standing aloof against the right Way of action, and wilfully using this opportunity to establish a petty name for virtue. He should be dismissed and punished."

Cao Cao referred the question to his eldest son and his chief ministers for their opinion. Cao Pi held that,102 "The case of Tian Chou is the same as that of Ziwen refusing official salary, or Shen Xu fleeing from wealth.103 We should appreciate his feelings and not force him to accept." The [Prefect of the] Masters of Writing Xun Yu104 and the Colonel Director of Retainers Zhong Yao also believed Tian Chou should be allowed to refuse, but Cao Cao still wanted to make him a marquis.

In former times, Tian Chou had been on good terms with Xiahou Dun, and on that account Cao Cao sent Xiahou Dun to explain things to him. Xiahou Dun went to Tian Chou's lodging and stayed all night to persuade
him, but Tian Chou realised the purpose of his discussion and refused to talk.

As Xiahou Dun was about to leave, he made one final attempt, but Tian Chou replied, "I am a man who turned from his honour and ran away like a rat. To receive the favour of life, that is great good fortune. I did not sell information about the Lulong road to get an easy reward and salary. Even though the state gives me undue consideration, how can I face my own conscience? You know me well, but you still go on like this. If you will not stop, I assure you I would rather cut my head off." Even as he spoke, his tears flowed down.

Xiahou Dun reported all this to Cao Cao. Cao Cao sighed and realised that Tian Chou would not yield. He appointed him a Gentleman-Consultant.

ZZ Cao Cao's young son Cangshu [Cao Chong] died, and Cao Cao was extremely sad. The daughter of Bing Yuan, a Senior Clerk in the office of the Minister of Works, had also died young, and Cao Cao asked that she might be buried with Cangshu.

Bing Yuan refused, saying, "The marriage of dead children is quite improper. The reason I can face you, and the reason you can deal with me, is because we share a moral code and do not change it. If I did as you request, I should be acting like a common fellow, and what would you think of me then?" So Cao Cao gave up the idea.

AAA Sun Quan sent He Qi, General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who is Majestic and Firm, to attack the bandits of Yi and She in Danyang. The leaders of the Yi group, Chen Pu and Zu Shan, with followers numbering twenty thousand families, were camped in the Linli Hills. There were cliffs on four sides that could not be attacked and the army was held there for a full month.

He Qi secretly gathered light-armed and agile men and brought them to a hidden pass. They used iron halberds to climb the mountain, then let down a cloth to bring up the men below. About a hundred men reached the top, and He Qi ordered them to divide and spread out in every direction, then to sound drums and horns. The enemy were taken completely by surprise, and all the guards at the entrance ran back to join their comrades. So the main body of the army was able to get in, and they completely defeated the bandits.
Sun Quan divided Danyang to form the new commandery of Xindu, with He Qi as Grand Administrator.109

NOTES to Jian'an 13: 208

A  
SGZ2, 57 (1b) PC quoting Xiandi qijuzhu.
1  
The Kaoyi commentary of Sima Guang notes that Xiandi qijuzhu dates this incident to Jian'an 15. This year, however, saw the abolition of the positions of the Three Excellencies (passage I below), so Zhao Wen could not have been Minister over the Masses after that. Sima Guang has therefore accepted the date given by the annals of HHS 9, 385.

Immediately before the Xiandi qijuzhu entry, PC quotes the Wei shu of Wang Shen, which says that Cao Pi was recommended as Abundant Talent (moucai), but did not take up the candidacy. This is almost certainly the recommendation of Zhao Wen, for the right to make such nominations was restricted to the Three Excellencies, the minister Superintendent of the Imperial Household, and the heads of provinces. See Bielenstein, Bureaucracy, 136–137.

With Cao Cao's views expressed so forcefully, the whole affair must have been extremely embarrassing to Cao Pi, and there was not the slightest chance he could accept the nomination.

[a13:208]

B  
SGZ 1, 30 (68b), the Biography of Cao Cao.
2  
SJZ 9, 37a, says the Huan River flowed past Ye, and that Cao Cao dammed it to form the Xuanwu Pond, set in the midst of a park. The artificial lake was designed to train his men in naval warfare, preparing them for a campaign southwards against Liu Biao along the Han and the Yangzi.

[a13:208]

C  
SGZ 55 (Wu 10), 1292–93 (12b–13b), the Biography of Gan Ning;
SGZ 55 (Wu 10), 1292 (12b–13a) PC quoting Wu shu.
3  
The first part of Gan Ning’s biography describes his youthful career as a bandit who later reformed and took up scholarship. On his role in an unsuccessful rebellion against Liu Zhang in Yi province, see passage Y of Xingping 1.

4  
The term Wu here is evidently an early reference, not just to the commandery of that name, but to the whole territory controlled by Sun Quan.

5  
The lower reach of the Han or Mian River (note 28 to Jian'an 7), close to the junction with the Yangzi (Jiang), was also known as the Xia River: the commandery of Jiangxia took its name from the combination of the two rivers: see HS 28A, 1567 and 1568 commentary note 1 quoting the scholar Ying Shao of the second century AD, and HS 28B, 1609. The junction itself, at present-day Wuhan, where Huang Zu had his fortress and base, was variously known as Xiakou or Miankou: SJZ 35, 7b, SJZ 28, 23b, the commentary of Lu Bi to SGZJ 1, 70b–71a, and cf. notes 11 and 52 below.

Zhongguo lishi ditu ji III, 28–29, shows a place named Xiakou on the south-eastern bank of the Yangzi, opposite the junction with the Han River (i.e. present-day Wuchang). From the description of Huang Zu’s defensive boom in passage D below, however, it is apparent that Miankou/Xiakou was at this time on a bank of the Han River, and from the
description of how Liu Bei crossed the Han to avoid Cao Cao’s forces in passage CC below, we may assume the fortress lay north of the junction of the two streams (i.e. present-day Hankou).

6 As Sima Guang observes in his *Kaoyi* commentary, it appears probable that Ling Cao’s death at the hand of Gan Ning took place during the earlier attack on Huang Zu in 203 (passage G of Jian’an 8), not that of the previous year (passage M of Jian’an 12): we are told that Ling Cao’s son Tong inherited his father’s troops at the age of fifteen, and later took an active part in the attack on the camps of Mo and Bao (passage K of Jian’an 11). As Sima Guang says, however, it is strange that five years should have elapsed between Gan Ning’s success against Ling Cao and his flight from Huang Zu to the Sun group.

The biography of Ling Tong at *SGZ* 55 (Wu 10), 1296, says merely that Ling Cao was killed by a stray arrow. Ling Tong, however, evidently held Gan Ning personally to blame: passage H below.

7 Zhu county in Jiangxia commandery was on the Yangzi by present-day Huangzhou/Huanggang, close to Sun Quan’s forces advancing from the east.

8 ZZTJ commentary identifies Chuguan with the Han Pass, on the Qutang Gorge of the Yangzi, in the extreme east of present-day Sichuan on the border with Hubei. The phrase, however, may be taken as referring to the whole of the Yangzi Gorges, the traditional frontier defence of the ancient state of Chu against attack from the west. See *SJZ* 34, 1a and 9b–10a, *HHS* 113/23, 3507, the Treatise of Administrative Geography, and the commentary of Lu Bi in *SGZJJ* 2, 49b–50a.

9 There are biographies of Xiao He, Chancellor of State to Emperor Gao, in *S* 53; Watson, *RGHI* 1, 91–98, and *HS* 39.

10 Xingba was the style of Gan Ning.

D *SGZ* 55 (Wu 10), 1291 (11a–b), the Biography of Dong Xi.

11 Miankou indicates the mouth of the Han River where it joins the Yangzi. This is the same place as Xiakou: cf. note 5 above.

On ships covered with ox-hide, see note 78 below.

12 Dare-to-die (*gansì*) describes a volunteer for hazardous service. Ling Tong was a son of the late Ling Cao: passage C and note 6 above.

E *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), 1273 (22a), the Biography of Lü Meng.

F *SGZ* 47 (Wu 2), 1117 (5a), the Biography of Sun Quan.

G *SGZ* 55 (Wu 10), 1293 (14a) PC quoting *Wu shu*.

H *SGZ* 55 (Wu 10), 1295 (16a–b), PC quoting *Wu shu*.

I *SGZ* 1, 30 (69a), the Biography of Cao Cao; *HHS* 9, 385 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

13 This restored the system predominant in Former Han, whereby one officer, the Imperial Chancellor, was sole chief minister. During Later Han, this position was divided among the Three Excellencies. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 7. The present reform gave Cao Cao the
single highest place in the formal administration. Hitherto he had restricted himself to the
title as Minister of Works, third of the Three Excellencies, but now he had no rival to his
authority.

The date of the change is given by the Annals of *HHS* 9: that text states that Cao Cao
"appointed himself" as Imperial Chancellor; *SGZ* 1 omits the critical phrase.

On the Imperial Counsellor, essentially a position of censorial review, see also de
Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 43: the title is variously rendered as Imperial
Secretary, Grandee Secretary or Imperial Clerk Grandee. On the appointment to that post,
see passage Q below.

J  *SGZ* 12, 368 (3b), the Biography of Cui Yan;
   *SGZ* 12, 375 (14b), the Biography of Mao Jie;
   *SGZ* 15, 467 (7b), the Biography of Sima Lang;
   JS 1, 2, the Biography of Sima Yi;
   *SGZ* 22, 650 (30b), the Biography of Lu Yu.

14 The Department of the West was responsible for recommendation and promotion of
officials in the central administration, while the Department of the East dealt with all other
clerical and military posts: *HHS* 114/24, 3559, the Treatise of Administration; cf.

   Cui Yan's biography says he was in charge of both the Departments of the East and of
the West, but however it was arranged, these two men were in charge of appointments:
passage L below.

15 Yuancheng county in Wei commandery was east of present–day Daming in Hebei.

K  *SGZ* 12, 375 (14b), the Biography of Mao Jie;
   *SGZ* 12, 375 (15b) PC quoting *Xianxian xingzhuang*.

16 This morality was criticised by the official He Xia: passages K of Jian'an 14 and A of Jian'an
15. It was nonetheless maintained as an aspect of Cao Cao's government, particularly in
terms of sumptuary regulations: e.g. passage Q of Jian'an 22.

L  JS 1, 2, the Biography of Sima Yi;
   *SGZ* 12, 370 (5b), the Biography of Cui Yan.

17 Sima Yi, known by his honorary posthumous title as Emperor Xuan of Jin, was the founder
of the imperial fortunes of his family, and destroyer of the Cao dynasty of Wei. There is
thus a certain irony in the story that he had to be dragooned by Cao Cao into service; and
it may be too good to be true.

M  *SGZ* 17, 518 (2b), the Biography of Zhang Liao.

18 Changshe county was in Yingchuan, west of Changge in Henan, and a short distance north
of Xu city.

N  *SGZ* 23, 668 (19a), the Biography of Zhao Yan.

19 Yingyin county and Yangdi county were in Yingchuan. Yingyin was on the Ying River west
of present–day Xuchang, and Yangdi lay a little further upstream.
With Changshe, these three formed a half-circle north and west of Xu city, and were Cao Cao's garrison forces about this centre of his power.

20 The phrase here is bingcan sanjun. Canjun shi can indicate the office of "Adviser to the Army:" JS 24, 740. Here, however, it appears to be simply a description of Zhao Yan's function: cf. the appointment of Sun Jian in Liang province in 185: de Crespigny, Huan and Ling II, 571 note 24. We may note, however, that Zhang Ji was appointed can junshi to Zhong Yao about this time (SGZ 15, 472), so the position Adviser to the Army was becoming established.

21 Ma Teng, originally from Longxi, and Han Sui of Jincheng had both been operating about the upper Wei valley, Han Sui based in his home commandery, and Ma Teng in Youfufeng: see passage DD of Chuping 3. According to Dian lue, Han Sui had far the better of the fighting at this time, capturing and killing Ma Teng's wife and some of his children.

22 Huaili county was in Youfufeng, by Xingping in Shenxi, a short distance west of Chang'an, on the eastern edge of the territory Ma Teng had formerly controlled. Again according to Wei lue, however, Ma Teng was extremely popular in the region about Chang'an, and he had been recognised by the court under Cao Cao's control not only as General of the Van but also as Marquis of Huaili.

The Kaoyi commentary of Sima Guang notes that Dian lue dates the appointment of Ma Teng as Commandant of the Palace Guard, below, to Jian'an 15, two years later. Sima Guang observes, however, that SGZ 15 refers to Ma Teng's move at the time of Cao Cao's expedition to Jing province, in this year.

23 This surname is now pronounced as Xi, but the older sound is given by ZZTJ commentary. HHS commentary notes that the biography of Chi Lü in the Xu Han shu of Sima Biao says he was a scholar and a former student of the celebrated Zheng Xuan. He does not appear to have been a man of great distinction, and was evidently chosen by Cao Cao for this second position in the government rather for his loyalty than for outstanding ability.

24 Zhou li 7, 11b; Biot II, 167, identifies the central region of the state, one thousand li across, as the "zone of the state" (guo ji), and the next five hundred li outside was the "zone of supervision" (hou ji). In commentary, the scholar Zheng Xuan of the second century AD explains ji as equivalent to xian "restriction," and observes that according to this system no enfeoffment should be held within a thousand li of the imperial capital. By this, as ZZTJ commentary notes, Cao Cao had no right to reside at Ye.

25 The biography of Kong Rong says Chi Lü attacked him on two separate occasions, once bringing about his dismissal, and later, fatally, with the aid of Lu Cui.
Kong Rong had been Chancellor of Beihai several years earlier: e.g. passage Z of Jian'an 1. This accusation of planning rebellion (bugui) perhaps refers to his support of Liu Bei at that time: passage Z of Xingping 1.

The major envoy of Sun Quan about this time was Zhang Hong, who was at Xu city between 199 and 201: SGZ 53 (Wu 8), 1243–44; de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 221–222. There may, however, have been other visitors with whom Kong Rong could have been accused of indiscreet conversation.

On the association of Kong Rong with Ni Heng, see passage JJ of Jian'an 1. On the written form and pronunciation of Ni Heng's surname, see note 58 to Jian'an 1.

Zhongni was the style of Confucius; Yan Hui was a close disciple.

Great Refractoriness and Impiety (dani budao) were terms of category for the most serious crimes and wrongful actions, and a person whose behaviour was judged in such a way was liable to the heaviest penalties. See Hulsewé, *RHL I*, 156–158 and ff.

This attack by Chi Lü, referring to actions and associations of Kong Rong from ten years and more earlier, scraped the barrel to find causes for accusation, then categorised them overall as a pattern of treason.

Wenju was the style of Kong Rong.

[Ja13:208]

5  
*HHS* 74/64B, 2423–24 (10b–11a), the Biography of Liu Biao;  
*SGZ* 6, 213–14 (86a–87), the Biography of Liu Biao;  
*SGZ* 6, 214 (86b) PC quoting *Wei lue*.  
*SGZ* 35 (Shu 5), 914 (5b–6a), the Biography of Zhuge Liang.

Shensheng, elder son of Duke Xian of Jin in the seventh century BC, was slandered and destroyed by his father's favoured concubine. Chong'er, his younger brother, went away to avoid the danger, returning only when Duke Xian was dead. Chong'er became Duke Wen of Jin, one of the great hegemons of the Zhou period. See, for example, *Zuo zhuan*, Xi 4, Xi 5 and Xi 23; Legge, *CC V*, 141, 144–154 and 186–187 (Couvreur, *Chronique I*, 245–247, 248–250 and 339–349.

Considering that Huang Zu had been killed in battle against the aggressive forces of Sun Quan, and that Liu Qi did not in fact obtain the succession, one might question the value of Zhuge Liang's advice.

Since Liu Qi later came with an army to join Liu Bei by the mouth of the Han River (passage BB below), he evidently withdrew to his official territory of Jiangxia commandery, which extended both north and south of the Yangzi.

It appears that Zhangling commandery was established in the time of Liu Biao. Zhangling county, near present-day Zaoyang in Hubei, was formerly in Nanyang, and the territory of the new commandery would have extended to the southeast.

Sima Guang, in his *Kaoyi* commentary, notes that the biographies of Liu Biao in *HHS* 74/64B, 2424, and *SGZ* 6, 213, both say that Han Song was among the advisers urging surrender at this time. As Sima Guang observes, however, Han Song was then in prison for arguing that policy to Liu Biao some years earlier, and he was not released until Cao Cao arrived: passages R of Jian'an 4 and DD below. It is unlikely, therefore, that he was currently involved in policy.

Chu here refers to the territory of the ancient southern state; "China proper" renders the phrase *Zhongguo*. 
Xinye county in Nanyang, present-day Xinye in Henan, had been a key point in Liu Biao's northern defences. Liu Bei had been stationed there for some time (passage D of Jian'an 6), but now, as appears below, he had been moved south to the area of Xiangyang.

Fan city was at present-day Xiangfan in Hubei, on the northern side of the Han River opposite Xiangyang.

The timing and direction of Cao Cao's, Liu Zong's and Liu Bei's movements during this period of surrender are a little confused by the order of the incidents described here. We have been told above how Liu Zong brought his insignia and credentials to surrender to Cao Cao at Xinye. Here, however, it is said that Cao Cao had just reached Wan, which was north of Xinye, at present-day Nanyang, and below there is reference to Liu Bei seeking to call upon Liu Zong in Xiangyang, just south of Fan.

It appears firstly that Cao Cao and his army approached from the area of Xu city along the line of the present railway, past Wan to Xinye, and Liu Zong came to meet them at Xinye from his base at Xiangyang.

Secondly, however, it seems Liu Bei found out about the plan to surrender after it had been decided upon, but well before it actually took place; for Cao Cao had only reached Wan, and Liu Zong had not yet left Xiangyang to meet him at Xinye.

In these circumstances, Liu Bei could be rightly indignant at being left out of Liu Zong's councils, though since Liu Zong's advisers had to consider the question of Liu Bei's ability and potential loyalty, as above, this is not entirely surprising. Liu Bei, however, did find out about the decision fairly promptly. His biography and the passages in commentary seek to emphasise the limited time he had to make plans, but in fact this was not a major problem: the real difficulty was that Liu Bei did not want to fall again into Cao Cao's hands, so Liu Zong's decision to surrender was indeed a disaster for him.

Han-Wei chunqiu, followed by ZZTJ, ascribes this suggestion to an anonymous adviser, but the main text of SGZ 32 (Shu 2) says it came from Zhuge Liang.

As Pei Songzhi remarks, however, since we are told Liu Biao was particularly fond of his younger son Liu Zong, it is unlikely he would have urged Liu Bei to take power instead. Most probably, this is propaganda from Liu Bei's supporters to show his loyalty and sense of honour.
Dangyang county in Nan commandery was southwest of present-day Jingmen in Hubei, some 150 kilometres from Xiangyang. Liu Bei was moving south along the line of the modern railway.

Jiangling, capital of Nan commandery, at present-day Jiangling in Hubei, was the base for the major government fleet on the Yangzi. Guan Yu had taken over the bulk of the fleet which controlled the Han River, and the plan was that he would sail down to the junction with the Yangzi by present-day Wuhan, then upstream to Jiangling; Liu Bei would move by land to join him there.

The biography of the fourth-century scholar Xi Zuochi is in JS 82, 2152–58. A man of Xiangyang, author of Xiangyang ji and Han–Jin chunqiu, most of his biography consists of a memorial arguing that the dynasty of Shu–Han, established later by Liu Bei in present-day Sichuan, should be taken as the legitimate successor to Han, not the usurping state of Wei founded by Cao Cao. Xi Zuochi is thus a partisan of Liu Bei, and his Han–Jin chunqiu was compiled to emphasise continuity from Han through Shu–Han to Jin: de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 567 note.

There was good reason for a subject of Jin in the fourth century to write approvingly of Liu Bei. Firstly, Liu Bei’s state of Shu–Han, like Eastern Jin after the loss of the north, claimed the “True Succession” of the empire (zhengtong) even though it did not control the traditional heartland in the north. Secondly, if Cao Cao and his successors in the dynasty of Wei had usurped power from Han, then the questionable means by which the Sima family of Jin came to the throne gained some respectability: they had displaced usurpers rather than acting as traitors to the true holders of the Mandate of Heaven. On the seizure of power by the Sima, see, for example, de Crespigny, "Three Kingdoms and Western Jin", 33–37, and on the general topic of legitimate succession at this time, de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 455–457, Cambridge China I, 373–376 [Mansvelt Beck, "The Fall of Han"], Mansvelt Beck, "True Emperor," 23–33, Zhao Lingyang [1976], Jao Tsung-i [1977], and Rogers, Fu Chien, 51 ff.

Xuande was the style of Liu Bei; Jingsheng that of Liu Biao.

Xi Zuochi’s praise is exaggerated. We have observed in note 42 that much of the account of Liu Bei’s restraint and loyalty to Liu Biao and his sons is propaganda, and he now faced limited choices in a difficult situation. It would certainly have been an error to abandon the horde of people who were following him and slowing his escape: had he done so too obviously, as he says himself above, no-one would have followed him again. On the other hand, if we look at the results of the battle at the Chang Slope, described below, he was in fact compelled to abandon not only his general followers, but even his family. So the entire exercise was of little benefit to anybody, and certainly not to those who depended upon Liu Bei.

Compare the advice of Lou Gui at the end of passage U above.
48 The Chang Slope was a short distance north of the city of Dangyang, on the southern foothills of the Jingshan range.

Y SGZ 35 (Shu 5), 914 (6a), the Biography of Zhuge Liang; with PC quoting Wei lue.

49 On Xu Shu as an early colleague of Zhuge Liang, see passage O of Jian'an 12. On Zhuge Liang's admiration for him, see SGZ 35, 959–60. Xu Shu later became a high official under Cao Cao: SGZ 35, 914 PC quoting Wei lue.

Z SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 943 (7a), the Biography of Zhang Fei.

50 Yide was the style of Zhang Fei.

AA SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 949 (15b) PC quoting Zhao Yun biezhuan.

51 Zilong was the style of Zhao Yun.

BB SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 878 (14b), the Biography of Liu Bei.

52 Liu Bei and the remnants of his party had crossed the Han/Mian River from the west bank, where Cao Cao's troops controlled the territory after the battle at the Chang Slope, to the east where Liu Qi still held control of Jiangxia commandery. Xiakou/Miankou was at the junction of the Han River with the Yangzi; the Sun forces had evidently withdrawn after storming the fortress earlier in the year: passage D and note 11 above.

CC SGZ 1, 30 (71a), the Biography of Cao Cao; HHS 74/64B, 2424 (11b–12a), the Biography of Liu Biao.

53 On the previous record of Han Song as an advocate of Cao Cao at the court of Liu Biao, see passage R of Jian'an 4.

DD SGZ 18, 539 (9a–b), the Biography of Wen Ping.

54 This must refer to Cao Cao's crossing of the Han at Xiangyang on his way south towards Jiangling: passage X above.

55 Zhongye was the style of Wen Ping.

56 We have been told in passage CC above that Liu Bei had crossed the Han to the east to avoid Cao Cao: at this stage, therefore, Cao Cao did not control any great part of Jiangxia commandery. Wen Ping's biography in SGZ 18, 539, says that he accompanied Cao Cao to the defeat of Liu Bei at the Chang Slope, and was appointed to Jiangxia only later.

EE SGZ 23, 655 (1a–b), the Biography of He Xia; SGZ 21, 613–14 (38b–39b), the Biography of Liu Yi; SGZ 24, 677 (1a–b), the Biography of Han Ji; SGZ 23, 671–72 (23a–b), the Biography of Pei Qian; SGZ 21, 598 (4a), the Biography of Wang Can; SGZ 12, 386 (30b), the Biography of Sima Zhi.

57 Xiping county in Runan commandery was by present-day Wuyang in Henan, close to the border of Jing province.

58 This phrase is omitted from some editions of ZZTJ.
The biography of Confucius in SJ 47, 1926; Chavannes, *MH* V, 351–353, tells how he was going to visit the powerful minister Zhao Jianzi of the state of Jin. Then, however, he heard that Zhao Jianzi had killed the counsellor Dou Mingdu. Confucius immediately turned back, explaining to his disciples that a sage keeps his distance from those who harm men like himself.

On Hui of Liuxia, see *Mengzi* 2A.9; Legge, *CC* II, 207 (Lau, *Mencius*, 84):

Hui of Liu-hsia was not ashamed to serve an impure prince, nor did he think it low to be an inferior officer. When advanced to employment, he did not conceal his virtue, but made it a point to carry out his principles. When neglected and left without office he did not murmur. When straitened by poverty he did not grieve. Accordingly he had a saying, "You are you and I am I. Although you stand by my side with breast and arms bare, or with your body naked, how can you defile me?"

Therefore, self-possessed, he companied with men indifferently, at the same time not losing himself.

Fan Li, minister of the state of Yue in the fifth century BC, master-minded the conquest of Wu in 473 after Yue had previously been devastatingly defeated. After the final victory, he retired into private life, explaining that while the ruler of Yue was a good man to deal with and to serve in difficult times, he would be hard to manage now that success had come. He went north to live in Tao in present-day Shandong, where he made himself an immense fortune. See SJ 129, 3256–57, and HS 91, 3683; Swann, *Food and Money*, 424–426.

Shandu county in Nanyang was west of present-day Xiangfan in Henan. The hills were thus part of the high ground to the west of the valley of the Han.

Chanling county was in Wuling, on the southern bank of the Yangzi by present-day Gongan in Hunan. [ZZTJ commentary gives the pronunciation as Shenling.] The place was named Gongan by Liu Bei in the following year: passage H of Jian'an 14.

Yicheng county in Nan commandery was by the Han River south of present-day Xiangfan in Hubei.

Zhang Yu notes that the text should describe Wang Can as the grandson, not the son, of Wang Chang: see Wang Can's biography in *SGZ* 21, 597.

"Lord of the West" was the title held by King Wen of Zhou under the Shang/Yin dynasty. It was said of him that he held two-thirds of the empire, but still served the rightful king of Shang/Yin while he ruled with justice and virtue: *Lun yu* VIII.20; Legge, *CC* I, 215 (Lau, *Analects*, 75), also notes 14 and 59 to Jian'an 1. Later, his son King Wu of Zhou overthrew the wicked government of King Zhou of Shang/Yin and established a new dynasty.

The term "hegemon" (*ba*) was used in Zhou times to describe the rulers of great states who gained supremacy among their fellow feudatories and compelled them to keep the peace and support the royal house: note 30 to Chuping 3. The contrast presented by Pei Qian indicates that Liu Biao had greater pretensions than the hegemons, for while all made show of loyalty to their ruler, the Lord of the West, unlike the later chieftains, was ancestor of an imperial house.

Jian county was in Ji'nan, near present-day Jiyang in Shandong.

The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that the biography of Wang Can in *SGZ* 21, 598, refers to Cao Cao setting out a banquet for the officers of Han, where Wang Can made a congratulatory speech. Sima Guang observes, however, that we are told Cao Cao
was in a hurry to reach Jiangling before Liu Bei, so he passed by Xiangyang and went south by forced marches: passage U above. The appointments were no doubt made on the march, and it is unlikely he took time off for feasting.

[Ja13:208]

FF  
HHS 9, 385 (10a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.  

65  
HHS 108/18, 3371, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this eclipse, and notes that it took place in the Wei "Tail" constellation, sixth lunar mansion, which is the tail of Western Scorpio; Schlegel, Uranographie I, 153, and Ho, Astronomical Chapters, 97 and Star Map 3.

This eclipse, Oppolzer 3391, is mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 218. A major phenomenon, it tracked across southwest China through the morning.

The Treatise offers no prognostication, but Commentary to the Treatise quotes from Qiantan ba, apocryphal work on the Chunqiu, which says that an eclipse on a guiwei day reflects the suppression of humanity and honourable conduct.

[Ja13:208]

GG  
SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1269 (15b–16b), the Biography of Lu Su;  
SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 878 (14b–15a) PC quoting Jiangbiao zhuan.

66  
The phrase used here, xiaoxiong, was also applied to the commander Ying Bu during the civil war at the beginning of Former Han: SJ 54, 2039; Watson, RGH I, 104; HS 40, 2082. The term may be understood as indicating a leader who is not only brave, but also fierce and unscrupulous.

67  
This meeting presumably took place after Liu Bei’s defeat by Cao Cao at the Chang Slope; otherwise Liu Bei would have been more optimistic, and would not have been talking, as he does below, about taking refuge in the distant commandery of Cangwu, the eastern part of present-day Guangxi.

Indeed, given the move of Liu Bei from Xiakou to Fankou, described below, and considering he can have had limited opportunity for discussing strategy with Lu Su or anyone else during his flight from the Chang Slope (passages Y and CC above), the decision to seek alliance with Sun Quan was probably not taken until Liu Bei and his immediate followers reached the comparative security of Xiakou.

68  
On two occasions during his chequered career in the north, Liu Bei had held authority in Yu province: firstly from 194 to 196, with the title of Inspector allied to Tao Qian and then to Lü Bu against Cao Cao: passages B of Xingping 1 and F of Jian’an 1; and secondly in 196, with the title of Governor in alliance with Cao Cao against Lü Bu: passage DD of Jian’an 1. As a result, here and elsewhere, he is often given the courtesy attribute of Yuzhou.

69  
Ziyu was the style of Zhuge Jin. This sentence is constructed by Sima Guang from the biography of Zhuge Jin, SGZ 52 (Wu 7), 1231.

70  
According to SJ Z 35, 11a, Fankou and the county city of E lay on the right [southern] bank of the Yangzi, near present-day Huangshi in Hubei.

[Ja13:208]

HH  
SGZ 35 (Shu 5), 915 (7a–8a), the Biography of Zhuge Liang.

71  
This first sentence is interpolated by Sima Guang. Having seized Jiangling and the Yangzi fleet of Jing province, Cao Cao was now moving downstream towards Liu Bei and his associates gathered about the junction with the Han.

72  
Chaisang county in Yuzhang was on the southern bank of the Yangzi by present-day Jiujiang in Jiangxi. This had been Sun Quan’s forward base for the previous assaults on
Huang Zu in Jiangxia. Note that de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, at 239, 255 and 267, has the mistaken transcription Zhaisang.

73 Tian Heng, whose biographies are included in *SJ* 94 and *HS* 33, took the title King of Qi during the time of disorder at the end of the Qin dynasty. In 202 BC he was compelled to surrender to Emperor Gao of Han, but he committed suicide before he reached the capital, and all his attendants and supporters followed his example. See, for example, Watson, *RGG I*, 201–202.

74 *HS* 52, 2402, records the words of Han Anguo: "The fading breath of a rushing wind cannot stir fur or feathers; the last flight of [a bolt fired from] a strong cross-bow has not sufficient strength to pierce plain silk from Lu." The commentary of Yan Shigu remarks that the people of Qufu (present-day Qufu in Shandong), in the ancient territory of the state of Lu during the Zhou period, wove a particularly fine light cloth.

As to the second clause, criticising Cao Cao for driving his troops too far and too fast, Zhuge Liang is echoing a section of *Sunzi bingfa*: 7, 6b; Griffith, *Art of War*, 103, has: "marching at double time for a hundred li, the three commanders (*san jiangjun*) will be captured (*qin*)." And 7, 9a; Griffith, 104, reads: "In a forced march of fifty li, the commander of the van (*shang jiangjun*) will fall (*jue*)..

Zhuge Liang clearly intends *shang jiangjun* to indicate the commander-in-chief, but the citation in *SGZ* 35, followed by *ZZTJ* and its commentary, combines the two passages of *Sunzi bingfa* in confusing fashion. The term *san jiang* "three armies" frequently refers to a royal or imperial army, but in context above *san jiangjun* "three commanders" indicates the commanders of the van, the centre and the rear (Griffith, 104), so the *shang jiangjun* is only the first of these.

Cao Cao himself, in his commentary to *Sunzi bingfa* 7, 6b, observes that "to chase for advantage over a distance of a hundred li is an error, and will bring the capture of the three commanders."

75 This is an early reference to the tripartite balance between the three rival states of Cao Cao [Wei], Liu Bei [Shu-Han] and Sun Quan [Wu], often referred to in later times by the analogy of a three-legged cauldron *ding*. Since there were still warlords in the region about Chang'an, and Liu Zhang controlled Yi province in the west, the proposed balance of power seems too prophetic to have been part of Zhuge Liang's speech at that time, and it was probably added later.

Indeed, the whole account of the debate at the court of Sun Quan as presented in this passage and those immediately following is confused: on the one hand, historians of Shu-Han sought to enhance the role of their great minister, so Zhuge Liang's biography implies that Sun Quan promptly accepted his proposals and sent Zhou Yu and Cheng Pu to follow him to join Liu Bei. We have below, however, the record of discussion among Sun Quan's advisers, which makes it clear the decision was by no means immediate. Furthermore, though the romantic tradition of *Sanguo zhi yanyi* and some dramas present a picture of Zhuge Liang dominating the debate with Sun Quan's counsellors, it is most unlikely he would even have been permitted to be present while such a critical decision was taken.

On the other hand, the biography of Zhou Yu appears to place undue emphasis on his role in the decision, and reduces the importance of the contribution by Lu Su: passages LL and MM below. In *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), 1269 PC and 1262 PC, Pei Songzhi remarks on this
contradiction in the accounts by Chen Shou, and the manner in which Lu Su has been short-changed.

ZZTJ presents a coherent record of the debate, with material from all traditions, and I accept its account: de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 255–260 and especially note 66.

II SGZ 47 (Wu 2), 1118 (5b) PC quoting Jiangbiao zhuan.

In traditional China, including the Han period, the annual hunt held in the autumn or winter was an occasion for the mobilisation and manoeuvre of troops

JJ SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1261 (5b–6a), the Biography of Zhou Yu.

Though Zhang Zhao is mentioned here by ZZTJ, this defeatist argument is not specifically attributed to him by SGZ 54 (Wu 9), which refers merely to "some advisers." Jiangbiao zhuan, however, in SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1262 PC, followed by passage NN below, refers to Zhang Zhao and Qin Song as leaders of that group, while another extract in SGZ 52 (Wu 7), 1222 PC, says that in 229, when Sun Quan took the imperial title, he observed in public that if he had followed the advice of Zhang Zhao, he would by this time have been begging for his food; Pei Songzhi adds that this refers to the time Zhang Zhao urged him to surrender to Cao Cao. See also de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 465–466.

At this point, ZZTJ commentary has a considerable discussion by the Tang scholar Du Yu on the phrase mengchong doujian, which appears at this time as a general term for ships of war.

In a section entitled "Some Notes on Ships and Naval Warfare" in de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 275–286, and especially at 276–280, I have discussed these styles of warships, and have argued that they were different to those described by Du Yu for his own time.

I interpret the mengchong as an "Armoured Breaker," a heavy vessel, covered with ox-hides to protect its upper works and the men on board from fire and other missiles, which was used for ship-against-ship combat, and particularly for breaking an enemy formation. The use of a mengchong as a floating fortress may be observed in passage D above, describing Huang Zu's defence of the mouth of the Han earlier this year.

As to the doujian, I suggest that this refers to the other major class of fighting ship, an open-decked junk designed to carry men-at-arms who would board and seek to capture the enemy by hand-to-hand fighting. The combined phrase mengchong doujian may be interpreted as a general description of ships of war.

KK SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1269–70 (16b–17b), the Biography of Lu Su.

The phrase "to change the clothes" (geng yi) is a euphemism for Sun Quan's activity, and the area sheltered by the eaves of a building (yu xia) was commonly used as a lavatory. [For another occasion when a lavatory (ce) was used for secret conversation, see ZZTJ 46, 1745; de Crespigny, Huan and Ling I, 12, describing Emperor Huan's approach to the eunuchs for help removing the powerful minister Liang Ji in 159.]

The words ascribed to Lu Su come from a private conversation and are therefore suspect, but they are a fair summary of the arguments he could have raised against surrender, and their substance was no doubt attested to later by Sun Quan and by Lu Su.
If not an anachronism, the phrase "graded for name and rank" is probably an early reference to the jiupin zhongzheng system of recruitment which was developed in the state of Wei: see, for example, Holzman, "Les neuf catégories et l'Impartial et Juste," 392–393. Lu Su is explaining that he could return to his own territory, where he would be assessed by local authorities as suitable for appointment in the provincial administration, and he could then expect to rise to senior office. As he observes below, however, Sun Quan had risen too high to hope for such a peaceful career in Cao Cao's service.

[Ja13:208]

LL  SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1261–62 (6a–7a), the Biography of Zhou Yu.
81 The text of SGZ presents this address by Zhou Yu as following directly against the arguments of the defeatists presented in passage JJ above. ZZTJ, however, places Lu Su's intervention between the two, and this makes chronological sense. Though Zhou Yu's base in Poyang was some hundred kilometres from Sun Quan at Chaisang, it is likely the news of Cao Cao's approach and Zhuge Liang's embassy had reached him and he was already on the way. It appears that from the time of Zhuge Liang's arrival to the final arguments of Zhou Yu and Sun Quan's decision described below, the council lasted at least two days. See also note 76 above.

[Ja13:208]

MM  SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1261 (7a-b) PC quoting Jiangbiao zhuan.
82 As in Passage KK above, the text which follows, though formally based upon a private conversation and thus suspect in the manner by which it may have been recorded, presents an interesting and circumstantial discussion of the practical considerations Zhou Yu and Sun Quan were dealing with, particularly the number of troops available to each side, and the manner in which they proposed to deploy them. See also de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 259–260.

83 Zibu was the style of Zhang Zhao. Wenbiao was the style of Qin Song, another counsellor: ZZTJ in fact has Yuanbiao, but Jiangbiao zhuan has Wenbiao, which is supported by SGZ 53 (Wu 8), 1247; ZZTJ commentary notes the error.

84 Zijing was the style of Lu Su. Gongjin, above, was the style of Zhou Yu. Mengde, below, was the style of Cao Cao.

[Ja13:208]

NN  SGZ 47 (Wu 2), 1118 (5b), the Biography of Sun Quan;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1270 (17b), the Biography of Lu Su.
85 According to SGZ 47 (Wu 2), these two Controllers (du) each commanded ten thousand men. Cheng Pu, described above as "Lord" (gong), was the senior officer of Sun Quan's forces. We are told Zhou Yu was in real command of operations, but Cheng Pu had equal formal authority. Years later, Lü Meng described the arrangement as cumbersome and dangerous, not to be repeated: SGZ 51 (Wu 6), 1207–07; de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 291 note.

[Ja13:208]

OO  SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 879 (15b) PC quoting Jiangbiao zhuan.
[Ja13:208]

PP  SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1262–63 (7b–8b), the Biography of Zhou Yu;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1263 (8b) PC quoting Jiangbiao zhuan.
There has been considerable debate on the site of the Red Cliffs, but I follow the arguments of Lu Bi, in *SGZJ* 1, 74a–75a, and the maps of *Zhongguo shi gao ditu ji* I, 47, and *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* III, 29–30, accepting the site of the battle as the area of present-day Wulin, on the north-western bank of the Yangzi near Jiayu in Hubei: de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 265 note.

On the phrase *mengchong doujian*, see note 78 above. *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9) says the number was several dozen.

The text of Huang Gai’s letter is given by *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), 1263 PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

Huarong county was east of present-day Shashi in Hubei, due east of the Red Cliffs and on the edge of marsh country between the Han and the Yangzi.

Success at the Red Cliffs had enabled Zhou Yu and Cheng Pu to advance upstream to the west and face Jiangling, but they were not able to establish a position on the northern bank. Yiling was about a hundred kilometres further upstream, northwest of Jiangling and on the northern bank of the Yangzi. Gan Ning was sent there with a detachment to establish a bridgehead and outflank Cao Ren’s position.

As *ZZTJ* commentary explains, the attack at Yiling brought Zhou Yu and his army close to the Yangzi Gorges and the frontier of Yi province, so it was not difficult for Xi Su, evidently impressed by their success at the Red Cliffs, to join them.

It appears that a commander’s troops, even when they had come under his control through his official position, were beginning to be considered as his personal possession.

Gongji was the style of Ling Tong.

*SGZ* says Lü Meng also arranged that Zhou Yu sent a detachment of three hundred men to construct a wooden barricade across the enemy’s line of retreat: so when the northern troops wanted to escape from Yiling, they were compelled to leave their horses behind. Horses, of course, were difficult to obtain in the south, and even three hundred gave Zhou Yu and his men the possibility of cavalry action.
only time Zhang Zhao, normally a civilian administrator and adviser, was ever given substantial military responsibility.

This fruitless expedition was the first major attempt by Sun forces to gain a position beyond the immediate northern bank of the Yangzi; in all the history of Wu, however, they were never successful.

The account of the attack on Hefei is confused by SGZ 1, 30, which says that Sun Quan attacked the place "on behalf of (weí) Liu Bei" but was driven away by the arrival of a relief force under Zhang Xi: see passages B and C of the following year, Jian'an 14. SGZ 1 then goes on to tell of the defeat of Cao Cao at the Red Cliffs at the hands of Liu Bei. It is inappropriate, however, to describe Sun Quan's operations as being in the interests of Liu Bei, who was a junior partner at this time.

It is highly unlikely, moreover, that Sun Quan would have distracted himself and diminished his defences against Cao Cao's advance from the west by any diversion to the north. One must assume that the chronicle of SGZ 1 has misinterpreted and misplaced the attack on Hefei, and the enterprise was begun, as the biography of Sun Quan describes it in SGZ 47, only after Cao Cao had been repelled at the Red Cliffs. See also note 97 below.

[Va13:208]

SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 879 (18a), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 35 (Shu 5), 915–16 (8b–9a), the Biography of Zhuge Liang;
SGZ 36 (Shu6), 949 (15b) PC quoting Zhao Yun piezhuan.

97 We may note here that the allies had gone separate ways after their joint success at the Red Cliffs. Sun Quan's main force, under Zhou Yu and Cheng Pu, had moved west up the Yangzi and was attempting to make ground northwards past Cao Ren's defences at Jiangling, while on the eastern front Sun Quan himself was attempting to break out north towards the Huai. Zhou Yu's progress was slow, however, and Sun Quan had not achieved any success.

By contrast, Liu Bei had turned to the south, where he had no contact with Cao Cao's forces, and was mopping up isolated commanderies and counties which had formerly been under the nominal control of Liu Biao. Wuling, Changsha, Guiyang and Lingling commanderies were all in the southern part of Jing province, about the Dongting Lake and the valley of the Xiang. Lujiang, however, was in Yang province, north of the Yangzi, in a sphere of influence one would expect to have belonged to Sun Quan.

[Va13:208]

SGZ 31 (Shu 1), 868 (11b), the Biography of Liu Zhang.

98 In fairness to Cao Cao, it should be observed that Zhang Song was the third such messenger sent by Liu Zhang. From the first embassy, Liu Zhang himself was given title as a general, and the second man, who came with three hundred soldiers, was made a Grand Administrator. It seems Cao Cao had become bored with this pattern of tribute and rewards, while Zhang Song suffered from disappointed expectation.

[Va13:208]

XX SGZ 31 (Shu 1), 869 (11b–12a) PC quoting Xi Zuochi, probably his Han–Jin chunqiu.

99 On Xi Zuochi, see note 44 above.

100 Gongyang commentary to the Chunqiu chronicle for the sixth year of Duke Xi (650 BC) tells how at the assembly of Kuiqiu the hegemon Duke Huan of Qi bullied the other rulers, then boasted of it. Nine feudatories rebelled.
On Tian Chou’s service during the campaign against the Wuhuan, his advice about the possibility of a flank march by the Lulong road, referred to below, and his refusal of any reward, see passages D and K of Jian’an 12.

SGZ I1 does not name Cao Pi, but refers to him by the designation shizi.

Ziwen was the style of Dougwu wutu, chief minister of the state of Chu in the seventh century BC. Guo yu 18, 7a, tells how he was offered honours and rewards but would always refuse them. Asked for the reason he rejected all the things which were so sought after by others, he replied that it was the duty of a minister to care for his people, there were still many people in need of care, that if he accepted gifts it would be at the expense of others, and such action would soon bring destruction. “I am turning away from death, not from wealth.” And in the great purge at the time of King Zhuang of Chu (613–591), his descendants remained unharmed.

According to Zuo zhuan, Ding 4–5; Legge CC V, 757–760 (Couvreur, Chronique III, 517–525), the state of Chu was defeated by Wu in the early sixth century, and its capital fell to the invaders. Shen Baoxu went to Qin, and succeeded in obtaining an army to bring help. When the army of Wu had been driven away, Shen Baoxu was offered rewards. He replied, however, “I acted for the ruler, not for myself. Since you are now restored to your position, what more do I need?”

ZZT here describes Xun Yu only as a Master of Writing, but SGZ I1, 343, refers to him as Prefect of the Masters of Writing. Xun Yu was appointed to act in that office in 196 (passage X of Jian’an 1), and it appears the post was soon made substantive: passage T of Jian’an 2 and also, for example, SGZ 10, 317 PC quoting Weishi chunqiu.

Cangshu was the style of Cao Chong, eldest son of Cao Cao’s concubine the Lady Huan. His biography in SGZ 20, 580, has several anecdotes which tell of his intelligence while still very young. He was age thirteen, twelve by Western reckoning, at the time of his death. After Cao Pi proclaimed the empire of Wei in 221, Cao Chong was granted posthumous title, first as Marquis, later as Duke, and finally as King of Deng.

Despite Bing Yuan’s strictures, the marriage of deceased children was a practicable custom at this time. The biography of Cao Chong in SGZ 20, 580, says that in the end Cao Cao had him betrothed and buried with a girl of the Zhen family, who had also lately died.

Yi and She counties, near the present-day cities of the same name in southern Anhui, lay to the south of the Huang Shan massif, and were thus isolated from the main territory of the commandery. The Linli Hills were evidently a section of the main range of the Huang Shan.

One imagines that the heads of halberds or similar weapons were used as pitons to make a step-way up the cliff face.

SGZ 60 (Wu 15) says that Xindu commandery contained six counties: Yi and She with four others established about this time. The capital was at Shixin, southwest of She on a northern tributary of the Fuchun River in Zhejiang. On the importance of this development
in the co-ordination of Sun Quan's territory, creating access south of the Huang Shan between Hangzhou Bay and the Poyang marshlands, and strengthening the communications already established along the Yangzi, see de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 330–332.
Jian'an 14: 209 AD
[22 February 209 – 11 February 210]

2097

A In the spring, in the third month Cao Cao brought his army to Qiao.1

B Sun Quan was besieging Hefei. His forces had surrounded the city for a long time, but it did not fall.2

   Sun Quan gathered light cavalry to lead a charge against the enemy, but his Chief Clerk Zhang Hong objected, "Weapons are evil and war is a dangerous business. If you follow your inclinations and display your courage, careless of the strength and fury of the enemy, then all the army will be anxious. Even if you took the head of their leader and captured their flag, though your prowess shook the ground beneath their feet, this is still the task of a subaltern, not what the commander should be doing. I ask that you restrain the bravery of Meng Ben and Xia Yu, and maintain your conduct as a hegemon king."3 So Sun Quan gave up the idea.

C Cao Cao sent his general Zhang Xi with troops to break up the siege, but it would be a long time before he arrived. The Aide-de-Camp of Yang province, Jiang Ji of Chu state, spoke secretly to the Inspector, pretending he had received a letter from Zhang Xi to say that forty thousand horse and foot had already reached Xulü.4

2098 The Master of Records was sent to receive Zhang Xi, and three sets of messengers were despatched, each carrying letters to tell the news to the commander of the garrison at Hefei. One group got into the city, but the other two were captured by Sun Quan.5 Sun Quan believed the story, and he promptly burnt his siege-works and went away.

D In the autumn, in the seventh month Cao Cao brought his fleet from the Ge to the Huai. He followed the Fei River down to Hefei, and established military colonies at Shaopi.6

E In the winter, in the tenth month there was an earthquake in Jing province.7
F In the twelfth month Cao Cao's army returned to Qiao.

G Chen Lan and Mei Cheng, men of Lujiang, occupied Qian and Liu in rebellion. Cao Cao sent the General Who Terrifies Criminals Zhang Liao to attack and behead them. Then Zhang Liao was sent to join Yue Jin and Li Dian with seven thousand men in garrison at Hefei.

H Zhou Yu had been attacking Cao Ren [in Jiangling] for more than a year, and a great many soldiers had been killed or wounded. At last, Cao Ren abandoned the city and fled.

   Sun Quan named Zhou Yu as Grand Administrator of Nan commandery and had him occupy Jiangling. Cheng Pu was Grand Administrator of Jiangxia, with his administration at Shaxian. Lü Fan became Grand Administrator of Pengze, and Lü Meng was Prefect of Xunyang.

2099 Liu Bei recommended Sun Quan as Acting General of Chariots and Cavalry with command as Governor of Xu province. Then Liu Qi died, and Sun Quan had Liu Bei take over as Governor of Jing province. Zhou Yu handed over all the territory south of the Yangzi to Liu Bei. Liu Bei set his base at Youjiangkou, and changed the name to Gongan.

I Sun Quan gave his younger sister as wife to Liu Bei. She was quick-witted and brave, with spirit equal to her brothers. She had more than a hundred serving-maids, and they all carried swords in attendance. Liu Bei was frightened every time he went in to see her.

J Cao Cao sent Jiang Gan of Jiujiang on a secret mission to win Zhou Yu. As a debater, Jiang Gan was unrivalled between the Yangzi and the Huai. In plain clothing and a linen cap, he called upon Zhou Yu as if he was making a private visit.

   Zhou Yu came out to welcome him, and but said to him immediately, "You must be tired, Ziyi, for you have travelled a long way across rivers and lakes. Was it for no more than to act as a mouthpiece for Master Cao?"

   Then he escorted Jiang Gan all round the camp. They saw the granary and stores, the arsenal and the accounts of armour and weapons. They went back to drink and feast, and he showed Jiang Gan his attendants, and his objects of ornament and pleasure.
Then said Zhou Yu, "A great man in the world has met the master who can appreciate him. Outwardly, we behave with the courtesy of ruler and subject, but inside we are joined as blood-brothers. He approves anything I suggest and he always agrees to my plans. In fortune or misfortune, we share it. If Su Qin or Zhang Yi were born again, could they change my feelings?"13

Jiang Gan just laughed, and the subject was not mentioned again. When he returned to Cao Cao, he praised Zhou Yu's conduct and his high abilities: a man whom words could never lead astray.

[Ja14: 209]

He Xia, Senior Clerk in the office of the Chancellor, said to Cao Cao, "Each man varies in ability and character, and you cannot judge them from only one aspect. Excessive economy and simplicity may be all very well for one person, but if you seek to force others into the same pattern there will be a great deal of injustice.

"At present, any official at your court who wears new clothes and rides in a fine carriage is immediately accused of corruption, while those who pay no attention to their appearance and wear worn-out clothing and furs are all considered upright and pure. It has reached a point where your officials must dirty their clothes and hide their carriages and fine robes, while the highest members of the court or government sometimes bring their own food and drink to the office.

"In setting up teaching or establishing a custom, it is always best to keep to the middle path, for that is easiest to follow. But you now encourage a pattern of conduct which is difficult, and you use it to judge all manner of men. When you force things like that, people inevitably become annoyed and irritated.

"Great teachers of the past always placed emphasis on following human nature. When the requirements of behaviour are awkward and exaggerated, they simply encourage secrecy and deception."

Cao Cao approved this argument.14

NOTES to Jian'an 14: 209

A SGZ 1, 32 (76a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

1 After the defeat at the Red Cliffs, Cao Cao withdrew his main army from Jing province, leaving Cao Ren and Yue Jin to hold the Han valley (passage RR of Jian'an 13), and it appears from passages YY and ZZ that he returned to his capital at Xu city. He now
brought his main force across southeast to Qiao county in Pei, present-day Poxian in Anhui, evidently as a distant reserve against the drive by Sun Quan at Hefei and the valley of the Huai.

SGZ 1 adds that Cao Cao had light boats built to train his men for naval combat.

[Ja14: 209]

B SGZ 53 (Wu 8), 1244–45 (4a), the Biography of Zhang Hong.

2 On Sun Quan’s initial attack against Hefei, see passage UU of Jian’an 13. Parallel texts in SGZ 14 (passage C below) and SGZ 1 (Wei 1), 30, date the end of the siege to the winter of Jian’an 13, not to this Jian’an 14.

3 On the legendary heroes Meng Ben and Xia Yu see note 10 to Jian’an 5 and SJ 79, 2407.

[Ja14: 209]

C SGZ 14, 450 (31b), the Biography of Jiang Ji.

4 According to his biography, Jiang Ji was a man from Ping’a county in Chu state. The Treatise of Administrative Geography, HHS 112/22, 3486, lists Ping’a in Jiujiang commandery under Later Han. In 197 Yuan Shu changed the name of Jiujiang commandery to Huainan (passage G of Jian’an 2), and the new name appears to have been maintained until 232, when Cao Cao’s son Biao was enfeoffed as King of Chu (SGZ 20, 587). In 249 the kingdom was ended and the territory named again as Huainan (SGZ 20, 587). Chu state here thus refers to the territory known also at this time as Jiujiang or Huainan.

Liu Fu, long-serving Inspector of Yang province for Cao Cao, had established his administration at Hefei (passage JJ of Jian’an 5), but Liu Fu’s biography says he died in the previous year (SGZ 15, 463). His successor, not named here, was evidently outside Hefei city.

Xulü county in Lujiang was near present-day Shangcheng in southeast Henan, some 120 kilometres west of Hefei. In fact, SGZ 14 states that not only was Zhang Xi still a considerable distance away, but his forces were far smaller: he had been given just a thousand cavalry by Cao Cao, and he was raising some levies on his way through Runan commandery. Quite apart from the time they required to get to Hefei, Zhang Xi’s men would have been markedly inferior to the forces commanded by Sun Quan about Hefei.

The Inspector was evidently fully convinced by the false information from Jiang Ji, for he sent his own secretary, the Master of Records, to Xulü. The three groups of messengers served a double purpose: those who got through to Hefei encouraged the defenders; while those which were captured brought convincing misinformation to Sun Quan.

[Ja14: 209]

D SGZ 1, 32 (76a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

6 The Ge River flowed past Qiao, then southeast. HS 28B says that the Ge River joined the Huai at Xiang county in Pei, but SJZ 23, 8b, says it entered the Huai at Suling county in Xiapi, seventy-five kilometres further east. The Qing commentator Zhao Yiqing argues that the junction was still in Xiang county at the end of Later Han; Zhongguo lishi ditu ji II, 19–20 and 44–45, agrees. [The pronunciation of the name of the river is given by Yan Shigu as a homonym for, with a variant Gua, while Wang Xianqian notes that the character can be written as here, or as: commentary to HS 28B, 1636, and HSBZ 28B(2), 30b.]
SJZ 32, 8a, says that the Fei River flowed north from Hefei to join the Huai at Shouchun.

Shaopi was the name of a lake south of the Huai River and Shouchun, west of the Fei River. [Yan Shigu gives the pronunciation of the first character of the name of the lake as que; the second character is also sounded as bei, and is misrendered ban in de Crespigny, *Generals of the South.*]

Cao Cao thus brought his army down the Ge River to the Huai, travelled a short distance southwest up the main stream, then turned south up the Fei. He set military agricultural settlements in the area about the Shaopi Lake, and Hefei city became the apex of a strong salient against the south.

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E HHS 9, 386 (10a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.
7 HHS 106/16, the Treatise of the Five Powers, does not mention this earthquake, which is, on the other hand, the only event recorded in the Annals for this year. Any interpreter would surely have related the phenomenon to the mighty events of the previous year.

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F SGZ 1, 32 (77a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

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G SGZ 17, 518 (2b–3a), the Biography of Zhang Liao.

8 SGZ 17 refers to the scene of the rebellion as “six counties of the Di people.” The *Kaoyì* commentary of Sima Guang, however, dating the incident to this year, refers to the “Rhapsody on the Campaign against Tian Shan” by the contemporary Po Qin (biography at SGZ 21, 603 PC note 2 citing *Dian lue* by Yu Huan), which gives the places as Qian and Liu.

Qian county in Lujiang was south of present–day Liu’an in Anhui, and Liu lay to the north. Liu county had been called by that name in Former Han, but was Liu’an during Later Han; the name evidently changed again about this time: HHS 112/22, 3487 (43a–b). Both counties lay on the Pi [or Bi] River, which flowed north to the western shore of the Shaopi Lake.

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H SGZ 47 (Wu 2), 1118 (6a–b), the Biography of Sun Quan;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1264 (9b), the Biography of Zhou Yu;
SGZ 55 (Wu 10), 1284 (2a), the Biography of Cheng Pu;
SGZ 56 (Wu 11), 1310 (10b), the Biography of Lü Fan;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1274 (22b), the Biography of Lü Meng;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 879 (18a–b), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 879 (16a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

9 The new commandery of Pengze, based upon the county of that name south of the Yangzi at the junction with the Pengli Lake, and the county of Xunyang, northwest of the Pengli Lake, controlled the central communications of Sun Quan’s territory, east–west along the Yangzi and south into the lakes and marshlands of the Poyang region.

Besides their administrative and military appointments, Zhou Yu, Cheng Pu and Lü Fan were granted various counties as sources of revenue, described either as “fief cities” (*feng yi*) or as “supplying provisions” (*shì*).

10 ZZTJ here reflects the form of words in SGZ 47, the biography of Sun Quan. In SGZ 32, the biography of Liu Bei, we are told that Liu Qi’s subordinate officers asked Liu Bei to take the position, and Sun Quan was in awe of him. Cf. passage E of Jian’an 15 below.
I  Sun Quan’s father, Sun Jian, had at least three daughters, but it is probable this Lady Sun was a full sister of Sun Quan, born of his mother the Lady Wu, Sun Jian’s principal wife: de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 86 note. On Liu Bei’s other women, see de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 294–296 note: his career as a peripatetic warlord produced many liaisons and vicissitudes in his family. The mother of his son and eventual heir, Liu Shan, was the Lady Gan, who died about this time: SGZ 34 (Shu 4), 905.

J  Ziyi was the style of Jiang Gan.

11 Su Qin and Zhang Yi were celebrated strategists and politicians of the Warring States period at the end of the Zhou dynasty. Their biographies are in SJ 69 and 70; see also Crump, Chan-kuo ts’e, 13–15.

K  He Xia’s criticism of the new and excessive official morality is in contrast to the praise which had been given to Cui Yan and Mao Jie for their work of reform in the previous year: passage K of Jian’an 13. SGZ 23 does not in fact record that Cao Cao agreed with He Xia’s argument, but the approach based upon competence rather than personal morality was clearly followed in an ordinance of the following year: passage A of Jian’an 15.

At the same time, however, the moralistic policy of Cui Yan and Mao Jie, including sumptuary regulations, was largely maintained. Observe, for example, the fate of Cao Cao’s daughter-in-law, the wife of Cao Zhi, described in passage Q of Jian’an 22.

Jian’an 15: 210 AD
[12 February 210 – 31 January 211]

A  In the spring an ordinance was promulgated: "Meng Gongchuo was well competent to be chief officer of Zhao or Wei, but unworthy of the highest position in Teng or Xue.’1 If men must be pure to hold office, how could Duke Huan of Qi have become hegemon?2 Everyone must help me bring to light the humble and obscure. Please recommend men just on the basis of their ability; I can make use of them."3

B  In the second month on the day yisi [13 Mar], first of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.4

C  In the winter Cao Cao built the Copper Bird Terrace at Ye.5
In the twelfth month [miswritten for the eleventh month] on the day jihai [Jan 21]6 Cao Cao issued an ordinance:

"When first I was recommended Filially Pious and Incorrupt, I realised I had no reputation as a scholar recluse. I was afraid men would look upon me as someone of no more than ordinary ability, so I sought to make a name for myself by good work in government.

"In Ji’nan, therefore, I destroyed oppression and drove out evil, and I believe that all the recommendations I made for appointment or promotion were justified. Because of this, however, I made enemies of powerful men. I was afraid I would bring misfortune to my family, and so I pleaded sick and went back home.

"I was at that time still young. I built a fine house fifty li east of Qiao, and I proposed to read books in autumn and summer, and shoot and hunt in winter and spring. That was my plan for twenty years: to wait until the empire was reformed, then come out from retirement to accept some appointment.

"But things did not work out that way, and I was called to the capital and appointed Colonel Who Arranges the Army. Again I changed my ideas, and now sought to work for the nation, to destroy rebels and gain some achievement. I would have had the stone tablet at the gate of my tomb inscribed with the words, 'The former General Who Subdues the West, Marquis Cao of the Han.' This was my whole ambition.

"Then came the trouble with Dong Zhuo, and I raised loyal troops. And later I took over in Yan province; and I destroyed or brought to surrender three hundred thousand Yellow Turbans; and I attacked the rebel Yuan Shu and caused him to die poor and ruined; and I destroyed Yuan Shao and exposed the heads of his two sons; and I also dealt with Liu Biao.

"So I have pacified the empire. I am the chief. I have the utmost honour a subject can hold, far beyond my former hopes. Supposing I had not been here, who can say how many men would have claimed the imperial title or how many would have sought to rule as kings?

"It may be, however, that as some people see how my power has grown, and recognise that I am not the sort of man to trust indefinitely on the favour of Heaven, I am concerned lest they misjudge me, and say I have ambitions for the throne.

"So I now reveal my true feelings, with words from the bottom of my heart.
"On the other hand, should anyone suggest that I give up my army, hand over my power, and retire to my fief at Wuping, then that just cannot be. Quite simply, I am afraid I should be harmed as soon as I left the protection of my troops; and I want to arrange that even my children and grandchildren shall be secure.

"Should I be destroyed, moreover, the whole realm will be in danger. I am not prepared to give up my life for a meaningless reputation.

"All the same, at present I hold a fief of four counties with a pension from thirty thousand households; what have I done to deserve so much? Since the rivers and lake-lands of the south are not yet settled, I cannot leave my post, but I can certainly give up my cities and lands. I therefore hand back the three counties of Yangxia, Zhe and Ku, with twenty thousand households, keeping only the income from ten thousand households in Wuping.13 This way, I reduce opportunity for rumour and slander, and I relieve myself of some responsibilities."

[Ja15:210]

Many officials and gentry who had formerly served Liu Biao now turned to Liu Bei. Liu Bei felt the territory Zhou Yu had allocated him was too small to support his army, so he went in person to Jing city14 to see Sun Quan and to ask for appointment as chief in command of Jing province.15

Zhou Yu sent in a memorial to Sun Quan saying, "Liu Bei is a cruel fierce leader, and he has Guan Yu and Zhang Fei as officers like bears or tigers. They will never agree to serve anyone else for very long.

"I suggest the best plan is to transfer Liu Bei to some office in Wu, build him quantities of palaces and houses, and give him plenty of women and multiple pleasures to rejoice his ears and eyes. Keep the other two apart, each with appointment in a different place, and have someone like me hold them down and make them fight for us. If we do that, the great affair can be settled.

"On the other hand, should you be so careless as to give Liu Bei some territory which might serve him as a base, and allow the three men to stay together, then I am afraid the flood dragon will get to the rain, and will be more than just a minnow in a pond!"

Lü Fan also urged Sun Quan to keep Liu Bei near at hand.16 Because Cao Cao was in the north, however, Sun Quan felt that he needed all the fighting men he could find, so he did not follow their advice. Liu Bei returned to Gongan.
Many years later he learnt about this, and he sighed and said, "Anywhere in the empire, wise men think alike. Kongming [Zhuge Liang] warned me not to go, and he too was concerned over what might happen. My position was extremely difficult, and I had to make the journey, but it was certainly dangerous, and I almost fell into the clutches of Zhou Yu."17

Zhou Yu went to Jing city to see Sun Quan, and said to him, "Cao Cao has just been defeated, and he will be concerned about the loyalty of even his closest companions. He cannot do anything to you for some time to come. I ask to go forward with the General Who Displays Majesty [Sun Yu], to seize Shu and take over Zhang Lu. I shall leave the General Who Displays Majesty to hold that territory in alliance with Ma Chao, and come back to join you.18

"We next take Xiangyang, putting pressure on Cao Cao, and after that we can make plans to deal with the north." Sun Quan approved.

The General Who Displays Majesty was Sun Yu, son of Sun Jian's younger brother, who also held the post of Grand Administrator of Danyang.19

Zhou Yu returned to Jiangling to prepare for the expedition, but on the way he became seriously ill. He sent a message to Sun Quan, "Whether life is long or short is a matter of fate, nothing to make a fuss about. My only regrets are that my humble ambitions are not yet achieved, and that I shall never again receive your teaching and guidance."

"At present, Cao Cao is in the north, and our borders have no peace. Liu Bei is lodging with us, and that is like feeding a tiger. We cannot tell how affairs will develop. This is a time when men at the court eat late, because they are concerned about trouble to come, and the ruler has constant concern.

"Lu Su is loyal and a man of noble spirit. He will never shirk responsibility. Let him take my place. If you accept what I say, I shall not die in vain." He died at Baqiu.20

When Sun Quan heard the news he mourned and said, "Gongjin had the ability to assist a true King, and yet he has died so young. Whom can I rely upon now?" He went in person to Wuhu to accompany the funeral.

Zhou Yu left a daughter and two sons. Sun Quan had his eldest son Sun Deng marry the girl,21 while he appointed the son Zhou Xun as Chief Commandant of Cavalry and gave him his daughter in marriage.22
Yu's other son] Yin became Chief Commandant Who Carries on Tradition and married a woman of the Sun clan.23

Before this, Zhou Yu had been the friend of Sun Ce, and Sun Quan's mother always told him to treat Zhou Yu as an elder brother. When Sun Quan took position as a general his officers and attendants still treated him with no more than ordinary courtesy, but Zhou Yu was the first to pay him full respect and to observe the ceremonies as his minister.

Cheng Pu considered himself senior to Zhou Yu [and thus entitled to higher position]. He frequently insulted Zhou Yu, but Zhou Yu disregarded their official ranks and always treated Cheng Pu with respect, never answering his taunts. Later, Cheng Pu came to admire Zhou Yu, obeyed him of his own accord, and became a close friend. He would say to others that, "To be with Zhou Gongjin is like drinking strong wine without water. You are drunk before you realise it."24

Sun Quan appointed Lu Su as Colonel Who Displays Firmness, taking command of Zhou Yu's troops,25 and he named Cheng Pu Grand Administrator of Nan commandery.

Lu Su urged Sun Quan to lend Jing province to Liu Bei so they could deal with Cao Cao together. Sun Quan agreed.26 He divided Yuzhang to make Poyang commandery,27 and Changsha to form Hanchang commandery. Cheng Pu came back again to be Grand Administrator of Jiangxia, while Lu Su became Grand Administrator of Hanchang and camped at Lukou.28

Before this, Sun Quan had said to Lü Meng, "Now you have an official position, you must study." Lü Meng argued that he was too busy with military affairs, but Sun Quan replied, "I am not asking you to plough through the classics like some academic scholar. Just browse a little, to get some idea what happened in the past. You say you have too many other things to do, but you cannot be as busy as I am. I am always reading books, and I believe they have a great deal to do with my success."29

So Lü Meng began to study. When Lu Su passed by Xunyang he spoke with him, and was very surprised, exclaiming, "You are quite brilliant, no longer that A-Meng from Wu!"30

"When gentlemen have been separated as little as three days," replied Lü Meng, "they still should rub their eyes when they meet again [to look
carefully how each has changed]. Why, elder brother, did you take so long to notice?"

Lu Su then paid his respects to Lü Meng's mother, swore friendship, and went on his way.

[Lia15:210]

1 Liu Bei sent his Attendant Official Pang Tong to take charge as Prefect of Leiyang. The county was badly governed, so he dismissed him.

Lu Su wrote to Liu Bei, "Pang Shiyuan is not the man to manage a hundred 

\li, but make him your Attendant Official at Headquarters or your Aide–de–Camp, and he will find his feet."31 Zhuge Liang gave the same advice.

Liu Bei saw Pang Tong, had excellent conversation with him, and gained a good opinion of his ability. So he appointed him Attendant Official at Headquarters, confided in him and treated him just a little less favourably than Zhuge Liang. Pang Tong and Zhuge Liang were both appointed as Generals of the Gentlemen of the Household Masters of the Army.32

J Before this, Shi Xie of Cangwu was Grand Administrator of Jiaozhi. Zhu Fu, Inspector of Jiao province, was killed by rebel barbarians and the province and commanderies fell into disorder.33

Shi Xie recommended his younger brothers for office, so Shi Yi took over as Grand Administrator of Hepu, Shi Hui became Grand Administrator of Jiuzhen, and Shi Wu was Grand Administrator of Nanhai.

2105 Shi Xie was a tolerant and generous man, and many of the gentry from central China came to him. The whole province, ten thousand 

\li from the court, was under his dominance, and he had no rivals. As time went by, his authority and prestige rose still higher, while the insignia carried before him in procession and the guards who escorted him became ever more magnificent. All the barbarians feared and served him.

The court sent Zhang Jin of Nanyang to be Inspector of Jiao province. Zhang Jin believed in spirits and worshipped demons. He always wore a purple–red turban, he played drums and lutes, he burnt incense, he read Taoist books; and he said all this would help his rule. He was killed by his officer Ou Jing.34

Liu Biao sent Lai Gong of Lingling as replacement for Zhang Jin, and since the Grand Administrator of Cangwu, Shi Huang,35 had also died about this time, Liu Biao sent Wu Ju to take his place. The court awarded Shi
Xie a sealed commission as General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who Comforts the South, to govern the seven commanderies while still maintaining his position as Grand Administrator of Jiaozhi.36

Wu Ju and Lai Gong quarrelled, Wu Ju raised troops to drive Lai Gong out, and Lai Gong fled back to Lingling.

Sun Quan appointed Bu Zhi of Linhuai, Grand Administrator of Poyang, as Inspector of Jiao province.37 Shi Xie led his brothers to attend him and obey his orders; Wu Ju, however, made only a false submission, and secretly opposed him. Bu Zhi had Wu Ju come to him, then cut his head off. His reputation and authority made everyone tremble.

Sun Quan promoted Shi Xie to become General of the Left, and Shi Xie sent his son as hostage. In this fashion the region south of the [Nanling] ranges came for the first time under the control of Sun Quan.38

NOTES to Jian'an 15: 210

A SGZ 1, 32 (77a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

1 This comes from a remark of Confucius, recorded in *Lun yu* XIV.12/11; Legge, CC I, 279 (Lau, Analects, 135). Commentary explains that the government of the state of Jin was at that time controlled by the three great clans of Zhao, Wei and Han, which later divided the whole state between themselves. At this time, however, they were not full states, so Meng Gongchuo was competent to manage their internal affairs.

On the other hand, though Teng and Xue were small and weak, the ruler held his fief directly from the royal house of Zhou, so the chief officer was concerned in relations with the great states around them. Meng Gongchuo was not equal to that level of responsibility.

Meng Gongchuo was a member of a great family in Confucius' own state of Lu, and in *Lun yu* XIV.13/12; Legge, CC I, 279 (Lau, Analects, 135), the Master refers to him as a man free from desires; this, however, is only one of the attributes required to be a Complete Man (zheng ren).

2 Guan Zhong, great minister of the state of Qi during the seventh century BC, was wealthy and ostentatious. Duke Huan, however, used him in office without concern for his private moral conduct, and so Qi became the most powerful state under the Zhou dynasty. For Confucius' disapproval of Guan Zhong's extravagance, see *Lun yu* III.22; Legge, CC I, 162–163 (Lau, Analects, 26), but the Master expressed his admiration for Guan Zhong's achievement in *Lun yu* XIV.17 & 18 [also numbered as 16 & 17]; Legge, CC I, 281–282 (Lau, Analects, 137). See also Rickett, Guanzi, 8–14.

3 By this proclamation, Cao Cao is following a Modernist line, emphasising men's ability for public office rather than their private morality. In doing so, it would appear that he accepts the arguments of He Xia in passage K of Jian'an 14. At the same time, however, restrictions on the conduct of men in office, as urged by Cui Yan and Mao Jie in passage K of Jian'an 13, still served as a form of control against embarrassing ostentation and/or gross corruption.

[Ja15:210]
B  
HHS 9, 386 (10a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

4  
HHS 108/18, 3371, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this eclipse, but offers no further information or prognostication. The eclipse, Oppolzer 3394, mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 219, affected eastern Mongolia and Manchuria.

[C15:210]

C  
SGZ 1, 32 (78a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

5  
The construction of the Copper Bird Terrace may be seen as sign of Cao Cao developing Ye city, north of the Yellow River and former headquarters of the Yuan family, as a centre of his power additional to Xu city where Emperor Xian was held in residence.

The building of the terrace provided Cao Cao's son Cao Zhi, at that time aged nineteen, with an early occasion to demonstrate his skill at impromptu poetry: SGZ 19, 557; his "Rhapsody on Climbing the Terrace" appears in an extract from the Wei ji of Yin Dan quoted by SGZ 19, 558 PC.

[D15:210]

D  
SGZ 1, 32–34 (78b–81b) PC quoting Wei–Wu gushi.

6  
The twelfth month of this year contained no jihai day, but a jihai day was the second last of the eleventh month, and I have taken that emendation.

7  
The text which follows is an apologia of Cao Cao. It is discussed by Bauer, Anlitz Chinas, 131–133, as an early and distinctive example of autobiography.

8  
SGZ 1, 2, says that Cao Cao received nomination as Filially Pious and Incorrupt (xiaolian) at the age of twenty by Chinese reckoning. He was born in 155, so this was in 174.

NOMINATION AS FILIALLY PIOUS AND INCORRUPT was made by a man's commandery unit: for Cao Cao this was Pei kingdom. Each candidate served a period of probation as a Gentleman (lang) at the imperial court, then received substantive appointment.

9  
The moral prestige of a scholar "in retirement" at this time was great, enhanced by the sense that service in the government, dominated by the effect of the great proscription and by the eunuch favourites of the emperor, was of doubtful moral value. See, for example, de Crespigny, Huan and Ling I, 101, de Crespigny, "Politics and Philosophy," 53–55, Powers, Art and Political Expression, 349, Vervoorn, Men of the Cliffs and Caves, 179–185.

10  
SGZ 1, 3 PC quoting Cao Man zhuan, says that Cao Cao had established a reputation in Luoyang as an official prepared to deal brutally with any associates of the eunuchs who offended the law, and he was sent out as Prefect of Dunqiu, a county in Dong commandery.

SGZ 1, 3–4 tells how Cao Cao was made Chancellor of Ji'nan at the time of the Yellow Turban rebellion in 184. There he again acted forcefully against local civilians and officials who relied upon patronage from powerful families as a means to avoid punishment. He was later transferred to Dong commandery, but refused on the grounds of ill health and returned to his home country.

Apart from direct attacks against powerful wrong-doers, it is notable how Cao Cao emphasises his employment and promotion of worthy men in office. This was a major function of government in the Confucian tradition, and the corruption of the official recruitment system was a major grievance by men of family against the eunuch–influenced government of Emperor Ling.

11  
Qiao county, in the west of Pei state, was Cao Cao's home country.
This appointment was in 188, at the time of the establishment of the Colonels of the Western Garden, personal army of Emperor Ling: de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* 1, 208.

The counties of Wuping, which gave its title to Cao Cao's fief, Yangxia, Zhe and Ku were in Chen commandery in Yu province, about present-day Taikang, Zhe and Luyi in Henan. Cao Cao's original home in Qiao county lay a few kilometres east, across the border in Pei.

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Jing city was at this time another name for Dantu, the headquarters of Sun Quan's government. See note 32 to Jian'an 9.

The phrase *dudu* can refer to the formal title of a Chief Controller, with military authority over a wide region, but it is more probably used here as a general term for command.

This statement appears in the biography of Lü Fan, *SGZ* 56 (Wu 11), 1310.

This comment of Liu Bei comes from an informal conversation with his officer Pang Tong, recorded by *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

Zhou Yu's ambitious plan was to move up the Yangzi, past Liu Bei's position in Jing province, and take over the territory of both Liu Zhang and Zhang Lu in Yi province, present-day Sichuan and southern Shenxi. The north-western warlord Ma Chao was at that time in the region of the Wei River, and was regarded as a potential ally against Cao Cao: passages O and LL of Jian'an 13.

This explanation is added by Sima Guang, based upon Sun Yu's biography in *SGZ* 51 (Wu 6), 1206. Sun Yu was a cousin of Sun Quan, being a son of Sun Jing, elder twin of Sun Quan's father Sun Jian.

The commentary of Pei Songzhi to *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), notes that Zhou Yu was travelling at this time from Jing city, Sun Quan's capital at Dantu (note 32 to Jian'an 9) near present-day Dantu in Jiangsu, to Jiangling on the middle Yangzi in present-day Hunan. Baqiu county in Yuzhang, on the Gan River in present-day Jiangxi, was Zhou Yu's headquarters (passage V and note 51 of Jian'an 4), but it was more than 250 kilometres south of that route.

Pei Songzhi suggests, therefore, that the Baqiu identified here is the mountain of that name, by present-day Yueyang in Hunan, at the junction of the Xiang River with the Yangzi: SJZ 38, 17a.

The biography of Sun Deng is in *SGZ* 59 (Wu 14), 1363–1365. He had been born only the year before, in 209.

*SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), 1265, adds that Zhou Xun inherited the qualities of his father, but he died young.

*SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), 1266, says that Zhou Yin was given a thousand troops and sent to Gongan, evidently as a subordinate commander. When Sun Quan took the imperial title in 229, Zhou Yin received a minor fief, but he was later exiled for some offence. In 239, in consideration of his father's achievements, he was pardoned, but about that time he died.
24 Gongjin was the style of Zhou Yu.

25 The troops numbered over four thousand, and Lu Su was also granted the revenue of the four counties formerly allocated to Zhou Yu (note 9 to Jian’an 14).

26 This sentence is based upon a passage of Han-Jin chunqiu, cited in SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1271 PC. Dated to the time of Liu Bei’s visit to Sun Quan’s headquarters earlier this year, it refers to Lü Fan’s proposal that he be held there, and quotes Lu Su’s argument that, on the contrary, they should allow Liu Bei to occupy Jing province and assist in defence against Cao Cao: passage E and note 16 above.

Passage H of Jian’an 14 also refers to the transfer of authority in Jing province to Liu Bei, and de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 300–302, discusses the arrangements in some detail. It appears that the first settlement, in 209, recognised Liu Bei’s position in the south of the Yangzi, and then, after the death of Zhou Yu in 210, Liu Bei was granted access to the north of the river. In particular, Lu Su transferred his headquarters from the key city of Jiangling, and moved east to Lukou, on the Yangzi downstream from the Red Cliffs southwest of present-day Wuhan. This gave Liu Bei, based upon Youkou/Gonggan, access and control to all the western part of Jing province, north and south of the Yangzi.

I suggest that after the death of Zhou Yu the position of Sun Quan’s forces at Jiangling was all but untenable against Liu Bei, and Lu Su’s advice simply recognised reality. Later there was propaganda in Wu that the territory of Jing province had only been lent (jie) to Liu Bei, and Sun Quan was entitled to get it back in due course: for example, passage D of Jian’an 20. More probably, this was a face-saving formula, and Liu Bei never recognised the debt.

27 Poyang commandery was established in the east of Yuzhang in Yang province.

28 Hanchang commandery, with its capital at Lukou, extended some 120 kilometres along the southeast of the Yangzi, from the junction of the Dongting Lake to the region of present-day Jiayu in Hubei. It thus combined territory from the three Han commanderies of Nan, Changsha and Jiangxia, and was the frontier between Sun Quan and Liu Bei.

29 Jiangbiao zhuan gives the reading list recommended by Sun Quan. It includes Shi ji, Han shu and Dongguan Han ji, Zuo zhuan, Guo yu and The Book of the Art of War by Sun Wu: de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 386.

30 The character A before Lü Meng’s given name may be simply the introductory vocative initial, common in many dialects of Chinese, but it can also have an implication of "simple:" cf. Lu Xun’s The True Story of Ah Q [e.g. in Selected Works of Lu Hsun I, Peking 1956, 79].

Lü Meng came originally from Runan commandery, but Lu Su is presumably referring to the time he and Lü Meng had known one another in the early years under Sun Ce: e.g. passages NN and OO of Jian’an 5.

31 SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 954 (5a–5b), the Biography of Pang Tong.
Shiyuan was the style of Pang Tong.

Under the system of Han, an Attendant Official was a locally-appointed assistant to the Inspector of Governor of a province. Some held office at the provincial headquarters, but others could be sent to supervise areas outside. From the use of the term shou, here interpreted as "to take charge," it appears that Pang Tong had been acting as magistrate in Leiyang while still holding appointment as Liu Bei's direct subordinate.

Leiyang county, near present-day Leiyang in Hunan, controlled the entrance to the southern commandery of Guiyang, and had some resources of iron, but was not an area of central importance.

Lu Su and Zhuge Liang are recommending that Pang Tong should be appointed to Liu Bei's personal staff, either as Attendant Official at Headquarters, with responsibility for central administration, or as Aide-de-Camp, in personal attendance on Liu Bei himself.

Earlier in Pang Tong's biography, at SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 953, we are told how Pang Tong travelled on an embassy to Wu, and was greatly admired by leading members of Sun Quan's court.

The prefix "Master of the Army" (junshi) evidently indicates here a senior staff position, responsible for administration, planning and discipline.

SGZ 49 (Wu 4), 1191 (13a–16b), the Biography of Shi Xie;
SGZ 52 (Wu 7), 1237 (30a–b), the Biography of Bu Zhi.

Zhu Fu met his fate during the 190s: de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 343.

The appointment of Zhang Jin (described by some texts as Governor rather than Inspector) is dated about 200 or soon afterwards. He was a representative of the imperial court at Xu city under the control of Cao Cao, and was killed in 203 or 204: de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 348.

Until the time of Zhang Jin's appointment, this territory appears to have been known as Jiaozhi (the same name as one of its subordinate commanderies) and was not regarded as a full province: de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 31–32 note and 348, and de Crespigny, Huan and Ling, II, 555–556 note 30.

Shi Huang was not a member of the dominant Shi clan led by Shi Xie; his surname is written with a different character.

Lai Gong and Wu Ju, nominees of Liu Biao, were thus formally opposed by Shi Xie, who now held recognition from Cao Cao.

This appointment is dated as Jian'an 15 by SGZ 49 (Wu 4), 1192, and by SGZ 52 (Wu 7), 1237.

Bu Zhi's biography, SGZ 52 (Wu 7), 1236, describes him as a man of Huaiyin county in Linhuai. The Treatise of Administrative Geography, HHS 111/21, 3462, lists Huaiyin county under Xiapi commandery, and commentary notes that Xiapi was known as Linhuai until the name was changed in 72 AD. It appears the old name was being restored about this time. The Treatise of Geography in JS 15, 451–52 lists both a Linhuai commandery and a Xiapi state, but has Huaiyin county under Guangling commandery.

As at the present day, Lingnan identifies the far south of China proper, present-day Guangdong and Guangxi provinces; during Han it included further the north of Vietnam, also part of Jiao province.
SGZ 49 (Wu 4), 1192, refers to Shi Xie sending a son as hostage some years later, about 217. Shi Xie certainly made no attempt to rival Bu Zhi’s authority in the territory of present-day Guangdong province, but concentrated his interests in Jiaozhi commandery, about the Red River basin in northern Vietnam, where his capital Longbian, identified by some scholars as Western Kattigara, was celebrated for its trading prosperity: Yü, *Trade and Expansion*, 177–178, de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 350, and Needham, *Science and Civilisation* I, 178.

Map 19: The lower Wei valley 211

Jian’an 16: 211 AD
[1 February 211 – 19 February 212]

2106

A  
In the spring, in the first month Cao Cao’s eldest son Pi was made General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes with subordinate officials, to act as Associate to the Imperial Chancellor.¹

B  
In the third month Cao Cao sent the Colonel Director of Retainers Zhong Yao to attack Zhang Lu, and the Protector of the Army Who Subdues the
West Xiahou Yuan and others were dispatched with troops to move out from Hedong and join up with Zhong Yao.

Gao Rou, a Junior Clerk in the Department of Granaries, objected, "If a major force goes west, Han Sui and Ma Chao will suspect we intend to attack them, and they will join together to defend themselves. You should first take control of the Three Adjuncts. When they are settled, you can issue a call to arms against Hanzhong." Cao Cao did not agree.

The leaders within the passes did have suspicions, and Ma Chao, Han Sui, Hou Xuan, Cheng Yin, Yang Qiu, Li Kan, Zhang Heng, Cheng Yi, Ma Wan and their followers, ten divisions altogether, rose in rebellion. Their force was a hundred thousand men, and they set an encampment to guard the Tong Pass.2

Cao Cao sent the General Who Gives Tranquillity to the West Cao Ren to take command of all operations against the rebels. An edict ordered the soldiers to strengthen their fortifications and not to join battle.

C The General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes Cao Pi was left to hold Ye city, with the General Who Displays Firmness Cheng Yu as Adviser to his Army. The Commander at the Gate Xu Xuan of Guangling became Protector of the Army of the Left in charge of military affairs, while Guo Yuan of Le'an, Chief Clerk in Residence, dealt with civilian matters.3

D In the autumn, in the seventh month Cao Cao led the attack on Ma Chao and the others. Many of his advisers said, "The soldiers west of the passes are skilled in the long lance. Unless we train our advance guard and choose them carefully we shall not be able to cope with them."

"I am the one to plan this campaign," replied Cao Cao, "not the enemy. The bandits may be expert with long lances, but I can arrange things so they will not be able to use them. Just watch!"4

E In the eighth month5 Cao Cao came to the Tong Pass and drew up his lines against Ma Chao and the others. Keeping their attention there, he quietly sent Xu Huang and Zhu Ling, with four thousand horse and foot, over the Puban Crossing to establish a bridgehead west of the Yellow River.6

In the intercalary month Cao Cao went north from the Tong Pass to cross the Yellow River. The main body went over first, and Cao Cao stayed behind with a few hundred Tiger Warriors on the south bank to hold the rear. Ma Chao brought ten thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers to attack
them. The arrows came down like rain, but Cao Cao sat on a folding chair and made no move.7

Xu Chu helped Cao Cao onto a boat. The man who worked the boat was killed by a stray arrow, but with his left hand Xu Chu held a horse's saddle to protect Cao Cao and with his right he managed the boat. The Colonel Ding Fei loosed cattle and horses to distract the pursuers, the enemy milled about as they rounded the beasts up, and so Cao Cao got across.

From Puban he crossed west of the Yellow River,8 then formed a protected way to move southwards downstream.9 Ma Chao and the others withdrew to protect the mouth of the Wei.10

Cao Cao despatched some men on feint attacks, while others were sent secretly onto the Wei with boats to construct a pontoon bridge, and during the night he had a detachment set up a picket on the south of the river. Ma Chao and his fellows attacked the camp in darkness, but soldiers from ambush caught them by surprise and defeated them.

Ma Chao now set his camp south of the Wei and sent messengers offering to cede the area west of the Yellow River in exchange for peace. Cao Cao would not agree.11

In the ninth month Cao Cao brought his whole army forward across the Wei. Ma Chao and the others several times challenged him to battle, but he would not accept. They repeatedly offered to cede him the territory and even to send hostages. Jia Xu said that they could pretend to accept this. Cao Cao asked him why.

"Simply to divide them," said Jia Xu.
"Understood," said Cao Cao.

Han Sui asked to see Cao Cao face to face. The two men had known one another in the past,12 and now they met on horseback and talked for a while. There was no mention of military matters, they spoke only of old times in the capital, joining hands and laughing in pleasure. The soldiers from the west and the barbarians came in groups to watch. Cao Cao laughed and said to them, "You want to see Lord Cao? He is just like other men. He does not have four eyes or two mouths, just a bit of intelligence."

When they parted, Ma Chao and the others questioned Han Sui, "What did you talk about?"
"Nothing worth repeating," he replied. Ma Chao and the others became suspicious.13
A few days later Cao Cao wrote Han Sui a letter, with many characters struck out and changed, as if Han Sui had altered it, and Ma Chao and the others became still more doubtful of him.


Then Cao Cao did agree upon a day for battle. He first sent out light troops to skirmish, and when they had fought for some time he let loose his Tiger Cavalry to attack the enemy on both flanks, and completely defeated them. They cut off the heads of Cheng Yi, Li Kan and several others. Han Sui and Ma Chao fled to Liang province, and Yang Qiu to Anding.

Cao Cao's officers asked him, "When we first arrived, the enemy were holding the Tong Pass, but they had no defence positions along the route north of the Wei. You did not go through Hedong to attack [Zuo]pingyi, but instead you halted at the pass, and it was some time before you crossed to the north. Why was that?" 14

"The enemy were holding the Tong Pass," replied Cao Cao. "Had I gone into Hedong immediately they would certainly have sent guards back to cover every crossing, and I could never have got over to the west of the River.

"I therefore reinforced the soldiers facing the pass. All the enemy were concerned with the south, so the defences west of the River were left empty, and just two officers [Xu Huang and Zhu Ling] were sufficient to take that position [and form a bridgehead at Puban].

"Only when they had done that did I bring my own forces to cross in the north. It was the troops under those two commanders that prevented the enemy from interfering with my move to the west of the River.

"Then I joined carts like a palisade to make a protected way and march south. That tactic ensured I could not be defeated, but it also made us look weak. 15

"I crossed the Wei and made a strong fort, and when the enemy arrived and I did not come out, that too was a device to make them feel superior. As a result, they made no camp or fort of their own, but only asked to cede territory. I gave them favourable words and promises, and the reason I seemed to accept their proposals was to have them feel at ease and make no preparations. Then we collected our forces, and the day we attacked them it was like 'when sudden thunder comes there is no time to cover the ears'.

"The plans of war never follow a single track."

Earlier, as each group of the leaders within the passes came up to fight him, Cao Cao looked more and more pleased. His officers asked why, and he explained. "The land within the passes is very broad. If each of the rebels kept to the difficult country and made us attack him, it would take more than two years to settle them. Now they all appear together, and although they form a considerable force, none will take orders from another. So their army has no accepted leader and they can be destroyed with a single blow. This makes the job simpler, so naturally I am pleased."

In the winter, in the tenth month Cao Cao went north from Chang'an to attack Yang Qiu. He besieged Anding, and Yang Qiu surrendered. Cao Cao gave him back his position and had him stay to look after his people.

In the twelfth month Cao Cao came back from Anding. He left Xiahou Yuan in camp at Chang'an and appointed the Gentleman-Consultant Zhang Ji as Intendant of Jingzhao. Zhang Ji received and cared for the refugees, and restored the county cities. The people loved him.

When Han Sui and Ma Chao made their rebellion, many of the county cities of Hongnong and [Zuo]pingyi had joined them. Only the people of Hedong remained consistently loyal. When Cao Cao fought with Ma Chao and his fellows on the banks of the Wei, all the supplies for the army came from Hedong, and after Ma Chao and the others had been defeated, there was still a surplus of more than two hundred thousand bushels left over. Cao Cao increased the salary of Du Ji, Grand Administrator of Hedong, to fully two thousand shi.17

Fa Zheng of [You]fufeng was Colonel Consultant of the Army to Liu Zhang, but Liu Zhang paid no attention to anything he suggested, and he was despised by the people of his district who had come to take refuge with him in Shu.18 Fa Zheng was discouraged that he could not realise his ambitions.

The Aide-de-Camp of Yi province, Zhang Song, was a close friend of Fa Zheng. Confident in his own abilities, he too felt that Liu Zhang did not appreciate him, and he was privately discontented.

Zhang Song urged Liu Zhang to ally with Liu Bei.19 "Whom can I send?" asked Liu Zhang. Then Zhang Song recommended Fa Zheng, and Liu Zhang
gave him the commission. Fa Zheng made many excuses to avoid the mission, so Liu Zhang would believe he was going only because he had been ordered to.

When Fa Zheng came back he said to Zhang Song that Liu Bei was a man with great ideas, and the two men made plans together in secret, to invite Liu Bei to take over the province.

Then Cao Cao sent Zhong Yao against Hanzhong. Liu Zhang heard about it and was worried.20 Zhang Song said to him, "Lord Cao Cao's soldiers have no match in the empire. If he can make use of Zhang Lu's resources to seize the territory of Shu, who can resist him?

"Liu of Yuzhou [Liu Bei]21 is a fellow clansman of yours and a confirmed enemy of Lord Cao. He is extremely good at using soldiers. If you send him to attack Zhang Lu, Zhang Lu will certainly be defeated. Once Zhang Lu is defeated then Yi province will be strong, and even if Lord Cao does come, there will be nothing he can do.

2110 "Now the officers of this province, Pang Xi, Li Yi and their colleagues,22 are proud of their past achievements, arrogant and boastful. You cannot rely upon them. Unless you get Liu of Yuchou, then the enemy will attack outside and the people will oppose you within, and that is the way to certain destruction."

Liu Zhang agreed, and he sent Fa Zheng with four thousand men to invite Liu Bei.

The Master of Records Huang Quan of Baxi objected,23 "General of the Left Liu has a great reputation for bravery, and you invite him here.24 You will never satisfy his ambition if you treat him as a dependent, but if you behave towards him as your guest and equal, it will be difficult for a single state to hold two lords. If the guest has a position as safe as Mount Tai, the position of the ruler is unstable as a pile of eggs. Far better close your borders and wait till everything is sorted out."

Liu Zhang would not attend, and he sent Huang Quan away to be Chief of Guanghan. The Attendant Official Wang Lei of Guanghan hung himself upside down at the gates of the capital in protest, but Liu Zhang would not be moved.

Fa Zheng came to Jing province and put his plan to Liu Bei in private conversation: "With your courage and skill you can take advantage of Governor Liu's lack of energy. Zhang Song is legs and arms to that province,
and he will be like an echo to you within the court. You can take Yi province as easily as you turn your hand."

Liu Bei, however, was uncertain and could not decide to act. Pang Tong said to him, "Jing province is in disorder and ruins, the people and property are all exhausted. In the east there is Sun the Chariots and Cavalry General and to the north there is Cao Cao. You will find it difficult to obtain your ambitions here.

"Yi province, however, has a population of a million.25 The soil is fertile and the people are wealthy. If you can get this treasure for yourself, than the great design may be achieved."

"Cao Cao," observed Liu Bei, "is as different from me as water from fire. Cao Cao is mean where I am generous, Cao Cao is cruel where I am kind, Cao Cao is deceitful where I am loyal. If I make myself the opposite of Cao Cao in everything, then the affair may be successful. If I take a small advantage now, yet lose my name for faith and honour, what good is that?"

"In times of disorder," replied Pang Tong, "one must be adaptable. Furthermore, you will be taking over from the weak and attacking the stupid, and what you seize by rebellion you may hold with obedience. Men of the past have always respected this.26

2111 "Once the matter is settled, you can give him a generous fief, and that will avoid any charge of disloyalty. If you do not take him today, in the end he will simply fall to someone else."

Liu Bei felt this was true, so he left Zhuge Liang and Guan Yu and others to hold Jing province, with Zhao Yun as Major at the Base Camp, while he himself led several tens of thousands of foot-soldiers into Yi province.

[Ja16: 211]

N When Sun Quan heard that Liu Bei had gone to the west, he sent ships to collect his sister, and she planned to take Liu Bei's son Shan back to Wu. Zhang Fei and Zhao Yun brought soldiers to intercept them on the [Yangzi] river and had Liu Shan go back with them.27

O Liu Zhang ordered preparations throughout his territory to welcome Liu Bei, and Liu Bei entered the borders as if he was returning to his own home.28 As he passed by, he received tremendous presents, amounting to hundreds of millions of cash.
As Liu Bei came to Ba commandery, the Grand Administrator Yan Yan laid his hand on his heart and sighed, "This is what is called 'a man who sits on a poor hill alone, and lets loose a tiger to defend himself.'"

Liu Bei travelled north from Jiangzhou along the Dianjiang River to Fu. Liu Zhang led more than thirty thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers, with chariots and canopies all brilliant as the sun, to meet him.

Zhang Song told Fa Zheng that he should advise Liu Bei to take Liu Zhang by surprise and seize him when they met. "We cannot act so soon," said Liu Bei.

"If you take the opportunity of this meeting," urged Pang Tong," you will never have to fight him, and you can settle the whole province at your leisure."

"I have just arrived in a strange territory," replied Liu Bei, "and my favour and faith have not yet been shown. I cannot act like that."

Liu Zhang promoted Liu Bei as Acting Commander-in-Chief with office as Colonel Director of Retainers, and Liu Bei for his part proposed Liu Zhang as Acting General-in-Chief Who Maintains the West in Peace, with command as Governor of Yi province. The men of their two armies met one another, drinking and making merry for over a hundred days.

Liu Zhang added to Liu Bei's troops and supplied him generously with provisions and equipments. Then he sent him to attack Zhang Lu and gave orders that he should also take command of the army already at Boshui. Liu Bei's combined force was over thirty thousand men, and he had most adequate quantities of armour, equipment and supplies.

2112 Liu Zhang then returned to Chengdu and Liu Bei went north to Jiameng. Before he departed for the campaign against Zhang Lu, however, he acted with generosity and grace to win the hearts of the people.

NOTES to Jian'an 16: 211

A  SGZ 1, 34 (81b), the Biography of Cao Cao.
1  In the system of Han, Generals of the Gentlemen of the Household commanded corps of cadets about the palace, but did not have separate staff. Here, Cao Pi is granted a secretariat so that he may take part in the central administration.

   Formally speaking, this appointment was made by the emperor, and it is so recorded in Cao Cao's biography. ZZTJ omits the reference to the Son of Heaven.

   [Ja16: 211]
B  SGZ 1, 34 (82a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
   SGZ 24, 683 (11a), the Biography of Gao Rou;
Ma Chao and his associates at this time occupied the valley of the Wei, the territory of the Three Adjunct commanderies, Jingzhao, Zuopingyi and Youfufeng, ancient capital district of Former Han. Zhong Yao had maintained a notional authority and an uneasy peace with them for several years.

Cao Cao's immediate intention at this time was to attack Zhang Lu in Hanzhong commandery, south across the Qin Ling divide. As Gao Rou foretold, however, the mobilisation was interpreted by Ma Chao and the other warlords as a threat against their own position, and they responded by active resistance, blocking the way to Cao Cao's troops.

In fact, one may suspect Cao Cao was prepared for this development. Despite Zhong Yao's diplomacy, the situation in the west was unstable, and at some point matters would have to be brought to a head. We have observed earlier that Zhou Yu regarded Ma Chao as a potential distant ally for Sun Quan (passage F of Jian'an 15), and Cao Cao himself, perhaps out of bravado, but perhaps also genuinely, claimed to welcome the opportunity for a decisive engagement (passage G below).

The Tong Pass, north of present-day Tongguan in Shenxi, is south of the junction of the Wei River with the great bend of the Yellow River, controlling the road between the rivers and the ridge of Mount Hua.

3 Cheng Yu, an old associate of Cao Cao, here acts as personal adviser to Cao Pi, while the other two officers are responsible for regular administration.

4 Cao Cao's confidence is justified: this will be one of his most brilliant campaigns. It is discussed in de Crespigny, Northern Frontier, 163–165.

5 The date of this eighth month, and of the intercalary month below, comes from SGZ 1, 36 PC note 2, where Pei Songzhi quotes Wei shu.

6 Puban county was in Hedong commandery, west of present-day Yongji in Shanxi. The crossing of that name over the north–south course of the Yellow River was some twenty-five kilometres north of Tong Pass.

7 The huchuang, a light-weight camp stool, was an early form of the chair in China: Fitzgerald, Barbarian Beds, 23. He had cut his timing rather fine, but Cao Cao now showed a lack of concern to reassure his followers. Tiger Warriors above and Cavalry below (hushi and ji) were Cao Cao's elite guards.

The description of operations at this point is confusing, chiefly because Cao Cao was crossing the Yellow River at two places. He had been facing Ma Chao and the other warlords at the Tong Pass, south of the junction of the Wei with the Yellow River. He now...
left that position to move north to Puban. Before he could reach Puban, however, he had first to cross the Yellow River on its west–east course, below the great bend. It was at the first crossing, probably the Dou (see passage K of Jian’an 10) that he was attacked by Ma Chao and his men, who had followed him closely from the Tong Pass.

8 The phrase is xihe, and Xihe was the name of a commandery in Bing province which lay largely west of the Yellow River. The commandery, however, was some distance to the north of Puban and the area of Cao Cao’s operations, and xihe should be interpreted in this instance as referring simply to the west bank of the River. Similarly, in passage G below, where Cao Cao explains his strategy, the phrase is rendered “west of the River.”

9 The term yongdao can describe a walled corridor, such as those constructed in a palace: e.g. SJ 6, 257; Chavannes, MH II, 178 (Nienhauser, GSR I, 149). In military terms, the “protected road” was a walled or palisaded supply route, used on several occasions in the wars at the end of Qin and the beginning of Han: e.g. SJ 7, 304 and 307; Chavannes, MH II, 261–267 (Nienhauser, GSR I, 185–187); SJ 7, 325; Chavannes, MH II, 302 (Nienhauser, GSR I, 200). [The same system was used to link the city of Athens with the port of Piraeus during the Peloponnesian War in fifth-century Greece.]

In the present case, as he explains in passage G below, Cao Cao has developed the system further: moving southwards down the western bank of the Yellow River, his left is protected by the main stream, and on his right he maintains a screen of wagons to serve his flank defence as a mobile palisade.

10 By his oblique approach north and then south through the Puban Crossing, Cao Cao turned the flank of his enemies. Instead of blocking his advance from the east at the Tong Pass, Ma Chao and his associates were now compelled to withdraw to the mouth of the Wei, and attempt to prevent his crossing of that stream as he came south along the western bank of the Yellow River.

11 Cao Cao has broken Ma Chao’s defence line on the Wei River and established a beach-head on the southern bank, so Ma Chao is compelled to leave his positions at the mouth of the Wei and move back west to the Huayin county, present-day Huayin in Shenxi, where he faces Cao Cao’s army without any natural barriers such as the Tong Pass or the Wei River.

The area west of the Yellow River with which Ma Chao seeks to satisfy Cao Cao is the lower Wei valley, territory of the Three Adjuncts. Cao Cao, however, now intends to take over all the northwest.

[Ja16: 211]

F SGZ 1, 34–35 (84a–85a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 10, 330 (40a–b), the Biography of Jia Xu;
SGZ 1, 36 (85a) PC quoting Wei shu.

12 SGZ 1, 34, remarks that Cao Cao had been recommended as a Filially Pious and Incorrupt candidate in the same year as Han Sui’s father, and he had himself been in the same set of companions as Han Sui.

13 ZZTJ commentary remarks that once before Han Sui had disrupted an alliance against him by speaking privately with Fan Chou: passage F of Xingping 2. He may have intended the same trick, but this time it is played by Cao Cao.

[Ja16: 211]

G SGZ 1, 35 (85b–86a), the Biography of Cao Cao.
The officers observe that Cao Cao had first brought his army along the southern bank of the Yellow River. The enemy had blocked his line of approach at the Tong Pass, but they had no defence positions on the north bank of the Wei. Had Cao Cao moved immediately north into Hedong commandery, he could have crossed the Yellow River again onto the northern bank of the Wei, and turned his opponents' flank more quickly, without the long detour by Puban.

Cao Cao's reply, below, is that if he had made such a move, the enemy would have had no difficulty in setting guards against him along the Wei. As it was, he first fixed their attention upon the threat at the Tong Pass, and did not move away until he had a forward position at Puban and could establish his full force on the west of the River.

Cao Cao goes on to describe the manner in which he sought to confuse the enemy about his strength and intentions during the rest of the campaign. One may observe the similarity of Cao Cao's oblique approach here to his much longer but comparably surprising flank march against the Wuhuan in the campaign leading to White Wolf Mountain: passages D and E of Jian'an 12.

On the protected way, see note 9 above. ZZTJ commentary quotes Sunzi bingfa 4, 1a; Griffith, Art of War, 115: "Create an invincible army and await the enemy's moment of vulnerability."

15 On the protected way, see note 9 above. ZZTJ commentary quotes Sunzi bingfa 4, 1a; Griffith, Art of War, 115: "Create an invincible army and await the enemy's moment of vulnerability."

16 The capital of Anding, base of Yang Qiu's regime, was at Linjing, north of present-day Chingquan in Gansu.

17 The increase in nominal salary also raised Du Ji to rank with the Nine Ministers of the Han system.

18 Fa Zheng came from Mei county in Youfufeng. He and other people of that region had taken refuge in Yi province from the troubles of the lands within the passes, and Fa Zheng had taken service with Governor Liu Zhang.

19 Zhang Song had been sent as an envoy to Cao Cao in 208, but had been treated dismissively, and had become a supporter of Liu Bei: passage XX of Jian'an 8.

20 This refers to the attack planned for the beginning of this year, which then became the campaign against Ma Chao and his fellows.

21 The epithet "of Yuzhou" was applied to Liu Bei as a courtesy title, in memory of the time he was Inspector and Governor in Yu province: passages B of Xingping 1, F and DD of Jian'an 1.

22 On Pang Xi, a local leader in Baxi of erratic loyalty to Liu Zhang, see passages UU of Jian'an 5 and G of Jian'an 6, also Y of Xingping 1. According to Hanmo yingxiong ji, quoted in SGZ
Li Yi was one of the local leaders who defeated and killed Zhao Wei when he had rebelled against Liu Zhang in 200–201: passage F of Jian’an 6.

L

SGZ 31 (Shu 1), 868 (12b), the Biography of Liu Zhang;
SGZ 43 (Shu 13), 1043 (1a–b), the Biography of Huang Quan.

23 Baxi commandery had been set up from a division of Ba commandery of Han. See note 12 to Jian’an 18.

24 Liu Bei had been appointed General of the Left by Cao Cao at the time of the destruction of Lü Bu in 198: SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 874, and cf. passage P of Jian’an 3.

M

SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 957 (10a), the Biography of Fa Zheng;
SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 955 (5b–6a) PC quoting Jiuzhou chunqiu;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 881 (20b), the Biography of Liu Bei.

25 The total population of Yi province according to the census recorded in HHS 113/23, 3505–16, dated about 140 AD, was 1.85 million households and 6.5 million individuals. Though the phrase hukou used by Pang Tong literally indicates the population by households and individuals, it probably refers here to the taxable households of the province. If one omits the 267,402 households of Hanzhong commandery, then under Zhang Lu, and discounts the figure of 231,897 households for Yongchang in the far southwest which is probably exaggerated, then the figure for Yi province as governed by Liu Zhang was indeed close to a million households.

26 "Taking over from the weak and attacking the stupid" is a reference to the "Announcement of Zhonghui" Chapter of Shu jing IV.2.7; Legge CC III, 181 (Couvreur, Annales, 107).

“Seize by rebellion and hold with obedience” is a maxim of the statesman Lu Jia, adviser to the founding Emperor Gao of Han, recorded in SJ 97, 2699; Watson, RGH I, 226, and in HS 43, 2113. Lu Jia was referring to the legendary rulers Tang of the Shang dynasty and Wu of Zhou, who rebelled against bad rulers but then maintained their new government in accordance with moral principle.

So Pang Tong was providing Liu Bei with excellent authority for the treachery that he urged upon him.

N

SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 949 (15b) PC quoting Zhao Yun biezhuan.

27 The appointment of Zhao Yun as Major of the Base Camp in the preceding passage comes in fact from this extract of the separate biography Zhao Yun biezhuan. It appears he was given special charge of Liu Bei’s family, because he had shown his devotion in the defeat at the Chang Slope in 208: passage AA of Jian’an 13.

Liu Shan was at this time five years old by Chinese reckoning, three or four in Western style. He was the son of Liu Bei by the concubine Lady Gan, who had died in Nan commandery after the Red Cliffs campaign. Liu Shan later became succeeded Liu Bei as Emperor of Shu–Han, and his mother received posthumous honours as an empress: SGZ 33 (Shu 3), 893, and SGZ 44 (Shu 4), 905–06.

The Lady Sun, sister to Sun Quan, had married Liu Bei as part of the settlement in 209: passage I of Jian’an 14.
The phrase *rugui* indicates a circumstance that is natural and right; Liu Bei had never set foot in Yi province before. See *Mengzi* 1B.15; Legge CC II, 176 (Lau, *Mencius*, 72): "Those who followed him looked like crowds hastening to market."

Jiangzhou, present-day Chongqing in Sichuan, was the capital of Ba commandery. Fu county was in Guanghan commandery, by present-day Mianyang, about one hundred kilometres northeast of Liu Zhang's capital at Chengdu.

Liu Bei had journeyed up the Yangzi into Yi province, passed by Jiangzhou, where Yan Yan was able to make his proverbial remarks, then travelled up the Jialing River and its Fu Jiang tributary. Dianjiang county in Ba commandery was at present-day Hechuan, where the three major streams of the Jialing meet, and gave its name to that river.

The Boshui Pass was on the upper reaches of the Jialing River, near the border of Hanzhong commandery and some hundred kilometres from Mianyang, capital of Hanzhong. This would have been the forward command of Liu Zhang's forces arrayed against Zhang Lu. Note that the county city of Boshui was some thirty kilometres to the west of the pass, on a tributary of the Jialing.

Jiameng county, also in Guanghan, was about 125 kilometres northeast of Fu city. It was south of present-day Guangyuan, on the main stream of the Jialing River, some 75 kilometres south of the Boshui Pass. This was the headquarters for operations against Zhang Lu.

From the description of Liu Bei's campaign against Hanzhong several years later, when he was actually attempting to take the territory, it appears the only practicable military route into Hanzhong from the south lay up the Jialing along the line of the present Chengdu–Baoqi railroad to the Yangping Pass in present-day southwest Shenxi; from there an invading force would turn east down the Han River towards Nanzheng, capital of Hanzhong commandery at present-day Hanzhong. There was no good route direct from Ba commandery into Hanzhong through the hill country further east. See, for example, passage F of *Jian'an* 23.
Jian'an 17: 212 AD
[20 February 212 – 7 February 213]

A In the spring, in the first month Cao Cao returned to Ye.
   An edict ordered that Cao Cao should have the privilege of performing obeisance without announcing his name, entering court without hastening step, and appearing in the hall of audience with sword and shoes. This followed the precedent of Xiao He.1

B While Cao Cao was on campaign in the west, a rebellion by Tian Yin and Su Bo of Hejian troubled You and Ji provinces.2
   The General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes Cao Pi wanted to go in person to attack them, but Chang Lin, Officer of the Bureau of Merit, said, "The officers and people of the north love peace and are weary of disorder. They have long accepted our government, and the majority of them are loyal. Tian Yin and Su Bo are like dogs and sheep flocking together in packs: they can never be a real danger. At this time, when the main army is away and there are strong enemies outside, you are the security of the empire. If you go unthinkingly far away on campaign, even if you are be successful it is nonetheless bad strategy."
   So the general Jia Xin was sent to deal with the rebels, and they were swiftly defeated and destroyed.
   Some thousand of the remaining bandits wanted to surrender. Those in council said, "The Duke has established a custom: there is no pardon granted to enemies who surrender only after they have been surrounded."
   Cheng Yu replied, "That policy was developed in time of trouble. It was never more than a temporary expedient. Now that the empire is being set in order, you cannot execute them. If you do want to kill them, you should report first and ask instructions."
   The advisers said, "An army must be controlled by one man. There is no cause to ask for approval."
   "When an independent command is given," answered Cheng Yu, "it is granted for a particular situation. Now the rebels are in Jia Xin's hands, and I, your aged servant, request that you take no action in this."3
   "Very good," agreed Cao Pi. He reported to Cao Cao, and indeed Cao Cao did not have the rebels killed. When Cao Cao learnt of the advice Cheng Yu had given he was extremely pleased and said, "You not only understand
military affairs, you are also expert in dealing between a father and his son!"

C There is the story: In reports of defeats of rebels, one was counted as ten, but when Guo Yuan sent up tallies of heads they followed the actual figures. Cao Cao asked him why, and Guo Yuan explained, "When I attack an enemy outside our borders, I exaggerate the numbers killed and captured because I want to emphasise the military achievement and inspire the people. Hejian, however, is our own territory, and though it is good to announce the defeat of Tian Yin and his fellow rebels, I am ashamed there should ever have been need for such a campaign." Cao Cao was very pleased.4

D In the summer, in the fifth month on the day guiwei [?] the Commandant of the Guards Ma Teng was executed and all his family destroyed.5
In the sixth month on the day gengren [14 Aug], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.6
In the autumn, in the seventh month there were caterpillar moths.7

E Ma Chao and his remaining forces were camped at Lantian. Xiahou Yuan attacked and pacified them.8

F Liang Xing, a bandit from Fu, plundered [Zuo]pingyi.9 All the county officials were afraid, they moved their offices to the shelter of the commandery city,10 and many felt they should move somewhere even more secure in order to escape him.
Zheng Hun the head of Zuopingyi commandery said,11 "If Liang Xing and his fellows were defeated and scattered, they would take refuge in the mountains and valleys. He does have a following, but he holds them together only by force. We should make it easy for them to surrender, showing authority and fair dealing. To run away into the wilderness merely shows weakness."

So he gathered the people together, set the walls and out–works in order and made preparations for defence. And he called on the people to drive away the bandits and to capture their treasure and their women, rewarding them with seven–tenths of everything they got. The people were very pleased, and everyone wanted to capture bandits.
Those bandits who had lost their families came back and asked to surrender, but Zheng Hun told them to bring some more women, held by other bandits, before he returned them their own. At this they began to fight and take from one other and the group broke up and scattered.

Zheng Hun also sent officers and people who were generous and faithful to make proclamation in the hills and valleys. Those who had run away came back again, and he sent the county officers back to their own territories to settle and collect them.

Liang Xing and his fellows became frightened, and they led their remaining their forces to hold Fu city. Cao Cao sent Xiahou Yuan to help Zheng Hun attack them, they took the head of Liang Xing and the rest of his party were all pacified.

Zheng Hun was a younger brother of Zheng Tai.12

In the ninth month on the day gengxu [2 Nov] the Emperor's sons were enfeoffed: Liu Xi was made King of Jiyan, Liu Yi became King of Shanyang, Liu Miao became King of Jibi and Liu Dun became King of Donghai.13

Before this, Zhang Hong had urged Sun Quan to set his centre of administration at Moling, as it was a fine site among rivers and hills. When Liu Bei went east he passed Moling,14 and he too urged Sun Quan to live there.

So Sun Quan built Shitou Citadel and shifted his capital to Moling. He changed the name from Moling to Jianye.15

Lü Meng heard Cao Cao was intending to bring soldiers east, and he urged Sun Quan to establish a fortress near the mouth of the Ruxu River.16 The other officers said, "We climb the bank to attack the enemy, and we wade in the water to board our ships; what use are land defences?"

"Soldiers may win or lose," argued Lü Meng, "and no-one can be a hundred per cent certain of success in battle. Should something unexpected happen, and the enemy press us closely, and our men have not time to reach the shore, how will they get into their ships?"

"Excellent," agreed Sun Quan. So he built the Ruxu Fortress.

In the winter, in the tenth month, Cao Cao moved east to attack Sun Quan.
Dong Zhao said to Cao Cao, "Since ancient times, of all great ministers who have saved the empire, never has there been achievement to compare with yours today; and no man of the past, with such great work as this, has consented so long to serve another.17

"Your excellency is modest, you are afraid to make a mistake you might regret, and you are glad to maintain your honour and loyalty. Nevertheless, if a man remains too long as a great servant, people will always suspect that he is planning to take over. You must consider this carefully."

Cao Cao discussed the question with the marquises and military commanders. All agreed the Imperial Chancellor should be raised in honour to become Duke of the State, while the Nine Distinctions of imperial favour should show his special merit.18

Xun Yu, however, said, "From the very beginning, when Lord Cao raised loyal troops to save the Emperor and give peace to the state, he has kept his faith with loyalty and honesty and has maintained his honour by withdrawing and yielding. A gentleman shows love for others by virtuous advice, so I must speak out now.19 We should not act like this." Cao Cao was not pleased.

At the time of the attack against Sun Quan Cao Cao had sent a memorial to the court that Xun Yu should come down to encourage the army at Qiao. Then, however, he abruptly gave orders that Xun Yu should be kept in his company, with position as Palace Attendant, Imperial Household Grandee bearing the Staff of Authority, and Adviser to the Army of the Chancellor.

As Cao Cao's army advanced towards Ruxu, Xun Yu remained at Shouchun because of illness. He drank a potion and died.20

Xun Yu had always acted honourably, his conduct was upright and he was wise in counsel. He loved to recommend worthy men and to promote scholars. All the people of the time regretted his death.

[Ja17: 212]

Your servant Sima Guang remarks:
Confucius spoke of love for humanity as the matter of utmost importance. From Zilu, Ran Qiu and Gongxi Chi, the highest of his followers, to the high minister Ziwen, Chen Wenzhi and the worthy grandees of the feudal lords, none qualified for that description. It was only Guan Zhong whom he praised for his humanity, and surely this was because Guan Zhong, as assistant to Duke Huan of Qi, gave great relief to living people.21
The conduct of Duke Huan of Qi was like that of a dog or a pig, yet Guan Zhong was not ashamed to act as Chancellor. It is obvious that he saw Duke Huan as the only way the people could be saved.

In the great disorders at the end of Han, people lived in the utmost misery, and only a man of unusual ability could bring them help. If Xun Yu had left Emperor Wu of Wei [Cao Cao], whom should he have served?

In the time of Duke Huan of Qi, though the house of Zhou was weak, the situation was not so bad as the situation of Han at the beginning of the Jian'an period. At that time the whole world was in turmoil and overturned, and the Han had not a foot of ground nor a single man under its command.

Xun Yu assisted Wu of Wei to bring a restoration. He promoted worthy men and gave work to the able, he trained soldiers and he drilled troops, he seized opportunities and he made plans, he fought and was successful in every direction, and so he was able to make weak into strong and change disorder into good government. Of the ten parts of the empire the Wei had eight.

In what respect does the achievement of Xun Yu fall short of that of Guan Zhong? Guan Zhong did not die for [Gong]zi Jiu, but Xun Yu died for the house of Han. So his sense of humanity was superior to that of Guan Zhong.

Yet Du Mu says, "When Xun Yu encouraged Wu of Wei to hold Yan province he compared him to Gaozu and Guangwu; when Cao Cao was at Guandu, and he urged him not to withdraw to Xu city, he made comparison with Chu and Han. Then, when the affair was ended and achievement complete, he sought to take the credit for the Han dynasty. This is like telling a thief to bore through a wall and empty another man's cupboards, but then not helping him to carry away the spoil. Can such a person claim he too is not a robber?"

I, your servant Sima Guang, recall Confucius' saying: "Literature over reality, that is a scribe." Whenever a historian records a man's words, he always adds a literary touch. So comparing Wu of Wei with Gaozu and Guangwu, and with Chu and Han, is just the embellishment of some historian. How can we know Xun Yu really spoke that way? This is criticising him for a fault which is not his.

Moreover, if Wu of Wei had become Emperor, then Xun Yu would have received much of the credit for bringing it about and he would have received the same reward as Xiao He. Xun Yu, however, took no
advantage from that situation. On the contrary, he was prepared to give his own life that the Han might receive the benefit. Surely this is exceptional conduct?29

In the twelfth month there was a comet among the Five Feudal Princes.30

Liu Bei was at Jiameng.31 Pang Tong said to him, "Now, quietly collect your best soldiers, then march day and night to surprise Chengdu. Liu Zhang is not a fighting man, and he has made no preparations. If a large army comes up swiftly the affair can be settled with a single blow. This is the best plan.

"Yang Huai and Gao Pei are notable officers under Liu Zhang, and each commands a strong force at the head of the [Boshui] Pass.32 I have heard they have written several times in protest to Liu Zhang, urging him to send you back to Jing province. Now send them a message saying just what they expect: that Jing province is in danger and you want to go to help there. Start packing and pretend you are leaving. The two men respect your great reputation, they will be pleased that you are going, and they are sure to come and visit you with a very small escort. Take the opportunity to arrest them, go forward and take over their command, then turn against Chengdu. This is the second-best plan.

"Go back to Bodi and join up with Jing province, then gradually make plans to return. This would be the worst plan.33 If you delay, however, without making some move, you will be in great difficulty. You cannot wait too long."

Liu Bei approved the middle plan.34

When Cao Cao attacked,35 Sun Quan called Liu Bei to help him. Liu Bei sent the letter to Liu Zhang, saying, "Sun and I are like lips and teeth, but Guan Yu's forces are weak. Unless I go to help him now, Cao Cao will certainly take Jing province, then turn to attack us here. This danger is more pressing than that from Zhang Lu: an enemy on the defensive, he presents no cause for concern." And he asked for ten thousand more soldiers, with money and supplies [to assist the campaign in defence of Jing province].

Liu Zhang, however, allowed him only four thousand men, and half the other things he had asked for.
Liu Bei appeared before his soldiers and said very angrily, "I have attacked strong enemies for Yizhou, and my men have worked till they are exhausted. Yet he hoards his treasure and he is mean in rewards. Is this an encouragement to fight and die for him?"

Zhang Song wrote to Liu Bei and to Fa Zheng: "Our great plan is on the point of fruition. How can you abandon us now?" Zhang Su the Grand Administrator of Guanghan was elder brother to Zhang Song. He was afraid he might be implicated, so he revealed the plot to Liu Zhang. Liu Zhang arrested Zhang Song and beheaded him, and he sent instructions to the commanders guarding the passes that they allow no further messages to reach Liu Bei.

Liu Bei was very angry. He summoned Yang Huai and Gao Pei, commanders of Liu Zhang's army at Boshui, charged them with lack of courtesy, and cut off their heads. He urged on his soldiers to go quickly to the head of the pass, joined the Boshui troops to his own, and went forward to seize the city of Fu.

NOTES to Jian'an 17: 212

A  SGZ 1, 36 (87a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao.
1  Xiao He was the celebrated adviser and Chancellor of State to the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han. His biographies in SJ 53, 2016; Watson, RGH I, 94, and HS 39, 2009, both record the special honour by which he was exempted from the requirements to take off his sword and shoes and to enter the court with hastened step. It is not stated, however, that Xiao He was excused from announcing himself.

Cao Cao, however, was not following only the precedent of Xiao He. During Later Han the powerful General–in–Chief Liang Ji and also Dong Zhuo had been awarded these privileges: passage HH and note 83 to Zhongping 6.

[Ba17: 212]
B  SGZ 23, 659 (7b–8a), the Biography of Chang Lin; SGZ 14, 429 (5b–6a) PC quoting Wei shu.
2  Hejian commandery in Ji province bordered with You province in the northern part of the North China plain.
3  Cheng Yu's argument is that the question of executing surrendered rebels should either be left to Jia Xin, as commander in the field, or preferably be referred to Cao Cao, since he held the supreme authority. In no circumstances should Cao Pi take the decision himself. Cao Pi was responsible for the central administration at Ye, but he would be exceeding his instructions if he interfered in military and political matters outside.

[Ca17: 212]
C  SGZ 11, 339 (9b–19a), the Biography of Guo Yuan.
Guo Yuan had been stationed at Ye in charge of civil administration: passage C of Jian'an 16. This passage clearly relates to the rebellion in Hejian, and though Guo Yuan had not been directly engaged in the campaign he was evidently responsible for publishing the reports. His biography, moreover, tells us that he had argued for Cao Cao to show leniency to the followers, and kill only the ring-leaders of the rebellion. In this, he agreed with Cheng Yu's policy in passage B above.

Ma Teng had been a formally honoured but effective hostage at Ye since 208: passage O of Jian'an 13. Now that Cao Cao was fully at war with his son Ma Chao, Ma Teng and those with him suffered the appropriate penalty.

The day *guiwei* given for this event (cyclical no. 20), did not fall in the fifth month of this year, for the first day of that month was *renchen* (cyclical no. 29). ZZTJ follows HHS 9, but there is obviously a mistake.

HHS 108/18, 3371, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this eclipse, but offers no further information or prognostication. The eclipse, Oppolzer 3399, mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 219, affected western and southern China.

This plague of moths is not mentioned at the expected place in the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 106/16, 3336.

Ma Chao himself, now in Liang province, was not so easily dealt with, and there was a complex series of campaigns during this and the following year: passages H to J of Jian'an 18.

The group at Lantian may have owed allegiance to Ma Chao, but he probably was not there at the critical time.

Fu had been a county in Zuopingyi under Former Han, but was not maintained by Later Han. The city was in the north of the commandery, near present-day Lechuan in Shenxi.

The capital of Zuopingyi commandery was at Gaoling, near present-day Gaoling, across the Wei River north of Chang'an.

Zheng Hun is described as "Eastern Supporter" (*Zuopingyi*), the title given to the Grand Administrator of the commandery of that name, one of the Three Adjuncts about Chang'an.

Zheng Tai was a scholar gentleman who had held office at court during the time of He Jin and Dong Zhuo. He plotted against Dong Zhuo and was compelled to flee to the east. He became Inspector of Yu province under Yuan Shu, but died soon afterwards. See passages
N and II of Zhongping 6, D of Chuping 1 and L of Chuping 3. He has a biography in HHS 70/60, and another in the Han ji of Zhang Fan, quoted in SGZ 16, 509–10 PC.

Ja17: 212

G HHS 9, 386 (10a–b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

13 Qian Daxin of Qing observes that the kingdom of Donghai, first granted to a son of the founding Emperor Guangwu of Later Han, was maintained until Wei took over from Han in 220: HHS 42/32, 1427. There was no vacancy in the succession at that time, so it could not have been awarded to Liu Dun. Donghai is evidently miswritten for Beihai, a kingdom established for a nephew of Guangwu, which had been abolished in 206: passage I of Jian’an 11 and HHS 14/4, 558.

Ja17: 212

H SGZ 53 (Wu 8), 1245 (4a), the Biography of Zhang Hong;
SGZ 53 (Wu 8), 1246 (4b) PC quoting Jiangbiao zhuan;
SGZ 47 (Wu 2), 1118 (7a–b), the Biography of Sun Quan.

14 This was when he visited Sun Quan at Dantu in 210: passage E of Jian’an 15.

15 This is now the city of Nanjing. On this strategic site, controlling the line of the lower Yangzi from the Pengze Lake to the estuary and the sea, and close to the major crossings of the River, see de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 318–319.

     Under Han, the capital of Moling county had been in the hill country some distance to the south of present-day Nanjing, on a minor tributary of the Yangzi. The texts of SGZ state that Sun Quan moved to the new site on the river bank in 216; the Shitou Citadel was completed in the following year, and it was at this time that the capital was named Jianye.

Ja17: 212

I SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1275 (24a–b), the Biography of Lü Meng;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1275 (24b) PC quoting Wu lu.

16 The Ruxu River flowed from the Chao Lake, south of Hefei, into the Yangzi. The mouth of the stream was some distance above Wuhu, 120 kilometres south and upstream from Jianye. The fortress was thus a defensive base on the northern shore of the Yangzi, close to the likely line of advance from the north.

Ja17: 212

J SGZ 1, 36 (88a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

Ja17: 212

K SGZ 14, 439–40 (17b–18a), the Biography of Dong Zhao;
SGZ 14, 440 (18b) PC quoting Xiandi chunqiu;
SGZ 10, 317 (20a), the Biography of Xun Yu;
HHS 70/60, 2290 (20a–21a), the Biography of Xun Yu;
SGZ 10, 317 (21a) PC quoting Weishi chunqiu.

17 Dong Zhao has shown himself as a sensible adviser in the past, but this is gross flattery. In fact, his biography observes that he is attempting to persuade Cao Cao to reintroduce the traditional feudal ranks of the Zhou and earlier dynasties.

     Under the Han system, the title of king (wang) was reserved for members of the imperial Liu clan, and the highest noble rank available to others was marquis (hou), with a county fief, and the possible embarrassment that the holder required special permission to remain at court. See, for example, the irritation caused by Kong Rong some years earlier: passage R and note 24 to Jian’an 13.
Dong Zhao's plan is for the system of ranks to be changed, so Cao Cao could hold a greater fief and central power without obviously infringing the prerogatives of the Emperor. If he rewarded in this way, there might be less suspicion that the only way for him to improve his status was by taking the throne himself.

18 On the fulfilment of this policy, and on the Nine Distinctions, see passage C of Jian'an 18.
19 This expression comes from the Tan gong chapter of Li ji 2A.18; Couvreur, Mémoires IA, 126.
20 HHS 70/60 contains a text of the proclamation with which Cao Cao announced the change of appointment, and it is in fine and complimentary terms. However, HHS 70/60 and also Weishi chunqiu describe an incident when Cao Cao offered Xun Yu a dish of food, but when the lid was taken off the bowl was empty.

Furthermore, both HHS commentary and SGZ PC quote Xiandi chunqiu, with a story that not only was Cao Cao annoyed by Xun Yu's opposition to Dong Zhao's proposal, but he also believed Xun Yu had failed to give him warning of a plot by Fu Wan, father of the Empress. When Xun Yu came to call, therefore, and asked for a private conversation, Cao Cao refused him. This incident, however, appears anachronistic, for the plot of Fu Wan was not dealt with until two years later: passage Y of Jian'an 19. Pei Songzhi therefore disregards the story.

It does appear, however, that Cao Cao had become distrustful of Xun Yu's loyalty to him and of his support for the imperial court, and that he showed his disapproval. In his Kaoyi commentary below, Sima Guang even suggests that Cao Cao intended to kill Xun Yu, and Xun Yu pre-empted him by committing suicide.

[Ja17: 212]
L Comment written by Sima Guang.
21 ZZTJ commentary here cites passages from Lun yu V.7/8, V.18/19, XIV.17/16 and XIV.18/17, translated by Legge, CC I, 175, 179–180, 282 and 283 (Lau, Analects, 39, 43 and 137).

Lun yu V.7/8, for example, records that Confucius observed of his disciple Zilu [also named You]:

In a kingdom of a thousand chariots, You might be employed to manage the military levies, but I do not know whether he be perfectly virtuous.

On the other hand, when one of his disciples criticised Guan Zhong for serving Duke Huan of Qi after Huan had killed his own brother, Gongzi Jiu, Confucius replied (Lun yu XIV.18/17):

Guan Zhong acted as chief minister to Duke Huan, made him leader of all the princes, united the whole kingdom and set it in order. Even to the present day, people yet benefit from his achievements..... Would you require of him the petty loyalty of ordinary men and women, who would commit suicide in a stream or ditch with no-one knowing anything about them?

22 After the accession of his son Cao Pi to the imperial throne in 220, Cao Cao was given posthumous title as Emperor Wu of the new WEI dynasty: e.g. SGZ 1, 1.
23 See above note 21.
24 The biographies of Du Mu (807–852), scholar and poet of the Tang dynasty, are in Jiu Tang shu 147 and Xin Tang shu 166.
25 See passage N of Xingping 2.
26 See passage Z of Jian'an 5.

27 Lun yu VI.16/18; Legge, CC I, 190 (Lau, Analects, 51): "Where the accomplishments are in excess of the solid qualities, we have the manners of a clerk." Legge explains the "clerk" (shi) as "sharp and well-informed, but insincere." Lau renders the description as "pedantry."

28 On Xiao He, see note 1 above.

29 The character, career and fate of Xun Yu provide an example of a talented man operating in time of confusion and difficulty. It was important for Sima Guang to show that Xun Yu was not only a great assistant to Cao Cao, but also a proper subject of the true dynasty. He therefore develops the idea that Xun Yu committed suicide to forestall Cao Cao having him executed, and uses this to demonstrate his fatal loyalty to Han. And we are indeed told that Emperor Xian of Han mourned him deeply and showed him public honour: HHS 70/60, 2290. 

One may suspect, however, that Sima Guang has over-emphasised his point, and in defending or denying Xun Yu's comparison of Cao Cao with the founders of Han, he may be making the same error as he accuses others. Certainly we cannot be sure that Xun Yu spoke as he is recorded, but the evidence in the opposite direction, placing Xun Yu as a martyr to the ideal cause of the dynasty, is equally or indeed more suspect.

Ultimately, we recognise Xun Yu as the clever counsellor to a great warlord. We cannot, however, judge his full intentions; nor, as with any human being, can we be sure he always acted with consistent motives.

[Ja17: 212]

M HHS 9, 387 (10b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

30 This comet is also described and discussed in HHS 102/12, 3261, the Treatise of Astronomy.

Chinese astronomy recognises two groups, each of five stars, called Wu zhuhou, "Five Feudal Princes:" one in Western Gemini, close to the Milky Way; the other, also specified as the "Inner" (nei) group, in Coma Berenices within the Taiwei Enclosure [or Enclosure of Supreme Subtlety]: Schlegel, Uranographie I, 422 and 473, and Ho, Astronomical Chapters, 92 and 77, Star Maps 7 and 2. Since comets are normally on the line of the ecliptic, it is probably the zodiacal constellation of Gemini which is indicated here.

The Treatise quotes the contemporary scholar Zhou Qun (note 17 of Jian'an 12), who foretold the overthrow of various warlords in the west: Liu Zhang in Yi province (passage H of Jian'an 19); Zhang Lu in Hanzhong (passage N of Jian'an 20); Han Sui in Liang province (passage A of Jian'an 19); and Song Jian in Fuhan (passage X of Jian'an 19).

[Ja17: 212]

N SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 955 (6b), the Biography of Pang Tong.

31 Jiameng was Liu Bei's headquarters against Zhang Lu: passage O of Jian'an 16.

32 The phrase guantou refers to the head of the Boshui Pass, north of Jiameng, where Yang Huai and Gao Pei commanded advance guards against the position of Zhang Lu in Hanzhong: note 30 of Jian'an 16.

33 Bodi was chief city of Yufu county in Ba commandery, east of present-day Fengjie in Sichuan, on the border with present-day Hubei. It was a key point on the Yangzi Gorges, controlling entry from Jing province into Yi province. [In the early years of Later Han, the rival warlord Gongsun Shu proclaimed himself as the White Emperor, and the name of the
city was taken from his title: SJZ 33, 22a, *Huayang guo zhi* 1, 12a, and Bielenstein, *RHD* II, 234.)

The first two plans put forward by Pang Tong assumed that Liu Bei would take advantage of his position in the centre of Liu Zhang's position, between the capital at Chengdu and the major military interest in the north. From where he was, he could make a sudden attack directly against the capital; or he could first take over all the troops in the north and then advance more slowly.

Both plans, however, entailed Liu Bei operating in isolation, with no close contact to his centre of power in Jing province. The third possibility was to retire fully to the southwest, make contact with Jing province, then advance once more up the Yangzi and the tributaries north towards Chengdu. This would have the advantage of providing a secure base, and Liu Bei could look for support amongst those discontented with Liu Zhang who had now experienced his favour, but the process would be long and difficult and might well fail.

(O SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 881 (21a–22a), the Biography of Liu Bei; SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 882 (21b) PC quoting *Wei shu*.)

See passage I above.

The phrase Yizhou, "Yi province," in similar fashion to Liu Bei's designation "Yuzhou" in passage K and note 21 to Jian'an 16, describes Liu Zhang in his capacity as Governor.

Zhang Song had long been a supporter of Liu Bei at the court of Liu Zhang (passages J and M of Jian'an 16), and it appears he had been preparing a coup at Chengdu to support a direct attack by Liu Bei. He had not been informed of the plans of Pang Tong and Liu Bei for an indirect approach, so he believed Liu Bei was indeed planning to leave for Jing province.

As ZZTJ commentary observes, these actions follow the lines of Pang Tong's second plan.
Jian'an 18: 213 AD
[8 February 213 – 28 January 214]

In the spring, in the first month Cao Cao advanced to the mouth of the Ruxu River, with foot-soldiers and horsemen described as four hundred
He attacked and over-ran Sun Quan's camp on the west of the Yangzi, and captured his Chief Controller Gongsun Yang. Sun Quan led a force of seventy thousand to oppose him, and they faced one another for more than a month.

When Cao Cao saw how well-organised were Sun Quan's ships, equipment, weapons and troops, he sighed and said, "A man's sons should be like Sun Zhongmou. When they are like Liu Jingsheng's children [Liu Biao's sons Zong and Qi], they are no more than piglets or puppies."

Sun Quan sent a message to Cao Cao, "The spring floods are rising. You had better get away." And he wrote on a separate page, "I shall have no peace, my friend, until you are dead." Cao Cao said to his officers, "Sun Quan will not take advantage of me." He withdrew his army and went back.

[In the third month] on the day gengyin [11 Apr] an edict combined the fourteen provinces to make nine again.

In the summer, in the fourth month Cao Cao came to Ye.

Before this, when Cao Cao was at Qiao, he was afraid the people of the commanderies along the Yangzi would suffer from raiding by Sun Quan. He planned to bring them closer, and he discussed the proposal with Jiang Ji, Aide-de-Camp of Yang province.

"Once before, when Yuan Benchu [Yuan Shao] and I faced one another with our armies at Guandu, I shifted the inhabitants of Yan and Boma. This way, they could not defect, and the enemy did not dare attack them. I now intend to transfer people from south of the Huai. What do you think?"

"At that time," replied Jiang Ji, "your soldiers were weak and the enemy were strong: had you not shifted the people you would certainly have lost them. Since the defeat of Yuan Shao, your authority makes the empire tremble and no-one would think of opposing you. Yet it is only human nature that men should love their land. They will not be pleased if you move them about, and I am sure they will become restless." Cao Cao would not accept his advice.

Then people did become frightened, and more than one hundred thousand households from Lujiang, Jiujiang, Qichun and Guangling went east across the Yangzi, so the territory west of the river was abandoned. South from Hefei there was only Huan city.
Later Jiang Ji came with dispatches to Ye, and when Cao Cao received him he gave a great laugh, said, "I only wanted to keep the people safe from the enemy, but instead I drove them away!" He appointed Jiang Ji as Grand Administrator of Danyang.

In the fifth month on the day bingshen [16 Jun] Cao Cao was enfeoffed as Duke of WEI, still continuing as Imperial Chancellor and Governor of Ji province. He also received the Nine Distinctions: the Great Carriage and the War Carriage, one of each, with two Black Stallions; Clothes and Bonnets of Honour, with Red Slippers to match; Suspended Musical Instruments and the Six Rows of Dancers; the Vermilion Door behind which to dwell; the Inner Staircase by which to ascend; the Gentlemen Rapid as Tigers, three hundred men; the Ceremonial Axe and the Battle Axe, one of each; one Scarlet Bow with one hundred Scarlet Arrows, and ten Black Bows with a thousand Black Arrows; one goblet of the Black Millet Herb–Flavoured Liquor, with a Jade Libation–Cup to match.

There was great rain and flooding.

When the Attendant Official of Yi province, Zheng Du of Guanghan, heard that Liu Bei had raised troops, he said to Liu Zhang, "The General of the Left [Liu Bei] is attacking us with an isolated army. He has no more than ten thousand soldiers, and the men have not yet grown attached to him. His army has no baggage train and his soldiers must live off the country. "The best plan is to force all the people of Baxi and Zitong to come in west of the Fu and Inner Rivers. Burn their granaries and destroy all the grain in the fields. We can set firm defences behind high walls and deep ditches, and if the other fellow comes to offer battle, we refuse. "If he has to wait without supplies, his own situation will force a retreat within three months. When he retreats, we attack him. This way we can certainly deal with him."

When Liu Bei heard of this, he was worried and asked Fa Zheng, but Fa Zheng replied, "No cause for concern. Liu Zhang will never use such methods."

And indeed Liu Zhang said to his followers, "I have heard a man may face the foe to give peace to the people, but I have never heard of shifting the people to avoid an enemy." He would not use Zheng Du's plan.
Liu Zhang sent his officers Liu Gui, Leng Bao, Zhang Ren, Deng Xian, Wu Yi and others to oppose Liu Bei. They were all defeated and came back to hold Mianzhu, while Wu Yi went to Liu Bei's camp to surrender.

Then Liu Zhang sent Li Yan of Nanyang and Fei Guan of Jiangxia as Protectors of the Army to take control of all the forces at Mianzhu, but they too brought their troops and surrendered to Liu Bei. Liu Bei's army became stronger and stronger, and he sent some of his officers to pacify and overcome the subordinate counties.

Liu Gui, Zhang Ren and Liu Zhang's son Xun retreated to hold Luo city, but Liu Bei led his army forward and surrounded them. Zhang Ren made a stand at the Yan Bridge, his army was defeated and he himself was killed.

In the autumn, in the seventh month the WEI first set up altars to the Gods of the Soils and Grain and a princely ancestral temple.

Duke Cao of WEI had three of his daughters taken into the Emperor's harem as Honoured Ladies.

Before this, Duke Cao of WEI had pursued Ma Chao to Anding, but then he heard that Tian Yin and Su Bo had rebelled, and he drew off his army and came back. [At that time], Yang Fu, Adviser to the Army of Liang province, said to Cao Cao, "Ma Chao has the courage of [Han] Xin and [Ying] Bu, and he is popular with the Qiang and other barbarians. If the imperial army should leave before he is fully dealt with, then all the commanderies west of the Long Mountain will fall from our control. When Cao Cao withdrew, Ma Chao did lead Qiang and other non-Chinese people against the commanderies and counties west of Long. All those territories joined him and only Ji city, with the headquarters of the province and of [Hanyang] commandery, held firm.

Ma Chao controlled all forces west of Long Mountain, and Zhang Lu sent his high officer Yang Ang to join him. Their combined force was ten thousand men. They attacked Ji city, and from the first month until the eighth there came no relief.

The Inspector Wei Kang sent his Aide-de-Camp Yan Wen to advise Xiahou Yuan of their danger. The siege works were set in several rings about the city, and Yan Wen steadily followed the river and went out under
cover of night. The following morning, however, Ma Chao's soldiers saw his tracks, and they chased him and caught him.

Ma Chao had Yan Wen brought below the walls to have him tell the people inside that there would be no help from the east. Yan Wen, however, faced the city and called out, "A great army will be here in no more than three days. Fight your hardest until it arrives." All in the city wept for joy and called out: "Ten thousand years!"

Ma Chao was angry, but he had maintained the siege a long time without success, so he kept control and attempted to persuade Yan Wen to change his statement. "If a man serves a lord," replied Yan Wen, "he can only die for him once. Now I am old, and you want me to say something disloyal?" So Ma Chao killed him.

Still, however, there came no help from outside, so Wei Kang and the Grand Administrator resolved to surrender. Yang Fu wept and cried in protest, "We brought our fathers and elder brothers here, our sons and younger brothers, urging them to fight for glory. We can only die for the cause. We have a duty to hold this city. How can we abandon good work just as it is on the point of success, and earn ourselves a name for dishonour?"

The Inspector and Grand Administrator paid no attention, and they opened the gates of the city to Ma Chao. As soon as he came in, however, he killed the Inspector and the Grand Administrator. He named himself General Who Subdues the West, with command as Governor of Bing province and Controller of Military Affairs in Liang province.

Duke Cao of Wei sent Xiahou Yuan to relieve Ji city, but the place fell before they reached it, and Ma Chao came out to fight while Xiahou Yuan was still over two hundred li from the city. Xiahou Yuan attacked him without success.

Qianwan, King of the Di, rebelled to join Ma Chao and camped at Xingguo. Xiahou Yuan led his army back.

About this time Yang Fu's wife died, so he went to Ma Chao and obtained leave to attend her burial. Yang Fu's brother-in-law Jiang Xu of Tianshui was General Who Cherishes Barbarians, commanding troops in camp at Li city.

When Yang Fu saw Jiang Xu and his mother, he sobbed in extremity of grief. "Why this?" asked Jiang Xu.
"I was guarding a city and I could not hold it," replied Yang Fu, "my masters are dead and I did not die. How can I face the world even for a moment? Ma Chao has turned from his father and rebelled against his lord. He mistreats and kills the leaders of the province. Am I the only man concerned about this? All the gentlemen of the province are put to shame.

"You hold an independent command, but you have no intention of attacking those bandits. In such circumstances, Zhao Dun was recorded as the murderer of his master. Ma Chao is strong, but he is a dishonourable fellow. There are many people with grievances and it is easy to plan against him."

Jiang Xu's mother was deeply touched. "Quite right, Boyi!" she exclaimed. "When Commissioner Wei came to harm, that was also your responsibility, not just Yishan's."

"What man does not die? And to die for loyalty and for honour, that is something worth while. Just act swiftly, and think no more of me. I can decide this for you now, and for the rest of my life I shall cause you no further trouble."

So Jiang Xu made plans with Zhao Ang and Yin Feng of his own [Hanyang] commandery and with Li Jun of Wudu for a joint attack on Ma Chao. He also sent men to Ji city to make contact with Liang Kuan of Anding and Zhao Qu of Nan'an, to have them act as allies within.

Ma Chao held Zhao Ang's son Yue as a hostage. Zhao Ang said to his wife Yi, "I have made my plans, and they will certainly be successful. What are we to do about Yue?"

"If it clears the shame of a lord and father," replied Yi firmly, "to lose one's head is of small moment. That is still more true for a son."

In the ninth month Yang Fu and Jiang Xu brought their forces forward and entered Lucheng, while Zhao Ang and Yin Feng occupied Qi Mountain and attacked Ma Chao.

When Ma Chao learnt of this he became very angry. Zhao Qu tricked him into going out immediately to attack them. As soon as Ma Chao left, however, Zhao Qu and Liang Kuan barred the gates of Ji city and killed all his family.
Ma Chao had lost his base and had nowhere to move, but then he made a surprise attack on Li city and captured Jiang Xu's mother. "You," she abused him, "are a rebellious son who abandoned his father. You are a cruel brigand who murdered his lord. How can Heaven and Earth put up with you for long? And unless you die soon, how can you face the sight of men?" Ma Chao killed her. He also killed Zhao Ang's son Yue.

Yang Fu fought Ma Chao. He was wounded five times, but the enemy were defeated. Ma Chao fled south to Zhang Lu.

K Zhang Lu appointed Ma Chao as Libationer and Expositor. He intended to give him a daughter in marriage, but someone said, "A man like this: if he feels no affection for his own parents, how can he care for others?" Zhang Lu gave up the idea.

L Cao Cao gave honours for the good work against Ma Chao, and eleven men were enfeoffed as marquises. Yang Fu was awarded rank as Marquis Within the Imperial Domain.

M In the winter, in the eleventh month WEI first established Masters of Writing, Palace Attendants, and six ministers.

2124 Xun You was made Prefect of the Masters of Writing, Liang Mao was Supervisor, Mao Jie, Cui Yan, Chang Lin, Xu Yi and He Kui became Masters of Writing. Wang Can, Du Xi, Wei Ji and He Xia became Palace Attendants. Zhong Yao became Grand Judge, Wang Xiu became Grand Minister of Agriculture, Yuan Huan became Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace acting as Imperial Counsellor, and Chen Qun became Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk.

N Though Yuan Huan received rewards and presents, he spent everything, and had nothing kept by in his house. When he was short he would beg from others, but he made no show of his cleverness and insight, and people of the time respected his integrity.

There was one occasion someone reported that Liu Bei was dead. As other ministers offered congratulations, Yuan Huan was the only one to refrain.

O Duke Cao of WEI thought to reintroduce the mutilating punishments. An ordinance was issued, saying, "Some years ago, Grand Herald Chen gave his
opinion that the death penalty was kinder and more humane. Can the
Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk explain his father's reasoning?"40

"My father Ji," replied Chen Qun, "was pointing out that when Han did
away with the punishment of mutilation they increased it in flogging.41 The
idea began with love and pity, but it actually killed more people. This is a
case where 'the name is light but the reality heavy.' The name is light, so it
is easy to offend. As the reality is heavy, it harms people.42

"Furthermore, if one man kills another he forfeits his life, and it is fitting,
in accordance with the ancient institutions, that he should receive harsh
punishment. Sometimes, however, in a case of wounding, though the
criminal may have destroyed a man's body, he only suffers his hair being
cut off and his beard shaved. This is not the right pattern.43

"If we used the old punishments, sending adulterers to the Silkworm
House [for castration]44 and cutting the feet off robbers, then there would
be neither immorality nor theft for a very long time. Though we cannot
immediately restore all the grades of three thousand,45 these few
proposals are suitable for the problems of the present time, and may be put
into practice first.

"According to the laws of Han, when the full death penalty was to be
applied, there was no room for human feeling. There were, however, other
crimes which amounted to the death penalty, but which could be changed
to mutilation.46 In this way a balance was maintained between those who
were executed and those allowed to live. Now, however, death by flogging
has taken the place of a less fatal punishment. This shows respect for a
man's limbs, but little for his life."

Of those who discussed the matter, only Zhong Yao agreed with Chen
Qun. No-one else considered his proposals to be practicable. Because
military affairs were still unsettled, Cao Cao accepted the majority position
and took no action.47

NOTES to Jian'an 18: 213

A  S2G 1, 37 (88b–89b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
   S2GZ 47 (Wu 2), 1118 (8b), the Biography of Sun Quan;
   S2GZ 47 (Wu 2), 1119 (8b) PC quoting Wu li.
1 There was a custom at this time of deliberately inflating the numbers of a major army,
   quite apart from the normal exaggerations of historians. See, for example, Bielenstein,
   RHD1, 118.
2 Zhongmou was the style of Sun Quan; Jingsheng that of Liu Biao.
The first month of this year began on a wuzi day [8 Feb] (cycle no. 25), and the gengyin day (cycle no. 27) was the third [10 Feb]. The second month contained no gengyin day. The third month began on a dinghai day (cycle no. 24), and thus contained a gengyin day.

Given that Cao Cao was occupied in the first month by the campaign against Sun Quan and the subsequent withdrawal from the Yangzi, it seems unlikely that he would have had time to prepare a formal rearrangement of the provincial structure of the empire during that period. It seems more probable that he waited until he had returned to the north, and the edict was issued as he was passing through the official imperial capital at Xu city on his way to Ye city (see below).

I suggest the number of the month should read "third" rather than "first" or "second."

ZZTJ commentary lists the fourteen provinces as Sili, Yu, Ji, Yan, Xu, Qing, Jing, Yang, Yi, Liang, Yong, Bing, You and Jiao. All except Yong and Liang had existed under Later Han: on Yong, see passage R and note 30 to Xingping 1; on Liang see below; on Jiao province, formerly a lesser unit known as Jiaozhi, see note 34 to Jian'an 15.

Xiandi chunqiu, quoted by commentary to HHS 9, says that at this time the northern provinces You and Bing of Later Han were abolished and combined into Ji province, while in the northwest the territory of Liang province under Later Han was combined with the western part of Sili into a new Yong province, and the territory of Jiao province in the south was divided between Jing and Yi provinces in the central Yangzi and the west. This last can hardly have been effective, for the government of Cao Cao and his puppet emperor had no control over that region, but Sun Quan later, from time to time, arranged the division of Jiao into two parts, east and west of Hepu (e.g. de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 445).

HHS 9 says that the nine provinces restored the arrangements recorded by the Yu gong book of Shu jing: e.g. Legge, CC III, 92–151. Xiandi chunqiu notes that while most of the names were indeed the same as those of Yu gong, that list includes a Liang province, a name used in Han which does not appear here, and it has no Yi province, which continues at this time from the Han tradition.

Apart from the ideals of Yu gong, however, a prime effect of the changes was greatly to increase the territory of Ji province, which Cao Cao controlled as Governor (passage H of Jian’an 9). Not only, as Xiandi chunqiu has said, did that province now extend across former Bing and You provinces, commanding the whole northern frontier of China from the Ordos region to the territory of the Gongsun warlords in Manchuria, but it also gained the commanderies of Hedong and Henei in the south of present-day Shanxi and Pingyuan at the mouth of the Yellow River. At the same time, Henan, formerly the capital district of Later Han, was incorporated into Yu province, while Hongnong, with [Zuo]pingyi, [You]fufeng and Jingzhao, the commanderies about the capital of Former Han, were joined with Liang province of Later Han into the new Yong province. (Hu Sanxing suggests that Zuopingyi and Youfufeng became part of Ji province, while Hongnong was added to Yu province, but this would have left Jingzhao isolated from the rest of the new Yong province and made little administrative sense; I follow the reconstruction of Wu Zengjin, Sanguo junxian biao, 2828, supported by Wang Xianqian in HHSJJ 109/19.)
Cao Cao's base for operations against Sun Quan's position along the Yangzi was at Qiao (passages A and F of Jian'an 14, and J of Jian'an 17). The concern for raiding and counter-attack by Sun Quan presumably developed on his return to the north through that city after the unsuccessful campaign on this year.

Benchu was the style of Yuan Shao. Yan and Boma were counties in Dong commandery, south of the Yellow River. During the Guandu campaign of 200, the inhabitants of this frontier region were forcibly moved south, away from Yuan Shao's advance, in a form of scorched-earth policy which ceded ground but kept hold of the people. See passage I of Jian'an 5.

The region described here is the southwest of present-day Anhui, on the left bank of the Yangzi, which in this area flows generally northeast from the Poyang region to the head of the estuary. It can thus be described as "west of the river."

Under Later Han, Guangling, Jiujiang and Lujiang commanderies had controlled the area between the Yangzi and the Huai from the sea westwards to the Dabie hills. Qichun commandery was a new establishment, which was probably set up by Cao Cao about this time. The eponymous county of Qichun was formerly in Jiangxia, by the present-day city of that name in Hubei, so that new commandery was designed to control the southern slopes of the Dabie range and the line of the Yangzi between Yang province and Jing province. See also note 11 to Jian'an 19.

Huan city in Lujiang was northwest of present-day Anqing in Anhui, more than 150 kilometres south of Hefei. The effect of Cao Cao's policy, and the general migration, was to create a long strip of no-man's land along the north of the lower Yangzi, leaving Lujiang commandery all but uninhabited.

See further passage D of Jian'an 19 below.

Since Danyang was at this time firmly under the control of Sun Quan, it is difficult to judge whether Cao Cao intended this appointment as earnest of his intention to take that territory in the foreseeable future, or whether it was designed as a back-handed compliment to Jiang Ji for his accurate, but unwelcome, advice.

ZZTJ commentary suggests that the territory of Cao Cao's fief was that of the extended Ji province (note 4 above): that is, the commandery territories of Wei, Zhao, Zhongshan, Changshan, Julu, Anping, Ganling, Pingyuan, Henei and Hedong.

From this point, the name of Cao Cao's state will be indicated by capitals, as WEI, to distinguish it from the commandery territory of that name.

The enfeoffment and appointment of Cao Cao, and the award of the Nine Distinctions (jiu xi), is contained in an edict from the emperor, whose text is quoted in the main text of SGZ 1.

The Nine Distinctions had last been awarded to the future usurper Wang Mang in 5 AD, a few years before he took the imperial title for himself: HS 99A, 4075; Dubs, HFHD III, 208–210. The text of the edict describing the grant to Cao Cao is translated by Tjan, White Tiger Discussions I, 26–27, and discussed further in II, 504–509. A parallel award to Sun Quan in 221 is discussed by de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 415–417 note.
Predictably, this inauspicious omen is not recorded by the biography of Cao Cao in SGZ 1, but it appears both in the Annals and in the Flood section of the Treatise of the Five Powers, HHS 105/15, 3312. Commentary to the Treatise, moreover, quotes from Xiandi qijuzhu, which says the rain was so severe that in the seventh month the Emperor left his chief apartments, presumably as an attempt to placate the elements, but it continued into the eighth month, and the Emperor then returned to his normal abode.

SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 958 (10a–10b), the Biography of Fa Zheng;
SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 959 (10b) PC quoting Huayang guo zhi.

Baxi commandery had been divided by Liu Zhang from the territory of Later Han Ba commandery: it occupied the region of the Jialing valley, with its capital at Langzhong county, present-day Langzhong in Sichuan, downstream from Liu Bei's base at Jiameng: passage N of Jian'an 17. Zitong county, present-day Zitong in Sichuan, had been in Guanghan under Later Han, but was also established about this time as a separate commandery. On the various arrangements of this region under Liu Yan and Liu Zhang, see Huayang guo zhi 1, 9b, Wu Zengjin, Sanguo junxian biao, 2920–2922, and de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 364–366.

The Fu River, which still bears that name, flowed south past Fu county in Guanghan, present-day Mianyang in Sichuan, to join the Jialing at Dianjiang, present-day Hechuan. Zitong county was in the next valley to the east, and the Zitong River which flowed through it was a tributary of the Fu. Langzhong was on the central stream of the Jialing. See also note 29 to Jian'an 16.

The texts here have the character nei, which the punctuation of ZZT/ interprets as the name of a river, but which the parallel punctuated text of SGZ 37 understands simply as a verb "to come in." There is certainly no river formally named Nei "Inner" in this region, but SJZ 32, 18b, identifies the term with the Zidong river, flowing south through that county to join the Fu, and with the combined streams which continue south to Dianjiang. From the perspective of Chengdu, these rivers were "inner" compared to the "outer" Min and Tuo: c.f. note 16 to Jian'an 19.

Zheng Du's plan is to force the settled population to withdraw from the line of Liu Bei's advance, destroying all potential supplies for his army, and establishing a defence position behind the Fu River. It was a most energetic strategy and, as Fa Zheng observes below, it required a brutality which was beyond Liu Zhang, and perhaps beyond the will and ability of his troops. The disruption of even attempting such a move, however, would certainly have put difficulties in the face of Liu Bei.

SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 882 (22a–b), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 883 (23a) PC quoting Yibu qijiu zaji.

SGZ 32 says this group of commanders confronted Liu Bei's advance at Fu, so Liu Bei had been able to move without difficulty from his original starting point at Jiameng: passage O of Jian'an 17.

Mianzhu county in Guanghan was near present-day Deyang in Sichuan, on the line of the modern railway sixty kilometres north of Liu Zhang's capital at Chengdu.
Fei Guan was a relative of Liu Zhang on his mother's side, and had also married Liu Zhang's daughter: SGZ 45, 1081.

Luo city was the capital of Guanghan commandery, by present-day Guanghan in Sichuan, some forty kilometres from Chengdu. Yan was another name for the Luo River where it flowed to the south of the city.

18 On the arrangement of the imperial ancestral temples during Later Han, see Mansvelt Beck, Treatises, 117–118, Bielenstein, Lo-yang, 54–56, and note 51 to Chuping 1. On the altar and worship of the Gods of the Soils and Grains, see Bodde, Festivals, 56, Bielenstein, Lo-yang, 56, and Cambridge China 1, 263 Map 13. Such ceremonies could be carried out locally even at county level, but these were national rituals which Cao Cao now took for himself and his new state.

There is a short account of these three ladies in HHS 10, 455, the Biographies of the Empresses. The given names of the three were Xian, Jie and Hua. It appears they were taken into the imperial harem at this time, but were not appointed as Honoured Ladies until the following year. The youngest, Hua, was still too young for marriage, and therefore remained at home for the time being.

HHS 10 records the betrothal present as 50,000 rolls of black and crimson silk, and Xiandi qijuzhu, quoted by SGZ 1, 42 PC, tells how an embassy was sent from the imperial capital at Xu city to Cao Cao's headquarters at Ye, taking these gifts and also the bi-rings (), insignia of rank.

Two years later, after the execution of the Empress Fu, the middle daughter Cao Jie became Empress: passages Y of Jian'an 19 and A of Jian'an 20.

The rebellion of Tian Yin and Su Bo in Hejian took place in 211 and 212: passages H of Jian'an 16, and A and B of Jian'an 17.

Although Cao Cao did indeed attack Anding, he was probably not aiming directly at Ma Chao, but at lesser leaders such as Yang Qiu. It appears more probable that Ma Chao had withdrawn west to Longxi, not north to Anding. Yang Fu’s advice, below, is intended to urge that Cao Cao finish the work across the Long Mountain, not just deal with Anding.

The celebrated fighting men Han Xin and Ying Bu were two associates of the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han. They have biographies in SJ 92; Watson, RGH I, 208–232, and SJ 91; Watson, RGH I, 196–207, and also in HS 34.

The phrase "above Long [Mountain]" indicates the territory to the west, the upper reaches of the Wei and the tributaries of the Yellow River.

SGZ 36 (Shu 6) here uses the term rong, a general name for the non-Chinese people of the west. ZZTJ has Qiang-hu "the Qiang and other barbarians of the north [or west]."

Ji city was on the Wei River by Gangu in present-day southwest Gansu.

SGZ 1, 42 (101b), the Biography of Cao Cao; SGZ 9, 270–71 (7a), the Biography of Xiahou Yuan.
The Di people inhabited the hill country about Wudu commandery, in the south of Liang province on the borders of Yi province, present-day southern Gansu: de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 470 note 8.

From passage A of Jian'an 19 Xingguo was evidently a fortified settlement somewhere in the upper valley of the Wei. However, the Account of the Western Barbarians (*Xirong zhuan*) of *Wei lue*, quoted in *SGZ* 30, 858 PC, refers to Xingguo as the name of a group of Di, with Qianwan the leader of another tribe.

Yang Fu's biography says that he was anxious to avenge the death of his former commanders. For the time being, however, Ma Chao held command in Ji city, and Yang Fu was compelled to accept office as his subordinate.

Jiang Xu was a local man. Hanyang commandery had been known as Tianshui until 72 AD: see, for example, the Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 113/23, 3517. The Treatise of Geography of *JS* 14, 435, says the name was changed back by Jin. However, Wu Zengjin, *Sanguo junxian biao*, 2898/3, and the supplementary comments by Yang Shoujing, note a reference to Hanyang in 220 (*SGZ* 2, 60) before Cao Pi received the abdication of the Han emperor, and argue that the name Hanyang was maintained until the formal end of Han, and the name Tianshui was restored soon afterwards. Here, Tianshui is an anachronistic reference to Hanyang.

Li city was in Xi county of Hanyang, near Lixian in present-day Gansu. It therefore lay south of Ji city.

This refers to the fact that Ma Chao was in rebellion against his formal overlord Cao Cao, and that by his rebellion he had compelled his father Ma Teng to die as a hostage in Cao Cao's hands: passage D of Jian'an 17.

Towards the end of the seventh century BC, Zhao Dun was chief minister of the state of Jin. Duke Ling tried three times to kill him, but Zhao Dun fled the capital. Later the ruler was killed by a cousin of Zhao Dun, and so he was able to return.

The court historian recorded the incident as "Zhao Dun murdered his ruler." Zhao Dun protested his innocence, but the clerk replied, "You are the highest minister. You fled, but you had not crossed the frontier. Now you have returned, you have failed the punish the criminal. If it was not you who murdered the prince, who did?" See *Zuo zhuan*, Xuan 2; Legge, *CCV*, 290 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 572).

Boyì was the style of Jiang Xu, Yishan that of Yang Fu. Commissioner (*fujun*) refers to the late Wei Kang as Inspector of Liang province.

Nan'an commandery was established in 188 from the northern part of Hanyang commandery, at the time of the great rebellion in Liang province: *HHS* 113/23, 3517, commentary quoting *Qinzhou ji*. de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 494 note 35.
32 *Lienü zhuan*, "Biographies of Exemplary Women," compiled by the third century scholar Huangfu Mi and quoted by *SGZ* 25, 703–04 PC, basis for this text, says that this wife of Zhao Ang was a woman of the Wang family, and gives a substantial biography of her. *ZZTJ* commentary cites this text, saying that the lady's original surname was Shi, but this appears to be a miswriting.

34 The city of Lucheng evidently lay between Xi county and Ji the capital of Hanyang commandery. Qi Mountain was north of present-day Li county in southern Gansu. There was some fortress construction at this site: passage A of Jian'an 19.

[Ja18: 213]
K *SGZ* 36 (Shu 6), 946 (12a) PC quoting *Dian lue*.

34 On such appointments in Zhang Lu's theocratic state, see note 13 to Jian'an 6.

[Ja18: 213]
L *SGZ* 25, 702 (9b–10a), the Biography of Yang Fu.

35 On Marquis Within the Imperial Domain, an aristocratic rank immediately below that of a full marquis, see note 7 to Jian'an 9.

[Ja18: 213]
M *SGZ* 1, 42 (101a), the Biography of Cao Cao; *SGZ* 1, 42 (101a) PC quoting *Weishi chunqiu*; *SGZ* 13, 394 (6a), the Biography of Zhong Yao; *SGZ* 11, 347 (20b), the Biography of Wang Xiu; *SGZ* 11, 335 (4a–b), the Biography of Yuan Huan; *SGZ* 22, 633 (6a), the Biography of Chen Qun.

36 The nine ministries of the imperial government of Later Han were the Grand Master of Ceremonies (*taichang*), the Superintendent of the Imperial Household (*guanglu xun*), the Commandant of the Guards (*wei weih*), the Grand Coachman (*taipu*), the Commandant of Justice (*ting weih*), the Grand Herald (*da honglu*), the Director of the Imperial Clan (*zong zheng*), the Grand Minister of Agriculture (*da sinong*) and the Privy Treasurer (*shaofu*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 17–47. They ranked immediately below the Three Excellencies, now replaced by the Imperial Chancellor's position held by Cao Cao.

Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 107, lists the officials prescribed for a royal court under Later Han. These appointments of Cao Cao, however, were closer in title to the ministries of the imperial court than to those expected of a kingdom.

In the list below, Grand Judge (*da li*) is an alternative title for the Commandant of Justice (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 38) and Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace (*langzhong ling*) was the equivalent of the Superintendent of the Imperial Household (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 23).

Cao Cao at this time appointed only six ministers. *Wei shu* refers to the later establishment of an Upholder of Ceremonies (*fengchang*) and a Director of the [Royal] Clan in 216, and to a Commandant of the Guards a year later: *SGZ* 1, 49 PC notes 4 and 1, and passage J and note 17 to Jian'an 21. [Upholder of Ceremonies was an alternative name for the Grand Master of Ceremonies (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 17).]

So besides the Grand Judge, the Grand Minister of Agriculture and the Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace, the names of whose appointees are given below, it appears the other ministries established at this time were the Grand Coachman, the Grand Herald and the Privy Treasurer, with more to follow.
These appointments in the office of the Masters of Writing are listed by *Weishi chunqiu*. Those which follow, to the various ministries, are given by the biographies of the men concerned.

As we have observed, Grand Judge, Grand Minister of Agriculture and Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace were all ministerial positions. The Imperial Counsellor [Bielenstein: Grandee Secretary] and his subordinate the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk [Bielenstein: Palace Assistant Secretary], however, were different appointments to supervise the whole administration, and were not numbered among the nine ministers: see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 7–9, de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," and note 13 to Jian'an 13.

*SGZ* 11, 347, says that Wang Xiu was not only Grand Minister of Agriculture but also Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace, an appointment duplicating that of Yuan Huan. *ZZTJ* has no reference to this confusing statement. If Yuan Huan, however, was acting as Imperial Counsellor, then it is possible Wang Xiu filled his ministerial position as well as his own.

So Cao Cao not only duplicated the ministries of the imperial court, he also added to the censorial ranks. Besides Yuan Huan, acting as Imperial Counsellor of Wei, Chi Lü was Imperial Counsellor of Han and a direct colleague to Cao Cao as Imperial Chancellor: passage Q of Jian'an 13 and also passage X of Jian'an 19. In 216, moreover, Cao Cao established the office of Chancellor of State for his [now] kingdom of Wei: passage J of Jian'an 21.

Overall, the confusion about these ministerial appointments, and the failure of the texts to record the names of all who held them, gives the impression that the whole exercise was little more than propaganda: Cao Cao enhanced his standing as a dominant figure in the government, he set up a court which shadowed the puppet government of Han, and he gave impressive titles to various of his advisers; but it is doubtful if their duties were intended to be real. The central political structure remained that of a military command under the warlord's personal authority.

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The mutilating punishments (rou xing) are discussed by Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 124–128, and *Cambridge China* I, 532–536 [Hulsewé, "Ch'in and Han Law"]). The formal list was tattooing of the face (qing, a slashed cicatrice rather than the more elegant dots), amputation of the nose (yi), and amputation of the left foot (zhan zuozhi) or of both feet (zhan youzhi: literally "of the right foot [after the left has first been cut off]"). They were normally used as an aggravation of hard labour, and often accompanied by flogging with the bastinado.

In 167 BC, however, the government of Emperor Wen of Former Han abolished the punishments of tattooing and amputation of the nose, replacing them by flogging. Amputation of the feet was also eliminated: the "left foot" penalty was replaced by five hundred stokes of the bastinado, later reduced to two hundred strokes followed by hard labour; the double "right foot" penalty by execution, later reduced to bastinado followed by hard labour aggravated by wearing leg-irons. See Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 125–126, and 334–336 (translating HS 23, 1097–99).
As Hulsewé observes, however, at RHL I, 103, 112 and 341 (translating HS 23, 1104), an appalling collection of tortures and degradation remained to enhance the death penalty for the most serious crimes.

The biography of Chen Qun's father Chen Ji, in HHS 62/52 at 2067-68, tells of his appointment as Grand Herald during the time of disorder after the usurpation of Dong Zhuo, but makes no mention of his proposals for reform of the laws. JS 30, 921, however, the Treatise of Penal Law, refers to him as one of a number of Confucianists who urged the restoration of mutilating punishments.

On this, see note 39 above. Hulsewé, RHL I, 128-129, cites the policy of Han times, which provided for flogging by a bamboo of five Han feet in length [about 1.15 metres], varying in thickness from one Han inch [about 23 mm.] to half an inch, with the knots planed smooth. Each blow was administered on the buttocks as the victim was standing, and the executioner was not to be relieved during the process. [In early 1994 there was international concern when six strokes of this kind were applied to a young American convicted of vandalism in Singapore. In Han times, as we observe, beatings were regulated by the hundreds of strokes.]

This argument already appears in HS 23, 1099; Hulsewé, RHL I, 336: when mutilating punishments were applied, the offender suffered serious physical damage, but usually survived the operation. When the mutilating punishments were abolished, however, additional strokes of the bastinado were substituted; and the effect was so severe that many criminals died. So the mutilating punishments had been replaced by an unintended but unpleasant form of death.

Here, Chen Qun approaches the problem from another direction. Because the mutilating punishments are not available, there are occasions when punishment is too light. Cut hair and shaven beard was part of the heaviest convict prison sentence of four years hard labour, theoretically, but not always, accompanied by the bastinado: Hulsewé, RHL I, 129 (but, on the matter of the beard, cf. the experience of Cui Yan, described in passage B and note 5 of Jian'an 21). This left the criminal whole of body, though he might have inflicted more serious damage upon his victim. In HS 23, 1110-12; Hulsewé, RHL I, 346-3450, the historian Ban Gu presents a similar argument: and see Hulsewé's analysis at 313.

Chen Qun argues further below that the mutilating punishments allowed the penalty to fit the crime, as in castration for sexual offenders or cutting off the feet or hands of robbers, giving clear deterrence to specific faults. From the discussion in note 44 following, however, it appears that during Han castration was used to lighten the death penalty, not specifically for sexual crimes.

The Silkworm House (can shi) was a place where the punishment of castration (gong or fu xing "the punishment of rottenness") was carried out. Commentary to HHS 1B, 80, explains that the term arose because those suffering the operation were sensitive to cold draughts and had to be kept in a warm dark room, similar to that used for silkworms. Commentary to HHS 46/36, 1556, notes that during Former Han the Hunting Dog Prison (ruolu yu) of the imperial palace had a Silkworm House with appropriate facilities, and the establishment may have been maintained during Later Han: e.g. Bielenstein, Lo-yang, 50-51, and Bureaucracy, 67. Apart from penal uses, it is not unlikely that the Silkworm House was maintained to assist in the supply of eunuchs for the imperial harem; not all needed to suffer the operation through private sources.
Castration was used on occasion as an alternative to execution. It was not, however, the normal form of the death penalty diminished by one degree, nor was it formally counted among the mutilating punishments: Hulsewé, RHL I, 127. It appears on several occasions during Former Han, in most celebrated fashion when it was inflicted upon the historian Sima Qian: e.g. HS 54, 2456; Chavannes, MH I, xxxix-xl, Watson, Ssu-ma Ch’ien, 62, and Nienhauser, GSR I, x.

In 52 AD, an edict of Emperor Guangwu of Later Han commanded that men subject to the death penalty should be castrated (HHS 1B, 80), and similar edicts were issued by Emperor Ming (HHS 2, 111), Emperor Zhang (HHS 3, 143, 147 and 158), and Emperor He (HHS 4, 182). We are told, however, that during the reign of Emperor An in the early second century, on a recommendation of the legal official Chen Zhong the penalty was abolished: HHS 46/36, 1556 [though the surname is the same, Chen Zhong was probably not a close kinsman of Chen Ji and Chen Qun: the former came from Pei state, the latter from Yingchuan].

45 Shu jing V.27.18, the Lü xing “The Prince of Lü on Punishments” Chapter; Legge CC III, 605–606 (Karlgren, Documents, 77, and Couvreur, Annales, 385–386), tells how King Mu of Zhou ordered that three thousand criminal of fences be identified, each allocated to one of the five categories of penalty (wu xing), and each with a monetary value by which it might be redeemed. So there were a thousand under the lightest penalty of tattooing, a thousand under the next penalty of cropping the nose, five hundred under amputation of the leg, three hundred under castration and two hundred deserving of the death penalty. This is cited by HS 23, 1091; Hulsewé, RHL I, 330, and again at 1103; RHL I, 340. It was regarded by many commentators as an excellent system, clear and flexible. [Cf. also Zhou li 9, 36a; Biot II, 355.]

46 Hulsewé, RHL I, 109, observes that Chen Qun is making a distinction between major crimes, to be punished by the “full” death penalty (shu si), and others which attained death (qi yu dai si): the latter category was formerly liable only to the penalty of amputation of both feet, but was subject to the death penalty after the reforms of 167 abolished mutilations: note 39 above. Hulsewé points out, however, that Chen Qun is mistaken: the term shu si may be found in texts earlier than 167, and it refers simply to the death penalty, not to any special or irrevocable style of it.

Chen Qun, however, can be understood to observe that there were formerly crimes which were subject to mutilation, but which are now punishable by death. He goes on to recapitulate his former argument, that the increased burden of flogging which replaced the mutilating punishments was actually killing people who were not formally intended to die: note 42 above.

Sima Guang has expanded the text of SGZ 22 to make the argument clearer.

47 SGZ 22 identifies Wang Lang as a leader of the argument against reform, but adds that Cao Cao was impressed by the case put forward by Chen Qun and Zhong Yao.
In the spring Ma Chao asked Zhang Lu for soldiers so that he could go north and recapture Liang province, and Zhang Lu sent him off to besiege Qi Mountain.

Jiang Xu told Xiahou Yuan of the emergency, but Xiahou Yuan’s officers recommended he wait for orders from Cao Cao. "The Duke is now at Ye city," observed Xiahou Yuan, "and it is four thousand li there and back.1 Jiang Xu and his people will be destroyed before any report can reach him. That is no way to bring help when it is needed."

So he marched, sending Zhang He as advance guard with five thousand horse and foot. Ma Chao was defeated and fled.

Han Sui was at Xianqin. Xiahou Yuan planned a surprise attack to capture him, but Han Sui fled. Xiahou Yuan chased after him towards Lueyang city.2 He was thirty li behind Han Sui,3 and his officers wanted to maintain the pursuit, but then someone suggested they should attack the Di barbarians of Xingguo.4

"Han Sui’s troops are well-trained and Xingguo has strong walls," judged Xiahou Yuan. "Whichever we attack, we shall gain no swift success. Much better deal with the Qiang at Changli.5 Many of them have joined Han Sui’s army, but they will certainly come back to help their families. If Han Sui lets them go to look after their families, he will be left without support; but if he accompanies them to relieve Changli, our government troops can meet him in the field, and then we are sure to take him."

Leaving some officers to guard the baggage, therefore, Xiahou Yuan led light–armed troops to Changli. They attacked the camp of the Shao[dang] Qiang, and Han Sui did send help.6

When the officers saw the size of Han Sui’s army, they wanted to build a stockade and moat to fight on the defensive. Xiahou Yuan, however, said, "We have marched and counter–marched a thousand li. If we now start building and digging, our soldiers will be exhausted and useless. Though
the bandits come in great numbers, they can easily be deal with."
He beat the drums, and Han Sui's army was completely defeated.

Then Xiahou Yuan went forward to besiege Xingguo. King Qianwan of the Di fled to Ma Chao, and the remainder of his forces surrendered. Xiahou Yuan turned again to attack Gaoping and the Chuge [group of the Xiongnu]. He destroyed both of them.7

B In the third month an edict established Duke Cao of WEI above all the kings.8 His insignia was changed to a seal of gold, with a red ribbon, and a Cap for Long Journeys.9

C In the summer, in the fourth month, there was a drought.
In the fifth month there were great rains.10

D Before this, Duke Cao of WEI had appointed Zhu Guang as Grand Administrator of Lujiang, to camp at Huan and set out a great area of paddy fields. Lü Meng said to Sun Quan, "The fields at Huan are rich and fine. Once they are brought under cultivation, our enemy's military strength is sure to increase. We must destroy them quickly."11

In the intercalary fourth month Sun Quan led an attack on Huan city. His officers wanted to build earth mounds and construct machines for an assault, but Lü Meng said, "If we make engines and earthworks, it will be days before they are ready. The city will be prepared, a relief force will arrive, and we shall have gained nothing. Furthermore, the rain and floods have helped us move in, but if we stay too long the water will go down and the return journey will be difficult. In my humble opinion the whole affair can become dangerous.

"Look at this city now: it cannot be very secure. If we attack fiercely on all sides at once, we can take it by storm. Then we can go back while the water is still high. This is the way to certain success."

2127 Sun Quan approved, and Lü Meng recommended Gan Ning take command of the assault force. With a grapnel–rope of silk in his hands, Gan Ning climbed the walls and was first into the city.12 Beating the drum himself, Lü Meng followed close with well–trained troops. The soldiers all leaped to the fray. They advanced to the attack just at day–break, and by breakfast they had taken the city. They captured Zhu Guang and several score thousand men and women. When Zhang Liao reached Jiashi he heard the city had fallen, and he turned back.13
Sun Quan appointed Lü Meng as Grand Administrator of Lujiang. He went back to camp at Xunyang.14

[Ja 19: 214]

E  Zhuge Liang left Guan Yu to hold Jing province, and with Zhang Fei and Zhao Yun he led troops upstream to seize Badong. When they reached Jiangzhou they defeated and captured Yan Yan, Grand Administrator of Ba commandery.15

Zhang Fei shouted at Yan Yan "When a great army comes, why do you not surrender? How dare you fight against us?"

"Ill-mannered fellow," replied Yan Yan. "You have invaded our province, but our province has only generals who take heads, not generals who surrender."

Zhang Fei, furious, ordered his attendants to lead Yan Yan out and cut off his head. With no change to his expression Yan Yan observed "Beheading is beheading. Why make such a fuss about it?" Zhang Fei recognised his courage, set him free, and kept him as a guest.

Zhao Yun was sent off along the Outer River to settle Jiangyang and Jianwei,16 while Zhang Fei took Baxi and Deyang.17

F  Liu Bei besieged Luo city for more than a year. Pang Tong was hit by a stray arrow and died.18

Fa Zheng sent a written message to Liu Zhang. He set out the situation, and went on to say, "Since the General of the Left [Liu Bei] raised troops he has always thought well of you. He is truly not a man of mean nature. I believe we can arrange an acceptable transfer of power which would still protect your noble house." Liu Zhang made no reply.19

Luo city fell,20 and Liu Bei went on to besiege Chengdu. Zhuge Liang, Zhang Fei and Zhao Yun brought in their troops to join him.21

2128

G  Ma Chao realised Zhang Lu would not support him in his plans [to recapture Liang province].22 Yang Ang and other officers of Zhang Lu were jealous of him, and he was discouraged.

Liu Bei sent Li Hui, an Investigator of Jianning, to talk with Ma Chao.23 So Ma Chao fled from Wudu to the territory of the Di barbarians, then wrote in private to Liu Bei, asking to surrender to him. Liu Bei sent men to call him, and secretly supplied him with soldiers. When Ma Chao arrived, he was ordered to lead his army to camp north of Chengdu. The people in the city were surprised and shaken.
Liu Bei besieged the city for several weeks, and then he sent his Gentleman of the General Staff Jian Yong of Zhuo commandery to go in and talk with Liu Zhang. At this time there were still thirty thousand trained soldiers inside the city, with sufficient grain and cloth to last a year. All his followers were prepared for a fight to the death, but Liu Zhang said, "Father and son, my family has been in this province over twenty years; yet we have shown the people neither grace nor virtue. Now they have suffered three years of war, and their bodies are scattered in the wilderness. All this has happened because of me. How can I be easy in my mind?" So he opened the gates and rode out in a carriage with Jian Yong to surrender. His attendants wept.

Liu Bei moved Liu Zhang to Gongan, restored all his treasure, and allowed him to wear the seal and tassel of General Who Inspires Awe.

When Liu Bei entered Chengdu he held a banquet for his troops. He took the gold and silver of the cities of SHU and distributed it among his officers as rewards, but he returned the grain and the cloth to their owners.

Then Liu Bei took over as Governor of Yi province. He appointed Zhuge Liang, hitherto General of the Gentlemen of the Household Master of the Army, as General Master of the Army. The Grand Administrator of Yizhou, Dong He of Nan commandery, became General of the Gentlemen of the Household Manager of the Army, and shared responsibility for the office of the General of the Left.


Jian Yong became General Who Shines in Virtue, Sun Qian of Beihai became General Who Supports Loyalty, and Huang Quan, Chief of Guanghan, became a Lieutenant-General. Xu Jing of Runan became Chief Clerk to the General of the Left. Pang Xi became a Major, Li Yan became Grand Administrator of Jianwei and Fei Guan Grand Administrator of Ba commandery. Yi Ji of Shanyang became Gentleman of the General Staff, Liu Ba of Lingling became Senior Clerk in the Department of the
West and Peng Yang of Guanghan was Attendant Official at Headquarters for Yi province.33

Before this, when Dong He held office in commanderies, he was honest and temperate, honourable and upright, loved and trusted by Chinese and barbarians.34 He was respected throughout SHU as an upright official, so Liu Bei chose him.

When Liu Bei left Xinye to escape to the south of the Yangzi,35 the great majority of officials from Jing province had followed him like clouds. Only Liu Ba went north to Duke Cao of WEI, Cao Cao appointed him as a Senior Clerk, and sent him to manage the takeover of Changsha, Lingling and Guiyang. Then Liu Bei seized those three commanderies, Liu Ba's work was undone, and he planned to go back to the capital district by way of Jiao province. Zhuge Liang was at this time in Linzheng, and he wrote to call him, but Liu Ba refused to come, and Liu Bei was extremely annoyed. From Jiaozhi, Liu Ba went to SHU to join Liu Zhang.36

When Liu Zhang invited Liu Bei, Liu Ba objected, "Liu Bei is an ambitious man. If he comes he will certainly cause harm." When he did arrive, Liu Ba protested again, "If you send Liu Bei to attack Zhang Lu, you will be releasing a tiger into the mountains and forests." Liu Zhang would not listen. Liu Ba closed his gates and excused himself on grounds of ill health.

When Liu Bei attacked Chengdu he gave orders to his army, "Anyone who harms Liu Ba will be executed with all his family." So he captured him, and was very pleased.

All the commanderies and counties saw how the wind was blowing and made their peace with Liu Bei. Only Huang Quan closed his city [of Guanghan] and held firm. He would not submit until Liu Zhang surrendered.37

Dong He, Huang Quan, Li Yan and others who had originally been given posts by Liu Zhang; Wu Yi, Fei Guan and others who were related to Liu Zhang by marriage;38 Peng Yang who had been sent to convict service by Liu Zhang; and Liu Ba who had an old enmity [against Liu Bei]: all were given honourable positions by Liu Bei and were ready to serve him. Men of
ambition vied with one another to join his government, and the people of Yi province were fully content.39

Before this, Liu Zhang had appointed Xu Jing Grand Administrator of Shu commandery. Just before Chengdu surrendered, Xu Jing was planning to cross the wall and join the besiegers.40 For this reason, Liu Bei thought little of Xu Jing and was reluctant to give him any position.

Fa Zheng said, “Many men gain an empty reputation without true worth, and Xu Jing is one of them. But now your lordship is beginning to build a government, and you cannot go house to house through the empire to explain yourself. You must show this man some respect or many of the people will be surprised and disappointed.” So Liu Bei treated Xu Jing with courtesy and gave him office.

When Chengdu was under siege, Liu Bei promised his troops, “If we are successful, I have no plans for anything there may be in the treasury.” When they captured the city, all his men discarded their weapons to go to the storehouses, and they fought one another for plunder. Money was short for the army and Liu Bei was extremely anxious about it.41

“This is easy,” said Liu Ba. “All you have to do is coin Zhibo money, hold down prices, and order your officers to set up official monopolies.” Liu Bei did so, and in a few months the treasury was full.42

At this time advisers wanted to share the famous estates about Chengdu among Liu Bei’s officers, but Zhao Yun argued, “Because the Xiongnu were not destroyed, Huo Qubing had no use for a house.43 The enemies of the state are now greater than the Xiongnu and there is still no sign of peace. Soon, when the empire is settled, each man will be able to go back to his native place and plough his own soil, and that is the way things should be.

“The people of Yi province have just suffered warfare. You must return them their fields and houses, and order them to live in peace and renew their occupations. Later, you can get labour-service and taxes from them, and you will gain their affection, but you should not rob them now to give presents to your own favourites.” Liu Bei accepted this.

As Liu Bei attacked Liu Zhang, he had left the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Huo Jun of Nan commandery to hold Jiameng city. Zhang Lu sent Yang Ang to pretend to Huo Jun that he was coming to help guard the
city. "You may have my head," replied Huo Jun, "but you cannot have the city." So Yang Ang went back.44

Later, Liu Zhang's officers Fu Jin and Xiang Cun and others led some ten thousand men up from the Lang River to attack Huo Jun, and they besieged him for almost a year.

Huo Jun had only a few hundred soldiers in the city. He waited for an occasion when the besiegers were off their guard and chose his best men to make a sortie. They completely defeated the enemy and cut off Xiang Cun's head.

When Liu Bei settled SHU, he divided Guanghan to form Zitong commandery, and appointed Huo Jun as the Grand Administrator.45

Fa Zheng was in charge of the capital domain [Shu commandery], and also counsellor at court. Favour shown him slight as a single meal, hatred as little as a doubtful look, he repaid everything, and he killed several people without approval to do so. Someone said to Zhuge Liang, "Fa Zheng is too aggressive. You should tell our lord to restrain him."

"When his lordship was at Gongan," replied Zhuge Liang, "in the north he faced the strength of Cao Cao, in the east he shrank from the oppression of Sun Quan, while near at home he feared the Lady Sun would cause trouble in his own house.46 Through the aid Fa Xiaozhi47 brought him he was able to soar and fly high, so that nothing can hold him back. How can he now restrict and confine Xiaozhi, denying him the few things he asks?"

Zhuge Liang was assistant to Liu Bei in the government of SHU. His rule was stern, and many of the people resented it. Fa Zheng said to Zhuge Liang, "In former times, when Gaozu entered the passes, he reduced the number of the laws to just three sections, and the people of Qin recognised his virtue.48 Now you take advantage of your power, and you possess all the province. This is the first time you have governed this state, and you have yet to show any favour or kindness.

"Right dealings between host and guest, moreover, require the visitor to give way.49 I ask that you reduce punishments and ease the restrictions. This way you would soothe the people."50

"You understand half the matter," replied Zhuge Liang, "but not the whole.

"Qin acted against the true Way. Government was cruel and the people were angry, so when one common fellow gave a single cry their empire was
crumbled earth.51 Gaozu came after this, and he could afford to be generous.

2132 "Liu Zhang, however, was dull and weak, and since the time of Liu Yan one generation after another has shown generosity. Seeking to curry favour with their subjects, they limited the effect of the law. As a result, the virtue of government has not been displayed, and the majestic punishments fail to command respect. The people of SHU territory have been acting as they please, and the code of behaviour between ruler and subject has steadily declined.

"Now, therefore, if we favour them with positions, then even the highest ranks will be held in disrepute, and if we show them grace, our greatest kindness will be held in contempt. Here is potential for the government to fall apart.

"What I am doing now is demonstrating our authority by use of the law. When people have seen its full rigour they will have proper appreciation of our grace and leniency. And then, when I grade them by the degrees of nobility, they will recognise the value of such honours. When honour and grace are both established, and high and low properly ordered, this is the core of good government."52

[Ja 19: 214]

T Liu Bei appointed Jiang Wan of Lingling as Chief of Guangdu.53 When he went on a tour of inspection, however, he found all the administration in disorder, while Jiang Wan himself was dead drunk.

Liu Bei, furious, was going to execute him, but Zhuge Liang pleaded on his behalf, "Though Jiang Wan is not a petty administrator, he is a true servant of the state. He pays little attention to superficial matters, but his government keeps the people at peace. I beg your lordship to think again."

Liu Bei always respected Zhuge Liang. He therefore applied no punishment, though he did dismiss Jiang Wan instantly from his post.

U In the autumn, in the seventh month Duke Cao of WEI attacked Sun Quan. He left his younger son Cao Zhi, Marquis of Linzi, to hold Ye.54

V Cao Cao chose good men as aides for all his sons, and he appointed Xing Yong as Assistant of the Household to Cao Zhi.55 Xing Yong was punctilious on matters of ceremony, he let nothing slip by him, and he never allowed Cao Zhi any latitude. As a result, the two did not get on.
The Cadet Liu Zhen wrote beautiful essays, and Cao Zhi far preferred him. Liu Zhen, however, wrote to admonish him: "By choosing the spring flowers of your Retainer, Marquis, you neglect the autumn fruits of your Assistant. I fear that my humble writings will bring slander upon you and a heavy penalty. I am truly concerned about it."

Xun You, Prefect of the Masters of Writing of Wei, died. Xun You was very quiet, but he was wise and prudent. He had always followed Duke Cao of Wei on his campaigns, and made plans with him in his tent, but no-one, not even his sons and nephews, ever knew what he proposed.

Cao Cao once remarked, "When Xun Wenruo [Xun Yu] recommended a worthy project, he would follow through till it was adopted and carried through. When Xun Gongda [Xun You] disapproved of a bad policy, he would not stop until it was abandoned." He also said, "The two prefects Xun grew ever more reliable in their judgement of men. For as long as I live I shall never forget them."57

Before this, Song Jian of Fuhan had taken advantage of the disorder in Liang province to name himself King of the Sources of the River Who Will Pacify Han, proclaiming new reign-titles and appointing the hundred officials. His rebellion had lasted more than thirty years.58

In the winter, in the tenth month Duke Cao of Wei sent Xiahou Yuan from Xingguo to attack Song Jian. They besieged and captured Fuhan, and cut off Song Jian's head.59

Xiahou Yuan also sent a detachment under Zhang He across the Yellow River into Xiaohuangzhong, and the Qiang tribesmen west of the River all surrendered. The lands west of Long Mountain were pacified.60

Since the day the Emperor set his capital at Xu [in 196], he held his position and no more. His attendants and guards were all men of the Cao family. At one time, the Gentleman-Consultant Zhao Yan had been advising the Emperor on current affairs and policies, but Duke Cao of Wei disapproved of this and killed him.61

Some time later, Cao Cao had occasion to call upon the Emperor in his palace. Unable to bear the anxiety, the Emperor said to him, "If you can assist me, that would be generous. If you cannot, have pity and do not oppress me." Cao Cao turned pale, appeared momentarily embarrassed, then asked permission to leave. According to the old system, if one of the
Three Excellencies had command of troops, when they came to audience Guards Rapid As Tigers were ordered to hold naked swords against his side. As Cao Cao came out and rejoined his own people the sweat was pouring down his back. From this time he went no more to audience.62

A daughter of Dong Cheng had been made an Honoured Lady, and when Cao Cao executed Dong Cheng [in 200],63 he asked for the woman, to kill her. Because she was pregnant, the Emperor had interceded several times with Cao Cao on her behalf, without success. As a result, the Empress Fu herself became afraid. She wrote to her father Wan, accusing Cao Cao of oppression and cruelty, and ordering him to make secret plans against him. Fu Wan had not dared to act, but the story was now discovered and Cao Cao was furious.64

2134 In the eleventh month Cao Cao sent the Imperial Counsellor Chi Lü with authority to receive the seal and tassel of the Empress.65 The Prefect of the Masters of Writing Hua Xin accompanied him, and they led soldiers into the palace to arrest her. The Empress closed the doors and hid among the walls, but Hua Xin broke down the doors, destroyed the walls and led the Empress out.66

The Emperor was still in the outer court receiving Chi Lü in audience when the Empress, with her hair dishevelled, barefoot and weeping, went past and said farewell, "Could you not save me this once?"

"Even I do not know when my turn will come!" replied the Emperor. He turned to Chi Lü, "Under heaven, my lord Chi, how can this be?"

They took the Empress down to the harem jail and she pined away.67 The two imperial children born to her were both poisoned, and over a hundred of her brothers, cousins and clansfolk also died.68

Z In the twelfth month Duke Cao of Wei arrived at Mengjin.69

[Ja 19: 214]

AA Cao Cao appointed the Gentleman of the Masters of Writing Gao Rou to be Senior Clerk in the Department of Justice.70 According to the old laws, if the army was on campaign and a soldier deserted, his wife and children were examined with torture. Desertions, however, continued, and Cao Cao wanted to make the punishment heavier, while implicating also the father, mother and brothers of any deserter.71

Gao Rou, however, argued, "Deserters must certainly be punished. But I have heard that they very often regret their action, and I suggest that in
future we let their wives and children go free. For one thing, this would encourage them to return to their units.

"If we keep the same rule as before, it removes any expectation they may be pardoned, but if you increase the penalty I fear that when soldiers see one of their comrades desert they will be afraid the executions may soon affect them too; and they will all run away. Even if you wish to kill, they will no longer be there. Heavier punishments will not end desertions; instead, they make the problem worse!"

"Right!" agreed Cao Cao. So he stopped, and did not kill.72

NOTES to Jian'an 19: 214

A SGZ 9, 271 (7a–8a), the Biography of Xiahou Yuan;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 946 (12a) PC quoting Dian lue.
1 Commentary to the Treatise of Administrative Geography, HHS 113/23, 3517, and HHS 110/20, 3431, gives the official distance from Hanyang commandery to Luoyang as two thousand li, with Ye city, capital of Wei commandery, a further seven hundred li northwest of Luoyang. In fact the first distance appears exaggerated; the total distance from this area of present-day southern Gansu to Ye city was about one thousand kilometres, so at the approximation of two li to the kilometre, four thousand li for the return journey was a fair figure.
2 Xianqin and Lueyang counties in Hanyang commandery lay north of the Wei River. Xianqin was near Qin'an in Gansu, and Lueyang was immediately east of Xianqin.
3 SGZ 9 here has twenty rather than thirty li.
4 On Xingguo see note 25 to Jian'an 18.
5 The Changli River is identified as the Wating River, which joins the Wei River from the north near present-day Tianshui: SJZ 17, 6a.
6 The Shaodang tribe of the Qiang had been notable for its rebellions during Later Han: e.g. de Crespigny, Northern Frontier, 78–86, 118–121, and 165.
7 Gaoping county was in Anding commandery, by present-day Guyuan in Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. On the Chuge, or Xiuchuge, a troublesome group of the Xiongnu, see note 18 to Chuping 4. Xiahou Yuan had now extended his and Cao Cao's authority almost two hundred kilometres north of the Wei.
[Ja 19: 214]
B SGZ 1, 43 (103b), the Biography of Cao Cao.
8 SGZ 1 records that in the first month of this year Cao Cao undertook for the first time the ceremony of ploughing the sacred field (geng jitian), privilege of an independent ruler.
9 HHS 120/30, 3666, the Treatise of Carriages and Robes, describes the Cap for Long Journeys (yuanyou guan) and identifies it as one of the insignia of a king under Han. A simpler model of the imperial Cap Which Reaches Heaven (tongtian guan), the Cap for Long Journeys was a bonnet nine cun inches high [about 20 cm] with a broad panel at the front and a band with ribbons about the head.
The Treatise at 3674 says that the colour of the ribbon of a king was red, while the commentary of Liu Zhao quotes the fourth/fifth century scholar Xu Guang, who says that royal seals were gold.

So Cao Cao's new insignia were not out of the ordinary for his exceptional rank. Mansvelt Beck, however, in Treatises, 226–268, observes that the system recorded in Treatise of Carriages and Robes bears little necessary relation to actual custom and practice. The Treatise, indeed, may be based upon Cao Cao's precedent, rather than Cao Cao's choice upon the formulae of Han.

Predictably, while the Annals in HHS 9 have no reference to the royal honours awarded Cao Cao, this drought and rain are not mentioned in SGZ 1. There is no reference to the rain at the relevant place in the Treatise of the Five Powers, HHS 105/15, 3312, nor to drought in HHS 103/13, 3280. Commentary to the latter passage, however, quotes Xiandi qijuzhu, which does report drought in the fourth month and, as Mansvelt Beck, Treatises, 148–148, points out, the list of portents compiled by Sima Biao does not reflect all those recorded as significant by the offices of Han.

Cao Cao had largely withdrawn from the region of Lujiang in the previous year, and Huan city was the only major position he maintained: passage B of Jian'an 18. We do not know whether Zhu Guang was appointed at that time or earlier, but he was evidently attempting at least to confirm border control in this region.

The biography of Lü Meng in SGZ 54, 1275, tells how, a year or so earlier, Cao Cao made a similar attempt to have one of his officers establish himself about Huan city and press southwards into Qichun. Lü Meng, however, as Prefect of Xunyang (note 14 below), drove him away.

The character lian describes a piece of silk used as a rope for climbing.

The place-name Jiashi appears in SGZ 54 as Jiakou. Jiashi was evidently a pass across a ridge of the Dabie Shan north of Huan city, and Jiakou was the mouth of the pass. ZZTJ commentary says that the pass lay west of the Song city of Dongcheng: it was probably on the Huan [or Wan] River, below Tianzhu Mountain in Anhui.

Many years later, in 228, an army commanded by the WEI general Cao Xiu was heavily defeated and almost destroyed by Wu troops under Lu Xun: e.g. SGZ 14, 452 (34b); de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 440. The place thus became the effective border between the two rival states.

Lü Meng had been appointed Prefect of Xunyang in 209: passage H of Jian'an 14; see also note 11 above. Xunyang county was in Lujiang commandery of Later Han, north of the Yangzi by present-day Guangji in Hubei.

It would appear now, after two failed attempts by Cao Cao to establish and maintain a position at Huan city, that the site was for the time being abandoned. So Lü Meng, now nominally Grand Administrator, held control only over the southernmost county of the Han commandery, but he was responsible for defence of the frontier across the no-man's land.
which extended to the valley of the Huai, with Hefei as an outpost of Wei in Jiujiang commandery.

[Ja 19: 214]

E SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 882 (22b), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 35 (Shu 5), 916 (9b), the Biography of Zhuge Liang;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 943 (7a–b), the Biography of Zhang Fei;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 949 (16a), the Biography of Zhao Yun.

15 Yan Yan had protested at Liu Zhang’s invitation to Liu Bei: passage O of Jian’an 16.

Badong commandery had been divided from the territory of Later Han Ba commandery, and occupied the region of the Yangzi valley upstream from the Gorges. Truncated Ba commandery, based upon Jiangzhou, present-day Chongqing, controlled the lower reaches of the Jialing Jiang and the valley of the Yangzi about the junction with that stream. See de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 364–366, Wu Zengjin, *Sanguo junxian biao*, 2920–2922, and note 12 of Jian’an 18.

16 Jianwei commandery under Later Han extended either side of the Yangzi above the junction with the Jialing at present-day Chongqing, and northwards towards Chengdu. Its capital was at Wuyang, by present-day Pengshan on the Min River, some fifty kilometres south of Chengdu.

Jiangyang county was by present-day Luzhou in Sichuan, on the junction with the Tuo Jiang, then known as the Luo or Yu. The county, formerly subordinate to Jianwei, had about this time been established as the centre of a new commandery controlling the lower valley of the Luo/Yu and the related reach of the Yangzi; the rump of Jianwei covered a stretch of the Luo/Yu, and, more substantially, the valley of the Min River below Chengdu.

**ZZTJ** commentary explains the term Outer River [or Rivers] (wai shui) as referring to the Min and Tuo complexes. These rivers, like the Fu and its tributary the Zidong, rise in the present-day Min Shan massif about the Longmen range and Maoniu peak in the northwest of Sichuan and flow south to join the Yangzi. Viewed from Chengdu, the Fu and Zidong, closer to the heartland, were “Inner” (nei), while the Min and Tuo were “Outer.” See also note 12 to Jian’an 18.

The reinforcements from Jing province, therefore, under the overall command of Zhuge Liang, had advanced up the Yangzi and taken Jiangzhou. From there Zhao Yun was sent southwest up the main stream, first against Jiangyang and then, turning north, against Jianwei, to approach Liu Zhang’s position at Chengdu from the south. The original text of SGZ 36, 949, does not mention Jianwei commandery specifically, but it does say that Zhao Yun joined up again with Zhuge Liang at Chengdu. He must have travelled through that territory, and Sima Guang makes the interpolation.

17 Baxi commandery at this time, with its capital at Langzhong, controlled the valleys of the Jialing Jiang and its tributary the Ba: passage N of Jian’an 17, and cf. note 15 above.

Deyang county, near present-day Suining in Sichuan, was in the south of Guanghan commandery, on the Fu River northwest of the junction with the Jialing at Dianjiang, present-day Hechuan.

Neither Deyang nor Baxi are mentioned in the biography of Zhang Fei at SGZ 36, 943, where we are told only that he was successful everywhere he fought. SGZ 35, 916, says only that Zhuge Liang and his colleagues divided their forces to settle the various commanderies and counties, then joined the siege of Chengdu.
SGZ 41 (Shu 11), 1011, however, tells how Zhang Yi fought Zhang Fei unsuccessfully at Deyang, then retreated to join Liu Zhang at Chengdu. Sima Guang has taken up this reference, but Deyang and Baxi may be presented out of order. Most probably Zhang Fei accompanied Zhuge Liang as far as Deyang, where he commanded the assault on Zhang Yi’s position. Then, leaving Zhuge Liang with the main force to move forward and join Liu Bei at Chengdu, Zhang Fei took a separate expedition up the Jialing Jiang to deal with Baxi commandery.

[Saga 19: 214]

F SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 882 (22b–23a), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 956 (7b), the Biography of Pang Tong;
SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 959–10 (10b–13a), the Biography of Fa Zheng.

18 The biography of Pang Tong says he was leader of an assault force when he was killed, and describes how Liu Bei and Zhuge Liang mourned and honoured him.
19 The text of this long and eloquent letter is preserved in Fa Zheng’s biography. We are not in fact told whether Liu Zhang replied, but Sima Guang evidently assumes that silence here means contempt.
20 SGZ 32, 882, says the city fell in the summer of this year.
21 This statement is adapted from the relevant biographies, cited in passage E above.

G SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 946 (11b–12a), the Biography of Ma Chao;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 946 (12a) PC quoting Dian lue.

22 On Zhang Lu’s previous support, and his more recent disillusionment with Ma Chao, see passages H to K of Jian’an 18.
23 An Investigator was a commandery official sent out from the headquarters to supervise subordinate counties: Bielenstein, Bureaucracy, 97 and de Crespigny, “Inspection and Surveillance,” 50. ZZTJ commentary observes that in 225 the Han commandery of Yizhou was divided, and a part was renamed as Jianning: SGZ 33 (Shu 3), 894. It is suggested that Jianning is an anachronistic reference to Yizhou commandery.

H SGZ 31 (Shu 1), 869–70 (13a–b), the Biography of Liu Zhang;
SGZ 38 (Shu 8), 971 (12a), the Biography of Jian Yong.

24 Jian Yong, from the same commandery as Liu Bei, was an old and trusted follower. SGZ 38, 971, tells us that Liu Zhang had become friends with him when Liu Bei first came into Yi province. That was why he was chosen for the embassy.
25 Liu Zhang had been awarded the title General Who Inspires Awe by Cao Cao in 208, shortly before the Red Cliffs: SGZ 31, 868.
Though Chengdu was the capital of Shu commandery, it appears the name refers here to the whole region which Liu Bei had now acquired from Liu Zhang. In these circumstances, in the same fashion as I treat the territory of Wei held by Cao Cao by contrast to the commandery unit of that name (note 9 to Jian'an 18), I now identify references in the text to the area held by Liu Bei as "SHU;" where appropriate, the commandery is indicated as "Shu."

There are contradictions in the accounts of Liu Bei's behaviour after his capture of Chengdu. The preceding passage H says that he restored Liu Zhang's treasure to him, but here we are told that he distributed the bullion of Shu as booty to his chief assistants, and ZZTJ commentary suggests this included both public and private property. Passage O below describes looting of the official treasury. One suspects Liu Bei had not decided whether he was an inheritor of Han or simply a leader of brigands.

ZZTJ here follows the text of SGZ 39, 979, which says that Dong He "shared" (bing) in the authority (shu) over the office of the General of the Left with Zhuge Liang. SGZ 35, 916, however, refers to Zhuge Liang as being in sole charge, responsible for government at Chengdu and for maintenance of supplies whenever Liu Bei was away. It seems most likely that Dong He's position was that of an associate or deputy, secondary to that of Zhuge Liang.

The text of SGZ 39, 979, actually describes the office controlled by Dong He as that of the General of the Left and the Commander-in-Chief. Liu Bei at this time held only the title of General of the Left. He had been recognised as Acting Commander-in-Chief by Liu Zhang when he first came to Yi province (passage O of Jian'an 16) but might not have used it so soon after overthrowing his sponsor. Liu Bei took the full title of Commander-in-Chief in 219 (SGZ 32, 886), and it is probable that the reference to the office of the Commander-in-Chief at this point in Dong He's biography refers in fact to the later time.

On Dong He's earlier career, see passage J and note 34 below.

Huang Zhong was a former officer of Liu Biao who joined Liu Bei when he took over the southern commanderies of Jing province after the battle of the Red Cliffs: passage VV of Jian'an 13. Mi Zhu was one of the local officers who invited Liu Bei into Xu province in 194 (passage Z of Xingping 1), and in 196, when Lü Bu took Xiapi and captured Liu Bei's family (passage F of Jian'an 1), Mi Zhu gave his own sister to him, and also supplied servants and treasure for his army: SGZ 38 (Shu 8), 969, and note 5 to Jian'an 1.

Jian Yong, from Liu Bei's own Zhuo commandery, and Sun Qian were both long-time followers of Liu Bei. On Huang Quan, see passage L below.

Xu Jing, a distinguished scholar, had led a difficult and peripatetic life. He was for a time with Dong Zhuo, then escaped to the east, took refuge in the far south, and was recruited from there by Liu Zhang. See also passage N below.
Pang Xi, formerly from Henan but now a local leader in Baxi, is mentioned as a Major in the formal announcement to Emperor Xian at the time Liu Bei took title as King of Hanzhong in 219: *SGZ* 32, 884, and passage J of Jian'an 24. He had been an erratic supporter of Liu Zhang and his family: passages Y of Xingping 1, UU of Jian'an 5 and G of Jian'an 6.

Li Yan and Fei Guan had been sent by Liu Zhang to command troops against Liu Bei, but surrendered to him instead: passage F of Jian'an 18.

Yi Ji had been an officer of Liu Biao in Jing province, and later joined Liu Bei.

Peng Yang had held minor office under Liu Zhang's government, but was then slandered and sentenced to exile as a convict (*tuli*) with his head shaven and an iron collar about his neck (*kunqian*): see Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 129 and 130. When Liu Bei came to the west, Peng Yang approached Pang Tong as a patron, and was thus admitted to Liu Bei's counsel.

On Liu Ba, see passage K below.

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This passage presents a summary of Dong He's biography. He was registered as a man from Nan commandery, but his family came originally from Ba, and he migrated back to the west during the time of troubles at the end of Han. He held county positions in Shu commandery under Liu Zhang, including appointment as Prefect of Chengdu, and he reformed the people by his honest and exemplary conduct. He was transferred to the Dependent State of Badong and then to be Grand Administrator of Yizhou.

This was in 208, after the death of Liu Biao, when Cao Cao invaded Jing province: passage U of Jian'an 13.

The city of Linzheng was established as a county about this time. It was on the junction of the Zheng and Lei rivers with the Xiang at present-day Hengyang in Hunan.

Rejecting the invitations of Zhuge Liang and Liu Bei, Liu Ba fled south across the Nanling range to the region of present-day Guangdong. From there he evidently intended to take ship along the coast back to the north, but then went instead northwest into Yi province, present-day Sichuan.

Huang Quan had been one of the advisers of Liu Zhang warning against his invitation to Liu Bei: passage L of Jian'an 16.

Huang Quan had been one of the advisers of Liu Zhang warning against his invitation to Liu Bei: passage L of Jian'an 16.

On Fei Guan, cousin and son-in-law of Liu Zhang, see note 16 to Jian'an 18.

Wu Yi was elder brother of the Lady Wu, who had married Liu Zhang's brother Liu Mao. Liu Mao had died some years earlier, and the Lady Wu later became the wife and Empress of Liu Bei: *SGZ* 34 (Shu 4), 906.

The list of appointed officials not only indicates Liu Bei's broad generosity and appeal, but also provides a census of the origins of his chief supporters, ranging from his home country in Zhuo commandery of northeast China, through Runan in the south of the North China Plain, to Jing province and now his new allies in this territory of the west.
The city of Chengdu, headquarters of Liu Zhang, was also the capital of Shu commandery. Xu Jing held therefore a most trusted position. 

SGZ 37, 959, adds that Xu Jing's plan to desert was found out, and it was only because he was himself on the point of surrendering that Liu Zhang did not have Xu Jing executed.

Liu Bei had told his troops he had no plans to deal with the contents of Liu Zhang's official treasury, hinting that his men could take what they wanted. The hope of plunder did indeed inspire his army, and as soon as they entered Chengdu his troops accepted the implied invitation to loot.

The phrase zhibo may be understood as "Value One Hundred," and the new money, whose face was inscribed with those characters, was officially worth a hundred of the established Wushu coins of Han. Its weight as specie, however, bore no relation to that.

The new minting allowed Liu Bei to pay his men by an artificial and over-valued currency. To control the consequent inflation, Liu Ba's plan provided for price controls on all basic goods, enforced by official markets. In the short term, such a policy could be made to work, and it did counter the situation Liu Bei had created by his reckless generosity with official goods and valuables.

A comparable policy of coinage with artificially high denomination had been used by Dong Zhuo: passage U of Chuping 1, and on other occasions during Han. See Cambridge China I, 586–587 [Nishijima, "Economic and Social History of Former Han"], and Swann, Food and Money, 266–270.

Huo Qubing was a leading Chinese general of the reign of Emperor Wu at the end of the second century BC, celebrated for his great victory over the Xiongnu in 119 BC. His biography in SJ 111, 2939; Watson, RGH II, 178, paralleled by HS 55, 2488, records how in that year he was offered a residence by the emperor as a reward for his good work, but refused the gift, saying, "The Xiongnu are not yet destroyed. This is no time to think about houses!"

Yang Ang was one of Zhang Lu's leading military commanders: passage H of Jian'an 18. Zhang Lu evidently hoped to take advantage of the quarrel between Liu Bei and Liu Zhang to extend his territory further south into Yi province.

Zitong county was at present-day Zitong, on a tributary of the Fu River. The territory of the commandery, which may have been established already in the time of Liu Zhang, would have covered the northern part of Guanghan commandery of Han. See also note 12 to Jian'an 18.

This refers to Liu Bei's situation in 209, after the Red Cliffs campaign: e.g. passage H of Jian'an 14. On the forceful Lady Sun, see passage I of Jian'an 14.
47 Xiaozhi was the style of Fa Zheng.

[Ja 19: 214]

5 SGZ 35 (Shu 5), 917 (10b–11a) PC: comment by Pei Songzhi himself.

48 This statement appears in SJ 8, 362; Chavannes MH II, 353, and HS 1A, 23; Dubs, HFHD I, 58, and also in HS 23, 1096; Hulsewé, RHL I, 333. At 368–372 note 143 Hulsewé discusses the text in detail, with its later manifestations and interpretations.

According to HS 23, the three sections provided simply that those who killed would be put to death, while those who injured or robbed others would be punished in accordance with the seriousness of the crime. In comparison with the excesses, vexations and cruelty of the laws of the former state and empire of Qin, this was regarded as lenient.

49 Fa Zheng is arguing that Liu Bei and Zhuge Liang are new to the province. They should therefore show more respect for local customs and tradition, not enforce alien and arbitrary laws against the people.

50 Here again is contradiction between two passages: immediately above, Zhuge Liang has defended the arbitrary conduct of Fa Zheng; now Pei Songzhi presents an anecdote where Fa Zheng seeks to persuade Zhuge Liang to act more leniently.

51 The tyranny of Qin was a cliché of later Chinese political thought. The "common fellow" referred to here by Zhuge Liang is surely Chen She, first leader of rebellion, whose biography is in SJ 48. See, for example, Cambridge China I, 83 [Bodde, "State and Empire of Ch'in."

52 On the twenty orders of noble ranks (jue) under the Han dynasty, of which the highest was a full marquis, see Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank," Hulsewé, RHL I, 214–218, and Cambridge China I, 485–486 [Loewe, "Structure and Practice of Government"].

Grant of these ranks was the major system of reward available to government. The lowest could be distributed by a general edict to a broad section of the population, but those of the ninth level and above required specific grants to an individual.

The ranks gave a number of privileges within society, but their most practical value was that they could be used on occasion to reduce liability for taxation, state service, or even punishment for a crime.

Zhuge Liang's policy, therefore, is to enforce the laws harshly at first. When the people have seen how fierce they can be, they will recognise and appreciate any special show of leniency by the government, and they will be glad to have the protection provided by noble ranks. So the government makes itself feared by rigid application of a strict penal code, then gains support and popularity by individual gestures of generosity.

[Ja 19: 214]

53 Guangdu county in Shu commandery was a short distance south of Chengdu.

[Ja 19: 214]

54 Cao Zhi was the third son of Cao Cao by his chief wife the Lady Bian: SGZ 20, 579. One of the finest poets of his time, he was greatly admired for his talents.

Born in 192, Cao Zhi was now twenty–three years old by Chinese reckoning. His appointment to formal command in Ye while Cao Cao was absent on campaign matched that of his elder full brother Cao Pi three years before (passage C of Jian'an 16) and Cao
Cao himself encouraged him to regard it as an opportunity to demonstrate his ability (SGZ 19, 557). From this there developed a rivalry between the two young men for succession to their father's power.

Linzi was a county in Qi commandery, present-day Linzi in Shandong. Cao Zhi had first been enfeoffed as a marquis in 211, and transferred to this new fief in the present year.

55 Xing Yong, a gentleman of Hejian commandery, followed Tian Chou into the northern wilderness, but joined Cao Cao when he took over Ji province: passage C of Jian'an 12.

Assistant of the Household was the senior position on the personal staff of a full marquis: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 108.

56 Liu Zhen was the grandson of a celebrated scholar, Liu Liang.

Retainer [Bielenstein: Cadet] was a junior member of the personal staff of a marquis.

57 Wenruo was the style of Xun Yu; Gongda that of his cousin Xun You. Xun You died as Prefect of the Masters of Writing in Wei; and Xun Yu acted as Prefect of the Masters of Writing of Han: passage X of Jian'an 1 and note 104 to Jian'an 13.

58 Song Jian established his isolated, independent state at the time of the Liangzhou rebellion in 184. Fuhan county was in Longxi commandery of Later Han, by present-day Linxia in Gansu, south of the main stream of the Yellow River. Song Jian took his title from that situation, on the upper reaches of the River as known to China. See also de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 161 and 496 note 45.

59 On Xingguo, see passage A above. On the destruction of Song Jian’s kingdom, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 165 and 499 note 60.

60 SGZ 9, 271, says that Zhang He also captured the county of Heguan, further up the Yellow River about present-day Guide in Qinghai. From there he crossed the River and the hill country to the north, and entered the valley of the Xining River or Huang Shui, which flows from the high ground by the Koko Nor eastwards to join the Yellow River above present-day Lanzhou.

During Han, this western part of Jincheng commandery was commonly known as Huangzhong. (The prefix xiao "Lesser" appears only in this text of SGZ 9, and does not seem to have any particular significance.)

The phrase "west of the River" (hexi) referes generally to the whole region of the Xining valley and the hill country surrounding it to the north and the south, being north and west of the main stream of the Yellow River. The term could also refer further to the commanderies of Wuwei, Zhangye, Jiuquan and Dunhuang, which lay along the present-
day Gansu panhandle, and SGZ 1, 44, says indeed that Liang province as a whole was pacified. In fact, however, these further territories had long been isolated from China by the effects of the Liangzhou rebellion.

Furthermore, though it is true that the lands west of Long Mountain were now quiet, with no rival to the authority of Cao Cao's forces, there was also no effective occupation of the region. The counties of Fuhan and Heguan were not restored, while at the beginning of the following year Cao Cao abolished all the commanderies of the Ordos region: SGZ 1, 45; de Crespigny, Northern Frontier, 352. Only in 222 did the government of Cao Cao's son and successor Cao Pi establish control of Wuwei and the other northwestern commanderies and restore connection with central Asia: e.g. SGZ 2, 79, also de Crespigny, Northern Frontier, 165–167, with notes at 498–500.

61 On the Emperor's entry to Xu city under Cao Cao's protection, see passage Q of Jian'an 1. The death of Zhao Yan is mentioned in a proclamation of Yuan Shao in 200, so it must have taken place before that time: HHS 74/64A, 2396.

62 The Guards Rapid as Tigers were imperial body-guards. The ostentatious precaution of naked swords was because of the exceptional combined authority of an Excellency, leader in civil administration, with practical military command. Cao Cao, of course, was in precisely that powerful situation.

On the other hand, no matter what the traditions of Han, it seems strange that Cao Cao should allow himself to be placed in such a dangerous and humiliating position before his puppet ruler. One must doubt the truth of the story.

63 See passages AA of Jian'an 4 and A of Jian'an 5.

64 On Fu Wan, see also note 20 to Jian'an 17.

65 The month is given by SGZ 1 and HHS 9, 388. HHS 9 dates the incident precisely to the dingmao day, 8 January 215.

On Chi Lü, see note 23 to Jian'an 13.

66 Hua Xin was the former Grand Administrator of Yuzhang who was captured by Sun Ce and then sent to Cao Cao by Sun Quan: passages T of Jian'an 4 and RR of Jian'an 5. He replaced Xun Yu as Prefect of the Masters of Writing of Han after Xun Yu's death in 212: SGZ 13, 403. His biography in SGZ 13 contains no reference to this brutality against the Empress Fu.

67 "To pine away" (yi you si) can be a euphemism for enforced suicide.

68 HHS 10B, 454, says that the Empress's mother and some other relatives were not killed but were sent into exile in Zhuo commandery.

Cao Cao had left Ye in the autumn to campaign against Sun Quan south of the Yangzi: passage U above. There had since, however, been several distractions.

Cao Cao was probably at Xu city for the interview with the Emperor described by passage V above, and he there arranged for the arrest and execution of the Empress Fu. Now, following the success of Xiahou Yuan's campaign in the far west, he turned in that
direction to attack Zhang Lu: passages X above and B of Jian'an 20. Mengjin, the city by the Meng Crossing of the Yellow River north of Luoyang, was on the road.

As ZZZJ commentary observes, there had been no Department of Justice in the offices of the Three Excellencies under the system of Later Han. SGZ 1, 44, quotes two ordinances of Cao Cao, dated to this twelfth month, which justify the new structure by the need to provide policy advice to the executive, and more particularly by the need for good officials to oversee the operation of military law. The matter of desertions, which Gao Rou discusses immediately below, was obviously an appropriate question to refer to this new office.

On the general principle of implication of relatives in Han tradition, see, for example, Hulsewé, RHL I, 112ff.

Though ZZZJ presents this as a theoretical debate about policy, SGZ 24 explains that the question arose from a specific case. A group of bandsmen (guchui) had deserted the garrison at Hefei, and one of them, whose name was Song Jin, had a mother, a wife and two younger brothers, all of whom were liable for the death penalty under the new arrangements.

In fact SGZ 24 says only that Cao Cao did not kill Song Jin's mother and younger brothers. We are not told the fate of Song Jin's wife, but must assume she suffered the full rigour of the law.

SGZ 24 does add, however, that as a result of Gao Rou's argument on this matter, great numbers of people were saved from the death penalty.

Jian'an 20: 215 AD
[17 February 215 – 5 February 216]

A In the spring, in the first month, on the day jiazi [6 Mar] the Honoured Lady Cao [Jie] was established as Empress. She was the daughter of Duke Cao of Wei.1

B In the third month Duke Cao of Wei took command of the campaign against Zhang Lu. He planned to advance through Wudu into the territory of the Di barbarians, but the Di people had blocked the roads. Zhang He, Zhu Ling and others were sent to attack and defeat them.

In the summer, in the fourth month Cao Cao came from Chencang through the San Pass and reached Hechi.2 Doumao, King of the Di, with an following over ten thousand men, relied on the difficulties of the terrain and refused to submit. In the fifth month [Cao Cao's forces] attacked the barbarians and slaughtered them.
The leaders in Xiping and Jincheng, Qu Yan, Jiang Shi and others, cut off Han Sui's head and sent it to Cao Cao.

Before this, when Liu Bei was still in Jing province, Zhou Yu, Gan Ning and others had often urged Sun Quan to take over SHU. Sun Quan sent messengers to Liu Bei to say, "Liu Zhang is not a fighting man, and he cannot hold his position for long. If Cao Cao takes SHU, then Jing province will be in danger. I want to attack Liu Zhang first, and when I have dealt with him I shall go on to Zhang Lu. Once the south is united, then even if there were ten of Cao Cao we would have nothing to worry about." Sun Quan would not agree, and he sent Sun Yu with a fleet to Xiakou. Liu Bei refused to let the army pass, saying to Sun Yu, "If you insist on taking SHU, then I go with dishevelled hair to the mountains. I cannot lose faith before the empire."

He stationed Guan Yu at Jiangling, Zhang Fei at Zigui and Zhuge Liang in Nan commandery, while he himself stayed at Chanling. Sun Quan had no choice but to call Sun Yu back.
Later, when Liu Bei went west to attack Liu Zhang, Sun Quan said, "Cunning slave, that he should dare a trick like this!"

Liu Bei left Guan Yu to hold Jiangling, and Lu Su had borders touching Guan Yu's territory. Guan Yu was constantly on guard against treachery, but Lu Su always acted in the most friendly fashion.

Now that Liu Bei had taken Yi province, Sun Quan sent Zhuge Jin, his Major Attached to Headquarters, to ask Liu Bei to hand back the commanderies of Jing. Liu Bei, however, would not agree, explaining that, "I am just making plans for Liang province. When that territory is settled, I shall return you the whole of Jing province."

"This is borrowing and not paying back," said Sun Quan. "He just wants to gain time with empty excuses." He appointed officials for the three commanderies of Changsha, Lingling and Guiyang, but Guan Yu drove them away. Sun Quan was extremely angry, and he sent Lü Meng with twenty thousand soldiers to seize the three commanderies.

Lü Meng sent letters to Changsha, Lingling and Guiyang, and all who saw how things were going came to submit. Only the Grand Administrator of Lingling, He Pu, held to his city and would not surrender.

Liu Bei heard of the situation. He came himself from SHU to Gongan, and he sent Guan Yu to fight for the three commanderies. Sun Quan came forward to Lukou and took general command of his forces. Lu Su was sent with ten thousand men to camp at Yiyang and face Guan Yu, while a letter was dispatched post-haste to Lü Meng that he should leave Lingling and come back quickly to help Lu Su.

When Lü Meng received the letter, he kept it secret. That night he called his officers and told them his plans: at dawn he would attack Lingling. Then he turned to a former client of He Pu, Deng Xuanzhi from Nanyang, and said to him, "He Zitai has heard tales of loyalty and honour, and he hopes to emulate them. He does not realise, however, the situation he is dealing with.

"Now the General of the Left [Liu Bei] is besieged in Hanzhong by Xiahou Yuan, Guan Yu is in Nan commandery and our lord [Sun Quan] is close upon him. In both places [Hanzhong and Nan commandery] their fortunes hang in the balance, and even to survive requires more energy than they can afford. How can they possibly find extra resources to deal with this part of the world?"
"I have reckoned my forces and made careful plans for attack. The city will fall in less than a day. When the city is destroyed and He Pu is dead, what use is that to anyone? And isn't it sad that his mother, now approaching the age of a hundred years, may be done to death at the same time?

"I do not believe his people have heard anything from outside. They thought they would be relieved, but now they have come to this. You go and see him, and tell him what will happen."

Deng Xuanzhi saw He Pu and presented all Lü Meng's arguments. He Pu was afraid, so he came out to surrender. Lü Meng welcomed him and took his hand and they went down into a boat together. When they finished their conference, Lü Meng took out the letter and showed it to him, clapping his hands and roaring with laughter. When He Pu saw the letter and realised Liu Bei was at Gongan and Guan Yu at Yiyang, he was so angry and ashamed he wished the ground would swallow him.

Lü Meng left Sun He [i.e. Sun Jiao?] to take charge of affairs at Lingling, and that same day he led his army back to Yiyang.

Lu Su wanted to talk with Guan Yu. His officers suspected a trick, and advised him not to go, but Lu Su said, "At times like these, men should be prepared to face one another. Liu Bei owes a great deal to our state, rights and wrongs are not yet decided, and how could Guan Yu reject our good will?"

So he invited Guan Yu to a meeting. Each side halted their troops, the generals came forward a hundred paces and met alone, armed only with swords.

Lu Su criticised the refusal to hand back the three commanderies. Guan Yu replied, "In the campaign at Wulin the General of the Left fought himself in the ranks, destroying the powerful and defeating the enemy. Why should he give such toil for nothing, and receive not a single clod of earth? Yet you come and want to take his territory."

"Quite untrue," replied Lu Su. "When I first met Yuzhou [Liu Bei] at the Chang Slope, his forces were no more than a colonel's command, he was at the end of his resources and he was desperately worried. His hopes were down, his power was weak, and he was planning to creep off and go far away. He had completely lost heart."
"My master had pity for Yuzhou, that he had no place to rest. He was generous with land and fighting men, and gave [Liu Bei] everything he needed to protect himself and to relieve his danger.

But now Yuzhou is acting selfishly. He glosses over facts, he offends virtue and he disregards good conduct. He has already put his hand on the western province, and now he wants to take Jing territory as well. Even the most ordinary fellow would be ashamed, still more so a ruler who should arrange and order men and affairs!" Guan Yu had no reply.

About this time news came that Duke Cao of WEI was moving against Hanzhong. Liu Bei was afraid he might lose Yi province, so he sent messengers to ask Sun Quan for peace. Sun Quan sent Zhuge Jin in an embassy of reply, and they renewed their covenant of goodwill. Jing province was divided, with the Xiang River as the border: Changsha, Jiangxia, and Guiyang to the east were under Sun Quan, while Nan commandery, Lingling and Wuling to the west remained with Liu Bei.

Though Zhuge Jin was frequently sent on embassies to SHU, he spoke with his younger brother Liang only in public assemblies, and he never sought a private meeting.

In the autumn, in the seventh month Duke Cao of WEI came to Yangping. Zhang Lu was prepared to surrender Hanzhong but his younger brother Wei would not agree. He led several ten thousand men to guard the pass, and he built almost ten 里 of fortifications across the mountains.

Cao Cao had relied on reports from Attendant Officials of Liang province and from men surrendered in Wudu, who told him that "It is easy to attack Zhang Lu. The mountain ridges north and south of Yangping are a long way apart, and the pass is indefensible." Cao Cao believed them, but when he got there the place was quite different to the way they had said. "When other people discuss plans," he sighed, "they seldom see things the way one does oneself."

He attacked the camps in the Yangping hills, but the slopes were steep and difficult to climb and they failed to take them on the first assault. Many of the soldiers were killed or wounded, and the supplies for the army were exhausted. Cao Cao's plans were spoilt, and all he had left to do was draw back his men, leave a defence line behind him, and retreat. He sent his General-in-Chief Xiahou Dun and the General Xu Chu to call the soldiers from the hills.
But the advance guard got lost in the dark, and they came by mistake upon one of Zhang Wei's pickets. In the confusion, the defenders scattered and fled. The Palace Attendant Xin Pi, with the Master of Records Liu Ye and others at the rear of these troops reported back to Xiahou Dun and Xu Chu that, "Our government troops have taken the chief camps of the enemy, and the rebels are running away." The generals could not believe it.

Xiahou Dun, however, went up to look for himself, then he came back and told Cao Cao, so they sent soldiers forward to attack Zhang Wei. Zhang Wei and his officers fled during the night.

When Zhang Lu heard that Yangping had fallen, he wanted to surrender. Yan Pu, however, advised him, "If you go now, under pressure, there will be no great credit for it. The best thing to do is join [the barbarian leaders] Duhu and Fuhu. Oppose Cao Cao together, then send tribute. He will be all the more pleased when you do submit." So they fled through the southern hills into the lands of Ba.

Zhang Lu's attendants were going to burn all the stores of treasure and grain, but Zhang Lu said, "It is my real intention to hand over government to central authority, but I have not yet been able to arrange it. I am fleeing now to escape sharp weapons, but I have no wish to make trouble. Treasure and granaries are the property of the state." So he sealed up the stores and went away. When Cao Cao entered Nanzheng he was extremely pleased. Realising Zhang Lu meant well, he sent messengers to put his mind at ease.

Sima Yi, Master of Records to the Chancellor, said to Cao Cao, "Liu Bei has captured Liu Zhang by deceit and force, and the people of SHU are not yet attached to him. Now that he is fighting far away in Jiangling, this is too good a chance to miss. You have conquered Hanzhong, and Yi province is trembling. Send your soldiers against them, and their position will disintegrate. The sage does not oppose the time, and he cannot let such opportunity slip." "A man who cannot be satisfied," remarked Cao Cao, "will get Long and look to Shu."

Liu Ye argued, "Liu Bei is a hero among men and has the generosity of a ruler, but he has come a little late. He has only held SHU for a few days, and the people do not yet trust him. Now that you have destroyed Hanzhong, everyone in SHU will be shaken and frightened and their power will fall of its own accord. With your spiritual wisdom, taking advantage of their weakness to destroy them, there is nothing you cannot manage."
"If, on the other hand, you hesitate even a short time, then his Chancellor Zhuge Liang knows how to bring a state to good order, while his military commanders Guan Yu and Zhang Fei have courage excelling all others. Soon the people of SHU will be settled, and they will hold the passes and guard the important positions. We would never be able to attack them. Unless we take them now, they will surely cause trouble later." Cao Cao would not agree.

They stayed seven days, and the men from SHU that surrendered reported that, "During a single day in SHU there are scores of alarms, and though the officers on guard behead the troublemakers they cannot set the people at peace." Cao Cao asked Liu Ye, "Can we still attack them?" but Liu Ye replied, "They are already settling down again. You cannot attack." So the army went back.

K Xiahou Yuan was appointed General Chief Protector, with command over Zhang He, Xu Huang and others to hold Hanzhong, while the Chief Clerk to the Chancellor Du Xi became Chief Commandant of Attendant Cavalry, responsible for administration. Du Xi gave peace and encouragement, and more than eighty thousand of the people were glad to migrate to Luoyang and Ye.

L In the eighth month Sun Quan led a hundred thousand men to besiege Hefei. Zhang Liao, Li Dian and Yu Jin had a total combined force of some seven thousand men stationed at that city.

When Duke Cao of Wei went to attack Zhang Lu, he sent an envelope of instructions to Xue Ti, Protector of the Army at Hefei, marked on the outside, "Should enemies approach, open this." As Sun Quan came near, they opened the envelope and read, "If Sun Quan comes, Generals Zhang and Li go out to fight, General Yue keeps guard, the Protector of the Army does not fight."

The officers considered their men too few to match the enemy, and they were very doubtful about such a plan. Zhang Liao said, "Our lord is on campaign far away, and by the time help comes the enemy will surely have destroyed us. This letter is to remind us that if we attack them before they have surrounded the city, we shall reduce their early strength and raise the morale of our own troops. Then we can hold out." Yu Jin and the others made no reply.
Zhang Liao became angry and said, "Victory or defeat depend on this one battle. If you are all so hesitant, I shall settle it alone."

Li Dian, formerly an enemy of Zhang Liao, now supported him with enthusiasm, "This is a great affair of state. When I see you planning like this, how can I maintain a personal grudge and neglect the public good? I beg to follow you in the sortie."

Zhang Liao called for volunteers and obtained eight hundred soldiers. He killed oxen and held a feast at night.

Next day, wearing armour and carrying a two-point lance, Zhang Liao was first to break the enemy lines. He killed several dozen men, took off the heads of two high officers, and gave a great shout to make known his name. He crossed the rampart and came to Sun Quan's standard. Sun Quan, very startled, could not think what to do, but ran to a high mound and defended himself with a long lance.

Zhang Liao called on him to come down and fight, but Sun Quan dared not move. Then he looked again and, seeing how few troops Zhang Liao had with him, he surrounded him with several rings of men. Zhang Liao attacked fiercely, broke the encirclement and made his escape with a few score soldiers still following his standard. The remainder of his men cried out, however, "Does our general abandon us?" So Zhang Liao returned to the fight, charged the ring and brought out the rest of his company.

All Sun Quan's men and horses were scattered and none dared face Zhang Liao. They fought from morning to midday, and the men from Wu lost heart. They went back to reorganise their defences, and so the hearts of the Wei forces were set at ease.

Sun Quan stayed at Hefei for more than ten days, but the city resisted all assaults and he was finally obliged to retreat.

As the army was on the march, Sun Quan and his officers were halted north of the Xiaoyao Crossing. Zhang Liao was watching, and when he saw them he led horse and foot in a swift attack. Gan Ning, Lu Meng and others fought strongly to hold the enemy off. Ling Tong led Companions to help Sun Quan break out from the circle, and then returned to fight Zhang Liao. All about him were killed and he himself was wounded. When he judged that Sun Quan must have escaped he made his way back.

Sun Quan rode a swift horse to the bridge of the crossing, but the southern end had broken down, and there was a gap over ten feet wide. The Inspector of Companions Gu Li was following him. He told Sun Quan to
grasp the saddle and reins, while he used a whip to urge on the horse from behind, and so they managed to get across. He Qi led three thousand men to the southern bank to meet Sun Quan, and he thus made his escape.

Sun Quan gave a feast aboard one of his warships. He Qi got down from his mat and wept and said, "Your honour is a ruler of men. You should always be heavily guarded. In today's affair, when you almost came to misfortune, your servants were fearful as if Heaven and Earth were falling. We beg you to take this as warning for a lifetime." Sun Quan came forward and wiped his tears for him, saying, "I am grateful and ashamed. Caution is now engrafted on my heart, not just written on a girdle."33

In the ninth month the leaders of the Zong people [and of seven clans] of Ba, Fuhu, Duhu and Ren Yue, brought their forces to join Cao Cao. Then Cao Cao divided Ba commandery, appointing Fuhu as Grand Administrator of Badong, Duhu as Grand Administrator of Baxi, while Ren Yue became Grand Administrator of [the rump] Ba commandery. All were enfeoffed as marquises.34

In the winter, in the tenth month there were for the first time appointed Marquises of Title, as a reward for military service.35

In the eleventh month Zhang Lu came with his family and followers to surrender. Duke Cao of Wei welcomed him and appointed him General Who Maintains the South in Peace, treating him with the courtesy of a guest. He enfeoffed him as Marquis of Langzhong with an appanage of ten thousand households,36 and he also awarded marquisates to Zhang Lu's five sons, to Yan Pu and some others.

Xi Zuo chi discusses it:37
Yan Pu advised Zhang Lu not to take the title of king,38 and Cao Cao remembered this and enfeoffed him. What man of the future will not be inspired to follow the right Way?

2143 Dam the source, and the furthest end of the stream will cease to flow: surely this is the meaning of it!39
If, on the other hand, the ruler fails to appreciate this, praising only men of physical bravery,40 and reserving great
fiefs and rich rewards for his men of war, then people will find advantage in
disorder, they will learn to compete in fighting and killing, and they will rely
on military might and trust to strength. In such a case, shields and weapons
will never be put away.

When Lord Cao enfeoffed Yan Pu, we may say that he showed true
understanding of the bases for rewards and punishments.41

Cheng Yin, Hou Xuan and Pang De all came with Zhang Lu to surrender.42
Duke Cao of WEI restored Cheng Yin and Hou Xuan to official rank, and
appointed Pang De as General Who Supports Righteousness.

When Zhang Lu fled to the territory of Ba, Huang Quan said to Liu Bei,
"Once we lose Hanzhong, the Three Ba will be in danger, and this would cut
off the rump and back of SHU."43 So Liu Bei appointed Huang Quan as
Protector of the Army, to take command of all the forces there and receive
Zhang Lu.

Zhang Lu had already surrendered, but Huang Quan attacked Fuhu,
Duhu and Ren Yue and destroyed them.44

Duke Cao of WEI sent Zhang He to take command of operations in the
region of the Three Ba, and he intended to shift their people into Hanzhong.
Zhang He brought his army forward to Dangqu,45 and Liu Bei sent
Zhang Fei, as Grand Administrator of Baxi, to face him. After almost two
months Zhang Fei caught Zhang He with a surprise attack and completely
defeated him. Zhang He retreated to Nanzheng, and Liu Bei went back to
Chengdu.

Cao Cao collected five thousand men who had formerly served Han Sui, Ma
Chao and the other generals [of the northwest], and he put them under the
command of Yin Shu, as General Who Pacifies Disorder. The Grand
Administrator of [You]fufeng, Zhao Yan, was made Protector of the Army
Within the Passes and ordered to raise twelve hundred soldiers to help in
the defence of Hanzhong.46

Yin Shu was in command of the transfer, but the men were unhappy
when the order was given to move. Zhao Yan escorted them as far as the
Yegu Pass,47 but as soon as he went back, and even before they had
reached their camp, Yin Shu's troops mutinied.
Zhao Yan had with him some hundred and fifty footsoldiers and horsemen, all of them relatives or fellow-townsmen of the mutineers. When these heard the news they too became agitated: they put on armour and took up weapons, and they would not calm down. Zhao Yan tactfully explained the situation to them, consoled them and encouraged them. All then responded to him and cried, "For life or death we shall follow the Protector. We would not dare be disloyal." They went forward to the rebel camps.

When a count was made it was found that eight hundred of the mutineers had scattered in the countryside, but Zhao Yan issued orders to "Take only the ringleaders for punishment. Ask nothing of the others." Those who had been captured by the commandery and county administrations were sent back, and all the rest came to give themselves up.

Zhao Yan sent in a secret report, urging that "Someone must go to [Cao Cao's] headquarters and ask for experienced and reliable troops to garrison the lands within the passes." Duke Cao of Wei sent General Liu Zhu with two thousand men, and he ordered that no further transfers be made until these forces had arrived.

When this became known, the whole camp was disturbed, and nothing anyone could say would calm the men. So Zhao Yan announced, "We shall choose a thousand good-natured fellows from amongst the newly-joined troops to remain on guard within the passes. The rest will be shifted east."

The officers submitted lists of names of all those in camp. Zhao Yan looked through them and immediately made his selection. Those chosen to stay were quite content, and the ones told off to go did not dare object. Zhao Yan sent them all off down the road on the same day. The thousand men due to remain behind were ordered to escort those who were leaving and keep them in order.

Then Liu Zhu's reinforcements arrived from the east and Zhao Yan was at last able to enforce his orders again. So he shifted the remaining thousand as well, they caught up with the rest and all travelled together. Altogether he transferred more than twenty thousand people.

NOTES to Jian'an 20: 215

A  
HHS 9, 388 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

1  
Cao Jie was the second of three daughters of Cao Cao who had entered the imperial harem two years earlier: passage F of Jian'an 18, HHS 10B, 455, and SGZ 1, 45.
The most direct route from the valley of the Wei into Hanzhong was the Baoye Road, which led south from Mei county in Youfufeng up the Ye tributary of the Wei and across the watershed into the valley of the Bao, a northern tributary of the Han: de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 14 and map 2 at 92. This, however, was easy to defend, so Cao Cao made an oblique approach along the old Liangyun "Linked Cloud" Road into Wudu, following the line of the modern Baoqi-Chengdu railway to the upper reaches of the Han, then turning east at the Yangping Pass: passage H below.

Xiping commandery had been established about the turn of the century in the upper Xining valley, from the far western part of Jincheng commandery: note 15 to Jian'an 10. Qu Yan and his family were the leading clan of Xiping. Nothing more is known of Jiang Shi, presumably a local warlord in the rump region of Jincheng. *Dian lue*, quoted in *SGZ* 1, 45 PC, says Han Sui was over seventy when he was killed.

For Gan Ning's proposal, made at the time he joined Sun Quan in 208, see passage C of Jian'an 13. For Zhou Yu's, presented shortly before his death in 210, see passage F of Jian'an 15.

By the general phrase "the south" Sun Quan here indicates, in the east, the lands south of the Yangzi and, in the west, the territory south of the Qin Ling divide. According to *Xiandi chunqiu*, Sun Quan was proposing this enterprise to Liu Bei as a joint venture, not, the way ZZTJ interprets it here, as a campaign he would run on his own.

The biographies of Sun Wu and Wu Qi, great generals of the Warring States period, are in SJ 65. Sun Wu is credited as author of the book *Sunzi bingfa* "The Art of War," and a similar work is ascribed to Wu Qi.

In de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 308–309 note, I suggest this campaign of Sun Yu was never in fact attempted. In practice, once Liu Bei had indicated that he would not accept the idea of an attack against Liu Zhang, his strategic position on the Yangzi made an advance to the west by Sun Quan's forces quite impossible.

In these circumstances, rather than force a confrontation, it seems probable that Sun Quan and Sun Yu never made the attempt. I argue that the humiliating back-down and retreat, as described here and embroidered (with an appearance by the late Zhou Yu, who suffers his final, fatal frustration at the hands of Zhuge Liang), in *Sanguo [zhi] yanyi* 57, is quite fictitious.

The title held at this time by Zhuge Jin is given by his biography, *SGZ* 52 (Wu 7), 1231.

*Mengzi*, 7A.30; Legge, *CC* II, 466 (Lau, *Mencius*, 188): "If a man borrows something and keeps it long enough, how can one be sure it will not indeed become his?"
On the initial "lending" of territory in Jing province to Liu Bei, see passage G of Jian'an 15.

10 The capital of Lingling commandery was at Quanling, present-day Lingling in Hunan by the junction of the Xiao River with the Xiang.

11 The military position at this stage was that the main forces of Liu Bei at Gongan and Sun Quan at Lukou, about 150 kilometres apart, opposed one another across the marshlands of the middle Yangzi. Lü Meng was in the far south of the province: he had taken the territory of Changsha and Guiyang, but was now threatened by Guan Yu, moving against him from the north. Lu Su had been sent to Yiyang, present-day Yiyang in Hunan, in an attempt to hold off Guan Yu's move to the south, but his ten thousand men were evidently not enough to maintain that position for long, and he urgently needed the support of Lü Meng, still engaged with He Pu in Lingling.

12 Zitai was the style of He Pu.

13 This is, of course, quite false. Passage F below refers to a potential threat from Cao Cao's forces in the north of Yi province, but Xiahou Yuan at that time was not in action, and Liu Bei was actually in position against Sun Quan in Jing province.

14 Kaoyi commentary notes that Sun He had died many years before: passage Q of Jian'an 9. Sima Guang suggests that it may have been another person of the same name. The punctuated edition of SGZ at 1507, however, following a suggestion of the scholar Zhu Bangheng, gives the name as Sun Jiao. Sun Jiao, whose biography is in SGZ 51 (Wu 6), was a younger brother of Sun Yu, held military command in this region, and was an associate of Lü Meng.

15 Wulin is another name for the region of the Red Cliffs. Strictly speaking, Wulin, on the northwest bank of the Yangzi, was the site of Cao Cao's camp, while the forces of Sun Quan and Liu Bei had been on the southeast, below the Red Cliffs themselves. See, for example, de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 267, and Zhongguo shi gao ditu ji I, 47.

16 See passage GG of Jian'an 13.
HSGZ 1, 45 (109a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 8, 264–65 (46a–47b), the Biography of Zhang Lu;
SGZ 8, 265 (46a–47a) PC quoting a memorial of Dong Zhao
from Wei mingchen zou.

20 SJZ 27, 2a, describes the Yangping Pass on the Jin River, a tributary of the upper Mian [or Han]. The modern Yangpingguan is in the extreme southwest of Shenxi, south of the railroad junction at Lueyang where the north–south line from Baoqi in Shenxi to Chengdu in Sichuan meets the branch eastwards to present–day Hanzhong in Shenxi. The Baoqi–Chengdu railway follows the line of the old Lianyun "Linked Cloud" Road of Han: de Crespigny, Northern Frontier, 14.

For a move from the north into Hanzhong, the direct route would be along the Baoye Road south from Mei county on the Wei River, but this could be easily defended. The alternative followed the Lianyun Road, along the line of the modern railway, then turned east in the area of present–day Lueyang to approach Hanzhong commandery from the northwest. See note 2 above.

In the present instance, Cao Cao has crossed the Qin Ling divide south through the San Pass into Wudu commandery. On reaching the area of present–day Lueyang he could either follow the line of the present–day motor–road leading to the upper valley of the Mian/Han River, or he could go further south and then turn east to follow the modern railway. From the reference to Yangping, he followed the latter route, which provides an easier approach. It appears that the name Yangping at this time referred not just to the pass but to the whole of the valley east of present–day Lueyang, to which the modern pass is the southern gateway.

On a later campaign, Liu Bei will advance from the south, upstream along the headwaters of the Jianling, also through the junction at Yangping: e.g. passage F of Jian'an 23.

SJZ refers to fortifications at Yangping identified with Zhang Lu; these were presumably the constructions of Zhang Wei.

According to SGZ 1, Zhang Lu sent his brother to oppose Cao Cao. The statement that Zhang Lu was prepared to surrender, while Zhang Wei was the hot–head, follows SGZ 8.

Duhu was a leader of the Zong people: note 69 to Jian'an 5. Fuhu was chief of the seven clans of the Banshun people in the Ba region, present–day northern Sichuan; the pronunciation of his name is given by ZZTJ commentary.

There is an Account of the Banshun People in HHS 86/76, 2842–43, the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians. They rebelled for a time in the early 180s (de Crespigny, Huan and Ling I, 163, 165, 172–173), and during the time of trouble between Zhang Lu and Liu Zhang they had evidently established some independence from Chinese authority.

The phrase Bazhong refers to the mountainous region of Ba commandery of Later Han, south of Hanzhong on the upper waters of the Jianling River and its tributaries.

JS 1, 2, the Biography of Sima Yi.
This argument was evidently presented while Liu Bei was still engaged with Sun Quan and his forces in Jing province, before he had the chance to extricate himself and return: passage F above.

Long here refers to Long Mountain in present-day Shenxi, Shu to the region of Sichuan. Similar words were used, in a comparable situation, by the founding Emperor Guangwu of Later Han to his advisers: *HHS* 17/7, 660. They may have become a proverb, and were again apposite here.

On Liu Ye’s earlier experience as a supporter and adviser to Liu Xun in Lujiang, see passage T of Jian'an 4. After Liu Xun had been defeated by Sun Ce, Liu Ye joined Cao Cao’s staff, and he was at this time also a Master of Records.

Xiahou Yuan had earlier been Protector of the Army Who Subdues the West, dealing with Liang province: passage B of Jian'an 16. His new appointment, dated by *SGZ* 9 to the following year, made him commander-in-chief of the newly-captured territory. Here, as in passage L below, the title Protector indicates an area command.

On the frontiers between warlords, population was at least as valuable as land. Here, as military defence is established, civilian farming families are encouraged to go back into the heart of Cao Cao’s state, to cultivate ground left vacant by the past ravages of war and out-migration.

Sun Quan is attempting to take advantage of Cao Cao’s engagement in the far west.

This order and the subsequent campaign are discussed by Griffith, *Art of War*, 93–94.

From this point in the translation, the name WU in capital letters refers to the state ruled by Sun Quan, as opposed to the commandery of that name. *Cf*. notes 9 to Jian’an 18 and 26 to Jian’an 19.

The name of the crossing is given by *SGZ* 55 (Wu 10), 1195, the biography of Gan Ning. *SJZ* 32, 11a, says that it was on the Shi River, southeast of Hefei.

*SGZ* 55 says also that Sun Quan’s army was affected by sickness, which may explain its unimpressive performance on this campaign.

Companions (qinjin) were personal bodyguards for a commander.

On Fuhu and Duhu, leaders of non-Chinese people, see note 21 above. The reference to the additional leader is taken by ZZTJ from Huayang guo zhi 2, 4a, though that text has the name as Yuan Yue. The form Ren Yue is a variant. See also passage Q and note 44 below.

The division of Ba commandery by Cao Cao at his time did no more than recognise the reorganisations carried out years earlier by Liu Yan and Liu Zhang: notes 12 to Jian'an 18 and 15 to Jian'an 19. The appointments were essentially gestures to confirm the surrenders of the local leaders and to establish a claim over territory where Cao Cao could not yet exercise real authority.

This represents an amendment to the system of noble ranks of Han, on which see note 52 to Jian'an 19.

SCZ 1, supplemented by Wei shu quoted in PC, explains that the new system retained the two highest titles of Han, whose of full Marquis (hou) and Marquis of the Imperial Domain (guannei hou). Below these Cao Cao inserted three new grades:

- Marquis of Title (minghao hou)
- Marquis Within the Passes (guanzhong hou)
- External Marquis of the Imperial Domain (guannei wai hou).

Below these five marquisates was the title Quintuple Grandee (wudafu), formerly the ninth rank of Han.

During Han, general bestowals of honours had not been uncommon, and a man in the right position could accumulate as many as eight ranks through such promotions. Above that, however, Quintuple Grandee and beyond required specific personal award.

The effect of Cao Cao's reform, therefore, was to eliminate eight of the upper ranks of the Han system, those between Quintuple Grandee and Marquis of the Imperial Domain, and replace them by the three new grades of marquisate. The eight lower grades were continued – there were five general awards during the reigns of Cao Cao's son Cao Pi and his successors – but the twelve higher grades of Han were now reduced to six, five of them described as marquisates.

In early times, the award of noble ranks was based upon prowess in battle: e.g. Cambridge China I, 37 [Bodde, "Ch'in"], and the character ji continued in use as a numerator for both severed enemy heads and for grades in rank. During Han, however, though awards were made for military achievement, general grants were frequently proclaimed at time of celebration, and individual ones were commonly given for civil service. Cao Cao's reform, though not so bloodthirsty as the pre-Han period, specifically related award of the new marquisates to military prowess.

In a note added to the quotation from Wei shu, Pei Songzhi comments that the principle of "empty fiefs" (xufeng), without identifiable territory, evidently began from this reform of Cao Cao. Empty fiefs, or "marquisates of title," had been used by Emperor Guangwu in the years of civil war at the beginning of Later Han, but full marquisates under Han were normally identified with some place, a county, district or village, and this system continued under Wei. From the early years of Han, however, even full marquisates held no authority in their nominal fief, which was administered by government officials as a regular unit of local administration, with a notional revenue paid to the holder of the title as a
pension. A Marquis of the Imperial Domain during Han did not normally have a named fief, and he certainly did not have one during Wei, while the Marquises of Title and other grades were likewise known only by their rank.


36 Langzhong, at the present-day city of the same name in Sichuan, was not in Cao Cao's or Zhang Lu's control, so the title was an empty one, such as Pei Songzhi describes (see note 35 above).

37 On Xi Zuochi, see note 44 to Jian'an 13.

38 See passage I of Jian'an 6.

39 That is, the effect of one action reaches far into the distance and the future.

40 ZZTJ commentary notes that the phrase "the achievement of those who have suffered burns" comes from HS 68, 1958.

After the fall of the great Huo clan in 66 BC (see, for example, Loewe, Crisis and Conflict, 136–139), Emperor Xuan gave rewards to those who had supported him in the emergency.

One of his courtiers presented a parable of the master of a house, who was warned about the way he stored his firewood near a fierce-burning stove, but paid no attention. Later his house did catch on fire, and neighbours came to help him put it out. When he gave a feast to reward those who had assisted him, he gave pride of place to those with the most burns, but he was rebuked for failing to recognise those who had warned him earlier.

The Emperor accordingly rewarded the scholar Xu Fu, who had spoken several times against the dangerous power of the Huo family.

41 As Xi Zuochi observes, all Yan Pu's service had been in a civil capacity, giving political advice to his master Zhang Lu. In rewarding him so highly, Cao Cao is not limiting himself to the policy of restricting enfeoffments simply to those of military prowess: cf. passage M and note 35 above.

While quoting these approving words of Xi Zuochi, Pei Songzhi himself, in the same passage of commentary, remarks that the grant of fiefs to all Zhang Lu's five sons appears excessive.

42 Cheng Yin and Hou Xuan had been leaders of bandit groups in Liang province defeated by Cao Cao in 211: passages B and G of Jian'an 16. They had then fled to join Zhang Lu.

Pang De had been an officer under Ma Chao: passage G of Jian'an 7. He accompanied his leader to join Zhang Lu after the further defeat in 213: passage J of Jian'an 18. In the following year, however, when Ma Chao went to join Liu Bei (passage G of Jian'an 19) Pang De remained behind.
The Three Ba are the new commanderies into which the Han commandery of Ba has been divided: e.g. note 34 above. This was the eastern part of Yi province, directly south of Hanzhong commandery now occupied by Cao Cao's forces.

As in passage M above, the identity of the third leader is evidently based upon the text of Huayang guo zhi 6, 8a-b, although that text has the name Yuan Yue rather than Ren Yue: cf. note 34 above.

Dangqu county in Ba commandery was northeast of present-day Quxian in Sichuan, at the junction of the Ba and Hou rivers. Zhang He had evidently crossed the watershed from the region of Nanzheng, capital of Hanzhong commandery, and was advancing down the Ba River past Hanchang, present-day Bazhong.

During Han, this commandery on the west of Chang'an had been named Youfufeng, and the title of the administrator was the same: e.g. HHS 117/27; Bielenstein, Bureaucracy, 87–88. The title is rendered as "Western Sustainer." About this time the prefix you was beginning to be omitted, and the official in charge was referred to as a regular Grand Administrator.

The Yegu Pass, south of present-day Mei in Shenxi, was the northern entry point to the Baoye Road, the main route through the Qinling ranges from the valley of the Wei to the region of Hanzhong.

This complex manoeuvring with reluctant troops must have been typical of many such incidents in territories which had been recently taken over by one warlord or another.

Han Sui, Ma Chao and the other "generals" of Liang province had based their power on the groups of rebels and mutineers which had controlled the northwest since the time of the rebellion in 184. Their power was broken by Cao Cao in 211 (passage G of Jian'an 16), and Xiahou Yuan and his colleagues had largely completed mopping-up operations over the last few months. The problem remained, however, what to do with the captured troops.

The original plan was for twelve hundred men to be recruited by Zhao Yan and sent south to the Hanzhong frontier under the command of Yin Shu. These men, however, mutinied, and their comrades who had remained with Zhao Yan also became restless.

By rhetoric and promises, Zhao Yan was able to restore a short-term peace, and at the same time he called in reinforcements from Cao Cao's headquarters. When the soldiers heard the new group was arriving, however, they again became restless, and Zhao Yan resorted to a new ruse, "divide and rule," creating an out-group and an in-group, and sending one off under guard of the other.

In the end, when Liu Zhu's troops arrived, the disturbance was brought fully under control, so Zhao Yan was able to abandon his pretence at favouritism, and he sent all the men away together.

One thing, however, had become clear: these newly-gained soldiers from the northwest were quite unsuitable for operations in the sensitive territory of the Hanzhong frontier. The end result of the exercise was that all the men were resettled in the east, out
of the immediate frontier region. There they could be held in check by Cao Cao's established command, and they were no doubt divided and integrated into other units.

Furthermore, after the unsuccessful experiment with the first group of twelve hundred, Zhao Yan and his superiors abandoned any idea of sending such people to the south. Instead they transferred more men, with their wives and families, a total of twenty thousand people, to the east.

Though Yin Shu, commander of the troops which mutinied on their way to Hanzhong, is not mentioned again in this episode, he evidently came to no harm, for he is named as one of the commanders against Guan Yu in Jing province four years later: passage DD of Jian’an 24.
Jian'an 21: 216 AD
6 February 216 – 26 January 217

A  In the spring, in the second month Duke Cao of Wei returned to Ye.1

In the summer, in the fifth month Duke Cao of Wei was advanced in fief to become King.2

B  Before this, the Commandant of the Capital Cui Yan had recommended Yang Xun of Julu to Cao Cao, who treated him courteously and gave him office.3 When Cao Cao became King, Yang Xun published a eulogy of his achievements and virtue. Some people despised him for a time-server and a hypocrite and said that Cui Yan had made a mistake in recommending him.

2145  Cui Yan obtained the manuscript of Yang Xun's memorial, read it through, and then wrote to him, "I have examined your memorial and it is excellent. It is just a matter of time, time! Soon there will be changes."

   All Cui Yan meant to say was that those who criticised [Yang Xun] were carping and unreasonable. But there were men who had been on bad terms with him in the past, and someone reported that "Cui Yan is arrogant and speaks treason. He does not intend to stay loyal."4

   Cao Cao was angry. He arrested Cui Yan and put him in prison, his head was shaven and he was sentenced to forced labour. Those who had informed against him now reported again, "Even as a convict, Cui Yan curls up his beard and glares at anyone who visits him. He appears resentful."5

   So Cui Yan was granted death.

C  The Supervisor of the Masters of Writing Mao Jie believed Cui Yan had been unjustly punished, and he was most upset.6 Again, it was reported that Mao Jie was resentful and had spoken treason. Cao Cao had him arrested him and put in prison.

D  The Palace Attendants Huan Jie and He Xia both tried to explain what was happening, but Cao Cao refused to listen. Huan Jie asked that the case be re-opened, but the King said, "My informants claim not only that Mao Jie criticised me, but that he expressed sympathy for Cui Yan. He rejects the grace and loyalty between master and servant, and he holds unreasonable resentment for the fate of a dead friend. I do not believe I can tolerate such behaviour."
"If what they say is true," replied He Xia, "then Mao Jie's fault is indeed serious, an offence to the sight of Heaven and Earth. I would never bend the truth to save Mao Jie, for that would betray the ruling principles.7

"On the other hand, Mao Jie has received honour and favour for many years, he has been upright and loyal, and everyone has been held him in respect. Surprising he should act like this now. Of course it is always difficult to determine a man's true character, but that is all the more reason to examine each case fully, hearing both sides to determine the facts.

"At present, in your wisdom and generosity, you cannot bear to hand him over to judgement, but this way there is no means to decide whether he is innocent or guilty."

"The reason I make no investigation" explained Cao Cao, "is that I wish to protect both Mao Jie and his accusers."

"If Mao Jie has indeed spoken against his lord," answered He Xia, "then his body should be exposed in the market-place or at court.8 If he has not abused you, then those who have informed against him made false accusations of a great minister and sought to deceive their master. I cannot feel at ease unless there is a proper investigation."

In the end, Cao Cao never made a full enquiry. Mao Jie was dismissed, and he died at his own home.

[Ja21: 216]

E At this time the Senior Clerk in the Department of the West, Ding Yi of Pei state, was in Cao Cao's favour. He had been involved in the arrest of Mao Jie, so all the ministers were afraid of him and watched him with caution.

2146 The Supervisor of the Masters of Writing He Kui and the Junior Clerk in the Department of the East, Xu Yi of Dongguan,9 were the only ones who would not acknowledge Ding Yi's authority. Then Ding Yi spoke against Xu Yi, and Xu Yi left the court to become Grand Administrator of Wei commandery. It was only through intercession from Huan Jie that he escaped serious punishment.10

The Master of Writing Fu Xuan11 said to He Kui, "Ding Yi has already brought harm to Mao Jie. You should show him a little more respect."

"A man who acts dishonourably," replied He Kui, "damages only himself. How can he injure others? Besides, a vicious and deceitful heart, if it stands in a brilliant court, will it last for long?"

F On one occasion Cui Yan's younger cousin Cui Lin discussed the scholars of Ji province with Chen Qun,12 and he praised Cui Yan as the best.
Chen Qun, however, thought little of Cui Yan, because despite his wisdom he could not save himself. "A great man stands firm against misfortune," exclaimed Cui Lin. "How can one respect people like you?"

G In the fifth month, on the day jihai, first of the month [3 Jun], there was an eclipse of the sun.13

H Three chieftains of the Wuhuan in Dai commandery all styled themselves Shanyu.14 Relying upon their strength, they acted arrogantly and wilfully: the Grand Administrator could not keep them under control.

King Cao of Wei appointed Pei Qian, Junior Clerk in the Department of Granaries under the Chancellor, as a new Grand Administrator. He offered him good soldiers, but Pei Qian said, "The Shanyu know they have been acting badly. If I go with an army they will certainly become frightened and will close the border against us. If I take only a small escort they will not be concerned. We must show some strategy." So he travelled to the commandery in a single carriage, and the Shanyu were surprised and pleased. Pei Qian treated them with grace and authority, and the Shanyu respected and submitted.

[Ja21: 216]

I For a long time now, the Southern Xiongnu had been settled within the borders.15 They were much the same as the registered inhabitants, but they sent no tribute or tax. Many people were afraid their numbers were becoming too great and that it would become increasingly difficult to keep them under control; some protection should be made against them.

2147 In the autumn, in the seventh month the Southern Shanyu Huchuquan came to attend the court of Wei. King Cao kept him at Ye and had the Worthy King of the West Qubei look after the state. Each year the Shanyu was allotted floss-silk, silken cloth, cash and grain like a marquis, and his sons and grandsons inherited the title. The people were separated into five divisions, each with one of their nobles as chief, and a Han Chinese was appointed as Major to keep them under control.16

J In the eighth month the Grand Judge of Wei Zhong Yao became Chancellor of State.17
In the winter, in the tenth month King Cao of Wei led his army against Sun Quan. In the eleventh month they arrived at Qiao.

NOTES to Jian’an 21: 216

A SGZ 1, 47 (113b–115a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

1 Cao Cao had been in Hanzhong commandery in the west, on the campaign against Zhang Lu.

2 SGZ 1, 48 PC, preserves the text of the edict.

SGZ 1 records also that in the third month of this year Cao Cao personally engaged in the ceremony of ploughing the sacred field, privilege of an independent ruler. He had performed the ceremony for the first time two years earlier, just before his enfeoffment as Duke of Wei: note 8 to Jian'an 19.

B SGZ 12, 369 (4b–5a), the Biography of Cui Yan.

3 Under Qin and early Han, the Commandant of the Capital was a high official of the imperial court, but from the time of Emperor Wu of Former Han the title was changed to Bearer of the Golden Mace. Under Later Han a Commandant of the Capital was the chief of military administration in a kingdom, equivalent to a Commandant in a regular commandery: Bielenstein, Bureaucracy, 78 and 106–107.

According to his biography in SGZ 12, Cui Yan had been appointed as a Master of Writing to the ducal state of Wei (passage M of Jian'an 18 above), but was later made Commandant of the Capital in recognition of his honest advice when Cao Cao was considering the rival claims of Cao Pi and Cao Zhi to be named as his successor (passages E to M of Jian'an 22 below: that debate was evidently maintained over a number of years.) Cui Yan's position at the court of Wei, therefore, until this fatal incident, was rather that of a trusted adviser than a military official.

On the role of Cui Yan as adviser to Cao Cao on the recruitment of worthy officials, see passage K of Jian'an 13. SGZ 12 describes Yang Xun as a man of limited ability but honourable conduct.

4 Though used here innocently by Cui Yan, the word "changes" bian can refer to rebellion or a coup.

5 To have the hair cut off and the beard shaved was part of the convict prison sentence of four years hard labour: Hulsewé, RHL I, 129, and note 43 to Jian'an 18. Cui Yan had evidently suffered only the shaving of the head; his biography, SGZ 12 at 369, reports that he had a most distinguished beard, four Chinese feet, almost one metre, long. [And according to Shishuo xinyu 14; Mather, 304, Cui Yan was a man of such impressive demeanour that on one occasion Cao Cao, feeling his own stature was insufficiently prepossessing, had Cui Yan take his place to receive an envoy from the Xiongnu.]

C SGZ 12, 376 (15b), the Biography of Mao Jie.

6 Mao Jie had been a close associate of Cui Yan in the recommendation of officials to Cao Cao: passage K of Jian'an 13.
Within the family, there is the relation of father and son; outside, there is the relation of prince and minister. Between father and son the ruling principle is kindness. Between prince and minister the ruling principle is respect.

officials of high rank who are sentenced to death should have their corpse displayed at court, while the remains of lesser men were exposed in the market-place, the ground of common execution. Cf. Hulsewé, RHL I, 110–112, and Couvreur, Mémóires 1, 238.

Dongguan county, at present-day Yishui in Shandong, was in Langye commandery of Later Han, but became the basis of a commandery during the Three Kingdoms period: JS 15, 452.

This Fu Xuan must be distinguished from Fu Xuan (217–276) author of the book Fuzi. Fu Xuan was a man of Jing province who took service with Cao Cao in 208; the family of Fu Xuan came from Beidi commandery in the northwest. See Paper, The Fu-tzu, 71, and HHS 74/64B, 2424 with commentary quoting Fuzi.

Wei lue dates this conversation to the reign of Emperor Ming, being Cao Pi’s son Cao Rui who came to the throne in 226. Chen Qun was then a senior statesman, one of four regents controlling the state of Wei, so Cui Lin was commenting very boldly.

The Treatise offers no prognostication, but Commentary to the Treatise quotes from the anonymous apocryphal work Qiantan ba, which says that an eclipse on a jihai day indicates mean men have charge of affairs, while worthy gentlemen are prevented from acting.
ZZTJ commentary gives the names of two of these leaders as Pulu and Wuchendi. Passage J of Jian’an 12 tells how the Wuhuan leader Pufulu surrendered to Cao Cao after the victory at White Wolf Mountain in 207. It seems likely this is the same man under a slightly different name.

Similarly, Wuchendi is probably a variant for the chieftain Nengchendi: note 10 to Jian’an 12.

On the settlement of the Southern Xiongnu by Emperor Guangwu of Later Han after their separation and exile from the north in the middle of the first century AD, see, for example, de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 230–242, and Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 118–122. The region they occupied extended from Beidi commandery in the west across the Ordos region to Dai commandery in the east.

On the arrangement of the Xiongnu by Cao Cao at this time, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 353–354, Uchida, "Five Tribes," and Boodberg, "Two Notes," 292. The Northern Division (bei bu) covered the north of present-day Shanxi and Shenxi, while the Left, Centre, Right and Southern Divisions were spread along the valley of the Fen River in Shanxi. The capital of the puppet Xiongnu state, and presumably also the headquarters of the Chinese Major, were at Pingyang on the Fen, south of present-day Linfen.

On the establishment of Zhong Yao as Grand Judge, and other officers of Cao Cao’s ducal, later royal, state of WEI, see passage M of Jian’an 18. By this new appointment, Cao Cao confirmed the status of his personal administration, so that the government of the empire under his control is carried out more and more by Cao Cao as King of WEI, and less and less by Cao Cao in his capacity as Chancellor of Han.

*Wei shu*, quoted by *SGZ* 1, 49 PC notes 4 and 1, indicates that at this time Cao Cao also set up the two offices of Upholder of Ceremonies (fengchang) and of Director of the [Royal] Clan, and the following year he added the ministry of the Commandant of the Guards. Upholder of Ceremonies was an alternative name for the Grand Master of Ceremonies (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 17), and these new establishments filled the complement for ministries of a royal state under the Later Han system. *Cf.* passage M and note 36 of Jian’an 18.
Map 22: Operations about Hanzhong 215–220
TO ESTABLISH PEACE
CHAPTER 68
being Chapter 60 of the Chronicle of Han
[containing Part 10 of the reign of Emperor Xian]

Jian'an 22: 217 AD
[25 January 217 – 12 February 218]

2148

A In the spring, in the first month, King Cao of Wei brought his army to Juchao. Sun Quan guarded Ruxu. In the second month, Cao Cao went forward and attacked him.1

B Before this, when the Protector of the Army of the Right Jiang Qin was stationed at Xuancheng, Xu Sheng, Prefect of Wuhu, arrested one of his officers and recommended he be executed. Now, when Sun Quan was at Ruxu, Jiang Qin and Lü Meng were responsible for all his forces, and Jiang Qin always praised Xu Sheng. Sun Quan asked about it.2

2149 "Xu Sheng is loyal and hard-working," replied Jiang Qin. "He is capable, with courage and ability in planning, and he has the ability to command ten thousand men. While the great affair is yet not settled, it is my duty to seek good servants for you. Could I conceal a worthy man just because of a private quarrel?" Sun Quan thought this excellent.2

C In the third month, Cao Cao led his troops away, but the General Who Calms the Waves Xiahou Dun, in supreme command over Cao Ren, Zhang Liao and others, remained in camp at Juchao with twenty-six armies. Sun Quan sent the Chief Commandant Xu Xiang to Cao Cao to ask for terms. Cao Cao agreed to restore friendly relations, and they swore a renewed marriage alliance.3

D Sun Quan appointed the General Who Pacifies Caiiffis, Zhou Tai, to hold command at Ruxu. Zhu Ran, Xu Sheng and others were all under his orders, but because Zhou Tai was a man of humble family they refused to obey him. Sun Quan invited all his officers to a great feast with wine. He ordered Zhou Tai to open his clothing, and with his own hand Sun Quan pointed to the scars of his wounds and asked him how they came. As he replied, Zhou Tai told his full story of combat and war.
When Zhou Tai had finished Sun Quan had him get dressed again, then took him by the arm and wept, saying, "Youping, you are my brother. In time of war, with no thought for your own safety, you fight like a bear or a tiger. You have been wounded scores of times and your skin is like an engraving. It is only natural that I hold you in my heart as a brother, and you surely deserve your high command." When the feast ended he ordered his own carriage to wait, while Zhou Tai went with an escort of foot-soldiers and horsemen, beating drums and blowing horns to make a fanfare as he left. From this time on Xu Sheng and the other commanders showed him respect.

2150

E In the summer, in the fifth month an edict granted King Cao of Wei the banners and flags of the Son of Heaven. When he went out or in the road should be cleared of all other traffic.

In the sixth month Wei appointed the Master of the Army Hua Xin as Imperial Counsellor.

In the winter, in the tenth month it was ordered that King Cao of Wei should wear a crown with twelve pendants, and he should ride in a Root of Gold chariot drawn by six horses, with chariots of the five seasons to escort him.

Ja22: 217

Wei appointed the General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes, Cao Pi, as Heir-Apparent.

F Before this, King Cao of Wei had taken a wife of the Ding clan, but they had no children. His concubine of the Liu surname gave birth to a son Ang, and his Lady Bian had four sons, Pi, Zhang, Zhi and Xiong.

King Cao had the Lady Ding care for Cao Ang as if she was his real mother. When the young man died at Rang, the Lady Ding refused to stop weeping. Cao Cao became angry. He sent her away and appointed the Lady Bian as his second wife.

G Cao Zhi was intelligent and quick-witted, with remarkable skill and ability, of fine literary talent, learned and clever. Cao Cao was extremely fond of him.
Cao Cao had intended to give his daughter in marriage to Ding Yi, but because Ding Yi had only one eye, Cao Pi objected and prevented it. So Ding Yi had a grudge against Cao Pi. With his younger brother Ding I, Gentleman in Attendance of the Yellow Gates, and Yang Xiu who was Master of Records to the Imperial Chancellor, he often praised the abilities of Cao Zhi, Marquis of Linzi, and they urged Cao Cao to make Zhi his successor. Yang Xiu was the son of Yang Biao.

Cao Cao wrote letters in a private canvass of opinion, but the Master of Writing Cui Yan made open reply, "It is the principle of the Chunqiu that in establishing a son you take the eldest. The General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes is loving and filial, intelligent and wise, well worthy to maintain the line of succession. I shall hold this to the death."

Cao Zhi had married the daughter of Cui Yan's elder brother.

The Supervisor of the Masters of Writing Mao Jie said, "Some while ago, Yuan Shao made no distinction between the sons of the legal wife and those of the concubine. He over-turned his clan and destroyed his state. To set aside the rightful heir is a thing of great moment. It is inappropriate that I should even hear of such a plan."

Xing Yong, Senior Clerk in the Department of the East, said, "To replace the true wife with a commoner, that is what men of ancient times avoided. I beg your majesty to reconsider."

Cao Pi sent a man to ask the Grand Palace Grandee Jia Xu how he might keep himself secure. Jia Xu said, "I suggest you pay attention to the measure of your virtue, observe the manners of a simple scholar, be diligent day and night, and do not offend against the proper conduct of a son. That is all." Cao Pi followed this, carefully cultivating a good character.

On a later occasion, Cao Cao dismissed all his other attendants and asked Jia Xu about the succession. Jia Xu remained silent and made no reply.

"I spoke to you," said Cao Cao, "but you did not answer. Why not?"

"I was thinking of something," replied Jia Xu, "so I did not respond immediately."

"What were you thinking about?" enquired Cao Cao.

"I was thinking," answered Jia Xu, "of Yuan Benchu and Liu Jingsheng, fathers and sons." Cao Cao gave a great laugh.
Another time, as Cao Cao was leaving on campaign Cao Pi and Cao Zhi were both in attendance for the ceremony of departure. Cao Zhi spoke most elegantly of his father's merit and virtue, all turned to admire him, and Cao Cao was pleased.

Cao Pi was momentarily at a loss, but then Wu Zhi of Jiyin whispered to him, "As the King is about to leave, you weep."

So Cao Pi shed tears as he bowed farewell, and Cao Cao and his attendants wept in sympathy. Everyone felt now that though Cao Zhi had splendid words, he lacked true feeling.

Cao Zhi acted often upon impulse and paid no attention to his conduct, while the General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes [Cao Pi] could manage affairs by trickery and act against his true nature. The maidservants and attendants of the palace all praised him and spoke on his behalf, and so he was established as Heir-Apparent.

Her harem attendants congratulated the Lady Bian, "The General of the Gentlemen of the Household has been appointed Heir-Apparent, and everyone in the empire will be pleased. You should pour out treasure in gifts."

"The King has named Pi as successor because he is the eldest," replied the Lady. "I should just be content if I have borne a son without fault in teaching or guidance. Why should I give great presents?"

The attendants went back and told Cao Cao, who was pleased, saying, "In anger not to change expression, in happiness not to lose control. Those are the truly difficult things."

The Heir-Apparent flung his arms around the neck of Xin Pi, the Gentleman-Consultant, and said: "Can you imagine, Mr Xin, how happy I am?"

Xin Pi told his daughter Xianying, and she sighed, "The Heir-Apparent is the one who must take the place of the lord and master at the ceremonies in the ancestral temple and at the sacrifices on the national altars for the gods of soil and grain. To take the ruler's place is a serious duty. To be master of a state is a fearful task. He should be sober and anxious, but instead he rejoices. How can this last long? Here lies the failure of WEI!"
Some time later, Cao Zhi the Marquis of Linzi rode a carriage fast down the centre of the imperial highway, and he had a Major's Gate opened to let him through. Cao Cao was furious, and the Prefect of [the Majors in Charge of] Official Carriages was put to death. The regulations for the feudal lords were made still more strict, and Cao Zhi's favour steadily declined.18

Cao Zhi's wife wore embroidered clothing, and Cao Cao climbed a tower and saw her. Because she had disobeyed the sumptuary regulations she was sent back to her home and allowed to commit suicide.19

Fa Zheng observed to Liu Bei, "With a one blow Cao Cao compelled Zhang Lu to surrender and settled Hanzhong, but he did not follow up his advantage by invading Ba and Shu. All he has done is leave Xiahou Yuan and Zhang He to guard the place, while he himself suddenly goes back to the north. It is not that he is foolish, nor that he is too weak. He must have some secret cause for anxiety.

"Now think about Xiahou Yuan and Zhang He. They are no match for our officers. If you raise an army and attack, you will surely defeat them. When you have done that, encourage farming and build stores of grain, look for some grievance and await opportunity. At best, you will overturn the enemy and preserve the royal house; at the second level, you may nibble away at Yong and Liang provinces and so extend your territory; and at the very least, you can set a firm guard on the strategic points and secure yourself a long time to come. This is a chance from Heaven. You must not let it pass!"

Liu Bei was delighted with this, and he led all his officers into Hanzhong. He sent Zhang Fei, Ma Chao, Wu Lan and others to camp at Xiabian.20 King Cao of WEI sent the General and Chief Commissioner Cao Hong to face them.

Lu Su died, and Sun Quan ordered the Gentleman of the General Staff Yan Jun of Pengcheng to take his place in command of ten thousand men in garrison at Lukou. Everyone was pleased for Yan Jun, but he refused the post, saying, "I am a simple scholar. I have no experience of military affairs." He spoke sincerely, and even wept.21

Then Sun Quan had Lü Meng, Protector of the Army of the Right and General with the Majesty of a Tiger, take the position, serving concurrently as Grand Administrator of Hanchang.22 Everyone admired the honest way Yan Jun refused the appointment.
The Colonel Who Settles Majesty, Lu Xun of Wu commandery, said to Sun Quan, "At the present time we need a great many soldiers if we are to defeat the enemy and settle disorder. The hills bandits, sheltered in deep and difficult country, have long been a source of trouble. If the core of our state is not at peace, it is difficult to make plans for distant places. If, on the other hand, we organise the people into divisions and units, we can get good soldiers from them."  

Sun Quan followed this suggestion, and appointed Lu Xun as Controller of the Division of the Right at Headquarters. Fei Zhan, a leader of bandits in Danyang, rebelled and encouraged the Shanyue to join him. Sun Quan sent Lu Xun to attack and defeat him.

Lu Xun then arranged the eastern three commanderies into divisions and units, so that able-bodied men became soldiers and the weak were brought to fill vacancies in the registers of households. He obtained several ten thousand good soldiers, all bad elements of the past were eliminated, and wherever he went everything was set in good order. He returned to camp at Wuhu.

The Grand Administrator of Kuaiji, Chunyu Shi, sent in a memorial saying, "Lu Xun oppresses and kidnaps the people. There is misery and trouble everywhere he goes." Later, Lu Xun went to the capital, and in his report he praised Chunyu Shi as an excellent official.

"Chunyu Shi informed against you," remarked Sun Quan, "yet you recommend him. Why?"

"Chunyu Shi is concerned about his people," answered Lu Xun, "and that is why he laid accusations against me. If I in return should slander him, and confuse your sage hearing, that would be no advantage to anyone."

"Very fine," said Sun Quan. "Few people could be so generous."

King Cao of Wei had appointed Wang Bi, Chief Clerk to the Imperial Chancellor, to hold command of troops and general administration about Xu city.

At this time Guan Yu [in Jing province] was growing stronger. Jin Yi of Jingzhao, realising the Han Emperor was in danger of being deposed, arranged a plot with the Privy Treasurer Geng Ji, the Director of Uprightness Wei Huang, the Prefect Grand Physician Ji Ben, and with Ji Ben's sons
Miao and Mu. They planned to kill Wang Bi, use the Emperor as a means to turn against Wei, then call Guan Yu to bring help from the south.

NOTES to Jian'an 22: 217

A  SGZ 1, 49 (117b–118a), the Biography of Cao Cao.
Juchao county in Lujiang commandery was south of present-day Tongcheng in Anhui, midway between Shu, the capital of Lujiang, and Huan city to the south, now in the hands of Sun Quan. The Ruxu fortress was on the Yangzi northeast of Juchao. So Cao Cao’s position allowed him to threaten several points on Sun Quan’s defences in this region.

B  SGZ 55 (Wu 10), 1287 (6b), the Biography of Jiang Qin;
SGZ 55 (Wu 10), 1287 (6b) PC quoting Jiangbiao zhuan.
2 Jiang Qin was a senior commander in Sun Quan’s forces. His appointment at this time was with the main headquarters of Sun Quan. The incident with Xu Sheng had taken place earlier, when Jiang Qin was engaged in eastern Danyang and northeast Yuzhang, and had headquarters at Xuancheng county in Danyang, west of present-day Xuancheng in Anhui. Wuhu county bordered Xuancheng to the north. Though Xu Sheng had recommended the officer’s execution, Sun Quan refused because Jiang Qin was away on campaign at the time and could not be consulted. Since then, Xu Sheng was afraid Jiang Qin would find opportunity to take revenge on him, but he was now quite disarmed by Jiang Qin’s generosity.

Nothing of this story appears in the biography of Xu Sheng, SGZ 55 (Wu 10).

C  SGZ 1, 49 (118a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 9, 268 (3a), the Biography of Xiahou Dun;
SGZ 47 (Wu 2), 1120 (11a), the Biography of Sun Quan.
3 There are some awkward aspects to this incident.

Firstly, the reference to twenty-six armies remaining about Juchao, even after Cao Cao had withdrawn the bulk of his forces, seems inappropriate. While they were certainly under the command of a number of Cao Cao’s senior officers, we must assume that the character jun here refers to some lesser military unit, perhaps of regimental size, established in separate camps. The force was substantial, but one cannot estimate the number of men involved. From a military point of view, there was limited time that Cao Cao could maintain such troops so far south as Juchao, but as long as he did so they presented a threat and seriously restricted Sun Quan’s freedom of manoeuvre, particularly to deal with any move by Guan Yu up the Yangzi in Jing province. Furthermore, though ZZTJ does not mention the incident, Sun Quan’s fleet had suffered heavy losses from a storm during the defence of Ruxu: SGZ 55 (Wu 10) 1291; de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 383 and 284.

Secondly, though SGZ 47 uses the term xiang “surrender” for Sun Quan’s negotiations, there was no substantive change in the position of the two sides. Sun Quan paid no tribute and sent no hostages, and no new marriage actually took place to link the two courts. There had been an agreement, with marriage, in the time of Sun Ce about 198 (passage W of Jian’an 3) and it seems this was the alliance which was now restored.
In *Generals of the South*, 383–384, I have argued that Cao Cao's chief objective was to obtain formal recognition by Sun Quan of his status as King of Wei and his dominant position over the imperial court, and in this he was successful.

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[Jia22: 217]

D SGZ 55 (Wu 10), 1288 (7b), the Biography of Zhou Tai.

4 Youping was the style of Zhou Tai.

[Jia22: 217]

E SGZ 1, 49 (118a–119b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

5 *HHS* 9, 389, the Annals of Emperor Xian, says there was a comet in the northeast during the winter of this year, but *HHS* 102/12, 3262–63, the Treatise of the Five Powers, has no mention of it. The omen may have been inserted by a scholar loyal to Han, objecting to the excessive powers and honours grated to Cao Cao. More likely, however, the text is a dittography, with slight variation, for the major comet which was recorded in the following year; passage B of Jian'an 13.

The Annals also tell us of a major outbreak of contagious disease (*da yi*) in this year. This is supported by *HHS* 107/17, 3351, the Treatise of the Five Powers, and commentary by Liu Zhao to that reference cites a letter written by Cao Pi and a poem of Cao Zhi, both attesting to the fatal severity of the pestilence.

6 The crown (*mian*) somewhat resembled a mortar board, with the flat upper surface rounded at the front, square at the back, and longer than it was wide. The twelve pendants (*liu*) of beads of white jade, six at the front and six at the back, were an imperial prerogative, and had first been worn in this form by Emperor Ming of Later Han. High nobility and the Three Excellencies were entitled to a total of seven strands of green jade beads. See *HHS* 120/30, 3663, the Treatise of Carriages and Robes, discussed by Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 251.

The Root of Gold chariot (*jingen che*) with six horses to pull it, together with the escort of chariots of the five seasons (*wushi che*: being five pairs of carriages, each painted and decorated in a colour, green/azure, red, yellow, white and black, to match the seasons of spring, summer, mid-year, autumn and winter according to the theories of the Five Powers *wu xing*), were likewise imperial prerogatives. See *HHS* 119/29, 3644, the Treatise of Carriages and Robes.

The Root of Gold is discussed by Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 244–248. As he remarks at 247, there are only two occasions during Later Han that this "somewhat elusive" chariot is recorded as actually being used: for the capping ceremony of Emperor He in 91, and for Cao Cao at this time. *ZZTJ* commentary here quotes from a Treatise of Carriages and Robes compiled by Dong Ba, a scholar of that time who may, as Mansvelt Beck suggests, have been involved with the design, and the treatise of Sima Biao follows his description.

According to Dong Ba, the Root of Gold carriage had vermilion wheels, side-bars and hand-bar decorated with dragons and tigers, and a golden crow adorning the yoke. The canopy was covered with feathers, and the ribs ended in flowers. Above the carriage was a great banner of twelve streamers painted with images of the sun, the moon and flying dragons.

As Mansvelt Beck points out, the iconography, design and status of the carriage varied from one period to another: Cai Yong, writing a few years earlier, gives it golden wheels, different animals on the side-bars and no banners, another account refers to tinkling bells,
reminiscent of the Phoenix Carriage (note 57 to Chuping 1), and JS 25, 754 and 759, where the Root of Gold and its ten associate chariots of five colours are described, says that the Root of Gold had again no banners.

[Fa22: 217]

F SGZ 5, 156 (4a) PC quoting Wei lue;
SGZ 5, 156 (4a), the Biographies of the Empresses of Wei;
SGZ 20, 579 (1a), the Biographies of the Sons of Emperors Wu and Wen of WEI.

7 On this incident in 197, see passage A of Jian'an 2.

[Ga22: 217]

G SGZ 19, 562 (14b), PC quoting Wei lue.

8 This is a collection of comments about Cao Zhi and his father, based upon texts in SGZ 19 and the commentary of Pei Songzhi.

9 I use a variant transcription to distinguish the personal name of the younger brother from the elder. Originally, the sounds of the two characters were quite distinct: Karlgren, GSR 2, reconstructs the elder brother's name, sounded in the second tone in modern Mandarin, as ngia/ngie-/yi, while the younger's, now sounded in the fourth tone, is GSR 954: giek/iek/yi.

SGZ 19, 561, records that soon after his accession to the throne of WEI, Cao Pi had the brothers killed for their opposition to his interests. Neither have formal biographies in the main body of SGZ, but PC at this point preserves biographies of Ding Yi from Wei lue and of Ding I from Wenshi zhuan.

10 Yang Biao was a former Grand Commandant, and the family had one of the most distinguished official records of service to the Han. See, for example, HHS 44, and passage T of Jian'an 2.

Like his colleagues the Ding brothers, Yang Xiu has no biography in SGZ. PC, however, at SGZ 19, 558–60, preserves a biography from Wei lue.

[Ha22: 217]

H SGZ 12, 368–69 (4a), the Biography of Cui Yan.

11 The Gongyang commentary to the Chunqiu chronicle for the first year of Duke Yin reads [Legge, CC V, prolegomena 54–55]:

When setting up an heir from the sons of the true wife, take the eldest and do not make comparison of their virtue; when choosing between sons, take the children of the true wife and do not make comparison of their age.

12 The marriage relationship, of course, would have inclined Cui Yan to support the claim of Cao Zhi, and reflects credit upon him for not doing so.

Since we are told Cui Yan had been done to death and Mao Jie, cited below, had been disgraced in the previous year (passages B, C and D of Jian'an 21), it is clear the debate about succession was maintained for some time before a final decision was made.

[Ja22: 217]

I SGZ 12, 375 (15b), the Biography of Mao Jie.

13 See passages B and C of Jian'an 7.

[Ja22: 217]

J SGZ 12, 383 (26a), the Biography of Xing Yong.

14 On Xing Yong's former contact with Cao Zhi, not totally satisfactory on either side, see passage V of Jian'an 19.
K SGZ 10, 330 (40b), the Biography of Jia Xu.

Benchu was the style of Yuan Shao: see note 13 above. Jingsheng that of Liu Biao: see passage S of Jian’an 13.


M SGZ 19, 557 (7a), the Biography of Cao Zhi.

The first two clauses describing Cao Zhi, followed here by Sima Guang, present him as a free spirit. ZZTJ, however, omits the next clause in SGZ 19, which remarks that he drank wine without restraint. In such circumstances, the choice of Cao Pi, who could control his basic instincts, has much to commend it.

N SGZ 5, 157 (4b–5a), the Biography of the Lady Bian.


We may contrast the extravagance of Cao Pi with the modest demeanour of his mother the Lady Bian, approved by Cao Cao, and the criticism of the young Lady Xin. ZZTJ commentary remarks that the wisdom of women reaches further than that of men.

P SGZ 19, 558 (7a–b), the Biography of Cao Zhi.

Thus incident is discussed by Cutter, "Incident at the Gate," 229–240 and especially 229–233. It probably took place at Cao Cao’s capital of Ye, where the system of gates and guards had been organised after the system of Han, and particularly that of the Later Han capital Luoyang.

Under that arrangement, entrances to the palace were under the authority of the Commandant of the Guards (which ministry had been established for the kingdom of WEI during this year: note 17 to Jian’an 21). Each outer gate was under the command of a Major, with a garrison to guard it, and these were known as the "Major’s Gates." The chief inner gate was that of Official Carriages: carriages were indeed garaged here but it was also the entrance for those bringing messages or tribute to the throne, or responding to summons for office, and the Prefect of the Majors in Charge of Official Carriages was responsible for receiving them: Bielenstein, Lo–yang, 23, Bielenstein, Bureaucracy, 32–33, and HHS 115/25, 3579, the Treatise of Officials.

From the present context, and also the commentary of Yan Shigu to HS 19A, 729, quoting Hanguan yi by Ying Shao of the late second century AD, the Prefect was further responsible for all the outer Major’s Gates and for night-time patrols. (As Bielenstein, Bureaucracy, 32, points out, however, the Prefect, at Six Hundred shi, was lower in rank/salary than the Majors in charge of the outer gates, who ranked at Equivalent to One Thousand shi; he thus held an inspection post rather than an executive one.) It was the unfortunate Prefect, therefore, who was punished for Cao Zhi’s infraction.

Cao Zhi had offended in two ways. Firstly, according to the regulations of Han, to ride in a carriage down the central way was a privilege reserved to the sovereign: e.g. Cambridge China I, 101 [Bodde, "Ch’in"], Hulsewé, RHL I, 219, and Needham, Science and Civilisation IV.3, 7. [This central track was described as a "speedway" (chi dao) because the
ruler could gallop along it in his carriage.] Passage E above, moreover, indicates that Cao Cao had just lately taken this privilege for himself, so he would be all the more embarrassed and jealous of his son usurping it.

Cao Zhi's second cause of offence was that it was required all those entering or leaving the palace should dismount from their horse or carriage as they passed through the gate: Hulsewé, _RHL_ I, 185–186 and 203.

_SGZ_ 19, 558 PC, quotes _Wei–Wu gushi_, with three ordinances promulgated by Cao Cao expressing his disapproval and disappointment at Cao Zhi's effrontery and remarking that he now lacked confidence in all the feudal lords his sons.

_Q SGZ_ 12, 369 (4a) PC quoting _Wei–Jin_ _shiyu._

Cao Zhi's wife was a niece of Cui Yan: see passage H above. On the sumptuary regulations, see also passage K of Jian'an 208, where we are told of the good work of Cui Yan and his colleague Mao Jie.

_R SGZ_ 37 (Shu 7), 961 (14b–15a), the Biography of Fa Zheng;
_SGZ_ 32 (Shu 2), 884 (25b), the Biography of Liu Bei;
_SGZ_ 1, 50 (119b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

_SGZ_ 32 says Liu Bei led his men against Hanzhong only in the following year, but Fa Zheng's biography dates his exhortation to this year, and _SGZ_ 1 agrees.

Xibian county was the capital of Wudu commandery. The city lay in the vicinity of present-day Cheng county in Gansu, on an upper tributary of the Han River. Wu Lan thus held an advanced post against the Wei forces in Hanzhong, about present-day Hanzhong in Sichuan. The main attack, however, though also in Wudu commandery, was pressed further south, upon the Yangping Pass: see note 10 to Jian'an 23.

The description of events in passage C of Jian'an 23, moreover, indicates that only Wu Lan's force was sent as far as Xibian, while Zhang Fei and Ma Chao were probably held in reserve by the Yangping Pass.

_S SGZ_ 53 (Wu 8), 1247 (7b–8a), the Biography of Yan Jun;
_SGZ_ 54 (Wu 9), 1277 (27a), the Biography of Lü Meng.

_SGZ_ 53, 1248 PC quotes _Zhi lin_, which says that when Sun Quan attempted to have him ride a horse, Yan Jun repeatedly fell off.

This was the same appointment Lu Su had held: passage G of Jian'an 15. Lü Meng had responsibility for all operations in Jing province, facing Wei in the north and Liu Bei's commander Guan Yu on the west.

_T SGZ_ 58 (Wu 13), 1343–44 (2a–b), the Biography of Lu Xun.

The phrase _buwu_, "divisions and units," describes a program for settling the non-Chinese and renegade peoples of the hills into groups under Chinese authority, probably with mutual responsibility. Essentially, Lu Xun is arguing for a forward pattern of colonisation to extend the power of Sun Quan's government across the frontier, rather than merely defeating raids and rebellion as they arose.
This policy had already been established by such commanders as He Qi, but Sun Quan's acceptance of Lu Xun's advice represented an official endorsement and renewal of the program. See de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 328–338.

24 *SGZ* 58 says that Fei Zhan had received an official seal from Cao Cao.

25 These three commanderies were Danyang, Wu and Kuaiji. Lu Xun's appointment as Controller of the Division of the Right at Headquarters evidently gave him general military and civil authority over that whole region.

As we have observed on a number of occasions, the title Controller (*du*) is used at this period in a wide variety of contexts and powers. Here, Lu Xun's position, evidently part of Sun Quan's central administration, has extensive power over the eastern part of Wu. In the following item, however, the style Controller at Headquarters refers only to a junior aide in the garrison commanded by Cao Cao's officer Wang Bi at Xu city: passage A of Jian'an 23.

[A22: 217]

U *SGZ* 1, 50 (119b–120a), the Biography of Cao Cao;

*SGZ* 1, 50 (120b–121a) PC quoting Commentary (*zhu*) to *Sanfu juelu*.

26 Wang Bi's appointment was in the office of the Imperial Chancellor of Han, the position formally held by Cao Cao. Cao Cao himself was currently at Ye.

27 Though I have followed the modern pronunciation of the character, *ZZTJ* commentary gives the sound of this personal name as Wei, and this may be the same man as Jin Wei, son of the martyred Jin Shang of Jingzhao, who was appointed Gentleman of the Palace in 197: passage V of Jian'an 2.

*Sanfu juelu* was composed by Zhao Qi (d. 201 AD), and the commentary with a continuation was compiled by Zhi Yu, who died about 312. The original text of the present passage of *ZZTJ* is preserved both in *SGZ* 1, 50 PC and also in commentary to *HHS* 9, 389; both citations have the personal name as in *ZZTJ*. The original text for passage V of Jian'an 2 is based upon the *Dian lue* of Yu Huan, quoted by *SGZ* 7, 223 PC, and this gives the personal name with a different radical. There is no direct reference from one text to the other, but it is possible one of the sources mistook the radical of Jin Wei/Yi's personal name.

28 During Former Han, the Director of Uprightness had been an officer of the censorate about the capital under the Imperial Chancellor: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 8; de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 47. The system was evidently restored by Cao Cao.

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**Jian'an 23: 218 AD**

**13 February 218 – 2 February 219**

A In the spring, in the first month Ji Miao and his party led a thousand followers to attack Wang Bi by night. They burnt down his gate and shot Wang Bi in the shoulder. His Controller at Headquarters helped him escape to the southern part of the city,1 and when dawn came Ji Miao's party was in disorder. Aided by Yan Kuang, General of the Gentlemen of the Household in Charge of Agriculture in Yingchuan,2 Wang Bi attacked them and cut off their heads.
In the third month there was a comet in the east.3

Cao Hong led an attack on Wu Lan. Zhang Fei was camped at Gushan, and threatened that he was going to cut [Cao Hong's] communications to the rear. All Cao Hong's advisers were uncertain.4

The Chief Commandant of Cavalry Cao Xiu said, "If the enemy had really cut the road, they would have hidden their troops and moved in secret. Since we have heard of the threat, it is clear they can do no such thing. Before they have gathered their forces, go quickly to attack Wu Lan. When he is destroyed, Zhang Fei will be compelled to retreat."

Cao Hong followed this plan. He went forward to attack Wu Lan, defeated him and took his head. In the third month Zhang Fei and Ma Chao retreated.5

Cao Xiu was a junior clansman of King Cao of WEI.

In the summer, in the fourth month Wuchendi and others, the Wuhuan of Dai and Shanggu commanderies, made rebellion.

Before this, King Cao of WEI had called in Pei Qian, Grand Administrator of Dai commandery, to become Senior Clerk in the Department of Justice under the Chancellor.

2155 Cao Cao praised his government of Dai commandery,6 but Pei Qian replied, "I acted generously to the people, though I was firm with the barbarians. My successor will certainly think I was too strict, and will treat them more gently. The barbarians have always acted proudly and wilfully, and too much leniency will make the government slack. When things become slack and you then try to restore law and order, it brings hatred and rebellion. Looking at the situation this way, there will soon be another rebellion in Dai."

Cao Cao now regretted he had brought Pei Qian back so soon,7 and a few weeks later there came the news of the rebellion of the three Shanyu.

Cao Cao appointed his son Cao Zhang, Marquis of Yanling, as Acting General of Resolute Cavalry and sent him to attack them.8

When he was young, Cao Zhang was extremely good at archery and at driving a chariot, and he was stronger than most men. Cao Cao cautioned him, "We live at home as father and son, but we attend to affairs as ruler
and subject. If anything goes wrong, I shall punish you in accordance with the royal law. Be careful."9

F Liu Bei was camped at the Yangping Pass,10 faced by Xiahou Yuan, Zhang He and Xu Huang. He sent his officers Chen Shi and others to cut the Mamingge Road,11 but Xu Huang attacked them and defeated them. Zhang He was camped at Guangshi, and Liu Bei attacked him without success.12

G He sent back urgent instructions to raise all the forces of Yi province.

Zhuge Liang asked the Attendant Official Yang Hong of Jianwei about the matter. "Hanzhong is the critical route into Yi province," replied Yang Hong. "This is the turning point of survival or destruction unless we control Hanzhong, we do not possess SHU. Here is a danger at the very door of the house. How can you be hesitant about raising troops?"

Fa Zheng was currently with Liu Bei's army, so Zhuge Liang recommended Yang Hong act for him as Grand Administrator of Shu commandery. All affairs of the people were well-managed, and he then gave him permanent appointment.

Before this, the Grand Administrator of Jianwei, Li Yan, had made Yang Hong Officer of his Bureau of Merit. Before Li Yan had left Jianwei, Yang Hong received the appointment to Shu commandery. In turn, Yang Hong recommended his Clerical Assistant at the Gate He Zhi as a man good at making plans,13 and while Yang Hong was still in Shu, He Zhi was given appointment as Grand Administrator of Guanghan.

2156 For this reason people in the west admired the way that Zhuge Liang put the talents of all men into service.

H In the autumn, in the seventh month King Cao of WEI came in person to take command against Liu Bei.

In the ninth month he arrived at Chang'an.

I Cao Zhang attacked the Wuhuan of Dai commandery, taking part in the fighting himself. His armour was hit by several arrows but his spirit was undaunted. He followed up his victory, and pursued the rebels to the north of Sanggan.14 He completely defeated them, and the men whose heads he took and the people he captured were numbered by the thousands.
Kebineng, chieftain of the Xianbi, had come with several ten thousand cavalry to watch events. He saw Cao Zhang's might in battle, and how those who faced him were all destroyed. He asked to submit, and all the north was pacified.

The people of Nanyang were suffering under forced labour services. In the winter, in the tenth month the officer of the garrison at Wan, Hou Yin, led a mutiny.

The Grand Administrator of Nanyang, Dongli Gun, and his Officer of the Bureau of Merit Ying Yu fought fiercely and managed to escape. Hou Yin sent horsemen after them, and arrows came from every direction. Ying Yu protected Dongli Gun with his body, he was hit seven times, and he died. Hou Yin's horsemen captured Dongli Gun and brought him back.

At this time the General Who Subdues the South Cao Ren was camped at Fan to guard Jing province. King Cao of Wei ordered him to go back and attack Hou Yin.

The Officer of the Bureau of Merit Zong Ziqing said to Hou Yin, "You accord with the people's hearts, and have taken up a great affair. All men far and near attend your actions. Yet you still hold the leader of the commandery. That is an act of rebellion which gains you nothing. Why not send him away?" Hou Yin did so.

Then Zong Ziqing climbed over the city wall by night, joined the Grand Administrator, and together they collected the rest of the people to besiege Hou Yin. Soon afterwards Cao Ren's army arrived to join the attack.
NOTES to Jian'an 23: 218

A

SGZ 1, 50 (119b–120a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 1, 50 (120b–121a) PC quoting Commentary to Sanfu juelu.

1 Controller at Headquarters in this context was evidently a junior aide to Wang Bi. Compare the position of Lu Xun under Sun Quan at this time: passage T and note 25 to Jian'an 22.

2 Xu was the chief city of Yingchuan commandery, and had been the first site for the establishment of military agricultural colonies: passage BB of Jian'an 1. The General of the Gentlemen of the Household in Charge of Agriculture stationed in that region evidently commanded a local defence force.

[Ja23: 218]

B

HHS 9, 389 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

3 This was Halley's Comet. HHS 102/12, 3262, the Treatise of Astronomy, says that it shone brightly and moved from east to west over a period of more than twenty days. It appeared successively in the following constellations:

- Eastern Well (Dongjing) in Gemini: Schlegel at 404; Ho at 103 and Map 7;
- Five Feudal Princes (Wu zhuhou) in Gemini: Schlegel at 422; Ho at 92 and Map 7;
- Literary Brilliance (Wenchang) in Ursa Major: Schlegel at 530; Ho at 74 and Map 1;
- Chariot (Xianyuan) in Leo centred on Regulus: Schlegel at 452; Ho at 93 and Maps 7 and 2;
- Empress (Houfei) in Ursa Minor: Schlegel at 525; Ho at 67;
- the Enclosure of Supreme Subtlety (Taiwei yuan) in Leo and Virgo: Schlegel at 534; Ho at 76–78 and Map 2;
- while the tail reached to the Imperial Throne (Dizuo), Rasalgethi in Hercules: Schlegel at 518; Ho at 84 and Map 3.

The prognostication of the Treatise says that the comet shows the old giving way to new.

[Ja23: 218]

C

SGZ 9, 279 (20a–b), the Biography of Cao Xiu;
SGZ 1, 51 (121b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

4 The site of Gushan is not known, but it was probably in the vicinity of the Yangping Pass, south of Wu Lan's position at Xiabian. Liu Bei had evidently sought to establish Wu Lan as an outpost against the Cao forces in Hanzhong, while Zhang Fei threatened their lines of communications if they moved against him.

5 In referring to the third month at this point, ZZZI mistaken follows SGZ 1, for the month has already been identified in the preceding passage.

According to SGZ 1, Wu Lan was in fact killed by a man of the Di people, who sent his head in to the WEI forces.

[Ja23: 218]

D

SGZ 1, 51 (122a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 23, 672 (24a), the Biography of Pei Qian.

6 On Pei Qian's dealings with the Wuhuan, including the chieftain Wuchendi [or Nengchendi], see passage H and note 14 to Jian'an 21.

7 It does seem strange that Cao Cao should bring a successful Grand Administrator, from a sensitive frontier territory, back into the central government without strong reason. Pei Qian had been a Junior Clerk before he was sent into Dai commandery (passage H of
Jian’an 21); he returned as a Senior Clerk in a different office. This was hardly an urgent and necessary transfer.

8 Cao Zhang was a son of Cao Cao by the Lady Bian. He was a younger brother of Cao Pi and the elder brother of Cao Zhi. Yanling county was in Yingchuan, near present-day Yanling in Henan.

The designation "Acting" (xing) comes from the biography of Cao Zhang in SGZ 19, 555: his substantive appointment was as General of the Gentlemen of the Household in the North (bei zhonglangjiang).

9 This advice was given Cao Zhang by his father as he was about to leave for the campaign. Despite his physical prowess, Cao Zhang was evidently not a favourite of his father. He was enfeoffed as a marquis only in 216, though his full brothers Cao Zhi and Cao Ju had been granted that honour five years earlier, and Cao Pi received imperial appointment at that time: SGZ 19, 557, SGZ 20, 581, passage A of Jian’an 16. It does not appear the he was ever considered a contender for the succession to his father.

10 On the importance of the Yangping Pass for the invasion of Hanzhong by Cao Cao from the north, see notes 2 and 20 to Jian’an 20.

Three years later, Liu Bei is approaching the same area from the south, up the headwaters of the Jialing River along the line of the modern Chengdu-Baoqi railroad. He intended then to turn west at Yangping and enter Hanzhong down the valley of the Han.

11 This "Elevated Road Where the Horses Cry Out" probably refers to a stretch of the trestle-laid Baoye Road, which led north from Hanzhong across the Qin Ling divide into the Wei valley: it was no doubt named because the animals whinnied in fear at the height. This was the main route bringing supplies and reinforcements to the Wei defenders in Hanzhong. See note 2 to Jian’an 20, also de Crespigny, Northern Frontier, 14 and map 2 at 92.

12 Guangshi, west of present-day Mian county in Shenxi, was evidently a fortified position facing Yangping.

13 Clerical Assistants were junior secretaries in a commandery: Bielenstein, Bureaucracy, 97 [Accessory Clerk for Documents]. The designation "at the Gate" (menxia) indicated membership of the administrator’s personal staff rather than attachment to a regular bureau.

14 Sanggan county was in Dai commandery. The city lay on the present-day Sanggan River east of Yangyuan in Hebei.
The biography of Kebineng is in *SGZ* 30, 838–39. A rival to the descendants of Tanshihuai, he was in the process of establishing a new confederacy over the Xianbi tribes of present-day Mongolia. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 415 and 330–331.

15 SGZ 1, 51 (122b), the Biography of Cao Cao; SGZ 1, 51 (122b–123a) PC quoting *Cao Man zhuan*; SGZ 4, 141 (50b–51a) PC quoting *Chuguo xianxian zhuan*.

16 Fan city, on the Han River by present-day Xiangfan, was Cao Ren's reserve base for the defence of Jing province against Guan Yu. Wan city, capital of Nanyang commandery, was some hundred kilometres to the north. Zong Ziqing had evidently succeeded the heroic Ying Yu as Officer of the Bureau of Merit. Hou Yin presumably made the appointment in the hope of attracting additional local support.
In the spring, in the first month Cao Ren stormed Wan. He sacked the city, cut off the head of Hou Yin, and returned to camp at Fan.

Before this, Xiahou Yuan had been successful in many battles, but King Cao of Wei always warned him, "The commander of an army should sometimes be timid and weak; you cannot rely merely upon your courage. The commander takes courage as the basis, but he must always act wisely and with forethought. If he thinks only of physical bravery, a common fellow can match him." 1

When Xiahou Yuan and Liu Bei had faced one another for more than a year, Liu Bei came from Yangping and crossed the Mian River to the south. He climbed the hills, brought his army a little further forward, then made camp at Dingjun Mountain. As Xiahou Yuan led soldiers to contest the position, Fa Zheng said, "We can attack."

Liu Bei sent Huang Zhong, General Who Exterminates Caitiffs, to charge the enemy from above with drums and war-cries. Xiahou Yuan's army was utterly defeated. They took the head of Xiahou Yuan and also that of Zhao Yong, the Inspector of Yi province [appointed by Cao Cao]. 2

Zhang He led the army back to Yangping. 3 The men had just lost their leader, they were troubled and could not think what to do. The Controller of the Army Du Xi and Xiahou Yuan's Major Guo Huai of Taiyuan collected the scattered troops and issued a statement to all the army, "General Zhang is a celebrated leader of our state. Liu Bei is afraid of him. As the situation becomes more critical every day, our minds will not be easy unless General Zhang takes command."

So for the time being Zhang He became head of the army. He went out to encourage the troops and inspect the lines, all officers accepted his orders, and morale was restored.

Next day Liu Bei wanted to attack across the Han. 4 The officers [of Wei] believed that their army was too weak to match the enemy, and they wanted to form ranks to guard the bank against him.

"Such tactics," argued Guo Huai, "will only show weakness, and will not give us a strong enough position against the enemy. This is not a good plan."
"It would be best to set our position some distance from the river as a means to entice them over. When they are half-way across we can attack them. By this means, Liu Bei can be defeated." When they drew up that line of battle, Liu Bei was suspicious and did not come across.

Then Guo Huai set a firm guard to show he had no intention of retreating, and sent a report of the situation to King Cao of Wei. Cao Cao fully approved his conduct. He sent messengers to grant a Staff of Authority to Zhang He, and he confirmed Guo Huai as Major.

Ja24: 219

D In the second month, on the day renzi [2 Apr], the last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.5

2158

E In the third month King Cao of Wei came through the Yegu Pass from Chang'an and set his army to cover the important points on the approaches to Hanzhong.6 "Even if Lord Cao does come," observed Liu Bei, "there is nothing he can do. We have firm hold of the Han River."7 He collected his troops to face the passes, but no fighting took place.

F Cao Cao's grain supplies came through the mountains from the north, and Huang Zhong planned to intercept them. He was away longer than he had said, and when he had still not returned Zhao Yun, General of the Assistant Army, led several score horsemen from the camp to look for him.

Just at this time Cao Cao had brought out a great number of his men, and Zhao Yun encountered them unexpectedly. He went forward to charge their lines, then fought his way back. The Wei troops scattered and formed again, then pursued him to his camp.

Zhao Yun entered the camp, threw open the gates, put the flags away and kept the drums silent. The Wei soldiers suspected he had set an ambush, so they went away. Then Zhao Yun had the drums beaten to shake the heavens, and he ordered his men to shoot only with strong bows, to take the Wei soldiers from behind. The enemy were startled and terrified. They trampled one another down as they fled, and a great number fell into the Han and died.8 Next day, when Liu Bei came himself to Zhao Yun's camp, he saw the battle-field and said: "Zilong is all bravery!"9

G Cao Cao and Liu Bei faced one another for several months, and many of Cao Cao's men deserted. In the summer, in the fifth month Cao Cao
withdrew all his forces from Hanzhong and returned to Chang'an. So Liu Bei held Hanzhong.

H Cao Cao was afraid that Liu Bei might come north, take over the Di barbarians of Wudu, and so threaten the lands within the passes. He asked the Inspector of Yong province, Zhang Ji, about it.10

Zhang Ji advised him, "Encourage the people to go north for harvest and avoid the enemy. Give generous rewards to those who arrive first. When the first-comers realise the benefits, others are sure to follow." Cao Cao approved this policy. He sent Zhang Ji to Wudu, where he transferred fifty thousand Di people into the territory of [You]fufeng and Tianshui.11

Yan Jun of Wuwei, He Luan of Zhangye, Huang Hua of Jiuquan and Qu Yan of Xiping acted as warlords in their commanderies, taking titles as generals and fighting one another. Yan Jun sent his mother and his children as hostages to King Cao of WEI and asked for help. Cao Cao asked Zhang Ji about it.

"Yan Jun and his fellows," replied Zhang Ji, "pretend to respect the authority of the state, but inwardly they are proud and rebellious. When they have decided their plans and feel strong enough, they will all rebel together. Now, while you are still occupied with SHU, let them all keep fighting. Like Bian Zhuangzi destroying tigers, you may sit and wait until they are worn out."12

"Excellent!" agreed the King. In the course of that year He Luan killed Yan Jun and was in turn destroyed by Wang Bi of Wuwei.13

Liu Bei sent the Grand Administrator of Yidu, Meng Da of Fufeng, to go north from Zigui to attack Fangling. The Grand Administrator of Fangling, Kuai Qi, was killed.14 Then Liu Bei sent his adopted son Liu Feng to follow the Mian River down from Hanzhong and take over command of Meng Da's army to make a combined attack on Shangyong.15 The Grand Administrator of Shangyong, Shen Dan, surrendered with all his commandery.16

Liu Bei promoted Shen Dan to be General Who Subdues the North, still holding office as Grand Administrator of Shangyong, and he appointed Shen Dan's younger brother Yi as General Who Establishes Trust and Grand Administrator of Xicheng.17
In the autumn, in the seventh month, Liu Bei named himself King of Hanzhong. He set up an altar at Mianyang, arrayed his soldiers and people in order, and all the ministers took their places. He read out a memorial, took seal and ribbon, and put on a cap of royalty. Then he sent couriers to return the seals and ribbon of the General of the Left and Marquis of Yicheng Village which he had been granted [by the imperial government under Cao Cao].

Liu Bei appointed his son Liu Shan as Heir-Apparent to the kingdom.

Liu Bei promoted the General of the Standard, Wei Yan of Yiyang, to become General Who Maintains Distant Lands in Peace, with command as Grand Administrator of Hanzhong guarding the Han River.

Liu Bei went back and set his capital at Chengdu. He appointed Xu Jing as Grand Tutor, Fa Zheng became Prefect of the Masters of Writing, Guan Yu became General of the Van, Zhang Fei became General of the Right, Ma Chao became General of the Left and Huang Zhong became General of the Rear. All Liu Bei's officers were granted some promotion.

The Major of the Forward Division of Yi province, Fei Shi of Jianwei, was sent to carry the seal and ribbon to Guan Yu. When Guan Yu learnt that Huang Zhong had been given the same rank as himself he was extremely angry. "I'm better than that clod!" he said. He refused to take the appointment.

"When a man must establish a royal work," said Fei Shi, "he cannot use just one comrade. In former times Xiao [He] and Cao [Can] were boyhood friends of Gaozu, while Chen [Ping] and Han [Xin] came later as refugees. When ranking was discussed, Han Xin held the highest place, but I have not heard that either Xiao He or Cao Can were angry about it.

"If the King of Hanzhong, to honour the house of Han, rewards someone for his achievement on a separate occasion, why must you think he regards you no differently to others? You and his majesty are so close you might have a single body, you feel the same joys and the same sorrows, you share good fortune and ill. I do not believe you should judge his feelings by the highs and lows of official titles nor by the size of fiefs and gifts.

"I am just an errand-boy, acting upon orders. If you refuse the appointment, I shall simply go back. Nonetheless, I shall be sorry for it, and I fear you may regret it too."
Guan Yu was touched. He realised his error, and he bowed at once to accept the appointment.

An edict appointed the Lady Bian, wife of King Cao, as Queen of Wei.

Sun Quan attacked Hefei. The soldiers of several Wei provinces were stationed along the frontiers in Huainan. The Inspector of Yang province Wen Hui said to the Inspector of Yan province Pei Qian, "Though the enemy come against us, we have nothing to worry about here. On the other side, however, with the river floods rising, Zixiao [Cao Ren] keeps his army idle and has no long-term plans for contingencies. Guan Yu is brave and cunning. If he attacks, I fear the General Who Subdues the South [Cao Ren] will have trouble." 

In the event, Guan Yu set the Grand Administrator of Nan commandery, Mi Fang, to guard Jiangling and the General [Fu] Shi Ren to guard Gong'an while he himself led an army to attack Cao Ren at Fan. Cao Ren stationed the General of the Left Yu Jin with the General Who Supports Righteousness Pang De and others in camps north of Fan.

In the eighth month there were great rains, the Han River broke its banks and the whole plain was covered by water scores of feet deep. Seven armies under Yu Jin and his colleagues were flooded out. Yu Jin and his men climbed high ground to avoid the water, and Guan Yu's soldiers sailed in great ships to attack them. Utterly exhausted, Yu Jin and his followers surrendered.

Pang De was on an embankment. He wore armour and held a bow, and he hit his mark with every shot, maintaining resistance from morning past midday. Guan Yu attacked more and more fiercely, and Pang De's arrows were exhausted, but he continued the struggle hand to hand.

Even as the flood continued to rise, Pang De fought on unafraid, but all his men surrendered. Then Pang De took a small boat to go back to Cao Ren's camp, but the water rose still further, and his boat overturned. Having lost his weapons, he held on to the upturned boat alone amongst the waves, and he was captured by Guan Yu.

Pang De carried himself straight and would not bow. Guan Yu said to him, "You have a cousin in Hanzhong, and I should be pleased to have you as one of my officers. Why did you not surrender sooner?"
"Slave," snarled Pang De, "what is this talk of surrender? The King of Wei commands a million men in arms, and his authority shakes the empire. Your Liu Bei is nothing special; how can he match my master? I would rather be a martyr for my state than a leader of rebels." Guan Yu killed him.

When King Cao of Wei heard of this, he said, "I knew Yu Jin for thirty years, and I never believed that when danger came he would show himself inferior to Pang De." He enfeoffed Pang De's two sons as marquises.

P  Guan Yu attacked Fan city hard. The fortifications were affected by water, and they gradually crumbled and fell. All the army was nervous and afraid, and some people said to Cao Ren, "This is more than we can cope with. Guan Yu's siege-circle is not yet joined, so take the chance, get on a light boat and escape by night."

The Grand Administrator of Runan, Man Chong, said, "The mountain waters came swiftly, and we can hope they will go down just as fast. I hear that Guan Yu has already sent a detachment towards Jia, and the whole area south of Xu city is disturbed. The reason Guan Yu does not go forward is because he is afraid our army may cut off his rear. Once we run away, we shall have lost everything south of the Great River. You must stay here."

"Very good!" agreed Cao Ren. He drowned a white horse and made covenant with his troops that they should join hearts and hold firm. The men and the horses in the city were several thousand, but the fortifications stood only a few feet above the water. Guan Yu sailed his ships to the walls, set up several lines of siege, and the city was cut off from outside.

2162  Guan Yu also sent detachments to besiege the General Lü Chang at Xiangyang. The Inspector of Jing province, Hu Xiu, and the Grand Administrator of Nanxiang, Fu Fang, both surrendered to Guan Yu.

Q  Before this, Wei Feng of Pei state had made a great show to impress people, everyone at Ye admired his brilliance, and the Chancellor of State of Wei, Zhong Yao, appointed him Senior Clerk in the Department of the West. Ren Lan of Rongyang was a close friend of Wei Feng, but Zheng Mao from the same commandery, a son of Zheng Tai, warned him on a number of occasions that, "Wei Feng is a master of deceit. He will surely cause trouble."

In the ninth month Wei Feng collected followers in secret and made plans with Chen Yi, Commandant of the Guards at the Palace of Prolonged
Joy, 40 for a coup at Ye. Before the appointed time had come Chen Yi became frightened and told about it. The Heir-Apparent Cao Pi executed Wei Feng, several thousand other men died because they were implicated, and Zhong Yao was dismissed from office.

Before this, Yang Xiu, Master of Records to the Chancellor, with Ding Yi and his brothers, had planned that Cao Zhi should succeed his father.

The General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes, Cao Pi, was anxious about it. He took a chariot, filled it with empty baskets, and had the Chief of Chaoge county, Wu Zhi, hide in it and come to advise him. Yang Xiu told King Cao of Wei about this, but Cao Cao delayed before looking into the accusation. Cao Pi was afraid and asked Wu Zhi, but Wu Zhi replied, "Nothing to worry about."

Next day they sent in baskets of silk. Yang Xiu reported it again, the baskets were examined, and there was no-one inside. Cao Cao became suspicious of Yang Xiu.

Some time later, when Cao Zhi became estranged from his father because of his arrogant and wilful behaviour, he relied increasingly upon Yang Xiu, and Yang Xiu did not dare let him down. When there was some policy Cao Zhi did not understand, they would try to work out what Cao Cao wanted, and prepare ten or more forms of reply. Cao Zhi then told his attendants, "When [my father] issues an instruction, choose the appropriate response and send it in." By this means the order was scarcely out before the answer came back. Cao Cao, amazed at the speed, made investigation, and so the trick was discovered.

Cao Cao had always disliked Yang Xiu because he was a nephew of Yuan Shu, and when he found he had been passing on everything he said and communicating with a feudal lord [Cao Zhi], he had him arrested and executed.

King Cao of Wei appointed Du Xi as Chief Clerk on Station for the lands within the passes. Xu You, commander of a small force in that territory, refused to submit to Cao Cao and sent insulting messages instead.

Cao Cao was furious, and wanted to attack Xu You. His officers all argued, "You should invite him to join you, so that together you may attack stronger enemies." Cao Cao laid his sword across his knee, coloured up, and refused to speak.
Du Xi came in to protest, but Cao Cao interrupted him, "My plans are set. Do not say anything more."

"If your majesty's plans are correct," replied Du Xi, "then I shall help you perfect them. If your majesty's plans are mistaken, even though they are decided you should still change them. Yet your majesty interrupts me and orders me not to speak. Surely that is an unworthy way to behave towards your servants?"

"Xu You has insulted me," said Cao Cao. "How can I disregard that?"

"Will your majesty say what sort of a man is Xu You?" asked Du Xi.

"A common fellow," replied Cao Cao.

"It requires a worthy man to recognise another," observed Du Xi, "and only a sage can appreciate a sage. How should a common fellow acknowledge his true superior? At this time, however, when wolves are on the road and the fox is taken first, then people may believe your majesty is avoiding the strong while attacking the weak. You cannot display your courage if you punish him, and you will not be unduly generous if you leave him alone. I have heard that a crossbow which draws thirty thousand catties is the wrong weapon to shoot a mouse, and a bell weighing five hundred tons does not sound to the touch of a stem of grass. This miserable fellow Xu You, is it worth your while exercising your military genius against him?"

"Very good!" said Cao Cao. So he treated Xu You generously and behaved well to him, and Xu You submitted at once.

In the winter, in the tenth month King Cao of Wei came to Luoyang.

Sun Lang, a man of Luhun, made a rebellion. He killed the Master of Records of the county and went south to join Guan Yu. Guan Yu granted him a seal and gave him soldiers, and he came back as a bandit. In the area south from Xu city there were others who acted as allies to Guan Yu behind the lines.

Guan Yu's power made central China tremble, and King Cao of Wei even considered shifting the capital from Xu city to avoid his attacks.

Sima Yi, however, Major to the Army of the Chancellor, and the Junior Clerk in the Department of the West Jiang Ji both said to him, "Yu Jin and his comrades were destroyed by the floods, they were not lost in war, and there is yet no real harm to the great plans of our state. Liu Bei and Sun
Quan may appear to be close allies, but they have private disagreements. Guan Yu has ambitions, and Sun Quan will never allow him to achieve them.

"Send a man to encourage Sun Quan to close on his rear, and promise in return to enfeoff him with all land south of the Yangzi. Then the siege of Fan will certainly be broken." Cao Cao accepted this plan.

V

Before this, Lu Su had urged Sun Quan that so long as Cao Cao lived he should stay in harmony with Guan Yu and maintain the alliance. They should never break off with him. Then Lü Meng took Lu Su's place and camped at Lukou. He considered that Guan Yu had always been an ambitious general who planned to take over all the territory. He already controlled the upper reaches of the state, and it would be difficult to maintain this position for long.

So he said secretly to Sun Quan, "Order the General Who Subdues the Caitiffs [Sun Jiao] to hold Nan commandery, Pan Zhang to go to Bodi, and send Jiang Qin with ten thousand soldiers raiding up and down the Yangzi, to harass the enemy wherever he turns. Then I shall go forward and occupy Xiangyang for our state. After that, what have we to fear from Cao Cao? And why should we rely upon Guan Yu?"

"Moreover, though Guan Yu and his master [Liu Bei] boast of their pretended power, they are very unstable and we cannot trust them. If Guan Yu has not yet turned eastwards against us, it is only because of your honour's sage-like intelligence, and because I and others are still here. Should you fail to act while we are strong, then one day we may be gone, and if you wish to muster your forces again, how will you manage?"

"It was my intention to take Xu province first, then deal with Guan Yu," replied Sun Quan. "What about that?"

"Cao Cao is at present far away to the north of the Yellow River," answered Lü Meng. "He is collecting You and Ji provinces, and has not yet had time to look to the east. I am told the troops guarding Xu territory are too few to be of any significance, so if you go there you can take them. That area, however, is all dry land, and good cavalry can gallop there.

"If your honour takes Xu province now, we can be certain Cao Cao will come to fight for it in a matter of weeks. Even if you stationed seventy or eighty thousand men to hold the territory, it would still be cause for concern."
"The best thing to do is take Guan Yu and seize all the Long River [the Yangzi]. You would extend the state even further [than if you took Xu province], and those lands can easily be defended." Sun Quan thought this was excellent.50

Sun Quan had at one time suggested a marriage alliance for his son with [a daughter of] Guan Yu, but Guan Yu insulted his messenger and refused the marriage. Sun Quan was angry.

When Guan Yu attacked Fan, Lü Meng sent in a memorial, "Guan Yu is driving north, but he has left a strong guard behind. He is naturally worried I may threaten his rear.

"I am often ill. I ask to bring some of my forces back to Jianye: we can say it is because of my health. When Guan Yu hears, he will surely call his guards up to Xiangyang. If a great army then sails fast day and night up the Yangzi and attacks the places he has left unprotected, Nan commandery can be captured and Guan Yu taken."

So he announced that he was dangerously ill. Sun Quan sent an open summons to call him back, while at the same time making plans with him in secret.

As Lü Meng passed Wuhu, the Colonel Who Settles Majesty Lu Xun said to him,51 "You hold the border against Guan Yu, why have you come so far down here? Won't that soon cause us problems?"

"What you say is true," replied Lü Meng, "but I am very ill."

"Guan Yu boasts of his courage," said Lu Xun, "and he oppresses others. Having lately gained a great success, he now has proud ideas and unbridled ambition. Fully occupied with his attack to the north, he has yet no suspicion of us. When he hears of your illness, he will certainly reduce his guard against us. If we break out now when he is not expecting us, we can take him. When you go down to see his honour [Sun Quan] you should make good plans."

"Guan Yu is brave and fierce," replied Lü Meng, "so it is difficult to match him. He already holds Jing province and he governs with great favour and good faith. Now he has begun to have success, his courage and strength are growing. It will not be easy to deal with him."

When Lü Meng came to the capital, Sun Quan asked him, "Who could take your place?"
Lü Meng replied, "Lu Xun thinks deep and far, and he could bear heavy responsibility. I have seen how he plans things: he will be able to hold great office. But he is not yet well known, so Guan Yu will pay him small concern. He would be quite the best choice. If you use him, tell him to stay very quiet, but make reconnaissance in secret. Then we can win." So Sun Quan summoned Lu Xun and appointed him Lieutenant-General and Controller of the Division of the Right, replacing Lü Meng.

Lu Xun came to Lukou, and he wrote to Guan Yu praising his achievements. He was most humble and restrained and sounded utterly reliable and loyal. So Guan Yu felt quite easy in his mind, he had no further cause for suspicion, and he drew more and more soldiers away to Fan. Lu Xun found out all details of the situation, and he prepared a master-plan how Guan Yu should be taken.

When he captured Yu Jin and the other generals, Guan Yu had also taken several ten thousand men and horses, and his supplies of food were running low. Without asking permission, he seized Sun Quan's grain store at Xiangguan. When Sun Quan heard about it, he raised troops for a surprise attack on Guan Yu.

He was going to appoint the General Who Subdues the Caitiffs Sun Jiao to act jointly with Lü Meng as Grand Controllers of the Left and Right Divisions. Lü Meng said, however, "If you believe the General Who Subdues the Caitiffs is the right man, then give him the job. If you think I am suitable, use me."

"Once before, when Zhou Yu and Cheng Pu were controllers of divisions on the left and right, they led soldiers to attack Jiangling. Zhou Yu had the deciding voice, but Cheng Pu shared command because of his seniority. They frequently disagreed, and they almost ruined the affairs of our state. Let this be a warning to us."

Sun Quan took the point. He thanked Lü Meng and said, "I give you full command, and I shall have Sun Jiao support you from the rear."

When King Cao of Wei came back from Hanzhong, he sent the General Who Pacifies Criminals Xu Huang to camp at Wan city in support of Cao Ren. When Yu Jin and the others were destroyed, Xu Huang went forward to the Yangling Slope.
Guan Yu had sent soldiers to camp at Yancheng, but as soon as Xu Huang arrived he made ramparts and ditches on a side-path to show that he planned to cut off their rear. Guan Yu's soldiers burnt their camp and fled. Then Xu Huang occupied Yancheng, established a line of camps and moved slowly forward.

Cao Cao had sent Zhao Yan to accompany Xu Huang as Gentleman-Consultant and Adviser to the Army of Cao Ren. Though the other units had not arrived and Xu Huang's command was too small to break the siege, his officers kept urging him to hasten to Cao Ren's relief.

Zhao Yan said to them, "The enemy have a strong position and the floods are still rising. We do not have many men, while Cao Ren is quite cut off and cannot join forces with us. To attack now will only cause difficulty inside and out."

"For the time being, the best plan is to bring the army forward to keep pressure on the besiegers, and send agents through to Cao Ren so that he knows relief is coming and can encourage his men. I reckon it no more than ten days before the main force from the north will arrive, and Cao Ren can hold out that long. Then we can coordinate our attack, and the enemy will certainly be defeated. If anyone is punished for bringing help too late, I shall take full responsibility."

The officers were pleased, and Xu Huang set his camp no more than thirty feet from Guan Yu's siege-works. He dug tunnels into the city and shot letters to Cao Ren on arrows, so news and information were exchanged several times.

[C24: 219]

CC Sun Quan wrote to King Cao of Wei, requesting permission to attack Guan Yu with his own forces, but asking that he keep it secret so Guan Yu would have no opportunity to prepare against him.

Cao Cao spoke with his ministers, and all agreed he should keep it secret. But then Dong Zhao said, "Military affairs are based upon expediency, and we must choose the most suitable plan. Let us promise Sun Quan to keep it quiet, but let the news out privately. When Guan Yu hears Sun Quan is coming, he will go back to defend himself. So the siege will quickly be broken, and we shall have the advantage: harnessing two enemies against each other, we sit and wait until they are weakened."

"If we keep quiet, on the other hand, then Sun Quan gets what he wants. That is not the best plan."
Besides, the men in the siege do not know there is a relief force on the way, and I suspect their supplies may be low enough to worry them. It will be a disaster if they decide to surrender.

"Much best let the news be known. Guan Yu, moreover, is a stubborn man, and he may think he can hold on two fronts at the same time. He will not retreat quickly."

"Excellent!" said Cao Cao. He ordered Xu Huang to publish Sun Quan's letter both to the men inside the siege and to Guan Yu's camp. When the defenders heard about it, their spirits were doubled a hundred times. Guan Yu, however, suspected it was a trick and he did not withdraw.

King Cao of Wei planned to move south from Luoyang to assist Cao Ren. All his officers urged that "Unless the King goes quickly, they will be defeated." Only the Palace Attendant Huan Jie asked, "Does your majesty believe Cao Ren and the others can cope with the situation?"

"It is possible," replied Cao Cao.

"Then is your majesty afraid those two [Cao Ren and Xu Huang] will not use their utmost strength?"

"No," answered Cao Cao.

"Then why go yourself?"

"I am afraid the enemy have a great army," said Cao Cao, "and Xu Huang's force is in difficulty."

"Now Cao Ren and his comrades are under heavy siege," observed Huan Jie. "Yet they hold to the death and do not turn traitor. This is because your majesty shows strength for them at a distance. They hold a position with barely one chance in ten thousand of life, and surely they have the courage to fight to the death.

"If inside they are prepared to fight to the death, and outside there is strong help, then your majesty should restrain the imperial army as a means to display the power you hold in reserve. Why go yourself, and show you are concerned about the possibility of defeat?"

Cao Cao considered his advice excellent, so he halted his army at the Mo Slope. One after another he sent Yin Shu, Zhu Gai and ten other divisions to reinforce Xu Huang.

Guan Yu had his headquarters at the chief point of the siege, with additional camps on four small hills. Xu Huang spread a rumour that he
intended to attack the principal camp, but then made repeated attacks on
the four hills. When Guan Yu saw those camps in danger, he took five
thousand horsemen and footsoldiers to support them. Xu Huang attacked
and put them to flight.

The ditch about Guan Yu's headquarters had ten rings of abatis, but Xu
Huang pursued Guan Yu into his defences and defeated him. Fu Fang and
Hu Xiu both died.

Then Guan Yu broke off the siege and retreated. His fleet, however, still
controlled the Mian River, and Xiangyang remained isolated with no
communication to the outside.

When Lü Meng reached Xunyang, he hid his best troops in barges and had
men in plain clothes rowing, so they looked like traders. Travelling day and
night, they captured one after another the outposts that Guan Yu had set to
guard the river. Guan Yu heard nothing about it.

Mi Fang and Shi Ren were both resentful of the casual way Guan Yu
treated them. When he went off with the army, however, he left them in
charge of transport. Supplies then failed to arrive on time. "When I get back,
I shall deal with them," said Guan Yu. Mi Fang and Shi Ren were both afraid.

Lü Meng ordered Yu Fan, former Chief Commandant of Cavalry, to write
to Shi Ren [at Gongan], setting out the situation, and Shi Ren surrendered
immediately. Yu Fan said to Lü Meng, "This campaign needs a delicate
touch. We should leave a garrison in the city and take Shi Ren with us." So
they took him with them to Nan commandery.

Mi Fang held the city [of Jiangling, capital of Nan commandery], but
when Lü Meng showed Shi Ren to him, Mi Fang also opened his gates and
surrendered.

So Lü Meng entered Jiangling. Releasing Yu Jin, he captured the families
and dependants of Guan Yu and his men. He comforted and looked after
them, giving orders to his army that there should be "No plundering of
private houses."

One man under Lü Meng's command, who came from his same
commandery, took a straw rain-hat from a family of the people to
protect a coat of mail belonging to the government. Though the armour
was public property, Lü Meng still held he had disobeyed orders. He would
not remit the law simply because the man came from his own district: he
wept and beheaded him. In the army there was fear and trembling, and no-
one even dared to pick things up that had been dropped and were lying on
the roads.

Lü Meng sent Companions morning and evening to ask after old people,
inquiring what they might lack. He gave medicine to the sick, and clothing
and food to the hungry and cold. The valuables of Guan Yu's household
were sealed up to await Sun Quan's arrival.

As soon as Guan Yu heard that Nan commandery had fallen, he returned in
haste to the south. Cao Ren gathered his officers for a council of war, and
everyone said, "Guan Yu is threatened and anxious. We can chase him and
take him."

Zhao Yan, however, argued that, "Sun Quan has taken advantage of the
fact that Guan Yu was vulnerable, with his forces committed elsewhere, and
has made a surprise attack against his rear.

"When he sees Guan Yu coming back to the relief he will be afraid we
may take advantage of both of them. He will therefore address us very
politely, and request our full support. Then he will simply let our people do
the fighting and stand by to watch the result."

"Now that Guan Yu is isolated and in flight, we should keep him as a
threat to Sun Quan. If instead we press him too hard, Sun Quan will change
his plans and turn against us. His majesty the King will certainly give deep
thought to this question." So Cao Ren cancelled his orders.

When King Cao of Wei heard Guan Yu had fled, he was afraid his officers
might chase after him, and he did send orders post-haste to Cao Ren, just
the way Zhao Yan had said.

Guan Yu sent messengers several times to Lü Meng to exchange news, and
Lü Meng treated these men most generously. He took them round the city,
and each household sent word [to their relatives with Guan Yu's army].
Some wrote in their own hand to show it was trustworthy. When Guan Yu's
people went back, they too told their friends what they had seen. So all
knew that their families had come to no harm and that they were actually
treated better than in peacetime. Guan Yu's soldiers became less interested
in fighting.

About this time Sun Quan came to Jiangling, and the military and civil
officers of Jing province came to attend him. Only the Attendant Official at
Headquarters Pan Jun of Wuling claimed to be sick and refused to come to audience.64

Sun Quan sent men with a stretcher to go to his house and fetch him, but Pan Jun lay face down on his bed and refused to get up. With tears flowing in all directions, he wailed and could not control himself. Sun Quan called to him, addressed him by his style, comforted him in sincerity, and ordered Companions to wipe his face with a hand-cloth. Then Pan Jun sat up, bowed to the ground, and asked for pardon. He was at once re-appointed as Attendant Official at Headquarters, and his advice was sought on all military matters in Jing province.

Fan Zhou, Attendant Official in Wuling, allied with non-Chinese people and planned to take the commandery for the King of Hanzhong, Liu Bei.65 It was suggested that an officer of general's rank should be chosen and sent against him with ten thousand men. Sun Quan was reluctant, and he called in Pan Jun to ask him about it.

"Send five thousand men, replied Pan Jun. "That will be quite enough to deal with Fan Zhou."

"How can you treat him so lightly?" asked Sun Quan.

"Fan Zhou comes from an old family in Nanyang,"66 explained Pan Jun. "He talks well, but he has absolutely no idea how to plan things. The reason I know this is from the occasion he arranged a feast for some people of the province. When midday came, there was no food to be had and more than a dozen guests had to make their apologies and leave. Like a dwarf's performance on the stage, once you have seen part of his act, you immediately know the rest."

Sun Quan laughed aloud. He sent Pan Jun with five thousand men, and they cut off heads and pacified Wuling.

Sun Quan appointed Lü Meng as Grand Administrator of Nan commandery, enfeoffed him as Marquis of Chanling, and awarded him a million cash and five hundred catties of gold.67

Lu Xun became Grand Administrator of Yidu.

In the eleventh month Fan You, the Grand Administrator of Yidu appointed by Liu Bei, King of Hanzhong, fled the commandery.68 The local officials and the leaders of barbarians all surrendered to Lu Xun.

Lu Xun asked for gold, silver and bronze seals with which to bestow temporary appointments on those who came to him. He attacked Zhan Yan
and other officers of SHU, and also the great clans of Zigui. All were defeated and surrendered. From start to finish, those killed, captured or brought to submission were numbered by the tens of thousands.

Sun Quan appointed Lu Xun as Protector of the Army of the Right and General Who Maintains the West in Peace. He was advanced in fief to be Marquis of Lou. He camped at Yiling to guard the mouth of the Gorges.69

Realising that he was cut off, Guan Yu went west to hold Maicheng. Sun Quan sent envoys to win him over. Guan Yu pretended to surrender, but he set pennons and flags on the wall to look like men and then fled away. All his soldiers had scattered, and he had no more than a dozen horsemen with him.

Sun Quan had already sent Zhu Ran and Pan Zhang to close every path of escape. In the twelfth month Pan Zhang’s Major Ma Zhong caught Guan Yu and his son Ping at Zhangxiang, and beheaded them.70 So Jing province was settled.

Before this, the Lieutenant-General Quan Zong of Wu commandery had sent in a memorial with a plan to defeat Guan Yu. Sun Quan was afraid the affair might leak out, so he kept it and made no reply.

Later, when Guan Yu had been taken, Sun Quan set out a feast at Gongan. He turned and said to Quan Zong, “You planned this too, and though I did not reply, today’s success is also to your credit.” He enfeoffed Quan Zong as Marquis of Yanghua Village.

Sun Quan also gave Liu Zhang appointment as Governor of Yi province, with temporary residence at Zigui.71 Soon afterwards Liu Zhang died.

Before Lü Meng could receive his enfeoffment [as Marquis of Chanling] his illness broke out most violently. Sun Quan took him in, set him next to his own lodging and sought every possible cure. When acupuncture was applied, Sun Quan was miserable for him.

He wanted to see Lü Meng frequently, but he was afraid to be a nuisance, so he would peer at him through a hole made in the wall. If he saw Lü Meng was able to eat something he would turn and smile to those about him and would laugh and chat.72 When Lü Meng refused his food, Sun Quan would sigh, and at night he could not sleep.
Then Lü Meng got better. An amnesty was given to celebrate the improvement, and all Sun Quan's ministers sent congratulations. In the end, however, he died, at the age of forty-two. Sun Quan was in the utmost grief and pain, and three hundred families were set to maintain Lü Meng's tomb.

[Ja24: 219]

Years later, Sun Quan spoke with Lu Xun about Zhou Yu, Lu Su and Lü Meng:

"Gongjin [Zhou Yu] was brave and fierce, his courage and skill surpassing all others. So he defeated Mengde [Cao Cao] and extended our territory into Jing province. He stands alone without compare.

"Zijing [Lu Su] was introduced to me by Zhou Yu. I spoke with him at a banquet and he talked of the great plan for imperial rule. This was one thing that caused me pleasure.

"Later, Cao Cao seized Liu Zong's power and boasted how he would lead hundreds of thousands of sailors and soldiers together down the river. When I asked my generals what I should do, not one of them had anything to suggest, while Zhang Zibu [Zhang Zhao] and Qin Wenbiao [Qin Song] both said that we should send tribute and receive Cao Cao.

"Lu Su, however, argued against them, that we should do no such thing. He urged me to call upon Zhou Yu to take command of the army to face and attack the invaders. This was the second occasion that caused me pleasure.

"Later, he encouraged me to cede territory to Xuande [Liu Bei], but this was his only weakness, and not enough to discount his two fine actions.

"The Duke of Zhou did not look for everything in one man, so I disregard Lu Su's shortcomings and remember only his greatness. I always compare him to Deng Yu.

"When Ziming [Lü Meng] was young, I used to say that he was not the man to hesitate, no matter whether a task might prove difficult or easy. He was brave and gallant, and as he grew to maturity he became an increasingly good scholar. He was particularly good at strategy and schemes, and for that I would put him equal to Zhou Yu; only in argument and debate did he fall short. It was Lü Meng who planned the destruction of Guan Yu, and in that he was better than Lu Su.

"Whenever I wrote to him, Lu Su would always reply that, 'When an emperor is coming to power, someone must clear the path for him. Guan Yu is of no concern.' But this was only because Lu Su realised that he could
not cope with Guan Yu; so he showed off and talked big. Yet I can excuse him and I do not blame him.

"Furthermore, in his management of armies in camp, Lu Su never failed to have his orders obeyed, and whatever he prohibited always stopped. In territory under his command none could evade their duties, and things dropped on the roads were not picked up. He was truly a fine commander."

QQ Sun Quan rode together with Yu Jin. Yu Fan shouted at Yu Jin, "You are a surrendered prisoner. How dare you keep the head of your horse level with our lord's?" He raised his whip to strike him, but Sun Quan called out and stopped him.

[Ja24: 219]

RR As Sun Quan had now returned to his allegiance, King Cao of Wei called Zhang Liao and the others back [from Hefei] to relieve Fan. Before they arrived, however, the siege was broken.

SS Xu Huang brought his troops in order back to the Mo Slope, and Cao Cao came seven li from the camp to welcome him. The King held a great banquet, raised a toast to Xu Huang and said, "It was your good work that saved Fan and Xiangyang." He also gave generous rewards to Huan Jie and appointed him as a Master of Writing.82

TT Cao Cao was suspicious of the people still remaining in Jing province under his control, and of those in military colonies along the Han.83 He planned to shift all of them.

"The people of Jing and Chu," argued Sima Yi, "are fickle and easily swayed.84 Now that Guan Yu has been defeated, the trouble-makers will have gone into hiding and be reluctant to show themselves. So it is only the people loyal to you that you will be shifting. They will become resentful, while the ones who have already left will never be willing to return."

"True," agreed Cao Cao.

Later, all those who had run away came back from hiding.

UU King Cao of Wei recommended Sun Quan to be General of Agile Cavalry, bearing the Staff of Authority as Governor of Jing province, and enfeoffment as Marquis of Nanchang.85
Sun Quan sent the Colonel Liang Yu to take in tribute, and he sent back Zhu Guang and others. He also sent a message calling himself subject to Cao Cao, and urging the question of the Mandate of Heaven.

Cao Cao showed Sun Quan's letter around, remarking, "This boy would put me on top of the fire!"

The Palace Attendant Chen Qun and others all said, "The fortune of Han is long gone, and the dynasty has long been meaningless. Your majesty's achievements and virtue, how truly imposing! Everyone looks to you. Even Sun Quan, so far away, describes himself as your subject. This is the accord of Heaven and Man, differing voices sounding in harmony. Your majesty should take the great position. How can you hesitate?"

"If the Mandate of Heaven rests with me," said Cao Cao, "let me act as King Wen of Zhou."

Your servant Sima Guang remarks:

Teaching is of utmost importance to the state, but officials of the common sort treat it with contempt. Custom is the greatest matter for the empire, yet there are stupid rulers who neglect it.

Only a gentleman who is wise and understanding, with deep insight and capacity to plan far ahead, can appreciate the enormous advantages of Teaching and Custom, and the far-reaching effects their achievement may bring.

Emperor Guangwu encountered a time of decline in the middle of Han, with bold men bubbling up like boiling gruel. He rose from amongst the common people, but he restored the greatness of the past. He waged war in every direction, and he had no free time on any day, but he still appreciated the learning of the classics. He invited scholars as his guests, he opened schools everywhere, he revived the Rites and Music and made them clear. He was completely successful in war, and his virtue in civil pursuits was in harmony to those achievements.

Likewise in their turn Emperors Xiao-Ming and Xiao-Zhang followed the ideals of the past. They visited school buildings and paid respect to the great teachers, they studied the classics and enquired about the Way of right action. From the excellencies, ministers and grandees down to civil appointments in the commanderies and counties, officials were chosen for their understanding of the classics and for the quality of their bearing. Guards Rapid as Tigers were all learned in the Classic of Filial Piety, and the
sons and younger brothers of the Xiongnu barbarians came to the Imperial University for education.

So Teaching was established above and Custom perfected below. Scholars of loyalty and generosity, of purity and cultivation, not only were they respected by the ministers and gentry, they were recognised even among the common people. Men of stupidity and meanness, dirt and disgrace, not only were they kept from the court, they were even banished from their villages and districts. Since the time of the three dynasties, the beauty of Teaching and Custom had never reached to the bloom of Eastern Han.

Then, however, from Emperor Xiao–He onwards, relatives by marriage seized power, and eunuchs gained control of affairs. Rewards and punishments were issued without proper rule, bribery was a public business, worthy men and fools were mixed together, right and wrong were confused. 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.

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. Then He Jin called to fighting, Dong Zhuo took advantage of discontent, and men like Yuan Shao made trouble everywhere. 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.

Nonetheless, even as they swallowed one another those military leaders in provinces and commanderies still sought to justify themselves by reference to the honour of Han. Wu of Wei [Cao Cao] was cruel and strong, with great achievements in the empire, and he long planned to be his own master. Even to death, however, he dared not do away with Han and set himself upon the throne. That was surely what he wanted, but he nonetheless respected the honour of the name, and curbed himself. From this we may observe: how can Teaching be neglected? how may Custom be despised?

NOTES to Jian'an 24: 219

A SGZ 1, 51 (122b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

[Ba24: 219]

B SGZ 9, 272 (9a–b), the Biography of Xiahou Yuan;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 884 (26a), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 961 (15a), the Biography of Fa Zheng;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 948 (14a–b), the Biography of Huang Zhong.

1 This warning of Cao Cao is recorded as an epilogue to Xiahou Yuan’s biography, after the account of his fatal defeat by Liu Bei at Dingjun Mountain. Here, Sima Guang uses it as to introduce the disaster.

2 Liu Bei’s position has been described in passage F of Jian’an 23. Advancing from the south up the Jialing River to the valley of Yangping, by present-day Lueyang in Shenxi, he then sought to break out eastwards into the upper valley of the Han. His obvious route is that followed by the modern railway: from present-day Heishui, just north of the modern Yangping Pass, a branch line leads east to Hanzhong. Dingjun Mountain is on the south of the Mian River, opposite Mianyang by present-day Mianxian.

In his Kaoyi commentary, Sima Guang notes that he has preferred the accounts of the battle at Dingjun Mountain in SGZ 32, SGZ 36 and SGZ 37, the biographies of the men of SHU, rather than those of SGZ 9, the biography of Xiahou Yuan, and SGZ 17, the biography of Zhang He, the men of WEI. In fact, if we consider the information contained in SGZ 9 and SGZ 17, the tactics seem more complex, but the nature of the engagement is more intelligible, than appears in ZZTJ.
Xiahou Yuan’s biography in SGZ 9 says that as the two armies were camped by night, Liu Bei set fire to the enemy’s abatis [lujue, literally, “deer horns,” a line of brushwood and tree branches, with points facing outwards, which served like barbed wire]. Xiahou Yuan sent Zhang He to take charge of the eastern face of the defences while he himself, with light-armed troops, fought on the southern section. Zhang He’s men were driven back, and Xiahou Yuan sent half his own force to assist him. He was then attacked and killed by Liu Bei. (The biography of Huang Zhong in SGZ 36 gives him the credit.)

The biography of Zhang He refers to two engagements. First, Liu Bei attacked his position at Guangshi by night, with more than ten thousand good soldiers in ten divisions, but he was repulsed by Zhang He’s men: this is the engagement recorded in passage F of Jian’an 23. Later, Liu Bei set fire to the headquarters’ defences in Running Horse Valley (Zouma gu). Xiahou Yuan fought the fire but then encountered Liu Bei’s forces on this separate front. Xiahou Yuan’s men were outnumbered in the engagement and so he was defeated and killed.

Leaving aside preliminary probing and skirmishing, the general pattern of the decisive engagement is clear. Liu Bei had set up a position on Dingjun Mountain, high ground south of the upper Mian River. Xiahou Yuan was in Running Horse Valley below him, with Zhang He commanding a separate troop on the east about Guangshi. Liu Bei launched a major attack on Zhang He, and he also set fire to the defensive abatis of Xiahou Yuan’s encampment. Xiahou Yuan had his men fight the fire, but detached some of his command to assist Zhang He. And at this point Fa Zheng saw the opportunity and Huang Zhong seized it, charging from above onto Xiahou Yuan’s depleted troop.

[Ja24: 219]

C SGZ 17, 526 (13a–b), the Biography of Zhang He;
SGZ 26, 733–34 (18a–b), the Biography of Guo Huai.

3 The commentary of Lu Bi notes that some scholars question the reference to Yangping here: Yangping, after all, was directly on Liu Bei’s line of communications, hardly a place of refuge for the defeated men of WEI. Furthermore, it appears from the following passages that the northern forces were defending the entrance to the Baoye Road, north of the Han/Mian River by Nanzheng, not the Lianyun Road further west which led through Yangping (note 2 of Jian’an 20). It seems clear, therefore, that Zhang He collected his scattered troops and brought them eastwards back to the centre of Hanzhong, not west towards Yangping.

4 The names Han and Mian are effectively interchangeable for the main stream of this river: cf. passage B above.

By his victory at Dingjun Mountain, Liu Bei has gained control of Mianyang, and he is now moving east along the southern bank of the stream in pursuit of the men of WEI. They, for their part, are reduced to maintaining the line of communications north through the Qinling range, and in particular to the city of Baozhong, entrance to the Baoye Road.

[Ja24: 219]

D HHS 9, 389 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

5 HHS 108/18, 3372, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this eclipse, Oppolzer 3414, but offers no further information or prognostication.

[Ja24: 219]

E SGZ 1, 52 (123a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 884 (26b), the Biography of Liu Bei.

6 ZZTJ commentary notes that some scholars believe the phrase zheyao indicates a place on the Baoye Road. Hu Sanxing interprets it, however, as meaning that Cao Cao was concerned at the possibility of an attack by Liu Bei against his line of communications along the road (as is indeed described below) so he set guard posts at critical points. The punctuation of ZZTJ agrees.

7 Cao Cao was bringing reinforcements from the Yegu Pass above the Wei valley along the Baoye Road to Baozhong and Nanzheng. Though Liu Bei had not crossed the Han River here, he did control the western part of the stream about Mianyang, while the forces of Wei were restricted to the area of Baozhong.

Ja24: 219

F SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 950 (16a–b) PC quoting Zhao Yun biezhuan.

8 The stratagem of the Empty City is traditionally attributed to Zhuge Liang, engaged on campaign against the Wei general Sima Yi: see chapter 95 of the novel Sanguo [zh] yanyi. Wei lue, however, attributes the device also to Cao Cao's commander Wen Ping, defending Jiangxia against Sun Quan in 226: SGZ 18, 540 PC note 2; and see de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 438 and 585. It was either a common device, or too good a story to be told only once.

9 Zilong was the style of Zhao Yun.

Ja24: 219

G SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 884 (26b), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 1, 52 (123b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

Ja24: 219

H SGZ 15, 472–74 (14b–17a), the Biography of Zhang Ji.

10 Wudu lay northwest of Hanzhong, and the Lianyun Road passed through the east of the commandery. The threat was that Liu Bei could send troops there, raise the non-Chinese people of the region, and threaten Cao Cao's positions on the upper Wei.

SGZ 15 dates this policy discussion to the eve of Cao Cao's conquest of Hanzhong rather than, as Sima Guang has placed it, after his defeat there by Liu Bei. Now is certainly the more probable time for such a threat to be considered.

Yong province at this time included all of Liang province of Later Han together with the Three Adjunct commanderies about Chang'an, the western part of Later Han Sili: see notes 4 to Jian'an 18 and 30 to Xingping 1. Zhang Ji was thus responsible for the civil administration of Wudu commandery and the whole valley of the Wei River, as well as the territories of the far west.

11 Hanyang commandery in the Wei valley had been known as Tianshui until 72 AD, and was evidently restored to that name at the end of Han: see note 27 to Jian'an 18. Here Tianshui is an anachronistic reference to Hanyang commandery.

This policy of shifting people away from the frontier is the same as that used unsuccessfully by Cao Cao along the Yangzi in 213: passage B of Jian'an 18.

12 Bian Zhuangzi was a man of the Chunqiu period famous for his strength and courage. On one occasion, he killed two tigers at the same time: he set an ox as bait and the tigers came and fought over it. The strong tiger killed the weaker, but was so wounded that Bian easily dispatched it. See, for example, SJ 70, 2302.
This minor local leader Wang Bi should be distinguished from Wang Bi the officer of Cao Cao at Xu city: passages U of Jian'an 22 and A of Jian'an 23.

According to SGZ 34, 10b, and JS 15, 454, when Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208, he established a new commandery named Linjiang, in the western part of Nan commandery, with its capital at Yidao, by present-day Yidu on the Yangzi in Hubei. After the Red Cliffs Liu Bei took over this territory and renamed the commandery Yidu. (JS 15, 456, says that Wu established Yidu commandery, but this is presumably a mistake.) Zigui county, at present-day Zigui on the Yangzi in Hubei, was evidently the capital under Liu Bei.

Fangling county was in Hanzhong commandery of Later Han, at present-day Fang in Hubei, amongst mountain country on a southern tributary of the Han. Cao Cao established the commandery to reinforce his defences against the south and also to press against Hanzhong under the control of Zhang Lu. It seems likely the unfortunate Kuai Qi was a son, nephew or cousin of Kuai Yue, the scholar of Nanyang commandery who became adviser to Liu Biao, to his son Liu Zong, and then to Cao Cao: passages O of Chuping 1 and S and CC of Jian'an 13.

Liu Feng was a descendant of the imperial clan, connected by marriage to the royal house of Changsha. When Liu Bei came to the Jing province in 200, he had no male heir, and he adopted Liu Feng as his formal successor: SGZ 40 (Shu 10), 991. Since that time his son Liu Shan had been born of his wife the Lady Gan: SGZ 34 (Shu 4), 905; and in due course Liu Shan inherited the throne of SHU.

At this time, Meng Da was regarded as a man of uncertain loyalty, and Liu Feng was sent, not only to reinforce him but also to keep check upon his activities.

Shangyong county was in Hanzhong commandery of Later Han, west of Fangling near present-day Zhushan in Hubei.

Shen Dan had established himself as a local warlord in this region. He became a nominal ally of Zhang Lu, then turned to Cao Cao, who gave him title as a general and appointed him Chief Commandant of Shangyong, a border commandery like that of Li Tong in Yangan: SGZ 1, 45, and cf. passage Z and note 51 to Jian'an 2. At some stage soon afterwards Shen Dan took full title as Grand Administrator.

Xicheng county was in Hanzhong commandery of Later Han, about present-day Ankang in Shenxi. The new unit was set up by Cao Cao after the surrender of Zhang Lu, to control the north of the Han River in the eastern part of Hanzhong: SGZ 1, 45.

As a result of Liu Bei's offensive, however, Xicheng and Shangyong were now controlled by the Shen brothers in his alliance, while Liu Feng and Meng Da had occupied Fangling. The Shen family were fair-weather friends of no more than local importance. The fall of Fangling, however, hitherto held by Cao Cao's officer Kuai Qi, was a real loss: it gave Liu Bei a firm position in eastern Hanzhong, and it exposed Cao Cao's territory in Nanyang commandery, further down river, to threat from this enemy in the west.
The city of Mianyang was on the northern bank of the Han/Mian River, opposite the scene of Liu Bei’s victory over Xiahou Yuan at Dingjun Mountain: passage B and note 2 above.

The ribbon of a king was red and the seal gold, and the royal cap was the Cap for Long Journeys: *HHS* 120/30, 3666 and 3674, the Treatise of Carriages and Robes. See also passage B and note 9 to Jian’an 19.

Liu Bei had been appointed General of the Left by Cao Cao at the time of the destruction of Lü Bu in 198: *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 874. He had been enfeoffed as Marquis of Yicheng Village in 196, when he was in alliance with Cao Cao against Yuan Shu: *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 873.

Yiyang was the name of a county and a commandery established in 237 by Cao Rui, Emperor Ming of Wei and grandson of Cao Cao: *SGZ* 3, 110, and see Wu Zengjin, *Sanguo junxian biao* with commentary by Yang Shoujing, 2878–79 and 2884. As ZZTJ commentary observes, the reference here is an anachronism. Yiyang county was on the Huai River north of present-day Xinyang in Henan; the commandery was in the eastern part of Nanyang commandery of Later Han.

Fei Shi was a former officer of Liu Zhang who had surrendered Mianzhu to Liu Bei at the time of his rebellion. He had since been employed as Grand Administrator of Zangge commandery. He was now a senior civil agent of Liu Bei, but it is not possible to judge the significance of his present title.

The biographies of Xiao He are in *SJ* 53 and *HS* 39; those of Cao Can are in *SJ* 54 and *HS* 39. The biographies of Chen Ping are in *SJ* 56 and *HS* 40; those of Han Xin are in *SJ* 92 and *HS* 34.

Xiao He and Cao Can were both from Pei, birth-place of the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han, and were close supporters from the beginning of his career. Chen Ping came from the state of Wei, and Han Xin was a man of Chu; they came to the future Emperor Gao from the service of his rival Xiang Yu. The first three became marquises under the new dynasty, but Han Xin became King of Qi.
On the other hand, since Han Xin blackmailed Emperor Gao into granting him the fief by threatening to join forces with Xiang Yu at a critical point (e.g. Watson, RGH1, 175), it is hard to argue that Han Xin's higher position was a mark of true affection and trust. Han Xin was later demoted to be a marquis and was eventually executed for treason. The other three remained honoured ministers of the Han state.

[Ja24: 219]
M SGZ 1, 52 (123b), the Biography of Cao Cao.
[Ja24: 219]
N SGZ 15, 479 (23a), the Biography of Wen Hui.
26 Neither SGZ 1, 52, nor SGZ 47 (Wu 2), 1120, the annals/biographies of the two rulers, mention any attack by Sun Quan against Hefei at this time. Furthermore, as the commentator Lu Bi observes in SGZJJ 47 (Wu 2), 11a, since Sun Quan's formal acceptance of Cao Cao's suzerainty two years earlier (passage C of Jian'an 22), such an attack would have been quite inappropriate. There was no doubt always some threat of trouble, but the biography of Wen Hui has exaggerated the situation to enhance his role.

27 On Huainan commandery as a new name for Jiujiang commandery at this time, see note 35 to Jian'an 4.
28 Zixiao was the style of Cao Ren. The "other side" refers to Jing province and the valley of the Han River in present-day southern Henan and Hubei, across the Dabie hills from Hefei and the valley of the Huai. Wen Hui is confident of the defences in his own area, but he is concerned about Cao Ren's position to the west.

[Ja24: 219]
O SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 941 (4a–b), the Biography of Guan Yu;
SGZ 18, 546 (19a–b), the Biography of Pang De;
SGZ 17, 524 (10b), the Biography of Yu Jin.
29 ZZTJ here follows SGZ 36 (Shu 6), which gives this officer's name as Fushi Ren. Parallel references in SGZ 45 (Shu 15), 1090, SGZ 47 (Wu 2), 1120, and SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1278, however, omit the character Fu, and it appears to be a mistaken addition.
30 This flooding is referred to by the Treatise of the Five Powers, HHS 105/15, 3312. Commentary quotes the Hou Han shu of Yuan Shansong, which relates the portent to the abdication of Emperor Xian in favour of WEI at the end of the following year. The floods were also of immediate importance to the armies engaged about Xiangyang.
31 These seven military units, each commanded by an officer of general rank such as Pang De, were stationed outside the fortifications of Fan and Xiangyang cities under the overall authority of Yu Jin.
32 SGZ 18, 547 PC quoting Wei lue, says that Pang De's elder cousin Pang Rou was at this time a subject of SHU. The main text of SGZ 18, 546, says that for this reason, before the attack by Guan Yu, many of the officers at Fan had been doubtful of Pang De's loyalty. Pang De, however, had always claimed to be a loyal servant of Cao Cao and that he would fight Guan Yu to the death.

[Ja24: 219]
P SGZ 26, 722 (2a–b), the Biography of Man Chong;
SGZ 9, 276 (14b), the Biography of Cao Ren;
SGZ 17, 529 (17b), the Biography of Xu Huang;
JS 1, 3; the Biography of Sima Yi.
Obviously outside his area of official authority, Man Chong had brought troops south to assist against Guan Yu's assault.

Jia county was in Yingchuan commandery, at present-day Jiaxian in Henan, some eighty kilometres west of Xu city.

"Great River" Hong He indicates the Yellow River.

The text here refers to several ban. Commentary says that a ban was a unit for the height of city walls: one ban equalled two chi feet, about 45 centimetres, or eighteen inches English measure.

Nanxiang county was in Nanyang commandery of Later Han, south of present-day Xichuan. On the north-western border of Jing province with Sili, the commandery was established at the time Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208; JS 14, 454. Fangling commandery, now controlled by Liu Bei's forces under Liu Feng, was on its southern border (passage I above).

This was a further threat to the WEI position in Jing province. As Man Chong has described above, Guan Yu's forces in the northeast were close to Xu city, while the pressure against Nanxiang meant that Cao Cao's forces now held a salient marked by Wan city, present-day Nanyang, and the forces under Cao Ren at Fan.

SGZ 40 (Shu 10), 991, however, the biography of Liu Feng, says that he and his associates failed to give active support to Guan Yu's operations: they claimed that the mountainous territory of their commanderies was difficult to control so soon after it had been taken over.

SGZ 1, 52 (124a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 1, 52 (124a) PC quoting Wei-Jin shiyu;
SGZ 13, 395 (8a), the Biography of Zhong Yao;
JS 44, 1249, the Biography of Zheng Mao.

SGZ 1, 52 PC quotes the Jia jie "Household Precepts" of Wang Chang, which describes Wei Feng as a man from Jiyin. JS 44 agrees. As Pei Songzhi observes, there is no way to determine which is correct.

Zheng Tai, a scholar of good family, had served as a Master of Writing under He Jin and Dong Zhuo: e.g. passages G of Zhongping 6 and L of Chuping 3. He died in the service of Yuan Shu: HHS 70/60, 2260.

Rongyang county was in Henan commandery under Later Han, near present-day Rongyang/Xingyang in Henan. The Zheng family came from the county of Kaifeng. At this time, Rongyang was the base of a Chief Commandant's region (SGZ 24, 691) and in 242 the WEI government established the commandery of Rongyang (SJZ 7, 12a-b): see also Wu Zengjin, Sanguo junxian biao with commentary by Yang Shoujing, 2829/3. The biography of Zheng Mao in JS 44, 1249, describes him as a man of Rongyang commandery.

Under Later Han, the Palace of Prolonged Joy was the name given to the apartments of the Empress-Dowager: Bielenstein, Bureaucracy, 71. In this case, the title presumably indicates the residence of the Lady Bian, wife of Cao Cao, who was also, at least formally, the mother of Jie, daughter of Cao Cao who was Empress to Emperor Xian: passage A of Jian'an 20. ZZTJ commentary indicates the sound of the personal name as Wei, but I prefer to follow the modern sound. Cf. note 27 to Jian’an 22.
This refers to the time that Cao Cao was considering the two claims to the succession: passage G of Jian'an 22. Yang Xiu, mentioned below, son of the late Grand Commandant Yang Biao, was a member of one of the great official families of Later Han. He was a long-time supporter of Cao Zhi: passage E of Jian'an 22.

On Wu Zhi as an adviser to Cao Pi at this time, see also passage L of Jian'an 22.

See passage P and note 18 to Jian'an 22, and Cutter, "Incident at the Gate."

Passage E of Jian'an 2 tells how Cao Cao had persecuted Yang Biao, Yang Xiu's father, on account of his marriage connection to Yuan Shu.

Du Xi had held area commands in the northwest and in Hanzhong. The present appointment, based upon Chang'an, was given as Cao Cao prepared to leave the region.

The text refers to a bow of a thousand jun and a bell of ten thousand shi. The measurements are rhetorical, but a jun of the Han period was 7.37 kg. and a shi was 29.5 kg.

Du Xi had held area commands in the northwest and in Hanzhong. The present appointment, based upon Chang'an, was given as Cao Cao prepared to leave the region.

Luhun county was in Hongnong commandery of Later Han, south of present-day Yichuan and some fifty kilometres southwest of Luoyang.

This refers to Guan Yu's control of the Yangzi in Jing province, where it flows past the Dongting Lake and the junction with the Xiang River in present-day Hubei and Hunan: see, for example, passage F of Jian'an 20.

On Bodi, the key defence position of the Yangzi Gorges, see note 33 to Jian'an 17. Lü Meng's strategy is to block off Guan Yu from Liu Bei's reserves in Yi province, take control of the communications route along the middle Yangzi, then attack up the Han to drive Cao Cao's forces back north of Xiangyang. The plan was imaginative and ambitious, but one must doubt the likelihood of success against two formidable opponents who were not yet engaged in mutual combat.

Lü Meng's essential argument is quite sensible: Sun Quan was better advised to concentrate upon opportunities upriver in the west rather than the territory of Xu province immediately north of the lower Yangzi. SGZ 54 appears to set this conversation some time after Lü Meng had taken over from Lu Su in 217, and ZZTJ follows, but it is quite anachronistic here.

Firstly, repeated campaigns by Sun Quan north of the Yangzi, the last an embarrassing debacle (passages L and M of Jian'an 20) had shown that Xu province was not at all easy to attack: and see passage N above.
Second, the reference to Cao Cao's activities in You and Ji provinces relates better to the period more than fifteen years earlier, before the Red Cliffs campaign, when Cao Cao was engaged in mopping up the Yuan family position in Ji province and then dealing with the Wuhuan under Tadun: e.g. passage B of Jian’an 12 (SGZ 54 refers specifically to the Yuan family). During the current year, Cao Cao had been primarily concerned with his unsuccessful campaign against Liu Bei in Hanzhong, and he had just returned to Luoyang from the west: passage T above.

Assuming some such discussion ever took place in this form, these points of argument fit better with the situation early in 208, about the time that Gan Ning was urging Sun Quan to renewed attacks against Huang Zu, general in the service of Liu Biao the Governor of Jing province: passage C of Jian’an 13. Lü Meng, a sponsor of Gan Ning, may have presented a similar argument. The advantage of warfare upon water as opposed to land was always a strategic factor, but this particular item of debate is surely misplaced.

51 Lu Xun was stationed at Wuhu, on the Yangzi south and upstream of Jianye, present-day Nanjing, engaged in military control of non-Chinese and renegades in Danyang: passage T of Jian’an 22.

52 The texts of two letters are preserved in SGZ 58 (Wu 13), 1344–45.

53 Xiangguan, the Pass on the Xiang River, was evidently a garrison point on a crossing of the Xiang, the agreed frontier between the territory of Sun Quan and that of Liu Bei: passage F of Jian’an 20.

It is implied that this seizure by Guan Yu was the cause of Sun Quan's decision to attack, but though the offence may have been a trigger and served as a justification, it is clear that plans were well under way.

54 This refers to the campaign against Cao Ren after the victory at the Red Cliffs in 208: passages NN and SS of Jian’an 13.

Sun Jiao was a cousin of Sun Quan. He served with distinction in the defence of Ruxu on the lower Yangzi and had later taken the post of Cheng Pu in garrison in Jing province.

55 Xu Huang was advancing from Wan down-river towards Fan city and Xiangyang. The Yangling Slope was presumably a bluff along that valley, while Yancheng was a sub-county city.

56 The distance is given as three zhang; one zhang was ten chi feet, or 2.3 metres.
57 Passage U above tells us that Cao Cao was inviting Sun Quan to attack Guan Yu, and offering him honours and territory if he did. It is hard to imagine what benefit Sun Quan expected from telling Cao Cao of his plans, nor why he should seek permission; while the advice of Dong Zhao indicates how dangerous it was to do so. Though the story is presented, slightly differently, in SGZ 14, SGZ 47 and also SGZ 1, 52, I suspect the incident is fictitious: de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 398–400. Cf. also, however, passage RR and note 78 below.

58 The Mo Slope was a ridge of the Funiu Mountains north of present-day Nanyang. See SJZ 21, 7a and the commentary of Lu Bi to SGZJJ 1 at 125a, and SGZJJ 22 at 3b.

59 Fan city was on the northern bank of the Mian/Han River, and Xiangyang lay opposite on the south. The Wei forces under Xu Huang had thus regained control of the area about Xiangyang, but Guan Yu still held the river and the southern bank, where he maintained the siege against Lü Chang: passage P above.

According to this chronology, the thrust of Guan Yu's attack had been broken by Xu Huang, Cao Ren and their associates before, and without need of, intervention by Lü Meng and Sun Quan's army from the south. Such an account, of course, reflects the historians of Wei and may be distorted in favour of Cao Cao's men, but the biography of Guan Yu, SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 941, supports it.

60 Xunyang was on the border of Jing province with Yang province, two hundred kilometres downstream from the forward headquarters at Lukou, where Lu Xun had taken over command. Lü Meng had thus gathered the main attack force well behind the frontier with Guan Yu, then moved it up the Yangzi in disguise, past Lukou and into enemy territory. [One may observe that if such a substantial army could be mistaken for a group of merchants, there must have been great trading fleets plying the river at this time.]

61 Yu Fan was an experienced negotiator. Many years earlier, he persuaded Hua Xin to surrender to Sun Ce: passages T and U of Jian'an 4, and de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 192–193, also 217 note.

According to Wu shu, on this occasion Yu Fan attempted to speak with Shi Ren but was rebuffed. He then sent in a letter, so eloquent that Shi Ren agreed to surrender.

62 SGZ 54 says the man came from Runan; which was indeed Lü Meng's native commandery
This is the other side of the proposal recorded of Dong Zhao: passage CC above. A three-cornered combat can produce complicated argument.

Sun Quan is receiving the submission of the officials who had hitherto been in the service of Guan Yu and Liu Bei. Pan Jun first held appointment under Liu Biao, then took a position of trust for Liu Bei: SGZ 61 (Wu 16), 1397.

In the system of Han, an Attendant Official could be sent out from the provincial headquarters as the agent of the Inspector or Governor to supervise each commandery: Bielenstein, Bureaucracy, 92 [Attendant Clerk], and de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 56.

The non-Chinese people of Wuling commandery, in the hill country of the Yuan River in the west of Jing province, had long been a source of trouble to Chinese governments: e.g. de Crespigny, Generals of the South, 10.

The Fan family of Nanyang were prosperous at the beginning of Later Han: the mother of the future Emperor Guangwu was a Lady Fan: Bielenstein, RHD I, 95-96 and 98.

The number of cash is given as yi, which may be understood either as 100,000 (xiao yi) or 1,000,000 (da yi). A catty (jin) was 245 grams.

On Yidu commandery under SHU, see note 14 above. It seems probable that Fan You was a relative of Fan Zhou, former Grand Commandant of Wuling for Liu Bei: passage II above.

Yidu commandery controlled the west of Nan commandery of Han, either side of the Yangzi, and was the area of defence against forces moving through the Gorges from Liu Bei's state in present-day Sichuan. The capital under SHU had been at Zigui; Lu Xun now set it at Yiling.

The best description of the relationship between these places is in SJZ 32, 12b–13b, which describes the course of the Ju and Zhang rivers, flowing south towards the Yangzi in the west of present-day Hubei, the Ju on the west and the Zhang on the east: the county city of Dangyang, east of present-day Dangyang in Hubei, lay between the rivers, and
Maicheng was downstream to the southeast; one must assume SGZ 47 means that Guan Yu fled into the territory of the county, not to the city itself.

The town of Zhangxiang, whose name appears both as and as, was on the Zhang River north of Dangyang city, while the county city of Linju was on the upper reaches of the Ju River, north of present-day Yuanan in Hubei; it is possible Linju county extended eastwards to include the district of Zhangxiang.

After his surrender to Liu Bei in 214 Liu Zhang had been exiled to Gongan under the control of Guan Yu: passage H of Jian'an 19. His re-appointment to the title of Governor of Yi province was a challenge to Liu Bei.

The grant to maintain the tomb was associated with an extension of enfeoffment to Lü Meng's son, together with a gift of land. The custom of setting up colonies of families to support the maintenance of an imperial tomb had been customary in the early Han dynasty (e.g. Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 196–199). Here it is an extraordinary honour.

Throughout this survey, Sun Quan describes the men by their styles. After the first reference, I revert in translation to the more recognisable surname and personal name.

Xuande was the style of Liu Bei. On the cession or "lending" of territory in Jing province, see passage G of Jian'an 15. On Lu Su's policy of friendship to Liu Bei, see passage V above.

According to *Lun yu* XVIII.10; Legge, *CC1*, 338 (Lau, *Analects*, 187–189), the Duke of Zhou advised his son that a true gentleman does not expect to find total perfection in any one man.

The biography of Deng Yu is in *HHS* 26/16. He was an ally and adviser to the future Emperor Guangwu in the conquest of the empire, but he suffered several defeats at the hands of the Red Eyebrows: *e.g.* Bielenstein, *RHD* II, 62–63 and 117.

It is difficult to judge the significance of the phrase *cheng fan* [literally, "to style oneself as a subject"] at this point. Sun Quan had formally been at peace with Cao Cao since his
ostensible surrender two years earlier: passage C of Jian’an 22, and there was, as discussed in note 26 above, no direct threat to Hefei at this time. On the other hand, there is the story of Sun Quan’s letter to Cao Cao telling of his intention to attack Guan Yu: passage CC and note 54 above; a tale I find hard to credit.

The text of SGZ 17 is not quite so specific on the relationship of Sun Quan's subjection and the summons to Zhang Liao's forces, and it is possible that the move of Zhang Liao's army represented a response to the serious situation in Jing province as opposed to the apparently more secure position about Hefei. There may have been indications, moreover, that Sun Quan was prepared to attack Guan Yu, rather than make another assault against the line of the Huai. What I cannot believe is that Sun Quan wrote to Cao Cao and his court to advise his plans against Guan Yu in specific terms.

82 Huan Jie is described as a Master of Writing in SGZ 1, 52 PC quoting Wei lue. See passage TT and note 89 below.

83 Military agricultural colonies, self-supporting defence units, had been used about Xu city and, with great success, on the Huai River defence line against the forces of Sun Quan: passages DD of Jian'an 1 and JJ of Jian'an 5. The technique, however, had evidently proven less successful against the assault by Guan Yu, who had the advantage of river transport and an army with more experience on land than that of Sun Quan. Cao Cao, however, was now uncertain of the people's loyalty.

84 Sima Yi is using the names of the ancient state of Chu and the province of Jing to indicate the lands of the middle Yangzi. In its general description of the empire, SJ 129, 3267, refers to the people of this region as volatile: Swann, Food and Money, 444. Watson, RGH II, 438.

85 Nanchang county was in Yuzhuang commandery, by present-day Nanchang in Jiangxi.

86 SGZ 47 (Wu 2) specifies that this was tribute to the court of Han.

87 Zhu Guang, appointed Grand Commandant of Lujiang by Cao Cao, had been captured at Huan city in 214: passage D of Jian’an 19.

88 As in the Western proverb, Cao Cao's words could readily be interpreted as implying that Sun Quan's suggestion put him in the hot seat, an uncomfortable position. In the theory of the Five Powers, however, the Han dynasty ruled under the influence of Fire, so Cao Cao also implies that he might take over the throne. He thus uses the letter from Sun Quan to canvass opinion among his ministers.

89 According to Wei lue, this memorial was presented jointly by Chen Qun and Huan Jie.

90 At the end of the Shang/Yin dynasty, King Wen of Zhou held two-thirds of the empire, but he continued to serve the king of Shang/Yin so long as he ruled with justice and virtue: e.g. Lun yu VIII.20; Legge, CC I, 215 (Lau, Analects, 75).
This essay "On Teaching and Custom," an epitaph for the Han dynasty, may be regarded as one of Sima Guang's firmest and finest statements on the place of good conduct and moral courage in the world of politics. See also the Introduction to de Crespigny, Huan and Ling I, xvi–xvii. The terms Teaching and Custom here render the Chinese jiaohua and fengsu.

The prefix xiao "Filial" was a part of the posthumous dynastic names of all Han emperors except the two founders, Kao[zu] and Guangwu.

The Three Dynasties were the legendary Xia, the Shang/Yin and the Zhou.

Emperor He came to the throne as a minor in 88 AD. His reign was first dominated by the Dou family of his titular mother the Empress–Dowager until he overthrew those relatives with the aid of court eunuchs. For most of the reign of Emperor An, from 106 to 121 the government was in the hands of the Empress–Dowager Deng, and at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shun in 125 another family of relatives by marriage was overthrown by the aid of eunuchs. From 135 the government was under increasing dominance from the Liang family until Liang Ji was destroyed by Emperor Huan and his eunuch allies in 159. See, for example, Cambridge China I, 282–286 [Bielenstein, "Wang Mang and Later Han"].

The biography of Yuan An is in HHS 45/35, that of Yang Zhen in HHS 54/44. Both held office among the Three Excellencies. Yuan An protested at the policies of the Dou clan under Emperor He and Yang Zhen opposed female influence at the court of Emperor An, See, for example, Cambridge China I, 297–298 and 305 [Loewe, "Conduct of Government"].

On Li Gu and Du Qiao, who suffered for their opposition to the Liang clan, see, for example, de Crespigny, Huan and Ling II, 300 note 69. Their biographies are in HHS 63/53.

Chen Fan and Li Ying fought the power of the eunuchs under Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling. The biography of Chen Fan is in HHS 66/56; see also, for example, de Crespigny, Huan and Ling I, 72–74, 79, 96–100. The biography of Li Ying is in HHS 67/57; see also, for example, de Crespigny, Huan and Ling I, 65–66, 78–79, 110–111.

The biography of Fu Rong is in HHS 68/58; see also, for example, de Crespigny, Huan and Ling I, 45, 48–49. The biography of Guo Tai is in HHS 68/58; see also, for example, de Crespigny, Huan and Ling I, 45–48, 70, 113. Both men were noted for their ability to judge and promote worthy character.

The biography of Fan Pang, who was active among the Men of Faction, is in HHS 67/57; see also, for example, de Crespigny, Huan and Ling I, 15, 69–70, 79, 84–85, 111–112.

The biography of Xu Shao, another man celebrated for his judgement of character, is in HHS 68/58; see also, for example, de Crespigny, Huan and Ling I, 181–182.

This refers, of course, to the events after the death of Emperor Ling in 189, discussed from the beginning of this work.
Map 24: The decisive campaigns 219–222

- 219A: Liu Bei takes Hanzhong from Cao Cao
- 219B: Guan Yu attacks Xiangyang
- 219C: Lu Meng destroys Guan Yu
- 221/222: Liu Bei is defeated by Lu Xun
Huangchu 1: 220 AD 1
[22 February 220 – 9 February 221]
2175

A In the spring, in the first month King Wu [Cao Cao] arrived at Luoyang.2
   On the day gengzi [15 Mar] he died.3

B The king knew men well and was an excellent judge of them. It was difficult
to deceive him. He recognised and selected men of talent regardless of
their origin, and he gave each man appointment and employment to suit
his ability.

   Facing the enemy in battle array he was relaxed and calm, as if he had
no thought of fighting, but he would then seize an opportunity for victory
with overwhelming energy and power.

2176  He would readily grant a thousand pieces of gold to reward good work,
but would give not a cash to those who sought largesse without having
earned it. He was strict and fierce in enforcing the law: those who offended
were always killed. Some he might weep for, but they never received a
pardon.

   By nature he was temperate and restrained, with no love for elegant
ornament.

   For these reasons he was able to mow down the most powerful men of
his time, and he conquered almost all the Chinese world.

NOTES to Huangchu 1: 220

* This is the first chapter of the section of ZZTJ which has been rendered by Achilles Fang,
The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms. For the sake of completion I have translated here
the account of Cao Cao's death and the comment which follows. The parallel version is in
Fang, Chronicle I, 1, with notes at 15–17.

1 This year began as the twenty-fifth of the Jian'an period of Han. In the third month the
reign title was changed to Yankang "Flourishing Prosperity."

   On 11 December Cao Cao's son and successor Cao Pi received the abdication of the
Han Emperor and took the imperial title for himself, with a new reign period Huangchu
"Yellow Beginning," named in honour of the new Power of Yellow and Earth which had been
foretold should succeed to the Red and Fire of Han. (Cf. note 84 to Jian'an 24.)
On the rival reign-titles and calendars of this time, see, for example, *Cambridge China I*, 360 [Mansvelt Beck, "The Fall of Han"], and de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 450–457.

[A: 220]

1. *SGZ* 1, 53 (126a), the Biography of Cao Cao; *HHS* 9, 390 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

2. Cao Cao is returning with his army from the Mo Slope, some 150 kilometres south of Luoyang, after the threat from Guan Yu has been removed.

3. Cao Cao, born in 175, was sixty-five years old, or 66 sui by Chinese reckoning.

In this passage *ZZTJ* describes Cao Cao for the first time by his posthumous title Wu "Martial," no doubt in recognition that this chapter begins the chronicle of the state of WEI. In his later years *SGZ* refers to him as wang "the King" and *SGZ* 1, 53, records the grant of his posthumous royal title and his entombment in the following month at the mausoleum of Gaoling near Ye. *HHS* 9 normally refers to him simply as Cao Cao, but in mentioning his death gives him the title King of Wei.

The term for Cao Cao's death is also a matter of varying opinion. *SGZ* has the character beng, appropriate for the death of emperors, for Cao Cao was granted posthumous imperial rank by Cao Pi: *SGZ* 2, 76. *HHS* Annals has hong, used for feudal lords and high officials. *ZZTJ* has followed *HHS*.

[B: 220]

1. *SGZ* 1, 54 (127a–128a) PC quoting *Wei shu*;

2. *SGZ* 1, 554–55 (129b–130a) PC quoting *Cao Man zhuan*. 
**FINDING LIST**

of texts identified as sources for *Zizhi tongjian* 59–69

"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 Zp6C refers to passage C of the text and translation for Zhongping 6. Similarly, Cp indicates the Chuping period, Xp the Xingping period, Ja the Jian’an period and Hc the Huangchu period of Wei. The sources identified are listed below by chapters of *Hou Han shu* (*HHS*), *Jin shu* (*JS*), *Sanguo zhi* (*SGZ*), other early texts, and comments by later scholars, including Sima Guang himself.

From *Hou Han shu*:

- **HHS 10B**, the Biography of the Empress Fu: Xp2I, Ja19Y
- **HHS 10B**, the Biography of the Empress He: Zp6A, Zp6CC, Cp1C
- **HHS 10B**, the Biography of the Empress-Dowager Dong: Zp6I
- **HHS 10B**, the Biography of the Lady Wang: Xp1A
- **HHS 48/38**, the Biography of Xu Qiu: Ja4H
- **HHS 49/39**, the Biography of Zhongchang Tong: Ja11E, Ja11F
- **HHS 50/40**, the Account of the Kingdom of Chen: Ja2P
- **HHS 53/43**, the Biography of Shentu Pan: Zp6LL
- **HHS 54/44**, the Biography of Yang Biao: Cp1F, Cp1G, Ja2T
- **HHS 56/46**, the Biography of Chong Fu: Cp3U
- **HHS 56/46**, the Biography of Chong Shao: Zp6R
- **HHS 58/48**, the Biography of He Xun: Cp1H
- **HHS 58/48**, the Biography of Zang Hong: Cp1Q, Xp2RR
- **HHS 60/50B**, the Biography of Cai Yong: Zp6Y, Cp3K
- **HHS 61/51**, the Biography of Huang Wan: Cp1G, Cp3X
- **HHS 62/52**, the Biography of Chen Ji: Zp6JJ, Ja3Q
- **HHS 62/52**, the Biography of Han Rong: Zp6JJ
- **HHS 62/52**, the Biography of Xun Shuang: Zp6JJ
- **HHS 62/52**, the Biography of Xun Yue: Ja10M
- **HHS 64/54**, the Biography of Lu Zhi: Zp6N
- **HHS 64/54**, the Biography of Zhao Qi: Ja1D
- **HHS 65/55**, the Biography of Zhang Huan: Ja11G
- **HHS 66/56**, the Biography of Wang Yun: Cp1L, Cp3P, Cp3T, Cp3Y
- **HHS 68/58**, the Biography of Xu Shao: Cp4F
HHS 70/60, the Biography of Kong Rong: Xp1AA, Ja1Z, Ja2U, Ja13R
HHS 70/60, the Biography of Xun Yu: Ja1K, Ja1X, Ja4M, Ja6B, Ja17K
HHS 70/60, the Biography of Zheng Tai: Zp6G, Zp6N, Cp1D
HHS 71/61, the Biography of Huangfu Song: Zp6M, Cp1H, Cp2H
HHS 71/61, the Biography of Zhu Jun: Cp2HH, Cp3K
HHS 73/63, the Biography of Gongsun Zan: Cp2V, Cp2Y, Cp4C, Xp2SS, Ja3DD, Ja4A
HHS 73/63, the Biography of Tao Qian: Cp2II, Cp4E, Cp4H, Cp4L, Xp1D
HHS 73/63, the Biography of Zhai Rong: Xp2NN
HHS 74/64A, the Biography of Yuan Shao: Zp6Z, Zp6QQ, Zp6SS, Cp1A, Cp1T, Cp2M, Cp2P, Cp2Q, Cp3D, Cp3LL, Cp4C, Cp4J, Xp2EE, Ja1W, Ja2J, Ja3D, Ja4J, Ja5C, Ja5E, Ja5F, Ja5J, Ja5V, Ja5Y, Ja5AA, Ja5BB, Ja5DD, Ja5EE, Ja5FF, Ja5GG, Ja5HH, Ja7B, Ja7C
HHS 74/64B, the post-Biography of Yuan Shao: Ja7C, Ja8A, Ja8B, Ja8D, Ja8F, Ja9F, Ja9M, Ja9N, Ja10C
HHS 74/64B, the Biography of Liu Biao: Cp1O, Cp3EE, Ja1FF, Ja1II, Ja4R, Ja5TT, Ja13S, Ja13CC
HHS 75/65, the post-Biography of Liu Yan: Ja5UU
HHS 75/65, the Biography of Lü Bu: Zp6X, Cp3H, Cp3J, Cp3T, Cp3BB, Cp4K, Ja1F, Ja1CC, Ja2N, Ja3G, Ja3K, Ja3O, Ja3P
HHS 75/65, the Biography of Yuan Shu: Zp6QQ, Cp2CC, Cp4B, Ja1I, Ja1J, Ja2G, Ja2Q, Ja4F, Ja4W
HHS 75/65, the Biography of Zhang Miao: Xp1G, Xp1I
HHS 78/68, the Chapter on the Eunuchs: Zp6T, Cp4L
HHS 80/70B, the Biography of Ni Heng: Ja1J
HHS 81/71, the Biography of Wang Lie: Cp2OO
HHS 89/79, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu: Zp6GG, Xp2TT, Ja21I
HHS 90/80, the Account of the Wuhuan: Ja4C
HHS 99/9, the Treatise on Sacrifices: Cp1X
HHS 103/13, the Treatise of the Five Powers: Zp6EE

From Jin shu:
JS 1, the Biography of Sima Yi: Ja13J, Ja13L, Ja20I, Ja24P, Ja24TT, Ja24U
JS 44, the Biography of Zheng Mao: Ja24Q
JS 97, the Account of the Northern Peoples: Ja21I

From Sanguo zhi:
SGZ 5, the Biographies of the Empresses of WEI: Ja22F
SGZ 5, the Biography of the Lady Bian: Ja22N
SGZ 6, the Biography of Dong Zhuo: Zp6X, Zp6OO, Zp6ll, Cp1I, Cp2J
SGZ 6, the post–Biography of Dong Zhuo: Cp3Q, Xp1C, Xp2D, Xp2Q, Xp2X, Xp2BB, Ja2X
SGZ 6, the Biography of Liu Biao: Cp2GG, Ja3U, Ja4R, Ja5TT, Ja13S
SGZ 6, the Biography of Yuan Shao: Zp6Z, Ja5E, Ja5H, Ja5V, Ja5Y Ja5AA, Ja5BB, Ja5EE, Ja5GG, Ja5HH, Ja7B, Ja7C, Ja8A, Ja9A, Ja9D, Ja9F, Ja9M, Ja9N, Ja10H
SGZ 6, the Biography of Yuan Shu: Cp2CC, Cp4B, Xp1AA, Ja2H, Ja4F, Ja4W
SGZ 7, the Biography of Chen Deng: Ja3T
SGZ 7, the Biography of Lü Bu: Zp6X, Cp3H, Cp3T, Cp4K, Ja1F, Ja1CC, Ja2K, Ja3G, Ja3K, Ja3O, Ja3P
SGZ 7, the Biography of Zhang Hong: Xp2RR
SGZ 7, the Biography of Zhang Miao: Xp1E, Xp1G, Xp1I, Xp2U
SGZ 8, the Biography of Gongsun Du: Cp1Y, Cp2KK, Ja9O
SGZ 8, the Biography of Gongsun Zan: Cp2W, Cp2Y, Cp4N, Xp2SS, Ja3BB, Ja3DD, Ja4A, Ja4B
SGZ 8, the Biography of Liu Yu: Ja5M
SGZ 8, the Biography of Tao Qian: Cp2II, Cp4H
SGZ 8, the Biography of Zhang Lu: Cp2JJ, Ja5UU, Ja6I, Ja20H, Ja20O
SGZ 8, the Biography of Zhang Xi: Ja2A, Ja4O
SGZ 8, the Biography of Zhang Yan: Ja9C, Ja10I
SGZ 8, the Biography of Zhang Yang: Cp2L, Cp2T, Xp2CC, Ja1G, Ja3L
SGZ 9, the Biography of Cao Chun: Ja10A
SGZ 9, the Biography of Cao Ren: Ja24P, Ja5T
SGZ 9, the Biography of Cao Xiu: Ja23C
SGZ 9, the Biography of Xiahou Dun: Ja22C
SGZ 9, the Biography of Xiahou Yuan: Ja18I, Ja19A, Ja19X, Ja20K, Ja24B
SGZ 10, the Biography of Jia Xu: Cp3AA, Ja1GG, Ja1HH, Ja3F, Ja4O, Ja16F, Ja22K
SGZ 10, the Biography of Xun You: Zp6C, Cp3L, Ja1X, Ja3B, Ja3M, Ja5AA, Ja8E, Ja19W
SGZ 10, the Biography of Xun Yu: Cp3C, Xp1J, Xp2N, Ja1K, Ja1X, Ja2E, Ja4M, Ja5Z, Ja6B, Ja12A, Ja17K
SGZ 11, the Biography of Bing Yuan: Ja13ZZ
SGZ 11, the Biography of Guan Ning: Cp2NN
SGZ 11, the Biography of Guo Yuan: Ja16C, Ja17C
SGZ 11, the sub–Biography of Hu Zhao: Ja24U
SGZ 11, the Biography of Tian Chou: Cp4Q, Ja12C, Ja12D, Ja12K, Ja13YY
SGZ 11, the Biography of Wang Lie: Cp2OO
SGZ 11, the Biography of Wang Xiu: Ja8B, Ja10D, Ja18M
SGZ 11, the Biography of Yuan Huan: Ja1EE, Ja18M, Ja18N
SGZ 12, the Biography of Cui Yan: Ja9J, Ja13J, Ja13L, Ja21B, Ja22H
SGZ 12, the Biography of He Kui: Ja2R, Ja5S
SGZ 12, the Biography of Mao Jie: Cp3HH, Ja13J, Ja13K, Ja21C, Ja21D, Ja22I
SGZ 12, the Biography of Sima Zhi: Ja13EE
SGZ 12, the Biography of Xing Yong: Ja12C, Ja19V, Ja22J
SGZ 12, the Biography of Xu Yi: Ja21E
SGZ 12, the Biography of Cui Yan: Ja4K
SGZ 13, the Biography of Hua Xin: Xp2PP, Ja5RR
SGZ 13, the Biography of Wang Lang: Cp4E, Ja1S, Ja3Y
SGZ 13, the Biography of Zhong Yao: Cp3JJ, Ja2F, Ja7H, Ja18M, Ja24Q
SGZ 14, the Biography of Cheng Yu: Cp3E, Xp1K, Xp1M, Xp1W, Ja4AA, Ja5G
SGZ 14, the Biography of Dong Zhao: Cp3II, Ja1M, Ja1P, Ja17K, Ja24CC
SGZ 14, the Biography of Guo Jia: Ja12B, Ja1X, Ja8A
SGZ 14, the Biography of Jiang Ji: Ja14C, Ja18B, Ja24U
SGZ 14, the Biography of Liu Fang: Ja10G
SGZ 14, the Biography of Liu Ye: Ja4S, Ja20J
SGZ 15, the Biography of Jia Kui: Ja7E
SGZ 15, the Biography of Liang Xi: Ja11C, Ja11D
SGZ 15, the Biography of Liu Fu: Ja5JJ
SGZ 15, the Biography of Sima Lang: Ja13J
SGZ 15, the Biography of Wen Hui: Ja24N
SGZ 15, the Biography of Zhang Ji: Ja7F, Ja10K, Ja13O, Ja16H, Ja24H
SGZ 16, the Biography of Du Ji: Ja10K, Ja10L, Ja16I
SGZ 16, the Biography of Ren Jun: Ja1BB
SGZ 16, the Biography of Zheng Hun: Ja17F
SGZ 17, the Biography of Xu Huang: Ja9B, Ja23F, Ja24P, Ja24BB, Ja24DD, Ja24EE, Ja24SS
SGZ 17, the Biography of Yu Jin: Ja2D, Ja24O
SGZ 17, the Biography of Zhang Ge: Ja3R, Ja5AA, Ja6E, Ja23F, Ja24C
SGZ 17, the Biography of Zhang Liao: Ja13M, Ja14G, Ja20L, Ja24RR
SGZ 18, the Biography of Dian Wei: Xp1U, Ja2B
SGZ 18, the Biography of Li Dian: Ja7I, Ja20L
SGZ 18, the Biography of Li Tong: Ja2Z, Ja5R
SGZ 18, the Biography of Pang De: Ja7G, Ja20Q, Ja24O
SGZ 18, the Biography of Wen Ping: Ja13DD
SGZ 18, the Biography of Xu Chu: Ja2S, Ja4Z
SGZ 18, the Biography of Yan Wen: Ja18H
SGZ 18, the Biography of Zang Ba: Ja3I, Ja3S
SGZ 19, the Biography of Cao Zhang: Ja23E, Ja23I
SGZ 19, the Biography of Cao Zhi: Ja19U, Ja22M, Ja22P, Ja24R
SGZ 20, the Biographies of the Sons of Emperors Wu and Wen of Wei: Ja22F
SGZ 21, the Biography of Liu Yi: Ja13EE
SGZ 21, the Biography of Wang Can: Ja13EE
SGZ 21, the Biography of Wei Ji: Ja4Q
SGZ 21, the sub-Biography of Chen Lin: Ja10F
SGZ 21, the sub-Biography of Liu Zhen: Ja19V
SGZ 21, the sub-Biography of Zhongchang Tong: Ja11E
SGZ 22, the Biography of Chen Qun: Ja18M, Ja18O, Ja3Q
SGZ 22, the Biography of Huan Jie: Cp2EE, Ja3V, Ja21E, Ja24DD
SGZ 22, the Biography of Lu Yu: Ja13J
SGZ 22, the Biography of Xu Xuan: Ja16C
SGZ 23, the Biography of Chang Lin: Ja11D, Ja17B
SGZ 23, the Biography of Du Xi: Ja2Y, Ja20K, Ja24S
SGZ 23, the Biography of He Xia: Ja13EE, Ja14K, Ja21D
SGZ 23, the Biography of Pei Qian: Ja13EE, Ja21H, Ja23D
SGZ 23, the Biography of Zhao Yan: Ja2Y, Ja5R, Ja13N, Ja20T, Ja24BB, Ja24EE, Ja24GG
SGZ 24, the Biography of Gao Rou: Xp1F, Ja16B, Ja19AA
SGZ 24, the Biography of Han Ji: Ja13EE
SGZ 25, the Biography of Xin Pi: Ja8E
SGZ 25, the Biography of Yang Fu: Ja4P, Ja18H, Ja18J, Ja18L
SGZ 26, the Biography of Guo Huai: Ja24C
SGZ 26, the Biography of Man Chong: Ja1Y, Ja2T, Ja24P
SGZ 26, the Biography of Qian Zhao: Ja9l, Ja9P, Ja12G
SGZ 26, the Biography of Tian Yu: Ja4B
SGZ 29, the Biography of Du Kui: Ja1I
SGZ 30, the Account of the Wuhuan: Ja4C, Ja11J
SGZ 31, the Biography of Liu Yan: Cp2JJ, Xp1Y
SGZ 31, the Biography of Liu Zhang: Ja5UU, Ja13WW, Ja16K, Ja16L, Ja19H, Ja24NN
SGZ 32, the Biography of Liu Bei: Cp2Z, Xp1B, Xp1Z, Ja1F, Ja1DD, Ja3G, Ja4AA, Ja5D, Ja5Q, Ja5U,
Ja6D, Ja13U, Ja13X, Ja13BB, Ja13RR, Ja13VV, Ja14H, Ja15E, Ja16K, Ja16M, Ja16O, Ja17O,
SGZ 33, the Biography of Liu Shan: Ja24J
SGZ 35, the Biography of Zhuge Liang: Ja12O, Ja13S, Ja13Y, Ja13HH, Ja13VV, Ja19E, Ja19I
SGZ 36, the Biography of Guan Yu: Cp2AA, Ja5I, Ja5L, Ja24K, Ja24O, Ja24U, Ja24W, Ja24FF
SGZ 36, the Biography of Huang Zhong: Ja19I, Ja24B, Ja24K
SGZ 36, the Biography of Ma Chao: Cp3DD, Ja13O, Ja18H, Ja18J, Ja19G, Ja19I, Ja24K
SGZ 36, the Biography of Zhang Fei: Ja13Z, Ja19E, Ja20S, Ja24K
SGZ 36, the Biography of Zhao Yun: Ja19E
SGZ 37, the Biography of Fa Zheng: Ja19R, Ja14I, Ja16J, Ja16M, Ja18E, Ja19F, Ja19I, Ja19N, Ja22R,
Ja24B, Ja24K
SGZ 37, the Biography of Pang Tong: Ja12P, Ja15I, Ja16O, Ja17N, Ja19F
SGZ 38, the Biography of Jian Yong: Ja19H, Ja19I
SGZ 38, the Biography of Mi Zhu: Ja19I, Ja1F
SGZ 38, the Biography of Sun Qian: Ja19I
SGZ 38, the Biography of Xu Jing: Ja19I, Ja24K
SGZ 38, the Biography of Yi Ji: Ja19I
SGZ 39, the Biography of Dong He: Ja19I, Ja19J
SGZ 39, the Biography of Liu Ba: Ja19I, Ja19K
SGZ 40, the Biography of Li Yan: Ja19I
SGZ 40, the Biography of Liu Feng: Ja24I
SGZ 40, the Biography of Peng Yang: Ja19I
SGZ 40, the Biography of Wei Yan: Ja24K
SGZ 41, the Biography of Fei Shi: Ja24L
SGZ 41, the Biography of Huo Jun: Ja19Q
SGZ 41, the Biography of Yang Hong: Ja23G
SGZ 43, the Biography of Huang Quan: Ja16L, Ja19l, Ja19L, Ja20R
SGZ 44, the Biography of Jiang Wan: Ja19T
SGZ 45, the Eulogy for Cheng Ji: Ja6G
SGZ 46, the Biography of Sun Ce: Xp1BB, Xp1CC, Xp2FF, Xp2II, Xp2KK, Ja1R, Ja1T, Ja3W, Ja4S, Ja5N
SGZ 46, the Biography of Sun Jian: Cp1N, Cp1V, Cp2D, Cp2G, Cp2DD, Xp1BB
SGZ 47, the Biography of Sun Quan: Ja5O, Ja8G, Ja12M, Ja13F, Ja13NN, Ja13UU, Ja14H, Ja15G, Ja17H, Ja18A, Ja18B, Ja20D, Ja20F, Ja20M, Ja22C, Ja24CC, Ja24KK, Ja24LL, Ja24UU
SGZ 49, the Biography of Liu Yao: Xp1CC, Ja4W
SGZ 49, the Biography of Shi Xie: Ja15J
SGZ 49, the Biography of Taishi Ci: Xp2GG, Ja3Z, Ja3AA
SGZ 49, the Biography of Zhai Rong: Xp2NN, Xp2OO
SGZ 50, the Biography of the Lady Wu: Xp1BB, Ja12N
SGZ 51, the Biography of Sun Ben: Cp2FF
SGZ 51, the Biography of Sun Fu: Ja5QQ
SGZ 51, the Biography of Sun Jiao: Ja24AA
SGZ 51, the Biography of Sun Jing: Ja1S
SGZ 51, the Biography of Sun Shao: Ja9Q
SGZ 51, the biography of Sun Yu: Ja11K
SGZ 52, the Biography of Bu Zhi: Ja15J
SGZ 52, the Biography of Zhang Zhao: Xp2KK, Ja5O
SGZ 52, the Biography of Zhuge Jin: Ja20G
SGZ 53, the Biography of Yan Jun: Ja22S
SGZ 53, the Biography of Zhang Hong: Xp2KK, Ja3W, Ja5KK, Ja14B, Ja17H
SGZ 54, the Biography of Lu Su: Ja13GG, Ja13NN, Ja20C
SGZ 54, the Biography of Lü Meng: Ja13E, Ja13TT, Ja24HH, Ja24OO
SGZ 54, the Biography of Zhou Yu: Ja15E, Ja13JJ, Ja13LL, Ja13RR
SGZ 54, the Biography of Lu Su: Ja3X, Ja5NN, Ja13KK, Ja15F, Ja15G
SGZ 54, the Biography of Lü Meng: Ja5OO, Ja14H, Ja15H, Ja17I, Ja19D, Ja20D, Ja22S, Ja24V, Ja24X, Ja24Z, Ja24FF, Ja24JJ, Ja24LL, Ja24PP
SGZ 54, the Biography of Zhou Yu: Xp1BB, Xp2FF, Xp2LL, Ja3X, Ja5O, Ja11K, Ja13PP, Ja13SS, Ja14H, Ja15F
SGZ 55, the Biography of Cheng Pu: Ja14H, Ja15G
SGZ 55, the Biography of Dong Xi: Ja5LL, Ja13D
SGZ 55, the Biography of Gan Ning: Ja13C, Ja13SS, Ja19D
SGZ 55, the Biography of Jiang Qin: Ja22B
SGZ 55, the Biography of Ling Tong: Ja20M
SGZ 55, the Biography of Zhou Tai: Ja22D
SGZ 56, the Biography of Lü Fan: Ja14H
SGZ 56, the Biography of Zhu Zhi: Xp2FF, Xp2QQ
SGZ 57, the Biography of Luo Tong: Ja5PP
SGZ 57, the Biography of Yu Fan: Ja1T, Ja24QQ
SGZ 58, the Biography of Lu Xun: Ja22T, Ja24Y, Ja24KK
SGZ 60, the Biography of He Qi: Ja8H, Ja13AAA
SGZ 60, the Biography of Quan Zong: Ja24MM

From other sources:
Account of Zhongchang Tong by Miao Xi: Ja11E
Bing Yuan biezhuan: Cp2MM
Cao Man zhuan: Xp1H, Ja5AA, Ja12H, Ja16E, Ja19Y, Ja23J, Hc1B
Chuguo xianxian zhuan: Ja23J
Fuzé: Cp2NN, Ja1HH, Ja1Jl, Ja2A, Ja2E, Ja4R, Ja5B, Ja10E, Ja19W, Ja20J
Han Xiandi chunqiu: Ja6H
Han–Jin chunqiu by Xi Zuochi: Ja3BB, Ja3U, Ja4A, Ja12L, Ja12O, Ja13U, Ja13W
Han–Jin chunqiu [?] by Xi Zuochi: Ja13V, Ja13XX, Ja20P
Hanmo mingshi lu: Zp6G
Hou Han ji by Zhang Fan: Zp6V, Cp2H, Cp3T, Cp3V
Hou Han shu by Hua Qiao: Cp1F, Xp2J
Hou Han shu by Xie Cheng: Cp3K
Hou Han shu by Yuan Shansong: Cp3W
Huayang guo zhui: Ja4AA, Ja5UU, Ja6G, Ja6l, Ja16O
Jiuzhou chunqiu: Cp1Q, Cp2N, Cp2Q, Cp3l, Cp3R, Cp3S, Xp2F, Ja1Z, Ja1AA, Ja2M, Ja2X, Ja3O, Ja6D, Ja7B, Ja16M
Kuaiji dianlu: Ja4X
Lienü zhuan by Huangfu Mi: Ja18J
Lingling xianxian zhuan: Ja19K, Ja19O
Pingyuan Ni Heng zhuan: Ja1JJ
Sanfu juelu Commentary: Ja22U, Ja23A
Sanguo ping: Xp1L
Shanyang gong caiji: Cp2E, Ja20, Ja13QQ
Shishuo xinyu: Cp2LL
Wei lue: Ja3AA, Ja7E, Ja7G, Ja9E, Ja9K, Ja10B, Ja10K, Ja13O, Ja13S, Ja13Y, Ja20Q, Ja21F, Ja22F, Ja22G, Ja24UU
Wei mingchen zou: Ja20H
Wei zhi: Ja19V
Wei–Wu gushi: Ja15D
Weishi chunqiu: Xp1H, Ja5CC, Ja8D, Ja17K, Ja18M
Wenshi zhuan: Ja1JJ
Wu li: Ja4T, Ja9Q, Ja18A
Wu lu: Cp1N, Cp2X, Ja1J, Ja4Y, Ja17I
Xiandi chunqiu: Zp6A, Zp6Z, Cp1M, Xp1AA, Xp1V, Xp20O, Ja1W, Ja2J, Ja3E, Ja3J, Ja3N, Ja17K, Ja20C
Xiandi qijuzhu: Xp1O, Xp2L, Xp2S, Ja13A
Xiandi zhuan: Xp2EE, Ja4J, Ja5F, Ja5J, Ja5BB
Xiangyang ji: Ja12P, Ja12O
Xianxian xingzhuang: Cp20O, Ja3K, Ja9G, Ja13K
Xu Han shu: Cp1E, Cp1J, Ja1Z
Xun Yu piezhuan: Ja12A, Ja19W
Yibu qijiu zaj: Ja18F
Zhan lue: Cp1O, Ja7D, Ja7F
Zhao Yun biezhuan: Cp2BB, Ja13AA, Ja13VV, Ja16N, Ja19P, Ja24F

Comments by later scholars:

Pei Songzhi: Ja19S
Sima Guang: Cp3Z, Ja17L, Ja24VV
Sun Sheng: Ja4U
Xi Zuochi: Ja13V, Ja13XX, Ja20P