

To Establish Peace

Being the Chronicle of Later Han for
the years 189 to 220 AD as recorded in
Chapters 59 to 69 of the
Zizhi tongjian of Sima Guang

Translated and annotated by
Rafe de Crespigny

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as recorded in Chapters 59 to 69 of the
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**Internet Edition
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FOREWORD

TO THE 2025 INTERNET EDITION

First published in 1996, this translation of Chapters 59 to 69 of the *Zizhi tongjian* of Sima Guang, dealing with the period 189 to 220 AD, is now out of print and available only through specialist libraries. The text was placed on this Internet site, and now, almost thirty years later, this new edition is issued to complement *A Hundred Years of Han*, lately published by EJ Brill of Leiden, which renders *Zizhi tongjian* chapters 44 to 53, the chronicle from 57 to 156 AD. The years from 157 to 189 were covered by *Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling*, first published in 1989, which is also presented in a new edition on this site.

The translation and notes have been revised, with some references to later works, including my own. The format is different, but the original pagination from 1996 is indicated throughout.

Rafe de Crespigny
Canberra, April 2025

DEDICATED TO
EMERITUS PROFESSOR LIU TS'UN-YAN AO FAHA
IN HIS EIGHTIETH *SUI*
WITH IMMENSE GRATITUDE AND GREAT RESPECT
1996

PREFACE

TO THE 1996 EDITION

I first published a translation of this material in *The Last of the Han* (Canberra 1969), which covered Chapters 59 to 68 of *Zizhi tongjian*, the chronicle from 181 to 220 AD. That book, however, is now out of print, and this is designed as a continuation, in essentially the same format, of *Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling*, published in 1989, which offers a translation of *Zizhi tongjian* 54 to 59, dealing with the period from 157 to the beginning of 189. Moreover, where *Last of the Han* translated the Chinese text without major annotation and with minimal discussion of Sima Guang's sources, I now provide more information on the texts and the facts they describe, and that deeper consideration has often improved the rendering.

I began work in this field under the guidance of Hans Bielenstein, Gören Malmqvist, Fang Chao-ying, Wang Ling and Otto van der Sprenkel, and I received special assistance from the late Ch'en Chih-mai, former Ambassador to Australia from the Republic of China. Since that time I have benefited greatly from the advice and assistance of colleagues and friends, notably Igor de Rachewiltz, Mark Elvin, Ken Gardiner and Greg Young in Canberra, Burchard Mansvelt Beck of Leiden, Michael Loewe of Cambridge and Hans Stumpfelt of Hamburg. The maps have been prepared by Winifred Mumford, a most patient and talented cartographer.

In the course of the work I received assistance from the Australian Research Grants Committee and the Faculties' Research Fund of the Australian National University. Above all, however, I thank Liu Ts'un-yan, Emeritus Professor of Chinese at the Australian National University and long-time guide and friend, who has given his time most generously to revision and discussion of this material. With all admiration for the depth and breadth of his scholarship, I am grateful for the attention he has given this project, and I am honoured to be able to dedicate the work to him.

Rafe de Crespigny
Canberra

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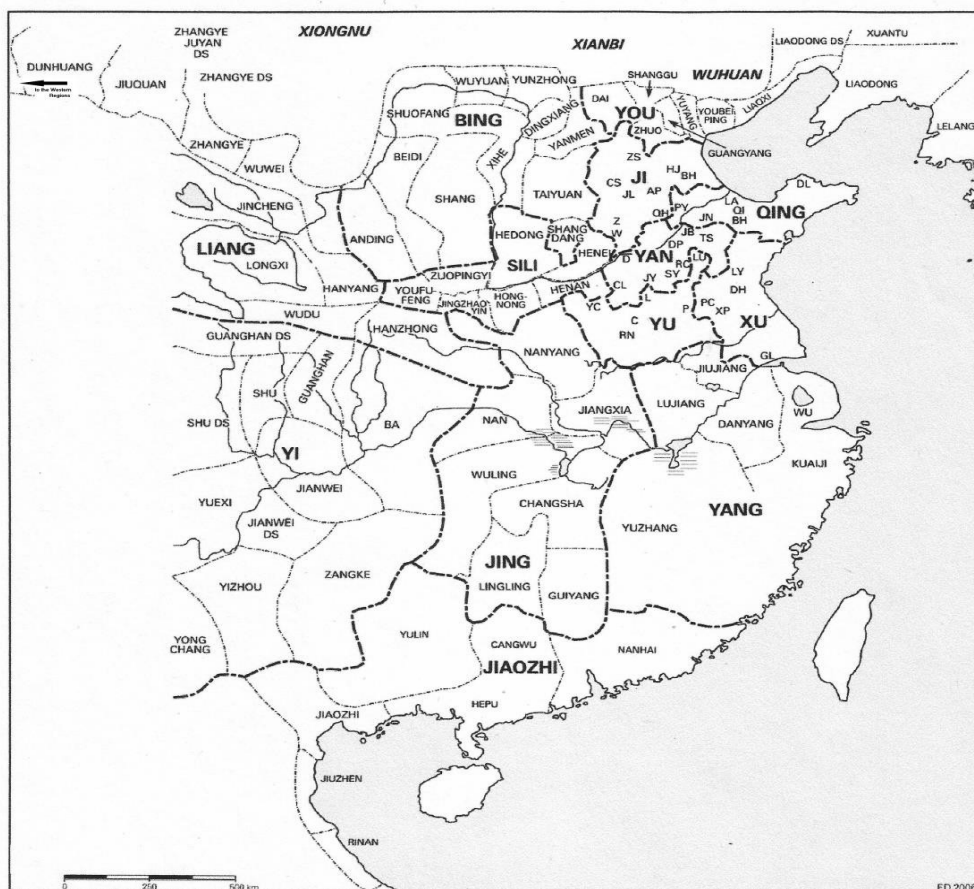
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Map 1: The empire of Later Han in 189 AD

Commandery units on the North China plain are indicated by the sites of their headquarters, marked by initials as listed below.

The headquarters of Anding, Beidi, Shang, Shuofang and Xihe had been withdrawn from their frontier regions during disturbances of the early 140s. The commanderies were formally maintained, but imperial authority was very slight.

The map does not show a number of short-lived commanderies which were established for emergency purposes but which were abolished soon afterwards.

During the reign of Emperor Ling the name of Hongnong 弘農 commandery was changed to Hengnong 恆農 to accord with taboo on his personal name Hong 宏.

Sili 司隸

Hedong 河東

Henan 河南

Ji province 冀州

Anping 安平 [AP]

Bohai 勃海 [BH]

Changshan 常山 [CS]

Hejian 河間 [HJ]

Julu 鉅鹿 [JL]

Qinghe 清河 [QH]

Wei 魏 [W]

Zhao 趙 [Z]

Zhongshan 中山 [ZS]

Yan province 兗州

Chenliu 陳留 [CL]

Dong 東 [D]

Dongping 東平 [DP]

Jibei 濟北 [JB]

Jiyin 濟陰 [JY]

Rencheng 任城 [RC]

Shanyang 山陽 [SY]

Taishan 太山 [TS]

Yu province 豫州

Chen 陳 [C]

Liang 梁 [L]

Lu 魯 [LU]

Pei 沛 [P]

Runan 汝南 [RN]

Yingchuan 潁川 [YC]

Xu province 徐州

Donghai 東海 [DH]

Guangling 廣陵 [GL]

Langye 琅邪 [LY]

Pengcheng 彭城 [PC]

Xiapi 下邳 [XP]

Qing province 青州

Beihai 北海 [BH]

Donglai 東來 [DL]

Ji'nan 濟南 [JN]

Le'an 樂安 [LA]

Pingyuan 平原 [PY]

Qi 齊 [QI]

Henei 河內

Hongnong 弘農

Jingzhao 京北

Yang province 揚州

Danyang 丹陽

Jiujiang 九江

Kuaiji 會稽

Lujiang 廬江

Wu 吳

Jing province 荊州

Changsha 長沙

Guiyang 桂陽

Jiangxia 江夏

Lingling 零陵

Nan 南

Nanyang 南陽

Wuling 武陵

Yi province 益州

Ba 巴

Guanghan 廣漢

Dependent State [DS]

of Guanghan

廣漢屬國

Hanzhong 漢中

Jianwei 犍爲

Dependent State

of Jianwei

Shu 蜀

Dependent State [DS]

of Shu commandery

蜀郡屬國

Yizhou 益州

Yongchang 永昌

Yuxi 越嶲

Yuzhang 豫章

Zangke 牂牁

Jiaozhi region 交趾[部]

Cangwu 蒼梧

Hepu 合浦

Jiaozhi 交趾

Jiuzhen 九真

Nanhai 南海

Rinan 日南

Yulin 鬱林

Youfufeng 右扶風

Zuopingyi 左馮翊

Liang province 涼州

Anding 安定

Beidi 北地

Dunhuang 敦煌

Hanyang 漢陽

Jincheng 金城

Jiuquan 酒泉

Longxi 隴西

Wudu 武都

Wuwei 武威

Zhangye 張掖

Dependent State [DS]

of Zhangye

張掖屬國

Dependent State of Ju-

yan in Zhangye

張掖居延屬國

Bing province 并州

Dingxiang 定襄

Shang 上

Shangdang 上黨

Shuofang 朔方

Taiyuan 太原

Wuyuan 五原

Xihe 西河

Yanmen 鴈門

Yunzhong 雲中

You province 幽州

Dai 代

Guangyang 廣陽

Lelang 樂浪

Liaodong 遼東

Dependent State [DS]

of Liaodong

遼東屬國

Liaoxi 遼西

Shanggu 上谷

Xuantu 玄菟

Youbeiping 右北平

Yuyang 漁陽

Zhuo

INTRODUCTION

The title of this work comes from the reign-title (年號 *nianhao*) Jian'an 建安 "Establishing Peace," which was proclaimed in 196 AD and which lasted through twenty-five years of civil war to the eve of the abdication of Emperor Xian and the fall of the dynasty of Han.

From 189, the beleaguered government of the empire had proclaimed a series of such optimistic slogans to date these years of conflict. 189 began as the sixth year of the period Zhongping 中平 "Peace Achieved," so named in 184 after victory over the Yellow Turbans. Through the year, however, as one crisis followed another, new reign periods were announced: Zhongping was succeeded by Guangxi 光熹 "Splendid Fortune," Guangxi by Zhaoning 昭寧 "Glorious Tranquillity" and Zhaoning by Yong-Han 永漢 "Eternal Han." And at the end, exhausted by the process, the central government reverted to the sixth of Zhongping.¹

With renewed optimism, 190 was named as the first of Chuping 初平 "Beginning Peace," a period which lasted four years, followed by two years of Xingping 興平 "Flourishing Peace." At the beginning of 196, as Emperor Xian returned to the devastated former capital of Luoyang, the occasion was marked by announcement of the Jian'an period: that title was maintained until 220, as long as the imperial government lay in the hands of the warlord Cao Cao 曹操.²

ZIZHI TONGJIAN AND THE FALL OF HAN

The full chronicle of *Zizhi tongjian* covers the history of China over more than fourteen hundred years, from 403 BC to 960 AD, and the present translation is a small contribution to presenting this material in terms of Western scholarship. The Introduction to *Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling* has already discussed the life and work of Sima Guang, and I do not repeat such detail here.

¹ See, for example, passages E, W, CC and NN to the chronicle of Zhongping 6 at 3, 21, 27 and 32 below.

² Though the characters 安 *an* and 平 *ping* may both be translated as "peace," *an* may be understood as describing a state of peace similar to 寧 *ning* "tranquillity," while *ping* was the process of achieving "pacification," often by the slaughter of those who opposed good order.

Though each chapter of the chronicle begins *in medias res*, one may discern unity within groups of them, and a contrast between such groups. In Chapters 54 to 58, rendered by *Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling*, Sima Guang tells of thirty years during which the government fell into decline under two corrupted rulers and their eunuch favourites. In the first chapters rendered here, 59 to 63, he describes the decade of disaster which that moral failure brought upon the civilised world. And in Chapters 64 to 68, the second part of this work, he describes the rise of Cao Cao and his rivals, and the weaknesses which prevented a true restoration of the unified empire.

Zizhi tongjian, however, is more than a chronicle, and Sima Guang presents each section of the past with a subtle theme. For historiography, this is a complex period. Most of the material is taken from the standard, or official, histories (正史 *zheng shi*): for the period of Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling, his chief authority is the *Hou Han shu* of Fan Ye, supplemented by the *Hou Han ji* of Yuan Hong, with occasional reference to other less recognised sources.³ For the years from 189 to 220, however, Sima Guang had two standard histories to rely upon: *Hou Han shu* maintains its account of the history of Han until the abdication of Emperor Xian, while *Sanguo zhi*, dealing with the Three Kingdoms of Wei, Shu-Han and Wu, extends its coverage backwards, before their formal proclamations in the 200s, to consider the origins of their rulers' power. Furthermore, while the main text of *Sanguo zhi* was compiled by Chen Shou at the end of the third century, his work is completed by the commentary of Pei Songzhi, an elder contemporary of Fan Ye, who gathered material from many other texts – biographies, local records, official documents and other histories – and presented them, with provenance, to Liu Yichan 劉義產, Emperor Wen 文 of the Liu Song [劉]宋 dynasty, who accepted the whole work as an official history in 429.⁴

³ On Fan Ye and other historians of the Later Han, see the Prolegomena to Bielenstein, *RHD* I, 20-40.

⁴ There are biographies of Chen Shou in *Huayang guo zhi* 11 and *Jin shu* 82, and of Pei Songzhi in *Song shu* 54 and *Nan shi* – the latter a shortened version of the former. These texts, together with that of Pei Songzhi's memorial of presentation, are printed at the end of the punctuated edition of *Sanguo zhi* published by *Zhonghua shuju* in 1959.

For more detailed discussion of *Sanguo zhi* and the contribution of Pei Songzhi, see deC, *Generals of the South*, 533-589 [Chapter Nine: "An Essay on the Sources for the history of Wu 170-230"], and *The Records of the Three Kingdoms*.

So the history of the wars at the end of Han is discussed by a medley of sources: any incident may be recounted in one or more biographies of *Hou Han shu* and *Sanguo zhi*, with quotations from the commentary of Pei Songzhi. The founders of the three states, Cao Cao, Liu Bei and the Sun family, have biographies only in *Sanguo zhi*, for Fan Ye evidently felt it unnecessary to duplicate the work of Chen Shou. Accounts of other leaders, however, such as Dong Zhuo, Yuan Shao, Yuan Shu and Liu Biao, appear in parallel in *Hou Han shu*, in *Sanguo zhi*, and in other works of the second, third and fourth centuries.

Sima Guang makes sophisticated use of this material. Through one passage after another, from disparate and often contradictory texts, the Song historian has compiled a smooth and convincing history of turmoil and conflict. His literary style is elegant, superior to that of his sources, and his chronicle is easier to follow than the criss-cross of biographies in the earlier histories.

Sima Guang, however, was not only telling a story. His work was designed as a guide to morality and good government, and there were lessons to be drawn from both the tragedies and the triumphs of the past. Above all, Sima Guang sought to judge individuals: given the situation described, how should a gentleman conduct himself? The governments of Huan and Ling had been heavily influenced by eunuchs, and true scholars and officials protested even to death against the weakness and corruption that they perceived. In the years of civil war which followed the collapse of Han authority, any hope for restoration of good order required sensible, moderate and honourable conduct by the leaders of the time, with loyalty from their followers. Treachery, cruelty and excessive behaviour brought their own punishment, for men do not maintain allegiance to chieftains who show a lack of good faith, unnecessary violence or ambition.

So the history presented here is dominated by personality, and the course of events is commonly ascribed to individual character. At an obvious level, the cruelty of Dong Zhuo is a key factor in his failure to restore good order at the capital, but when Dong Zhuo is overthrown, the faults of his enemies likewise bring their destruction: Lü Bu is naturally treacherous and greedy, but his civilian ally Wang Yun, despite his virtues, first shows cruelty by killing Cai Yong, then vacillates in mistaken sophistry until the former officers

of Dong Zhuo turn in fear against him.⁵ Frequently, the historian's opinion is clear enough: Dong Zhuo, Lü Bu and Gongsun Zan are brutal, Yuan Shu is proud and weak, Han Fu lacks authority, Jiao He and Kong Rong are intellectuals out of their depth. Others, notably Cao Cao but also such men as Liu Biao and Liu Bei, are treated more cautiously.

Some of Sima Guang's most impressive writing deals with the conflicts of good conduct. The sad tale of Zang Hong, whose loyalty to his former patron Zhang Chao caused him to quarrel with his current master Yuan Shao, leading to his own death and that of the worthy Chen Rong, demonstrates the extremes of behaviour which honour could require. In the whispered criticism of Yuan Shao, moreover, "How could he kill two such heroes on a single day?" the failure of that leader is foreseen, for no true gentleman would drive his followers into such a situation.⁶

Sima Guang did not invent these incidents: all may be found in earlier histories. He did, however, present them to advantage, so that personal anecdotes are interwoven with broad historical fact. As the reader contemplates the tensions and emotions of the past, he is encouraged to apply the lessons to himself.

Such emphasis on individuals, however, means that many questions are largely unconsidered. In economics, there are a few references to the price of grain, but only in exceptional circumstances, and one looks in vain for any real appreciation of the effects of famine, pestilence and the human catastrophe of general warfare upon a subsistence economy. Even the great battles and sieges, with all their misery and loss of life, are presented in rhetorical formulae, a background against which leading characters may play their roles. Consider, for example, the description of the siege of Zang Hong by Yuan Shao, referred to above, and also the account of the destruction of Yuan Shao's army at Guandu.⁷ This is the tradition of Chinese history, and it is idle to expect the greatest of its exponents to go beyond his sources and the powerful moral message he has to convey.

The present translation, therefore, is a rendering of Chinese history, not an analysis of the period in modern Western terms. The annotations, however,

⁵ Passages K and P of *Chuping* 3 at 99-100 and 104-105.

⁶ Passage RR of *Xingping* 2 at 186.

⁷ Passage AA of *Jian'an* 5 at 290-291.

discuss particular points, and in later sections of this Introduction I present an account of the political situation at the time the chronicle begins, followed by a summary of the events which followed, while in a further essay I describe the formal structures of military command.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE TRANSLATION

The basic text for the translation is the Beijing punctuated edition of 1956, published by Guji Publishing House, and reprinted several times by *Zhonghua shuju*. That edition has notes on variant readings to the text, and these are cited as appropriate. In the left-hand margin of the translation are indications of the pages of the Chinese text. The Index is based upon that pagination, so it serves also as a guide to the modern Chinese edition.

Letters identifying "passages" of the translation and the text are also shown in the left-hand margin, while the annotations contain Finding Notes: identifications of the sources used as the basis for each passage. Sima Guang regularly adapted those original sources, shortening them and combining them with others, and he sometimes drew upon as many as four or five different texts for the composition of a single passage. I do not offer a character-by-character discussion, and on several occasions I have relied upon personal judgement to decide which texts were sources of a particular passage. Readers may make the comparison for themselves; the Finding Notes will help them to do so, and will also enable them to check the various modern commentaries to those parallel texts in the standard histories. A summary of the Finding Notes is given in the Finding List at the end of this work.

Seeking to present a translation into English which reads as straightforwardly as possible, I avoid all but the minimum of square brackets. These are used by many scholars to show words which cannot be precisely identified with characters in the Chinese text, but I believe that in most cases they tend to hinder comprehension rather than aid understanding. Furthermore, though it is traditional Chinese practice to give a person's surname and personal name only on first appearance and to refer thereafter only to the personal name, this can cause confusion in a translated text when different characters are transcribed in the same way. I always present the name in full form.

I use Pinyin as the system for transcription, with some variations. Notably, I refer to the modern province whose name is transcribed by the cumbersome

and non-regular style of Shaanxi as Shenxi, this echoes the old Post Office system and distinguishes it from neighbouring Shanxi. Unless there is reason to question the matter, I accept the identifications of places given by *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* "The Historical Atlas of China," volume II.¹

For dates, I follow the calculations of Xue Zhongsan and Ouyang Yi, *A Sino-Western Calendar for the First Two Thousand Years A.D.*, which equates Chinese dates with the contemporary Julian calendar of the West. As is well known, the traditional Chinese New Year, based upon a lunar cycle, varies between late January and middle February of the Western system. As a matter of convenience, I normally refer to a Chinese year as equivalent to a specific Western year: thus the fifth year of the Jian'an period, Jian'an 5, is usually described as 200 AD. Western-style dates of the first and last days of each Chinese year appear at the beginning of the relevant sections.

Translations of official titles are based upon the renderings given by Hans Bielenstein, particularly in *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*. Bielenstein generally accepts the system devised by Dubs for his translation of *The History of the Former Han Dynasty* by Pan Ku. In the first edition of this work I followed the Dubs-Bielenstein system very closely, but in compiling *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms* I found some renderings unduly clumsy and sometimes confusing, so I developed some shorter and more systematic variants which I have used in the present publication.² Major changes are noted and cross-referenced in the Index.

AN OUTLINE OF THE MILITARY ORGANISATION OF LATER HAN

In the Introduction to *Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling*, I gave a summary account of the civil administration of Later Han. As the imperial government, however, became all but irrelevant in the years of war which began in 189, I

¹ One point of disagreement is on the site of Liucheng 柳城 in the northeast: passage D with note 6 to Jia'an 12 at 358.

² The *Biographical Dictionary* has a section on The Administrative Structure of Later Han at 1216-1241.

Notable changes are that the titles *taishou* 太守 and *duwei* 都尉 are rendered simply as Administrator and Commandant rather than as Grand Administrator and Chief Commandant; that all nine ministers (卿 *qing*) are identified with that style: thus Minister of Ceremonies rather than Master of Ceremonies for *taichang* 太常; and in corollary, that the excellencies *da situ* 大司馬 and *da sikong* 大司空, two of the most senior triumvirate, appear as Excellency over the Masses and Excellency of Works.

present an account of the military structure of the dynasty as it entered its final years. This, however, is only a general survey: I have considered the topic in other works such as *Northern Frontier*, *Generals of the South*, *Imperial Warlord* and *Fire over Luoyang*, and points of detail are discussed in the notes to this translation and to *Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling*.

At the end of the reign of Emperor Ling, the façade of civil government remained intact. In formal terms, immediately below the ruler, the Three Excellencies (三公 *san gong*), with rank expressed by a nominal salary of Ten Thousand *shi* (萬石 *wan shi*),¹ headed the administration, while the office of the Masters of Writing (尚書 *shangshu*), the imperial secretariat, drew up and circulated the edicts and orders with which government was carried out. Outside the capital, provinces (州 *zhou*) were headed by Governors (牧 *mu*) or lower-ranking Inspectors (刺史 *cishi*), supervising subordinate commanderies (郡 *jun*) under Administrators (太守 *taishou*) or kingdoms (王國 *wang-guo*), nominal fiefs which were in practice ruled by their Chancellors (相 *xiang*). Commanderies and kingdoms were in turn divided into counties (縣 *xian*), the basic level of government, ruled by magistrates (prefects 令 *ling* or chiefs 長 *zhang*), title and rank depending on population, and their locally-appointed officers. All such units were responsible for police work and the control of small-scale banditry, but there was also a military establishment to guard the emperor and his capital, to maintain the frontiers, and to quell any major disturbance within the empire.

Military forces at the capital:

The Northern Army (北軍 *beijun*), based at the capital, Luoyang, was the central strategic reserve of the empire. Under Later Han the army comprised five regiments (營 *ying*): the Archers Who Shoot at a Sound (射聲 *shesheng*), the Footsoldiers (步兵 *buping*), the Elite Cavalry (越騎 *yueji*), the Garrison

¹ A *shi* of grain in Han times was some twenty cubic centimetres, but the actual amount awarded varied greatly and half the value was normally paid in cash: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 4-5 and 125-131.

Cavalry (屯騎 *tunji*) and the Chang River regiment (長水 *Changshui*).² Each was commanded by a Colonel (校尉 *xiaowei*), whose rank was expressed by the nominal salary Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi* (比二千石 *bi erqian shi*), and the whole force was supervised by an Adjutant (北軍中候 *beijun zhonghou*), with rank salary of just Six Hundred *shi*.

The men of the Northern Army were skilled professional soldiers, who could be sent to any point of danger or disturbance as stiffening to forces recruited locally. The numbers were not great: each regiment had an official complement of some 700 men with 60 to 120 junior officers. Below the colonel, the second-in-command was a Major (司馬 *sima*), with rank/salary of One Thousand *shi*; the Chang River regiment, whose troopers were recruited from Wuhuan and other non-Chinese auxiliaries, had an additional Major of Barbarian Cavalry (胡騎司馬 *huji sima*).

The Adjutant of the Northern Army, as his rank implies, had no authority to give orders to the colonels or even the majors of the regiments; his position was that of an administrator and supervisor. Command of the army as a whole was formally in the hands of a general (將軍 *jiangjun*), usually the General-in-Chief (大將軍 *da jiangjun*) when one was appointed.

The General-in-Chief, however, was not a professional soldier. During Later Han the office was commonly given to a senior male of the imperial relatives by marriage, father or brother of the empress. By the latter part of the second century, notably in the time of Liang Ji during the first years of the reign of Emperor Huan, and of Dou Wu at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling, these men dominated the court, ranking with the Excellencies as the highest officials of the empire, and holding authority over the imperial secretariat and the government as a whole; command over the Northern Army confirmed and consolidated their political power. From 184 the position was occupied by He Jin, brother of the Empress He of Emperor Ling.

In 189, appointment as General of Agile Cavalry (驃騎將軍 *piaoqi jiangjun*) – immediately below the General-in-Chief – was held by Emperor

² Though all units of the Northern Army were regularly stationed about the Later Han capital, Luoyang, the Chang River regiment preserved its name from Former Han: the Chang River flowed near Chang'an.

Ling's distaff cousin Dong Zhong, but with no direct military command. Title as General of Chariots and Cavalry (車騎將軍 *juji jiangjun*) – third in rank – had been awarded to imperial relatives and favoured eunuchs, though some holders of the office had served in the field. At the time of the Yellow Turban rebellion of 184, victorious commanders were honoured as Generals of Chariots and Cavalry on the Left or on the Right, and a full General of Chariots and Cavalry was sent against the rebels of Liang province in the northwest. Soon afterwards, however, the position reverted to a sinecure, and in 187 it was granted to He Miao, half-brother of the Empress.

In the autumn of 186 Emperor Ling created a new military establishment under eight Colonels of the Western Garden (西園校尉 *Xiyuan xiaowei*). There are differing versions of the titles of some of these officers and we know nothing about the numbers, the origins or the quality of these troops, but we are told that the eunuch Jian Shi, Colonel of the First Army (上軍校尉 *shangjun xiaowei*), was the senior officer and that even He Jin the General-in-Chief was under his orders.

It is difficult to tell what the emperor had in mind when he created this force, for it was never put to use and there is no further reference to it in the histories. Since the Western Garden was his private treasury, the new grouping was presumably designed as a personal army, while the appointment of Jian Shi was an attempt to set up an alternative to the regular chain of command under the General-in-Chief. Presumably to confirm that system, in the winter two months later Emperor Ling held a grand review where he was acclaimed as General Supreme (無上將軍 *wushang jiangjun*) and took ostentatious precedence over He Jin.

With the possible exception of the Western Garden troops, the Northern Army was the only competent military force in the vicinity of Luoyang, but there was a sophisticated system of guards and defence for the palace and the person of the emperor.

Outside the palaces, the Director of Retainers (司隸校尉 *sili xiaowei*), with rank/salary Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi*, was the head of the capital province Sili. His territory of seven commanderies extended from west of the old capital of Former Han, Chang'an, to the east of Luoyang. The Intendant (尹 *yin*) of Henan, whose rank/salary of Two Thousand *shi* matched that of the

heads of comparable units across the empire, governed the capital commandery, with responsibility for the markets and the supply of goods to them, including roads and transport canals and the great Ao Granary east of Luoyang. And the Prefect (令 *ling*) of Luoyang, rank/salary of One Thousand *shi*, controlled daily administration about the capital. Each of these officials had staff for police, guard and paramilitary duties, with authority over nobility and courtiers as well as ordinary citizens.

This hierarchy of local government was matched by an independent system of protection for the city and the palaces. The Colonel of the City Gates (城門校尉 *chengmen xiaowei*), Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi*, was in charge of the guard at the twelve gates about Luoyang. The Bearer of the Mace (執金吾 *zhi jinwu*), at the same rank/salary, was responsible for the capital city outside the palaces, and for the arsenal: his duties evidently duplicated those of the local government, and his staff, which included scholars, clerks and Cavalrymen Dressed in Red (緹騎 *tiji*), may have acted as security agents as well as regular police.

Besides these officials outside, the Minister of the Guards (衛尉 *weiwei*), one of the Nine Ministers with rank/salary of Fully Two Thousand *shi* (中二千石 *zhong erqian shi*), was in charge of security for the imperial palaces themselves, particularly the walls and gates between the various compounds. He had some three thousand men under his command, divided between the Northern and the Southern palaces, with contingents at every gate, and tallies to identify each person as they passed through.

These guardsmen of the city gates and the palaces, together with others stationed at the imperial tombs, the parks and other sites, were recruited or conscripted from the provinces. They served for a limited period, and there was an annual ceremony of farewell for those returning to their homes. Many of them, however, may have undertaken long-term service at the capital, with the possibility of promotion, and some will have transferred to the Northern Army.

The Minister for the Household (光祿勳 *guanglu xun*) held separate responsibility for the emperor's person. His subordinates included courtiers at every level, but formal protection was provided by five corps under the Generals of the Household for All Purposes (五官中郎將 *wuguan zhonglang*

jiang), on the Left and the Right, Rapid as a Tiger (虎賁 *huben zhonglang jiang*) and of the Feathered Forest (羽林 *yulin*); each had rank/salary Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi*.

The numbers of Gentlemen in the first three corps, those for All Purposes, the Left and the Right, appear to have varied from as low as seven hundred to almost two thousand. They were, however, of small military value, for they were composed of men who had been recommended for civilian commissioned office and were undergoing a period of probation – and the All Purposes corps was intended for men over the age of fifty. The other two units, however, the Gentlemen Rapid as Tigers and those of the Feathered Forest, with a strength between fifteen hundred and two thousand, were probably cadets of some military skill and service who were candidates for commissions in the army and were thus of more professional standard.

Finally, the private areas of the places, notably the harem apartments, were guarded by eunuchs, formally under the Minister Steward but in practice independent. These guards and servants were arranged in many separate divisions, with no formal lines of authority, but during Later Han the most senior eunuchs, the Regular Attendants (中常侍 *zhong changshi*), with rank/salary Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi*, were recognised as leaders of their colleagues, while Attendants at the Yellow Gates (小黃門 *xiao huangmen*), rank/salary of Six Hundred *shi*, gained authority from their control over the entrance to the harem and their concomitant role as confidential messengers; and the Prefect of the Yellow Gates (黃門令 *huangmen ling*) also ranked at Six Hundred *shi*, had disciplinary authority over all the eunuch servants of the emperor.

Within all this apparatus of protection, then, the eunuchs were in the best position to affect the policies of the empire with a well-timed coup. For the person of the emperor was the key to government, and the eunuchs controlled access. In 125 they had played a leading role in placing Emperor Shun upon the throne, in 159 Emperor Huan relied upon eunuch supporters to eliminate

the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, and in 168 the eunuchs acted on their own to destroy the regency of the Dowager Dou and her father Dou Wu.³

Each of these operations was carried out with light forces, applying pressure at a critical point: the attack on Liang Ji used no more than a thousand men, Gentlemen of the Feathered Forest and Rapid as Tigers with grooms from the imperial stables; and the move against Dou Wu required an even smaller number. Once the emperor gave his support, whether deliberately or through deceit, none could withstand his authority.

Despite so many checks and balances, therefore, the conventions of Later Han had established a most centralised regime at the capital, and so long as contest was confined to that arena the eunuchs held a dominant position. A few months after the death of Emperor Ling, however, the pressures of political conflict broke those bounds, and the struggle for power was opened to all the empire.

Military forces in the provinces and on the frontiers:

Up to the time of Emperor Ling, chief attention had been focussed on defence of the northern frontier, with three types of military array. First there were garrison troops along the Great Wall and in other fixed defences; second there was the army of the General on the Liao (度遼將軍 *du-Liao jiangjun*), based on the Ordos loop of the Yellow River near present-day Baotou, and commonly assisted by auxiliary troops from the Southern Xiongnu and other non-Chinese tributaries; and thirdly there were the citizen levies of the northern provinces, where every man was trained in arms and could be required to serve in the field.

We have noted that the two units of Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers and of the Feathered Forest were probably cadets preparing for military commissions. Other troops on the frontier were recruited locally or came through one of three depots: the Camp at Yong (雍營 *Yong ying*) in Youfufeng, west of Chang'an; the Tiger Tooth Encampment (虎牙營 *huya ying*) near that former capital; and the Camp at Liyang 黎陽 in Wei commandery by the Yellow River on the North China plain. Such a structure

³ These three incidents are discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 91-98, and by deC, *Fire over Luo-yang*, 223-225, 307-309 and 367-369. The latter two are recounted by *Huan and Ling* at 25-28 and 193-200.

for recruitment and training was maintained through Later Han, and the troops who manned the garrisons and base camps on the frontiers of the empire were trained and competent.

On the other hand, subjects within the empire were not well prepared for war. Former Han had universal conscription, with annual reviews and exercises, but in 30 AD Emperor Guangwu ended that system; it was easier to deal with rebels and bandits if they lacked military training. The liability for conscription was maintained, and many men gained experience as volunteers on the frontier, but the great majority were inexperienced and unskilled, so local militiamen were unsuitable for serious combat.

As a result of this policy, though the imperial government still put large forces into the field, warfare on the northern frontier required major assistance from non-Chinese such as the Wuhuan and the Southern Xiongnu. In a great campaign from 89 to 92, for example, a force of fifty thousand men destroyed the power of the Northern Xiongnu on the Mongolian steppe, but the Chinese troops of the Northern Army, the General on the Liao and the frontier militia were outnumbered three to one by their non-Chinese auxiliaries.

By the end of the reign of Emperor Ling, however, the system was on the point of collapse. In 177 the defeat of a major expedition into the northern steppe at the hands of the Xianbi broke the power and authority of the field armies, left the frontier open to incessant raiding, weakened the government of the Southern Xiongnu, and put the loyalty of all non-Chinese into question.⁴

In 184 mutiny and insurrection in Liang province brought insurgent armies to threaten Chang'an, and as the tribes of the Ordos became increasingly independent the Han control of the northwest was limited to the lower valley of the Wei and the outpost of the trans-Liao command on the loop of the Yellow River. And in that same year the rebellion of the Yellow Turbans brought long-lasting disturbance to many regions within the empire which had long been at peace.

The command structure of the armies raised to deal with these internal disorders followed the formal pattern of Han and the hierarchy we have seen in the army at the capital. The highest field command was that of a general, often identified by a prefix either in literary style or indicating the campaign for which he was appointed. As warfare spread, a multitude of generals were

appointed or proclaimed themselves, and though neither post is listed in the regular system of Later Han there are references to lieutenant-generals (偏將軍 *pian jiangjun*) and major-generals (裨將軍 *pi jiangjun*).

A common command below that of general rank was General of the Household, initially, as we have seen, the style of an officer in charge of a corps of guards at court, but later used for those on active service outside the capital. Generals of the Household had taken part in campaigns against the Qiang of the northwest in 115 and in 162, against the Xianbi in 177, and against the Yellow Turban rebels in 184, and officers with that title would frequently hold command in the field during the civil war.

Under Later Han, appointment as Commandant of Cavalry (騎都尉 *ji duwei*), had normally been a sinecure, without subordinates or particular duties but with rank/ salary Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi*, the same as a General of the Household. From the time of the Yellow Turbans, however, officers with that title are recorded on active service. It appears from context that their troops were not necessarily restricted to horsemen, but the status of the office as not quite so high as that of a General of the Household.

As in the regular Northern Army at the capital, a field force was organised into regiments (營 *ying*), commanded by colonels (校尉 *xiaowei*), with battalions (部 *bu*) under majors (司馬 *sima*), while there was provision for the appointment of a Senior Major with a separate command (別部司馬 *biebu sima*). We are also told of companies (曲 *qu*) under captains (候 *hou*) and platoons (屯 *tun*) under chiefs (屯長 *tunzhang*). *Buqu* was a standard term for a military array, but such lower appointments seldom appear in the texts and, as below, static defences had a different hierarchy.

The headquarters of the General-in-Chief had a Chief Clerk (長史 *zhangshi*) and a Major, each with rank/salary of One Thousand *shi*, together with Gentlemen of the General Staff (從事中郎 *congshi zhonglang*), at Six Hundred *shi*, and a Registrar (主簿 *zhubu*) with secretarial duties. Similar appointments may be found in the headquarters of field commanders, and towards the end of Han there were officers described as Advisers to the Army (參軍事 *can junshi*) who could make part in council. In the army at large

a Controller or Chief Controller ([都]督 [*du*]*du*) acted as adjutant, and a Protector of the Army (護軍 *hujun*) had charge of discipline.

While generals and colonels were appointed primarily for operations in the field, much of the outer and inner defence of the empire was based upon fixed positions, generally under the authority of a Commandant (都尉 *duwei*). So there were Commandants for the Camp at Yong and the Tiger-Tooth Encampment at Chang'an – though the eastern establishment at Liyang was headed by an Internuncio, an imperial agent – and at the time of the Yellow Turban uprising eight garrisons were established under Commandants to guard the passes leading towards Luoyang.

Former Han had appointed Commandants to all commanderies as assistants to the Administrator, both to deal with troublemakers and to supervise conscription for military service. When Emperor Guangwu ended military training within the empire, however, he also ended those positions; though if a threat was serious a Commandant could be sent to supervise the response. Otherwise, the Administrator was responsible for both civilian and military matters within his territory – and many lost their lives in battle.

At the same time, since conscription and training were maintained in frontier territories commandants were still appointed there, sometimes in two or more regions or divisions (部 *bu*) within a commandery.

From the beginning of the second century, moreover, the government of Later Han established a number of commandery-level Dependent States (屬國 *shuguo*) on the northern and western frontiers. Largely inhabited by non-Chinese peoples, these territories on the margin of imperial control were subject to a stricter military government, and the Commandant (都尉 *duwei*), with rank/salary Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi*, was comparable to the Administrator of a commandery.

Junior ranks of such garrison positions are not mentioned in the histories, but bamboo strips from the Great Wall in present-day Gansu identify lower units as Captaincies (候官 *houguan*), Platoons (候 *hou*) and Sections (燧 *sui*).⁴

⁴ Loewe, *RHA* I, 76-77.

Beside these territorial commanders on the frontier, three officials were appointed to deal with non-Chinese peoples: the Protector of the Qiang (護羌校尉 *hu-Qiang xiaowei*), the Emissary to the Xiongnu (使匈奴中郎將 *shi Xiongnu zhonglang jiang*) and the Protector of the Wuhuan (護烏桓校尉 *hu-Wuhuan xiaowei*) who was also responsible for relations with the Xianbi.

As their title implies, the Protectors were supposed to manage relations with alien tribes both within and outside the frontier. Each had a small contingent of troops to support them, and both were able to recruit auxiliaries; we have noted that the Chang River Regiment of the Northern Army comprised Wuhuan troopers, and the Protector of the Qiang was aided by the Auxiliary of Loyal Barbarians from Huangzhong (湟中義從胡 *Huangzhong yicong hu*).⁵ Not all management, however, was benevolent: both Protectors controlled trade across the borders, and both were prepared to lead attacks against recalcitrant neighbours.

The Emissary to the Xiongnu was in a slightly different category, for the Southern Xiongnu had been allies and vassals of Han since the time of Emperor Guangwu. The Emissary was resident at the court of the Southern Shanyu, supported by a garrison force, and in practice held authority over him. The Southern Xiongnu provided substantial contingents for major campaigns such as the triumph of 89-92 and the disaster of 177 – but since the latter misfortune the government of the Shanyu had lost most of its authority and the tribes and clans were increasingly independent.

In a development which would be even more significant, the imperial armies in the north and west had become steadily more alienated from the central government. The constant warfare, raiding and internal disturbance had driven much of the civilian population away to the south, so that the soldiers – many of them long in service – were largely self-sufficient in a world of their own. As officials, eunuchs and imperial relatives by marriage competed for power at Luoyang, spurred on by student activists and protesters, they paid small attention to the concerns of the frontier, while the troops who were stationed there gave loyalty rather to their comrades and their commanders than to an irrelevant government far away.

⁵ The Loyal Auxiliary had originally been raised from the Little Yuezhi people of the Huang River valley, but later included members of various tribes of the Qiang.

The structures described above were designed to deal with trouble along the frontier and major emergencies within the empire. Minor banditry and other disturbances were dealt with by local authorities. Each county had a Commandant (尉 *wei*), with a small police or paramilitary force at his disposal, and the commandery administration could send reinforcements if necessary. Should the problem be too great for the commandery to handle, the provincial Inspector had authority to raise more men.

At nominal salary of Six Hundred *shi*, an Inspector ranked below an Administrator or Chancellor (Two Thousand *shi*), and was normally entitled to do no more than report on their conduct, leaving direct action to the central government. There was always some concern that the head of a commandery unit might seek to extend his power, and local troops were forbidden to operate independently outside the borders of their territory. Should it become necessary to levy troops on a larger scale, the Inspector took command and the heads of commanderies and kingdoms came under his orders for the duration of the emergency.

In 189, in the aftermath of the Yellow Turban rebellion, the government of Emperor Ling restored an earlier system from the last years of Former Han, and in some provinces Inspectors were replaced by Governors (牧 *mu*). These were chosen from men of ministerial rank, higher than the heads of commandery units, and they held executive rather than supervisory power over the province. In the civil war which followed, the province rather than the commandery unit became the chief unit of military and civil power, and when an Inspector was appointed he was usually the lieutenant of a warlord who had taken title as Governor in a neighbouring province.

Though lack of training had long meant that levies from inner commanderies could seldom meet the demands of frontier warfare, the troubled years of Emperor Ling had raised a new generation within the empire. They lacked the discipline of regular troops, and their steadiness in any cause was doubtful, but they knew how to fight and they were available for conscription or recruitment by a recognised commander.

Since any able-bodied man was liable for service in time of emergency, the armies which fought rebels and bandits for the government of Han raised most of their troops by the technique of the pressgang. In the early 170s, for

example, the future general Sun Jian received his first command against rebels in the southeast as a major with commission to call men up as he found them and to bring his contingent to join the forces of order. Many landed families, moreover, had already maintained private troops of retainers— whether to defend themselves or to bully their neighbours – and they had the means to raise more; so Cao Cao sold family property in 189 to raise a mercenary following.

At the core of any such informal levy, however, there was always a small group of family members or trusted friends to serve as Companions (親近 *qinjin*), guarding the leader and providing a centre of coherence to his unit. As the civil war began with "loyal rebellion" against the court controlled by the usurper Dong Zhuo, conflicting claims of right action and allegiance soon defied the sophistries of even the highest officers who sought to serve the state. In practical terms, as social and economic conditions deteriorated ordinary men and their families were concerned primarily with survival, and the best chance of that was the protection of a successful warlord. As a result, whether the leader was a man of good family or a soldier of fortune, his power was founded upon personal loyalty, not upon any abstract idea of public duty, while his own security depended upon the support of the men he sought to command.

In considering these years of disaster, therefore, one must bear in mind the reality which lay beneath the formal titles and heroic words of traditional history. As the structure of empire dissolved, ragged armies of desperate men and their camp-followers ravaged the countryside and brought ruin to themselves and their fellows. Their loyalties were limited and personal, for though the name of Han remained there was no centre of government to make an effective claim upon their allegiance.

In the five chapters of *Zizhi tongjian* which deal with the reigns of emperors Huan and Ling, therefore, Sima Guang described the thirty years when the seeds of error and conflict were sown. In the next section of his great work, the five Chapters 59 to 64 covering a period of only eleven years, he tells of the whirlwind which swept the dynasty from power and turned the world of China into a chaos of competing warlords and miserable war. And in Chapters 64 to 68, the chronicle from 201 to 220, he records how the new

rulers of the broken empire strove without success to restore the unity and coherence of Han.

THE LAST YEARS OF LATER HAN¹

The government of Emperor Ling

Liu Hong, known to history by his posthumous dynastic title as Emperor Ling, was brought to the throne of Han in 169 AD. His predecessor, Emperor Huan, had died without male issue and with no nominated heir, and dynastic convention allowed his empress, now dowager to choose his successor. The Empress-Dowager Dou selected Liu Hong, twelve years old, from a distant cadet lineage of the imperial house, setting him on the throne and ruling as regent, while her father Dou Wu, now General-in-Chief, held authority over the secretariat and the day-to-day business of government.

Though the new regime was welcomed by scholars and officials at the capital and across the empire, it was bitterly opposed by the eunuch faction in the harem and at court. In 159 Emperor Huan had used eunuch allies in a coup to rid himself of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, head of the clan of his imperial relatives by marriage, and the eunuchs from that time held his favour and trust. As their protégé Emperor Ling came to the throne, however, Dou Wu and his supporters sought not only to remove the influence of the eunuchs, but to purge their ranks and destroy their leaders.

The eunuchs, however, struck first. Using the authority of the youthful emperor, they issued edicts to remove Dou Wu from his appointments, and in a confrontation outside the palace they persuaded his troops to desert him; Dou Wu was killed and his party was broken. Twelve months later, in winter 169, the remnant reformers were arrested, executed or proscribed from office, and the eunuchs thereafter dominated the government of Emperor Ling.

The political situation of the empire as a whole, however, was increasingly threatening. In the provinces, the growth of powerful landed families meant that the central government found it increasingly difficult to obtain adequate revenues from the recognised sources of taxation, while resentment among leading gentry at the corruption of the eunuchs and the fate of the reform faction did nothing to ease tension. Liu Hong himself was an indolent man, not unintelligent but little concerned with broad issues of policy.

¹ Events described in this section are chronicled in ZZTJ 54-59; *Huan and Ling*.

He was fond of literature and the pleasures of his harem and, impoverished before he came to the throne, he was absurdly interested in his personal wealth – to such a degree that his private treasury of the Western Garden embezzled the public funds of the state.

Government weakness was shown in military terms, first in 177 by a disastrous expedition to the north against the Xianbi, when a major army was defeated and destroyed, and then in 184, when mutiny in Liang province removed the northwest from imperial control. Still more serious, also in 184, the religious rebellion of the Yellow Turbans devastated the North China plain and the prosperous regions south of the capital.

The main forces of the Yellow Turbans were broken within the year, but victory was achieved at a massive cost of lives and property, and the authority of the state was critically weakened. The emperor and his advisers were compelled to recall the survivors of the reform faction – though this did nothing to ease tension at the capital – while the troops which had gathered to fight the rebels were not easily disbanded and large areas of the empire were removed from control of the central government.

In 189, the last calendar year of Liu Hong's life, his court was dominated by rivalry between the General-in-Chief He Jin, brother of his Empress He, and the palace eunuchs whom the emperor had long trusted and sought to protect. A man of poor background, He Jin was heavily influenced by men of family who sought another reform and purge of the government, while the eunuchs watched developments with anxiety and a firm resolution to defend themselves. Emperor Ling was only in his mid-thirties, but he was not in good health, and his death brought another political struggle at court, first for succession and then for survival.

The successes of Cao Cao

It is not often in history that a critical change can be dated so closely as the fall of Han. On the evening of 22 September 189 the general Dong Zhuo, camped outside the capital city of Luoyang, saw flames rise up against the sky. He led his army forward to deal with the disorder, and as he did so the power of the imperial government was ended.

When Dong Zhuo entered the capital, he did so without formal authority, but he faced no legitimate opposition, and his seizure of power turned the

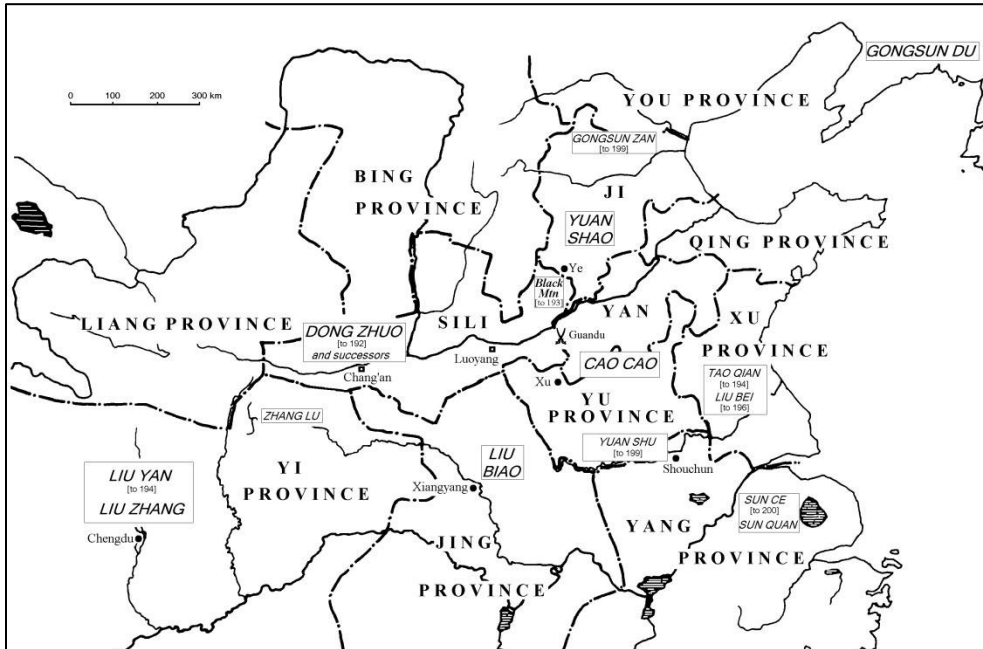
structure of the state back to its roots. Despite metaphysical and political theories of the time, the crucial factor in government had been the military power of the emperor. The founders of the dynasty, first Emperor Gao of Former Han and then Guangwu of Later Han, gained the throne by victory in civil war, and their descendants ruled in succession just because, in the last resort, the armies would obey their commands. Now, however, that authority was gone. On 28 September, Dong Zhuo deposed the young emperor Liu Bian and placed his half-brother Liu Xie upon the throne – he would be known as Emperor Xian, last of the Han. Within a few weeks there was open rebellion and the whole of eastern China was cut off from the new regime at Luoyang.

The impetus for opposition to Dong Zhuo, however, came as much from personal ambition as from any desire to restore the power of Han. Leaders of the rebels in the east included Yuan Shao and Yuan Shu, whose influence was based upon the high official status of their family and their wealth of landed property, and men such as Cao Cao, not so well regarded but with sufficient resources to raise private armies. Many officials of the provinces were reluctant to break the peace, but local pressure was overwhelming, and those who did not join the rebels were swiftly eliminated. And there were, of course, numbers of fighting men and adventurers, some with pretension to an official position, who took advantage of the growing turmoil to seek profit on their own initiative.

In 191 the army of Sun Jian, general of Yuan Shu, drove Dong Zhuo from Luoyang west to Chang'an, and in 192 Dong Zhuo was assassinated by his trusted bodyguard Lü Bu. The central government fell into complete disorder and played no further part in the affairs of the rest of the empire, and the alliance in the east broke into an anarchy of warfare.

In this first stage of the fighting there were a multitude of contenders. From Ye city in Ji province Yuan Shao extended his power north of the Yellow River while, further south, between the Yellow River and the Huai, there was a complex and occasionally vicious conflict between Yuan Shu, Cao Cao, Tao Qian the Governor of Xu province, Lü Bu from the northwest and Liu Bei, a man of poor family who yet claimed descent from the rulers of Former Han. Yuan Shu was driven away in 193, Tao Qian died in 194, and Liu Bei submitted to Cao Cao in 196. As his power spread, Cao Cao's combined family

connections, gentry allies, soldiers of fortune and surrendered rebels and by 198, when he captured Lü Bu and killed him, he had no further rival in the south of the plain.



Map 2: Warlords 189-220

Of those early opponents, Tao Qian was an appointed official who could obtain no strong local support against a determined enemy, while at the other end of the scale Lü Bu and Liu Bei were *condottiere* who relied for success upon their military prowess and reputation. Though Liu Bei claimed – very distant – imperial descent, neither he nor Lü Bu were regarded as men of good social standing, they did not have notable support among the gentry, and they failed to attract a substantial body of advisers and administrators. So their power was brittle, and no match in the longer term for a competent opponent who could also offer a stable government. More commonly, such a leader would subordinate himself to a man of national authority, and it was for this reason that Sun Jian, who obtained a large army in 189 but who came from an insignificant family of the southeast, accepted Yuan Shu and fought under his orders.

Sun Jian was killed early in the war, in a campaign against Governor Liu Biao of Jing province, and Cao Cao drove Yuan Shu south of the Huai. From his new capital at Shouchun in present-day Anhui, he made some attempt to regain the ground he had lost and in 197 he took title as emperor of a new dynasty. The claim, however, was rejected even by his allies, and every hand turned against him. Abandoned by his followers, Yuan Shu died in the summer of 199: though the empire was now a battleground, and the emperor a powerless puppet, the imperial title was still reserved to the house of Liu.

In 195 Emperor Xian made his escape from the squabbling warlords of Chang'an and in the following year, with a combination of luck and forethought, Cao Cao took him under his control. Playing his hand far more carefully than had Dong Zhuo, Cao Cao established the formalities of an imperial court at Xu city, present-day Xuchang in Henan, and justified his actions as a loyal minister of Han.

In the summer of 200, after months of planning and preparation, Yuan Shao and Cao Cao met in long-drawn campaign about the small city of Guandu, south of the Yellow River near present-day Kaifeng. Cao Cao's forces were outnumbered, but they held their defence for more than a month, and then a raid against the enemy's supply lines broke the morale of Yuan Shao's men and drove him in disorder back to the north. Two years later Yuan Shao died, his sons quarrelled about the inheritance, and Cao Cao took advantage of the confusion. In 204 he captured the enemy headquarters at Ye in Wei commandery, and by 207, after a brilliant campaign beyond the frontier against the non-Chinese Wuhuan, he held control over all the North China plain.

Cao Cao was a fine general and a remarkable politician, and he has legendary status in Chinese tradition. To appreciate his achievement, however, we must recognise the pattern of conflict within which he gained his success.

The ramshackle nature of military recruitment had marked effect upon techniques of warfare and the structure of politics for generations to come. Despite theories and formalities of rank and grades, the basic fighting unit was the group which had gathered or been conscripted about some leader, and each such unit was accompanied by a mass of camp-followers: wives and children, cooks and prostitutes, peddlers and gamblers, and a few who cared for the sick

and wounded. At the core of command, each chieftain was supported by a group of companions, close relatives or old friends and comrades, whom he could rely upon completely and who served as a focus and a rallying point for the mass of his troops.

In these circumstances, success in combat depended largely upon the courage of the individual commander, the degree to which he could persuade his men to follow him, and his ability to call them once more to his standard even after serious defeat. Though accounts of the time exaggerate the heroism of the leaders, it does appear that the nature of battle required a direct attack by a small body of men, who sought to "break the enemy line" and throw the opposing forces into disorder and flight. The officers who could embark on such an enterprise had to be brave and physically skilful, but they were also likely to be violent and egotistical, and they were not necessarily competent administrators or thoughtful counsellors.

The troops these men commanded were unwieldy and uncertain. As authority depended primarily upon prestige and personality, no individual could exercise real control over more than a few hundred or perhaps a thousand followers, and any substantial force, perhaps thirty thousand men, must be ordered through a lengthy hierarchy of command, from the leading general to individual units, with limited means of communication. There were always problems of discipline and supply, and such a military mass was extremely difficult to manoeuvre in the fact of battle, while even a minor setback could lead to serious loss of morale and swift collapse. And though the question was often ignored, there was constant danger of disease amongst such a host of men gathered together. To a considerable degree, armies of the time bore within them the seeds of their own destruction.

In general, even philosophical terms, there has been debate upon the nature of Cao Cao's social or class position, and his possible significance as representative of middle and lower landholders and gentry against the old and powerful clans championed by Yuan Shao. Indeed it is true that perception of social status as a source of authority was at times more important than practical matters, for the dominance of gentry families in the political society of Later Han had brought the expectation that local and national authority was reserved to men of lineage. On the other hand, while family background might determine whether a man was able to gather an army and attract administrative

support, it is simplistic to base analysis purely on questions of class conflict. Many regarded the ambitions of the Yuan as excessive and deluded, and Cao Cao was sensibly more cautious. The Cao and their kinsmen of the Xiahou family were parvenus compared to great official lineages such as the Yuan, and Cao Cao's father Cao Song 曹嵩 had been adopted by a palace eunuch, but he acquired great wealth and he rose to be Grand Commandant, highest post in the empire. Cao Cao's own first recruitment of troops was based upon family resources, and he had sufficient standing to seek and achieve an independent position.

Once he had entered the contest, Cao Cao's great advantage was his ability to gain and hold the loyalty of many different commanders and their followers, and to maintain his disparate forces as a coherent military power. This was a personal quality, and when he established his position south of the Yellow River it was upon the basis of that regional command that he mounted his opposition to Yuan Shao and other rivals. In the political and military manoeuvring which culminated in the decisive battle of Guandu, there was discussion of Yuan Shao's claim to great family and of Cao Cao's talent as a leader, but this was propaganda rather than the echoes of a Marxist confrontation: the real conflict was between the warlord north of the River and his rival to the south, and Cao gained the victory because he organised his resources more effectively and led his men with greater skill.

By the end of 207, after his conquest of the territory formerly controlled by Yuan Shao, Cao Cao controlled the heartland of China and half the population of the empire. From his central position, he was faced by a scattering of opponents, none of them in close alliance and each weaker than himself. To the northeast, in the south of Manchuria, Gongsun Du had established a separatist state, and he was succeeded by his son Gongsun Kang in 204. North across the frontier and in the region of present-day Shanxi, there was a medley of non-Chinese tribes, among which remnants of the Xiongnu state struggled against the erratic tribesmen of the Xianbi. In Liang province, present-day Gansu, the rebellion which had broken out in 184 had been restricted to that territory, but confusion was made worse by the collapse of government at Chang'an following the fall of Dong Zhuo. To the west, in present-day Sichuan, Liu Yan the Governor of Yi province appointed in 188 had been succeeded in 194 by his son Liu Zhang; and just to his north,

Hanzhong commandery on the upper Han River in present-day southern Shenxi was under the theocratic rule of Zhang Lu, leader of the Five *Dou* of Rice sect and now recognised by the modern Taoist church as the third patriarch of the Celestial Masters.

None of these potential opponents were of immediate importance, however, and in 208 Cao Cao turned his attention against Liu Biao in Jing province on the middle Yangzi and the young warlord Sun Quan who controlled the lower course of that river.

Two hundred years earlier, in the wars which restored the Han dynasty, the critical phase had been the struggle for the North China plain: once Emperor Guangwu had gained that territory it was only a matter of time before his rivals on the periphery fell under his control; and as Cao Cao moved to the south it was generally expected, even by his opponents, that the same pattern would prevail. Through changed circumstances and the fortunes of war, however, the unity of the empire was not restored so quickly, and was indeed very long delayed.

The southern rivals of Cao Cao and the Red Cliffs campaign 208:

We have noticed Sun Jian, general in the service of Yuan Shu. After his death on campaign against Liu Biao in 191 his troops were largely taken over by Yuan Shu, but his son Sun Ce joined Yuan Shu about 194; he was given command of some of the men who had followed his father and was later sent to take part in operations south of the lower Yangzi.

The Sun came from Wu commandery in present-day Zhejiang, but they were not a leading family of the region and Sun Jian had made his career as a fighting soldier. In similar fashion, Sun Ce established a position in the southeast through his own remarkable military skill. By 198, at the age of twenty-three, he had made himself independent of his former patron Yuan Shu and had gained control of Danyang, Wu and Kuaiji commanderies. From this base he extended his power westwards, and by 200 he had taken Yuzhang about the present-day Poyang Lake in Jiangxi and Lujiang north of the Yangzi.

In this series of campaigns, Sun Ce had to deal not only with the semi-regular troops of rival administrators, but also with bandits, local self-defence groups, and the private armies of powerful clans. The fighting was as much a matter of local rivalry as a formal struggle for power, and in 200, soon after

his capture of Yuzhang, Sun Ce was ambushed and assassinated by former retainers of a defeated local family of Wu.

Sun Ce was succeeded by his younger brother Sun Quan, then just eighteen years old. The warlord state was well enough established to survive the immediate crisis, however, and Sun Quan swiftly confirmed his authority in the territory his brother had left him. By 203 he was expanding further to the west, and early in 208 he destroyed Huang Zu, subordinate commander of Liu Biao on the middle Yangzi.

As Cao Cao came south, therefore, Sun Quan held a curve of territory from Hangzhou Bay and the Yangzi estuary west toward present-day Wuhan. He had, however, no strong position north against the Huai, and much of the hill country in the south was inaccessible, inhabited by non-Chinese people and by refugees from official levies or the disturbances of war. On the other hand, while Sun Quan's power was only a fraction of Cao Cao's, his navy was experienced and effective, and held local superiority on the Yangzi. Still more to the point, and most significant in the longer term, the registered Chinese population in the south was far greater than in the time of Emperor Guangwu some two hundred years earlier: registration surveys of 2 AD and the early 140s indicate that numbers south of the lower Yangzi had doubled, from 1.75 to 3.5 million; and in southern Jing province they had grown even more. Such figures were still no more than a fraction of those in the north, but they had now reached a level which could maintain a defence against attack.²

Cao Cao's first opponent was Liu Biao. Liu Biao had been appointed Governor of Jing province by the Han government under control of Dong Zhuo, but after the early 190s, when he repelled the attack of Sun Jian and Yuan Shu, he had played no substantial role in the civil war to the north and Jing province became a haven of comparative peace amid the troubles. From his capital at present-day Xiangfan, Liu Biao's territory extended from Nanyang in the north down the Han River to the Yangzi, and south again up the valley of the Xiang. His authority in the latter region was tenuous, however, and his eastern flank was under threat from Sun Quan.

² On migration and the change of population in the south of China during Han, see deC, *Generals of the South*, 25-27 and 49-52, *Imperial Warlord*, 454-455, and *Fire over Luoyang*, 253-255

In the autumn of 208, moreover, Liu Biao died. Through political manoeuvring, the succession was taken by his younger son Liu Zong and the elder Liu Qi was left discontented and rebellious. As Cao Cao approached, Liu Zong's supporters urged him to surrender, and indeed he had no real alternative. Cao Cao took over the province, made his own appointments to the local government, and gathered leading officials and scholars into his service.

There was a party of opposition, formally centred about Liu Qi but chiefly inspired by Liu Bei, who had fled from the north some years before and now sought to rally the dissidents and establish a line of resistance on the Yangzi. He was, however, chased, caught and heavily defeated by Cao Cao, and he turned for aid to Sun Quan.

It was not an easy decision. Liu Bei and Liu Qi were in exile and retreat, and though Liu Bei's lieutenant Guan Yu had collected much of the Jing province fleet from the Han River, Cao Cao took control of the naval base at Jiangling on the Yangzi. As he brought his army and his new fleet eastwards in pursuit, he also sent messengers calling on Sun Quan to surrender.

Sun Quan was uncertain of his best course of action, and there was considerable debate at his headquarters. He decided, however, to send troops forward under the command of his general Zhou Yu, to join Liu Bei and Liu Qi and to test Cao Cao's strength. If their defence proved unsuccessful, he could expect to withdraw his men and he would still have a reserve army with which to negotiate terms.

The allies met Cao Cao's forces at the Red Cliffs, upstream of present-day Wuhan, and for a few days the two groups faced one another across the river. The men from the north had already taken part in a long campaign with several forced marches, they were not used to the southern waterways and marshlands, and we are told that there was sickness in the camp. Some of the army and all of the fleet had formerly served Liu Biao, and many of those men must have been uncertain about their new master from the north. For his part, Cao Cao probably regarded the operation as a reconnaissance in force: if he was successful in defeating the allies and driving them to separate surrender, so much the better; if not, he could withdraw and wait for another occasion.

Cao Cao's first assault was driven back, and then the wind changed against him and Zhou Yu sent in an attack with fireships. Fire was a common weapon

in the technology of that time, and when used in the right circumstances it could create widescale destruction. Whatever preparations Cao Cao may have made against the threat, he was compelled to abandon his position and retreat, while the allies enhanced their victory with tales of slaughter. The battle at the Red Cliffs is celebrated in Chinese history, it is the theme of several plays and poems, and it forms the centrepiece of the great historical novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* [*Sanguo yanyi*].

It is very likely that the account of Cao Cao's defeat has been exaggerated, and literary tradition has embellished the story out of all proportion, but later events justify the engagement as one of the decisive battles of Chinese history. As Cao Cao retreated, he left garrisons behind him, but in the following year Zhou Yu's army captured Jiangling and the southerners thereafter faced no serious threat to their dominance of the Yangzi. Though Cao Cao and his successors made several attempts to break the river line, they could not match the strategic position or the nautical skill of their enemies. Neither side may have realised it at the time, but the Red Cliffs campaign was the last chance for many years to reunite the empire: control of the middle Yangzi meant the difference between survival and surrender in the south.

The struggle for the middle Yangzi 208-221:

With the fall of Jiangling, Cao Cao's territory in the south was restricted to the Han River, with his centre of defence at present-day Xiangfan. As chief of the allies, Sun Quan naturally expected to profit from their success, but while his attention was devoted to his own position in the east and an unsuccessful sortie north towards the Huai, Liu Bei seized the commanderies of the Xiang basin and established a position in the south of Jing province. When his chief general Zhou Yu died in 210, Sun Quan had no-one of comparable authority to take his place. Compelled to transfer the territory of Jiangling to Liu Bei, he retained no more than the region about Wuhan.

In 211, Cao Cao turned west, broke the back of a warlord coalition in the Wei River valley, and reoccupied the territory about Chang'an. Faced with this threat to his north, Liu Zhang the Governor of Yi province invited Liu Bei to assist him, first against Zhang Lu in Hanzhong and then in due course against Cao Cao. Liu Bei accepted the invitation, but one year later he forced a quarrel with Liu Zhang and turned against him. In 214 Liu Zhang was compelled to

surrender and Liu Bei took over his territory. He still held a great part of Jing province, so his state was substantial, and his counsellor Zhuge Liang, who had joined him while he was with Liu Biao, provided him with the basis of an administration which raised him above the generality of warlords at the time.

During this period Cao Cao and Sun Quan had engaged one another in the southeast, but Cao Cao's forces had no success against Sun Quan's position on the Yangzi, while Sun Quan was unable to break the line of the Huai. In particular, Cao Cao's administrator Liu Fu established agricultural garrisons about Shouchun and Hefei, and the settled peasant militia gave long-term stability to the defence of the region. Further south, in campaigns against the non-Chinese people and refugees or renegades of present-day southern Zhejiang and Fujian, Sun Quan's officers, notably He Qi and Lu Xun, began a process of conquest and colonisation which increased the territory of the state and added considerably to the human resources that could be taxed and recruited for *corvée* labour and war.

When Liu Bei seized power in Yi province, however, Sun Quan turned once more to the middle Yangzi basin, demanding a greater share in the basin of the Xiang River. Apart from the resentment with which he had watched his erstwhile weaker ally take power in Sichuan, the resources Sun Quan currently commanded were too limited to maintain a long defence against the north.

In 215 Sun Quan sent his officer Lü Meng to seize the southern commanderies of Jing province. Liu Bei's general Guan Yu brought an army in counter-attack, and the rivals agreed upon a new settlement, with the Xiang River as their border. Both were concerned at the general threat from the north, while Liu Bei was also distracted by the situation in the west, where Cao Cao's attack from Chang'an across the Qin Ling divide had forced the surrender of Zhang Lu in Hanzhong and opened the way for a direct advance into Yi province.

For the time being, however, Cao Cao was chiefly concerned with the organisation of the territory now under his control, with suppression of internal plots against him, and with the consolidation of his power as the dominant figure at the refugee court of Han. He had been Imperial Chancellor since 208, in 214 he received the title Duke of Wei, and in 217 he became King of Wei and appointed his eldest son Cao Pi 曹丕 as his Heir. Cao Cao's major military activity at this time was one more attack against Sun Quan's position on the

lower Yangzi. He compelled Sun Quan to make formal surrender and acknowledge him as a king, but the agreement had no practical effect upon the military relationship between the two sides, nor upon Sun Quan's freedom of action.

Far more important were the events of 219. At the beginning of that year, after a long campaign of stalemate, Liu Bei defeated and killed Cao Cao's general Xiahou Yuan in Hanzhong. Cao Cao brought reinforcements in an attempt to rectify the damage, but he could not regain the territory which had been lost and was compelled to retreat across the Qin Ling. So Liu Bei's borders were secured against the north, and in celebration of the victory he proclaimed himself King of Hanzhong.

To the east, the enemies of Wei sought to profit from Cao Cao's misfortune. Sun Quan invested Hefei without success, but Guan Yu on the middle Yangzi presented a more serious danger. Advancing up the line of the Han River, he was fortunate to encounter heavy summer rains and flood. One of Cao Cao's armies, caught in the open, was washed away, and Guan Yu was able to bring his ships to the walls of Fan city at present-day Xiangfan, last obstacle to an advance into Nanyang and the heart of Cao Cao's power. The defenders of Fan were isolated and outnumbered, and their fortifications were eroded by water, but they held out for three months and then Guan Yu himself was destroyed.

Hitherto, despite the incident of 214, Sun Quan and his commander in Jing province, Lu Su, had agreed that their best policy was to maintain the alliance with Liu Bei rather than face Cao Cao alone. Sun Quan, however, was not satisfied with the territory he had acquired, and was concerned that his nominal ally in the west might soon become as much a threat as his enemy in the north. When Lu Su died in 217, Sun Quan appointed Lü Meng, who had served as his personal agent in the past, to take his place, and though they continued to speak fair to Guan Yu the Sun group was looking for opportunity to act against him.

In the autumn of 219, as Guan Yu was committed to the attack upon the Han River and siege of Fan city, Lü Meng prepared a secret invasion and struck west along the Yangzi behind him. Surprise was complete, Guan Yu's position collapsed, the greater part of his army capitulated and he himself was killed. Cao Cao's position in the Han valley was restored, and Sun Quan held all the territory east of the Yangzi Gorges.

*Three Kingdoms:*³

At the beginning of the following year, 220, Cao Cao died at Luoyang aged sixty-six *sui*, succeeded by his son Cao Pi. In the following winter, on 11 December 220 by Western reckoning, the new ruler of Wei received the abdication of the last emperor of Han and proclaimed his own accession to the Mandate of Heaven. Six months later, Liu Bei in Yi province made his rival claim as emperor of the continuing house of Han; from the classical term for that region, his dynasty is commonly known as Shu-Han or simply Shu.

For the time being, Sun Quan accepted the continued suzerainty of Wei and recognised Cao Pi's new honour. In exchange he received enfeoffment as King of Wu, but his chief concern was to hold the north in benevolent neutrality while he faced the inevitable attack from Liu Bei, seeking revenge for the destruction of Guan Yu and reconquest of the territory he had lost in Jing province. In this policy, Sun Quan was successful, for Cao Pi was new to power and to the imperial title, and he could not afford to turn too ostentatiously against his own self-proclaimed feudatory.

The attack from Shu against Wu came at the end of 221, and in the spring of 222 Liu Bei arrived to take command of operations. Lü Meng, Sun Quan's commander against Guan Yu, had been ill at the time of that campaign and died soon afterwards, and Sun Quan appointed his son-in-law and close confidant Lu Xun, a man of good gentry and official family, to take charge of the defence in the west. Defying the advice of his subordinates, Lu Xun waited until Liu Bei had advanced through the Gorges, but at the end of summer he launched attacks with fire against the flank of the enemy's extended positions, and the army of Shu-Han was broken. Liu Bei made his escape to Bodi 白帝 "White Emperor" city, near present-day Fengjie in Sichuan, and he died there in the following year.

Following the destruction of Guan Yu in 219, the defeat of Liu Bei confirmed Sun Quan's control of Jing province, and he wasted little time in reneging on his fealty to Wei. He failed to send the hostages he had promised, and when Cao Pi came south to enforce the pledge Sun Quan's armies and navy defied him with success on both the middle and the lower Yangzi. As

³ The events below are considered by later chapters of *ZZTJ*, translated by Fang, *Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms*.

sign of independence, Sun Quan proclaimed his own reign-title, and in winter of that year, the beginning of 223, he completed a brilliant round of diplomacy by renegotiating peace and friendship with Shu-Han.

In military terms, therefore, by the year 220, as Cao Cao died and his son received the abdication of the former emperor of Han, the division of China between three rival states was complete. There were individual warlords and rulers on the perimeters, but the essential boundaries had been drawn. In the west, the victory of Liu Bei in Hanzhong had brought the upper Han valley under his control and set the line of battle among the Qin Ling ranges, south of the valley of the Wei. On the middle Yangzi, Jing province of Han, most possibilities for manoeuvre were ended: Shu-Han was restricted to the west of the Gorges while Wei and Wu shared a hostile but largely static frontier about the lower Han River. In the southeast, Cao Cao's establishment of agricultural garrisons, and the consistent failure of Sun Quan's sorties against Hefei and Shouchun, confirmed the hold of Wei along the Huai River, but the southerners' naval control of the Yangzi was never seriously threatened, and between those lines of defence there stretched a desolate no-man's land. In 229 Sun Quan also took the imperial title and the world of China was divided into three – balanced, as commentators observed, like the legs of a tripod cauldron.

CHRONOLOGY

THE EMPERORS OF HAN

Part I: Former Han¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Part II: Later Han⁷

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹² On 25 November 220 Liu Xie abdicated the throne in favour of Cao Pi 曹丕, ruler of Wei. He was then styled Duke of Shanyang 山陽公 until his death, but was awarded posthumous title as an emperor of Han.

TABLE OF EVENTS

189 to 220 AD

CHAPTER 59

Zhongping 6: 189

death of Emperor Ling and accession of Liu Bian	1894 ¹
destruction of the Dong family by the He clan	1895
murder of He Jin by the palace eunuchs	1900
massacre of the eunuchs at Luoyang	1901
Dong Zhuo takes power in Luoyang	1902
Liu Bian is deposed in favour of his half-brother Liu Xie, Emperor Xian	1904
destruction of the He clan by Dong Zhuo	1904
alliance in the east against Dong Zhuo, headed by Yuan Shao	1908

Chuping 1: 190

Dong Zhuo shifts the capital to Chang'an	1912
the alliance against Dong Zhuo breaks up	1915
Gongsun Du independent in the northeast	1918

CHAPTER 60

Chuping 2: 191

Sun Jian captures Luoyang	1918
Yuan Shao takes over Ji province	1920
Cao Cao in Dong commandery	1924
fighting between Yuan Shao and Yuan Shu	1926
Sun Jian killed in an attack on Liu Biao in Jing province	1928
Zhang Lu establishes a religious state in Hanzhong	1928

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Yuan Shao defeats Gongsun Zan	1931
Dong Zhuo killed by Wang Yun and Lü Bu at Chang'an	1934
Cao Cao takes over Yan province	1935
Li Jue's party takes over Chang'an and kills Wang Yun	1938
Lü Bu flees to Yuan Shao	1939

Chuping 4: 193

Yuan Shu driven into Yang province	1942
Cao Cao attacks Tao Qian in Xu province	1945
Gongsun Zan destroys Liu Yu in You province	1946

¹ Numbers in this column identify pages of the Beijing 1956 edition of ZZTJ.

CHAPTER 61

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Liu Bei becomes Inspector of Yu province	1949
Zhang Miao and Lü Bu take Yan province from Cao Cao	1950
Liu Zhang succeeds Liu Yan as Governor of Yi province	1956
Liu Bei takes over Xu province	1957
Liu Yao fights Yuan Shu for Yang province	1959

Xingping 2: 195

Li Jue and Guo Si fight in Chang'an	1960
Cao Cao recaptures Yan province	1964
Emperor Xian escapes eastwards from Chang'an	1965
Sun Ce south of the Yangzi	1971
Yu province rebels against Gongsun Zan	1977

CHAPTER 62

Jian'an 1: 196

Yuan Shu, Liu Bei and Lü Bu fight for Xu province	1980
the Emperor returns to Luoyang	1981
Sun Ce independent of Yuan Shu	1983
Cao Cao brings the Emperor to Xu city	1985
Sun Ce takes Kuaiji commandery	1986
Liu Bei flees to Cao Cao	1991

Jian'an 2: 197

Cao Cao attacks Liu Biao in Jing province	1994
Yuan Shu takes the imperial title	1996
Lü Bu defeats Yuan Shu	1998
Cao Cao drives Yuan Shu south of the Huai	2000

Jian'an 3: 198

Cao Cao destroys Lü Bu in Xu province	2006
Sun Ce takes control of the lower Yangzi	2010

CHAPTER 63

Jian'an 4: 199

Yuan Shao destroys Gongsun Zan in You province	2012
death of Yuan Shu	2014
Yuan Shao prepares to attack Cao Cao	2015
Cao Cao settles the land within the passes	2018
Sun Ce seizes Lujiang commandery	2020
Sun Ce takes Yuzhang commandery	2022
Liu Bei rebels against Cao Cao in Xu province	2023

Jian'an 5: 200

Cao Cao defeats Liu Bei	2024
Cao Cao defeats Yuan Shao's forces at Boma	2026
death of Sun Ce, succeeded by Sun Quan	2029
Yuan Shao besieges Cao Cao at Guandu	2032
Cao Cao destroys Yuan Shao's army at Guandu	2035

CHAPTER 64

Jian'an 6: 201

Liu Bei flees to Liu Biao in Jing province	2041
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Jian'an 7: 202

Yuan Shao dies, succeeded by his youngest son Shang	2044
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Jian'an 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

Jian'an 9: 204

Cao Cao besieges Ye city	2053
Cao Cao defeats Yuan Shang and captures Ye	2055
Gongsun Du dies in Liaodong, succeeded by his son Kang	2057

Jian'an 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

Jian'an 11: 206

Cao Cao defeats Gao Gan and settles Bing province	2066
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Jian'an 12: 207

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

Jian'an 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

Jian'an 14: 209

Sun Quan attacks Hefei without success 2098

Sun Quan's forces capture Jiangling and Nan commandery 2098

Jian'an 15: 210

Liu Bei occupies the south of Jing province 2103

Jian'an 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

Jian'an 17: 212

Cao Cao attacks Sun Quan 2118

Liu Bei turns against Liu Zhang 2118

Jian'an 18: 213

Cao Cao returns to Ye, leaving a 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

Jian'an 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

Jian'an 20: 215

Cao Cao's daughter becomes 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

Jian'an 21: 216

Cao Cao becomes King of Wei 2144

CHAPTER 68

Jian'an 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

Jian'an 23: 218

Liu Bei moves against Hanzhong 2155

Jian'an 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 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
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CHAPTER 59

continued*

*being Chapter 51 of the Chronicle of Han
containing Part 3 of the reign of Emperor Ling
and Part 1 of the reign of Emperor Xian*

Zhongping 6: 189 AD

4 February 189 – 22 February 190

1893

A Before this, several of the emperor's children had died very young. When the Empress He gave birth to a son Liu Bian, he was brought up at the house of a Taoist named Shi Zimiao. The boy was known as Lord Shi.¹

1894 The Beauty Wang had borne a son Liu Xie. The Empress-Dowager Dong cared for him herself, and he was called Lord Dong.²

B All the senior ministers had asked that an Heir be established. The emperor thought Liu Bian was frivolous and lacked dignity. He had it in mind to grant the succession to Liu Xie, but had not yet made a final decision.³

About this time Emperor Ling became extremely ill. He entrusted Liu Xie to the care of Jian Shi.⁴ [2]

* The first part of the chronicle for this year is rendered by *Huan and Ling*, 405-408. Passages A, B and C below are duplicates of passages F, G and H of that translation, with minor amendments.

A *HHS* 10B:449-50 (10a), the Biography of the Empress He of Emperor Ling, with commentary quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

1 Though infant mortality was naturally high, when a number of children died it was sometimes suspected that evil influences might be operating, and other children were sent away to avoid the threat. There was precedent for this policy in the time of Emperor He some ninety years earlier: *HHS* 10A:421.

2 The Beauty Wang had been murdered by the Empress He soon after the birth of Liu Xie. We are told that the emperor mourned her deeply and composed two rhapsodies in her memory: *HHS* 10B:450.

The emperor was naturally concerned for Liu Xie, who was surely threatened by more than the normal dangers of infant mortality. The patronage of his mother the Lady Dong served as some protection to the child against the jealousy of the Empress He.

B *HHS* 69/59:2247 (7a), the Biography of He Jin.

3 Though it was expected that a gentleman's heir would be the eldest son by his chief wife, the traditions of Han gave the emperor authority to designate whichever son he preferred. Should he die without naming an heir, power to decide the succession fell to his empress, now empress-dowager.

4 Jian Shi, a eunuch, had been given command over the emperor's private army, the eight regiments of the Western Garden, in the previous year, and he held formal authority

- C On the day *bingchen* [13 May], the emperor died in the Hall of Excellent Virtue.⁵
- D Jian Shi, who was in the palace at that time, intended to kill He Jin and set Liu Xie upon the throne. He invited He Jin to come and consult with him, and He Jin immediately mounted his chariot to go to the palace. Pan Yin, a major in Jian Shi's command, was an old friend of He Jin. He went out to meet him and gave a warning look. He Jin took fright and galloped straight back to his quarters. He led out his troops to camp at the Commandery Lodgings,⁶ and from there he announced that he was ill and could not come to the palace.
- E On the day *wuwu* [15 May] Prince Bian was established as Emperor. He was fourteen years old.⁷ The Empress was honoured as Empress-Dowager and held court. An amnesty was proclaimed for the empire and the reign-title was changed to Guangxi.⁸ [3]

over all military forces about the capital, including those of He Jin, the General-in-Chief: *Huan and Ling*, 400-401.

- C *HHS* 8:357 (15b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.
- 5 The Hall of Excellent Virtue was in the Southern Palace, behind the Gate of the Nine Dragons: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 25. *HHS* 8 says that Emperor Ling was thirty-four *sui* when he died, so he was born in 156 AD.
- D *HHS* 69/59:2247-48 (7a), the Biography of He Jin.
- 6 The Commandery Lodging-Houses (郡邸 *jundi*), which appear to have been grouped together in the eastern part of the walled city of Luoyang, were maintained by the governments of commanderies and kingdoms for their messengers to the capital: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 49-50.
- E *HHS* 8:357 (15b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.
- 7 Liu Bian is generally known as Shaodi 少帝, the "Little" Emperor. *HHS* 8 says that he was seventeen *sui* at the time of his accession, but Sima Guang chose to follow the *Hou Han ji* of Zhang Fan. Some of the young man's conduct, as reported in passage V below, would indicate immaturity, but *HHS* 10B:450-51, telling of his death in the following year, confirms the age of eighteen, and adds a touching account how he had his concubine drink and dance for him, and sang a song of farewell before taking a forced draught of poison: passage C and note 5 of Chuping 1.

Depending which statement of his age is correct, Liu Bian was born either in 173 or in 176.

- 8 On the amnesty (赦 *she*) in Han China, see Hulsewé, *RHL*, 225-250, and McKnight, *Quality of Mercy*, 12-36, also *Huan and Ling*, note 2 at 1.

An amnesty clearly gave some general remission of punishment throughout the empire, probably reducing the heaviest sentences by one degree, and perhaps giving full pardon to minor offences or sentences whose time had been largely served. Some are distinguished in the texts by the designation *da* 大 "great," but it is impossible to identify the significance of any one proclamation.

Amnesties varied in frequency under Han, but by the time of Emperor Ling they

The emperor's younger brother Liu Xie was enfeoffed as King of Bohai. He was at that time aged nine.⁹ The General of the Rear Yuan Wei was appointed Grand Tutor, sharing control of the Imperial Secretariat with the General-in-Chief He Jin.¹⁰

F He Jin now controlled the government. He was angry at Jian Shi for plotting against him, and made secret plans to kill him. Yuan Shao, through He Jin's trusted client Zhang Jin, urged him to kill all the eunuch officials. Since the Yuan clan had been honoured for generations, while Yuan Shao and his younger cousin Yuan Shu, who was General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger, were respected by the great families, He Jin trusted them and gave them appointment.¹¹
[4]

occurred almost annually. Some commentators criticised such leniency, and the value and effect of the remissions may have been reduced.

On the proclamation of the new reign-period at this time, see note 92 below

9 Liu Xie had been born in 181.

10 Chosen from the most senior officials, a Grand Tutor (太傅 *taifu*) was appointed at the beginning of each reign. Ranking above the Excellencies, he normally held office for his lifetime, and the office was not filled again after the first incumbent's death: *HHS* 114/24:3556-57; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 5-7.

The Imperial Secretariat, staffed by Masters of Writing, was the central office of government. The Masters of Writing were responsible for drafting imperial edicts, they received instructions from the highest level, and they served on occasion as an investigative body in cases of impeachment. Under Later Han, the designation *lu shangshu shi* 錄尚書事 "control of/authority over the Masters of Writing" gave executive power in government, and was used particularly in time of a regency: see and compare Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 153-154.

F *HHS* 69/59:2248 (7a-b), the Biography of He Jin.

11 In the administration of Later Han, the Yuan family of Runan had risen to extraordinary heights. Yuan An 安 had been appointed Excellency of Works in 86, his son Yuan Chang 敞 also became Excellency of Works, and his grandson Tang 湯 held all three offices of the excellencies.

Again, Yuan Tang's son Feng 逢 was Excellency of Works, and Yuan Wei 隗, another son of Feng, was now Grand Tutor. These promotions to the highest official ranks give indication of the influence that the family held in the bureaucracy and the empire as a whole: On the earlier history of the Yuan, see *HHS* 45/35, 1517-27.

Yuan Shu was a son of Yuan Feng. Yuan Shao was a grandson of Yuan Tang, but his parenthood is as matter of dispute. At the beginning of his biography in *HHS* 74/64A:2373, the main text states that his father was Yuan Cheng, eldest son of Tang. Commentary to this passage, however, notes that other sources, the *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shansong and the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen, describe Yuan Shao as an adopted son of Cheng, and add that he was actually the son of Yuan Feng by a concubine. A comment ascribed to Yuan Shu by passage CC of Chuping 2 appears to confirm that Yuan Shao held only inferior status in the family. Cf. however, the commentary of the

G He Jin also sought widely for men who were wise and able in planning, and he recruited more than twenty, such as He Yong, Xun You, Zheng Tai of Henan and others. He Yong was appointed Adjutant of the Northern Army, Xun You was a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates, and Zheng Tai became a Master of Writing. He Jin trusted these men completely.

Xun You was a great-nephew of Xun Shuang.¹²

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H Jian Shi became suspicious and uneasy. He wrote to the Regular Attendants Zhao Zhong, Song Dian and others, "The General-in-Chief and his relatives control the state and usurp authority at court. Now, with the men of Faction in the empire, they plan to kill the attendants of the late Emperor and destroy our people. He is only delaying because I control the guard. You must get together, bar the doors of the palace apartments, take him quickly, and kill him."

The Regular Attendant Guo Sheng came from the same commandery as He Jin.¹³ He had been involved in the fortune and

Qing scholar Hong Liangji to *HHSJJ* 74/64A:1a-b.

G *HHS* 69/59, 2248 (7b), the Biography of He Jin;
HHS 70/60, 2257 (1a), the Biography of Zheng Tai;
SGZ 10, 321-22 (27a-29a), the Biography of Xun You,
 with PC quoting *Hanmo mingshi lu*.

12 He Yong had been a member of the Proscribed Faction in the time of Emperors Huan and Ling, and returned to office at the capital only after the ending of the proscription in 184: *HHS* 67/57:2218. The Adjutant of the Northern Army was responsible for discipline among the five regiments of regular troops stationed at the capital: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 118 [as Captain of the Centre].

The biography of Xun Shuang, with other members of his clan, is in *HHS* 62/52. The Xun were a leading family of Yingchuan commandery, and had been involved with the Proscribed Faction: *HHS* 62/52:2050, and see Ch'en, "Confucian magnate," *Hsün Yüeh: life and reflections*, and *Hsün Yüeh and the mind of Late Han China*. The biography of Xun You, who later became a senior assistant to the warlord Cao Cao, is at *SGZ* 10:321-25. Gentleman at the Yellow Gates (黃門侍郎 *huangmen shilang*), often described simply as *huangmen lang*, were ranked at 600 *shi*. Full men, they acted as liaison between the palace and the outside, and could serve as ushers at formal gatherings of the court: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 60.

As a Master of Writing in the Imperial Secretariat, Zheng Tai had access to all high official documents, and he was soon afterwards transferred to become an Imperial Clerk, a member of the censorate: passage N below.

Though their formal rank was not high, these three men were important for He Jin's chain of command in the army, the palace, and the government.

H *HHS* 69/59:2248 (7b), the Biography of He Jin.

13 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that the name of this man appears as Guo Mai 郭脈 in *HHJ*

favour of the Dowager and He Jin, and was a close and loyal friend of the He clan. He joined the discussions with Zhao Zhong and the others, but they decided not to join Jian Shi's plot and Guo Sheng showed the letter to He Jin. [5]

On the day *gengwu* [27 May] He Jin sent the Prefect of the Yellow Gates to arrest Jian Shi and execute him, and he took over his troops in camp.¹⁴

- I The General of Agile Cavalry Dong Zhong disputed He Jin's authority, and the eunuchs enlisted his aid in support of their party. Whenever the Dowager Dong sought to interfere in matters of government the Dowager He always stopped her. The Lady Dong was furious and shouted, "You are powerful now because you rely on your brother! But I can order the General of Agile Cavalry to cut off He Jin's head, and that would be easy as turning my hand!" The Dowager He heard this and told He Jin.

In the fifth month He Jin presented a memorial jointly with the Three Excellencies, "The Xiao-Ren Empress [the Dowager Dong] instructed the former Regular Attendant Xia Yun and others to advise provincial and commandery governments to send the proceeds of all taxes to the Western Apartments.¹⁵ By precedent, a supernumerary empress should not remain in the capital district. We ask that she be

-
- 25:13a, and as Lang Sheng 朗勝 in *Jiuzhou chunqiu*. Sima Guang follows *HHS* 69/59.
- 14 The Prefect of the Yellow Gates had police and disciplinary powers over eunuchs of the imperial palace: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64. The date of Jian Shi's arrest and death is given by *HHJ* 25:13a.
- I *HHS* 10B:447 (8a-b), the Biography of the Empress-Dowager Dong.
- 15 Liu Chang 劉萇, father of the late Emperor Ling, was a distant cadet of the imperial clan who had held title as marquis of Jiedu Village 解渚亭 in Hejian. When Emperor Ling was brought to the throne in 168, Liu Chang was already dead, but he was given posthumous imperial honours as Emperor Xiaoren 孝仁. (On the prefix "Xiao," see note 19 below). In the following year, when the Lady Dong, widow of Liu Chang and mother of Emperor Ling, was brought to the capital, this title was also extended to her: *Huan and Ling*, 181 and 204.

The apartments which served as the residence of the Lady Dong were formally known as the Palace of Perpetual Joy (永樂宮 *Yongle gong*), and from this text it appears the complex was at this time on the western side of the imperial palace compound. In similar fashion, Palace of Prolonged Joy (長樂 *Changle*) referred to the apartments of the Empress-Dowager He, mother of the new Emperor. On this system, see Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 38-39.

required to transfer residence to her own state."¹⁶ The memorial was approved. [6]

On the day *xinsi* [7 Jun] He Jin brought troops to surround the offices of the General of Agile Cavalry. He arrested Dong Zhong and stripped him of his appointment. Dong Zhong killed himself.¹⁷

In the sixth month on the day *xinhai* [7 Jul] the Dowager Dong died suddenly from grief and fear.¹⁸ Because of this the people no longer approved of the He clan.

J On the day *xinyou* [17 Jul] the Xiao-Ling Emperor was buried at Wenling.¹⁹

He Jin had taken warning from Jian Shi's plot: claiming to be ill, he neither attended the mourning nor accompanied the funeral.

There were great floods.²⁰

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16 The character *fan* 蕃 may indicate a loyal subject who supports the throne (in which case it is identified with the near-homonym 藩), as expressed in the phrase *fanping* 蕃屏 "support and screen" (e.g. *HHS* 4:166). It may also describe people and territories at the outer limits of control (e.g. *Zhou li* 8:27b-28a; Biot II, 276-277). Here the term designates the Lady Dong (and the Lady Wei before her) as people outside the essential core of the court and the government.

The precedent for exile is cited by commentary to *HHS* 10B with reference to the Lady Wei 衛, mother of Emperor Ping of Former Han in the time of Wang Mang's ascendancy. Because she might have provided a centre for opposition to the Wang hegemony, she was forbidden to stay at the capital: *HS* 97B, 4008. The Lady Dong was in a similar position to that of the Lady Wei two hundred years earlier: both were the natural mothers of sovereigns, but neither had been formal wives of a ruler.

17 The date of Dong Zhong's death, and that of the Lady Dong described below, are both taken from the Annals, *HHS* 8, 357-58.

18 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that *Jiuzhou chunqiu* says the Lady Dong killed herself. Sima Guang has chosen to accept the version in *HHS* 10B.

The biography of the Lady Dong, *HHS* 10B, 447, says that her body was sent back to be buried with that of her late husband in Hejian.

J *HHS* 8:358 (15b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

19 Wenling 文陵, the "Mound of Accomplishment," was eight kilometres northwest of Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 86.

The prefix Xiao 孝 "Filial" was part of the posthumous dynastic title of all emperors of Han except for the two founders, Emperors Gao and Guangwu. See also note 15 above. Because it is so common, it is generally omitted in ordinary reference.

20 These floods are not mentioned in the relevant section of the Treatise on the Five Powers at *HHS* 105/15:312. The "excessive rain" (*Yinyu* 淫雨) section of the Treatise, however, *HHS* 103/13:3270, relates the rain mentioned in passage EE below as a portent of the massacre of the eunuchs. See note 79 below.

In the autumn, in the seventh month Liu Xie the King of Bohai was transferred to be King of Chenliu.

The Excellency over the Masses Ding Gong left office.

K Yuan Shao again urged He Jin, "In the past, when Dou Wu planned to kill the palace favourites, the only reason he came to grief was because he allowed the news to leak out. [7]

"The men of the five regiments [of the Northern Army] feared the eunuchs and were prepared to obey them, but Dou Wu had counted on those troops, so he brought misfortune upon himself.

"At the moment, you and your brother [He Miao] both control strong forces. Your subordinate and divisional commanders are all brave men of fine reputation, fully prepared to carry out your orders. Everything is in your hands, and this is an occasion sent by heaven. You, my general, must act at once to remove evil from the empire, and leave a name for later generations. You cannot let this opportunity slip."

So He Jin spoke to the Dowager, asking to dismiss all the Regular Attendants and those of lower rank, and to appoint Gentlemen of the Three Corps to fill their places.²¹

The Dowager would not agree. "Since ancient times," she said, "it has been a custom of the house of Han that eunuchs control the forbidden apartments. You cannot do away with that. Moreover, when the late Emperor has only just left the world, how can I act so brazenly as to deal with men face to face?"²²

He Jin found it difficult to disregard the Dowager's feelings, but he still wanted to punish the evil-doers. Yuan Shao argued further that the eunuchs were close to the emperor, sending out and taking in

K *HHS* 69/59:2248-49 (7b-8b), the Biography of He Jin.

21 The reference to gentlemen of the three corps (三署郎 *sanshu lang*) is in fact taken from a later passage of *HHS* 69/59, translated in passage S below at the eighth month, but Sima Guang has placed it better here.

Gentlemen of the Three Corps were cadet officials under probation for tenured appointment, and served as formal guards about the palace.

Such men of junior rank do not seem appropriate to serve the Dowager, and the Lady He as surely justified in her complaint as below. One is inclined to suspect a mis-writing, perhaps for Gentleman at the Yellow Gates [note 12 above], but the parallel passage in *HHSJJ* at 9b has attracted no commentary.

22 The expression *chuchu* 楚楚 appears in the *Fouyou* 蜉蝣 Ode of *Shi jing* I.14.1; Legge, *CC* IV, 220 (Karlsgren, *Odes*, 94), where it describes the shining display of the ephemeral dung-fly or beetle.

orders. Unless the system was halted completely and immediately, it would certainly cause trouble later.

He Miao, however, and the Lady of Wuyang who was mother to the Dowager,²³ had often received bribes and gifts from the eunuchs. They realised that He Jin wanted to kill the attendants, and they spoke several times to the Dowager so she would give them protection.

They also said, "If the General-in-Chief kills eunuchs on his own authority, he will be abusing his power and will weaken the national altars [and the imperial state]."²⁴ The Dowager suspected this might be true. [8]

He Jin had only lately come to high position, and he had always been in awe of the eunuchs. Though outwardly he seemed to be in pursuit of a great name, inwardly he lacked decision, and so the matter long remained unsettled.

Yuan Shao and the others made another proposal, that the brave leaders and fighting men from all parts of the empire should lead their troops towards the capital as a means to put pressure on the Dowager. He Jin approved this.

He Jin's Registrar,²⁵ Chen Lin of Guangling, remonstrated with him, "There is a proverb about closing the eyes to catch a bird.²⁶ Such deceit is sure to fail in small matters, and the rule must apply yet more strongly in great affairs of state. How can policy be maintained by trickery? You hold the imperial authority, and all essential military strength. With the leap of a dragon and the pace of a tiger, you may act as you will.

"The present plan, however, is like pumping up fire in a stove when all that is needed is to singe a hair. You need only act quickly,

23 Wuyang county was in Yingchuan, by present-day Wuyang in Henan. Lady (君 *jun*) of Wuyang was the title and enfeoffment granted to Xing 興, mother of the Dowager He: *HHS* 10B:449.

24 The phrase *sheji* 社稷 refers to the national altars to the gods of the soils and grains at the imperial shrine in Luoyang: see, for example, *Cambridge China* I, 263 Map 13 [Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, Restoration and Later Han "], and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 56. In language such as this, the phrase refers to the dynasty and empire of Han.

25 The Registrar was a senior secretary on the staff of the General-in-Chief: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 124 [as Master of Records].

26 The proverb refers to self-deception. A man closes his eyes in the hope that if he cannot see the bird, then the bird will be unable to see him. The ostrich is said to have the same idea.

L SGZ 1:5 (16a) PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen.

and display the thunder of your power. Use your own judgment to make the decision, and both heaven and man will approve.

1897 "On the other hand, if you fail to use the strength that you have, but call in help from outside, then great armies will gather and the strongest will win. That is like turning a spear against yourself and passing the handle to someone else. The project will surely fail, and you will have embarked upon a road to ruin." He Jin would not listen.

L When the Colonel Who Arranges the Army Cao Cao heard of this debate, he laughed and said, "There has always been a need for eunuchs, but the rulers of our time should never have granted them such authority and favour as to cause this trouble. To solve the problem, they need only punish the ringleaders; a single prison guard would be enough for that. Why such a fuss, calling in soldiers from outside? If he intends to kill them all, the plan will certainly leak out. I can already foresee his failure." [9]

M Before this, Emperor Ling had called Dong Zhuo to be Minister Steward,²⁷ but Dong Zhuo sent in a memorial saying, "My Huangzhong auxiliaries and the barbarians from the northwest²⁸ have all come to me, saying, 'We have received no wages and no supplies have come through. Our wives and children are hungry and cold.' They held my carriage and would not let me leave. These Qiang and the other non-Chinese have evil hearts and the nature of dogs. I have not been able to bring them to order, but I shall stay to keep them quiet. I shall report again if there is anything different or unusual."²⁹ The court could do nothing about him.

M *HHS* 72/62:2322 (3a-b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo; and *HHS* 71/61:2306 (5b-6a), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

27 The Minister Steward was responsible for the emperor's personal staff and the imperial palaces: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 46-47 [as Privy Treasurer].

HHS 72/62 gives the date of this proposed appointment as Zhongping 6; that is, earlier in the present year.

28 Huangzhong refers to the territory about the Huang Shui or Xining River in present-day Gansu. During Later Han, Qiang and other non-Chinese from this region were recruited into a force known as the Auxiliary of Loyal Barbarians of Huangzhong (遼中義從胡 *Huangzhong yicong hu*). See, for example, *HHS* 16/6:609-10; deC, *Northern Frontier*, 86.

The phrase *Qin-Hu* 秦胡, from the region of the ancient state of Qin, present-day Shenxi, evidently refers to non-Chinese people of the northwest other than the Qiang.

29 *ZZTJ* commentary notes that this or some similar expression appears as a concluding formula in several memorials about this time.

Dong Zhuo had held military commands since the 170s, and had been a general in

Then the emperor became seriously ill and an imperial letter appointed Dong Zhuo as Governor of Bing province, with orders to leave his troops under the command of Huangfu Song. Dong Zhuo sent in another memorial, "Despite my lack of merit, I have received your heavenly favour and held military command for ten years. My officers and men of every rank have long been close to me. They appreciate my generous care, and are always ready to obey my orders. I beg to take them with me to the north, to assist in the defence of the frontier."

Huangfu Song's nephew Huangfu Li said to his uncle, "It is either you or Dong Zhuo who must hold command over the armies of the empire. There is already bad feeling between you,³⁰ and one of you will surely lose out. Dong Zhuo has been [10] ordered to hand his men over, but he has sent in a message to beg himself off: this is disobeying an imperial order. He relies upon the fact that the government at the capital is in disorder, so he dares to delay and refuses to come: this is treachery. The two faults cannot be pardoned.

1898 "Dong Zhuo, moreover is cruel and perverse. He has no loyal friends, and his troops will not follow him. You are the senior general. If you exercise the authority of the state to punish him, you will be displaying brilliant loyalty above, and you will be wiping out evil and harm below. Such a plan cannot fail."

"Though it is wrong to disobey orders," replied Huangfu Song, "I shall also be at fault if I execute him on my own authority. It is best to present a full report, and let the court decide." So he sent in a report, and the emperor issued a reprimand against Dong Zhuo. Dong Zhuo, however, paid no attention, but camped in Hedong to await developments.³¹

N He Jin now called Dong Zhuo to bring his troops to the capital district.³² The Imperial Clerk Zheng Tai protested, "Dong Zhuo is

the west since 185: *Huan and Ling*, 382.

30 Huangfu Song was at this time senior commander over Dong Zhuo in operations against the rebels of Liang province. We are told he had twice rejected Dong Zhuo's advice, and that when his strategy proved correct Dong Zhuo was embarrassed and resentful: *Huan and Ling*, 403-405.

31 The court wanted Dong Zhuo to go north into Bing province, leaving the men of his command with Huangfu Song. Dong Zhuo, however, refused, and he moved into Hedong commandery in the capital province of Sili, northwest of Luoyang across the Yellow River.

N *HHS* 70/60:2257 (1b), the Biography of Zheng Tai;
HHS 64/54:2119 (13b), the Biography of Lu Zhi.

extremely brutal and has small sense of honour, while his ambitions have no limit. If you involve him in the imperial government and entrust him with great affairs you will lose control over his evil intentions and will surely endanger the court.

"Through your own personal qualities, and by your close relationship to the throne, you hold the authority of Aheng,³³ with power to make your own decisions and to take your own action [11] against criminals. It is quite inappropriate for you to favour Dong Zhuo by asking for his assistance.

"Furthermore, if you delay matters, there will be changes. The example of Yin is not far off.³⁴ You must make your mind up soon."

The Master of Writing Lu Zhi also advised against calling Dong Zhuo, but He Jin would follow neither of them. Zheng Tai resigned his position and went away, observing to Xun You, "It is not easy to assist Lord He!"

- O Wang Kuang, Senior Clerk in He Jin's offices, and the Commandant of Cavalry Bao Xin both came from Taishan. He Jin sent them back to their home country to raise troops, and he called the Administrator of Dong commandery, Qiao Mao, to camp at Chenggao. He sent Ding

32 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that the biography of He Jin, *HHS* 69/59:2250, says that he summoned Dong Zhuo to camp at the Shanglin Park. There was a celebrated Shanglin Park 上林苑 "of the Supreme Forest" near the Former Han capital Chang'an, but Later Han also maintained a park with the same name close to Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 81-83. Sima Guang notes that the biography of Dong Zhuo in *HHS* 72/62:2322 says he was already in Hedong commandery: passage M above. Had he moved toward Chang'an, he would have been withdrawing to the west, and this was most unlikely. Sima Guang therefore follows the account in *HHS* 72/62.

It appears, however, that Sima Guang has overlooked the existence of the Shanglin Park near Luoyang, and the commentary is superfluous.

33 Aheng 阿衡 was the name or title held by Yi Yin 伊尹, chief minister at the beginning of the legendary Shang 商 dynasty: see, for example, Chavannes, *MHI*, 178, and Legge, *CC* III, 199-200 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 118).

34 From the *Dang* 蕩 Ode of *Shi jing* III.3.1.8; Legge, *CC* IV, 510 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 216):

The beacon of Yin is not far distant:-

It is in the age of the last sovereign of Xia.

According to Chinese tradition, Jie 桀, last ruler of the Xia 夏 dynasty, ruled as a tyrant, and was destroyed by Tang 湯, first king of the Shang 商 dynasty, which was later known as Yin 殷. Six centuries later, King Zhou 紂王 of Shang/Yin again ruled badly, and he was conquered by King Wu of Zhou 周武王.

So the fall of Xia was a model and a warning to Shang/Yin, and Zheng Tai is saying that the fate of Dou Wu shows He Jin what may happen to him.

Yuan, Commandant Who is Martial and Brave, to lead several thousand men to ravage Henei and burn Mengjin.³⁵ The fire could be seen from the capital. All this was done under pretext that they sought to punish the eunuchs.

P When Dong Zhuo received the summons [from He Jin] he set out at once, sending in another memorial, "The Regular Attendant Zhang Rang and his fellows have usurped favour and played for advantage. They have corrupted and disrupted all within the seas. I have heard of people fanning a fire to stop soup from boiling, but it is much better to take away the firewood."³⁶ Though it is painful to burst an abscess, it is better than a malignant tumour. [12]

1899 "In ancient times Zhao Yang raised the armed men of Jinyang to drive wicked men from the side of his lord.³⁷ As I now sound the bells and drums of punishment and march to Luoyang, I ask permission to arrest Zhang Rang and his fellows and to clear out the evil and wrong."³⁸

O HHS 69/59:2250 (8b-9a), the Biography of He Jin;
SGZ 12:384 (26b-27a) PC quoting *Wei shu* by Wang Shen.

35 The county city of Chenggao lay east of Luoyang, near the junction of the Luo with the Yellow River. The Meng Crossing of the Yellow River, north of Luoyang, gave its name to the city of Mengjin.

P HHS 72/62:2322-23 (3b-4a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

36 From a remonstrance addressed by the official Mei Sheng 枚乘 to Liu Pi 劉濞, King of Wu 吳, on the eve of the rebellion of the Seven States in 154 BC: "If you wish to cool boiling soup, and one man blows on it while a hundred others are fanning the flames, you will not succeed. It is best to take away the firewood and stop the fire:" HS 51:2360. On the rebellion, see *Cambridge China I*, 141-142 [Loewe, "Former Han Dynasty"].

37 Zhao Yang 趙鞅 was a servant of the Jin 晉 state during the Zhou period. Two wicked ministers controlled the government, but Zhao Yang seized the arsenal at Jinyang 晉陽, now Taiyuan in Shenxi, attacked the two ministers, and drove them into exile. Though his action was virtuous, it was technically regarded as rebellion, for he had no proper orders. See *Zuo zhuan*, Ding 13; Legge CC V, 784-785 (Couvreur, *Chronique*, 575-580), and the Gongyang commentary

38 Bells and drums were symbols of punishment. *Lun yu* XI.16/17; Legge, CCI, 243 (Lau, *Analects*, 108): "The Master said, "He is no disciple of mine. My little children, beat the drum and assail him." Commentary explains that this refers to the practice of beating a drum when criminals were condemned to public execution, so that the people would gather to hear of their crimes.

Bells and drums were also used to signal commands to an army: e.g. *Mengzi* IA.3.2; Legge, CC II, 130 (Lau, *Mencius*, 51).

Q The Dowager still refused her approval. He Miao spoke to He Jin and said, "When we first came from Nanyang we were all of us poor, and it was through the eunuchs of the inner palace that we came to wealth and honour. In affairs of state, how can you act so hastily? Once you have tipped out water, you cannot collect it again. Think hard about it, then make peace with the eunuchs."

R Dong Zhuo came to Mianchi,³⁹ and He Jin now became worried. He sent the Counsellor Remonstrant Chong Shao with an imperial order that he should halt. Dong Zhuo refused to accept the order and continued on into Henan [county]. Chong Shao met him there again, welcomed him courteously, rewarded his men with food and drink, then explained once more that he should withdraw his army.

Suspicious at the change of policy, Dong Zhuo sent men at arms to threaten Chong Shao. With the authority of his imperial commission, however, Chong Shao rebuked them angrily and sent them away in confusion. Then he faced Dong Zhuo and accused him directly of disloyalty. Dong Zhuo apologised, and he led his army off to Xiyang village.⁴⁰ [13]

Chong Shao was a grandson of Chong Gao.⁴¹

S Concerned that He Jin might change his mind, Yuan Shao pressed him to take action, "The battle-lines are drawn and our plans are in the open. How can you still wait and make no decision? If the affair is delayed too long, things will change and you will be a second Dou Wu." So He Jin made Yuan Shao Director of Retainers, with the Staff of Authority to decide and execute cases on his own,⁴² and he

Q *HHS* 69/59, 2250 (9a), the Biography of He Jin.

R *HHS* 56/46, 1830 (12a), the Biography of Chong Shao.

39 Mianchi was in Hongnong commandery, near present-day Mianchi. Having crossed the Yellow River south from Hedong, Dong Zhuo is moving east towards Luoyang.

40 Henan was the capital commandery, centred on Luoyang, but there was also a county of that name a few kilometres west of the capital, and this is the place referred to here. Xiyang village 夕陽亭 was a short distance west of the county city.

41 The administrator and military commander Chong Gao 种暹 had been Excellency over the Masses in the early 160s: *HHS* 56/46:1826-29; *Huan and Ling*, 58-77.

S *HHS* 69/59:2250 (9a-10b), the Biography of He Jin.

42. The Director of Retainers supervised the officials and people of the seven commanderies about the imperial capital, but for most of Later Han the position was responsible only for reporting misdeeds to the throne, and entailed no right to take direct action. The grant of a Staff of Authority meant that Yuan Shao could carry out sentence without prior approval from the court: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 50, and deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 68.

appointed his Gentleman in Attendance Wang Yun as Intendant of Henan.⁴³

Yuan Shao ordered those military officers at Luoyang who were expert in strategy to investigate the eunuchs, and he encouraged Dong Zhuo and the other commanders to send in memorials post-haste, asking permission to bring their troops forward to the Lodge of Tranquil Joy.⁴⁴

Now the Dowager was frightened. Dismissing all the Regular Attendants and the Attendants of the Yellow Gates, she ordered them to return to their homes. There remained only a few family retainers who had been sent by He Jin to guard the inner apartments.

The Regular and Yellow Gate attendants all went to He Jin and apologised, assuring him they were at his service. "The empire is in disorder," replied He Jin, "and it is all your fault. Now Dong Zhuo is coming. Why don't you go back quickly to your homelands?"

1900 Yuan Shao urged He Jin to take this opportunity to deal with them. He repeated three times, and when He Jin would not agree he sent letters to the provincial [14] and commandery governments, falsely claiming that He Jin had issued orders that they should place all the eunuchs' families under arrest.

As He Jin considered his plans for several more days, information leaked out, and the eunuchs became frightened and thought of rebellion. The wife of Zhang Rang's son was a younger sister of the Dowager.⁴⁵ Zhang Rang kowtowed before his daughter-in-law and said, "I am old and have acted wrongly. You and I, daughter-in-law, should retire together to private life. Our family, however, has received imperial favour for generations, and although I must leave

43 Two Gentlemen in Attendance were advisers on the staff of the General-in-Chief: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 124 [as Attendant Gentlemen of the Household]. Wang Yun had thus been an aide to He Jin. The Intendant of Henan was the head of the capital commandery, with extensive authority in Luoyang itself.

44 The Lodge of Tranquil Joy was in the suburbs west of Luoyang. Emperor Ling had held a grand review of troops there in the previous year, so it was evidently a suitable camping place for armies coming to the capital. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 61, and *Huan and Ling*, 402.

45 Zhang Rang had come to the court of Emperor Huan when he was young: *HHS* 78/68:2534. We may assume that his son was adopted. Eunuchs had long been permitted to adopt children, and in 135 Emperor Shun granted them permission to pass on titles and fiefs to such dependents: *HHS* 6:264. There is no evidence that Zhang Rang's ancestors had any previous connection with the court, so when he refers below to his family receiving imperial favour for generations, it is most likely that he is drawing attention to his own long service under various emperors.

the inner apartments my heart yet holds great attachment to them. I wish to return once more to the forbidden palace, to gaze from afar one last time upon the countenance of her majesty the Dowager. Then I can go back to the mud of the ditches and die without regret." His son's wife spoke to the Lady of Wuyang,⁴⁶ and she told the Dowager. So it was ordered that all the eunuchs could return to their positions.

In the eighth month on the day *wuchen* [22 Sep] He Jin went to the Palace of Prolonged Joy for an audience with the Dowager,⁴⁷ and he asked that the senior eunuchs be executed. The Regular Attendants Zhang Rang and Duan Gui said to one another, "The General-in-Chief said that he was ill. He did not attend the mourning, and he did not accompany the funeral.⁴⁸ Now he comes suddenly to the palace; what does this mean? Is the Dou Wu business coming again?" They sent someone to hide and listen, and he heard everything. Then they had several dozen of their party [15] take up weapons, go in quietly by a side entrance, and hide behind the doors of the private apartments.

When He Jin came out, they pretended to have orders from the Dowager to call him back, so he went in and waited by the doors. Then Zhang Rang and the others said to him, "The empire may have problems, but it is not our fault alone. When the late Emperor was angry with the Dowager and she was on the brink of destruction, it was we who wept and managed to save her, and each of us gave thousands and tens of thousands from our private fortunes to make the emperor contented again.⁴⁹ All we sought was the patronage of your house. Now you want to destroy us and our families, this is surely too much!"

46 The Lady of Wuyang was the mother of the Dowager: passage K and note 22 above.

47 The apartments of an empress-dowager were known as the Palace of Prolonged Joy: note 15 above. The Dowager He had her residence in the Southern Palace. The date of this incident is given by the *Annals*, *HHS* 8:358.

48 He Jin had indeed claimed to be ill at the time of Emperor Ling's burial, but that was in July, two months earlier. One might assume he would have recovered by now, and indeed it appears that he had been taking an active part in government since that time, and visiting his sister the Dowager. It is unlikely that the eunuchs needed this reason to make them suspicious.

49 This refers particularly to the time when the Lady He had killed her rival the Beauty Wang: note 2 above.

Then Qu Mu, Supervisor of the Palace Workshop,⁵⁰ drew his sword and cut off He Jin's head at the front of the Hall of Excellent Virtue.⁵¹

Zhang Rang, Duan Gui and the others now composed an edict, appointing the former Grand Commandant Fan Ling as Director of Retainers and the Minister Steward Xu Xiang as Intendant of Henan. When the Masters of Writing received the edict block they questioned it, "We ask that the General-in-Chief come and discuss this further." The eunuch leaders took He Jin's head and tossed it to them: "He Jin planned to rebel; he has been executed."⁵²

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Wu Kuang and Zhang Zhang, officers of He Jin, were outside the palace when they heard that he had come to harm. They wanted to lead their men inside, but the gates of the palace were closed. The General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger Yuan Shu joined Wu Kuang, and they attacked and chopped the gates, while the eunuchs took up weapons to defend them. About this time the sun went down, and Yuan Shu [16] set fire to the Gate Engraved in Blue of the Southern Palace to drive Zhang Rang and the others out.⁵³

50 The Palace Workshop, also rendered as the Office of the Master of Recipes, or of the Masters of Techniques, was the centre of manufacture of articles for imperial use, where artisans worked under the authority of eunuchs: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 52 and 61-62.

51 As Bielenstein observes, He Jin must have been brought by force to the Hall of Excellent Virtue from the site of his arrest near the Dowager's apartments: *Lo-yang*, 99. The Hall was presumably quite close to the apartments.

52 Both *HHS* 69/59 and *ZZTJ* here have the phrase *zhong huangmen* 中黃門 to describe what I have rendered as "the eunuch leaders." *Zhong huangmen*, however, "Palace Attendants of the Yellow Gates," however, were comparatively low-ranking eunuch officers: e.g. Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 53. I suspect that *zhong huangmen* here is an abbreviation for *zhong changshi* 中常侍 and *xiao huangmen* 小黃門, Regular Attendants and Attendants at the Yellow Gates, the two senior ranks among the imperial eunuchs.

In the next paragraph, however, we are told that *zhong huangmen* took up weapons to defend the entrance to the palace. It is unlikely that senior eunuchs would be involved in such direct combat, so we may assume that the phrase may be used as a general term for those who served within the palace and behind the yellow doors which led to the harem apartments.

53 The Gate Engraved in Blue is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 107 note 85. Though it lay within the Southern Palace, its exact position is unknown. From the context below, it may have guarded the entrance to the office of the Imperial Secretariat.

On the other hand, *HHS* 69 says it was the Gate of the Nine Dragons that was attacked at this time. Since we know that gate led to the Hall of Excellent Virtue where

Zhang Rang and his fellows went in and told the Dowager that the troops of the General-in-Chief had mutinied, and that they were burning the palace and attacking the entrance to the Imperial Secretariat. Forcing junior officers of the palace to help them, they led the Dowager, the Little Emperor and the King of Chenliu, and fled along the Covered Way to the Northern Palace.⁵⁴

Standing with a halberd below a window of the Covered Way, however, the Master of Writing Lu Zhi glared at Duan Gui and challenged him for his crimes. Duan Gui was frightened, he let go of the Dowager, and she escaped through a side-door.

Yuan Shao and his uncle Yuan Wei forged imperial orders summoning Fan Ling and Xu Xiang, and had them beheaded. Yuan Shao and He Miao then brought their troops to station by the Tower of the Vermilion Bird.⁵⁵ They caught Zhao Zhong and some others and cut off their heads.

Wu Kuang had been angry at He Miao for his failure to support He Jin [in his intention to attack the eunuchs], and he suspected him of sympathy for the eunuchs. He announced to his troops, therefore, that "The man who killed the General-in-Chief was the General of Chariots and Cavalry [He Miao]. Officers and men, will you not take revenge upon him?" All wept and said, "We would give our lives for it."⁵⁶ With Dong [17] Min, therefore, Commandant of the Imperial Equipage and younger brother of Dong Zhuo, Wu Kuang led his men against He Miao. They killed him and left his body in the park.

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- He Jin had been killed and where the eunuchs presumably had their headquarters (note 50 above), this seems quite likely. Sima Guang, however, has followed *HHJ* 25.
- 54 There were two imperial palaces at Luoyang, one in the north and one in the south of the city. They were connected by the Covered Way (復道 *fudao*), an elevated passage which led above the intervening area of the city so that the ruler and his attendants could go from one to the other without a procession through the open streets: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 22.
- 55 The Gate of the Vermilion Bird was the main entrance to the Northern Palace, set in the southern wall and giving access from the city of Luoyang, and the tower of the gate was the tallest in the capital: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 33-34.
- This area outside the Gate of the Vermilion Bird had also been the scene of military confrontation in 168, when forces loyal to the eunuchs faced those of Dou Wu based on the Capital Watch-House (都亭 *duting*): *Huan and Ling*, 196-199 with note 63. There must have been an area of open ground, suitable for deployment, in front of the gate.
- 56 *HHS* 69/59, not quoted by *ZZTJ*, observes that He Jin had treated the men well and had been very popular with them.

Yuan Shao now closed the gates of the Northern Palace and ordered his soldiers to seize and slaughter all the eunuchs, without regard for young or old. Altogether some two thousand people died, including several whole men who had no beards and were killed by mistake. Then Yuan Shao sent troops forward to clear the palace, and a number of them climbed the Principal Gate to attack the inner apartments.⁵⁷

On the day *gengwu* [24 Sep] Zhang Rang, Duan Gui and others were in difficulty and distress. Leading the Little Emperor and the King of Chenliu, with several dozen men on foot they went out the Gu Gate⁵⁸ and came by night to the Xiaoping Crossing.⁵⁹ They [left in such haste they] could not take the six seals,⁶⁰ and none of the high ministers were able to accompany them.

1902 Only the Master of Writing Lu Zhi and the Head of the Central Precinct of Henan Min Gong came by night to the Yellow River.⁶¹

57 The Principal Gate was an interior gate of the palace leading to the main audience halls: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 23.

58 The Gu Gate was the main gate of the north wall of Luoyang, so named because it crossed the Gu River which formed the moat of the city: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 13, 15-16 and 124.

59 The Xiaoping Crossing of the Yellow River lay some forty kilometres northeast of Luoyang, across the low ridge of the Beimang Hills and a short distance upstream from the Meng Crossing.

60 The six imperial seals of Han were carved from white jade and were used for various classes of documents: the enfeoffment of kings, the enfeoffment of other feudal lords, for raising troops, for writing to ministers, for writing to foreign nations, and for sealing sacred documents. See *HHS* 1A:33 TC quoting the *Du duan* of Cai Yong, also Dubs, *HFHD* I, 56 note 3.

The six seals did not include the Great Imperial Seal (*chuanguo xi* 傳國璽 "Seal Which Transmits the State"), which had been inherited from the empire of Qin and was the mark of imperial rank: passage W below.

61 *ZZTJ* commentary cites the *Hanguan yi* of Ying Shao of the second century AD, which notes that commandery-level administrations appointed Investigators (督郵 *duyou*) to supervise their subordinate counties: there were normally five such officers, controlling precincts north, south, east and west, with one in the centre. In the capital commandery of Henan, however, the officer of the central precinct was called not *duyou*, but 掾 *yuan*.

Min Gong thus held a police appointment under the Intendant of Henan, Wang Yun, and *HHS* 69/59 says it was on the orders of Wang Yun that he was sent after Lu Zhi. Another version, quoted from *Xiandi chungiu* by *HHS* 8:359 TC, says that Min Gong saw the imperial party as they fled and led horsemen in pursuit. Though the text here says that Lu Zhi and Min Gong were the only two to catch up, Min Gong surely brought a posse with him.

He faced Zhang Rang and his fellows with an angry shout, "If you do not die quickly, I shall kill you." He drew his sword and beheaded several men. [18]

T In fear and dread, Zhang Rang and the others clasped fingers, bowed twice and kowtowed towards the emperor, "Now we must die. May Your Majesty maintain yourself." They threw themselves into the river and drowned.

U Seeking to return to the palace, Min Gong helped the emperor and the King of Chenliu to go southwards on foot by night, guided only by the light of the stars. After several *li* they obtained a commoner's open cart and rode in it together as far as Luoshe.⁶²

On the day *xinwei* [25 Sep] the emperor rode by himself on one horse, the King of Chenliu and Min Gong rode together on another, and they travelled south from Luoshe until some of the excellencies and ministers came to meet them.

V As Dong Zhuo came to the Park of Illustrious Light, he saw fires rising in the distance. Realising there was a revolt, he led his troops quickly forward and reached the west of the city before dawn.⁶³ Hearing that the emperor was in the north, he went with the excellencies and ministers to receive him below the Beimang Slope.

When the emperor saw Dong Zhuo suddenly appear with armed men, he was frightened and wept.

The excellencies said to Dong Zhuo, "There is an imperial order to withdraw troops." Dong Zhuo replied, "You may be high officials, but you have failed to keep good order and the emperor himself is a refugee. What is this nonsense about withdrawing troops?"

T *HHS* 78/68:2537 (20b), the Biography of Zhang Rang in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

U *HHS* 8:358 (16b), the Annals of Emperor Ling;

SGZ 6:173 (6a-b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

62 *ZZTJ* commentary explains Luoshe 雒舍 as a place somewhere between the Xiaoping Crossing of the Yellow River, where the eunuchs had been killed, and the Beimang Slope where the imperial party met with Dong Zhuo. The site cannot be further identified.

V *HHS* 72/62:2323 (4a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo, with commentary quoting *Dian lue*;

SGZ 6:173 (6a) PC quoting [*Hou*] *Han ji* by Zhang Fan, and *Xiandi ji*.

63 The Park of Illustrious Light, west of Luoyang, had been established by Emperor Huan in 159: *HHS* 7:304; Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 81. Dong Zhuo, with his army from Bing province (passage P above), had evidently arrived there on 23 or 24 September, as the forces of Yuan Shao were burning the eunuchs out of the palaces.

Dong Zhuo spoke with the emperor, but could gain no clear account of what had happened. Then he talked to the King of [19] Chenliu and asked about the causes of the misfortune and disorder. The king described events from first to last, with nothing left out, and Dong Zhuo was very pleased. He was impressed with the king, and since he had been brought up by the Dowager Dong, and Dong Zhuo himself claimed to be of the same clan as the Dowager, he took it in mind to depose the emperor and set up the king.⁶⁴

W On this day [*xinwei*, 25 Sep] the emperor returned to the palace. There was an amnesty for the empire and the reign-title Guangxi was renamed Zhaoning.

The Great Imperial Seal had been lost but all the other seals were recovered.⁶⁵

X Ding Yuan became Bearer of the Mace.⁶⁶

The Commandant of Cavalry Bao Xin had lately returned from recruiting troops in Taishan.⁶⁷ He advised Yuan Shao that "Dong Zhuo has a strong army and will be inclined to rebellion. Unless you make plans in good time he will be sure to seize control. Since he has

64 Dong Zhuo was certainly not a close relation of the late Dowager Dong: his family came from Longxi commandery in the west, and hers from Hejian on the North China plain. Liu Xie, however, had been protected by the Lady Dong, his grandmother, and was known as Lord Dong: passage A above.

As in note 7 above, Liu Bian the Little Emperor was very likely in his middle or late teens, and there is no reason to believe he was so childish and frightened as the history indicates. It is possible that the description of his behaviour was put about at the time as a means to justify Dong Zhuo's decision to remove him from the throne.

W *HHS* 8:359 (16b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

65 This sentence appears to have been inserted by Sima Guang, compiled from sources cited in *SGZ* 46:1099 PC. The six imperial seals had been left behind when the eunuchs fled with the two imperial children (passage S above), and they were presumably now found somewhere in the palace. The Great Imperial Seal, however, insignia of the emperor, had also disappeared in the confusion,. We are told that Sun Jian found it two years later: passage D and note 17 of Chuping 2.

66 He Jin had sent Ding Yuan with an army to ravage Henei commandery as part of the program to intimidate his sister the Dowager and her eunuch associates: passage O above. Ding Yuan had sacked the city of Mengjin and presumably made his base in that area, but he now returned to the capital.

X *SGZ* 6:172-74 (6b-7a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;
SGZ 7:219 (4a-b), the Biography of Lü Bu;
HHS 72/62:2323-24 (4a-b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;
HHS 75/65:2444 (9b-10a), the Biography of Lü Bu.

67 Bao Xin had been sent to Taishan some weeks earlier: passage O above.

only just arrived, his men will be weary and exhausted. If you attack by surprise, you can take him."

Yuan Shao was afraid of Dong Zhuo and did not dare to act, so Bao Xin led his troops back to Taishan.

1903 When Dong Zhuo first came to the capital he had only three thousand foot-soldiers and horsemen, and he was concerned they might be too few to establish wide respect. Over the first few days, therefore, he had his men go out quietly each night to camp nearby, returning at dawn in [20] a great array of flags and drums to look as if more troops had come from the west. No-one at Luoyang saw through the trick, and in a very short time all the followers of He Jin and his brother He Miao had turned to Dong Zhuo. He also arranged in secret for Ding Yuan's own follower, the Major Lü Bu of Wuyuan, to kill Ding Yuan and take over his forces.⁶⁸ So his army became very much stronger.

On the grounds that it had been raining a long time, Dong Zhuo criticised the Excellency of Works Liu Hong before the court, implying that he should be dismissed. The order was duly issued, and Dong Zhuo took the vacant post.

Y Before this, Cai Yong had been banished to Shuofang, but soon afterwards there was an amnesty and he was able to return. The Administrator of Wuyuan Wang Zhi, however, a younger brother of Wang Fu, reported that Cai Yong had insulted the court, and Cai Yong fled to the Yangzi and the sea. He remained [in exile from the capital] for twelve years.⁶⁹

68 Dong Zhuo evidently saw Ding Yuan, who had troops under his own command, as a potential rival for power at Luoyang.

Ding Yuan had previously been Inspector of Bing province, which included Wuyuan commandery. He had favoured Lü Bu and taken him onto his staff. All texts in *HHS* and *SGZ* state that Ding Yuan appointed Lü Bu as his Registrar, or personal secretary; the description of Lü Bu as a Major comes from *HHJ* 25:16b.

The term "follower," here and in reference to He Jin and He Miao immediately above, renders the phrase *buqu* 部曲, an expression which during Han indicated regiments and companies in the regular army, but which now began to have implications of personal service and commitment to an individual leader. See, for example, Yang, "Evolution of Dependents," and *Cambridge China* I, 630 [Ebrey, "Economic and Social History of Later Han"].

Y *HHS* 60/50B:2002-03 and 2005 (18a-19a), the Biography of Cai Yong.

69 In 178, as a result of eunuch pressure, Cai Yong had been banished to Shuofang in the far northern, with no benefit from any amnesty. Soon afterwards, however, Wang Fu and his eunuch clique were destroyed, and friends at court persuaded Emperor Ling to

Dong Zhuo knew his reputation and summoned him, but Cai Yong pleaded sick and would not come. Dong Zhuo was angry and swore, "I can destroy a man's whole family." Cai Yong was afraid and obeyed the order. When he arrived he received provisional appointment as Libationer [in the offices of the Excellency of Works]. He was graded First Class, and in the space of three [21] days he passed through three Terraces,⁷⁰ and was then made a Palace Attendant.⁷¹ [22]

Z Dong Zhuo said to Yuan Shao, "The master of the empire should be a man of worth and wisdom: whenever I think of Emperor Ling, I become angry. Lord Dong [Liu Xie the King of Chenliu] seems possible. If I give him the throne, however, would he be any better than Lord Shi [the current emperor Liu Bian]? There are men who

allow him to return by virtue of a general amnesty in the summer of 179. *HHS* 60/50B:2003/ZZTJ 57:1847-48; *Huan and Ling*, 302-305 and 323.

70 The subsequent attack by Wang Zhi and Cai Yong's longer exile is also recorded by *HHS* 60/50B but was not mentioned by *ZZTJ* 57; it appears now for the first time. *HHS* 60/50B, and the *Hou Han ji* of Zhang Fan quoted in *SGZ* 6:180 PC, have a more detailed account of this swift succession of posts.

When Cai Yong was first summoned, he was given provisional appointment (署 *shu*) as a Libationer in the office maintained by Dong Zhuo in his capacity as Excellency of Works. Each of the Three Excellencies maintained an office (府 *fu*), headed by a Chief Clerk (長史 *zhangshi*), and staffed by some twenty or thirty Senior and Junior Clerks (掾 *yuan* and 屬 *shu*), assisted by a slightly larger number of Foreman Clerks (令史 *lingshi*) and Assistant Writers (御屬 *yushu*). One of the senior clerks in each office was designated as Libationer (祭酒 *jijiu*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 12-17 [my Senior and Junior Clerks are rendered by Bielenstein as Division Heads and Associates; my Foremen and Assistant Writers as Foreman Clerks and Attendants].

As Bielenstein observes, apart from their ceremonial and advisory functions as heads of the bureaucracy, the excellencies held general supervision of the government, so the chief function of the clerks in their offices was to receive and review reports from ministries at the capital and from the administrations of the provinces, commanderies and kingdoms.

Besides the routine of supervision, however, such clerical appointment could lead to commissioned rank in the imperial government. After some time in the office of one of the excellencies, a man could be recommended, possibly with the attribute First Class (高第 *gaodi*), and was then entitled to appointment into the regular imperial service, without need for local nomination such as Filial and Incorrupt.

71 Cai Yong was actually named Administrator of Ba commandery, a post with rank/salary of Two Thousand *shi*. He was not sent out to the province, however, but remained at court as a Palace Attendant, a supernumerary post of formal adviser to the emperor: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59-60.

can show a little wisdom in some things but great foolishness in others. How shall we judge them? Perhaps the Liu clan has exhausted its virtue."⁷²

"The house of Han has ruled the empire for over four hundred years," replied Yuan Shao. "Its grace and favour influence all the realm, and the people look up to it. Now the emperor is rich in years, and he has not yet shown the empire anything less than perfection. You wish to do away with the son of the legal wife and set the son of a concubine in his place, but I fear the people will not accept your argument."

Snatching up his sword, Dong Zhuo shouted at Yuan Shao, "You silly fool, how dare you defy me! Am I not in charge of the affairs of

First Class assessment from the office of an excellency, moreover, was often used for selection of the Imperial Clerks (侍御史 *shiyushi*), censorial officers who served as trusted agents of the emperor: see *HHS* 106/26:3600 LC note 4 quoting the *Han yi* of Cai Zhi; deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 69-74, and "Recruitment Revisited," 33-34; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 58 [rendering *shiyushi* as Attending Secretaries].

On this basis, *HHS* 60/50B and Zhang Fan's *Hou Han ji* state that Cai Yong was appointed as an Imperial Clerk, then promoted to the more senior position of Imperial Clerk Preparer of Documents (治書 *zhishu shiyushi*), responsible for supervision of legal cases dealt with by the office of the Minister of Justice: deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 71, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 58. [Bielenstein uses the variant transliteration *chishu*, on which see the commentary of the Qing scholar Qian Daxin quoted by *HHSJJ* 60/50B:19a.]

Very soon afterwards Cai Yong was transferred to the Imperial Secretariat as a Master of Writing.

There is some disagreement about the identity of the "Three Terraces" (三臺 *santai*). The Masters of Writing and the Imperial Clerks, both trusted by the throne and influential in the government, were certainly two of them, and the commentary of Hu Sanxing to this passage counts the post of Imperial Clerk in Charge of Documents as a third terrace.

Other enumerations, however, identify the third Terrace as either the office of the Internuncios (謁者 *yezhe*) who could serve as personal agents of the emperor, or the Office of Seals and Credentials (符節 *fujie*): the first is given by *HHS* 74/64A:2396 TC quoting *Jin shu*; the second by the commentary of Hu Sanxing to *ZZTJ* 60:1932, also quoting *Jin shu*. See Ch'en, "San-t'ai," the commentary of Qian Daxin to this passage in *HHSJJ* 60/50 at 19a, and deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 68 and note 65.

- Z *HHS* 74/64A:2374 (2b), the Biography of Yuan Shao,
with TC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;
SGZ 6:190 (39a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shao,
with PC quoting *Xiandi chungiu*.

- 72 With this last sentence, Dong Zhuo is exploring the possibility of taking imperial power for himself.

state? If I want it, who shall say me no? Do you doubt the temper of my sword?"

Yuan Shao flew into a rage, "Are you the only strong man in the empire?" He drew his own sword from his belt, gave a summary salute, and stormed out.

1904 Dong Zhuo had only just taken power, and he knew that Yuan Shao came from a great family, so he did not dare harm him. Yuan Shao hung his insignia of office on the Upper East Gate and escaped to Ji province.⁷³

AA In the ninth month on the day *guiyou* [27 Sep], Dong Zhuo called a great assembly of officials.⁷⁴ He raised his head and said, "The emperor is ignorant and weak. He is not capable of [23] maintaining the imperial temples nor acting as master of the empire. I intend to follow the examples of Yi Yin and Huo Guang, and set [Liu Xie] the King of Chenliu upon the imperial throne.⁷⁵ What is your opinion?" The excellencies, ministers and men of lower rank were all frightened and confused. None dared speak against him.

Dong Zhuo said again, "In former times, when Huo Guang settled policy, Tian Yannian held the sword.⁷⁶ Any person who seeks

73 The Upper East Gate was the northernmost in the eastern city wall of Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 14. Until this time, Yuan Shao had continued in the position of Director of Retainers which had been given him by He Jin.

AA HHS 72/62:2324 (4b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo; SGZ 6:174 (7b-8a) PC quoting *Xiandi ji*.

74 The date of this assembly is not given specifically by the texts, but HHS 8:359, cited in passage BB below, says that the ceremony of deposition and enthronement took place on the day *jiaxu*, and HHS 72/62:2324 says it was the day after this preliminary council: in the sexagenary cycle, *guiyou* immediately precedes *jiaxu*. HHJ 25:17b puts both meetings on the same day, but this is unlikely.

75 Yi Yin 伊尹 was chief minister to Tang 湯, founder of the Shang 商 dynasty. When Tang died, his grandson Taijia 太甲 was due to succeed him. Taijia, however, showed a lack of virtue, so Yi Yin banished him from the palace to reside near the tomb of the late king for the whole period of mourning. Taijia was reformed. See the *Taijia* Chapter of *Shu jing* IV.5A; Legge, CC III, 199-203 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 118-121).

Huo Guang 霍光, whose biography is in HS 68, was chief minister at the time of the death of Emperor Zhao of Former Han in 74 BC. Liu He 劉賀, King of Changyi 昌邑, had been designated as successor, but after a short time at the capital he was found to be unworthy. He was dismissed from the throne and replaced by the infant Liu Bingyi 劉病已, who became Emperor Xuan. See Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 66-79, and *Cambridge China* I, 182-184 [Loewe, "Former Han Dynasty"].

76 Tian Yannian 田延年, a senior minister, was the chief associate of Huo Guang when Liu He was deposed. At a critical point in the debate he drew his sword and asked

to impede the grand design will be dealt with by military law." All those present were shaken.

Only the Master of Writing Lu Zhi said, "In former times, Taijia held position but lacked understanding, and the faults of [the King of] Changyi were more than a thousand, so there were reasons for the depositions. Our present Emperor, however, is rich in years, and his actions have shown no lack of virtue. There is no parallel with the past."

Furious, Dong Zhuo left his seat and was going to kill Lu Zhi. Cai Yong, however, pleaded for him, and the Consultant Peng Bo also argued, "Master of Writing Lu is a leading scholar of the empire. People look up to him. If you harm him, the whole country will be disturbed." So Dong Zhuo stopped, and did no more than dismiss Lu Zhi from office. Lu Zhi fled to Shanggu and lived there in seclusion.

BB Dong Zhuo advised the Grand Tutor Yuan Wei of his intention to depose the emperor, and Yuan Wei gave his consent.

On the day *jiaxu* [28 Sep] Dong Zhuo summoned all the officials to another assembly in the front apartments of the [24] Hall of Exalted Virtue.⁷⁷ There he compelled the Dowager to issue an edict dismissing the Little Emperor: "In mourning, the emperor lacked the feelings of a true son, while his dignity and conduct are unworthy of a ruler. We now depose him to be King of Hongnong and we establish Liu Xie, King of Chenliu, as Emperor."

Yuan Wei then removed the emperor's seal and ribbon and presented them to the King of Chenliu, and he escorted the new king down to the body of the hall, where he faced north to acknowledge himself as subject.

The Dowager muffled her sobs and the ministers restrained their grief. None dared speak.

Dong Zhuo also announced, "The Dowager made the Lady of the Palace of Perpetual Joy [the Dowager Dong] uneasy and miserable, and even caused her to die of grief. This is contrary to the proper behaviour of a daughter-in-law to a mother." He transferred the Dowager to the Palace of Perpetual Peace.⁷⁸

permission to execute anyone who disapproved of the proposal: *HS* 68:2937-38; Dubs, *HFHD* II, 182, and Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 77.

BB *HHJ* 25:17a-b;

HHS 72/62:2324 (4b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

77 The Hall of Exalted Virtue was in the Northern Palace: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 35.

78 As in note 15 above, the apartments of the Lady Dong had been known as the Palace

- CC There was an amnesty for all the empire and the reign-title was changed from Zhaoning to Yong-Han.
- On the day *bingzi* [30 Sep] Dong Zhuo had the Dowager He killed by poison. The excellencies, ministers and lower officials did not wear linen clothes [to court], and her burial ceremony was carried out simply in white clothing.⁷⁹ [25]
- 1905 Dong Zhuo also dug up He Miao's coffin, took out the body, broke up the joints and left it on the side of a road. He killed He Miao's mother the Lady of Wuyang and threw her corpse into some brambles in a park.
- DD An edict called for the sons and younger brothers of excellencies, ministers and lower officials to be appointed as Gentlemen, replacing eunuchs in attendance at the palace.
- On the day *yiyou* [10 Oct] the Grand Commandant Liu Yu was appointed Grand Marshal and enfeoffed as Marquis of Xiangfei.⁸⁰

of Perpetual Joy: note 15 above.

As natural mother of Emperor Ling, the Lady Dong is referred to here by the courtesy designation *gu* 姑, while the expression *fu* 婦, indicating a man's wife, refers to the Lady He. By rites the wife was subordinate to her mother-in-law, so the persecution of the Lady Dong by the Lady He, as described in passage I above, was quite unfilial.

Unlike the apartments named Perpetual Joy and Prolonged Joy, the Palace of Perpetual Peace was a specific set of buildings in the Garden of Perpetual Peace, a park situated in the north-eastern corner of the walled city. The Lady He was placed there under house arrest: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 46-47.

- CC *HHS* 9:67 (1a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;
 HHS 10B:450 (10b), the Biography of the Empress He;
 HHS 72/62:2324 (4b-5a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;
 SGZ 6:175 (9b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.
- 79 For the death of an empress, the court was expected to wear plain linen instead of silk during the period of mourning, but at this time they paid no such courtesy. At the funeral itself, the attendants simply wore white; they did not put on clothes of coarse fabric, nor disarray themselves to show grief.
- DD *HHS* 9:367 (1b), the Annals of Emperor Xian;
 HHS 72/62:2325 (5a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;
 HHS 73/63:2325 (2a), the Biography of Liu Yu.
- 80 Liu Yu had been appointed Governor of You province in the previous year, and had continued in that region even after his appointment as Grand Commandant: *ZZTJ* 59, 1889 and 1893; *Huan and Ling*, 397 and 406. He had no effective position at court.

The title of Grand Marshal (大司馬 *da sima*) had been changed to Grand Commandant in 51 AD, and was not used thereafter in the regular system of Later Han: see the Treatise of Officials, *HHS* 114/24:3557, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 12 [as

Dong Zhuo made himself Grand Commandant controlling the affairs of the General of the Van. He also took the Staff and Insignia, Battle-Axe, Ceremonial Axe and Gentlemen Rapid as Tigers, and changed his fief to become Marquis of Mei.⁸¹ [26]

On the day *bingxu* [11 Oct] the Palace Counsellor Yang Biao was made Excellency of Works. On the day *jiawu* [19 Oct] the Governor of Yu province Huang Wan was made Excellency over the Masses.

At the behest of Dong Zhuo the excellencies presented memorials to justify the actions of Chen Fan, Dou Wu and the men of Faction. Their titles and ranks were restored, envoys were sent to offer mourning sacrifices to them, and their sons and grandsons were selected for office.

Commander-in-Chief]. Since Dong Zhuo named himself Grand Commandant at this time, it appears the changed appointment of Liu Yu was designed primarily to give him an honorific position, without direct responsibility in the government.

The county of Xiangfei was in Donghai commandery in Xu province, near present-day Linyi in Shandong. [For the variant pronunciation of the second character, I follow *HHS* 20/10:744 TC; *ZZTJ* commentary attributes the gloss to Ying Shao.] Liu Yu had previously been enfeoffed with the territory of Rongqiu 容丘, also in Donghai, but of only marginal county status: *Huan and Ling*, 406 note 4. The new fief was more valuable.

- 81 The Battle-Axe and Ceremonial Axe (斧鉞 *fuyue*) and the Gentlemen Rapid as Tigers (虎賁 *huben*) were two of the Nine Distinctions (九錫 *jiu xi*). *HS* 99A:4074-75, records the grant of Distinctions to Wang Mang in 5 AD, including a vermilion axe of authority (鉞 *yue*) to be held on the left and a metal battle-axe (戚 *qi*) to be held on the right, together with three hundred Gentlemen Rapid as Tigers to guard the gates of his office and residence: see Dubs, *HFHD* III, 208-211, and particularly note 23.3.

SGZ 1:39, quoted in *ZZTJ* 66:2119-20, records the edict of 213 which awarded the Nine Distinctions to Cao Cao, and the battle-axe in that text is called *fu* 斧. In the Introduction to his *White Tiger Discussions* I, 24-29 and 37-39, Tjan Tjoe Som discusses the various versions and explanations of the Nine Distinctions with reference to this edict and to the commentary by Song Zhong 宋衷 [also known as Song Zhong 忠 and Song Zhongzi 仲子] of the third century. In general terms, the Gentlemen Rapid as Tigers was a corps of the imperial guards, while the award of axes conferred the right to execute without prior reference to the throne. See also deC, *Generals of the South*, 415-417 note, discussing the Distinctions awarded to Sun Quan in 221.

In the phrase *jiechuan* 節傳, rendered here as Staff and Insignia, *jie* may refer to the Staff of Authority, on which see note 42 above. The combined term earlier referred to permits for travel (*Zhou li* 4:22a-23a; Biot I, 333-336), but it appears at this time as a general term for official insignia: *HHS* 27/17:940, 73/63:2360 and 90/80:2993. Here we may understand *jiechuan* as referring to emblems of special power, no doubt including authority of life and death, which Dong Zhuo had appropriated to himself.

The county of Mei was in Youfufeng, northeast of present-day Meixian in Shenxi.

- EE There was rain from the sixth month until this [ninth] month.⁸²
- FF In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *yisi* [29 Oct] they buried the Thoughtful Empress of Emperor Ling.⁸³ [27]
- The Bobo bandits ravaged Hedong.⁸⁴ Dong Zhuo sent his officer Niu Fu to attack them.
- GG Before this, the Southern Shanyu Yufuluo had come to power [among the Xiongnu], but the men of the state who had killed his father made rebellion and set up a Gudu Marquis of the Xubu clan as Shanyu.⁸⁵ Yufuluo came to the capital to plead his cause. Then

EE *HHS* 103/13:3270 (4a), the Treatise of the Five Powers.

82 The Treatise says that it rained for more than eighty days, and tells of similar downpours in 159, at the time of the destruction of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji by Emperor Huan, when it rained for fifty days, and in 168, when the General-in-Chief Dou Wu was destroyed by the eunuchs; at that time it rained for sixty days. These rains and floods are recorded also by the Annals at *HHS* 7:304, *HHS* 8:329 and 358.

The prognostication of the Treatise naturally connects these rains to the death of General-in-Chief He Jin and the massacre of the eunuchs. In passage X above, however, we have seen Dong Zhuo use this phenomenon as excuse to dismiss the Excellency of Works and take that place for himself.

FF *HHS* 9:368 (1b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

83 The late Empress He was awarded the posthumous title "Thoughtful" (思 *si*). It had earlier been held by the Empress Yan of Emperor An and the Empress Dou of Emperor Huan: they too survived their husbands to become regent dowagers, and in both cases their power and that of their clan was overthrown in a palace coup.

The biography of the Lady He, *HHS* 10B:450, says that she was given the honour of burial with her late husband Emperor Ling in his tomb Mound of Accomplishment: passage J and note 19 above. Within that complex, the Lady He's tumulus was called Mound of Accomplished Display (文昭陵 *Wenzhao ling*). See also note 4 to Xingping 1.

84 An isolated group of Yellow Turbans, based on the Bobo valley in Xihe, had made a rising early in the year before: *HHS* 8:355; *Huan and Ling*, 396.

GG *HHS* 89/79:2965 (19a), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

85 Qiangqu, the previous Shanyu and father of Yufuluo, had been killed in 188 by rebels who objected to his willingness to send Xiongnu troops to serve as auxiliaries to Chinese armies: *Huan and Ling*, 387-398.

The Xubu were not the royal clan of the Xiongnu, but an exogamous lineage into which the royal clan could marry. The two Gudu Marshes were the most senior ministers at the Xiongnu court, and Gudu Marquis was the highest position that could be held by a man outside the royal clan: *HHS* 89/79:2944-45, and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 177 and 347.

Kaoyi commentary notes that the Annals of *HHS* 8:356, say the Xiongnu had joined the Bobo group in the previous year. Sima Guang, however, follows the Account of the Southern Xiongnu in *HHS* 89/79:2965, which places the rebellion against Yufuluo, and his own subsequent banditry, to the period following the death of Emperor Ling.

Emperor Ling died and the empire fell into disorder. With a following of several thousand horsemen, Yufuluo joined the Bobo bandits to raid commanderies and counties. At this time, however, all the people had gathered together for protection, so there was no profit in plunder. His men were defeated and suffered casualties. They wanted to return home, but their own people refused to accept them, so they camped at Pingyang in Hedong.

1906 After only one year as Shanyu the Gudu Marquis of the Xubu clan died. As a result, the southern court had no-one in the office and an old king carried out the affairs of the state.

HH In the eleventh month Dong Zhuo was made Chancellor of State,⁸⁶ with the right to perform obeisance without calling [28] his own name, to enter court without hastening step, and to stand in the hall of audience with sword and shoes.⁸⁷

In the twelfth month on the day *wuxu* [19 Feb 190] the Excellency over the Masses Huang Wan was made Grand Commandant, the Excellency of Works Yang Biao became Excellency over the Masses and the Minister of the Household Xun Shuang became Excellency of Works.

HH *HHS* 9:367 (1b), the Annals of Emperor Xian;
HHS 72/62:2325 (5a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

86 Chancellor of State (相國 *xiangguo*) was a title which had been held by Xiao He 蕭何 under the founding Emperor Gao at the beginning of Former Han. The name of the office was later changed to Imperial Chancellor (丞相 *chengxiang*). Later Han abolished the position of Chancellor, and had the Three Excellencies as joint chiefs of the administration. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 7 and 11-12. Dong Zhuo's appointment changed the previous practice of the dynasty and proclaimed his extraordinary powers.

87 Hastening step (趨 *qu*), a sign of respect and humility, was part of the conduct of Confucius at court, described by *Lun yu* X.3-4; Legge *CC* I, 228-229 (Lau, *Analects*, 87). An official in the presence of the emperor should naturally not carry a weapon, but court etiquette also required that he should be barefoot (履 *lǚ*).

There were precedents for grants of exemption from such formal conduct. Xiao He, Chancellor of State under Emperor Gao, was excused from all except the requirement to announce himself: *SJ* 53:2016 (Watson, *RGH* I, 94) and *HS* 39:2009, and see also the biography of Wang Mang: *HS* 99A:4061; Dubs, *HFHD* III, 174-175. During Later Han the scholar Bao Xian 鮑咸, former tutor of Emperor Ming, had been excused from announcing himself and hastening his steps (*HHS* 79/69B:2570), and in 145 the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, then dominant at court, was granted similar privileges (*HHS* 34/24:1183). In 212, Cao Cao would receive the same distinction: passage A of Jian'an 17.

II Before this, the Master of Writing Zhou Bi of Wuwei and the Colonel of the City Gates Wu Qiong of Runan had suggested to Dong Zhuo that he should reform the government of Emperors Huan and Ling and appoint famous scholars to office. By this means he would gain the hearts of the people.⁸⁸

Dong Zhuo followed this advice. He commissioned Zhou Bi and Wu Qiong, with the Master of Writing Zheng Tai and the Chief Clerk He Rong,⁸⁹ to sift out dishonest and wicked men and bring forward those who had been unjustly neglected in the past. Summons were sent to Xun Shuang, Chen Ji, Han Rong and Shentu Pan, scholars of local reputation who had yet received no official rank.⁹⁰ [29]

JJ Xun Shuang was first appointed Chancellor of Pingyuan, but while he was still on his way there he was transferred to Wanling.⁹¹ He then became Minister of the Household, but after attending to the duties of that position for three days he was made Excellency of Works. Altogether it was ninety-three days from his first summons to his appointment as an excellency.

II SGZ 6:175 (10a-b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;
SGZ 6:175 (10b-11a) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;
HHJ 25:18b.

88 *Kaoyi* commentary observes that there is some confusion in the texts as to the offices that Zhou Bi and Wu Qiong held, and in the writing of Zhou Bi's personal name.

89 Chief Clerk was the title of a senior assistant to the Grand Tutor, to the excellencies, to generals, to chancellors of kingdoms and to other provincial officials in time of military concern, and to senior officers dealing with non-Chinese peoples. In this case He Rong holds appointment on the staff of Dong Zhuo as Chancellor of State.

90 He Yong, Xun Shuang and Chen Ji had all been involved in the great proscription under Emperor Ling: *HHS* 67/57:2217; *HHS* 62/52:2056 and 2067. Han Rong and Shentu Pan had been invited to office but had not accepted: *HHS* 62/52:2062 and *HHS* 53/43:1751-53. Shentu Pan had deliberately avoided appointment at the time before the proscription: *Huan and Ling*, 234.

JJ *HHS* 62/52:2056 (7a), the Biography of Xun Shuang.

91 Pingyuan was a kingdom in Qing province, near the mouth of the Yellow River, and the chief county was also named Pingyuan. Wanling was the chief county of Nanyang commandery, south of Luoyang, and a leading city of the empire. It appears that Xun Shuang's first post had been to the county of Pingyuan, which was at this time the nominal fief of a marquis, so that the magistrate held formal title as Chancellor (相 *xiang*).

- KK Chen Ji became General of the Household for All Purposes and Han Rong became Minister Herald.⁹² Chen Ji was the son of Chen Shi, Han Rong was the son of Han Shao.⁹³
- LL Xun Shuang and the others all feared Dong Zhuo's cruelty and none dared refuse. Only Shentu Pan, when he received the order of summons and was urged to go, simply laughed. In the end Dong Zhuo could not compel him. He was more than seventy, and he died of old age.
- MM Dong Zhuo also appointed the Master of Writing Han Fu as Governor of Ji province, the Palace Attendant Liu Dai as Inspector of Yen, and Kong Zhou of Chenliu as Inspector of Yu.⁹⁴ Zhang Miao of Dongping became Administrator of [30] Chenliu, and Zhang Zi of Yingchuan was Administrator of Nanyang. Dong Zhuo's personal favourites were appointed only as generals of the household or colonels. They were not given important posts.
- NN An edict abolished the three reign-titles Guangxi, Zhaoning and Yong-Han [so the year was once more identified as the sixth of Zhongping].⁹⁵

KK *HHS* 62/52:2068 (15a), the Biography of Chen Ji;

HHS 62/52:2063 (11b), the Biography of Han Rong.

92 There is confusion about the appointment to Minister Herald. *HHS* 62/52, 2068, says that Chen Ji became General of the Household, then Minister Herald, while Han Rong's biography says he was the Minister Coachman. Next year, however, Han Rong appears as Minister Herald: passage T of Chuping 1.

93 On the scholar and gentleman Chen Shi, see *Huan and Ling*, 156, 230-231 and 395. Han Shao was also a celebrated scholar. Both men came from Yingchuan and, with Xun Shu and Zhong Hao, were known as the Four Masters of that commandery: all have biographies in *HHS* 62/52.

LL *HHS* 53/43:1754 (11a), the Biography of Shentu Pan.

MM *HHS* 72/62:2326 (6a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

94 In 188 the government of Emperor Ling had restored the system of appointing Governors as heads of provincial administrations, with executive control over their subordinate commandery units. Depending upon circumstances, however, it was still possible for Inspectors to be appointed, with limited direct authority but with the right to report wrongdoing to the throne.

Kaoyi commentary notes that *Jiuzhou chunqiu* writes the personal name of Kong Zhou 孔伉 by a homonym 冑. Sima Guang follows *HHS* 72/62.

NN *HHS* 9:369 (2a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

95 On these three reign-titles, see passages E, W and CC above. They had always been exceptional, for by tradition it was expected that a new emperor would proclaim his own reign period only in the year following that in which his predecessor had died. Since Emperor Ling died at the beginning of this year, it should have continued to be known as the sixth of Zhongping.

- OO Dong Zhuo was by nature cruel and vindictive, he had come suddenly to supreme power and he controlled all the arms and treasure of the empire. His authority shook the empire [31] and his ambitions knew no limit. He said to his retainers, "It is written on my countenance that I should gain the highest honours."⁹⁶
- 1907 When the Imperial Clerk Raolong Zong went to Dong Zhuo to make a report, he failed to take off his sword. He was immediately flogged to death.

An example of this principle in action may be seen in the close succession of emperors in the years 144 to 147. Emperor Shun died in the eighth Chinese month of 144, two months after he had declared his last reign period, Jiankang 建康: *HHS* 6:274. He was immediately succeeded by his son, but the new period of Yongjia 永嘉 did not commence until the beginning of the following year: *HHS* 6:276. The infant Emperor Chong, however, died in the first days of that year, 145. His successor was brought to the throne within a few weeks, but the Yongjia reign period likewise continued until the end of the year, and the new period of Benchu 本初 did not commence until 146: *HHS* 6:276 and 280.

When the young Emperor Zhi died in 146, Emperor Huan came to the throne under the aegis of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. Once again, the first reign-period of the new emperor, Jianhe 建和, was not introduced until the following year: *HHS* 6:282, 7:287 and 289.

The same system may be observed in earlier reigns, as for example when Emperor Ming succeeded his father, the founding Emperor Guangwu in 57: *HHS* 1B:85, 2:95 and 99. In 169, however, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling, it was not relevant; Emperor Huan had died at the end of one Chinese year, and Emperor Ling was not brought to the throne until the beginning of the following year: *HHS* 7:320 and 8:328.

On this principle, the Dowager He and her brother He Jin had been wrong to proclaim the Guangxi period when they brought Liu Bian to the throne, and Dong Zhuo's two more recent changes had added to the confusion.

It is possible that this restoration of the traditional arrangement was made at the urging of the scholar Cai Yong, who had just been brought to court by Dong Zhuo: passage Y above. Cai Yong was celebrated as an expert on ritual, and his influence was demonstrated in the following year by the reform of the imperial ancestral temple: passage X of Chuping 1.

We are not told when the period Chuping, which began in the following year, was announced. It may have been at this time, or it may have been in the New Year, at the time of the amnesty in the second month: passage C of Chuping 1.

- OO *SGZ* 6:175 (9a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.
SGZ 6:175 (9a) PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen;
SGZ 6:175 (9a-b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.
- 96 The expression *xiang* 相 here refers to the telling of character and fortune by physiognomy.
- PP *HHS* 72/62:2325 (5a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

PP At this time in Luoyang the mansions of the nobility and the imperial relatives stood one beside the other, every house filled with treasure of gold and silk. Dong Zhuo let his soldiers loose to break into these buildings, to plunder the property and to force into marriage the wives and daughters of their families, regardless and unsparing of high position or connection to the throne.⁹⁷ The spirits of the people were fallen in terror and there was no security from dawn to dusk.

QQ Dong Zhuo offered rewards and tried eagerly to capture Yuan Shao. Zhou Bi and Wu Qiong argued with him, "To dismiss one emperor and set up another, these are matters of moment, quite beyond the understanding of ordinary men. Yuan Shao could not appreciate such great matters, and he only ran away because he was frightened. If you chase him too anxiously, however, the situation will certainly change. That family has been spreading favour for four generations, so they have clients and officials who have served under them throughout the empire. If Yuan Shao calls up fighting men and raises an army, then bold warriors will join him in rebellion and you will hold nothing east of the mountains.⁹⁸ It would [32] be much better to pardon him and give him appointment as administrator in some commandery. Yuan Shao will be glad to escape punishment and will certainly cause no trouble."

Dong Zhuo agreed. He immediately appointed Yuan Shao as Administrator of Bohai, with enfeoffment as Marquis of Kang District. He also appointed Yuan Shu as General of the Rear and Cao Cao as Colonel of Resolute Cavalry. Yuan Shu, however, was afraid of Dong Zhuo and fled to Nanyang.

97 This edition of *ZZTJ*, following the parallel text in *HHS* 72/62, has the characters *guiqi* 貴戚, the latter indicating imperial relatives by marriage. Other editions read *guijian* 貴賤, "rich and noble or poor and lowly."

QQ *HHS* 74/64A:2375 (2b-3a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;
HHS 75/65:2438 (6a), the Biography of Yuan Shu.

98 The mountains referred to here are the Taihang range, and the phrase *shandong* 山東 "east of the mountains" is a general term for the North China plain and the eastern part of the empire. This area is far larger than the present-day province of Shandong, which takes its name from the massif about Mount Tai, to the east of the North China plain.

The region may also be referred to as *guandong* 關東 "east of the passes:" that is, east of the passes which protected the imperial city of Luoyang.

Over the next few years, the term "east of the mountains" refers to the alliance against Dong Zhuo.

RR Cao Cao also fled east, disguised and with a false name. As he travelled through Zhongmou, however, the chief of a village became suspicious: he arrested Cao Cao and sent him to the county office.⁹⁹ They had a letter from Dong Zhuo [ordering his arrest] but only the Officer of Merit recognised him. He thought it wrong for one of the leading men in the empire to be imprisoned when the world was in such disorder, so he advised the magistrate to release him.¹⁰⁰

When Cao Cao reached Chenliu, he sold off family property to recruit five thousand soldiers.

SS At this time many of the fighting men of the empire were planning to rebel against Dong Zhuo. Yuan Shao was in Bohai, but Han Fu, Governor of Ji province, sent several Assistant Officers into the commandery to keep him under control. Yuan Shao could make no move.¹⁰¹ [33]

The Administrator of Dong commandery, Qiao Mao, forged letters as if sent by the excellencies in the capital to the provinces and commanderies. Listing the faults and crimes of Dong Zhuo, they went on to say that, "We are oppressed and can do nothing to help ourselves. We look eagerly for loyal troops to free the state from danger and harm."

1908 Han Fu received one of the letters and asked the members of his staff, "Do we support the Yuan clan or the Dong?"

RR SGZ 1:5 (16b-17b), the Biography of Cao Cao;

SGZ 1:5-6 (17b) PC quoting [*Wei-Jin*] *shiyu*.

99 In the system of Han, commandery governments appointed a chief for each village. Besides general matters of law and order, the chief was responsible for maintaining the roads and the posting system. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 104 [as Chief of a Commune].

100 In a commandery and, as here, in a county, the Officer of Merit (功曹 *gongcao*) was a senior assistant, a local man who was responsible for recruitment and recommendation for official appointment: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 100 [as officer of the Bureau of Merit], and Yen, *Regional and Local Administration* IA, 224.

Though the officer knew who Cao Cao was, he did not tell the magistrate, but advised him that they had the wrong man and he should let him go.

SS HHS 74/64A:2376 (3a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;

SGZ 1:6 (16a-b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

101 Assistant Officers (從官 *congguan*) were locally-appointed members of staff in a provincial administration; some were sent out to supervise the subordinate commanderies and kingdoms: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 92 [as Attendant Officials].

His Headquarters Officer Liu Zihui replied,¹⁰² "If you raise troops on behalf of the state, how can there be any question of Yuan and Dong?" Han Fu blushed in shame.

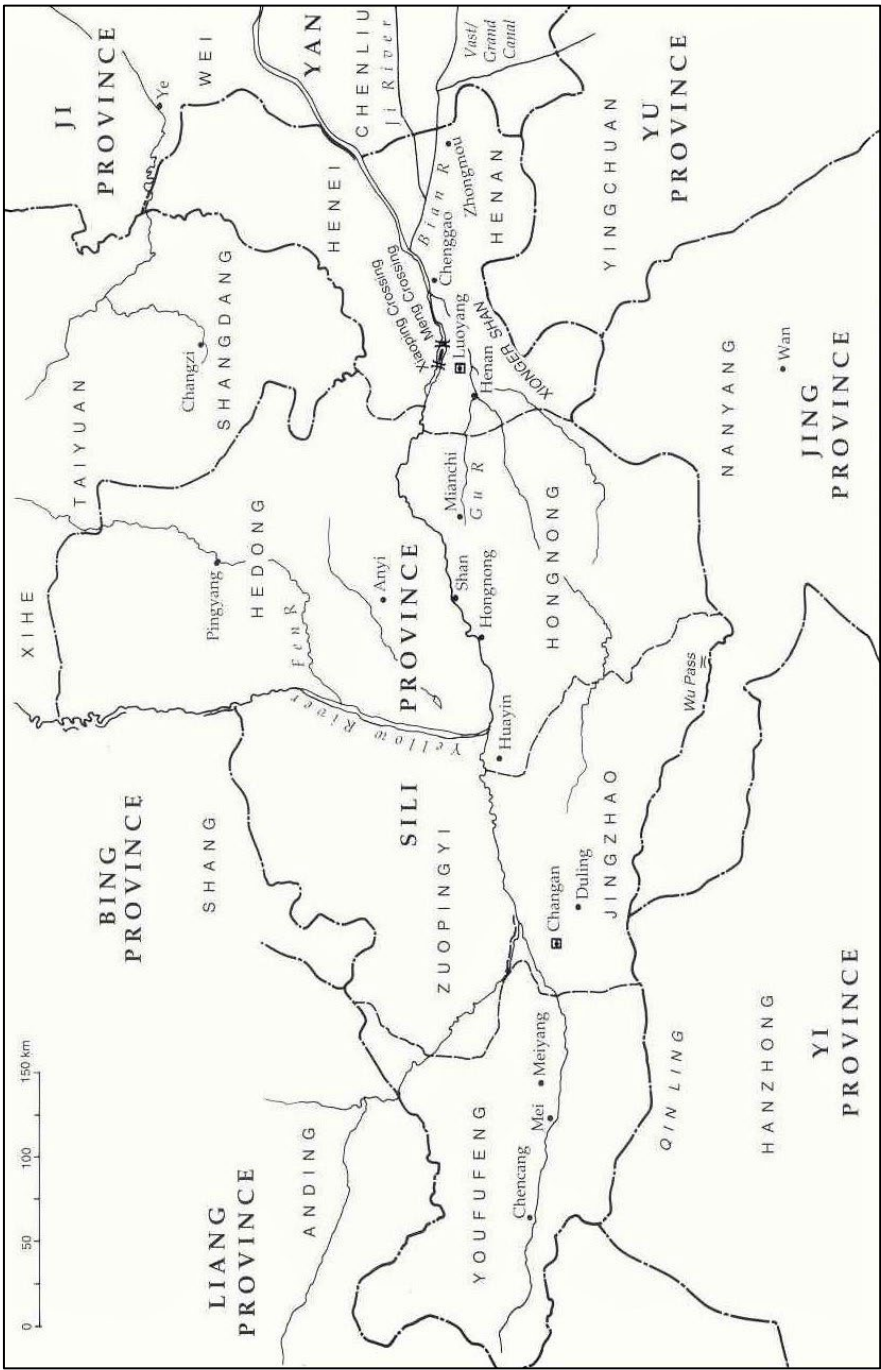
"War is bad," continued Liu Zihui, "and you should not be the first to begin it. Wait and see what other provinces do. If they take action you can join them, and since Ji province is one of the most powerful, none of the chiefs of other provinces will be able to rival you for the leading position."

Han Fu agreed. So he wrote to Yuan Shao, discussing the crimes of Dong Zhuo, and giving consent to his levy of troops.¹⁰³ [34]

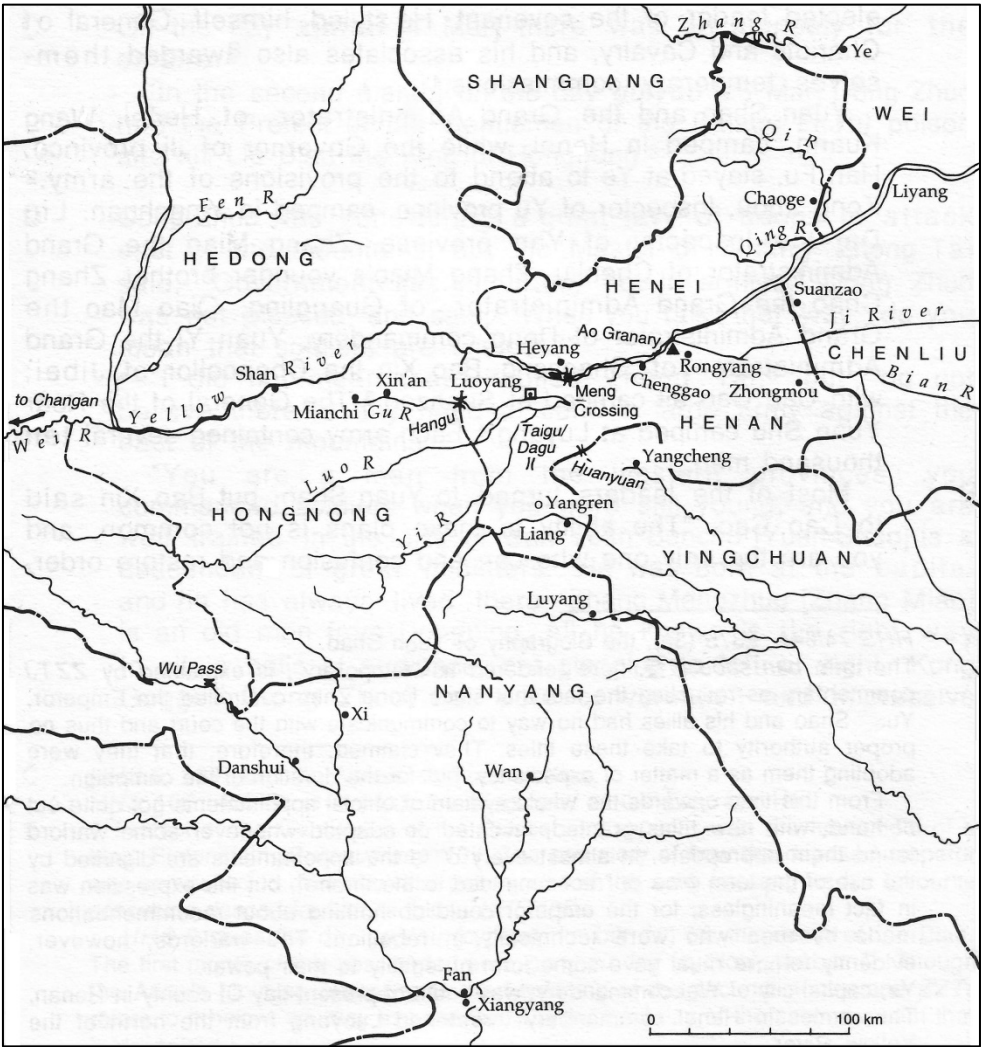
102 In a provincial government, the Headquarters Officer (治中從事 *zhizhong congshi*) was in charge of general administration, with particular responsibility for advising on men suitable for appointment or recommendation to commissioned rank: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 92 [as Attendant Official at Headquarters], and deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 56. The responsibility was similar to that of the Officer of Merit in a commandery or county (note 100 above), and the post was held by a senior and trusted officer.

103 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that *HHS* 74/64A places Han Fu's approval of Yuan Shao after the alliance against Dong Zhuo had been formed in the following year, with Yuan Shao as its leader: passage A of Chuping 1. *Hanmo yingxiong ji*, however, puts the approval before the formation of the alliance.

As Sima Guang observes, once the alliance was formed, and Yuan Shao had been named as leader of the combined army, Han Fu was in no position to influence the matter. Sima Guang therefore accepts the order of events in *Hanmo yingxiong ji*. [*Kaoyi* actually refers to the Wei section of the main text of *SGZ*, but the incident is recorded by *Hanmo yingxiong ji*, quoted in *SGZ* 1:6 PC, not in the biography of Yuan Shao at *SGZ* 6:190.]



Map 3: Sili territory in the time of Dong Zhuo 189-192



Map 4: The approaches to Luoyang 189-193

Chuping 1: 190 AD

23 February 190 – 11 February 191

A In the spring, in the first month all the provinces and commanderies east of the passes raised troops to attack Dong Zhuo. Yuan Shao, Administrator of Bohai, was elected leader of the covenant. He styled himself General of Chariots and Cavalry, and his associates likewise awarded themselves temporary commissions.¹

Yuan Shao and the Administrator of Henei, Wang Kuang, camped in Henei, while the Governor of Ji province, Han Fu, stayed at Ye to attend to supplies.² Kong Zhou, Inspector of Yu province, camped in Yingchuan. Liu Dai the Inspector of Yan province, Zhang Miao the Administrator of Chenliu, Zhang Miao's younger brother Zhang Chao the Administrator of Guangling, Qiao Mao the Administrator of Dong commandery, Yuan Yi the Administrator of Shanyang, Bao Xin the Chancellor of Jibei; with Cao Cao all camped at Suanzao.³ The General of the Rear Yuan Shu camped at Luyang.⁴ Each division contained several ten thousand men.

B Most of the leaders turned to Yuan Shao, but Bao Xin said to Cao Cao, "The ability to make plans is not common, and you are the only one who can end confusion and restore order. [37] Though our forces

A HHS 74/64A:2375 (3a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

1 The term *ban shou* 板授, here rendered as "temporary," is explained by ZZTJ commentary as reflecting the fact that since Dong Zhuo controlled the emperor, Yuan Shao and his allies had no way to communicate with the court and thus no proper authority to take these titles. They claimed, therefore, that they were adopting them as a matter of expediency, just for the duration of the campaign.

From this time onwards the whole system of official appointments got quite out of hand, with new titles granted, invented or adapted whenever some warlord found them appropriate. In almost every case the appointments are dignified by the use of the term *biao* 表 "memorialised/recommended to the throne," but the expression was meaningless, for the emperor could do nothing about recommendations made by men who were technically in rebellion. The warlords, however, evidently felt the ritual gave some form of legality to their power.

2 Ye, capital city of Wei commandery, was south of present-day Ci county in Henan. Yuan Shao and Wang Kuang, on the northern flank of the rebel force, threatened Luoyang from the north of the Yellow River.

3 Suanzao county in Chenliu was near present-day Yanjin in Henan. The site is north of the modern course of the Yellow River, but at that time it lay on the southern bank. This group of allies threatened Luoyang with a direct advance from the east.

4 Luyang county in Nanyang was near present-day Lushan in Henan. Yuan Shu's position controlled the southern and south-eastern approaches to Luoyang, through the passes of the Xiong'er Shan.

B SGZ 12:384 (27a) PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen.

may be strong we shall achieve nothing if the wrong man holds command. You, however, are like a sign from Heaven."

1909

C On the day *xinhai* [4 Mar] there was an amnesty for the empire.

[In the second month] on the day *guiyou* [26 Mar] Dong Zhuo had the Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace Li Ru poison and kill Liu Bian the King of Hongnong.⁵

D Dong Zhuo was considering a great levy of troops to attack east of the mountains, but the Master of Writing Zheng Tai said, "Government lies in virtue, not in armies." Dong Zhuo was not pleased, and said, "When you talk that way, are you saying soldiers are useless?"

"That is not what I meant," replied Zheng Tai.⁶ "I do not believe, however, that there is any need to send a large army against the east of the mountains.

"You are a man from the western provinces, you commanded soldiers when you were still young, and you are well trained in the arts of war. Yuan Benchu [Yuan Shao] is a descendant of great officials. He was born at the capital and has always lived there. Zhang Mengzhuo [Zhang Miao] is an old man from Dongping. All he knows is the proper way to sit in a hall of audience, glancing neither to the left nor to the right. Kong Gongxu [Kong Zhou] has Pure Conversation and impressive [38] talk, so eloquent he can bring

C *HHS* 9:369 (2a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;
HHS 10B:450-51 (10b-11a), the Biography of the Empress He.

5 A Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace supervised the household of a king: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 107. *HHS* 10B has the sad story of how the deposed emperor was compelled to drink the fatal potion, and of the song he sang as his favourite concubine danced for him.

HHS 9 gives the day *guiyou* (cyclical number 10) for the death of Liu Bian; but the first month of this year ended on a *gengwu* day (cyclical number 7). Though the Annals have no reference to the beginning of the second month, and *ZZTJ* refers to it below, we may assume that it is the third day of the second month that is described here. *HHS* 9 says Liu Bian was given posthumous title as Huai 懷 "Remembered" King of Hongnong. This was not an uncommon style, but cf. note 4 to Xingping 1 below.
HHS 70/60:2258-59 (1b-3a), the Biography of Zheng Tai.

D *HHS* 70/60 observes that Zheng Tai was attempting to dissuade Dong Zhuo from taking action and causing more trouble to the empire, but he became frightened when Dong Zhuo turned on him. The passage which follows summarises a long argument, with ten identified points, preserved in *HHS* 70/60, which may be regarded as a model of pacific rhetoric under pressure.

withered things to life just by breathing on them.⁷ None of them, however, are any use in dealing with military matters, and now they have taken up arms against you they are simply not in your class.

"Those fellows, moreover, hold no authority from the emperor, and their ranks are in complete disorder. Each will rely upon his own strength, and store up resources till he can assess the situation.⁸ They will never agree on plans or co-operate in attack.

"Besides this, east of the mountains there has long been peace and the people have no experience of war. West of the passes they have lately suffered the ravages of the Qiang barbarians, and even women and girls can carry a bow and fight. The men of Bing and Liang, and the non-Chinese auxiliaries, are feared throughout the empire, and they are your teeth and claws. It will be like sending tigers and rhinoceros against dogs and sheep, or calling up a violent wind to sweep away dead leaves. Who will dare oppose them?

"On the other hand, if you make an unnecessary levy of troops to frighten the empire, then you will cause all the people who are afraid of being conscripted to collect together and rebel. You would be abandoning virtue to rely upon force, and you would lose both authority and prestige." Dong Zhuo now accepted the argument.

E Because of the strength of the forces east of the mountains, Dong Zhuo planned to shift the capital away. The excellencies and senior officials did not agree, but none dared speak.

Dong Zhuo recommended that the Intendant of Henan, Zhu Jun, become Minister Coachman and act as his Assistant. A [39] messenger brought the summons to office, but Zhu Jun excused himself and would not accept. Then he said, "If the emperor moves

7 Benchu 本初 was the style of Yuan Shao, Mengzhuo 孟卓 the style of Zhang Miao, and Gongxu 公緒 that of Kong Zhou.

On Pure Conversation (清談 *qingtán*), dialectical discussion of philosophical and aesthetic theory, enlivened by wit and repartee, which became extremely popular in the third century and was developed by experts of the *Xuan xue* 玄學 "School of the Mysteries," see, for example, *Cambridge China* I, 828-32 [Demiéville, "Philosophy and Religion"], and Balazs, "Nihilistic revolt," 231-232 and 248.

Other devotees recorded at this time were Jiao He (passage Q below) and Kong Rong (passage Z of Jian'an 1). [Kong Rong, a man of Lu and direct descendant of Confucius, was not a close relation of Kong Zhou, who came from Chenliu].

8 The phrase *qizhi* 碁峙 would indicate a stock of the counters used in the game of Go (圍棋 *weiqi*), as yet uncommitted to play.

E SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1094-95 (5a) PC quoting the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao.

west, he will surely destroy the hopes of the empire, because he will be confirming the rift with the east of the mountains. I see no advantage in it."

- 1910 "You were invited to take an appointment and have turned it down," said the messenger. "Nothing was said about shifting the capital, yet you raise the matter. Why is this?"

"Assistant to the Chancellor," replied Zhu Jun, "is not a position I am competent to fill. Shifting the capital is ill-considered, and that is important. I excuse myself from what I cannot manage, and I speak of things that are important: that is the duty of a subject." So he was not made Assistant.

- F Dong Zhuo called a great assembly of the senior officials and said, "Gaozu placed the capital within the passes,⁹ and eleven generations later Guangwu set his palace at Luoyang. Now another eleven generations have passed. According to the *Shibao* prophecies we should shift the capital to Chang'an to follow the will of Heaven and Man."¹⁰ All the officials were silent.

The Excellency over the Masses Yang Biao said, "To shift the capital and to change the laws are great affairs of the empire. In ancient times Pan'geng moved to Bo and the people of Yin all resented it.¹¹ In former times, the land within the [40] passes suffered

F HHS 54/44:1786-87 (19a-b), the Biography of Yang Biao;
SGZ 6:177 (12a-13b) PC quoting the [*Hou*] *Han shu* of Hua Qiao.

9 Gaozu refers to the founding Emperor Gao 高 of Former Han: the title is a common adaptation of his posthumous dynastic title Gao and his temple name Taizu 太祖 "Grand Ancestor."

Land within the Passes (關中 *guanzhong*) describes the territory about the Former Han capital Chang'an, in present-day southern Shenxi. The terminology at this time is somewhat confused by the fact that the city of Luoyang was also defended by passes, and the phrase "west of the passes" (關西 *guanxi*) can be used to refer to the territory about both capital cities, Luoyang as well as Chang'an. Compare the complementary expression "east of the passes/mountains" discussed in note 95 to Zhongping 6, and the discussion of the Eight Passes in *Huan and Ling*, note 9 at 351-352.

10 ZZTJ commentary identifies the *Shibao chan* 石包讖 as a work of fortune-telling popular at the end of Han. Though evidently composed in the same style, it was not one of the recognised apocryphal texts (緯 *wei*) of Han New Text Confucianism, it does not appear in any of the bibliographies of the standard histories, and it is no longer extant.

11 Pan'geng 盤庚 of Shang 商/Yin 殷, whose traditional dates of reign are 1401-1373 BC, transferred the capital of the state from Geng 耿 to Bo 亳, renaming that city as Yin 殷, and he also changed the name of the state from Shang to Yin. The dynasty gained

from the ruin and destruction of Wang Mang, and so Guangwu changed the capital to the city of Luo.

"For many years the citizens have been at peace and contented here. If you now, without good reason, make plans to abandon the temples of the imperial clan and to leave the imperial tombs, then I am afraid the people will tremble in fear and there will surely be confusion like a boiling broth.¹² The *Shibao* prophecies are superstitious, apocryphal works. How can one trust them?"

Dong Zhuo said, "The land within the passes is rich and abundant, and that is why Qin was able to conquer its rival states. Moreover, timber is produced to the west of Long Mountain and there are the pottery kilns of Emperor Wu at Duling.¹³ If all combine their efforts, we can manage the work in a day. As for the people, who needs to consult them? If any prove reluctant, I shall set my soldiers onto them, and I could make them go all the way to the sea!"

"It is easy to stir up the empire," replied Yang Biao, "but very difficult to calm it down. Please think again."

"Would you obstruct the affairs of the state?" demanded Dong Zhuo, colouring.

a new lease of life (中興 *zhongxing*).

This was the fifth change of capital, and the *Pan'geng* Chapter of *Shu jing* IV.7A; Legge, *CC* III, 220-247 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 132-150), tells of the people's opposition to the move, and records Pan'geng's rebuke to them.

Yang Biao is arguing that ordinary people disapprove of such unsettling changes even when there is good reason for them. They would object still more strongly to an unnecessary move.

- 12 *HHS* commentary here cites the *Dang* 蕩 Ode of *Shi jing* III.3.1.6; Legge, *CC* IV, 506 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 214), recording the warnings of the virtuous ruler of Zhou 周, who would be posthumously titled King Wen 文王, delivered to the mistaken and decaying government of Shang/Yin:

All about you is the sound of cicadas,
or the bubbling of soup on the boil.
Affairs, great and small, approach their ruin,
yet you and your creatures continue this course.....

The analogy to the rule of Dong Zhuo is not flattering.

- 13 The county of Duling lay south of Chang'an. The text of *HHS* 54/44 says that the pottery works were by the mountains to the south, foothills of the Qinling range. Dong Zhuo is observing that timber for pillars, walls and beams can be obtained in the west, and an established source of clay for making roof-tiles was close to Chang'an in the south. So there would be no difficulty finding material for the reconstruction of the ancient capital.

The Grand Commandant Huang Wan said, "This is a question of national importance. Should you not give some attention to Lord Yang's argument?" Dong Zhuo made no reply.

The Excellency of Works Xun Shuang saw that Dong Zhuo had already made up his mind, and he was afraid he might harm [41] Yang Biao and his supporters. He therefore said in placatory fashion, "How can the Chancellor of State enjoy this situation? The soldiers east of the mountains are in rebellion. We cannot put them down immediately, so we shift the capital to deal with them properly. This is just like the time of Qin and early Han." Dong Zhuo became a little less angry.

G Huang Wan left the assembly, but he continued to argue against the proposal. In the second month, on the day *yihai* [28 Mar] Dong Zhuo memorialised that because of disasters and strange happenings, Huang Wan, Yang Biao and others should be dismissed. The Minister of the Household Zhao Qian became Grand Commandant and the Minister Coachman Wang Yun was made Excellency over the Masses.

1911 The Colonel of the City Gates Wu Qiong and the Colonel Who Controls the Army Zhou Bi strongly criticised the proposal to shift the capital. Dong Zhuo was very angry and said, "When I first came to court you two urged me to employ fine scholars. I accepted your advice and these men came to office, but now they are all taking arms against me. You have betrayed me. How can I use such untrustworthy people?"

On the day *gengchen* [2 Apr] he had Wu Qiong and Zhou Bi arrested and beheaded. Yang Biao and Huang Wan were frightened, and went to apologise to Dong Zhuo. Then Dong Zhuo was sorry he had killed the two men, and he recommended that Yang Biao and Huang Wan be restored to office as Household Counsellors.

H Dong Zhuo summoned the Intendant of Jingzhao, He Xun,¹⁴ to be a Consultant. At this time the General of the Left Huangfu Song held

G HHS 61/51:2041 (21a), the Biography of Huang Wan;
HHS 54/44:1787 (20a), the Biography of Yang Biao;
HHS 9:369 (2a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;
HHS 72/62:2327 (6b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

H HHS 58/48:1883 (13a), the Biography of He Xun;
HHS 71/61:2306 (6a), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

14 He Xun had distinguished himself in operations against the rebels of Liang province: *Huan and Ling*, 368. He had been appointed Intendant of Jingzhao, in charge of the

command of thirty thousand soldiers at camp in [You]fufeng, and He Xun had made secret plans with him to attack Dong Zhuo. Soon afterwards Dong Zhuo [42] also called Huangfu Song [to the capital] to take appointment as Colonel of the City Gates.

Liang Yan, Chief Clerk to Huangfu Song, said to him, "Dong Zhuo ravages and plunders the capital city; he has dismissed one emperor and set up another simply on his whim. Now he has sent you a summons. If things turn out badly, you will suffer danger and ill fortune, and at the very least you will surely be humiliated and miserable. Take the opportunity now, while Dong Zhuo remains at Luoyang and the Son of Heaven is coming to the west. Lead your men to receive the emperor, accept his orders to attack the rebels, call up additional troops and gather leaders. Then the Yuan will be pressing on the east as you attack from the west. That will take him!"

Huangfu Song would not accept this advice, and he obeyed the summons.¹⁵ As his own forces were too weak to act alone He Xun also went back to the capital district, and Dong Zhuo made him Colonel of Elite Cavalry.

The Intendant of Henan, Zhu Jun, spoke with Dong Zhuo on military matters, but Dong Zhuo cut him short, saying, "In a hundred battles I have gained a hundred victories. I have made my decision. Stop this nonsense or I shall dirty my sword on you."

He Xun said, "In ancient times, Wuding was a brilliant ruler, but he still sought wise rebuke.¹⁶ This is yet more true in your case you, but you want to force men into silence." Dong Zhuo apologised. [43]

commandery about the Former capital Chang'an, in 188: *Huan and Ling*, 403.

ZZTJ commentary here gives the pronunciation of this surname as Ge [古 *gu* + 盍 *he*], while the modern reading is Gai. Earlier, however, at *ZZTJ* 58:1873, the sound is given as He [reading the initial 徒 *tu* of the *fanqie* as 徙 *xi*], and this is supported by Karlgren, *GSR* 642q. I accepted it in *Huan and Ling*, and continue to do so.

15 As *ZZTJ* commentary observes, this is the second time Huangfu Song has been urged to act against Dong Zhuo: cf. passage M of *Zhongping* 6.

16 Wuding 武丁 was a king of the Shang/Yin dynasty, whose traditional dates of reign are 1324-1265 BC. The *Yueming* 說命 "The Charge to Yue" Chapter of *Shu jing* IV.8; Legge, *CC* III, 248-263 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 150-161), tells how Wuding appointed Fu Yue 傅說 as his minister and ordered that he should give advice on proper conduct. The Qing scholar Hui Dong, however, expert on *Shu jing*, who is cited in *HHSJJ* 58/48:13b, notes that the *Yueming* was probably a forgery of the fourth century AD, so it was not available to He Xun at this time. See also Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, 385 [Edward L Shaughnessy].

HHS 58/48 also mentions Wuding. *ZZTJ* commentary, however, quotes the Tang

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I Dong Zhuo sent his army against Yangcheng. The people had gathered for a ceremony at the local altar and the soldiers beheaded all the menfolk.¹⁷ They took heavy carts, loaded on the women and girls, bound the men's heads to the shafts, and returned singing and shouting to Luo[yang] with the claim that they had attacked bandits and taken a great number of prisoners. Dong Zhuo set fire to the heads and burnt them, and he gave the females to his soldiers as servants and concubines.

J On the day *dinghai* [9 Apr] the emperor moved west.¹⁸ Dong Zhuo arrested all the men of wealthy houses, put them to death for wrongdoing and confiscated their property. The dead could not be counted. The remainder of the people, several million of them, were driven away to Chang'an. Hassled forward by horsemen and foot-soldiers, they trod one another down in the turmoil. Starving and hungry they scavenged and robbed. Piled-up corpses clogged the roads.

Dong Zhuo himself remained at camp in the Jade Sceptre Park.¹⁹ He burned all the palaces and temples, government offices and private houses. Every building for two hundred *li* was destroyed, and

commentary to that passage as suggesting the text should read not Wuding, but Wugong 武公, referring to Duke Wu of Wey 衛, who reigned from 812 to 757 BC: it is said that although he was ninety-five years old and well experienced in government, he was nonetheless prepared to accept criticism: *Guo yu* 17, 11b. [I transcribe the name of the state as Wey, to distinguish it from Wei 魏, which was the name of a state during the Warring States period and again in the time of the Three Kingdoms.]

It is a little strange that a loyal Han official such as He Xun should compare the over-powerful minister Dong Zhuo to a legitimate king: curiously, the present text of *HHS* TC does not contain this item ascribed to it by Hu Sanxing; it was evidently omitted later from the transmitted text.

I *HHS* 72/62:2325 (5a-b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;
SGZ 6:174 (9b-10a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

17 Yangcheng county was in Yingchuan commandery, east of Luoyang, so this was an attack on the position of Yuan Shu.

The second month of spring was a time for sacrifice to the God of the Soil, and this was the ceremony that the soldiers interrupted. See Bodde, *Festivals*, 56, and Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 380.

J *SGZ* 6:177-78 (14a) PC quoting *Xu Han shu*;
HHS 72/62, 2327 (6b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

18 The date the court began its journey is given by the Annals at *HHS* 9:369.

19 The Jade Sceptre Park for Bird-Netting had been established by Emperor Ling in 180 outside the southern suburbs of Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 18 and 81.

not a dog or a chicken remained. He also sent Lü Bu to break open the tombs of the emperors and the burial mounds of the excellencies and other officials, high and low, and collect their treasure.

K Dong Zhuo captured some soldiers from the east of the mountains. He took lard and daubed it on a dozen rolls of [44] cloth, then bound the cloth to their bodies and set light to them, beginning at the feet and going up.

L In the third month, on the day *yisi* [27 Apr] the emperor came to Chang'an,²⁰ where he stayed in the official residence of Jingzhao commandery.²¹ Only later were the palace buildings put into sufficient repair that he could live in them. Dong Zhuo had not yet arrived, and matters of government large and small were left to Wang Yun.

Outwardly Wang Yun acted quietly and sought to smooth things over, but it was his private intention to aid the emperor. He possessed all the abilities expected of a great official and everyone, from the Son of Heaven to his courtiers, looked to him. He served Dong Zhuo while hiding his feelings, and Dong Zhuo treated him well and trusted him.

M On account of Yuan Shao, on the day *wuwu* [10 May] Dong Zhuo killed the Grand Tutor Yuan Wei, the Minister Coachman Yuan Ji, and their families from babies up, more than fifty people.

N Some time before this Wang Rui the Inspector of Jing province had accompanied Sun Jian the Administrator of Changsha in an [45]

K SGZ 6:178 (14a) PC quoting *Xiandi ji*.

L HHS 9:369 (2a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;
HHS 72/62:2327 (6b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;
HHS 66/56:2174-75 (11b), the Biography of Wang Yun.

20 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that HHS 26:3b has the day as *jisi* 己巳 (cycle number 6) rather than *yisi* 乙巳 (cycle number 42). Sima Guang, however, follows HHS 9. The day *jisi* was the last of the third month, equivalent to 21 May of the Julian calendar.

The chronology of HHS 9 indicates that the imperial cortege took eighteen days to journey from Luoyang to Chang'an. If the emperor arrived only on 21 May, he would have taken six weeks – surely too long.

21 HHS 9 indicates that the emperor took up residence at the old Weiyang 未央 Palace, in the southwest of the city, as soon he reached Chang'an. HHS 72/62, however, which is followed by *ZZTJ*, says that the buildings were in poor repair, so he had temporary lodging in the commandery residence. The *Hou Han ji* of Zhang Fan, quoted by HHS 9 TC, mentions unfortunate omens of rain, darkness and flying pheasants when the ruler did move into the palace.

attack on bandits in Lingling and Guiyang. Because Sun Jian held a military appointment, Wang Rui spoke slightly of him.²²

- 1913 When the provinces and commanderies gathered their forces to attack Dong Zhuo, Wang Rui and Sun Jian also raised troops. Wang Rui, however, had quarrelled with the Administrator of Wuling, Cao Yin, and he announced that his first priority was to kill Cao Yin. Fearing for his own safety, Cao Yin forged an order from an officer of investigation and sent it to Sun Jian. The order listed Wang Rui's crimes and faults and authorised Sun Jian to arrest him, execute him, then submit a report.²³ As soon as Sun Jian received it he led his troops against Wang Rui.²⁴

When Wang Rui heard that soldiers had come, he climbed a tower and looked out, then sent to ask, "What do you want?"

Sun Jian's advance division replied, "We have long suffered the toil of fighting and labour, and we come to ask you for supplies."

Then Wang Rui saw Sun Jian, and he was alarmed and said, "The men may want rewards, but why is Administrator Sun here?"²⁵

"I have orders to execute you," replied Sun Jian.

"What is my crime?" asked Wang Rui.

M HHS 9:370 (2a-b), the Annals of Emperor Xian, with TC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

N SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1096 (8a-9b), the Biography of Sun Jian; SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1097 (8b) PC quoting *Wu lu*.

22 This was in 187, when Sun Jian was first appointed Administrator of Changsha and sent to put down the bandits in that region: *Huan and Ling*, 394. As an administrator was not authorised to undertake operations outside the borders of the commandery, he was accompanied by the Inspector of the province. Wang Rui was evidently a man of good gentry background who was resentful of the success and honour which had been given a simple fighting man such as Sun Jian. He mistakenly expressed his opinion in public.

23 The text here has the phrase "Itinerant Commissioner of Investigation" (按行使者 *anxing shizhe*). The title reflects the system of early Han, when officers of the court were sent on tours of inspection through the provinces: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 90; deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 46-47. Similar visitations had been commissioned more recently in 142: "Inspection and Surveillance," 75.

There was precedent for such an appointment, therefore, in this time of confusion. It is doubtful, however, whether Sun Jian was seriously concerned with the realities of either the putative commissioner or the alleged letter: he now had excellent excuse to turn on his snobbish colleague, and apparent authority to act first and report later.

24 The headquarters of the Inspector of Jing province were at Hanshou in Wuling commandery, and the capital of the commandery was at Linyuan, a sort distance to the southwest. This region lay on the main route to the north.

25 *Fujun* 府君 was a term of address for the head of a commandery unit.

"A failure of understanding," replied Sun Jian. [46]

In distress and despair, Wang Rui scraped gold and drank it and died.²⁶ [47]

As Sun Jian moved forward to Nanyang his army already numbered twenty or thirty thousand men.²⁷ Zhang Zi the Administrator of Nanyang refused to grant them supplies, but Sun Jian

26 The description used for Wang Rui's procedure is 刮金飲之而死.

This style of self-immolation is by no means uncommon in Chinese history. *JS* 31:966 says that in 300 the infamous Empress Jia 賈 of Western Jin was compelled to kill herself by taking a draught of powdered gold in wine, and the custom remained until modern times:

T'ien, *Male Anxiety and Female Chastity*, refers at 58 to two cases during the Ming dynasty of women committing suicide by swallowing gold. At 96, there is a detailed account of a woman attempting suicide in 1676 by swallowing fragments of broken copper coins, and plate 5 tells how the favoured concubine of a Manchu general also sought to kill herself in 1885 by swallowing pieces of gold. She was found and saved just in time. In addition, Chapter 69 of the celebrated novel *Honglou meng* 紅樓夢 by Cao Xueqin 曹雪芹 of the late eighteenth century tells how the deceived concubine You Erjie 尤二姐 killed herself in this manner: Hawkes, *Story of the Stone*, 369-370.

The character *jin* 金, of course, can refer to metal in general, not specifically to gold. Moreover, while lumps and large slivers, rather than scrapings, of metal would damage the intestines, pure gold is not of itself dangerous (it is regularly used in dentistry). So the substance used for suicide was either an alloy of gold or some material resembling gold.

For the first alternative, *ZZTJ* commentary to this text quotes the sixth-century scholar Tao Hongjing 陶弘景, who says that some "raw gold" (生金 *shengjin*) is poisonous unless it is refined by smelting. Tao's remarks are cited again in commentary to the section on Gold in *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 8:3-4, which also quotes the eighth-century scholar Chen Cangqi 陳藏器, who tells of a poisonous raw gold found in the far south, which resembles red and black gravel. Chen ascribes the poison to the teeth or dung of poisonous snakes, or to the dung of the yuan bird: Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 162, interprets this "raw gold" as discoloured auriferous quartz; Needham, *Science and Civilisation* V.2, 62, suggests that the poisoning came either from physical irritation by quartz particles in the powder or from chemical contamination by lead ores or pyritic sulphides, probably arsenical ores. A third possibility is that "raw gold" is the telluride Calaverite [AuTe₂], which can be red and black in colour and which would break down in contact with the acids of the stomach: tellurium is a poison.

One must note, however, that although *Honglou meng* describes swallowing raw gold as an easy way to die, poisoning by arsenic is in fact remarkably painful and would not be a method of choice. It is possible Wang Rui and some others in his situation consumed "gold" as a symbol of worth and value, then received the *coup de grâce* from a "second:" a similar custom may be found in classical Rome as a general fell upon his sword, or in traditional Japan when a gentleman committed *seppuku*.

27 The capital of Nanyang commandery was at Wan city, now Nanyang in Henan.

tricked him and took off his head.²⁸ In the commandery there was fear and trembling, and he was given everything he asked for.

Sun Jian went on to Luyang to join Yuan Shu, and so Yuan Shu gained control of Nanyang. He recommended Sun Jian as Acting General Who Routs the Caitiffs and Inspector of Yu province.²⁹

- O An edict appointed Liu Biao, Adjutant of the Northern Army, as Inspector of Jing province.³⁰ There were robbers and bandits ranging in all directions and the roads were blocked. Unaccompanied by any escort, Liu Biao rode on horseback to Yicheng and invited Kuai Liang and Kuai Yue, well-known scholars of Nanyang, to make plans with him.

"South of the Yangzi," he observed, "there are numbers of clan armies. Each has its own followers, and none have any loyalty to the others. If Yuan Shu obtained their support, they could cause tremendous trouble. I want to raise an army, but I am afraid there may be too few who are willing to accept the summons. What should I do?"

"If people will not come to you," replied Kuai Liang, "it is because you have not shown sufficient humanity. If they come, but then act badly, it is because you have not shown sufficient [48] justice. You need only follow the road of humanity and justice and the people will turn to you like water hurrying downwards. Why need you worry whether soldiers may rally to you?"

28 As *Kaoyi* commentary observes, there are two stories of how Sun Jian trapped Zhang Zi. The main text of *SGZ* 46 says that he invited him to a banquet in his camp, then arrested him and had him executed. *Wu li*, quoted by PC, says that Sun Jian pretended he was ill and that he proposed to hand over his troops to Zhang Zi, but when Zhang Zi called upon him Sun Jian leapt from his bed and killed him.

29 *Kaoyi* commentary notes a variety of texts with slightly variant statements on Yuan Shu's control of Nanyang: the biographies of Yuan Shu at *HHS* 75/65:2438, and *SGZ* 6:207; the biography of Liu Biao at *HHS* 74/64B:2419; and the biography of Cao Cao at *SGZ* 1:7.

Passage A and note 4 above observe that Yuan Shu had set his headquarters at Luyang county in Nanyang at the beginning of the rebellion, but it was through the agency of Sun Jian that he established his position over the whole commandery. Sun Jian's notional recommendation and appointment as a general authorised him to command a field army; as an Inspector, he had access to the military resources of a province. He now became the commander of Yuan Shu's operations against Luoyang.

O *HHS* 74/64B:2419-20 (8a-b), the Biography of Liu Biao;
SGZ 6:211-12 (80b-82a) PC quoting *Zhan lue*.

30 This was to replace the unfortunate Wang Rui.

1914 "Yuan Shu is arrogant and has no sense of planning," added Kuai Yue. "The leaders of private armies are often greedy and cruel and their followers are in distress. If you have someone show them the advantages in doing so, the masses will surely come to you. If you punish the wicked [among the local leaders], cherish the others and give them appointments, then all the people of the province will feel contented and secure

"When they hear of your authority and your virtue, they will come with their children strapped to their backs. Soldiers will join you and the people will fight for you. In the south you can hold Jiangling, and on the north you will guard Xiangyang. You have only to give the order, and the eight commanderies of Jing province will be settled. Even if Gonglu [Yuan Shu] does come, there will be nothing he can do."³¹

"Excellent!" said Liu Biao, and he sent Kuai Yue to trick the clan leaders to come to him. Fifty-five men arrived, and they were all beheaded and their followers taken over. Then he shifted his administration to Xiangyang, kept the commanderies and counties in order and looked after them, and all the lands south of the Yangzi were settled.

P Dong Zhuo was at Luoyang. Yuan Shao and the other armies were all afraid of his strength and none dared go forward. [49] Cao Cao

31 Xiangyang was on the southern bank of the Han River by present-day Xiangfan in Hubei. Yicheng, where this council was held, was some distance to the south. Jiangling, the capital of Nan commandery, was a port and crossing place on the Yangzi by the present-day city of that name in Hubei.

This initial strategy, therefore, was to hold the basin of the Han River north of the Yangzi and south of Xiangyang, with only a general influence over the valley of the Xiang River to the south.

The Kuai brothers refer to eight commanderies. According to the Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 112/22:3476-85, which surveys the situation about 140, Jing province had only seven commanderies: Nanyang, Nan, Jiangxia, Wuling, Changsha, Lingling and Guiyang. At the end of the Treatise, however, the commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 118/28:3618 quotes *Xiandi qijuzhu*, which gives a list of the provinces formally rearranged by Cao Cao in 213 (passage A of Jian'an 18 below), and it is indicated there that Jing province had the additional commandery of Zhangling 章陵. The Treatise lists a county named Zhangling under Nanyang commandery; it was near present-day Zaoyang in Hubei. It is probable that the new commandery of that name, based upon that county, controlled the region south and east from Wan and Xiangyang: this was territory over which Yuan Shu had not gained full control, and Liu Biao could contest it with him.

P SGZ 1:7-8 (21b-24a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

said, "You have raised loyal troops to destroy cruelty and disorder, and a great army is already gathered. Why do you hesitate?"

"At the beginning, if Dong Zhuo had relied on the imperial house, held the old capital [Luoyang] and turned east to take the offensive against the rest of the empire, then even though he was acting as a criminal it would have made things difficult. But now he is burning palaces and houses, and he has kidnapped the Son of Heaven and sent him away. All within the seas is in disorder and no-one knows where to turn. This is the time he is condemned by Heaven. One battle and the empire is settled."

So he led his soldiers west, intending to occupy Chenggao, and Zhang Miao sent his officer Wei Zi with a detachment of troops to follow him. Advancing to the Bian River at Rongyang, they met and fought there with Dong Zhuo's officer Xu Rong of Xuantu.³² Cao Cao's men were defeated.

Cao Cao himself was hit by a stray arrow, and his horse was wounded under him. His younger cousin Cao Hong gave his horse to Cao Cao, but Cao Cao would not accept. "The empire can do without me," said Cao Hong, "but it cannot do without you." Then he followed Cao Cao on foot and they withdrew by night.

Xu Rong observed that though Cao Cao had few soldiers under his command, they had maintained the fight all day. He considered an attack on Suanzao would be difficult, and he too drew back.

Cao Cao returned to Suanzao. The allied armies, hundreds of thousands of men, laid out wine every day and held feasts, but they had no plans for attack. Cao Cao reproached them. Then he prepared a strategy and said, "Here is what I propose. Let the Administrator of Bohai [Yuan Shao] take the Henei army forward to the Meng Crossing, while the commanders at Suanzao blockade Chenggao, occupy the Ao [50] Granary and close Huanyuan and Taigu, so that all the passes are held."³³

32 Chenggao county was near present-day Sishui in Henan province, northeast of Luoyang by the junction of the Luo with the Yellow River. Cao Cao was advancing due west from Suanzao, the rebels' main base on the south of the Yellow River.

The Bian River was part of the Hong Gou, the "Vast" or "Grand" canal system bringing supplies to the capital from the south and east of the empire: *e.g.* Needham, *Science and Civilisation* IV.3, 270, deC, *Generals of the South*, 57-58. Rongyang, north of the present-day city of that name and some twenty-five kilometres from Chenggao, was an important staging post on the route to Luoyang.

33 The passes about Luoyang had been fortified a few years earlier at the time of the

1915 "Then General Yuan [Shu] can lead the armies from Nanyang through Dan[shui], Xi and into the Wu Pass to threaten the Three Adjuncts.³⁴

"In each case, we prepare strong-points, and position ourselves behind high walls and deep trenches. We avoid actual fighting, but make it appear that we are on the move, and it will appear to all the world that we are righteous men destroying rebels. Then things will settle themselves.³⁵

"Our men have come to join us because our cause is just, but if we hesitate and delay we shall disappoint the hopes of the empire, and I would be ashamed for you."

Zhang Miao and the others would not accept his plans, so Cao Cao went with the major Xiahou Dun of Pei state and others to Yang province, where he made a levy of troops.³⁶ He [51] gathered about a thousand men, and brought them to camp in Henei [with Yuan Shao].³⁷

Yellow Turbans rebellion: note 9 above and *Huan and Ling*, note 9 at 351-352. The Ao Granary, just south of the Yellow River in Rongyang county of Henan commandery about present-day Sishui in Henan, had been established under the Qin dynasty and was a way-station and depot for tax grain brought to the capital from the east: see the *Treatise of Administrative Geography*, *HHS* 109/19:3389 and 3392 note 24. With that purpose, it was also a fortified and defensive position.

34 The Three Adjuncts (三輔 *sanfu*) were the commanderies about Chang'an: Jingzhao, Youfufeng and Zuopingyi in the capital province Sili. Danshui and Xi were counties in the northwest of Nanyang commandery, near the border with Sili. The Dan River is a tributary of the Han, and the Wu Pass lay upstream of Danshui, on the main route from Nanyang to Chang'an. Rather than attacking Luoyang from the south, Cao Cao is proposing that Yuan Shu should threaten Dong Zhuo's position at Chang'an from the southeast.

35 Cao Cao's plan is to maintain pressure on Dong Zhuo without committing the allied armies to a major assault. Deprived of the initiative, Dong Zhuo's government will become over-strained, lose credit and collapse.

Cao Cao has already attempted a direct attack through Chenggao, and had been thoroughly defeated by Xu Rong. He has evidently learnt from experience, and demonstrates a fertile strategic imagination.

36 Cao Cao's father Cao Song was an adoptive son of the eunuch Cao Teng, and it is believed that the Cao were related to the Xiahou family of Qiao county in Pei, which was in Yang province of Later Han. See *SGZ* 1:2 PC note 3 quoting the *Cao Man zhuan* by an anonymous propagandist of the Three Kingdoms state of Wu, discussed further by deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 20-25.

SGZ 1:8 and PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen note that Cao Cao had difficulty with the troops that he raised at this time, and at one point he had to fight his way out of a mutiny.

37 Cao Cao is thus abandoning his association with the group of commanders at Suanzao,

Soon after this, the armies at Suanzao ran out of food and the allied forces dispersed. Liu Dai was on bad terms with Qiao Mao, so he killed him and named Wang Gong as Administrator of Dong commandery.

- Q The Inspector of Qing province, Jiao He, had also raised troops to attack Dong Zhuo. He made every effort to join the other leaders in the march to the west, but he had prepared no defences for his own people, and even as his soldiers crossed the Yellow River the Yellow Turbans were already within his borders.³⁸

Up to this time Qing province had been prosperous, and well protected by armed men. Whenever Jiao He caught sight of the rebels, however, he would always retreat, and he had never tried the winds and dust of campaigning or the clash of banners and drums in battle. He liked divination, and he believed in ghosts and spirits. When you visit a man like that you find Pure Conversation to reach the clouds, but when you look at his administration you find rewards and punishments confused, the province bleak and desolate, and everywhere a wasteland.³⁹

Soon afterwards Jiao He took ill and died. Yuan Shao sent Zang Hong of Guangling to govern Qing province and maintain order. [52]

- R In the summer, in the fourth month Liu Yu, Governor of You province, was named Grand Tutor. The roads were blocked, however, and the letter of authority never reached him.⁴⁰

and goes north of the Yellow River to join Yuan Shao.

- Q SGZ 7:232 (13a-b) PC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*;

HHS 58/48:1885 (15a), the Biography of Zang Hong.

- 38 The Yellow Turbans led by Zhang Jue had rebelled and been destroyed in 184: e.g. *Huan and Ling*, 348-365. In several regions of the empire, however, there were still troops which paid allegiance to the religious ideal and constituted a considerable bandit force.

It appears that Jiao He removed troops from his northern border territory, where they had been facing such a group of Yellow Turbans in the east of Ji province, present-day northern Shandong and eastern Hebei. As his army moved southwest the Yellow River to join the allies at Suanzao, these enemies moved along the coast into Qing province. From the context below, it appears that Jiao He was obliged to abandon his plan to join the campaign against Dong Zhuo and instead return to defend his base territory – with little success.

- 39 The disapproving comment at this point from the *Jiuzhou chunqiu* of Sima Biao, writing at the end of the third century, appears also in *HHJ* 26:4b, the fourth-century work of Yuan Hong. On Pure Conversation see note 7 above.

- R HHS 73/63:2354 (2a), the Biography of Liu Yu.

In the past, You province had to deal with the territory outside the frontiers. The cost was enormous: every year more than two hundred million cash was taken from the taxation income of Qing and Ji provinces to supply [the expenses of You province]. Now, however, all communications were cut off and grain transport could not get through.⁴¹

Liu Yu wore old clothes and rope sandals, ate only the simplest meals, and held it essential to maintain a lenient administration. He encouraged the farming of mulberries, he opened a prosperous trade at a market with the barbarians of Shanggu, and brought in the surplus salt and iron from Yuyang.⁴² The people enjoyed the harvest, a *shi*

40 Liu Yu had been Governor of You province since 188, and while there he had also held title as Grand Commandant and then as Grand Marshal: passage DD of Zhong-ping 6. It is unlikely that he was expected to return to Chang'an, but his acceptance of the formal position of Grand Tutor would confirm his association with the court and weaken the rebel cause in the east.

The Grand Tutor was the most honoured official of the empire. The appointment was made only at the beginning of a reign, and the post was not supposed to be filled after the death of the initial incumbent: see the Treatise of Officials, *HHS* 114/24:3556-57; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 5-7, and note 10 to Zhongping 6.

At this time, Yuan Wei had been Grand Tutor not only to Emperor Xian, but also to his elder brother the deposed and now deceased "Little" Emperor Liu Bian. Having killed Yuan Wei, Dong Zhuo sought political advantage in replacing him.

41 You province extended along the north of the empire from present-day Shanxi to Manchuria, and was responsible for defence against the Wuhuan, Xianbi, Xiongnu and other non-Chinese peoples of the northeast. To assist in this, the territory received support from the two provinces which lay to the south. The subsidy appears to have been levied since the early years of Later Han, and at one stage took the form of tribute to the Xianbi: see *HHS* 90/80:2986, and the discussion in deC, *Northern Frontier*, 292, 525 note 17 and 550-551 note 91. (There is some disagreement as to whether the contributing provinces were Qing and Ji, as here, or Qing and Xu. The latter pair, which extended along the coastline from Shandong to the Yangzi estuary, are often associated in the texts, as immediately below, but it would have been more logical for the charge to have been levied against Qing and Ji.)

Though the text says the transport routes were blocked, it is more probable that Yuan Shao and his colleagues were simply not sending the subsidy, but expropriating the supplies for their own purposes in the civil war.

42 Ning county in Shanggu commandery, by present-day Zhangjiakou in Hebei, was an official market for trade with the non-Chinese Wuhuan and Xianbi people throughout the Later Han period: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 384. Liu Yu maintained and encouraged the exchange.

During the Han period, Yuyang county in Yuyang commandery, by present-day Miyun in Hebei, was a recognised source of iron, while Quanzhou, about present-day Tianjin on the shore of the Gulf of Zhili, produced salt: the Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 113/23:3528 notes that the county of Quanzhou produced iron, but

[53] of grain was thirty cash,⁴³ and more than a million gentry and commoners of Qing and Xu provinces fled the troubles and came to Liu Yu. He took them in and cared for them with sympathy, settled them and set them in a livelihood. All the refugees forgot that they were exiles.

1916

S In the fifth month the Excellency of Works Xun Shuang died. In the sixth month on the day *xinchou* [21 Aug] the Household Counsellor Chong Fu became Excellency of Works. Chong Fu was the father of Chong Shao.⁴⁴

T Dong Zhuo sent the Minister Herald Han Rong, the Minister Steward Yin Xiu, the Bearer of the Mace Humu Ban, the Court Architect Wu Xiu and the Colonel of Elite Cavalry Wang Gui to negotiate with Yuan Shao and his allies and make peace with the east of the mountains.

Humu Ban, Wu Xiu and Wang Gui came to Henei. Yuan Shao sent Wang Kuang to kill them all. Yuan Shu also killed Yin Xiu. Only Han Rong was spared, because he was known for his virtue.⁴⁵ [54]

the text should be amended in light of the Treatise of Geography of *Han shu*, *HS* 28B:1624, which makes it clear that the iron ascribed to Quanzhou by *HHS* 113/23 has been miswritten for salt; Quanzhou was close to the sea, well situated for salt but badly placed for iron.

43 A *shi* 石 (or 斛 *hu*) measure of the Han period was approximately twenty litres.

S *HHS* 9:370 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

44 The biographies of Chong Fu and Chong Shao are in *HHS* 56/46. Chong Fu's father, Chong Gao, had formerly been Excellency over the Masses, and Chong Shao had distinguished himself for his opposition to Dong Zhuo in the previous year: passage R of Zhongping 6.

On the position of Household Counsellor, senior adviser at court, see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 25 and 29-30 [as Imperial Household Grandee].

T *HHS* 74/64A:2376 (3a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;

HHS 9:370 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

45 Wang Kuang was Yuan Shao's front-line general.

Humu Ban had been one of the Eight Treasurers (廚 *chu*) admired by students and the Proscribed Faction (黨錮 *danggu*) in the time of Emperor Huan: *Huan and Ling*, 221. The *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, cited by *HHS* 74/64A TC, says he was a brother-in-law of Wang Kuang, and quotes a letter he is said to have written to him at this time. *Kaoyi* commentary, however, notes anachronism in the document and doubts its authenticity.

Han Rong was a distinguished scholar of Yingchuan, called to court by Dong Zhuo when he first seized power: passages II and KK of Zhongping 6. Yin Xiu was a man from Nanyang (his and Wu Xiu's personal names also appear as Xun 循).

- U Dong Zhuo destroyed the Wushu currency and minted smaller coins.⁴⁶ He melted down the statues of Luoyang and Chang'an, such as the Bronze Men, the Zhongju, the Feilian and the Bronze Horses, to cast the new money.⁴⁷ So the currency was [55] devalued and

The unfortunate embassy is also described in *SGZ* 6:192, which places it, however, before the killing of Yuan Wei and the other members of the Yuan family. Passage M above follows the dating of *HHS* 9, which is circumstantially more convincing. On the other hand, since the murders obviously rendered impossible any agreement of Dong Zhuo with Yuan Shao, one wonders why Dong Zhuo made the attempt at an embassy; and it is possible the two atrocities took place in reverse order – so the slaughter of the Yuan group at the capital was carried out in reprisal for the brutal treatment of the would-be peacemakers.

Opinion on this question depends on judgment of Dong Zhuo's insensitivity and Yuan Shao's natural violence, but the massacre of these messengers, men of quality and reputation, demonstrated a complete breakdown of courtesy, respect and morale among the gentry of the empire.

- U *HHS* 72/62:2325 (5b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

- 46 The parallel text in the Treatise of Economics of *Jin shu*, *JS* 26:794, is translated by Yang, "Economic History," 157.

The *shu* 銖 weight of Han times was approximately one third of a gram. The Wushu 五銖 coinage, about 3.25 grams, was introduced in 119 BC and had been maintained as the basic currency ever since. Despite great problems at the end of Han and during the centuries that followed, the Wushu remained the staple until the beginning of Tang. See *Cambridge China* I, 587-589 [Nishijima, "Economic and Social History of Former Han"], where it is pointed out that the Wushu currency was notable for the fact that the face value matched the actual weight. Dong Zhuo's new coins, however, had no defined edge and no statement of their value: *JS* 26, 794; Yang, "Economic History," 157.

- 47 The Bronze Men 銅人 of Chang'an dated from the time of the First Emperor of Qin, who had them cast in 221, immediately after his full conquest of China and his proclamation as emperor. *SC* 6:239 says that he collected all the metal which had been used for weapons by the rival states, and melted it down to make bells, twelve great statues, and other ornaments: Chavannes, *MH* II, 134-135 (Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 137).

HHS 72/62:2326 and TC quoting *Sanfu jiushi* 三輔舊事 by Yuan Jiao 袁郊 of Tang say that the inspiration for the statues came from the appearance of giants at Lintao in the west of the empire. *HHS* observes further that Dong Zhuo was a man from Lintao, so the fortunes of the empire had come full circle.

HHS 72/62 TC quotes from a *Yinyi* 音義 commentary to *Han shu* which describes the Zhongju 鐘虞 as a mystical creature with the head of a deer and the body of a dragon. Karlgren, *GSR* 78e, explains the character 虞 as meaning a bell-frame, while the *Shuowen* dictionary, quoted by TC, explains that stands for bells 鐘 and drums were decorated with the image of this animal, a symbol of ferocity. According to the *Guanzhong ji* 關中記 by Pan Yue 潘岳 of the Jin dynasty, quoted by the modern scholar Hui Dong in *HHSJJ*, four statues of the Zhongju were set up in the Temple of the Eminent Founder, Emperor Gao of Former Han.

The Feilian 飛廉 "Flying Purity" creature was the Wind God described in the *Li*

goods became dear: the price of a single *shi* of grain rose to several ten thousand cash.⁴⁸

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V In the winter, Sun Jian and his officers were holding a drinking party east of Luyang city when twenty or thirty thousand of Dong Zhuo's horsemen and foot-soldiers appeared without warning. Sun Jian, however, continued to pass the wine around and talked and laughed. He gave orders for his men to form up in their divisions, but that they should make no hasty move.

As more enemy horsemen gradually came up, Sun Jian calmly left his seat and led his men back into the city. Then he explained, "The reason I did not get up straight away was that I was afraid the soldiers would rush and trample one another, and you would not be able to get in."

When Dong Zhuo's soldiers observed such discipline, they turned back without venturing an attack.

W Wang Kuang was camped at Heyang Crossing. Dong Zhuo made a surprise attack and completely defeated him.⁴⁹

sao 離騷 poem of the *Chu ci* 楚辭 anthology; Hawkes, *Songs of the South*, 28 note 9. He is said to have had the body of a deer, a bird's head with stag horns, the tail of a snake, and the spotted coat of a leopard. An image cast at Chang'an was set up by Emperor Wu at the Feilian Lodge in 109 BC: *HS* 6:193; Dubs, *HFHD* II, 90. It was brought to Luoyang by Emperor Ming in 62 AD, and placed by the Lodge of Tranquil Joy, constructed for the purpose outside the Upper West Gate; Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 61. On the Lodge of Tranquil Joy see also note 44 to Zhongping 6.

A Bronze Horse of ideal proportions had also been cast in the time of Emperor Wu, and it too was brought to Luoyang and placed at the Lodge of Tranquil Joy by Emperor Ming: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 61. Earlier in Later Han, moreover, when the general Ma Yuan defeated the rebellion of the Trung sisters in present-day Vietnam, he melted down the captured drums of his enemies and had the metal cast into a similar statue, which was set up by the Hall of All-Embracing Virtue in the Southern Palace: *HHS* 24/14:840 and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 25-26.

48 Compare the price of thirty cash, ascribed to You province under the rule of Liu Yu: passage R above.

V *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1):1096 (9b-10a), the Biography of Sun Jian.

W *HHS* 72/62:2328 (7a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

49 Heyang county was in Henei, north of Luoyang across the Yellow River. *ZZTJ* commentary identifies Heyang Crossing with the Meng Crossing.

HHS 72/62 gives further detail of the attack. It took the form of a holding movement across the river, combined with a strike from the rear by troops which had used the Xiaoping Crossing further upstream. The operation was devastating, and almost all Wang Kuang's force was destroyed.

- X The General of the Gentlemen of the Household on the Left Cai Yong recommended that, "All the emperors since Xiao-[56]He who possess the temple-name 'Exemplar' should have them removed, to show proper respect for the original tradition." This was done.⁵⁰ [56>58]

X *HHS* 9:370 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Huan;
HHS 99/9:3197 (7a), the Treatise on Sacrifices.

- 50 In the system of Han, all rulers except the two founders had the courtesy prefix Xiao 孝 "Filial" incorporated in their dynastic title. Emperor He had died in 106.

The tradition (典 *dian*) for the worship of ancestors, referred to here by Cai Yong, is expounded by Maspéro, *China in Antiquity*, 109-110. The complex arrangements for Later Han are described in the second part of the Treatise on Sacrifices, *HHS* 99/9, discussed by Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 105-108, who deals particularly at 107 with the significance of this reform of Cai Yong.

In the classical system, an ancestral temple should contain only a limited number of wooden spirit tablets. After a certain point, as each new one was added by a death, an earlier one should be removed to a side-chamber where it received less frequent ceremony. Some ancestors, distinguished by a "temple name" (廟號 *miao hao*) including the honorific term "Founder" (祖 *zu*) or "Exemplar" (宗 *zong*), had their tablets maintained in the temple and never removed, but the ancestral temple of the Son of Heaven should contain no more than seven tablets.

The Later Han dynasty, however, did not follow this pattern. First, because of his claim to succession from Former Han, and for propaganda purposes in the civil war, Emperor Guangwu established a shrine to his imperial ancestors, called the Temple of the Eminent Founder (高廟 *Gao miao*) at Luoyang in 26 AD. It contained the tablets of Emperor Gao, together with those of Wen, Wu, and Xuan, maintained as Exemplars, and also that of Emperor Yuan, who was of the same generation as Guangwu's father, and was thus regarded as his predecessor in the imperial lineage: Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 169-170 and 233 note 50.

Later, after considerable debate at court, it was determined that the later rulers of Former Han should be worshipped at the original Temple of the Eminent Founder, which was maintained at Chang'an, while sacrifices to the immediate, non-imperial ancestors of Guangwu would be held at their tombs by local officials: *HHS* 99/9, 3193-94; Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 167-169.

Guangwu had probably intended that his own tablet should be maintained in the Temple of the Eminent Founder at Luoyang, but after his death his son Emperor Ming established the Temple of the Epochal Founder (世祖廟 *Shizu miao*), also known simply as the Temple of Guangwu, in his honour, and the two shrines were maintained side by side at the capital: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 54-56.

- When Emperor Ming died in 75, he was given the temple name of Illustrious Exemplar (顯宗 *Xianzong*) and his tablet was placed in a side-chamber of the Temple of the Epochal Founder: *HHS* 2:95. Thereafter, for the remainder of the dynasty, each emperor who lived to manhood was awarded an exemplary title and his tablet was maintained in the temple:
- Emperor Zhang was granted the designation Respectful Exemplar (肅宗 *Suzong*): *HHS* 3:129;

-
- Emperor He was the Solemn Exemplar (穆宗 *Muzong*): *HHS* 4:196;
 - Emperor An was the Respected Exemplar (恭宗 *Gongzong*): *HHS* 5:242;
 - Emperor Shun was the Revered Exemplar (敬宗 *Jingzong*): *HHS* 6:275;
 - Emperor Huan was the Majestic Exemplar (威宗 *Weizong*): *HHS* 7:328.

As a result of this policy, in the latter part of the second century the dynasty had three imperial ancestral temples: the original Temple of the Eminent Founder at Chang'an; the Temple of the Eminent Founder established by Guangwu at Luoyang; and the Temple of the Epochal Founder, also at Luoyang. Moreover, while the Temple of the Eminent Founder at Luoyang commemorated only five imperial ancestors, by the time of Emperor Ling the Temple of the Epochal Founder contained "permanent" spirit tablets for the full canonical count of seven.

Apart from anything else, as Mansvelt Beck observes at 106, the burden of sacrifices was becoming onerous: at the very least, during the reign of Emperor Ling there were eighteen sacrifices of a sheep, an ox and a pig to be offered four times a year to five Former Han rulers, to seven Later Han emperors, and at six tomb mounds. There had been some reform and reduction in the requirements, but on the other hand, when Emperor An died and there was debate whether he deserved the honour, it was argued that dynastic tradition now required that no ruler should be "deposed" (毀 *hui*), and he was duly given status as an exemplar: *HHS* 99/9:3197.

The first real sign of hesitation about this continually expanding system appeared when Emperor Ling died and was not immediately granted exemplary status. The situation, however, was dramatically changed by Dong Zhuo's shift of the capital, which was accompanied by the burning of the ancestral temples (passage J above), and then by the intervention of Cai Yong.

Cai Yong had long been a scholar of ritual, who had compiled his own Treatise on Sacrifices, and he was concerned that the ever-growing and cumbersome tradition of Later Han disobeyed the proper system: see *HHS* 99/9:3200 LC, which quotes Cai Yong's introduction to his work; Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 105. He wished, therefore, to reduce the number of Founders and Exemplars for the whole dynasty to the canonical number of seven, and combine their worship into one ancestral temple. He also proposed to eliminate the regular sacrifices at the tombs, and he presented a new system of posthumous titles for six empresses.

To clear out the unified ancestral temple, Emperors Xuan and Yuan had to be reduced in rank: this was not too difficult, for Yuan in particular had never been granted exemplary status. The major reform proposed by Cai Yong, however, and accepted by Dong Zhuo, was that the temple-name, and the permanent position it entailed, should be taken from Emperors He, An, Shun and Huan. On the same principle, Emperor Ling would be awarded no such posthumous status, and his tablet would be maintained in the main hall of the temple only until the death of his successor.

In justification for the demotion, Cai Yong argued that these rulers had been of no more than ordinary quality, and did not deserve the honour they had been given. His full statement, not included in *ZZTJ*, appears in *HHS* 9 and *HHS* 99/9.

It may well be that Cai Yong was justified on ritual grounds in his drastic amendment of the sacrificial provisions of Later Han, but it is questionable if the general consensus of scholars would have wanted to go so far – and Emperor He at least had been a successful and competent ruler. The reform, moreover, had major

Y The General of the Household Xu Rong recommended Gongsun Du to Dong Zhuo. Gongsun Du was a man from Xu Rong's own commandery [Xuantu], and a former Inspector of Ji province. Dong Zhuo appointed him Administrator of Liaodong.

When Gongsun Du took up his post, he punished by law and wiped out more than a hundred of the great and famous families in the commandery,⁵¹ and the whole territory trembled for fear. Then he attacked Gaogouli in the east, and in the west he attacked the Wuhuan.⁵²

Gongsun Du spoke to those closest to him, Liu Yi, Yang Yi and some others and said, "The reign of Han is coming to its end. I ask you to join me in making plans for a kingdom."⁵³ He divided

political implications, for Dong Zhuo was given the opportunity to pronounce judgement not only on the current situation, but on the whole authority of Han rule for the previous hundred years. As the modern commentator Huang Shan 黃山 points out, the changes were forced through by Dong Zhuo's authority, they committed Cai Yong to his party, and they earned him the resentment and enmity of his colleagues: *HHSJJ* 99/9:7b; Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 107.

In any event, the imperial court was in no position to maintain any complex system of sacrifices, and while Emperor Xian was at Chang'an he presumably contented himself with visits to the surviving Temple of the Eminent Founder.

The degradation of Emperors He, An, Shun and Huan is reflected in the fact that their temple-names are not included among their titles at the beginning of the relevant chapters of the *Annals* compiled by Fan Ye. The names, however, are given in the entries for their funerals.

Y *SGZ* 8:252 (25b-28a), the Biography of Gongsun Du.

51 Gongsun Du's family actually came from Xiangping county, the capital of Liaodong commandery, but his father had travelled to the frontier territory of Xuantu to take up a local official post. Gongsun Du was thus regarded as an outsider by the leading families of Liaodong, and it appears that this gave a useful energy to his suppression of discontent when he came to power.

On the history of this state in the northeast of the empire, see Gardiner, "The Kung-sun Warlords.

52 The non-Chinese people of Gaogouli, whose name is written as 高句驪 and as 高句麗, and who are known also by the Korean name of Koguryŏ, later developed into one of the leading powers of Korea. At this time its territory lay in the hill country of present-day eastern Manchuria, where it had a history of disturbance against the Chinese frontier. There are accounts in *HHS* 85/75 and in *SGZ* 30; see also Gardiner, *Early History of Korea*, 29-32.

The Wuhuan people, whose name appears both as 烏桓 and as 烏丸, were long-time neighbours of China, based on the hill and forest country between present-day Manchuria and Mongolia. There are accounts of them in *HHS* 90/80 and in *SGZ* 30; see also deC, *Northern Frontier*, 355-416.

53 The main text of *ZZTJ* at this point has the character *zheng* 正 "to correct," but *SGZ* 8

Liaodong to form Liaoxi and Zhongliao commanderies and appointed an Administrator to each of them,⁵⁴ [59] while across the sea he collected all the counties of Donglai and set up an Inspector of Ying province.

Gongsun Du appointed himself Marquis of Liaodong and Governor of Ping province.⁵⁵ He set up temples to the two Han ancestors [Emperor Gao and Emperor Guangwu], he took the authority to hold state sacrifice to Heaven and Earth and to Plough the Sacred Field, he rode in a Phoenix Carriage with a team of four

has *wang* 王 "to rule as a king," and other editions of *ZZTJ* agree.

- 54 The statement that Gongsun Du divided Liaodong commandery to form Zhongliao 中遼 and Liaoxi 遼西 commanderies has caused some difficulty in reconstructing the administrative geography of that region at this time.

Wu Zengjin, *Sanguo junxian biao*, 2914, interprets the phrase "Liaoxi Zhongliao" as referring to a single commandery unit, and this is followed by the punctuated edition of *SGZ*. There is, however, no further comment, nor any suggestion as to the territory of the commandery or commanderies.

I observe that the Dependent State of Liaodong (遼東屬國 *Liaodong shuguo*) seems to disappear about this time. It is my belief that during Later Han this Dependent State was on the Daling River, not, as most Chinese interpreters suggest, on the coast by present-day Yingkou in Liaoning: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 460-465. I suspect that a new commandery of Zhongliao "Middle Liao" was established by Gongsun Du from the eastern part of the former Dependent State, extending north and east over the western Liao basin, possibly taking also the western territory of Liaodong up to the main stream of the Liao River (observe the odd area extruded from Later Han Liaodong on maps 61-62 of *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* II).

As to Gongsun Du's Liaoxi, I note there was already a commandery of that name under Han: it is my interpretation, as discussed in *Northern Frontier*, that it extended along the north-western shore of the Gulf of Liaodong from the region of present-day Yingkou to the area of present-day Luan county in Hebei. So this part of Gongsun Du's new establishment was not a subtraction from Liaodong commandery, but a seizure of the eastern part of the existing Liaoxi.

On this basis, though Liu Yu is described in passage R above as the Governor of You province, which extended along the north of the empire from present-day Shanxi into Manchuria and northern Korea, the east of the province had been taken over by Gongsun Du, and Liaoxi commandery was divided into two. The new border lay on the narrow coastal plain between present-day Qinhuangdao and Jinxi.

- 55 From his capital at Xiangping 襄平, by present-day Liaoyang in Liaoning, Gongsun Du controlled the southern part of Manchuria, extending eastwards into the north of Korea, and he named this territory Ping 平 province.

South across the Gulf of Zhili, moreover, he had an outpost on the northern coast of Shandong, where Donglai commandery of Han was isolated from the rest of Qing province by the backbone mountains of the peninsula, and in that region he claimed to establish Ying 營 province.

horses, and he established Cavalry of the Feathered [Forest] with [Standard-Bearers of] Ox-tail Banners.⁵⁶ [60>61]

56 These ceremonies and appointments were all imperial or royal prerogatives.

At the imperial capital, Luoyang, the Altar of Heaven was established outside the walled city to the south. A large circular mound, with a complex of altars, shrines and other constructions, it was used for many different rites and supplications, with the chief ceremony held at New Year: *HHS* 97/7:3159-61, the Treatise on Sacrifices; Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 166-167, and *Lo-yang*, 73-74.

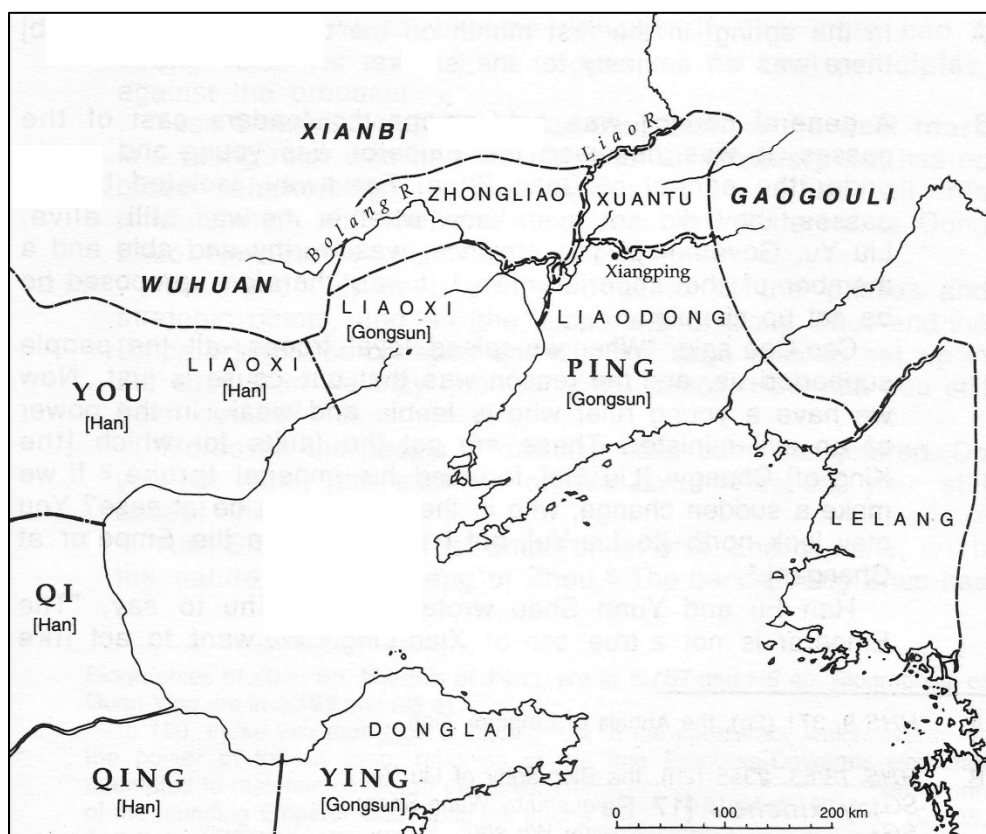
The square Altar of Earth at Luoyang was northwest of the city; the complex contained shrines to the Mountains, Rivers and Seas. The chief sacrifice was also held at New Year, in the same cycle as the worship of Heaven: *HHS* 98/8:3177-81 and *HHS* 94/4:3102; Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 180-181, and *Lo-yang*, 75.

The ritual of Ploughing the Field (藉田 *jitian*) is described by the Treatise on Ceremonial, *HHS* 94/4:3106, and discussed by Bodde, *Festivals*, 223-240, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 56-57. The ceremony was supposed to be held in the first or second month of the New Year, when the coming of spring had rendered the ground just warm enough to be broken. The grains produced from the Field were used for sacrifice, but the chief purpose of the ceremony was to demonstrate imperial concern for agriculture: e.g. *Bohu tong* 4, 24a-b; Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 493. Records of performance of the Ploughing by the emperors of Later Han, however, are curiously erratic: Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 74-75.

The *luan* 鸞 was a mythical bird, similar to the Chinese phoenix (鳳凰 *feng-huang*). A Phoenix Carriage (鸞路 *luanlu*), drawn by a team of four horses, was one of the Nine Distinctions awarded to Wang Mang in 5 AD, a few years before he took full imperial power (see also note 81 to Zhongping 6). The Phoenix Carriage was presumably decorated with images of the bird, and the commentator Yan Shigu adds that it was hung with bells (鸞 *luan*), presumably intended to echo its song: *HS* 99A:4075; Dubs, *HFHD* III, 209. It may have resembled the Imperial Coach which was similarly usurped about this time by Liu Yan in Yi province: passage JJ and note 64 to Chuping 2.

Under both Former and Later Han, Feathered Forest (羽林 *yulin*) was the name of a regiment of imperial guards: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 24-25 and 28. For imperial processions, standard-bearers (旄頭 *maotou*) were appointed from among their number; they wore their hair dishevelled and carried banners made from the tails of wild oxen: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 25, and *HHS* 1B:79 TC, quoting the *Hanguan yi* of Ying Shao.

With these ceremonial actions and appointments Gongsun Du was usurping the rituals of Han. His worship of the two founders of that dynasty may have been a courtesy, but he was probably seeking to make his government appear as its natural successor, at least in the northeast.



Map 5: The territory of Gongsun Du 190

CHAPTER 60

*being Chapter 52 of the Chronicle of Han
containing Part 2 of the reign of Emperor Xian*

Chuping 2: 191 AD

12 February 191 – 31 January 192

1918

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *xinchou* [17 Feb] there was an amnesty for the empire.

B A general council was held among the leaders east of the passes. It was observed that the emperor was young and weak, under the control of Dong Zhuo. Far away and isolated by the passes, they did not even know whether he was still alive. Liu Yu, Governor of You province, was worthy and able and a member of the imperial clan.¹ It was therefore proposed that he be set up as ruler.

Cao Cao said, "When we raised loyal troops, all the people supported us, and they did so because our cause is just. Now we have a young ruler who is feeble and weak, in the power of an evil minister. These are not the faults for which [the King of] Changyi [Liu He] forfeited his imperial throne.² If we make a sudden change, who in the empire can be at ease? You may look north [to Liu Yu], but I turn west [to the emperor at Chang'an]."

Han Fu and Yuan Shao wrote to Yuan Shu to say, "The emperor is not a true son of Xiao-Ling.³ We want to act like [63] [the Marquis

A *HHS* 9:371 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

B *HHS* 73/63:2355 (2b), the Biography of Liu Yu;
SGZ 1:8 (24b) PC quoting *Wei shu* by Wang Shen;
SGZ 8:241-42 (6a) PC quoting *Wu shu*;
SGZ 6:208 (72b-73a) PC quoting *Wu shu*.

1 *Wu shu*, quoted by *SGZ* 8:240 PC, says that Liu Yu was a descendant of Emperor Guangwu through the lineage of the kings of Donghai. This would have made him a very distant connection to the throne.

2 Liu He, King of Changyi, had been chosen as emperor in 74 BC, but was soon afterwards dismissed for alleged improper and immoral conduct: note 75 to Zhongping 6.

3 Though the accusation is clear, and is echoed by Yuan Shu's reply, as quoted below, it is hard to believe there was any serious question that the young emperor was truly a son of Emperor Ling. *Wu shu*, quoted in an earlier part of *SGZ* 6:208 PC, which has been omitted by *ZZTJ*, says that Han Fu and Yuan Shao were arguing that Liu Xie's claim to the throne was weak because he was the off-spring of a concubine, the Beauty Wang, and not the child of a formal wife: see also passage A of Zhongping 6. Considering Yuan Shao's position in his own family, however, on which see note 11 to Zhongping 6, and his sensitivity to it, one must wonder how he could raise such a

of] Jiang and Guan [Ying] in former times, when they punished and deposed a puppet ruler, and welcomed the King of Dai to his place.⁴ We plan to set up the Grand Marshal Liu Yu as Emperor."

Secretly, Yuan Shu wanted the throne for himself, but he realised that it would become difficult if the state had a strong ruler. As a result, he argued, on the best principles, against the proposal.

Yuan Shao wrote again to Yuan Shu, "Now in the west there is a young ruler who has the name [of an emperor], but has no blood relationship to the imperial clan, while all his officials, high and low, are supporters and flatterers of Dong Zhuo. How can we continue to trust them?

1919 "We need only send troops to camp at the passes and strategic points, and all [the supporters of Dong Zhuo and the emperor] will be cramped and die. If a sage ruler is set up in the east, then we may hope for great peace. How can you still have doubts?

"Moreover, the people of our clan have been slaughtered. Do you not recall [the example of] Wu Zixu?⁵ How can you still accept this ruler?"

Yuan Shu replied, "The emperor is wise and capable, with the nature of King Cheng of Zhou.⁶ The bandit Dong Zhuo has [64] taken

question.

- 4 Biographies of Zhou Bo 周勃, Marquis of Jiang 絳, are in *SJ* 57 and *HS* 40; biographies of Guan Ying 灌嬰 are in *SJ* 95 and *HS* 41.

In 180, these two men took a leading role in the conspiracy which overthrew the power of the Lü 呂 clan, relatives of the late Empress-Dowager who had attempted to maintain control of the government, and placed Emperor Wen, a son of the founding Emperor Gao, upon the throne. See, for example, *HS* 3, 100-05, and Dubs, *HFHD* I, 172-173.

Before his accession, Emperor Wen had been King of Dai 代. The commandery of Dai, which had formed part of that kingdom, was under the jurisdiction of You province during Later Han, so there was a fortuitous connection to Liu Yu.

- 5 The biography of Wu Zixu 伍子胥 is in *SJ* 66; Nienhauser, *GSR* VII, 49-59. His personal name was Yun 員, but he is more commonly known by his style.

Wu Zixu was a subject of the state of Chu 楚 during the Chunqiu period in the late sixth and early fifth centuries. His father and brother were put to death by King Ping 平, and he fled to the rival state of Wu 吳, where he rose to high office. He then arranged for Wu to attack Chu, and they captured the capital. By this time, King Ping was dead, but Wu Zixu had the body dug up and publicly flogged. See also Johnson, "Epic and History in Early China."

- 6 King Cheng of the Zhou dynasty 周成王 was the son of King Wu 武, conqueror of the state of Shang/Yin. He succeeded his father while still a child, and his uncle the Duke of Zhou 周公 acted as regent. King Cheng became a worthy sovereign in his own right.

advantage of a temporary confusion and compelled the officials to obey him, so this is a moment of difficulty for the house of Han.

"Now you say the emperor 'has no blood relationship,' but that is simple slander. You say, 'the people of our clan have been slaughtered,' and 'how can you still accept this ruler?' But this was Dong Zhuo's work, certainly not the emperor's.

"It is with the utmost loyalty that I seek the destruction of Dong Zhuo, I refuse to think of anything else!"

Nonetheless Han Fu and Yuan Shao sent Zhang Qi, former Administrator of Lelang, with a deputation to offer Liu Yu the imperial title. When Liu Yu saw Zhang Qi and his colleagues, he rebuked them sternly, "The empire has fallen into disorder, and the ruler is driven into exile. I have received great favours from the throne, but I have not yet been able to clear away the disgrace from our state. You hold provinces and commanderies, and you should join all your forces to save the royal house. Instead, you have made plans of rebellion, and you seek to involve me in your shameful dealings!" He firmly refused them.

Then Han Fu and his associates asked Liu Yu to take control of the Imperial Secretariat, with authority to grant enfeoffments and make appointments. Still he would not hear of it, threatening to take refuge amongst the Xiongnu as a means to cut himself off from such proposals. So Yuan Shao and the others gave up the idea.

- C In the second month, on the day *dingchou* [25 Mar] Dong Zhuo was appointed Grand Master, with rank above the kings.⁷ [65]

See, for example, *SJ* 4:131-34; Chavannes, *MHI*, 247-249; Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 64-66 also the *Zhou guan* 周官 "The Officers of Zhou" Chapter of *Shu jing* V.20.1; Legge, *CC* III, 523 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 331).

- C *HHS* 72/62:2329 (7b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

- 7 The date of this appointment is given by the Annals, *HHS* 9:370, but *HHS* 72/62 places it after Dong Zhuo's arrival at Chang'an two months later. The latter date is more likely, particularly since *HHS* 72/62 says also that Dong Zhuo arranged for one of the ministers in his control to carry out the formal ceremony.

The title Grand Master (太師 *taishi*) had been introduced for a time by Wang Mang, but was not maintained under Later Han: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 5 and 159 note 7. The commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 114/24:3557, the Treatise of Officials, quotes the *Hanguan yi* of Ying Shao, which says that the post was ranked above the Grand Tutor. The change was evidently one of prestige, with no administrative significance; Dong Zhuo had full control of the court at Chang'an.

- D Sun Jian moved his camp to the east of Liang, but was defeated by Dong Zhuo's officer Xu Rong. He reassembled his scattered troops and went forward to camp at Yangren.⁸

Dong Zhuo now sent his Administrator of Dong commandery, Hu Zhen,⁹ with five thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers to attack Sun Jian. Lü Bu was in command of the cavalry. Hu Zhen and Lü Bu quarrelled. Sun Jian came out to attack, completely defeated them, and took the head of their Chief Controller Hua Xiong.¹⁰

Someone said to Yuan Shu, "If Sun Jian captures Luoyang, you will not be able to control him. This is like killing a wolf and getting a tiger instead." Yuan Shu was concerned, and he did not send supplies for the army. Sun Jian rode fast during the night to see Yuan Shu, drew on the ground to show his plans, and said, "The reasons I have taken service with you are that above I am attacking a rebel for the emperor, while below I give some help to your family in a private feud. I have no thought for my own interests, and no personal enmity for Dong Zhuo.

D SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1096 (10b-11a), the Biography of Sun Jian; HHS 72/62:2328 (7a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

8 Tang commentary to HHS 72/62 says that the village of Yangren was west of the county city of Liang, so Sun Jian had more than recovered the ground he lost from his defeat by Xu Rong.

9 SGZ 46 says that Hu Zhen was Administrator of Chen 陳 commandery, but a parallel text of *Jiuzhou chunqiu*, quoted by HHS 72/62 TC, has the reading Dong 東, and this is followed by ZZTJ. The Qing commentator Zhao Yiqing, quoted by SGZJJ at 10a, observes that Chen was at this time a kingdom, not a commandery, and should have been headed by a Chancellor; the reading Dong should therefore be correct.

10 The office of Chief Controller (都督 *dudu*) is not mentioned in surviving records of the regular official or command structure of Han. It appears, however, with increasing frequency during this period of civil war.

The significance of such an appointment could vary. A few years later, in the army of Sun Ce, the Chief Controller was a fairly low-ranking post, responsible for internal discipline and administration: passage JJ of Xingping 2. It seems likely this was the position of the unfortunate Hua Xiong in the present instance.

Under Cao Cao, however, a Chief Controller held military responsibility for several commanderies: passage B of Jian'an 4; and under Yuan Shao, three men with that title commanded substantial divisions of a field army: passage J of Jian'an 4. In later times, the appointment was frequently used at this higher level by the various competing warlords and their states, particularly for regional and garrison command on the frontiers; in those circumstances, I render the title as Area Commander.

1920 "Yet you now pay attention to slander,¹¹ and for no reason at all you are suspicious of me!" Yuan Shu was embarrassed, and he immediately sent up supplies for the army. [66]

Sun Jian went back to his camp, and Dong Zhuo sent his officer Li Jue to treat with him, to make peace and arrange an alliance. He told Sun Jian to recommend junior members of his family as Inspectors or Administrators and promised to urge their appointment. Sun Jian replied, "Dong Zhuo opposes Heaven and defies the law. Until I have killed you and all your clan, and shown your heads to the four seas, I shall not be able to die in peace. How can there be alliance with you?"¹²

Sun Jian went forward to Dagu, ninety *li* from Luoyang.¹³ Dong Zhuo himself came out to fight with him amongst the tombs,¹⁴ but he was defeated and fled. He withdrew his camp to Mianchi and gathered troops at Shan.¹⁵

Sun Jian advanced to Luoyang and attacked Lü Bu. He defeated him too and put him to flight.

11 The phrase "insidious slanders" 浸潤 comes from *Lun yu* XII.6; Legge, *CC I*, 253 [as "soaking slanders" (Lau, *Analects*, 111).

12 It seems possible this embassy from Dong Zhuo had come to Sun Jian before Yuan Shu was persuaded of his possible disloyalty and threatened to cut off his supplies. Though Sun Jian rejected Li Jue's offers in fine style, he did allow him to return unscathed, and Yuan Shu could have felt suspicious that he was temporising with the enemy. Compare the fates of the ambassadors sent by Dong Zhuo to the east in the previous year: passage T of Chuping 1.

The pronunciation of Li Jue's personal name 隗 is given by *ZZTJ* commentary. Following the assassination of Dong Zhuo two years later, he became one of the leaders among the military men who controlled the government at Chang'an: passage Q of Chuping 3.

13 Dagu 大谷, or Taigu 太谷, was one of the fortified passes which defended the approaches to Luoyang from the south.

14 The tombs of the emperors of Later Han were variously southeast and northwest of the capital: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 86. Sun Jian was approaching from the south.

15 Mianchi and Shan were counties in Hongnong, on the road between Luoyang and Chang'an. Mianchi, west of present-day Mianchi in Henan, was some sixty kilo-metres from Luoyang. Shan, on the Yellow River by present-day Shan in Henan, lay further west; it had communications with the north and later became Dong Zhuo's chief garrison post for the defence of Chang'an against the east.

Then Sun Jian cleared out the imperial temples and held great sacrifice.¹⁶ He found the Great Imperial Seal in a well in the Pottery Office south of the city.¹⁷ [67]

He sent part of his force forward to Xin'an and Mianchi to threaten Dong Zhuo's defence positions.¹⁸

E Dong Zhuo said to his Chief Clerk Liu Ai, "The armies east of the passes have often been defeated. All of them are afraid of me and can do nothing effective. Sun Jian, however, the little fool, is quite competent. You must warn my officers to be careful of him.

"Some years ago I was sent west with Zhou Shen to attack Bian Zhang and Han Sui in Jincheng.¹⁹ I suggested to Zhang Wen that I should use my troops as a rearguard for Zhou Shen, but Zhang Wen would not agree. Soon afterwards Zhang Wen sent me to attack the rebel Xianlian Qiang. I knew we would have no success, but I could not avoid the duty, and so we marched.

"I left the Senior Major Liu Jing, with four thousand horse and foot, to camp in Anding as a show of strength. The Qiang tried to cut our lines of communication, but I opened them with a small attack,

16 The *tailao* 太牢 sacrifice was the slaughter of a bull, a ram and a pig. See Bodde, *Festivals*, 56, and Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 380.

17 The Great Imperial Seal (*chuanguo xi* 傳國璽 "Seal Which Transmits the State") had been lost at the time of the massacre of the eunuchs at Luoyang two years earlier: passage W and note 64 of *Zhongping* 6.

The Seal was a central item at each ceremony of accession, and it was worn at the belt of the sovereign on state occasions. Predictably, a number of legends grew up around the sacred object, and this story of Sun Jian's discovery – aided by a miraculous light emerging from the well – may be one of them. My own analysis, however, would accept the possibility that by one means or another he did discover or acquire the seal which had been used by the rulers of Later Han: deC, *Generals of the South*, 138-145.

On the general history of the Great Imperial Seal, see Chavannes, *MH* II, 108-110 note 5; Daudin, *Sigillographie*, 129-157; and Rogers, *Fu Chien*, 54-55 with 102 note 279.

18 Xin'an county in Hongnong was east of present-day Mianchi in Henan, close to Dong Zhuo's position at Mianchi: note 15 above.

E SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1098-99 (11b-12a) PC quoting *Shanyang gong zaiji*.

19 Dong Zhuo is referring to an incident in the campaign against the rebels of Liang province in the northwest some five years earlier.

The rebellion broke out at the end of 184, and the first defeat of the enemy was achieved at the battle of Meiyang, just west of Chang'an, in 185. Following that success, Dong Zhuo and other commanders were ordered to advance against the rebels' bases in the west, but they had no success. The campaign is described by ZYTJ 58:1881; *Huan and Ling*, 384-385, discussed by deC, *Northern Frontier*, 150-151 and 157-159.

and the reason [I could do this so easily] was that the enemy were afraid of the soldiers in Anding. They thought there must be tens of thousands; they had no idea it was only Liu Jing.

1921 "At that same time, Sun Jian was with Zhou Shen. He offered to lead ten thousand men forward to Jincheng, leaving Zhou Shen to act as rearguard with twenty thousand. [68] Bian Zhang and Han Sui would have been afraid of Zhou Shen's great force, and would have been cautious about committing themselves against Sun Jian, while Sun Jian's troops were strong enough to cut their line of supplies.

"Had the commanders used our suggestions, Liang province would have been settled. But just as Zhang Wen could not use my advice, so Zhou Shen could not use Sun Jian's, and in the end they were defeated and turned back.

"So when he was an Associate Major, Sun Jian saw things the way I did, and he has some useful talents.²⁰ Now, however, for no good reason he has joined the Yuan gang, and in the end he will die too."

F Dong Zhuo now sent the General of the Household of the East Dong Yue to camp at Mianchi, the General of the Household Duan Wei to camp at Huayin, and the General of the Household Niu Fu to camp at

20 Dong Zhuo is describing a strategy which he and Sun Jian had both recommended and used: to establish a reserve guard to fix the enemy while a mobile force was used in immediate combat against their more vulnerable positions.

This passage would be better situated in the account of the campaign of 185. The historians, however, and particularly Pei Songzhi who placed it in his commentary to Sun Jian's biography in *SGZ* 46, were concerned to show Dong Zhuo's respect for Sun Jian's military ability, demonstrated by this conversation of 189, rather than to enhance the narrative of the events four years earlier.

At the time Dong Zhuo is referring to, Sun Jian was actually a Senior Major. Zhu Jun made him an Associate Major during the Yellow Turban rising early in 184, but he was promoted at the end of that campaign: *SGZ* 46/Wu 1:1094. During the Liang province operations, Sun Jian was appointed to an advisory position at the headquarters of Zhang Wen, but probably maintained the same substantive rank. See *SGZ* 46:1094-95; deC, *Generals of the South*, 92-100, and *Biography of Sun Chien*, 33, and *ZZTJ* 58:1881; *Huan and Ling*, note 6 to Zhongping 2 at 384.

Liu Ai, Chief Clerk and thus senior assistant at Dong Zhuo's military headquarters, was the compiler of two chronicle works, *Lingdi ji* 靈帝記 "Annals of Emperor Ling" and *Xiandi ji* 獻帝記 "Annals of Emperor Xian." It is therefore quite likely that the essential account of this conversation is authentic.

In contrast, *ZZTJ* 58:1882, taken from *SGZ* 46:1095, has a very doubtful story of how Sun Jian urged Zhang Wen to execute Dong Zhuo for disobedience and disrespect: see passage R of Zhongping 2 at *Huan and Ling*, 385-386.

Anyi.²¹ His other commanders were spread out among the counties to block any attack from the east of the mountains. Niu Fu was Dong Zhuo's son-in-law.

Dong Zhuo led his own troops away to Chang'an.

G Having repaired the imperial tombs, Sun Jian led his army back to Luyang.²² [69]

H In the summer, in the fourth month Dong Zhuo came to Chang'an.²³ The excellencies and ministers all came out to welcome him, and they bowed before his carriage. Dong Zhuo clapped his hands and said to the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk Huangfu Song, "Yizhen, are you afraid?"²⁴

"If Your Excellency uses virtue to support the imperial court," replied Huangfu Song, "it will be a time of great blessing, and why should I be afraid? If, on the other hand, you govern badly and inflict arbitrary punishments, I shall not be the only person who is afraid."²⁵

F *HHS* 72/62:2328 (7b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

21 Anyi, capital of Hedong commandery, was near present-day Anyi in Shanxi. It guarded against attack on the Chang'an region from the northeast.

Huayin county in Hongnong was by present-day Huayin in Shenxi, southwest of the great bend of the Yellow River and the junction with the Wei. It could thus serve as a reserve position against an attack either directly from the east through Mianchi and Hongnong, or from the northeast through Anyi.

G *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1):1097 (14b), the Biography of Sun Jian.

22 So the former imperial capital was now abandoned by both contending forces.

H *HHS* 71/61:2307 (6b), the Biography of Huangfu Song;
SGZ 6:178-79 (15b) PC quoting the [*Hou*] *Han ji* of Zhang Fan.

23 The date is given by *HHS* 9:371.

24 Yizhen 義真 was the style of Huangfu Song.

25 *ZZTJ* has followed the anecdote told by Zhang Fan, but *Kaoyi* commentary observes that there are other accounts of the dialogue between the two men on this occasion: in the main text of *HHS* 71/61, in *HHS* 71/61 TC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*, and in *SGZ* 6:178 PC quoting *Shanyang gong zaiji*. There is, moreover, considerable disagreement as to what the exchange was actually about.

According to the main text of *HHS* 71/61, Huangfu Song had been sent to prison and was due to be executed for his opposition to Dong Zhuo. He was, however, released at the earnest pleading of his son, and was then appointed Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, formal head of the censorate. Dong Zhuo's question to him was then, "Do you submit to my authority?" (interpreting the character *bei* 備 in accordance with *HHS* TC, as meaning *fu* 服 "to submit"). Huangfu Song smiled and acknowledged his former errors.

According to *Xiandi chunqiu* and to *Shanyang gong zaiji*, the question was the same (with specific use of the character *fu* "to submit"), but simply referred to the long personal rivalry between the two men. Huangfu Song's reply was that formerly they

I Dong Zhuo's supporters wished to honour him as the Grand Duke and give him the title Honoured Uncle.²⁶ Dong Zhuo asked Cai Yong what he thought of the proposal.

"Your Excellency's majestic virtue, how truly imposing!" said Cai Yong. "In my humble opinion, however, it is not yet [70] possible to make comparison with the Grand Duke. It would be better to wait until the east of the passes is settled and at peace, and the emperor is returned to his former capital [at Luoyang]. Then we can talk about it." So Dong Zhuo gave up the idea.²⁷

J Dong Zhuo had the Director of Retainers Liu Ao arrest those of the officials and people who had not been respectful sons, loyal subjects, honest officials or obedient younger brothers. All were executed and their wealth was confiscated. As a result, many false accusations were made by one against another, and thousands were put to death without good cause. People were anxious and fearful: as they passed one another on the roads they did no more than exchange glances [not daring to speak].²⁸

1922

K In the sixth month, on the day *bingxu* [1 Aug] there was an earthquake.²⁹

had contended with one another like eagles, but Dong Zhuo now resembled a phoenix, far beyond his reach.

The version of Zhang Fan, which Sima Guang has chosen to follow, reads the central word of Dong Zhuo's question as *bu* 怖 "to be afraid," and presents the exchange without any context. Zhang Fan adds, however, that Dong Zhuo accepted Huangfu Song's reply as conciliatory and agreeable.

I SGZ 6:178 (14b) PC quoting *Xiandi ji*.

26 According to tradition, Lü Shang 呂尚, also known as the Grand Duke's Hope (太公望 *taigong wang*), was chief minister to King Wen and King Wu of Zhou, and assisted at the conquest of Shang/Yin. He was also granted the title "Honoured Uncle" (尚父 *shangfu*). See for example *SJ* 4:120; Chavannes, *MH* I, 222-223 (Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 59 and note 49), and *SJ* 32:1477-81; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 34-42.

27 The Biography of Cai Yong in *HHS* 60/50B:2005 has a very similar account of this discussion. The main text of *SGZ* 6, however, claims at 176 that Dong Zhuo did take the titles of Grand Duke and Honoured Uncle.

J *SGZ* 6:176-77 (17a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;
SGZ 6:178 (17a) PC quoting the *Wei shu* by Wang Shen.

28 This is an echo of the popular reaction to the tyrannous King Li of Zhou 周厲王 in the ninth century BC: *SJ* 4:142; Chavannes, *MH* I, 272 (Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 71), also *Guo yu* 1, 4b. King Li sought to block criticism, but was later driven from his throne; Dong Zhuo likewise came to grief.

K *HHS* 9:371 (3a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, the Excellency of Works Chong Fu left office and the Household Counsellor Chunyu Jia of Ji'nan was made Excellency of Works. The Grand Commandant Zhao Qian was dismissed and the Minister of Ceremonies Ma Midi became Grand Commandant.

L Before this, He Jin had sent Zhang Yang of Yunzhong to go back to Bing province and raise troops. Soon afterwards He Jin came to grief, and Zhang Yang stayed in Shangdang with a force of several thousand men. When Yuan Shao was in Henei [71] Zhang Yang went to join him, and he camped with the Southern Shanyu Yufuluo by the Zhang River.³⁰

M Han Fu was annoyed that so many of the leading men had turned to Yuan Shao, so he quietly cut down on his supplies, in hope that his army would drift apart. Soon afterwards, however, Han Fu's officer Qu Yi rebelled. Han Fu fought him and was defeated, and Yuan Shao made an alliance with Qu Yi.

Yuan Shao's follower Pang Ji said to Yuan Shao, "You have undertaken a great work, but you are still dependent upon others for subsidy and supplies. Unless you take a province for yourself, you will never be able to act independently."

"Ji province has a strong army," objected Yuan Shao, "and my troops are hungry and weary. If we are unsuccessful we shall be left with nothing."

"Han Fu is a very ordinary fellow," argued Pang Ji. "If we make a secret agreement with Gongsun Zan to have him take Ji province, Han Fu will certainly be startled and frightened. Then you send someone who can argue a case well, to explain things to him. Han Fu will be under pressure, he will become flustered and he will certainly be willing to yield."

29 The Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 106/16:3332 also records this earthquake.

L *SGZ* 8:251 (24a), the Biography of Zhang Yang.

30 The Zhang River runs from the Taihang Mountains east across the North China plain, and one of its upper courses, known as the Zhuozhang 濁漳 (the Muddy Zhang), flows by Zhangzi 長子 in Shanxi, site of the chief county of Shangdang commandery under Later Han. The city of Ye, headquarters of Han Fu as Governor of Ji province, was on the lower reaches of the Zhang.

M *HHS* 74/64A:2377-78 (4a-5a), the Biography of Yuan Shao; *SGZ* 6:191 (40b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

Yuan Shao agreed, he wrote promptly to Gongsun Zan, and Gongsun Zan brought his troops. He pretended that he was going to attack Dong Zhuo but then turned against Han Fu. Han Fu fought him but without success.

About this time Dong Zhuo entered the passes [to Chang'an], and Yuan Shao brought his army back to the Yan Crossing.³¹ He sent his nephew Gao Gan of Chenliu with Han Fu's friends Xin Ping of Yingchuan, Xun Shen, Guo Tu and others to say to Han Fu, "Gongsun Zan is coming with an army from Yan [72] and Dai [the north],³² and will follow his success with a further advance. All the commanderies will join him, and you cannot match his strength. Yuan the Chariots and Cavalry General is bringing his army eastwards, and we cannot be sure of his intentions. It looks like you are in trouble!"

Han Fu was frightened and said, "What can I do?"

"Judge yourself," said Xun Shen. "In generosity and charity, as a leader of men admired by all; how do you compare with Yuan?"

"I cannot compare with him," replied Han Fu.

1923 "Making plans in time of emergency, in wisdom and courage surpassing others; again how do you compare with Yuan?"

"I cannot compare with him," replied Han Fu.

"Generations of his family have displayed grace and virtue, and all the empire has received their favour; once more, how do you compare with Yuan?"

"I cannot compare with him," replied Han Fu.

"Yuan is the hero of the age," said Xun Shen, "and in these three ways your abilities fail to match his fine qualities. Though you have long held position above him, he will certainly not be satisfied to remain your underling. Now Ji province is an important property of the empire. If he and Gongsun Zan join forces to seize it then danger and loss can be expected any moment.

31 The Yellow River in this area flowed some distance north of its modern course. Yan Crossing was north of present-day Yanjin in Henan, on the south-eastern border of Ji province, and about a hundred kilometres from Han Fu's headquarters at Ye. See also note 37 below.

32 Yan 燕 and Dai 代 were two feudal states of the north during the Zhou period, occupying the general region of present-day Hebei province. The energetic military commander Gongsun Zan, a recalcitrant subordinate of Liu Yu in You province, was currently based in Youbeiping commandery. See, for example, *Huan and Ling*, 406.

"On the other hand, Yuan is an old friend and a sworn ally. Here is the right plan for this moment: cede Ji province to Yuan. He will certainly be grateful to you, and Gongsun Zan cannot contest him. So you will gain reputation by yielding place to a worthier man, and you yourself will be secure as Mount Tai." Han Fu was a timid man, and agreed.

When Han Fu's Chief Clerk Geng Wu, his Attendant Officer Min Chun and his Headquarters Officer Li Li heard of this, they all protested,³³ "Ji province has a million men at arms and enough grain to last ten years. Yuan Shao has an army which is isolated, dependent and poor; he relies on us for everything. Like a child on the lap, if you end its suckling [73] it will starve and die. Why do you want to give him the province?"

"I am a former officer of the Yuan," answered Han Fu, "and my ability is not equal to that of Benchu [Yuan Shao].³⁴ I have taken account of his virtue, and so I cede it to him. The men of ancient times saw honour in such conduct.³⁵ Why do you alone find fault?"

N Before this, Han Fu's Assistant Officers Zhao Fu and Cheng Huan had led ten thousand Strong Bowmen to camp at the Meng Crossing.³⁶ They heard what was going on and brought their men quickly back.

1924 Yuan Shao was at this time by Qingshui in Chaoge. Zhao Fu and the others came up behind him with several hundred boats and a force of over ten thousand men, they set their weapons and drums in order

33 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that there are several versions of this anecdote, with different lists of the names of the advisers: cf. *SGZ* 6:191; *Jiuzhou chunqiu*, quoted in *SGZ* 6:191-92 PC, and *HHJ* 26:11b-12a.

34 Benchu 本初 was the style of Yuan Shao.

35 Celebrated examples of ceding power (讓 *rang*) are the legendary emperors Yao 堯 and Shun 舜: each transferred government to a worthy successor who was not a kinsman. See the *Yao dian* 堯典 "The Canon of Yao" Chapter of *Shu jing* I.3.12 and the *Da-Yu mo* 大禹謨 "The Counsels of the Great Yu" Chapter of II.2.2.18; Legge, *CC* III, 25-27 and 63 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 10-11 and 40-41).

N *SGZ* 6:191-92 (41b-42a) PC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*; [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*, quoted by *HHS* 74/64A:2378 (5a) TC.

36 The crossbow was the chief infantry missile weapon of Han: see, for example, Loewe, "The Campaigns of Han Wu-ti," 110. There was no specific unit or category of Strong Bowmen (強弩 *qiangnu*) in the regular military system of Han, but there are references like this in texts of the time. Loading and firing a crossbow required some training, so these soldiers were often organised as special units.

and passed Yuan Shao's camp during the night. Yuan Shao was very annoyed.³⁷

When Zhao Fu and his companions arrived, they said to Han Fu, "Yuan Benchu's army has not a single measure of grain. Even now his men are deserting. Zhang Yang and Yufulu have [74] only recently joined him, and they will not accept his orders. He cannot match us. As your officers, we ask approval to oppose them with the troops we have at hand: within ten days his power will be like fallen earth and flying tiles. You, wise general, may rest on a high pillow with your doors open [in security and confidence]. Why should you be concerned or frightened?"

Han Fu still refused this advice. Leaving his office, he went to lodge in the former mansion of the Regular Attendant Zhao Zhong,³⁸ and he sent his son to take the seal and ribbon [of his appointment as Governor] and hand them to Yuan Shao.

O As Yuan Shao approached, ten of Han Fu's staff hastened to abandon him [and join Yuan Shao]. Geng Wu and Min Chun faced them with swords, but could not hold them back and were forced to let them go. Yuan Shao killed the two loyalists.

P So Yuan Shao took over as Governor of Ji province. He claimed the authority to appoint Han Fu as General Who Displays Majesty, but Han Fu had no command and no staff.

Yuan Shao made Ju Shou of Guangping General Who Displays Firmness, with responsibility as Supervisor and Protector over all his

37 *ZZTJ* commentary, citing *SJZ* 9:26b-33b, observes that the Qing River flowed through Henei commandery and joined the Yellow River some distance upstream of Chaoe (*SJZ* 9:1a-8a). It was the Qi River which flowed through Chaoe county to join the Yellow River south of Chaoe city (*SJZ* 9:21a-22a). See *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* II, 48. The name Qingshui is an abbreviation for Qingshuikou 清水口 "Mouth of the Qing River," but it actually refers to the place where the Qi 淇 River, not the Qing, joins the Yellow River. The name presumably came from an earlier time, when the courses of the streams were different (*SJZ* 9:8b). Qingshui was also the site of the Yan Crossing mentioned above: note 31.

As they returned to join Han Fu at Ye, Zhao Fu and his forces came east down the Yellow River from the Meng Crossing. At Qingshui[kou], the mouth to the Qi River, they turned north up that stream and passed by Yuan Shao's camp at the Yan Crossing in ostentatious defiance.

38 Zhao Zhong, a leading eunuch at the time of Emperor Ling, had been killed in the massacre of 189: passage S of *Zhongping* 6. Originally from Anping commandery (*HHS* 78/68, 2534), he had established a residence in the capital of his native province.

officers, and he treated him with great favour.³⁹ Because of their upright conduct, Shen Pei of Wei commandery and Tian Feng of Julu had both failed to realise their ambitions under Han Fu. Yuan Shao appointed Tian Feng as his Attendant Officer and Shen Pei as Headquarters Officer. Xu You and Pang Ji of Nanyang, with Xun Shen of Yingchuan, all became councillors.⁴⁰ [75]

Q Yuan Shao appointed Zhu Han of Henei as Assistant Officer for Officials at the Capital.⁴¹ In the past, Zhu Han had been treated rudely by Han Fu, and he now sought to anticipate Yuan Shao's intentions. Without authority he brought troops to surround Han Fu's house and went in carrying a sword. Han Fu fled to the upper storey, but Zhu Han seized his eldest son, beat him and broke both his legs.

Yuan Shao immediately had Zhu Han arrested and killed him, but Han Fu was still anxious and afraid. Seeking Yuan Shao's permission to leave, he went to stay with Zhang Miao.

Some time later, Yuan Shao sent a messenger to Zhang Miao to discuss plans with him, and the messenger whispered something to Zhang Miao while Han Fu was present. Convinced that they were plotting against him, Han Fu got up soon afterwards, went to the lavatory and killed himself there with a writing-knife.⁴²

1925

O [Hanmo] *yingxiong ji*, quoted by HHS 74/64A:2378 (5a) TC.

P HHS 74/64A:2378-80 (5a).

39 Guangping county in Julu was north of present-day Quzhou in Hebei, and Ju Shou had been a locally-appointed officer under Han Fu. His new responsibility (使 *shi*) as Supervisor and Protector (監護 *jianhu*) gave him police authority within Yuan Shao's army. On the significance of the term *hu* as indicating an officer to discipline an army, see deC, "Inspection and Surveillance" 62 note 46; cf. Bielenstein, *Bureau-cracy*, 121.

40 This sentence comes from a later part of the biography of Yuan Shao, HHS 74/64A, at 2390.

Q HHS 74/64A:2380 (5b),
with TC quoting [Hanmo] *yingxiong ji* and *Jiuzhou chunqiu*.

41 As ZYTJ commentary observes, in the regular system of Later Han an Attendant Officer for the Officials at the Capital (都官從事 *duguan congshi*) was appointed only by the Director of Retainers at the imperial capital, not, as here, in a provincial government: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 85 and 92. Yuan Shao may have been reclaiming his former authority as Director, while there is some implication that his government is more closely linked to the true centre of power.

42 ZYTJ commentary describes the *shudao* 書刀 as a writing utensil. Paper was in common use at this time, but some writing was still done on wood and bamboo, and the knife could be used as a stylus or, more often, to prepare and clean the surface.

R SGZ 12:384 (27a) PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen.

- R Bao Xin said to Cao Cao, "Yuan Shao is leader of the covenant, but he is using that position to his own advantage. He will himself rebel and become another Dong Zhuo. You are not yet strong enough to restrain him, and you will only make trouble for yourself if you try. What you can do, however, is establish a position south of the Yellow River and wait to see what happens." Cao Cao thought this an excellent idea.
- S Soon afterwards the Black Mountain bandits Poison Yu, Bo Rao, Sui Gu and their followers, over a hundred thousand strong, plundered in Dong commandery,⁴³ and Wang Gong could not [76] keep them out. Cao Cao led troops into Dong, attacked Bo Rao at Puyang and defeated him. Then Yuan Shao recommended him as Administrator, and Cao Cao set his government at Dongwuyang.⁴⁴
- T The Southern Shanyu [Yufulu] compelled Zhang Yang to join him against Yuan Shao, and they camped at Liyang. Dong Zhuo named Zhang Yang as General Who Establishes Righteousness and Administrator of Henei.⁴⁵
- U The Court Astronomer examined the omens, and foretold that a great minister would be executed. Dong Zhuo had false accusation made that the Minister of the Guards Zhang Wen had been in contact with Yuan Shu.

S SGZ 1:8-9 (24b-25a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

43 The Black Mountain bandits 黑山賊 had appeared on the eastern ridges of the Taihang range during the period of disorder following the Yellow Turban rebellion of 184. Poison Yu 于毒, Bo Rao 白繞 and Sui Gu 眭固 were three leaders of groups in the loose confederacy: *Huan and Ling*, 377-379.

44 Dong commandery was in Yan province, and extended either side of the Yellow River south of Yuan Shao's position in Ji province. Wang Gong had taken position as Administrator there in the previous year: passage P of Chuping 1.

The capital of Dong commandery under Later Han was at Puyang, south of present-day Puyang in Hebei. Cao Cao's headquarters at Dongwuyang were some distance to the northwest, on the northern bank of the Yellow River, by present-day Shen in Shandong.

T SGZ 8:251 (24b), the Biography of Zhang Yan.

45 Liyang, which had been an important garrison centre for the recruitment and training of troops under Later Han, was on the Yellow River a short distance downstream from the Yan Crossing. West of Puyang and south of Ye, it lay just east of the borders of Henei commandery, and represented a substantial salient into the North China plain.

U HHS 72/62:2330 (8b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

- In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *renxu* [5 Nov] Zhang Wen was flogged to death in the market-place to fulfil the prophecy.⁴⁶
- V The Yellow Turbans of Qing province ravaged Bohai with a force of three hundred thousand men, and they planned to join forces with the Black Mountain bandits. Gongsun Zan led twenty thousand footsoldiers and horsemen to intercept them. Catching them south of Dongguang, he completely defeated [77] them and cut off more than thirty thousand heads. The rebels abandoned their baggage and fled to the Yellow River, but Gongsun Zan came up when they were only half across. The rebels were again defeated, the dead were several tens of thousands, and so much blood flowed that the water turned red. He captured more than seventy thousand alive, and it was impossible to count the quantity of armour and carriages and treasure. The fear of his name spread wide.⁴⁷
- W Liu He, son of Liu Yu, was a Palace Attendant. The emperor was hoping to return to the east, and he ordered Liu He to make his escape from Dong Zhuo, go out in secret through the Wu Pass, and take a

46 The date is given by the Annals in *HHS* 9:372. The omen was ultimately a threat to Dong Zhuo himself, and was fulfilled in the following year: passage I of Chuping 3.

ZZTJ commentary recalls the occasion in 185, during operations against the rebels of Liang province, that Zhang Wen rejected the advice of Sun Jian that he should execute Dong Zhuo for insubordination: *Huan and Ling*, 385-386 and note 20 above.

V *HHS* 73/63:2359 (5a-b), the Biography of Gongsun Zan.

47 Bohai commandery was north of the mouth of the Yellow River, and Dongguang county was in the west of the commandery, some eighty kilometres north of the River. *HHS* 73/63 says that the rebels came from Qing and also from Xu province, further to the south. They had broken out from the region of the Shandong peninsula, and were turning westwards to cross the plain towards the Taihang Mountains. After their defeat by Gongsun Zan south of Dongguang, however, they turned back to seek their home country, and Gongsun Zan pursued and caught them in their retreat across the Yellow River in the region of Pingyuan commandery.

According to *SJZ* 5:24a, the slaughter actually took place not on the main stream of the Yellow River, but further north, on a branch of the old course known as the Pan River, which lay on the border of Ji and Qing provinces: note 52 below.

Though they took their name from the religious rebellion of Zhang Jue in 184, this large group of "Yellow Turbans" do not appear to have had any direct connection with that enterprise – which had in any case been destroyed ten years before. It is possible that they represented a contingent which had been too isolated to join the original rising, but they may have simply taken the name as a symbol.

W *HHS* 73/63:2355-56 (3a), the Biography of Liu Yu;
SGZ 8:241 (6b-7a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan.

message to Liu Yu that he should lead troops to come and receive the emperor.⁴⁸

- 1926 When Liu He came to Nanyang,⁴⁹ however, Yuan Shu kept him there as a guest to force Liu Yu into alliance. He would not allow him to continue his journey, but promised that when reinforcements came they would advance to the west together, and he made Liu He write a letter to Liu Yu.

When Liu Yu received the letter he sent several thousand horsemen to aid Liu He. Gongsun Zan knew that Yuan Shu had ideas of rebellion and urged Liu Yu not to send troops, but Liu Yu would not agree. Then Gongsun Zan became afraid that Yuan Shu [78] would hear about his advice and be angry, so he sent his cousin Gongsun Yue with another thousand horsemen to support Yuan Shu, and he secretly encouraged Yuan Shu to keep hold of Liu He and take [Liu Yu's] men into his own command. So Liu Yu and Gongsun Zan had a [further] grudge against each other.⁵⁰

Liu He escaped from Yuan Shu, and got away to the north, but he was then detained by Yuan Shao.

- X By this time, every ruler of a province or commandery east of the passes was attempting to take someone else's territory in order to make himself more powerful. Yuan Shao and Yuan Shu were also at odds.

Yuan Shu had sent Sun Jian to attack Dong Zhuo, but before he returned Yuan Shao appointed Zhou Ang of Kuaiji as Inspector of Yu province, and Zhou Ang attacked and captured Sun Jian's base-camp at Yangcheng.⁵¹

48 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that the biography of Liu Yu in *HHS* 73/63:2355 mistakenly combines this escape of Liu He with the journey of Tian Chou some three years later: passage Q of Chuping 4. Sima Guang points out that if Liu He had travelled back with Tian Chou, as *HHS* 73/63 suggests, he would have taken a route along the north, not one through the Wu Pass, which led to the southeast.

49 The Wu Pass was on the main road to Nanyang, where Yuan Shu had his base.

⁵⁰ *ZZTJ* commentary notes that Liu Yu and Gongsun Zan had already quarrelled about the latter's fierce policy towards the Wuhuan tribes of the north: *Huan and Ling*, 406 and note 32 above.

X *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1):1100 (14b) PC quoting *Wu lu*.

51 Yangcheng county, by present-day Dengfeng in Henan, was in the northern part of Yingchuan commandery, on the border between the territory of Yuan Shao and that of Yuan Shu.

There were three brothers from Kuaiji, Zhou Xin, Zhou Ang and Zhou Yu, in the service of Yuan Shao about this time, and there is complete disagreement between the

Sun Jian sighed and said, "Together we raised loyal troops to save the nation. Now the rebels and bandits are almost destroyed, yet each can act like this. Whom can I work with?" He led his men against Zhou Ang and put him to flight.

- Y Yuan Shu had sent Gongsun Yue to help Sun Jian attack Zhou Ang, but Gongsun Yue was hit by a random arrow and died. Gongsun Zan was angry and said, "My cousin is dead, and Yuan Shao is to blame." Leading out his army, he camped at the Pan River,⁵² sent a memorial to the court listing Yuan Shao's crimes and wrongdoings, [79] and brought his men forward to attack him.

As many cities of Ji province rebelled to support Gongsun Zan, Yuan Shao was afraid. He still held the seal and ribbon as the Administrator of Bohai,⁵³ so he gave the insignia to Gongsun Fan, a distant younger cousin of Gongsun Zan, and sent him out to that commandery. Gongsun Fan, however, turned against Yuan Shao and brought the soldiers of Bohai to help Gongsun Zan.

Gongsun Zan took the authority to give appointments to his officers: Yan Gang as Inspector of Ji province, Tian Kai as Inspector of Qing province, and Shan Jing as Inspector of Yan province. He also changed the administrators and magistrates in all the commanderies and counties.

1927

- Z Before this, Liu Bei of Zhuo commandery was a descendant of the Tranquil King of Zhongshan.⁵⁴ When he was young he was orphaned

sources as to which of the brothers was sent against Sun Jian in Yu province. *HHS* 75/65:2439 says it was Zhou Xin, and *HHS* 73/63:2359 agrees, but the parallel text to *HHS* 73/63, in *SGZ* 8:242, says that it was Zhou Ang, and this has been followed by Sima Guang. *Wu lu*, however, base text for this passage, says that it was Zhou Yu, and this is followed by a very circumstantial account of the careers of the three brothers taken from *Kuaiji dianlu*. I suspect that version is correct: deC, *Generals of the South*, 130-131.

Y *HHS* 73/63:2359-60 (5b-7b), the Biography of Gongsun Zan; *SGZ* 8:242 (7a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan.

52 The Pan River 磐河, on the borders of Ji and Qing provinces, was a remnant of the old course of the Yellow River. It took its name from Pan county in Pingyuan commandery of Qing province, by present-day Deping in Shandong. *SJZ* 5:24a says this was the place where Gongsun Zan had defeated the Yellow Turbans earlier in the year: note 47 above.

53 In an earlier attempt to make peace with him, Dong Zhuo had given Yuan Shao title and insignia as Administrator of Bohai: passage QQ of Zhongping 6.

Z *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2):871-72 (1b-4b), the Biography of Liu Bei, First Sovereign.

and poor, and he and his mother made a living by peddling shoes. He was seven feet and five inches tall, his hands hung below his knees, he could glance around and see his ears.⁵⁵ He was a man of great ambitions but few words, and whether he was pleased or angry it did not show in his [80] expression. He had at one time studied with Gongsun Zan under Lu Zhi,⁵⁶ and so he went to join him. Gongsun Zan sent Liu Bei to accompany Tian Kai in the attack on Qing province. He did well and was made Chancellor of Pingyuan.

AA When Liu Bei was young he had become good friends with Guan Yu of Hedong and Zhang Fei of Zhuo commandery. He made Guan Yu and Zhang Fei Majors with Separate Commands and shared his troops with them. Liu Bei would sleep with these two men in the same bed and he treated them with the affection of brothers, but if there were others about they would stand in attendance all day. They

54 Born to a concubine, Liu Sheng 劉勝 was one of fourteen sons of Emperor Jing of Former Han in the middle of the second century BC: *HS* 53:2409 and 2422. He held a royal fief and received posthumous title as Tranquil (靖 Jing) King of Zhongshan.

Liu Bei could therefore claim a distant connection to the rulers of Later Han, for Emperor Guangwu had also been a descendant of Emperor Jing: *HHS* 1A:1. On the other hand, while it is possible that Liu Bei could trace his ancestry over more than three centuries, it was not a matter of real dynastic significance, for he shared that imperial connection with many others.

55 By Chinese measure there were ten *cun* 寸 inches to one *chi* 尺 foot, and the foot measure of Han was some 23 cm or nine English inches. Liu Bei was therefore about 173 cm, or five foot eight inches tall. Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 18, observes that in the Han period seven *chi* feet (161 cm; five feet three inches) was considered the normal height of a man.

In descriptions of this kind, historians often emphasised or invented curious physical appearance for the future rulers of an imperial state, and they may be items of formal exaggeration rather than accurate reporting. Both the founding emperors, Gao of Former Han and Guangwu of Later Han, are said to have had large foreheads, big noses, and strong beards, and Guangwu was tall. See *HS* 1:2; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 29, and *HHS* 1A:1, discussed by Bielenstein, *RHD* I, 99. Lü Bu, however, is said to have referred to Liu Bei in hostile fashion as "Big-ears" (passage P of Jian'an 3), so part of this description was probably correct.

56 Lu Zhi, a man from Zhuo commandery, whose biography is in *HHS* 64/54, had a distinguished military record in operations against the Yellow Turbans and other rebels. He was also a noted scholar and historian.

As a Master of Writing, Lu Zhi had been involved in events at the capital in 189, but later escaped Dong Zhuo and took refuge in Shanggu: above at 11, 17-18 and 25.

AA *SGZ* 36 (Shu 6):929 (1a-b), the Biography of Guan Yu.

BB *SGZ* 36 (Shu 6):948 (14b), the Biography of Zhao Yun;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6):949 (15a) PC quoting *Zhao Yun biezhuàn*.

followed Liu Bei everywhere, and would undertake anything for him, no matter how difficult or dangerous.

BB Zhao Yun of Changshan brought troops from his native commandery to join Gongsun Zan. "I hear that the men of your worthy province all turn to Yuan," said Gongsun Zan. "Why are you the exception, and prepared to oppose him?"

"The empire is in turmoil," replied Zhao Yun, "no one can judge who is right, and the people are miserable as if they were hanging upside down. In my poor province we discussed affairs, and we turned to the place where there is fair government. It is not that we despise Lord Yuan, nor are we particularly biased towards you."

When Liu Bei met Zhao Yun, he admired him and showed him particular friendship. Zhao Yun followed Liu Bei to Pingyuan and commanded cavalry for him.

CC Before this, Yuan Shu had gained Nanyang with a population of several million, but he acted wastefully and plundered at will, and he raised levies without restraint. The people suffered from this and gradually drifted away. He had quarrelled with Yuan Shao, and each established a faction [81] against the other: Yuan Shu joined Gongsun Zan, so Yuan Shao made an alliance with Liu Biao.

Many of the leading retainers of the Yuan clan went over to Yuan Shao, and Yuan Shu complained angrily that "These worthless fellows are deserting me to join our family slave." He wrote a letter to Gongsun Zan saying, "Shao is not a son of the Yuan clan." When Yuan Shao heard about this he was furious.⁵⁷

DD Yuan Shu sent Sun Jian to attack Liu Biao. Liu Biao sent his officer Huang Zu to meet the invasion between Fan and Deng.

1928 Sun Jian attacked Huang Zu and defeated him, and went on to besiege Xiangyang. Liu Biao sent Huang Zu to go secretly by night to gather reinforcements, but as he was on his way back Sun Jian faced and fought with him. Huang Zu was defeated and fled into the Xian hills.⁵⁸

CC HHS 75/65:2439 (6a-7a), the Biography of Yuan Shu;

SGZ 6:207 (72a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shu.

57 On the relationship of Yuan Shao and Yuan Shu, see note 11 to Zhongping 6.

DD SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1100 (15a), the Biography of Sun Jian;

SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1100-01(15b) PC quoting *Dian lue*.

58 Fan city was on the northern bank of the Han River, immediately across from Liu Biao's capital at Xiangyang, (passage O of Chuping 1). Fan and Xiangyang are now part of the modern city of Xiangfan. Deng was a short distance to the north of Fan.

Sun Jian followed up his victory and pursued Huang Zu by night, but a soldier of Huang Zu's force hid in a bamboo grove and shot Sun Jian and killed him.⁵⁹ [82]

EE Huan Jie of Changsha, who had been recommended by Sun Jian as Filial and Incorrupt, went to Liu Biao to ask for Sun Jian's body. Liu Biao admired his sense of honour and approved the request.⁶⁰

FF Sun Ben, son of Sun Jian's elder brother, led his troops back to Yuan Shu, and Yuan Shu again recommended that Sun Ben become Inspector of Yu province.⁶¹

So Huang Zu met with Sun Jian just north of the Han, but was defeated and withdrew across the river. Sun Jian then laid siege to Xiangyang, and when Huang Zu came with reinforcements he was defeated again.

The Xian hills, south of present-day Xiangfan, lay across Liu Biao's line of communications to the rest of Jing province.

59 There is confusion about the date of this campaign and of Sun Jian's death. *ZZTJ* follows the account in *Dian lue*, but the biography of Liu Biao in *SGZ* 6:211 says that Sun Jian was struck by a flying arrow, not by an aimed shot from ambush, while *Hanmo yingxiong ji*, quoted by *SGZ* 46:1101 PC, says that he was killed by a stone thrown from above.

The main text of *SGZ* 46 says that the operations took place in Chuping 3. [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*, quoted by PC, says he was killed on the seventh day of the first month of Chuping 4 (25 Feb 193). This could be reconciled with *SGZ* 46 if we assume the military operations began at the end of Chuping 3.

Sima Guang, however, sets the date in Chuping 2. His *Kaoyi* commentary notes that a memorial of Sun Jian's son Sun Ce, written about 197, refers to the death of Sun Jian when Sun Ce himself was seventeen: *SGZ* 46:1107 PC quoting *Wu lu*. Sun Ce died in Jian'an 5 (200/201) at the age of twenty-six *sui*, so Sun Jian should have died nine years earlier.

Sima Guang also cites the *Hou Han ji* of Zhang Fan and *Wu li*, both in *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1):1107 PC, which give the date of Sun Jian's death as Chuping 2.

HHJ 27:3b has the date of Sun Jian's death in the fifth month of Chuping 3; despite the chronicle form of that work, however, its dating is not reliable.

Considering the course of events, and assuming that Sun Ce, writing an official memorial, would be careful about the date of his father's death, one must agree with Sima Guang in dating the fatal campaign to Chuping 2.

EE *SGZ* 22:631 (1a-b), the Biography of Huan Jie.

60 Filial and Incorrupt was the formal title of a candidate recommended for commissioned office by the head of his commandery unit. Huan Jie had been nominated while Sun Jian was Administrator of Changsha, some time between 187 and 190. Though he was now in the service of Liu Biao, he was still by custom under an obligation to his former patron, and it was appropriate that he negotiate the recovery of Sun Jian's body.

FF *SGZ* 51 (Wu 6):1209 (6a), the Biography of Sun Ben.

61 Sun Jian had held title as a general as well as being Inspector of Yu province. Sun Ben had only the local appointment, with far less authority.

GG *SGZ* 6:210 (82b), the Biography of Liu Biao.

GG Because of Sun Jian's death, Yuan Shu was unable to conquer Liu Biao.

HH Before this, when Dong Zhuo entered the passes to Chang'an he left Zhu Jun to guard Luoyang. Zhu Jun, however, was in secret contact with the east of the mountains. Afraid that Dong Zhuo would attack him, he fled to Jing province.

Dong Zhuo appointed Yang Yi from Hongnong as Intendant of Henan, but Zhu Jun led soldiers back to Luoyang, attacked Yang Yi and put him to flight. Henan was desolate and had nothing of value so Zhu Jun went east to camp at Zhongmou. He wrote to the provinces and commanderies seeking troops to attack Dong Zhuo.

Tao Qian, Inspector of Xu province, recommended Zhu Jun as Acting General of Chariots and Cavalry, and sent three thousand trained men to help him, while other provinces and commanderies also sent troops.

II Tao Qian was a man from Danyang. The Yellow Turbans had been plundering and making trouble in Xu province, and the [83] court appointed him as Inspector. When Tao Qian arrived he attacked the Yellow Turbans, completely defeated them and put them to flight.⁶² The territory of the province was at peace.

JJ Liu Yan in Yi province had secret plans for rebellion. Zhang Lu was officially a man from Pei, but the leadership of the Five *Dou* of Rice sect had been with his family since the time of his grandfather Zhang Ling, and they had migrated to live in Shu. By reason of her teachings about demons and spirits, Zhang Lu's mother was a frequent visitor at Liu Yan's house.⁶³ [84]

HH *HHS* 71/61:2312 (10a-b), the Biography of Zhu Jun.

II *HHS* 73/63:2366 (10a-b), the Biography of Tao Qian;
SGZ 8:247-48 (17a-20a), the Biography of Tao Qian.

62 These Yellow Turbans were no doubt a branch of the bandit/rebels of Qing province, dealt with by Gongsun Zan at about this same time: passage V above.

JJ *SGZ* 31 (Shu 1):867 (7a-8b), the Biography of Liu Yan;
SGZ 8:263 (42b-44a), the Biography of Zhang Lu.

63 The term Shu 蜀 may refer specifically to the Han commandery of that name, but it could also describe the whole of the Sichuan basin. The residence of the Governor of Yi province was the city of Mianzhu in Guanghan commandery.

I render the phrase *guidao* 鬼道 as "teachings about demons and spirits." The term *gui* is not necessarily pejorative here, and it frequently appears in descriptions of the Zhang group and the Five *Dou* of Rice Sect 五斗米.

The Rice Sect has been mentioned earlier, in *ZZTJ* 58:1872; *Huan and Ling*, 363-

1929 Liu Yan appointed Zhang Lu as Major Who Controls Righteousness and Zhang Xiu as a Senior Major. The two men joined forces to surprise and kill Su Gu the Administrator of Hanzhong, and to block the Yegu Pass, and they killed the messengers from the Han court.⁶⁴

Liu Yan sent in a memorial, "The Rice Rebels have blocked the road and there is no way to get through." On various pretexts, he killed Wang Xian and Li Quan and a dozen others, the strongest and

364. The account of its establishment and development is based upon a number of texts, some contradictory.

There is evidence, notably in the Dunhuang text of the *Laozi bianhua jing* 老子變化經 "Sutra of the Transformation of Laozi" (MS. Stein 2295), discussed by Seidel, "Image of the Perfect Ruler," 222-227, for the existence of a number of competing, potentially rebellious groups in the region of Yi province, present-day Sichuan, during the latter part of the second century AD. Among these was Zhang Lu 魯, who claimed authority through his grandfather Zhang Ling 陵.

Dian lue, quoted by HHS 75/65:2436 TC, and also (in a corrupt version) by SGZ 8:264 PC, has a comparatively detailed account of the organisation and beliefs of the Rice Sect, to which the leadership is attributed first to Zhang Xiu 脩, and then to Zhang Lu. Eichhorn, "Chang Jio und Chang Lu," 317-318, however, suggests that though Zhang Ling had been a Taoist teacher, and Zhang Lu's mother was an adept, Zhang Lu himself was not at first particularly concerned with Taoist beliefs, while Zhang Xiu, who had been involved in the brief rebellion of 184, and appears again below, was the effective leader of the Rice Sect. In particular, Eichhorn notes the story in *Dian lue* that when Zhang Lu later killed Zhang Xiu (passage UU of Jian'an 5), he was obliged to maintain Zhang Xiu's teachings in order to keep the support of the people.

It is indeed possible that Zhang Xiu was the real founder and leader of the Rice Sect until Zhang Lu killed him and took over, while Zhang Ling and his son, whose name appears in the main text of SGZ 8 as Zhang Heng 衡, had been teachers of a separate, less important group. The references to the foundation and leadership of the Rice Sect by Zhang Ling and Zhang Heng would then be later interpolations, designed to give a legitimate tradition to the claims of Zhang Lu. In any event, Eichhorn is surely correct when he remarks that Zhang Ling and Zhang Heng owe their later fame and glory to the success of Zhang Lu; without him, they would have remained nameless nobodies.

Among other discussions of the Five *Dou* of Rice sect, I mention particularly those of Maspéro, *Taoisme*; Michaud, "Yellow Turbans;" Fukui and Miyakawa, also deC, *Generals of the South*, 356-361 and notes.

64 Hanzhong commandery, on the upper reaches of the Han River in the south of present-day Shenxi, was the northernmost territory of Yi province. The Baoye Road 褒斜道 led south from Mei county through the Yegu Pass 斜谷關 [in the valley of the Ye River] to Baozhong 褒中 and Nanzheng 南鄭. This was the main route from the region of Chang'an through the Qin Ling dividing range, and Nanzheng, capital of Hanzhong commandery, was the terminus for all roads from the north.

most influential men of the province, and so established a punitive authority. The Administrator of Jianwei, Ren Qi, and the Colonel Jia Long raised troops against him, but Liu Yan attacked and killed both of them.⁶⁵

Liu Yan became steadily more ambitious. He had an Imperial Coach made for himself, with more than a thousand other carriages of state.⁶⁶ Liu Biao sent in a memorial [85] observing that "Liu Yan is like Zixia, and people west of the Yellow River mistake him for the sage."⁶⁷

65 Jia Long had been an Assistant Officer of Yi province, who put down a rebellion in 186 and was one of the leaders in receiving and establishing Liu Yan in his position as Governor: *SGZ* 31 (Shu 1):866; *Huan and Ling*, 398.

66 The Imperial Coach (乘輿 *chengyu*) was the chief carriage of the emperor, and was used at the time of the Grand Procession (大駕 *dajia*), most solemn cortege of the state: *HHS* 119/29:3648-49, the Treatise of Carriages and Robes, discussed by Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 244-248.

The Imperial Coach and other great chariots of state are described by the treatise as having vermilion or gold-painted wheels, being decorated with the images of powerful and sacred animals, covered by a feathered canopy and drawn by six horses: *HHS* 119/29:3646-47; discussed by Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 245-248, who points out, however, that the information is contradictory. At 3649, moreover, commentary to the Treatise quotes from the *Hanguan lubu tu* 漢官鹵簿圖 "Drawings of Imperial Processions in Han Offices" by Ying Shao of the late second century, which specifies that in the Grand Procession the emperor rode in a Phoenix Carriage (鳳凰車 *fenghuang che*): Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 245. This would indicate that the Imperial Coach was decorated with images of that sacred bird, and it may, like the Phoenix Carriage (鸞路 *luanlu*) usurped by Gongsun Du in the northeast, have had bells to imitate its melodious cry: passage Y and note 57 to Chuping 1. Liu Yan, as a former minister at court, would have had some idea what form his vehicle should take, though it may not have followed the model perfectly. The point is, however, that he was usurping an imperial prerogative, with arrogance even greater than that of Gongsun Du.

I interpret the phrase *juju* 車具 as referring to other ornamented carriages and chariots, whose style should likewise have been reserved to the court of Han, but which Liu Yan used in his own processions.

67 Zixia 子夏 was the style of Bu Shang 卜商, a disciple of Confucius. *Li ji* 2.1A.12; Couvreur, *Mémoires* I, 138-139, tells how Zixia's son died, and he wept so much that he lost his eyesight. Another of Confucius' disciples, Zeng Shen 曾參, went to commiserate with him, but when Zixia exclaimed that he had done nothing to deserve such misfortune, Zeng Shen became angry and reproached him: Zixia had received Confucius' teaching in the region of Lu, and then went to reside on the North China plain west of the Yellow River. Teaching the people there what he had learnt from the Master, he failed to explain clearly that the doctrines were not his own, and as a result he acquired credit and glory without paying proper acknowledgement.

At this time, of Liu Yan's sons, Fan, was General of the Household on the Left, Dan was an Imperial Clerk Preparer of Documents,⁶⁸ and Zhang was Colonel Who Serves the Army. All three had accompanied the emperor to Chang'an, but his youngest son, the Senior Major Liu Mao, remained with Liu Yan. The emperor sent Liu Zhang with a message to admonish Liu Yan and re-establish contact, but Liu Yan kept him and did not send him back.

KK Gongsun Du's authority was respected beyond the seas, and many people fled to him from the disorders of China proper, including Guan Ning, Bing Yuan and Wang Lie, all from Beihai.

LL When Guan Ning was young he was a friend of Hua Xin. On one occasion he was hoeing a vegetable plot with him when [86] they saw gold in the ground. Guan Ning continued hoeing and did not turn to look at it, as if it was nothing but a tile or a stone. Hua Xin took it up, then threw it away. From this people recognised their different qualities.

MM Bing Yuan travelled far in search of learning, and after eight or nine years he was due to go home. Because he did not drink wine, his teachers and school fellows prepared only rice and meat for the farewell party.

1930 Bing Yuan said, "I used to drink wine, but I stopped because it confused my thoughts and prevented me from working. Since I am leaving you for such a long time, however, I can drink and feast just this once." So they sat and drank wine, and after a whole day he was still not drunk.

It is this passage to which Liu Biao refers. Liu Yan was taking to himself the attributes and prestige of the emperor, and confusing the people about their true allegiance.

68 On the Imperial Clerk Preparer of Documents (治書侍御史 *zhishu shiyushi*), a senior official of the censorate, see note 70 to Zhongping 6.

KK This introductory passage was composed by Sima Guang himself, based upon the biography of Gongsun Du, *SGZ* 8:252, and those of the scholars referred to in the passages following.

LL *Shishuo xinyu* I.11; Mather, *New Account of the Tales of the World*, 7. No earlier provenance is recorded for this anecdote, and it appears Sima Guang has taken the item from that marginally historical work, rather than from his more usual sources such as *HHS* and *SGZ*.

MM *SGZ* 11:352 (26b) PC quoting [*Bing*] *Yuan biezhuàn*.

NN *SGZ* 11:354 (11b), the Biography of Guan Ning; *SGZ* 11:354-55 (11b) PC quoting *Fuzi*.

NN Guan Ning and Bing Yuan were both celebrated for their integrity, and Gongsun Du always kept a lodging-house empty and ready for them. Then Guan Ning came to Gongsun Du and, having met him, went to build a hut in a mountain valley. At this time those who had fled the dangers generally lived in the south of [Gongsun Du's] commanderies, but Guan Ning went to live in the north, to show that he had no intention of returning. Other refugees steadily came to join him, and in a very short time a complete town had grown up.

Whenever Guan Ning saw Gongsun Du, he would speak only of the classics and histories, and would make no mention of current affairs. When he went back into the hills he talked only about the *Odes* and the *History*, and he carried out and practiced worship with the sacrificial utensils. He refused to see any person who was not a scholar. Because of this, Gongsun Du was pleased at his worth and the people were influenced by his virtue.

Bing Yuan had strict principles, and he would express himself clearly to set things right; everyone from Gongsun Du down was wary of him. Guan Ning said to Bing Yuan, "A hidden dragon fulfils its virtue by not being seen.⁶⁹ Speaking at the [87] wrong time brings misfortune." He quietly persuaded Bing Yuan to return home, and when Gongsun Du heard of it he made no attempt to fetch him back.

OO Wang Lie's ability and insight surpassed that of others and when he was young he was better known than either Guan Ning or Bing Yuan. He was extremely good at reforming by teaching.

A man in Wang Lie's village stole some cattle, but when the owner caught him the robber confessed, saying, "I would rather accept the punishment of death, just so long as you do not tell Wang Yanfang."⁷⁰

Wang Lie did hear of this, and he sent someone to thank the man and present him with a bolt of cloth. When he was asked why, Wang Lie explained that "The robber was afraid I would learn of his wrongdoing. Now that he has shown such sense of shame, his latent

69 *Yi jing*, hexagram 1: *Qian* 乾 "The Creative," first line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes*, 7: Nine at the beginning means:

Hidden dragon. Do not act.

OO HHS 81/71:2696-97 (23a-b), the Biography of Wang Lie;
SGZ 11:360 (31a-b), the Biography of Wang Lie;
SGZ 11:360 (31b-32a) PC quoting *Xianxian xingzhuang*.

70 Yanfang 彦方, or possibly Yankao 彦考, was the style of Wang Lie.

good can be brought to life. I gave him the cloth to encourage his feelings towards virtue."

Later, there was an old man who left a sword on the road, and a man passing by saw it and stayed by it. The old man came back at dusk to look for the sword and found it. He thought it remarkable [that the man should have guarded his sword for him] and he told Wang Lie about it. Wang Lie enquired further, and it turned out it was the former cattle-thief.

Every person with a quarrel or dispute would have the case judged by Wang Lie. Some turned back on the way [because they knew they were in the wrong], others would see his house and retreat. Each encouraged the other to act well, for none dared have a bad report reach Wang Lie.

Gongsun Du wanted to appoint Wang Lie as his Chief Clerk, but Wang Lie refused. He became a merchant in order to degrade himself, and by this means he escaped the summons.⁷¹ [88]

71 It is not clear whether there was a formal prohibition against the employment of merchants in the civil service of Later Han. There is, however, clear evidence of social and political discrimination against them. Certain positions, for example, were reserved to those of "respectable family" (良家 *liangjia*), which was one whose members had not been convicted of a crime, and were not involved in medicine (醫 *yi*), magic (巫 *wu*), trade (商賈 *shangmai*) or any form of handicraft manufacture (百工 *bogong*): HS 28B:1644 commentary quoting Ru Shun 如淳 of the third century AD; see also Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 132, and Ch'ü, *Social Structure*, 120-122 and 382-383. There were surely exceptions to any such rule, but Wang Lie's action, regardless of its legal effect, was sufficient to discourage his would-be patron.

Chuping 3: 192 AD

1 February 192 – 18 February 193

1931

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *dingchou* [*?xinchou*=12 Feb]¹ there was an amnesty for the empire.

B Dong Zhuo sent Niu Fu to take troops to camp at Shan. Niu Fu divided his army, and the colonels Li Jue of Beidi, Guo Si² of Zhangye and Zhang Ji of Wuwei were given command of several ten thousand horse and foot to attack Zhu Jun at Zhongmou. They defeated him there, and went on to plunder the counties of Chenliu and Yingchuan. Wherever they passed they killed or took prisoners. Nothing was left.

C Before this, Xun Shu had a grandson Yu,³ who was well-known for his ability while he was still young. He Yong saw and admired him and said, "Here is talent to aid a king!"⁴

As the empire fell into disorder Xun Yu said to his elders, "Yingchuan is exposed to attack on all sides. We should get away quickly." Many of the people, however, loved their homeland and refused to leave, so Xun Yu alone led his family and clan away to join Han Fu.

By this time Yuan Shao had taken over Han Fu's position. He treated Xun Yu as an honoured guest, but Xun Yu did not feel that Yuan Shao would ever be able to gain the empire. Then he heard that Cao Cao was brave and ingenious, so he left Yuan Shao and went to join him. When Cao Cao spoke [89] with him, he was very pleased

A HHS 9:372 (3a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

1 HHS 9, followed by ZZTJ, dates this amnesty on a *dingchou* 丁丑 day (cyclical number 14), but the first month of this year began on a *gengyin* 庚寅 day (cyclical number 27), and did not contain a *dingchou* day.

The amnesty at the beginning of the previous year had been proclaimed on a *dingchou* day, so there may be dittography, but when the character *xin* 辛 is defaced in a manuscript, it is sometimes misread as *ding* 丁. The *xinchou* day of this month (cyclical number 38) was 12 February.

B HHS 72/62:2332 (10a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

2 ZZTJ commentary gives the preferred pronunciation of the personal name of this man as 祀 *si*, with an alternative of *fanqie* 孚+梵 = *fan*.

C SGZ 10:307-08 (1a-5a), the Biography of Xun Yu.

3 Xun Shu 荀淑 was a distinguished scholar of Later Han, and the Xun were one of the leading families of Yingchuan commandery: HHS 62/52 and note 12 to Zhongping 6.

4 He Yong was a celebrated judge of character. His favourable opinion of Cao Cao is recorded in his biography at HHS 67/57:3218; *Huan and Ling*, 357.

and said, "You are my Zifang!"⁵ He appointed Xun Yu as Major Who Displays Firmness.⁶

Many of Xun Yu's fellow-villagers who had stayed behind were killed by Li Jue and Guo Si.

- D Yuan Shao himself took command against Gongsun Zan, and they fought twenty *li* south of Jie Bridge.⁷ Gongsun Zan had thirty thousand men and his attack was very fierce. Yuan Shao sent Qu Yi against them with eight hundred good soldiers, while a thousand Strong Bowmen supported his advance from either side. Thinking little of Qu Yi's small force, Gongsun Zan sent horsemen to drive them away. Qu Yi's men hid behind their shields and made no move until the enemy were ten or twenty yards away; then they leaped up together, shouted so that the ground shook, and completely defeated Gongsun Zan's army.

Taking the head of Yan Gang, the Inspector of Ji province appointed by Gongsun Zan, and killing more than a thousand armed men, Yuan Shao's troops maintained their pursuit to Jie Bridge. Gongsun Zan regrouped his men to turn and fight, but Qu Yi again defeated him. They came to Gongsun Zan's camp and seized his standard,⁸ and the rest of his army took to flight.

1932

- E Before this, Liu Dai the Inspector of Yan province had been on good terms with both Yuan Shao and Gongsun Zan. Yuan Shao had sent his wife and sons to stay with Liu Dai, and Gongsun Zan sent his Assistant Officer Fan Fang to bring cavalry to [90] assist him. Then Gongsun Zan attacked and defeated Yuan Shao's army and told Liu

5 Zifang 子房 was the style of Zhang Liang 張良, great minister of the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han. His biographies are in *SJ* 55 and *HS* 40.

6 Cao Cao's first command in the civil war had been as General Who Displays Firmness: *SGZ* 1:6.

D *HHS* 74/64A:2380 (6a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shao; *SGZ* 6:193 (45a-46a) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

7 The Jie Bridge was a crossing of the Qing River, which flowed northeast across the plain parallel with the Yellow River to join the coast south of present-day Tianjin. Gongsun Zan was advancing southwest from Bohai commandery, where he had lately massacred the Yellow Turbans (passage V of Chuping 2), between the Qing and the Yellow River. The battle took place east of Guangzong county on the borders of Julu commandery, now Wei county in Hebei.

8 The *yamen* 牙門 standard was the central symbol of an army, comparable to the regimental colours of modern Europe.

E *SGZ* 14:425-26 (1b-2a), the Biography of Cheng Yu.

Dai to send Yuan Shao's wife and children home. And he sent a separate order to Fan Fang, "If Liu Dai does not send Yuan Shao's family away, bring the horsemen back. I shall deal first with Yuan Shao, then send troops against Liu Dai."

Liu Dai discussed the problem with his subordinates, but days passed and they could not decide. They had heard that Cheng Yu of Dong commandery was wise in planning, so they called him in and asked his advice.

"If you give up the alliance with Yuan Shao who is close at hand," said Cheng Yu, "and look for distant aid from Gongsun Zan, that is like seeking help from a man of Yue when your son is drowning.⁹ Gongsun Zan is no match for Yuan Shao, and although he has beaten him once, Yuan Shao will get him in the end."

Liu Dai followed this advice. Fan Fang did lead his cavalry away, but before he had rejoined Gongsun Zan, Gongsun Zan had been defeated.

F Cao Cao was camped at Dunqiu when Poison Yu and other bandits attacked Dongwuyang. Cao Cao led his troops west into the mountains against Poison's base camp.¹⁰ His officers urged that he go to relieve Dongwuyang, but Cao Cao said, "If the enemy hear I have gone to the west and then come back, Wuyang will automatically be relieved. If they do not come back, I can destroy their base and they will certainly not be able to take Wuyang." So he marched. When Poison Yu heard of it, he abandoned the attack on Dongwuyang and withdrew. [91]

Then Cao Cao attacked Sui Gu and Yufulu of the Xiongnu at Neihuang, and completely defeated them.¹¹

9 The people of the region of Yue 越, along the southern coast of China, were naturally expert swimmers, but when faced with an immediate emergency there is no point waiting for help to arrive from so far away.

F SGZ 1:9 (25a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 1:9 (25a-b) PC quoting the *Wei shu* by Wang Shen.

10 Poison Yu was a leader of the Black Mountain group of bandits in the southern ridges of the Taihang Mountains: [passage S of Chuping 2. Passage J of Chuping 4 indicates that his base was in the hill country of Chaoge county in Henei, while other groups were further to the north.

The Black Mountain group had lately expanded their activities into Dong commandery, and Cao Cao was contending with them for the territory. Dunqiu county was on the western frontier of the commandery, north of the Yellow River, and Dongwuyang, Cao Cao's headquarters, lay to the northeast.

11 Sui Gu was another chieftain of the Black Mountain group, while the émigré Xiongnu

G Dong Zhuo appointed his younger brother Min General of the Left, while Dong Huang, son of his elder brother, was Colonel of the Centre Army. Both had control of military affairs.

All the members of the Dong clan or relations by marriage held rank at court. Dong Zhuo's sons, even those still in the arms of maidservants and concubines, were enfeoffed as marquises and played with gold seals and purple ribbons. Dong Zhuo's chariot was adorned like an emperor's. Dong Zhuo would summon the officials of the Three Terraces, Masters of Writing and below, and all went to his offices to report or receive instructions.¹²

He also built a fortress at Mei, seventy feet high and seventy feet broad,¹³ storing thirty years supply of grain. "If things go well," he said, "I shall be master of the empire. And even if I fail, I can hold out here in comfort until I die of old age."

1933 Dong Zhuo was relentless in his punishments: if one of his officers said the wrong thing, he was killed on the spot. Everyone felt insecure. The Excellency over the Masses Wang [92] Yun, with the Director of Retainers Huang Wan, the Deputy Director of the Secretariat Shisun Rui and the Master of Writing Yang Zan made secret plans to kill Dong Zhuo.¹⁴

chieftain Yufuluo, based upon Liyang in the south of Wei commandery, had rebelled against the authority represented by Yuan Shao and joined forces with the bandits: passage T of Chuping 2. Neihuang was north of Liyang and west of Dunqiu in Dong commandery.

So Poison Yu and his allies had sought to distract Cao Cao by an attack on his rear base, but Cao Cao maintained his operations to the west, relieving the southern part of Ji province while Yuan Shao was occupied with Gongsun Zan: passage D above.

G HHS 72/62:2329-31 (8a-b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

12 The Three Terraces (三臺 *santai*) are generally identified as the office of the Masters of Writing (the Imperial Secretariat), the Imperial Clerks (the censorate), and the office of Seals and Credentials: note 70 to Zhongping 6. The offices were formally under direct control of the emperor, so Dong Zhuo is abusing his position by requiring their staff to attend on him in person.

Dong Zhuo had always been arrogant and cruel, but we are told that when he first came to power he had been quite restrained in appointing his close relatives to substantial office: passage MM of Zhongping 6. Though the present accusation of favouritism may be no more than a historian's cliché, it is likely that the strain of civil war and internal unrest within his government had brought a change in his policy and tightened his reliance upon immediate family and followers.

13 The measurements are given as seven *zhang* 丈, and a *zhang* was ten *chi* 尺 feet. The dimensions are approximately 16 metres or 53 feet English measure.

14 The conspirators are listed in the biography of Wang Yun, HHS 66/56:2175. Shisun Rui is described here only as *puye* 僕射, without specifying the office he belonged to.

H The General of the Household Lü Bu was expert with the bow and with a horse, and stronger than other men. Dong Zhuo treated men insolently, and he knew that they resented him, so he had Lü Bu accompany him everywhere as a guard. He loved and trusted him completely, and they took oath as father and son.

By nature, however, Dong Zhuo was obstinate and over-bearing. On one occasion Lü Bu had some slight disagreement with him, and Dong Zhuo seized a hand-axe and threw it at him. Lü Bu ducked quickly and it missed. He changed his tune and apologised, so Dong Zhuo's anger left him, but Lü Bu now held a grudge.

Besides this, Dong Zhuo had ordered Lü Bu to guard the doors to his private quarters, and he had taken the opportunity to seduce one of the maidservants. So he felt uneasy about that too.

Wang Yun had always treated Lü Bu well, and Lü Bu told Wang Yun how Dong Zhuo had nearly killed him. So Wang Yun told him about the plan against Dong Zhuo, and asked him to act as agent on the inside.

"But if we are like father and son?" asked Lü Bu.

"You bear the surname Lü," replied Wang Yun, "and he is no true relation by blood. And now, when you are constantly concerned that he may kill you, how can you talk of father and son? When he threw the axe at you, where was the feeling of father and son?" So Lü Bu agreed.

I In the summer, in the fourth month on the day *dingsi* [miswritten for *xinsi*, 22 May],¹⁵ when the emperor had been [93] ill and was just recovered, there was a great assembly at the Weiyang Apartments.¹⁶ Wearing his robes of state, Dong Zhuo rode up in his chariot. His troops lined the road from the camp to the palace, foot-soldiers on the

He later composed the order for Dong Zhuo's assassination, however, so he was a member of the Secretariat, and *puye* was the title of the Deputy Director.

H SGZ 7:219-20 (2a-b), the Biography of Lü Bu;

HHS 75/65:2445 (10a), the Biography of Lü Bu.

I HHS 72/62:2331-32 (9a-10a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;

SGZ 6:179 (17a-18b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;

SGZ 6:179-80 (19a) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

15 The fourth month of this year began on a *jiwei* 己未 day (cyclical number 56), and did not contain a *dingsi* 丁巳 day (cyclical number 54). HHS 9 has the day as *xinsi* 辛巳 (cyclical number 18), and this would be correct. Cf. note 1 above.

16 The Weiyang Palace was the imperial residence of Former Han at Chang'an. Emperor Xian had been living there since soon after his arrival: note 21 to Chuping 1.

left and horsemen on the right, with camps and guards all around. Lü Bu and others were ordered to act as escort at the front and rear.

Wang Yun had Shisun Rui write an imperial order in his own hand to give to Lü Bu, and Lü Bu ordered the Commandant of Cavalry Li Su, a man from his own commandery,¹⁷ with the swordsmen Qin Yi, Chen Wei and a dozen others, to disguise themselves in guards' uniforms and stand behind the Northern Lateral Gate to wait for Dong Zhuo. As he came to the gate, Li Su stabbed him with a lance.

Dong Zhuo had armour beneath his clothes, so the lance did not go in, but it wounded him in the arm and he fell from his chariot. He looked round, and called out, "Where is Lü Bu?"

Lü Bu said, "I have orders to kill a rebel minister."

Dong Zhuo cursed him, "Useless dog, you dare do this?" For reply, Lü Bu stabbed Dong Zhuo with his spear and ordered the soldiers to cut off his head.

1934 The Registrar Tian Yi and the head of Dong Zhuo's granary came to attend his corpse and Lü Bu killed them too. Altogether three men were killed.

Lü Bu then took the edict-block from his breast and used it to take command of the troops, saying, "The order requires that Dong Zhuo be executed, and that is all. For the rest, there are no questions asked." The men stood fast and made no move, but they all cried out, "Ten thousand years!"¹⁸ [94]

17 Lü Bu came from Wuyuan in the northwest.

Kaoyi commentary notes that *HHJ* 27:1b has the personal name of this man as Shun 順. Sima Guang follows *HHS* 72/62 and *SGZ* 6.

18 *SGZ* 6:179 says that all the members of Dong Zhuo's party at Chang'an were killed, and we are told immediately below how the Dong clan was massacred at Mei. It seems clear, therefore, that Lü Bu's proclamation was intended simply to reassure a disconcerted crowd of guards and onlookers, and had no close relationship with the edict of authorisation.

Indeed, I find no precise authority for the words ascribed to Lü Bu by *ZZTJ*, and they fit strangely with the pattern of events described elsewhere. *HHS* 72/62 says that immediately Lü Bu had killed Dong Zhuo, he brought out an edict which authorised an amnesty (赦 *she*), and used that authority to take command of the troops about the palace. The story, however, is not told in the same words as in *ZZTJ*, and there is no mention of Lü Bu's direct speech.

Wang Yun's intransigence on amnesties, moreover, would be a major factor in his downfall: passages P to Y below. So it is most unlikely there was any provision for an amnesty in the edict of authority granted to Lü Bu.

In his *Kaoyi* commentary, discussed at note 33 below, Sima Guang argues firmly

People sang and danced in the streets, and the shops in the city were filled with men and women selling pearls and jade, dresses and clothing, to buy wine and meat for celebration.

Dong Zhuo's younger brother Min, [his nephew] Huang and other members of the clan were in Mei, and they were all cut down or shot and killed by the men of their command.

Dong Zhuo's body was shown in the market-place. As the weather began to get hot, and Dong Zhuo had been a big fat man, his fat flowed onto the ground. The men guarding the corpse made a great lamp and set it into Dong Zhuo's navel and lit it, and it burned clear and bright till dawn. This went on for several days.

Dependents of the Yuan family collected the corpses of the Dong clan, burnt them and scattered the ashes on the roads. In the enclosure [at Mei] there were twenty or thirty thousand catties of gold, eighty or ninety thousand catties of silver, with brocade, fine silk and rare ornaments piled up into mounds and hills.

J Wang Yun was ordered to take control of the Imperial Secretariat, while Lü Bu became General Who Displays Majesty, held the Staff of Authority,¹⁹ and was treated with the same ceremonial as the three excellencies. He was enfeoffed as Marquis of Wen and shared in the government with Wang Yun.

K At the time of Dong Zhuo's death Cai Yong, General of the Household on the Left and Marquis of [95] Gaoyang,²⁰ was sitting with Wang Yun. When he heard the news, he gasped in fright.

Wang Yun was furious and accused him, "Dong Zhuo, the great bandit of the empire, almost destroyed the house of Han. You are an

on this line; and it may be that he reinterpreted the text of *HHS* at this point in an attempt to reconcile it with the surrounding facts.

J *HHS* 9:372 (3a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;
HHS 75/65:2445 (10a), the Biography of Lü Bu.

19 The Staff of Authority (節 *jie*, also rendered as "credentials"), was a bamboo eight *chi* feet tall (about 185 cm), with three yak's tails fastened as tassels to the top: *HHS* 1A:10 TC quoting the *Hanguan yi* of Ying Shao of the second century AD. In theory, at least, the bearer of the Staff held plenipotentiary powers to act on behalf of the emperor, taking his own initiative and reporting only afterwards. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 50.

K *HHS* 60/50B:2006 (19b-20a), the Biography of Cai Yong;
SGZ 6:180 (19a-b) PC quoting the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng.

20 In 190 the government of Dong Zhuo had enfeoffed Cai Yong as Marquis of Gaoyang District, probably associated with the village of that name in Yu county of Chenliu, his home commandery: *HHS* 60/50B:2005; *HHS* 111/21:3448; and *ZZTJ* commentary.

imperial servant and should share our hatred. But you hold a private affection, and so you mourn him. You must also be regarded as a rebel." Cai Yong was arrested and handed to the Minister of Justice.

Cai Yong begged his excuses: "Unworthy though I am, there are great principles which are constant from ancient times to the present, and I have heard and recited them too often to forget them. How could I work for Dong Zhuo and neglect my duty to the state? Let me have my face branded and my feet cut off, anything but interrupt my work on the history of Han."²¹ There were any scholars and gentlemen who were sympathetic and interceded for him, but they could do nothing to save him.

The Grand Commandant Ma Midi said to Wang Yun, "Bojie [Cai Yong]²² is one of the world's rare and unusual talents, he knows a great deal of the affairs of Han, and he should continue and complete the later history. This is one of the great works of our times. His fault is slight. If you punish him, people will surely lose their regard for you."

"In former days," replied Wang Yun, "Emperor Wu failed to kill Sima Qian, and so allowed him to write a book of slander which was passed down to later times."²³

1935 "Particularly at this time, as the fortunes of the emperor are in decline and there are war-horses in the suburbs,²⁴ we cannot allow a treacherous minister to hold his brush among the attendants to a young emperor. It is no advantage to [96] the sage virtue of the ruler, and it will cause our party to suffer contempt and abuse."

As Ma Midi went out, he observed, "Lord Wang should have no descendants!"²⁵ Good men are the foundation of the state, while the

21 Cai Yong was working with other scholars on the continuation of the history of Later Han, now known as *Dongguan Hanji*, and had composed several treatises for the work. See Bielenstein, *RHD* I, 11; Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 23-25 and 41-46; and Loewe, *Early Texts*, 471-472 [Bielenstein and Loewe]. His request for physical punishment if only he might continue his work of history echoes Sima Qian, who suffered castration but maintained his labours on *Shi ji*: e.g. Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, 62, and Nienhauser, *GSR* I, x.

22 Bojie 蔡邕 was the style of Cai Yong.

23 Wang Yun did not share the common approval of the work of Sima Qian. Indeed, it is remarkable to find a nominal Confucianist with such little favour for the work of historians.

24 *Daode jing* 46.104: "When the empire has lost the Way, war-horses are reared in the suburbs (郊 *jiao*);" cf. Lau, *Lao Tzu*, 107.

25 This is the curse attributed by Mencius to Confucius, referring to the man who first

record of affairs is the code of the nation. If he destroys the foundations and does away with the code, how can he last long?"

Cai Yong died in prison.²⁶

- L Before this, the Gentleman at the Yellow Gates Xun You, the Master of Writing Zheng Tai, the Palace Attendant Chong Ji and others had made plans,²⁷ saying, "Dong Zhuo is conceited and cruel, with no allies or friends he can trust. Though he relies on his strong army, he is only one man, and he can be killed with a single blow."

Their plans were almost complete when the affair was discovered. Xun You was arrested and put in prison, while Zheng Tai fled to Yuan Shu. Xun You spoke and ate and drank as usual. Soon afterwards Dong Zhuo died and he was released.²⁸

- M The Yellow Turbans of Qing province plundered in Yan. Liu Dai was going to attack them, but Bao Xin the Chancellor of Jibei argued, "The bandits number a million and people are frightened. Our officers and men lack fighting spirit and cannot face them. [97]

"On the other hand, the rebels have no supplies, nothing but what they can plunder. The first priority is to gather your troops and establish firm defences. The enemy will seek to fight but will not be able to, and when they attack they will not succeed. Their army will certainly break apart. When that happens, send your best men to occupy the strategic places and attack them. This way you will win."

made images to bury with the dead: *Mengzi* IA.4.6; *Legge*, CC II, 133 (Lau, *Mencius*, 52).

- 26 *HHS* 60/50B says that Wang Yun regretted his decision and changed his mind, but Cai Yong had been killed before he could countermand the order.

- L *SGZ* 10:321 (27a-29a), the Biography of Xun You;
HHS 70/60:2260 (3a), the Biography of Zheng Tai.

- 27 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that *SGZ* 10 lists He Yong and Wu Qiong among the conspirators, but Sima Guang observes that both men were dead by the time Dong Zhuo was killed. The biography of Zheng Tai in *HHS* 70/60 says that He Yong was indeed in a plot with Zheng Tai and Xun Yu, while the biography of He Yong at *HHS* 67/57:2218, says that he was involved in a conspiracy with Wang Yun, but he was arrested by Dong Zhuo on another matter and died in prison. Wu Qiong had been killed by Dong Zhuo two years earlier: passage G of Chuping 1.

- 28 Xun You was a kinsman of Xun Yu (passage C and note 3 above): Xun You's great-grandfather had been an elder brother of Xun Yu's grandfather Xun Shu: *HHS* 62/52:2050, *SGZ* 10, 307 and 321.

- M *SGZ* 1:9 (26a-27a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 1:10 (26a-b) PC quoting [*Wei-Jin*] *shiyu*;
SGZ 1:10 (27a) PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen.

Liu Dai would not follow this advice. He fought the bandits and was killed.

Chen Gong of Dong commandery, a subordinate commander under Cao Cao, said to him, "The province has no master, and the imperial authority is broken. Let me talk to the senior officers of the province,²⁹ then Your Excellency can go at once to govern it. From this base you may receive the empire. This is the method of the hegemon kings."³⁰

So Chen Gong went to the Attendant Officer and the Headquarters Officer.³¹ "The empire is divided and our province has no master," he said. "Cao Cao of Dong commandery has ability to command the world. If you invite him to govern the province he will certainly give peace and life to the people."

Bao Xin and his colleagues agreed, and with the provincial officers Wan Qian and others they went to Dong commandery and asked Cao Cao to take over as Inspector of Yan province.

1936 Cao Cao led his troops forward against the Yellow Turbans east of Shouzhong, but had no success.³² The rebel [98>99] army was strong and fierce and Cao Cao's soldiers were few and weak, but he cared for his men and encouraged them, made open rewards and clear punishments, and looked for enemy weaknesses to spring his own surprises. They fought day and night, and each time he took some prisoners. The rebels retreated and fled.

29 The phrase *gangji* 綱紀 indicates the leading locally-appointed officers of a province: see note 31 below.

30 Hegemon (霸 *ba*) describes a vassal lord who obtains supremacy among his fellows and uses his power to support the rightful ruler. In Chinese tradition the two great models of hegemony were Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公 (reigned 685-643 BC) and Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公 (635-628 BC). Each established dominance over the other states of central China, notably through gathering assemblies of the various rulers for a formal declaration of allegiance to the weakened Eastern Zhou 東周 dynasty at Luoyang, for the adjudication of disputes, and for the occasional organisation of an allied military campaign. See, for example, Maspéro, *China in Antiquity*, 180-208, and, for Later Han theories on the nature and identity of the hegemonies, Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 236-237.

31 In a provincial administration, the Attendant Officer attended the Inspector when he went on tour of the subordinate commandery units, while the Headquarters Officer was responsible for central administration. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 92, and deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 56-57, also note 102 to Zhongping 6. Both were locally appointed, but they were the most senior assistants and their influence was considerable.

32 Shouzhong county was in Dongping, near present-day Dongping in Shandong.



Map 6: Yan province under Cao Cao 192-194

In the course of this fighting Bao Xin was killed. Cao Cao offered a reward for the recovery of his body but it could not be found. He carved a piece of wood to take the appearance of Bao Xin, then made sacrifice and held a mourning ceremony before it.

N

An imperial edict appointed Jin Shang of Jingzhao as Inspector of Yan province. Before he could enter the territory, however, Cao Cao came to attack, and Jin Shang took refuge with Yuan Shu.

O In the fifth month the General Who Subdues the West Huangfu Song was appointed General of Chariots and Cavalry.³³

P Before this, Lü Bu had urged Wang Yun to kill all Dong Zhuo's followers, but Wang Yun answered him, "I can't do that; they have done nothing wrong." Lü Bu also wanted to take Dong Zhuo's treasure and divide it among the excellencies and senior officials, generals and colonels. Again Wang Yun would not approve.

Wang Yun had always regarded Lü Bu simply as a fighting man, but Lü Bu was proud, and boasted of his achievements. After he had been disappointed he began to look discontented.

Wang Yun was a hard, stern man, who hated evil. Because he was afraid of Dong Zhuo, he had humbled himself and obeyed him, but now that Dong Zhuo was destroyed he believed he had nothing more to worry about and began to act arrogantly. None of his subordinates felt any particular loyalty to him.

Wang Yun had spoken earlier with Shisun Rui about a special edict to pardon Dong Zhuo's followers, but then he [100] became uncertain about the idea, saying, "The army followed their master, and that was all. If we claim that they were wicked and rebellious, then pardon them, I am afraid they will just become more uncertain. That is not the way to settle them."³⁴ He refused to approve the edict.

There was then some discussion about disbanding all the armies, but someone argued to Wang Yun, "Up until now the men from Liang province have dreaded the Yuan and feared the east of the passes. If you suddenly dismiss the troops and open the passes, all the people will certainly feel threatened. Give Huangfu Yizhen [Huangfu Song]

N *SGZ* 7:223 (7a) PC quoting *Dian lue*.

O *HHS* 9:372 (3a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

33 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that both *HHS* 9 and *HHJ* 27:3a, say there was an amnesty during this month, though they disagree on the day. As Sima Guang observes, however, there had already been an amnesty in the first month (passage A above), while in passage Q below Wang Yun is refusing to grant a second amnesty in the same year. It is therefore most unlikely that an amnesty was granted at this time. See also notes 18 above and 38 below.

P *HHS* 66/56:2176 (12b-13a), the Biography of Wang Yun.

34 Wang Yun is arguing that since the troops had simply followed orders, there was no need for them to be pardoned, and indeed a pardon would imply that they had done something wrong. He is hoping to keep the troops from questioning orders on political grounds, for this would upset the structure of military discipline.

command as general at Shan.³⁵ That will keep them peaceful and secure."

"No," said Wang Yun. "The men east of the passes who have raised loyal troops are all our supporters. If we block the passes and maintain a garrison in Shan, though we might settle the people from Liang province, we would make the east of the passes suspicious. We cannot do that."

Rumours now spread among the people that all the men from Liang province would be killed. Dong Zhuo's former generals and colonels turned to one another in anxiety and collected their men to defend themselves.³⁶

1937 These officers said to each other, "Cai Bojie [Cai Yong] was found guilty simply because Dong Zhuo had favoured him.³⁷ They have issued us no pardon, and they intend to disband our troops. If we dismiss our men today we are fish-meat tomorrow."

Q Lü Bu sent Li Su to Shan with imperial orders to kill Niu Fu, but Niu Fu and his officers rebelled and attacked him. Li Su was defeated and fled to Hongnong and Lü Bu had him [101] arrested and killed. Then Niu Fu became frightened and lost control, and there was panic in his camp. He tried to run away and was killed by his own attendants.

By the time Li Jue and the others came back [from their raid into Yingchuan and Chenliu]³⁸ Niu Fu was dead. Li Jue and the others had nowhere to go, so they sent a messenger to Chang'an asking for pardon. Wang Yun refused them, saying, "There cannot be two amnesties in a single year."³⁹

35 Yizhen 義真 was the style of Huangfu Song.

Shan county in Hongnong was on the Yellow River by present-day Shan in Henan. Dong Zhuo had stationed his son-in-law Niu Fu there in defence against the east earlier this year: passage B above.

36 Dong Zhuo came originally from Longxi commandery in Liang province, and many of his supporters were also from the northwest. Li Jue and Guo Si, for example, leaders of the revolt which is to follow, were from Beidi and Zhangye respectively.

37 See passage K above.

Q HHS 72/62:2332-33 (10a-b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;
SGZ 6:181 (21a-b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;
SGZ 6:181 (21a) PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen.

38 On this expedition, see passage B above.

39 It is difficult to see why Wang Yun should have said this. Apart from the danger that his obstinacy was causing, and the clear fact that some gesture of conciliation and security was necessary and appropriate, the statement is untrue.

Three years earlier, in 189, three reign-titles had been proclaimed, and an amnesty

Li Jue and his fellows, increasingly worried, had no idea what to do. They were going to scatter and hurry by side-paths back to their homes, but the Colonel Who Exterminates Caitiffs Jia Xu from Wuwei said, "If you leave your troops and travel alone, then the chief of a single village will be able to arrest you. The best thing to do is move west together, attack Chang'an and avenge Lord Dong. If you are successful you can serve the royal house and set the empire to rights. If you fail, you will still have time to run away."

Li Jue and the others agreed. They made covenant together, and led their forces, several thousand men, marching westwards day and night.

R Hu Wencai and Yang Zhengxiu [Yang Ding] were both powerful elders, respected by the men of Liang province.⁴⁰ Calling [102] them up, Wang Yun told them to go east and explain the situation, but not to show any leniency. "Those rats east of the passes,"⁴¹ he said, "what do they want? Go and summons them." The two men left, but they

had been granted each time (passages E, W and CC of Zhongping 6). It was surely arguable that the destruction of Dong Zhuo could provide occasion for a change of reign-title and another amnesty.

Moreover, at the very beginning of Han two amnesties had been granted by Emperor Gao, in the first and the fifth months of 205 BC (*HS* 1B:51 and 58; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 74 and 81). If Wang Yun wanted one, this provided a good precedent.

One amnesty had been granted in the first month of this year (passage A above). *HHS* 9:372 and *HHJ* 27:3a say that there was another in the fifth month, but as Sima Guang observes in *Kaoyi* commentary to passage O above, this cannot be correct, for Wang Yun's refusal to grant an amnesty after the killing of Dong Zhuo in the fourth month was a major reason for the rebellion of Li Jue and his associates. See also notes 18 and 33 above.

There would be an amnesty in the sixth month, but this was after Wang Yun had been destroyed: passage W below.

R *SGZ* 6:181-82 (22b) PC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*.

40 This text of *Jiuzhou chunqiu* is also quoted at *HHS* 72/62:2334 TC, and at *HHSJJ* 10b the commentator Hui Dong of Qing identifies Yang Zhengxiu 楊整修 as Yang Ding 楊定, referred to below: e.g. passage R of Xingping 1. Note, however, that the surnames are written differently.

Yingxiong ji, quoted by *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1):1098 PC, says that Wencai 文才 was the style of Hu Zhen, the officer of Dong Zhuo defeated by Sun Jian the year before: passage D of Chuping 2. *HHS* 72/62:2333 as below, however, says that Hu Zhen fought at this time against Li Jue and Guo Si, but then surrendered and joined them. Either the texts are confused or Hu Zhen and Hu Wencai were different men.

41 In this immediate context, "east of the passes" must refer to Li Jue and his group, on the eastern approaches to Chang'an, not to the original allies against Dong Zhuo, east of the passes about Luoyang. Cf. note 95 to Zhongping 6 and passage A of Chuping 1.

did no more than collect their own troops and return [to their home country].

S Li Jue recruited as he marched,⁴² and by the time he came to Chang'an he had more than a hundred thousand men. He joined Fan Chou and Li Meng, former followers of Dong Zhuo, and laid siege to the city. The walls were too steep to be stormed, and the defences held out for eight days.⁴³

Among Lü Bu's army there were soldiers from Sou [Shu],⁴⁴ and these men staged a mutiny. In the sixth month on the day *wuwu* [28 Jun] they gave entry to Li Jue's army, and the soldiers broke loose to plunder.⁴⁵

T Lü Bu fought them within the walls but could do nothing to stop them. Leading a few hundred horsemen, and with the head of Dong Zhuo tied to his saddle, he fled the city.

Halting his horse below the Gate Engraved in Blue,⁴⁶ he called Wang Yun to come away with him. Wang Yun said, "If I [103] have received blessing from the national altars, then my only wish would be to give peace to our country. If this cannot be achieved, then I offer myself to die for it.

1938 "The emperor is young and weak, and I am the only person he can depend upon. Even when danger comes, I cannot run away. Try

S SGZ 6:181 (22b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;

HHS 72/62:2333 (11a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.

42 HHS 72/62 says that Wang Yun sent two officers to oppose Li Jue's advance. One, Xu Rong 徐榮 was killed in battle; the other, Hu Zhen 胡珍, went over with all his men to join the rebels.

43 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that SGZ 6 refers to a siege of ten days, while HHS 72/62 has eight days. Sima Guang chose to follow HHS.

44 The texts here read *sou* 叟. HHS TC explains that in Han times Sou was another name for the territory of Shu commandery.

45 The date is given by HHS 9:372.

T SGZ 7:220 (3a), the Biography of Lü Bu;

HHS 75/65:2445 (10a), the Biography of Lü Bu;

HHS 66/56:2176 (13a), the Biography of Wang Yun;

SGZ 6:182 (23a) PC quoting the [*Hou*] *Han ji* of Zhang Fan.

46 The Gate Engraved in Blue (青鎖門 *Qingsuo men*) lay within the palace compound at Chang'an. The use of such ornamentation was reserved to the emperor: in the time of Emperor Ai Wang Gen 王根, uncle of Wang Mang and former Grand Marshal, was charged with lese-majesty for using the style on his own mansion: HS 98:4028.

There had also been a Gate Engraved in Blue in the Southern Palace at Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 107 note 85, discussing HHS 116/26:3593 with commentary.

to get help from the leaders east of the passes. Urge them to think of the nation."

U The Minister of Ceremonies Chong Fu said, "As a chief servant of the state, I have failed to prevent violence or resist insult, and so naked swords have been brought against the palace. If I leave, where can I go?" He died fighting.

V Li Jue and Guo Si camped by the Lateral Gates of the Southern Palace.⁴⁷ They killed the Minister Coachman Lu Kui, the Minister Herald Zhou Huan, the Colonel of the City Gates Cui Lie and the Colonel of Elite Cavalry Wang Qi. More than ten thousand officials and commoners died, the bodies scattered in the streets.

Wang Yun helped the emperor to climb the tower of the Xuanping Gate to escape the enemy.⁴⁸ Li Jue and his fellows came to the gate, fell to the ground and made the kowtow. The emperor said to them, "Gentlemen, you have set soldiers loose everywhere, what do you want?"

Li Jue and his men replied, "Dong Zhuo was loyal to Your Majesty but Lü Bu killed him without good cause. We are avenging Dong Zhuo; we do not dare make rebellion. We beg to finish this business, then go to the Minister of Justice for punishment."

W Surrounding the gate tower, they called the Excellency over the Masses Wang Yun to come out, saying, "What fault had the Grand Master [Dong Zhuo]?" Wang Yun had no alternative but to go down and see them. [104]

On the day *jiwei* [29 Jun] there was an amnesty for the empire.⁴⁹ Li Jue was made General Who Manifests Firmness, and Guo Si General Who Manifests Courage. Fan Chou and the others all became Generals of the Household.

U *HHS* 56/46:1830 (12a), the Biography of Chong Fu.

V *SGZ* 6:182 (23a-b) PC quoting the [*Hou*] *Han ji* of Zhang Fan.

47 During Former Han, both the Weiyang Palace, on the west, and the Changle Palace, on the east, were in the southern half of the capital: *e.g.* *Cambridge China* I, 134 Map 4. Since the emperor had been living in the Weiyang Palace, however, it was probably identified at this time as the Southern Palace.

48 *Sanfu huangtu* 1.7, quoted by *HHS* 72/62:2332 TC, says the Xuanping Gate 宣平門 was northernmost on the east city wall of Chang'an: *Cambridge China* I, 134 Map 4.

W *HHS* 72/62:2333 (11a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo, with commentary quoting the *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shansong.

49 The date is given by *HHS* 9, 373.

X Li Jue and his men arrested the Director of Retainers Huang Wan and killed him.⁵⁰

Y Before this, Wang Yun had appointed Song Yi and Wang Hong, men of his native commandery, as Administrators of Zuopingyi and Youfufeng.⁵¹ Li Jue and the others wanted to kill Wang Yun but they were afraid the two would make trouble, so they sent for them.

Wang Hong sent a messenger to Song Yi, "It is only because you and I are still at large that Guo Si and Li Jue have not yet killed Lord Wang. If we answer the summons today, they will destroy us and our families tomorrow. What shall we do?"

"It is difficult to judge good fortune and ill," replied Song Yi, "but the first principle must be to obey an imperial command."

"East of the passes," observed Wang Hong, "the loyal armies are bubbling like a cauldron. They wanted to destroy Dong Zhuo, and now that he is dead it should be easy to deal with his followers. If we bring an army to attack Li Jue and his fellows, and join with the east of the mountains, we can turn ill fortune into good."

Song Yi would not agree, however, and Wang Hong could not act alone, so they both obeyed the summons.

1939 On the day *jiazi* [4 Jul] Li Jue arrested Wang Yu, Song Yi and Wang Hong and killed them.⁵² Wang Yun's wife and family died too. As Wang Hong came to his fate he cursed and said, "Song Yi was a useless bookworm, not fit to discuss great plans." [105]

Li Jue left Wang Yun's body in the market-place and no-one dared collect it. Then Zhao Jian of Jingzhao, magistrate of Pingling and a former officer of Wang Yun, left his post to collect the corpse and bury it.⁵³

Before this, Wang Yun had claimed all credit for killing Dong Zhuo, while Shisun Rui would take no reward and rejected a fief as a marquis. So now he escaped misfortune.

X *HHS* 61/51:2041 (21a), the Biography of Huang Wan.

50 Some texts of *ZZTJ* follow *HHS* 61/51 with the characters 下獄 "sent him to prison."

Y *HHS* 66/56:2177-78 (13a-14a), the Biography of Wang Yun.

51 The two commanderies Zuopingyi 左馮翊 and Youfufeng 右扶風 lay northeast and west of the Former capital of Chang'an. Their administrators took the names as their titles: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 87-88, as Eastern Supporter and Western Sustainer; for clarity, however, I refer to them as Administrators.

52 The date of the arrest and execution of Wang Yun is given by *HHS* 9:373.

53 Pingling county in Youfufeng was near present-day Xianyang in Shenxi, some twenty kilometres west of Chang'an.

- Z Your servant Sima Guang remarks:
The *Book of Changes* claims: "The superior man of humility and merit will maintain his success to the end and will receive good fortune."⁵⁴ Shisun Rui had achievement but did not boast of it, and so he preserved his life. May not that be called wisdom?
- AA Li Jue and his fellows appointed Jia Xu as Administrator of Zuo-pingyi, and intended to enfeoff him as a marquis. Jia Xu said, "My proposal was no more than a plan to save our skins. What have I done to deserve a reward?" And he refused to accept it. Then they intended to make him Deputy Director of the Secretariat, but Jia Xu said, "Deputy Director is a senior appointment, and the whole empire looks to it."⁵⁵ My name has not been well known before, and people will not respect it." He became a Master of Writing.⁵⁶ [106]
- BB Lü Bu escaped through the Wu Pass to Nanyang, and Yuan Shu treated him extremely well. Lü Bu, however, presumed upon his credit with the Yuan clan and allowed his soldiers to plunder and rob,

Z Comment written by Sima Guang.

54 *Yi jing*, hexagram 15: *Qian* 乾 "Modesty," third line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes*, 65:

Nine in the third place means:

A superior man of modesty and merit

Carries things to conclusion.

Good fortune.

ZZTJ commentary cites a related passage in The *Great Treatise* 大傳 A7, rendered by Wilhelm at 306-307:

"When a man does not boast of his efforts and does not count his merits a virtue, he is a man of great parts....the modest man is full of merit, and therefore he is able to maintain his position."

AA *SGZ* 10:327 (38a-b), the Biography of Jia Xu.

55 The Deputy Director held second position in the Imperial Secretariat: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 55-56 [as Supervisor]. Since the early years of the second century, in the time of Emperor Shun, the Director and the Deputy had held substantial political influence.

56 Sima Guang's comments in the passage above, though formally applied to Shisun Rui, may have even greater relevance to Jia Xu. His advice to Li Jue and his fellows had proven excellent, but he was sensible enough not to take the rewards that were offered, and to keep a sensible distance from the ramshackle collection of fighting men who now controlled the imperial capital. As a result, his personal position was not compromised.

Jia Xu later became a trusted adviser to Cao Cao, and when Cao Pi proclaimed his empire of Wei in 220 Jia Xu was appointed Grand Commandant.

BB *HHS* 75/65:2445 (10a-b), the Biography of Lü Bu.

so that Yuan Shu became annoyed. Lü Bu felt uneasy, and he went to join Zhang Yang in Henei.

Li Jue and the others offered a high reward for Lü Bu's death or capture, and Lü Bu fled once more to Yuan Shao.

CC On the day *bingzi* [16 Jul] the General of the Van Zhao Qian became Excellency over the Masses.

In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *gengzi* [9 Aug], the Grand Commandant Ma Midi was made Grand Tutor with control of the Secretariat.

In the eighth month the General of Chariots and Cavalry Huangfu Song was made Grand Commandant.

1940 The Grand Tutor Ma Midi and the Minister Coachman Zhao Qi, each bearing a Staff of Authority, were despatched by edict to make peace with the east of the passes.⁵⁷

In the ninth month Li Jue became General of Chariots and Cavalry with command as Director of the Retainers bearing the Staff of Authority. Guo Si was General of the [107] Rear, Fan Chou General of the Right and Zhang Ji General of Agile Cavalry.⁵⁸ All were

CC *HHS* 9:373 (3b-4a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

57 The mission of Ma Midi and Zhao Qi is reminiscent of the ill-fated embassies sent by Dong Zhuo when the rebellion first broke out east of the passes (passage T of Chuping 1), and it appears similar to those despatched by the Gengshi Emperor in 23 AD, to gain support for his government: *HHS* 1:10.

Bielenstein, *RHD* II, 35-40, discusses those earlier expeditions, noting how the grant of the Staff of Authority in such circumstances gave the emissary the right to establish jurisdiction in each region he visited, and freedom to decide matters of high policy without prior approval from the court.

As Bielenstein observes, however, and as we shall see below, the success or even survival of such a mission depended very largely upon the personality and good fortune of the messenger. The differing treatment of Ma Midi and Zhao Qi at the hands of Yuan Shu (described in passage AA of Xingping 1) demonstrates how little real authority the envoys possessed or could gather once they had left the immediate vicinity of the capital.

58 There is uncertainty about the titles the new masters of Chang'an appropriated during this period. It is generally agreed that Li Jue was first named General Who Manifests Firmness (passage W above) and then, as here, General of Chariots and Cavalry, but information on the others is confused: *HHS* 9, *HHS* 72/62, and *HHJ* 27:7b all say that Guo Si and Fan Chou became General of the Rear and General of the Right respectively at this time (though *HHJ* 27, presumably by a copyist's error, has *fu* 復 instead of *hou* 後 in the title of Guo Si). Another entry in *HHJ* 27:14b-15a, however, dates the promotions two years later, saying that until then Guo Si had been General Who Manifests Firmness, while Fan Chou was General Who Gives Tranquillity and Collects

enfeoffed as marquises. Li Jue, Guo Si and Fan Chou controlled the government and the court, while Zhang Ji went out to camp in Hongnong.

The Excellency over the Masses Zhao Qian left office. On the day *jiashen* [21 Sep] the Excellency of Works Chunyu Jia became Excellency over the Masses while the Household Counsellor Yang Biao became Excellency of Works; they shared control of the Secretariat.

DD Before this, when Dong Zhuo entered the passes [to Chang'an] he had persuaded Han Sui and Ma Teng to join him in dealing with the east of the mountains, and Han Sui and Ma Teng brought their forces to Chang'an.

Dong Zhuo died soon afterwards, and now Li Jue and the others made Han Sui General Who Maintains the West in Peace and sent him back to [108] Jincheng, while Ma Teng became General Who Subdues the West and was sent to camp at Mei.

EE In the winter, in the tenth month Liu Biao the Inspector of Jing province sent up tribute. He was appointed General Who Maintains the South in Peace and Governor of Jing province, and was enfeoffed as Marquis of Chengwu.⁵⁹

the Empire. The contradiction in *HHS* 27 has been followed by *ZZTJ*: passage O to Xingping 1 below.

Despite the weight of evidence, if we accept this second entry of *HHJ* 27 the process becomes more orderly: in that case, as in passage W above, Li Jue was first named General Who Manifests Firmness, and a few months later, as here, he became General of Chariots and Cavalry. Guo Si then took his title as General Who Manifests Firmness, while Fan Chou became General Who Gives Tranquillity and Collects the Empire. Two years later Guo Si and Fan Chou became Generals of the Rear and of the Right respectively. See note 29 to Xingping 1.

Besides this, *HHS* 9 and *HHS* 72/62:2334, both say that Zhang Ji became General Who Maintains the East in Peace, not General of Agile Cavalry. *ZZTJ* has followed *HHJ* 27:7b, which is supported by *SGZ* 6:181. It seems more likely, however, that the *HHS* versions are correct, for in the system of Han the General of Agile Cavalry was senior to the General of Chariots and Cavalry: *HHS* 114/24:3563. As Li Jue and Guo Si were the leading figures of the group, it is likely they took the highest ranks. Three years later, Zhang Ji is described as General Who Maintains the East in Peace, and we are again told of his appointment as General of Agile Cavalry: passages Q and S of Xingping 2. This is more circumstantial.

DD *HHS* 72/62:2335 (11b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo; *SGZ* 36 (Shu 6):944 (9b), the Biography of Ma Chao.

EE *HHS* 74/64B:2420-21 (9a), the Biography of Liu Biao.

59 Chengwu county, present-day Chengwu in Shandong, was in Jiying commandery in Yan

- FF In the twelfth month the Grand Commandant Huangfu Song was dismissed. The Household Counsellor Zhou Zhong was made Grand Commandant and shared control of the Secretariat.
- GG Cao Cao pursued the Yellow Turbans to Jibei and they all surrendered to him. He gained more than three hundred thousand soldiers and over a million men and women. Choosing the best fighters among them, he named them the Qingzhou troops.⁶⁰
- HH Cao Cao appointed Mao Jie of Chenliu as his Headquarters Officer. Mao Jie said to him, "The empire is divided and falling, the ruler is in exile and his people have left their occupations: they hunger and wander and die. The [109] government has less than a year's reserve of food and the people have no sense of security. Things cannot remain like this.
- 1941 "Now, men fighting in a good cause make the best soldiers, but supplies are needed to keep them at their posts.⁶¹ You must serve the

province, not within the territory controlled by Liu Biao. Nonetheless, from the honours granted Liu Biao one may observe the eagerness of the new regime to gain even token acknowledgment.

FF *HHS* 9:373 (4a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

GG *SGZ* 1:9 (27a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

60 The troops obtained their name from their origins in Qing province (e.g. passage M above). They were maintained as a separate unit in Cao Cao's army (e.g. passage D of Jian'an 2), and as late as 220, at the time of Cao Cao's death and the succession of his son Cao Pi, there were Qingzhou troops in camp at Ye (*SGZ* 15:481-82 PC quoting *Wei lue*; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 2); these, of course, must have been descendants of the original troops.

Though this large group of former rebels and displaced people were not particularly well-disciplined, and their fighting men had been heavily defeated by Gongsun Zan (passage V of Chuping 2), their accession to Cao Cao's service represented a notable augmentation of his military force. Leban, "The Early Years," 189-202, postulates that the formula of "surrender" conceals a carefully negotiated contract of alliance and service, and that Cao Cao was by no means absolute master in the exchange. I have since argued, however, that while Leban may be correct about the existence of some form of agreement, the bandits may also have been in some distress, while Cao Cao could offer them a better government and protection than their own leaders had managed: deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 66-67.

HH *SGZ* 12:374-75 (14b), the Biography of Mao Jie.

61 *ZZTJ* commentary observes that the first of these homilies is adapted from a memorial of the scholar and statesman Wei Xiang 魏相 of the second century BC (*HS* 74, 3136), while the second echoes *Yi jing*, The Great Treatise 大傳, B1, "On the Signs and Lines, on Creating and Acting;" Wilhelm, *Book of Changes*, 328:

How does one safeguard this place? Through men.

By what are men gathered together? Through goods.

Son of Heaven as a means to gain authority over those who would not submit to you otherwise, and you must re-establish agriculture to store up military supplies. If you do this, you may gain the position of a hegemon king."⁶²

II Accepting this argument, Cao Cao sent a messenger to Zhang Yang, Administrator of Henei, asking him to open the road west to Chang'an. Zhang Yang refused.

Dong Zhao of Dingtao [in Ji Yin commandery] said to Zhang Yang, "Though Yuan Shao and Cao Cao are allies, they will not stay together for long. Cao Cao may be weak now, but he is truly one of the great men in the empire, and you should look for some occasion to get on good terms with him. Here is an excellent opportunity. Send his memorial through, and add your own recommendation. If things turn out well there will be a permanent bond between you." So Zhang Yang endorsed Cao Cao's memorial and forwarded it to the capital, while Dong Zhao wrote on Cao Cao's behalf to Li Jue, Guo Si and the others, with varying compliments to suit each man.

JJ Li Jue and Guo Si received Cao Cao's envoy, but they were convinced that the rebels east of the passes wanted to set up their own emperor, and although Cao Cao had sent for orders they were sure there was some trick. They considered keeping Cao Cao's messenger back.

Zhong Yao, a Gentleman in Attendance of the Yellow Gates, spoke to them and said, "At this time all the fighting men have risen up together, and each claims the [110] mandate to rule on his own. Cao Cao of Yan province is the only one who cares for the imperial house. If you reject his loyalty this is no way to encourage people to look to you in the future." So Li Jue and Guo Si made a generous reply.

Zhong Yao was a great-grandson of Zhong Hao.⁶³

62 *ZZTJ* commentary observes that Mao Jie is here presenting plans for the two policies which would form the basis of Cao Cao's success in the civil war: physical possession of the emperor, and military agricultural colonies (屯田 *tuntian*).

II *SGZ* 14:436 (15a-b), the Biography of Dong Zhao.

JJ *SGZ* 13:391 (3a-b), the Biography of Zhong Yao.

63 Zhong Hao 鐘皓 of Yingchuan was a famous scholar. There is debate whether Zhong Yao was his great-grandson or his grandson: compare *HHS* 62/52:2065 and *SGZ* 13:392 PC quoting *Xianxian xingzhuang* 先賢行狀 with the commentary of Lu Bi at 2b; great-grandson appears correct.

Assuming the stories in these passages II and JJ are true, it is noteworthy, as *ZZTJ* commentary observes, that Cao Cao already held high reputation with such men as

KK Tao Qian, Inspector of Xu province, with the chief officials of his commanderies and kingdoms, sent in a memorial recommending that Zhu Jun become Grand Master.⁶⁴ And they wrote also to the other heads of provinces, urging them to join an attack on Li Jue and his followers, then invite the emperor [to come to the east].

About this time, on advice of the Grand Commandant Zhou Zhong and the Master of Writing Jia Xu, Li Jue summoned Zhu Jun to court. Zhu Jun declined Tao Qian and instead answered the call. He was again made Minister Coachman.

1942

LL Gongsun Zan attacked Yuan Shao, but as his army reached Longcou Yuan Shao attacked and defeated him.⁶⁵ Gongsun Zan went back into You province and dared not come out again.

MM Chen Wen of Runan, the Inspector of Yang province, died. Yuan Shao sent Yuan Yi to replace him, but Yuan Shu attacked Yuan Yi and defeated him. Yuan Yi fled to Pei, where he [111] was killed by soldiers.⁶⁶ Yuan Shu named Chen Yu of Xiapi as Inspector of Yang province. [112>113]

Dong Zhao in Henei and Zhong Yao at Chang'an: both men were somewhat isolated from the east, and Cao Cao was at this time only one amongst many warlords.

KK *HHS* 71/61:2312 (10b), the Biography of Zhu Jun.

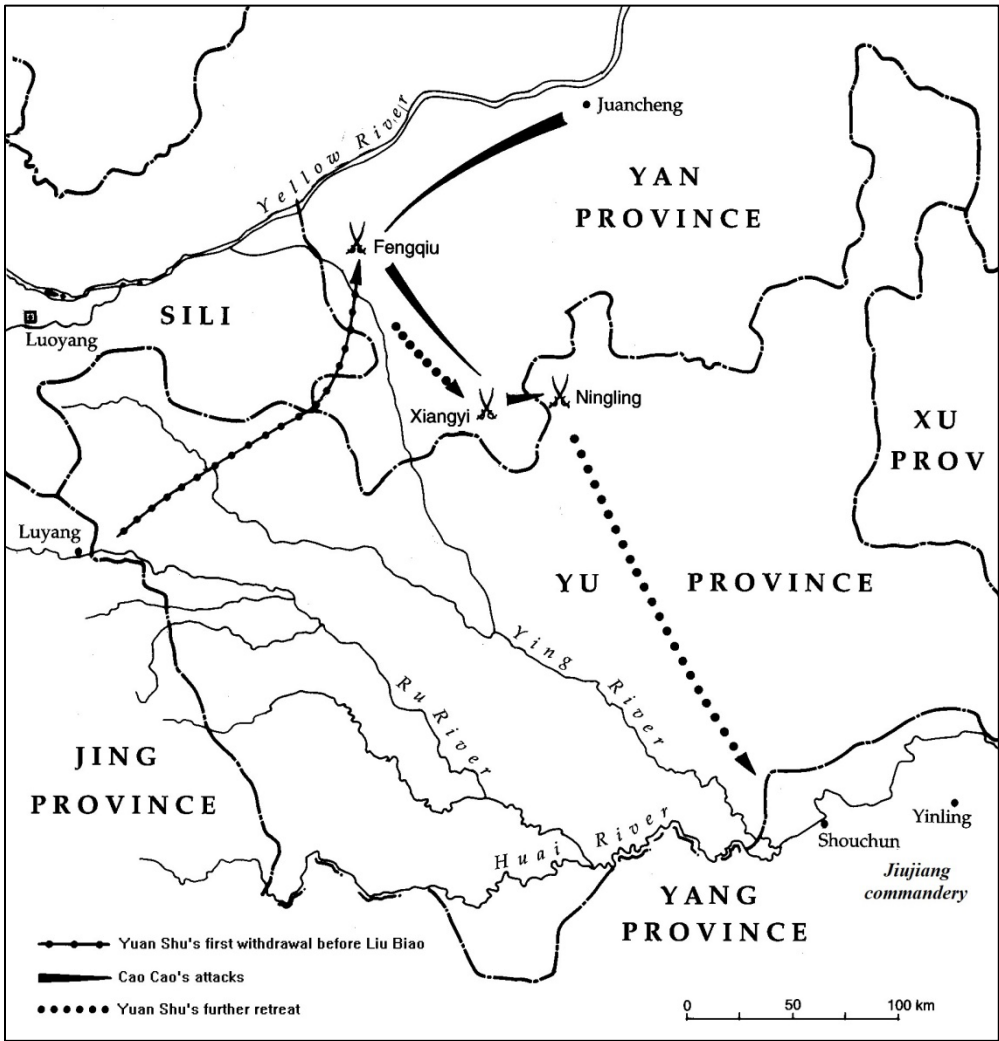
64 On the title Grand Master, revived by Dong Zhuo two years earlier, see note 7 to Chuping 2.

LL *HHS* 74/64A:2380-81 (6b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

65 The commentary of Wang Xianqian to this text in *HHSJJ* argues that Longcou city was in the area of Pingyuan and Bohai, on the borders of Ji with Qing province; the site was thus in the vicinity of present-day De county in the north of Shandong. Gongsun Zan had advanced south down the coast of Ji province, seeking to outflank Yuan Shao, then turned southwest up the stream of the Qing River. This was the same line of advance as in his campaign leading to the battle by Jie Bridge earlier in the year (passage D above), but on this occasion he did not get so far.

MM *SGZ* 6:208 (73b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

66 *Kaoyi* commentary observes that the main text of *SGZ* 6, and *Xiandi ji* quoted in PC to that passage, both say that Yuan Shu killed Chen Wen. *HHS* 75/65:2439 agrees. *SGZ* 6 PC, however, cites this passage from [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*, and also the account of *Jiuzhou chunqiu* preserved in *SGZ* 56 (Wu 11):1310 PC (reading the personal name of Chen Wen 溫 as Yi 禪). The sequence of events is told further in passage B of Chuping 4.



Map 7: The expulsion of Yuan Shu 193

Chuping 4: 193 AD

19 February 193 – 8 February 194

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *jiayin* [19 Feb], first of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.¹

On the day *dingmao* [4 Mar] there was an amnesty for the empire.²

B Cao Cao's army was at Juancheng. Yuan Shu, under pressure from Liu Biao, brought his men to camp at Fengqiu, where he was joined by a group of the Black Mountain bandits and also by Yufuluo of the Xiongnu. Cao Cao attacked Yuan Shu's army, defeated it, then laid siege to Fengqiu. Yuan Shu retreated first to Xiangyi and then to Ningling. Cao Cao continued the pursuit and defeated him in one battle after another. Yuan Shu fled into Jiujiang.³ [114]

A *HHS* 9:373 (4a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

1 *HHS* 108/18:3371, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this eclipse, and notes that it took place in the Encampment (營室 *Yingshi*) constellation, also known as the *Shi* lunar mansion (室宿 *shi xiu*), the thirteenth, which is a part of Western Pegasus about the two chief stars of that constellation; Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 275, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 99 and Star Map 5. The eclipse, *Oppolzer* 3355, mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 216, affected the far south of China.

The Treatise identifies the omen as relating to the seizure of power by Li Jue and Guo Si. Commentary to the Treatise, however, quotes from *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, an anonymous apocryphal work on the *Chunqiu*, which says that an eclipse on a *jiayin* day foretells civil war.

Commentary to the Treatise, moreover, quotes also from *HHJ* 27:8b-9a, which tells how the Court Astronomer, who had calculated when the eclipse should take place, initially reported that it had not in fact occurred. All the court offered congratulations, but Emperor Xian said they should wait and observe longer, and the eclipse did take place later that day. Stephenson and Houlden, indeed, say that it was effective in the late afternoon.

The energetic Jia Xu proposed that the Court Astronomer, and his formal supervisor the Grand Commandant Zhou Zhong, should be impeached for the error. Emperor Xian, however, remarked that it was difficult to calculate the distant ways of the heavens and that in any case the final responsibility rested upon him. He maintained the men in their posts, but ordered there should be no military activity. He avoided the main hall of the palace, and held no official business for five days.

The first part of this story is also quoted by commentary to *HHS* 9.

2 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that *HHJ* 27:9a dates this amnesty to the *dingmao* day of the fifth month [2 Jul]. Sima Guang follows *HHS* 9.

B *SGZ* 1:10 (27b-28a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 6:208 (73b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;
HHS 75/65:2439 (6b), the Biography of Yuan Shu;
SGZ 6:208 (73a), the Biography of Yuan Shu.

3 Juancheng county (the name appears in two forms as 鄆城 and 甄城) was in Jiying

Chen Yu, the Inspector of Yang province appointed by Yuan Shu, turned against him and refused him entry⁴ Yuan Shu fell back on Yinling, collected his forces from the north of the Huai and went forward once more against Shouchun. Chen Yu took fright and retreated to Xiapi. Then Yuan Shu took over his territory and claimed the additional title "Lord of Xu province."⁵

- 1943 Li Jue wanted to make an alliance with Yuan Shu, so he appointed him General of the Left and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Yangdi, granting him the Staff of Authority.⁶

commandery in Yan province, by present-day Pu county in Shandong, just south of the Yellow River. The pronunciation as 絹 *juan* is given by the Tang commentary to *HHS* 74/64A:2390.

Fengqiu county was in Chenliu in Yan province, by present-day Fengqiu in Henan.

Xiangyi county was in Chenliu in Yan province, west of present-day Sui in Henan.

Ningling county was in Liang in Yu province, by present-day Ningling in Henan.

This series of engagements, described in more detail by *SGZ* 1, destroyed Yuan Shu's power in central China. Driven from Nanyang as a result of his own mal-administration (passage CC of Chuping 2) and pressure from Liu Biao, he had sought to re-establish a position in Chenliu, south of the Han-time course of the Yellow River by present-day Kaifeng. In doing so, however, he presented himself as a contender against Cao Cao, who controlled the north and centre of Yan province. Cao Cao moved swiftly, and his campaign did not relent until Yuan Shu had been bundled away south into Jiujiang.

- 4 As we have observed in passage MM and note 65 of Chuping 3, the biographies of Yuan Shu in *SGZ* 6 and *HHS* 75/65 say simply that Yuan Shu killed Chen Wen the Inspector of Yang province and took over his territory. Sima Guang, however, follows the more circumstantial story that Chen Wen died in the previous year, then Yuan Shu sent Chen Yu to take his place, but Chen Yu now sought to turn against his former patron.

- 5 Yinling county was in Jiujiang, by present-day Dingyuan in Anhui, south of the Huai and about fifty kilometres east of Shouchun, which was at the modern site of Shouchun. During Later Han, Yinling had been the residence of the Inspector of Yang province, but Chen Yu had evidently established himself at Shouchun, and this became the headquarters of Yuan Shu.

Xiapi commandery was in Xu province, east and north of Jiujiang. By taking title as Lord (伯 *bo*) of Xu, Yuan Shu was making a claim to that territory too, despite the position of Tao Qian.

- 6 Yangdi county was in Yingchuan, at present-day Yu in Henan. Like the marquise granted to Liu Biao (passage EE and note 58 of Chuping 3), it did not lie within any territory now controlled by Yuan Shu.

- C *HHS* 73/63:2362 (7b), the Biography of Gongsun Zan;
HHS 74/64A:2381 (6b-7a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

- C Yuan Shao and Tian Kai, the Inspector of Qing province appointed by Gongsun Zan, had been fighting continuously for two years. Both sides were exhausted, their supplies were [115] finished, and they had plundered each other's people until the land was a wilderness without a single blade of grass.

Yuan Shao made his son Tan Inspector of Qing province. Tian Kai fought him but without success. Then Zhao Qi came to make peace in the east of the passes. Gongsun Zan accepted a truce with Yuan Shao and each side led their troops away.

In the third month Yuan Shao was at the Boluo Crossing. The troops in Wei commandery rebelled and joined Poison Yu and the Black Mountain bandits; their combined force numbered several tens of thousands. They stormed Ye city [the capital of Wei commandery] and killed the Administrator. Yuan Shao went back to camp at Chiqu. ⁷

- D In the summer, Cao Cao led his army back to Dingtao. ⁸

- E Wang Lang of Donghai, Headquarters Officer in Xu province, and the Attendant Officer Zhao Yu of Langye suggested to their Inspector Tao Qian, "If you wish to be numbered amongst the feudal lords, the best method is to show loyalty to the throne. ⁹ Now that the Son of Heaven is away in the western capital you should send a messenger to take tribute."

So Tao Qian sent Zhao Yu to take a memorial to Chang'an. An imperial edict promoted Tao Qian to be Governor of Xu province, with the additional title of General Who Gives Tranquillity to the East, and enfeoffed him as Marquis of [116] Liyang. ¹⁰ He appointed

7 The Boluo Crossing of the Zhang River was north of present-day Guangzong in Hebei, some thirty kilometres northwest of the Jie Bridge, scene of Yuan Shao's victory over Gongsun Zan in the previous year: passage D of Chuping 3.

Chiqu was in Wei commandery, by present-day Cheng'an in Hebei, some fifty kilometres from Ye. Both Ye and Chiqu were on the Zhang River, so Yuan Shao was moving his troops south by land and water to deal with the insurrection and the bandits who had supported it.

D SGZ 1:10 (28a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

8 Dingtao county, capital of Jiyn, was by present-day Dingtao in Shandong. Cao Cao had now no rival to his control of Yan province.

E SGZ 13:407 (25a), the Biography of Wang Lang;
HHS 73/63:2366-67 (10b), the Biography of Tao Qian.

9 *Zuo zhuan*, Xi 25; Legge, CC V, 195 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 368), attributes these words to the minister Hu Yan 狐偃 of the state of Jin 晉.

10 Tao Qian had hitherto been only the Inspector of Xu province, and the appointment as

Zhao Yu as Administrator of Guangling and Wang Lang as Administrator of Kuaiji.¹¹

Up to this time the people of Xu had been prosperous, with fair harvests, and many had taken refuge there. But then Tao Qian began to put his trust in slanderers and evil men, granting them office and keeping loyal and upright men at a distance. As law and government were poorly administered, the province declined into disorder.

F Xu Shao left his home [in Runan commandery] to go to Guangling and Tao Qian received him with utmost courtesy. Xu Shao, however, said to his followers, "Tao Gongzu [Tao Qian]¹² appears to admire people of my quality, but he is not genuine. Though he treats me generously, he will not always be in so agreeable." So he left him. Later, Tao Qian arrested all the gentlemen who had come to live in his province, and people admired Xu Shao for his prescience.

G In the sixth month there was great rain and hail in [You]fufeng.

1944 There was a landslide on Mount Hua.¹³

The Grand Commandant Zhou Zhong was dismissed, and the Minister Coachman Zhu Jun became Grand Commandant with control of the Secretariat. [117]

H Que Xuan of Xiapi collected a force of several thousand men and styled himself Son of Heaven. Tao Qian attacked and killed him.¹⁴

a general gave him formal military authority.

This county of Liyang was in Danyang commandery in Yang province. Though Tao Qian was himself a man from Danyang, the territory was not under his control at this time. As in the grants to Liu Biao and Yuan Shu (passage B above and passage EE of Chuping 3), the award of a marquisate was a largely empty honour, for the recipient was most unlikely to obtain any revenue from his notional fief. In formal terms, the court at Chang'an was following the tradition of Han, but in the circumstances of the time these awards were something of a joke.

11 Guangling was the southernmost commandery of Xu province, being immediately north of the mouth of the Yangzi. Kuaiji, extending along the south of Hangzhou Bay, was formally under Yang province. Wang Lang, however, was able to establish himself there (e.g. passage S of Jian'an 1), so it appears there was no co-ordinated government in the lands south of the Yangzi.

F *HHS* 68/58:2234 (8a), the Biography of Xu Shao.

12 Gongzu 恭祖 was the style of Tao Qian.

G *HHS* 9:374 (4a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

13 This landslide or rock-fall on one of China's most numinous mountains could be considered a sign of the troubles afflicting the dynasty. Surprisingly, despite its appearance in the Annals, Sima Biao does not list it at the appropriate place in the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 106/16:3334.

H *SGZ* 1:10 (28a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao;

I There were great rains day and night for twenty days and more, and the floods destroyed people's houses.¹⁵

J Yuan Shao led his army into the Luchang Hills of Chaoge county.¹⁶ He attacked Poison Yu, besieged him for five days and defeated him. He took the heads of Poison and over ten thousand of his men.

Yuan Shao then went north through the mountains. He attacked the bandit Zuo with the Eighty-foot Moustache, beheading him with all his followers. He also attacked Liu Shi, Green Ox-Horn, Yellow Dragon, Enclosure on the Left, Great-Virtue Guo, Big-Eyes Li and Yu Digen, killing tens of thousands more and destroying their camps and defences.¹⁷

He went on to fight in Changshan with the Black Mountain bandit Zhang Yan, with four detachments of the Chuge [group of the Xiongnu] and the Wuhuan from Yanmen.¹⁸ Zhang Yan had [118]

HHS 73/63:2367 (10b), the Biography of Tao Qian;

SGZ 8:248 (21a), the Biography of Tao Qian.

14 The source texts agree that Tao Qian had for some time tolerated Que Xuan and even formed an alliance with him to attack Taishan and Rengcheng in Yan province. Then, however, he turned on him and took over his troops. In *Kaoyi* commentary Sima Guang discounts this story.

HHS 73/63 has the surname of this rebel as Yan 閻, but Sima Guang preferred *HHS* 9:374 and the other two texts.

I *HHS* 9:374 (4a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

15 Neither *HHS* 103/13:3270 nor *HHS* 105/15:3312, the expected places in the Treatise of the Five Powers, record these rains and floods.

J *HHS* 74/64A:2381-82 (7a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

16 Chaoge county was in Henei, about present-day Qixian in Henan, and south of Wei commandery, which Yuan Shao now controlled. The hills were in the west of the county, a south-eastern extension of the Taihang ranges.

17 These men, together with Zhang Yan, also known as Flying Swallow Zhang, who is mentioned below, were leaders of the Black Mountain group of bandits, a loose confederation which had emerged at the time of the Yellow Turban disturbances in 184. See *Huan and Ling*, 377-379, with some discussion of the names and nicknames.

18 Changshan commandery was in Ji province, on the west of the plain and well north of Wei and Henei commanderies. Yuan Shao first attacked southwards, then marched north some 250 kilometres, more than 150 miles, clearing out the nests of bandits which had been established in the hill country along the edges of the Taihang Shan.

The Chuge 屠各, also known as the Xiuchuge 休屠各, were a group of Xiongnu who rose to increasing importance at this time. In 185, for example, they played a leading role in killing the Shanyu Qiangqu, father of Yufuluo: *Huan and Ling*, 397-398. On the various forms of the name of this people, and its pronunciation, see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 529-531 note 3.

The Wuhuan people inhabited the frontier territories of China between the Ordos

twenty or thirty thousand good soldiers and several thousand horsemen. Yuan Shao and Lü Bu attacked him together, and the fighting continued for more than ten days. Many of Zhang Yan's troops were killed or wounded, but Yuan Shao's army was also exhausted, and both sides drew back.

K Many of Lü Bu's troops had acted cruelly, and Yuan Shao was concerned about it.¹⁹ Then Lü Bu asked to go back to Luoyang. Yuan Shao claimed the authority to appoint Lü Bu as Director of the Retainers, and sent a strong escort to accompany him. Secretly, however, he planned that his men should kill Lü Bu.

1945 Lü Bu set a man to strum music in his tent,²⁰ but he himself went into hiding. During the night, the men of the escort got up and hacked the tent and coverlets and destroyed everything inside. Next day, when Yuan Shao learnt that Lü Bu was still alive, he was so frightened that he closed the gates of the city to protect himself.

Lü Bu led his troops back to join Zhang Yang [in Henei].

L The former Grand Commandant Cao Song had taken refuge in Langye. His son Cao Cao ordered Ying Shao, Administrator of Taishan, to invite him.²¹ [119]

Cao Song's baggage required more than a hundred carts. Tao Qian had stationed a garrison at Yinping, and the soldiers there were greedy for the treasure. They made a surprise attack on Cao Song between Hua and Fei and killed him, together with his younger son De.²²

loop of the Yellow River and the sea. Yanmen commandery bordered Changshan on the north.

K *HHS* 75/65:2445 (10b), the Biography of Lü Bu;
SGZ 7:220 (3b), the Biography of Lü Bu.

19 Though *ZZTJ* does not make the point, both *HHS* 75/65 and *SGZ* 7 say that Lü Bu had played a leading and most effective role in the attacks against Zhang Yan.

20 The instrument was the *zheng* 箏 zither, a speciality of Lü Bu's home country in the northwest of China. Sources disagree whether it had five or thirteen strings.

L *HHS* 78/68:2519 (9b), the Biography of Cao Teng in the Chapter on the Eunuchs;
HHS 73/63:2367 (10b-11a), the Biography of Tao Qian;
SGZ 1:10-11 (28b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 1:10-11 (29a-b) PC quoting *Wei-Jin shiyu*;
SGZ 1:10-11 (29b) PC quoting the *Wu shu* of Wei Zhao/Yao;
SGZ 8:249 (21b), the Biography of Tao Qian.

21 Taishan was the easternmost territory of Yan province, so Ying Shao was under Cao Cao's formal authority.

22 Yinping county was in Donghai, near present-day Zaozhuang in Jiangsu. Hua city was in Fei county in Taishan, near present-day Fei in Shandong, some eighty kilometres to

In the autumn, Cao Cao led his men to attack Tao Qian. He stormed more than ten cities, and came to Pengcheng, where there was a great battle. Tao Qian's army was defeated and he fled to take refuge in Tan.²³

Before this, as the capital [Chang'an] and Luoyang were suffering from the disorders of Dong Zhuo their people migrated to the east, and many had come to Xu. As Cao Cao came up, he trapped and killed hundreds of thousands of men and women along the Si River, so many that the water did not flow.²⁴ [120]

Cao Cao was unsuccessful in his attack on Tan, but he stormed and massacred Qulü, Suiling and Xiaqiu. The cities were laid waste, no-one was left alive, and even the chickens and dogs were gone.²⁵

the north. [The modern pronunciation of the name of the county is Fei, but *ZZTJ* commentary says it should be sounded as Bi. The variant reflects the changes of sound over time, and I have accepted the modern form.]

There are several accounts of this incident, which differ both in detail and in substance. Among particular variations, we may note that:

- The main text of *SGZ* 1 has no reference to the murder of Cao Song, but says simply that Tao Qian, having taken over the troops of the rebel Que Xuan (passage H above), occupied the region of Hua and Fei, then plundered in Rencheng. Taishan and Rencheng were in Yan province of Han, so Cao Cao was defending his own territory.
- *HHS* 73/63, followed here by *ZZTJ*, says that it was a detachment of Tao Qian's troops, not under his direct control, who went on the raid from Yinping;
- The *Wu shu* of Wei Zhao says that Tao Qian sent two hundred men to serve as an escort to Cao Song, but that instead they robbed and murdered him;
- *Wei-Jin shiyu* says that Tao Qian personally despatched several thousand troops to join the attack.

So accounts of Tao Qian's responsibility differ, and disagreement between the sources may reflect political relationships with Cao Cao and his successors in the state of Wei at the time they were written. *ZZTJ* presents a coherent and credible story, but it is clear that Cao Cao blamed the misfortune on Tao Qian.

There is also confusion about the given name of the unfortunate younger son of Cao Song. The modern edition of *ZZTJ* identifies the name as Deqiu 德秋; but the text of *Wei-Jin shiyu* is clear that the character *qiu* is not part of the name, but belongs at the beginning of the following sentence as "In the autumn..." [Similarly, *HHS* 78/68 has the character *ji* 疾 at this point, and the Beijing edition punctuates it as a name; it should, however, be interpreted as "urgently" or "hurriedly," describing the manner in which Cao Song and his son sought to escape from the disturbances.] It seems certain that the young man's name was De: deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 27 note 44.

23 Tan, by present-day Tancheng in Shandong, was the capital of Donghai.

24 On this incident, see the following note 91.

25 These counties were all in Xiapi: Qulü (also pronounced Qiulu) was near Suining in Jiangsu, Suiling in the area of the Hongzi Lake, and Xiaqiu by Si in Anhui. [The

- M In the winter, in the tenth month, on the day *xinchou* [3 Dec] there was an earthquake in the capital district.²⁶
 There was a comet in the Heavenly Market.²⁷

punctuated edition of *ZZTJ* fails to mark the character 取 (here pronounced *qu*) as part of the name Qulü/Qiulu 取慮.]

This campaign is discussed by deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 74-75ff, and by Diény, "Une guerre de Cao Cao," but the sources are contradictory.

HHS 73/63 says that when Cao Cao first attacked Tao Qian they fought at Fuyang 傅陽 in Pengcheng, after which Tao Qian took refuge in Tan. After Cao Cao had failed to take that city he retired (乃還 *nai huan*), but "passed through" (過 *guo*) Qulü, Suiling and Xiaqiu, and it was at that time that he slaughtered the refugees at the Si River.

SGZ 8, however, says that the first battle took place in Pengcheng – not mentioning a particular county – and that the bodies which blocked the Si River were those of Tao Qian's routed troops. Tao Qian then took refuge in Tan, and Cao Cao withdrew because he was short of supplies. In doing so, however, he was moving north, and he would not have passed through Xiapi, which lay well to the south. In the following year, however, he returned for a further and more extensive punitive expedition.

If one attempts to combine the two narratives, the best interpretation appears to be that:

- In Chuping 4: 193 he moved directly south from his base in Tan province, past Fei and Yinping into Pengcheng, where he defeated Tao Qian's forces, The Si River flowed past Pengcheng, and it is in that area that the defeated troops were killed or drowned. Tao Qian himself withdrew eastwards to Tan, and after a brief assault Cao Cao retired – possibly because his supplies were running low.
- In the following year, Xingping 1: 194, he made a second attack, and this time he went further south, into Xiapi, where he ravaged Qulü, Xiaqiu and Suiling and killed great numbers of refugees. As may be seen on Map 8, however, these counties lay south of the Si River, and their people would probably have fled south before the invaders: any drownings are as likely to have taken place in the Huai River as in the Si.

Here and in passage B to Xingping 1, Sima Guang has attempted to combine the disparate accounts, but I am not entirely sure that he is correct. See note 7 to that passage.

- M *HHS* 9:375 (4b-5a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.
 26 The Treatise of the Five Powers has no record of this earthquake at the expected place in *HHS* 106/16:3332.
 27 This comet is described and discussed in *HHS* 102/12, 3260, the Treatise of Astronomy. The comet appeared first between the two Horns, α and ζ of Western Virgo, which are part of the first lunar mansion, *Jue* 角宿; Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 487 and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 94-95 and Star Map 2. It then travelled northeast into the Heavenly Market Enclosure (天市垣 *Tianshi yuan*), a circle of stars extending over Western Hercules, Serpens and Ophiuchus; Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 536, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 84 and Star Maps 3 and 4.

Prognostication in the Treatise and in *HHJ* 27:10a, also quoted in commentary to *HHS* 9, relate this comet to the escape of Emperor Xian from Chang'an to the east two

1946 The Excellency of Works Yang Biao was dismissed. On the day *bingwu* [8 Dec] the Minister of Ceremonies Zhao Wen became Excellency of Works with control of the Secretariat.

N Liu Yu and Gongsun Zan had long been on bad terms. Gongsun Zan had often attacked Yuan Shao, and though Liu Yu forbade him he could not enforce his orders. He therefore reduced the supplies sent to Gongsun Zan.

Gongsun Zan was angry. He repeatedly disobeyed instructions and he plundered the people. Liu Yu could not control him, and he had a courier take a memorial to the emperor setting out [Gongsun Zan's] crimes of cruelty and robbery. Gongsun Zan for his part complained that Liu Yu was [121] did not send adequate supplies. When the two documents were presented, each accusing the other, the court could do no more than temporise, replying to each in vaguely favourable terms, but making no decision.

Gongsun Zan built a small fort in the southeast of Ji city and went to live there.²⁸ Liu Yu asked to meet him on several occasions, but Gongsun Zan claimed he was ill and would not agree. Liu Yu suspected that he was preparing to rebel, so he collected the soldiers of his province, a hundred thousand men, and attacked him. At that time Gongsun Zan's men were scattered outside the city, and in their hurry to escape they even attempted to break through the eastern wall of the city.

Liu Yu's soldiers, however, had no organisation and no training in battle. He respected the houses of civilians, giving strict orders not to burn them, and he warned the commanders of his army, "We do not harm others, we have only to kill one Bogui [Gongsun Zan]."²⁹ They attacked and besieged the fort but could not take it.

Then Gongsun Zan picked a few hundred of his best men, took advantage of the wind to set a fire, and charged through the enemy

years later.

N *HHS* 73/63:2356-57 (3a-4a), the Biography of Liu Yu;

SGZ 8:243 (9b-10a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan.

28 Ji city was south of Daxing in the municipal territory of Beijing, south of the modern capital.

Ji was the chief county of Guangyang commandery, and the city was the headquarters of You province under Later Han, so Gongsun Zan had established a military position against Liu Yu within the walls of his own capital.

29 Bogui 伯珪 was the style of Gongsun Zan.

lines. Liu Yu's force disintegrated, and he fled north with his officers to Juyong.³⁰

Gongsun Zan pursued and attacked him, and after three days the city fell. He captured Liu Yu and his wife and children and brought them back to Ji, still keeping him in nominal charge of the civil administration of the province.

At this time an edict sent the messenger Duan Xun to grant Liu Yu a larger fief, with command over six provinces.³¹ Gongsun Zan was made [122] General of the Van and Marquis of Yi.³²

Gongsun Zan, however, now presented a false allegation that Liu Yu had previously made plans with Yuan Shao that he should take the imperial title,³³ and he compelled Duan Xun to have Liu Yu, his wife and children executed in the market-place at Ji.

O Sun Jin, former Chancellor of Changshan, joined the officers Zhang Yi and Zhang Zan and went to Liu Yu. They laid every curse

30 Juyong county was in Shanggu commandery, by present-day Yanqing in Hebei, just north of the Badaling Pass of the Great Wall, which was also fortifiable at this time.

31 Though this is the only reference to the mission of Duan Xun, it appears that his position was comparable to that of Ma Midi and Zhao Qi, who had been sent out with plenipotentiary powers in the previous year: passage CC and note 56 to Chuping 3.

On the other hand, it is hard to believe that the regime at Chang'an intended to appoint Liu Yu overlord of six provinces. We have been told just above that it failed to give clear support to either Liu Yu or Gongsun Zan in the course of their quarrel, while the grant of six provinces, presumably comprising You, Ji, Qing, Xu, Yan and Yu in the east of the empire, would have grossly offended such leaders as Tao Qian, Yuan Shu and Cao Cao, all of whom had been lately confirmed in their authority within one or other of those territories.

One must assume either that the historian has exaggerated, to point the contrast between the splendours offered Liu Yu and the reality of his miserable death; or perhaps that Duan Xun was pushing his authority to the limit in some manoeuvre which might support Liu Yu at his time of trial – a manoeuvre which failed to over-awe the brutal determination of Gongsun Zan.

32 Yi county was in Hejian in Ji province, near Xiong in Hebei, about a hundred kilometres south of Ji city. Unusually for the fiefs granted to warlords at this time, the territory lay within Gongsun Zan's area of control (*cf.* notes 6 and 10 above), and it could indeed provide a central position for the government of You province and his ambitions southwards into Ji province against Yuan Shao. It seems likely that Gongsun Zan had influence over Duan Xun in the selection of his nominal fief.

33 This must refer to the time that Yuan Shao and the leaders east of the mountains had discussed nominating Liu Yu as Emperor: passage B of Chuping 2.

O SGZ 8:244 (11a) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

P HHS 73/63, 2357 (4a), the Biography of Liu Yu.

Q SGZ 11:430-31 (10b-12a), the Biography of Tian Chou.

they could think of upon Gongsun Zan, then they died together with Liu Yu.

P Gongsun Zan sent Liu Yu's head to the capital. Wei Dun, a former officer of Liu Yu, intercepted and seized the head from the couriers, brought it back and buried it.

By his grace and generosity, Liu Yu had gained the affection of his people, and in the northern provinces not one of those who had migrated [into You] or who were native [to You] failed to mourn him with bitter grief.

1947

Q Before this, when Liu Yu was intending to send a messenger to take a report to Chang'an, he found it difficult to decide on the right man. Everyone said, "Tian Chou of Youbeiping is only twenty-two, but although he is young he is remarkably able." So Liu Yu sent him a courteous invitation to join his service.

He had already prepared a chariot with an escort of cavalry, but Tian Chou said, "The roads are blocked and there are robbers and bandits everywhere. If you give me an official [123] commission, everyone will notice me. I wish to go privately, and with luck I may get through." Liu Yu agreed.

Tian Chou collected twenty horsemen from his family retainers, and they went together up to the western pass, across the frontier, along the northern mountains, and then straight to Shuofang. From there they travelled by side-roads to Chang'an and delivered the message.³⁴

An edict appointed Tian Chou as a Commandant of Cavalry. Because the emperor at that time was a wanderer and had no security, however, Tian Chou felt this was no time for a subject to receive favours and rewards, and that he could not accept the honour. He refused it firmly, and as soon as he had a reply to Liu Yu's message he hurried back. Liu Yu, however, was dead before he arrived.³⁵

34 Commentary identifies this Western Pass as the Juyong Pass 居庸關, present-day Badaling, north of Beijing: note 30 above. The Northern Mountains are the Yin Shan 陰山 range of Inner Mongolia, north of the Ordos.

Tian Chou thus went north from Liu Yu's headquarters at Ji city, through the line of the Great Wall, then travelled outside the northern frontier of the empire to Shuofang commandery, on the west of the great loop of the Yellow River. From there he made his way southwards to the Wei River and Chang'an.

35 Tian Chou's biography in *SGZ* suggests that he was commissioned for this journey soon after Dong Zhuo had shifted the emperor to Chang'an in Chuping 1; that is three or four years before Liu Yu was killed. It must have been a later expedition, however,

Tian Chou went to make sacrifice at Liu Yu's grave, displayed the document he had been entrusted with, wept and went away.

Gongsun Zan was angry. He offered a reward and captured Tian Chou, then asked him, "You did not pass the message to me. Why not?"

"The Han house is in decline," replied Tian Chou, "and people are getting ideas of rebellion. Lord Liu was the one man who never lacked loyalty or honour. The message I carried was not flattering to you, and I fear you would not have been pleased to hear it. So I did not come forward.

"Furthermore, you have just destroyed an innocent lord [Liu Yu] and you are hostile to an honest subject [myself, Tian Chou]. I regret to say that the men of Yan and Zhao would prefer to leap into [124] the Eastern Sea and drown themselves, rather than follow you."³⁶ Gongsun Zan let him go.

Tian Chou went back north to Wuzhong,³⁷ where he gathered together several hundred of his clans-people and others that came to him. They cleared the ground and made covenant together, "Unless our lord's enemy suffers vengeance we can remain no longer in the world." Then they went into the Xuwu hills,³⁸ made camp in some open land among steep passes, and lived there. Tian Chou himself tilled the ground to keep his father and mother. People came to join him there, and in several years their numbers grew until there were more than five thousand families.

Tian Chou then spoke to the elders and said, "Now the people here are as many as a city, yet there is no single government for them and no laws to guide them. I fear this is not the way to keep our peace.

possibly carrying another complaint of Liu Yu against Gongsun Zan. On the other hand, if the journey was so difficult, one wonders how the envoy Duan Xun managed to get through from the capital. The purpose of the tale, however, is to demonstrate Tian Chou's enterprise, imagination and loyalty, not to chronicle the communications of Liu Yu with the imperial court.

36 The phrase Yan 燕 and Zhao 趙 refers here to the two states of that name during the Warring States period, and is a general term for this region of the north. Compare note 32 of Chuping 2.

37 Tian Chou was a native of Wuzhong county in Youbeiping, about present-day Ji in Hebei.

38 Xuwu county in Youbeiping was about Yutian in Hebei, and the hills are part of the dividing range north of the coastal plain followed by the line of the Great Wall west of present-day Shanhaiguan.

Foolish though it may be, I have a plan, and with your help I would seek to put it to effect. May I do so?" All replied, "Do so."

Then Tian Chou proclaimed his code. Those who killed or wounded one another, those who robbed and those who quarrelled should answer for their fault according to its severity. The heaviest penalty was death. Altogether there were some twenty articles.³⁹ He also set out ceremonies for marriage and for the courses taught in the schools.

1948 He proclaimed these among the people, and all found them easy to follow. Eventually the government was so well maintained that things found on the road were not touched [but left there for their owners to collect].⁴⁰

All in the north had trust in him and submitted to his authority, while both the Wuhuan and the Xianbi sent messengers with offerings of food. Tian Chou treated them well and accepted them, and ordered them not to invade the borders.⁴¹ [125]

R In the twelfth month, on the day *xinchou* [1 Feb 194] there was an earthquake.⁴² The Excellency of Works Zhao Wen was dismissed. On the day *yisi* [5 Feb] the Minister of the Guards Zhang Xi was made Excellency of Works. [126>127]

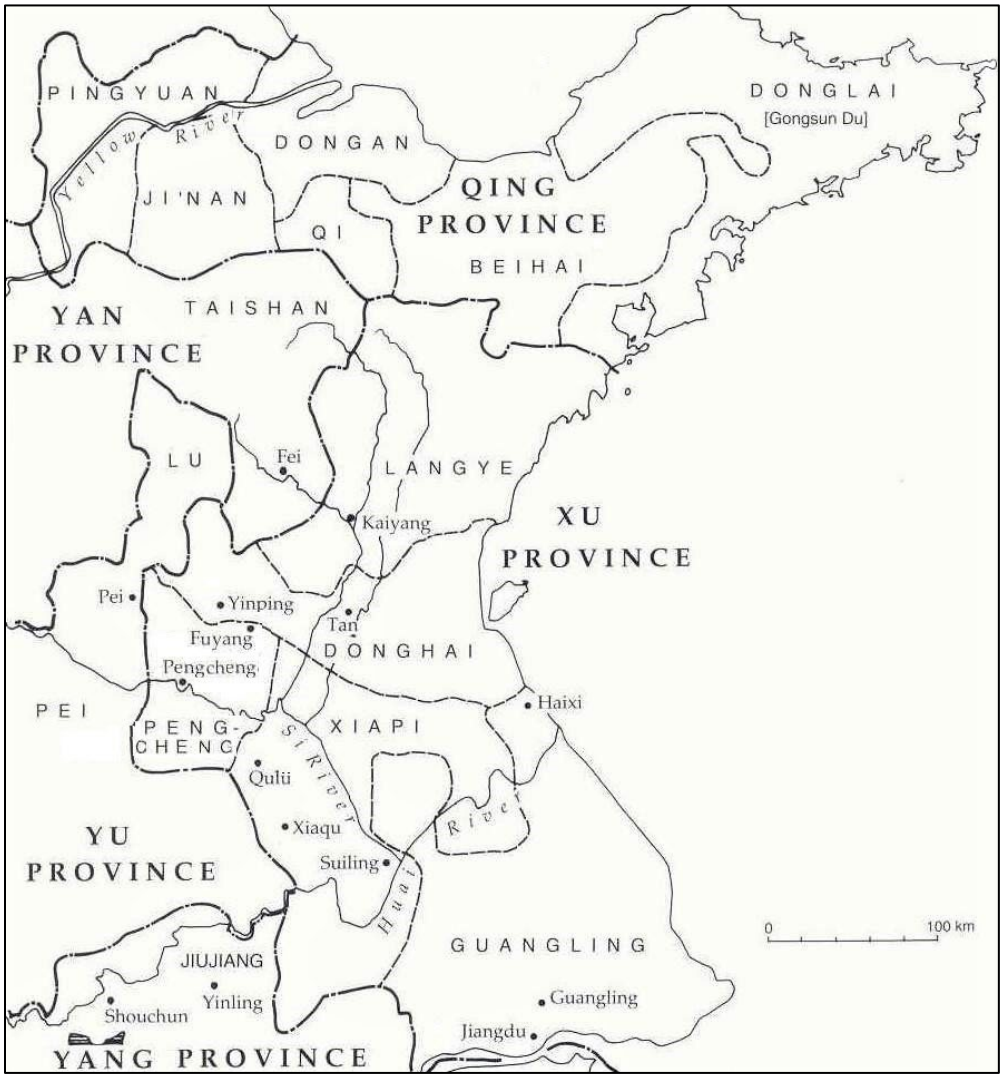
39 *SGZ* has the number as 二十 twenty, but *ZZTJ* has miswritten the first character as 一.

40 This is a cliché of the ideal well-governed community: see also the account of the influence of Wang Lie in passage OO of Chuping 2.

41 His biography tells us that Tian Chou took pleasure in books and was also skilled in war. The picture is that of a respected member of the local elite, and the government that he established is frequently taken as a model of the self-supporting, independent administration which was established in various regions of China under the authority of a local leader during this time of crisis. See, for example, *Cambridge China I*, 630 note 75 [Ebrey, "Economic and Social History of Later Han"], and Tanigawa, *Medieval Society and the Local "Community"*, 106-109.

R *HHS* 9:375 (4b-5a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

42 The Treatise of the Five Powers has no record of this earthquake at the expected place in *HHS* 106/16:3332.



Map 8: Xu and Qing provinces 193-194

CHAPTER 61

*being Chapter 53 of the Chronicle of Han
containing Part 3 of the reign of Emperor Xian*

Xingping 1: 194 AD

9 February 194 – 28 January 195

1949

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *xinyou* [21 Feb] there was an amnesty for the empire.¹ On the day *jiazi* [24 Feb] the emperor took the Cap of Manhood.²

In the second month on the day *wuyin* [10 Mar] the high officials recommended that a Palace of Prolonged Autumn be established.³ An edict said, "How can I contemplate the choice of my harem when the burial place for my late mother has still not been decided?"

On the day *renwu* [14 Mar] the three excellencies recommended that the grave of the emperor's mother the Lady Wang be moved [to the Wenzhao Mausoleum of Emperor Ling], and that she be granted posthumous title as Remembered Empress of Emperor Ling.⁴ [128]

A *HHS* 9:375 (5a), the Annals of Emperor Xian,
HHS 10B:452 (11b), the Biography of the Lady Wang.

1 It was at this time that the reign-title was changed from Chuping to Xingping.

2 The phrase *jia yuanfu* 加元服 refers to the ceremony of Capping, signifying coming of age. See, for example, *Yi li* 1; Couvreur, *Cérémonial*, 1-24. The ceremony is discussed in *HHS* 94/4:3105, the Treatise of Ceremonial, where the main text and the commentary present various versions of the procedure: Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 87.

According to *Bohu tong* 10:1b-2a; Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 613, a man should be capped at the age of twenty. Emperor Xian, however, was only fourteen, and such youthful coming of age had been common for the reigning emperors of Later Han: Emperor He was capped at thirteen, Emperor An at sixteen, Emperor Shun at fifteen, Emperor Huan at seventeen, and Emperor Ling at fifteen. Likewise, though *Bohu tong* says that the ceremony can be carried out at any time of the year, the Treatise says that it should be in the first month, and for each of the young rulers a favourable *zi* 子 day, first of the sequence of twelve branches in the sexagenary calendar, was chosen: Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 66 and 69 note 1 citing Qian Dazhao of Qing.

3 Prolonged Autumn (長秋 *Changqiu*) was the name given to the apartments of the Empress within the imperial palace compound: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 69, and *cf.* note 15 to Zhongping 6. So it was proposed that the emperor should now take himself a full consort.

4 The Beauty Wang, mother of Emperor Xian, had been murdered by the Empress He soon after she had given birth to him in 181: *HHS* 10B:450; *Huan and Ling*, 339. The fuller text of the emperor's complaint, in *HHS* 10B, observes that no auguries had been taken for her final resting place, nor had the rituals been fully carried out.

HHS 10B records that a high-ranking mission was sent to the ruined city of Luoyang to transfer the body of the Lady Wang to the mausoleum of the late Emperor

- B Tao Qian told Tian Kai of his imminent danger [from Cao Cao] and Tian Kai came with the Chancellor of Pingyuan, Liu Bei, to bring him help.⁵ Liu Bei had a few thousand soldiers of his own, but Tao Qian allocated him four thousand more from Danyang, so Liu Bei left Tian Kai and joined Tao Qian. Tao Qian recommended him as Inspector of Yu province and he camped at Xiaopei.⁶
- 1950 Cao Cao's supplies were also exhausted, and he led his men back.⁷

Ling. The name of her tomb, shared with her murderess the Empress-Dowager He, was Mound of Accomplished Display (文詔陵 *Wenzhao ling*). See also note 83 to Zhongping 6.

The appellation Huai 懷 "Remembered" had earlier been given to the Lady Liang, natural mother of Emperor He, who was similarly ill-treated by the Empress Dou 竇 of Emperor Zhang: *Huan and Ling*, 253 with note 19. The character may be understood as "cherished," "regretted" and "mourned for." The same title was given to the Little Emperor, son of the Empress He and half-brother of Emperor Xian, after his death at the hands of Dong Zhuo in 189: note 5 to Chuping 1.

- B SGZ 32 (Shu 2):872 (5a), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 8:249 (21b), the Biography of Tao Qian.
- 5 Tian Kai was Gongsun Zan's nominee as Inspector of Qing province, immediately to the north of Tao Qian in Xu province: passage Y of Chuping 2 above. Pingyuan, at this time a kingdom, was in the region of Qing province, across the mouth of the Yellow River
- 6 Xiaopei 小沛 "Lesser Pei" refers to Pei county in the kingdom of that name. The city was close to present-day Pei in Shandong.

Pei kingdom was part of Yu province, but its territory extended along the western border of Xu, and Pei county was in the northeastern corner, very close to Tao Qian's territory and to the province of Yan controlled by Cao Cao. Though the claim to make Liu Bei Inspector of Yu province appeared extravagant, it was primarily a defensive move by Tao Qian: he sought to open a southern flank against Cao Cao, and as Inspector Liu Bei had the theoretical right to recruit troops in the territory to his south and west.

Danyang commandery, however, was in Yang province, south of the Yangzi, and Tao Qian at that time had no direct control there. He was himself, however, originally from Danyang, so it is likely that these were volunteers or refugees who had come north to join his service. Such landless men could then be induced to follow another expatriate leader such as Liu Bei.

- 7 This sentence appears in the Biography of Tao Qian in SGZ 8. I believe, however, that it is misplaced here, for it relates to the campaign of the year before. See note 91 to passage L of Chuping 4. As in passage D following, Cao Cao was continuing his campaign of destruction, and his withdrawal from Xu province was on account of the insurrection of Zhang Miao, not from any shortage of supplies.
- C HHS 72/62:2335 (11b-12a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;
SGZ 6:182 (24b-25a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.

- C Ma Teng had some private request of Li Jue, but did not get what he wanted. Angry, he planned to raise troops against the capital. The emperor sent messengers to encourage reconciliation, but Ma Teng refused.

Han Sui led [129] his forces to make peace between Ma Teng and Li Jue, but then he too joined Ma Teng.

The Counsellor Remonstrant Chong Shao, the Palace Attendant Ma Yu and the General of the Household on the Left Liu Fan made plans for Ma Teng to attack Chang'an. They would then act as his supporters inside the city and kill Li Jue and his allies.

[In the third month] on the day *renshen* [*?gengshen* = 21 Apr]⁸ Ma Teng brought his soldiers into position at the Changping Observatory.⁹ Chong Shao and his fellow-conspirators were found out and fled to Huaili. Li Jue sent Fan Chou, Guo Si and his elder brother's son Li Li to attack Ma Teng. Ma Teng was defeated and fled, and went back to Liang province. The army then turned against Huaili, and Chong Shao and the others were all killed.

On the day *gengshen* [*?renshen* = 3 May] an edict was issued to pardon Ma Teng and his supporters.

In the summer, in the fourth month Ma Teng was made General Who Gives Tranquillity to the Northern Barbarians and Han Sui was made General Who Gives Tranquillity to the Submissive.

- D Cao Cao ordered his Major Xun Yu, with Cheng Yu the magistrate of Shouzhong, to guard Juancheng while he went once more to attack Tao Qian.¹⁰ Seizing territory as far as Langye and Donghai, he destroyed everything he passed. Then he turned back and defeated Liu Bei east of Tan.

8 *HHS* 9:375 mentions the month in which these events took place; *HHJ* 27:14a gives the days. In the Chinese calendar, however, the day *gengshen* 庚申, cyclical number 57, comes shortly before *renshen* 壬申, cyclical number 9. As the incident was concluded quite quickly, it is probable that the days have been transposed.

9 The Changping Slope 長平陵 was a ridge of high ground in Chiyang county between the Jing and Wei Rivers, some fifty *li*, about twenty kilometres or twelve miles, northwest of Chang'an. The Observatory 觀 was presumably a pavilion complex built on a terrace at that vantage point. It is mentioned in *Sanfu huangtu* 5.9.

D *SGZ* 1:11 (30a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
HHS 73/63:2368 (11a), the Biography of Tao Qian.

10 Juancheng was in Jiyin, near present-day Juancheng in Shandong. The titles of Cao Cao's officers appear in their biographies at *SGZ* 10:308 and *SGZ* 14:426.

Tao Qian was frightened and wanted to escape to his home country in Danyang, but just at this time the Administrator of Chenliu, Zhang Miao, rebelled against Cao Cao and called in Lü Bu, so Cao Cao led his army back. [130]

E As a young man, Zhang Miao had enjoyed acting as a knight-errant,¹¹ and he was on good terms with both Yuan Shao and Cao Cao. When Yuan Shao became the leader of the alliance [against Dong Zhuo] he behaved arrogantly and Zhang Miao spoke straight and told him so. Yuan Shao was angry and told Cao Cao to kill him, but Cao Cao refused, "Mengzhuo [Zhang Miao] is a close friend.¹² Right or wrong, we should show him tolerance. Now, while the empire is still not settled, how can we be a danger to one another?"

1951 When Cao Cao first attacked Tao Qian, he was prepared to give his life in the cause.¹³ He told his family, "If I do not come back, go and seek refuge with Mengzhuo." Later, when he returned and saw Zhang Miao, they wept for emotion.

F Gao Rou of Chenliu said to his countrymen, "At present General Cao holds only Yan province, but in his heart he has plans for conquest everywhere. He will never be content to stay here. And at the same

E SGZ 7:221 (4b), the Biography of Zhang Miao.

11 The expression *xia* 俠 appears in various combinations in texts of the Han period, and it has been discussed by James Liu as *The Chinese Knight-Errant*. The reality of most of the cases cited, however, even in literature, does not well reflect Western understanding of the English term, generally associated with at least an ideal of chivalry and goodwill. In China, reference to activity as a "knight-errant" may better be regarded as a euphemism for the keeping of private retainers, generally accompanied by action as a local bully and often descending to simple banditry. Men described as *xia* were basically fighting men waiting for someone to hire them.

For a devastating, but to my mind justified, critique of these "heroes" in literature, see Hsia, *Classic Chinese Novel*, 86-114, discussing *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳. On the concept and conduct of *xia* in the Han period, see Ch'ü, *Social Structure*, 185-195.

Zhang Miao had been celebrated for his activity in this line, but he was evidently less thug-like than many such leaders of armed bands, and he was well regarded among the gentry of his day: he was one of the eight "Treasurers" (廚 *chu*) praised by student groups at the capital during the Faction affair at the end of the reign of Emperor Huan; a Treasurer being defined as a man who could assist others by means of his wealth: HHS 67/57:2187; *Huan and Ling*, 221.

12 Mengzhuo 孟卓 was the style of Zhang Miao.

13 I can find no direct source for the statement that "he was prepared to give his life in the cause" 志在必死. It may be assumed from the context of SGZ 7, however, and there is a similar phrase in the Biography of Cao Cao at SGZ 1:11: "He was determined to renew his campaign of revenge to the east [against Tao Qian]" 志在復讎東伐.

time, Magistrate Zhang,¹⁴ with all the wealth of Chenliu, is just waiting for an occasion to make rebellion. If we are to avoid complications, I believe we should leave this territory. What do you say?" Everyone thought that [131] Cao Cao and Zhang Miao were close friends, and they considered Gao Rou too young, so they would not follow his suggestion. Then Gao Rou's elder cousin Gao Gan invited him to come north of the Yellow River [into Ji province], so he took his family and went to join him.

G When Lü Bu left Yuan Shao and was on the way to Zhang Yang,¹⁵ he stayed with Zhang Miao, and as he was about to leave they took hands and swore an oath together. Yuan Shao heard about this and was very angry. Zhang Miao was afraid that in the end Cao Cao would kill him as a favour to Yuan Shao. He too felt uneasy.

H The former Administrator of Jiujiang, Bian Rang of Chenliu, had criticised Cao Cao. When Cao Cao heard of it, he killed Bian Rang with his wife and children. Since Bian Rang had been known for his ability, all the leading men of Yan province were worried.¹⁶

I Chen Gong by nature was upright, strong and impetuous. He too felt unsure of his position, and with the Gentlemen of the General Staff Xu Si and Wang Kai, and Zhang Miao's younger brother Chao, he made plans to rebel against Cao Cao.¹⁷

F SGZ 24:682 (10a), the Biography of Gao Rou.

14 *Fujun* 府君 was a term of address for the head of a commandery unit.

G SGZ 7:221 (4b-5a), the Biography of Zhang Miao;
HHS 75/65:2446 (11a), the Biography of Zhang Miao.

15 This was two years earlier, in 192: passage BB of Chuping 3 above.

H Adapted by Sima Guang from SGZ 1:55 (130a) PC quoting *Cao Man zhuan*; and a proclamation of Yuan Shao recorded in *Weishi chunqiu* and quoted in SGZ 6:197 (55a) PC, and HHS 74/64A:2394 (15a).

16 The biography of Bian Rang is in HHS 80/70B, 2640-47. He was a distinguished composer of *fu* 賦 rhapsodies, who served a short term in Jiujiang commandery, with limited success, during the early 190s. He had only lately returned to his home in Chenliu when he incurred Cao Cao's wrath.

I HHS 75/65, 2446 (11a), the Biography of Zhang Miao,
with TC quoting *Dian lue*;

SGZ 7, 221 (5a), the Biography of Zhang Miao

17 Chen Gong, an officer under Cao Cao, had been responsible for his appointment to Yan province: passage M to Chuping 3. His military command was in the northern part of Dong commandery: passage M and note 26 below.

Gentlemen of the General Staff (從事中郎 *congshi zhonglang*) held office at the headquarters of a general: HHS 114/24:3564 and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 124 [as Attendant Gentlemen of the Household].

He said to Zhang Miao, "The empire is divided and fallen, and the brave men rise up together. With the forces of a thousand *li* you occupy territory on the open plain, exposed to war on every side. Holding a sword, you may gaze around proudly, and you are worthy to be a leader of men. Yet you prefer to take your orders from another. Isn't that mean-spirited? [132]

"Now the provincial army is away fighting in the east and this area is empty. Lü Bu is a strong soldier and a superb fighting man. Call him in for a while, govern Yan province together, watch the situation of the empire and wait for the changes of circumstance. Now is now the ideal time for such a strategic move." Zhang Miao agreed.

At this time, Cao Cao had ordered Chen Gong to lead a force into camp in Dong commandery, so Chen Gong now took his army and secretly invited Lü Bu to come and take over as Governor of Yan province.

J When Lü Bu arrived, Zhang Miao sent his follower Liu Yi to tell Xun Yu, "General Lü has come to assist Commissioner Cao in his attack on Tao Qian.¹⁸ You must quickly gather supplies for his army." Everyone was suspicious and uneasy, and Xun Yu realised that Zhang Miao planned to rebel. He immediately ordered his men to prepare themselves, and sent an urgent message to call Xiahou Dun, the Administrator of Dong commandery, from Puyang. As Xiahou Dun left, Lü Bu occupied the city.¹⁹

At this time Cao Cao had committed the bulk of his forces to the attack on Tao Qian. There were few soldiers left on guard, and many of the commanders and senior officials had made contact with Zhang Miao and Chen Gong. The same night Xiahou Dun arrived, however, he executed several dozen men who had planned rebellion, and the army was settled.

1952 The Inspector of Yu province, Guo Gong, brought an army of several ten thousand men below the walls of [Juancheng] city. Some said that he was in the plan with Lü Bu, and everyone was afraid.

J SGZ 10:308 (5b), the Biography of Xun Yu.

18 "Commissioner" (使君 *shijun*) was a term of address for the head of a province.

As in passage D above, Xun Yu was at Juancheng in Jiyin, north of Chenliu in the centre of the province: see Map 6 at 103.

19 Puyang was the capital of Dong commandery, just south of the Yellow River by present-day Puyang in Shandong. The River at this time ran slightly north of its modern course in this area: the present-day city of Puyang is now north of the stream.

Guo Gong asked to see Xun Yu. Xun Yu was prepared to go, but Xiahou Dun and the others said, "You are the safeguard for the whole province. If you go you will certainly be in danger. You must not do it."

"Guo Gong knows almost nothing about Zhang Miao's party," replied Xun Yu, "for they have had little to do with each other in the past.²⁰ He has only recently arrived, and has surely [133] not made up his mind what to do. If I talk with him while he is still uncertain, then even if I cannot get him to join us, I may at least persuade him to stay neutral. On the other hand, should I appear to distrust him he will certainly become angry and will decide against us."

Guo Gong saw that Xun Yu was quite unafraid. Judging that Juancheng would be difficult to attack, he led his men away.

K All the commanderies and counties of Yan province now turned to Lü Bu, and only Juancheng, Fan and Dong'a remained loyal.²¹ Deserters from Lü Bu's army said, "Chen Gong is coming to take Dong'a, and he will send Fan Yi to capture Fan." Everyone was frightened.

Cheng Yu was originally a man from Dong'a. Xun Yu said to him, "The whole province has rebelled and only these three cities remain. Chen Gong and his fellows will attack them with a strong force. Unless we can bolster their confidence, all three will change sides. The people look up to you. Go and encourage them."

On his way home, Cheng Yu passed by Fan and spoke to the magistrate Jin Yun, "I have heard that Lü Bu holds your mother and your younger brother, your wife and your children. As a filial son, how can you bear this? But the empire is now in great disorder, and brave men rise up against one another. It is the way of a wise man to judge and choose the leader who can truly take control and end the disorder. He who finds his true lord will prosper, but the man who makes a bad choice will die.

"Now Chen Gong has rebelled and brought in Lü Bu. All the other cities have joined him, and it may indeed seem possible that

20 One may observe that Guo Gong is described as Inspector of Yu province, a title Lü Bu had lately awarded Liu Bei: passage B above. There were a variety of different interests and factions at this time.

K SGZ 14:426-27 (2a-3a), the Biography of Cheng Yu.

21 The city of Fan was near present-day Dongping in Shandong. Dong'a was by present-day Dong'a in Shandong. Both were in Dong commandery, northeast of Juancheng and southeast of the main stream of the Yellow River.

they can take everything. If you think about it, however, what sort of a man is Lü Bu?

"Lü Bu is a common man's hero: he is rough, he has small affection for anyone else, he is brutal and arrogant. Just for the moment, Chen Gong and his fellows are obliged to be friendly with him, but they will never accept him as their chief. Though he has many soldiers, he will come to nothing in the end. By contrast, the wisdom and strategy of Commissioner Cao are not of this world, but rather gifts from Heaven. [134]

1953 "So you must hold Fan while I guard Dong'a, and we shall achieve the good work of Tian Dan.²² How can you abandon loyalty and follow evil, and so bring mother and son both to die? Please consider the matter carefully." Jin Yun wept and said, "I do not dare to have a double heart [and act unfaithfully]."

Fan Yi had by this time already entered the county. Jin Yun received him, but set soldiers in ambush to kill him. Then he went back and prepared his troops to defend themselves in Fan.

L The Criticism by Xu Zhong says:²³

22 Tian Dan 田單 was an officer of the state of Qi 齊 in the third century BC. When his country was attacked by the armies of Yan 燕, Tian Dan was in charge of the defence of Jimo 即墨, one of the few cities which had not fallen to the enemy. He defeated the invaders and so led to the recovery of seventy cities. See *SJ* 34:1558; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 145, *SJ* 46:1900-01; Chavannes, *MH* V, 272-277, and *SJ* 82:2453-55; Nienhauser, *GSR* VII, 275-277.

L SGZ 14:427 (3a) PC quoting the *Sanguo ping* of Xu Zhong/Yuan.

23 This work is discussed by the commentary of Lu Bi at *SGZJJ* 7:26b. The book is listed in the bibliographic treatises of *Sui shu*, 33:955, *Jiu Tang shu* 46:1994, and *Xin Tang shu* 58:1464, as *Sanguo zhi ping* 三國志評 (though some editions of *Sui shu* reverse the last two characters). *SGZ* PC has *Sanguo ping*, and *ZZTJ* cites it simply as *Ping* "Criticism."

There is disagreement on the given name of the author: Pei Songzhi has Xu Zhong 徐眾, and the bibliographic treatises of the two Tang histories agree; *Sui shu*, however, has the given name as Yuan 爰, and some modern scholars have argued that this is correct.

Xu Yuan, however, was a historian of the fifth century; with biographies in *Song shu* 94 and *Nan shi* 77, and Lu Bi argues that he was working too late for Pei Songzhi to have quoted him at the time he presented his commentary in 429. At the same time, Lu Bi observes that there is reference to a Xu Zhong, subject of Eastern Jin in the fourth century, and this man could well have been the author of a work discussing the Three Kingdoms.

Jin Yun had no responsibility as a subject to Lord Cao, and his mother was his closest relative. According to moral standards, he should have gone away.

When Kaifang, prince of Wey, went to take up office in Qi and did not return home for several years, Guan Zhong judged that since he did not care for his own family, how could he care for his ruler?²⁴ This means that if one is looking for a [135] loyal official, one must go to the door of a filial son. Jin Yun should first have rescued his closest relative.

When the mother of Xu Shu was held by Lord Cao, Liu Bei sent him back to the north.²⁵ A man with imperial ambitions should have sympathy with the feelings of a son. Lord Cao, in the same manner, should have sent Ji Yun away.

M Cheng Yu also sent a detachment of cavalry to hold the Cangting Crossing, and when Chen Gong arrived he could advance no further.²⁶ And by the time Cheng Yu came to Dong'a the magistrate there, Zao Zhi of Yingchuan, had already taken command and had trained the people to guard the walls and hold firm. So Cheng Yu managed to keep all three cities safe for Cao Cao.

Then Cao Cao came back, and he took Cheng Yu by the hand and said, "But for your strength, I would have had no place to return

24 Kaifang 開方 was a prince (公子 *gongzi*) in Wey 衛 in the mid-seventh century BC. He left his native state to take service with Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公, and became one of the duke's favoured ministers, but the great statesman Guan Zhong 管仲 warned against him in the terms cited, and Kaifang did indeed turn traitor. [The variant transcription of the state name Wey 衛 is designed to distinguish it from Wei 魏, which was the name of a state during the Warring States period and again in the time of the Three Kingdoms.]

According to one version, Kaifang and his associates seized power and left Duke Huan to die alone; and it is also said that he rebelled against the rightful heir and placed the son of a concubine on the throne. See, for example, *Guanzi* XI.32, 11b-12b and X.26, 6b-7a; Rickett, 429-430 and 385-386.

25 In 208, when Cao Cao attacked Jing province, he captured the mother of Xu Shu 徐庶, one of Liu Bei's most valued officers. Explaining that he could no longer serve with the devotion he deserved, Xu Shu made his excuses to Liu Bei and went to take service with Cao Cao. He later held high rank at the court of Wei. See passage Y of Jian'an 13.

M SGZ 14:427 (3b), the Biography of Cheng Yu.

26 The Cangting Crossing of the Yellow River was west of Dong'a. Chen Gong had been stationed in the northern part of Dong commandery, across the River from the rest of Yan province.

to." He recommended Cheng Yu as Chancellor of Dongping to command the garrison at Fan.²⁷

N Lü Bu had attacked Juancheng but could not capture it, and he went back west to camp at Puyang. Cao Cao said, "Lü Bu had gained the province in a single day. What he should have done then was seize Dongping and cut the roads through Kangfu and Taishan, holding the passes and strategic points against me. Instead, he simply stayed in camp at Puyang. Now I know he is incompetent." He went forward to the attack.²⁸ [136]

O In the fifth month the General Who Manifests Firmness Guo Si became General of the Rear and the General Who Gives Tranquillity and Collects the Empire Fan Chou was General of the Right. Both opened offices like the three excellencies, and joined [with the three excellencies and Li Jue] to form six offices. Each made selections and recommendations.²⁹

27 During Han, Fan county was in Dong commandery. It was, however, just to the west of the border of Dongping kingdom. So Cheng Yu was given a promotion in rank and a claim to further territory.

N SGZ 1:11 (30b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

28 Lü Bu had come into Yan province from Henei, where he had taken refuge with Zhang Yang: passage K of Chuping 4. As in passage J above, he had occupied Puyang as Xiahou Dun left it.

The direct line of attack from Puyang against Cao Cao's loyalists was through Juancheng, immediately to the east. When this failed, however, and with Chen Gong blocked at the Cangting Crossing, the invaders were left with little more than Dong commandery in the north and Chenliu, held by Zhang Miao, in the southwest.

Cao Cao's argument is that Lü Bu should have by-passed the three loyal counties and occupied the territory of Dongping to their south and east. This would have given him control of the greater part of the province.

Once Lü Bu had taken Dongping, moreover, the major routes by which Cao Cao might return from Xu province to make a counter-attack lay through Kangfu in Rencheng in the south, or through Taishan commandery in the east. If Lü Bu had blocked those roads, Cao Cao would have been held off, and his supporters in Yan province would have isolated and could be dealt with at leisure.

Lü Bu, however, had not taken that opportunity, and had thought only of a direct attack. As a result, Cao Cao had been able to join his loyal supporters and could now go on the offensive with a combined army from an advanced position.

O HHJ 27:14b-15a;

HHS 72/62, 2335 (12a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo,

with TC quoting *Xiandi qijuzhu*.

29 The titles taken by these chieftains at the capital have been the subject of confusion. I discuss the question in note 58 to Chuping 3, and I believe the statement here is correct.

- 1954 Li Jue and the others wanted all their protégés to receive appointment, and if anyone objected they were prompt to show their feelings. Those in charge were intimidated, and gave out positions by order of preference: first they took Li Jue's nominees, then Guo Si's, then Fan Chou's. No-one recommended by the excellencies ever gained a place.
- P The four commanderies west of the Yellow River were a long way from the headquarters of Liang province and were cut [137] off by pirates on the rivers. A memorial was sent to ask that they be set up as a separate province. In the sixth month on the day *bingzi* [6 Jul] an edict appointed Handan Shang of Chenliu as Inspector of Yong province, to administer the new region.³⁰ [137]

Regardless of titles, however, the major change at this time, the date of which is given only by *HHS*, is the establishment of offices (府 *fu*) by Li Jue and his colleagues, and their assumption of the right to nominate men as officials.

Under Later Han, each of the three Excellencies put forward one candidate each year as possessing Abundant Talent (茂才 *moucai*), and two as being Incorrupt Officers (廉吏 *lianli*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 136 and 201 note 26; also deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 20 and 22-23. The offices themselves, moreover, provided a regular channel of patronage, for men could be granted a clerical position and then brought forward to commissioned rank: *e.g.* note 68 to *Zhongping* 6. It was this method that was used most energetically by Li Jue and his colleagues.

P SGZ 18:547 (21a) PC quoting *Dian lue*.

30 The date of establishment of Yong 雍 province is given by the *Annals*, *HHS* 9:376. On the later fate of Handan Shang, see passage G of *Jian'an* 11.

The phrase Hexi 河西 "west of the River" described the region beyond present-day Lanzhou in Gansu, first controlled by the Chinese empire during the reign of Emperor Wu of Former Han, at the turn of the second and first centuries BC. There is difficulty, however, on the enumeration of the four commanderies.

During Later Han, Jincheng commandery was based upon present-day Lanzhou, southeast of the Yellow River, but its territory extended west into the upper valley of the River and into the Xining valley towards the Qinghai lake. Wuwei, Zhangye and Jiuquan commanderies lay north of the Nan Shan or Richthofen Range, along the Gansu corridor towards central Asia, with Dunhuang in the far northwest. On this basis, there were five commanderies "west of the River," and *JS* 14:433, the *Treatise of Geography*, describing the establishment of Yong province referred to here, mentions five commanderies, not four.

HHS 9, however, refers to four commanderies, and *HHS* TC then lists four, including Jincheng but not Wuwei. In terms of geography, however, it makes no sense to count Jincheng without including Wuwei, while it appears from passage G of *Jian'an* 11 that Wuwei was definitely a part of Yong province. So *HHS* TC is anachronistic, probably based upon the fact that during Former Han Wuwei was established later than

Q On the day *dingchou* [7 Jul] there was an earthquake in the capital district, and there was another on the day *wuyin* [8 Jul].³¹

On the day *yiyou* [miswritten for *yisi*], last of the month [4 Aug], there was an eclipse of the sun.³²

the others: see Loewe, *RHA* I, 59-60 and 145 note 38, and *Cambridge China* I, 391 [Yü, "Han Foreign Relations"].

If Wuwei is included and Jincheng omitted, the territory of the four command-eries would cover only the line of the Silk Road northwest along the Gansu corridor. For normal purposes, however, the phrase "west of the River" appears to have been used for all the region beyond the Yellow River, and the newly established Yong province would thus have included five commanderies: Jincheng and Wuwei, with Zhangye, Jiuquan and Dunhuang.

The headquarters of Liang province were in Hanyang commandery, on the upper reaches of the Wei River, separated by a ridge of mountains from the Yellow River at Lanzhou and the lands to the north and west. The administrative geography of the northwest at the end of Han became confusing, but the arrangements of the provinces may be summarised as follows:

- in 195, as here, the commanderies west of the Yellow River were separated from Liang 涼 province of Han and grouped as Yong 雍 province;
- in 213 Cao Cao proclaimed a new organisation, combining Yong province, Liang province and part of Sili into an enlarged Yong 雍 province: passage A and note 4 to Jian'an 18;
- in 220 Cao Pi again divided off the commanderies west of the Yellow River, but this time the new province was given the name Liang 涼: *e.g.* *SGZ* 15, 474.

So the commanderies west of the Yellow River were in a separate Yong 雍 province between 195 and 213, and in 220 the same area was again separated and called Liang 涼. The name Yong, moreover, was given first to the western part of Liang province of Han, then to a reunited and enlarged province in the northwest, and finally to the eastern rump of that territory.

See also the Treatise of Geography of *Jin shu* as cited above, *JS* 14:432-34, which summarises the history and describes the Liang 涼 province of Jin, observing that it was the same as that of Wei. The area of Jincheng was included at that time, and it is probable that this successor region controlled the same territory as had the original establishment of Yong province.

To add to the confusion for a Western transcriber, the Jin dynasty also established a new province called Liang 梁, which was based on Hanzhong and covered the northern part of present-day Sichuan; Yi province of Han covered only the south of the territory it had controlled under Han: *JS* 14:436-440 and maps 47-48 of *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* III.

Q *HHS* 9:376 (5a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

31 The first of these earthquakes, but not the second, which was presumably an aftershock, is listed in the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 106/16:3332. No prognostication is recorded.

32 This eclipse is listed in the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 108/18, 3371, where the date is given as *yisi*, and the day *yisi* was indeed the last day of this month. No further

In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *renzi* [11 Aug] the Grand Commandant Zhu Jun was dismissed. On the day *wuwu* [17 Aug] the Minister of Ceremonies Yang Biao was made Grand Commandant with control of the Secretariat.

R On the day *jiazi* [23 Aug] the General Who Maintains the South in Peace Yang Ding became General Who Gives Tranquillity to the West and opened an office like the Three Excellencies.

S From the fourth month to this [seventh] month there was no rain.³³ One *hu* of grain cost half a million cash,³⁴ and there was cannibalism in Chang'an. [139]

The emperor ordered the Imperial Clerk Hou Wen to give out grain and beans from the main granary so that people could make gruel, but they continued to starve and die. The emperor suspected the issue had not been correctly made. Five *sheng* each of the grain and beans were brought to his presence to make gruel and only two dishes were obtained. Hou Wen was beaten fifty times, and after that everyone got full measure.³⁵

details are given. The eclipse, Oppolzer 3358, mapped by Stephenson and Holder at 217, affected the far north of China proper and northern Manchuria.

The Treatise gives no prognostication, but the Qing commentator Qian Daxin observes that *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, the apocryphal work on the *Chunqiu*, relates an eclipse on a *yisi* day to a military rising in the east: *HHSJJ* 108/18:9a.

HHS 9 says that after this series of portents the emperor avoided the chief halls of the palace, gave orders for the cessation of all military activity, and refused to undertake any official business for five days. Despite this, however, *HHS* 9 records a plague of locusts, and we are told below also of drought and famine.

R *HHJ* 27:15a.

S *HHJ* 27:15a-b.

33 This drought is also recorded in *HHS* 103/13:3280, the Treatise of the Five Powers, where the prognostication refers to the usurpation of power by Li Jue and his colleagues.

HHS 9 records that the emperor again avoided the chief halls of the palace, held a ceremony to pray for rain, and sent officials to review and remit the sentences of prisoners: on this last, see also Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 51-52

34 A *hu* 斛 measure of grain was approximately twenty litres.

35 A *sheng* 升 measure of grain was one hundredth of a *hu*, about one fifth of a litre.

This incident is recounted, with variations, in a number of texts besides *HHJ*, including *HHS* 9:376 and *JS* 26:782, the Treatise of Economics, translated by Yang, "Economic History," 157. However, the descriptions of the means by which Emperor Xian checked on the distribution vary.

According to *HHJ* 27, the emperor ordered that five *sheng* of grain and beans, half and half, should be the basic issue, with variation according to individual need. When he discovered that people were still going hungry, he was uncertain whether the issue

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T In the eighth month the Qiang of [Zuo]pingyi plundered the counties of that commandery. Guo Si, Fan Chou and the others led out their troops and defeated them.

U Lü Bu had outposts west of Puyang. Cao Cao attacked them by night and destroyed them. Before he had got back to his own lines, however, Lü Bu himself appeared.³⁶ From daybreak to [140] sunset they were constantly engaged, and the battle was desperately even.

Cao Cao called for men to break the enemy line, and the Major Dian Wei of Chenliu led out a group of volunteers. Lü Bu's archers and crossbowmen fired at them from every direction, and the arrows and bolts came down like rain. Paying no attention, Dian Wei said to his men, "When the enemy are ten paces away, report it."

"Ten paces!" they said.

he had authorised was sufficient. He therefore ordered the Palace Attendant Liu Ai to bring a sample of the five-sheng allowance and make up the gruel in his presence: two bowls (盂 *pen*) were obtained. This was clearly enough to feed a person, so either short measure was being given or the issue was erring too much on the low side of the approved variation. Hou Wen was punished for his meanness, and the issue thereafter was properly fulfilled.

HHS 9 has a summary of the *HHJ* story, and commentary quotes from *HHJ*, though the amount of gruel obtained is described as three basins (盂 *yu*).

ZZTJ has varied the text and abbreviated the story still further, so that it is difficult to tell what judgement the emperor was making.

On the other hand, according to *JS* 26 the emperor had the issue of grain and beans carried out in his presence. This, however, implies that he was present for the issue day after day, and seems most unlikely.

It is more probable, as *HHJ* describes, that he believed the measures of grain being passed out were insufficient and below what he had ordered, and his purpose in having the quantities brought to him was just to check that five *sheng* should produce enough for each person.

It appears from other texts that the standard military ration in Han times was 3.3 *shi* [equivalent to 3.3 *hu*] per man for a thirty-day month: thus one-tenth of a *hu*, or ten *sheng*, per day: Loewe, *RHA* II, 64-73, deC, *Northern Frontier*, 472. In this period of dearth, therefore, the ration was half that allocated to a man on active service.

T *HHS* 9:377 (5b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

U *SGZ* 18:544 (16b), the Biography of Dian Wei.

36 *SGZ* says these camps were forty or fifty *li* west of Puyang, some twenty kilometres on the side away from Cao Cao's own positions. He was presumably attempting to disrupt Lü Bu's line of communications, but when Lü Bu arrived with his full array Cao Cao was himself cut off and in great danger.

V *SGZ* 1:12-13 (30b-31b), the Biography of Cao Cao;

SGZ 1:12-13 (30b-31a) PC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

"Tell me at five paces."

Frightened, they all shouted, "They're here."

Holding a halberd, Dian Wei stood up and roared defiance. Wherever he struck, none could withstand the blow. Lü Bu's forces retreated.

Then the sun went down, and Cao Cao was able to make his retreat. He appointed Dian Wei as Commandant and had him act as permanent guard on his great tent with several hundred of his own men.

V The powerful Tian clan of Puyang changed sides, and Cao Cao was able to get into the city. He set fire to the eastern gate to show he had no intention of turning back, but then he fought and his troops were defeated.

Some of Lü Bu's cavalry captured Cao Cao but did not realise it. They asked him, "Where is Cao Cao?" and Cao Cao replied, "That man on the bay horse riding away." So Lü Bu's cavalry let Cao Cao go and chased the man on the bay.³⁷

Cao Cao rushed through the fire and escaped. He came to his camp and hastily encouraged the army, ordered the men to make quick preparations for an attack, and went forward once more to the assault.

Cao Cao and Lü Bu faced one another for more than three months. Then locusts came and there was a great famine. The supplies in Lü Bu's army were also exhausted, and they both drew away.

In the ninth month Cao Cao returned to Juancheng. Lü Bu went to Shengshi, but he was defeated by Li Jin of that county and went east to camp in Shanyang.³⁸ [141]

37 SGZ 1:54 PC preserves an extract from the *Fuzi* 傅子 by Fu Xuan 傅玄 of the third century, which tells how, while other commanders such as Yuan Shao dressed in silk brocade, Cao Cao wore plain clothes and a leather cap, with only a coloured patch to show his rank: deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 447. On this occasion, his modesty served him well.

38 Shengshi county, now northeast of Dingtao in Shandong, was in Ji Yin, south of Cao Cao's position at Juancheng. Lü Bu may have been attempting to outflank Cao Cao, but it is more likely that he was seeking supplies from some territory which had not yet been eaten out. If he could be defeated by local county troops, his army must have been seriously weakened.

On the other hand, it appears that Lü Bu was able to move into Shanyang commandery without opposition, so Cao Cao had indeed lost control of that region and could organise no support there.

In the winter, in the tenth month, Cao Cao came to Dong'a.

- W Yuan Shao sent someone to suggest to Cao Cao that he send his family to stay at Ye. Cao Cao had just lost Yan province, his army's provisions were exhausted, and he was prepared to accept the offer.
- 1956 Cheng Yu said, "It appears, general, that you get flustered under pressure. How else could you be contemplating such a foolish move? Yuan Shao has designs upon the empire, but he is not nearly clever enough. Could you really accept him as your leader? You have the majesty of a dragon or a tiger. Are you prepared to play the role of his Han [Xin] or Peng [Yue]?³⁹
- "Even if Yan province is lost, you still have three cities and at least ten thousand fine soldiers. With your military genius, and with Wenruo [Xun Yu] and me and others to gather men for your service, you may yet become hegemon.⁴⁰ Please think again." Cao Cao gave up the idea.
- X In the twelfth month the Excellency over the Masses Chunyu Jia left office. The Minister of the Guards Zhao Wen became Excellency over the Masses with control of the Secretariat.⁴¹ [142]
- Y When Ma Teng attacked Li Jue two sons of Liu Yan, Liu Fan and Liu Dan, were both killed. The Consultant Pang Xi of Henan had always

W SGZ 14:427 (4a), the Biography of Cheng Yu;
SGZ 1:13 (31b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

39 Han Xin 英布 and Peng Yue 彭越 were allies of the future Emperor Gao of Han, and played a leading role in the establishment of the dynasty. Both, however, were later perceived as a threat to the new state, and they were destroyed by their former master with allegations of treason: they are models of great servants of a ruler who are removed once their usefulness is past.

Biographies of Han Xin are in *SJ* 92 (Watson, *RGH* I, 163-184) and *HS* 34, those of Peng Yue are in *SJ* 9 (Watson, *RGH* I, 148-152) and *HS* 34.

40 Wenruo 文若 was the style of Xun Yu.

On the concept of the hegemon ruler, developed from the traditions of Zhou, see note 30 to Chuping 3. Increasingly from this time, as it became obvious the power of the dynasty was gone, various warlords sought to establish their legitimacy by claiming to serve the dynasty of Han and to be supporting the emperor against his enemies, their rivals

X *HHJ* 27:5b.

41 *HHS* 9:377 says that Chunyu Jia left office in the ninth month of this year, while Zhao Wen's appointment is dated to the tenth month. Sima Guang prefers *HHJ*.

Y SGZ 31 (Shu 1):867 (8b-9a), the Biography of Liu Yan;
SGZ 31 (Shu 1):868 (9a) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

been a friend of Liu Yan, and he sent someone to collect Liu Yan's grandchildren and bring them into Shu.

At that time a fire from heaven burnt the city [of Mianzhu] and Liu Yan shifted his government to Chengdu. An ulcer broke out on his back and he died.⁴²

Zhao Wei and the other senior officers of the province knew that Liu Yan's son Zhang was lenient and gentle, so they joined to set him up as Inspector of Yi province. An imperial edict had appointed Hu Mao of Yingchuan as Inspector, and Liu Zhang's officers Shen Mi, Lou Fa and Gan Ning rebelled and attacked Liu Zhang. They gained, however, no success, and fled to Jing province. Then another edict made Liu Zhang the Governor of Yi province.

Liu Zhang appointed Zhao Wei as General of the Household Who Subdues the East, and he led an army to attack Liu Biao [in Jing province] and camped at Quren.⁴³

Z Tao Qian the Governor of Xu province was seriously ill. He said to his Attendant Officer Mi Zhu of Donghai, "No-one but Liu Bei can ever give peace to this province." Tao Qian died, and Mi Zhu led the people of the province to invite Liu Bei.

Liu Bei did not dare accept, saying, "Yuan Gonglu [Yuan Shu] is close by at Shouchun. Give the province to him."⁴⁴ [143]

1957 The Colonel in Charge of Agriculture Chen Deng of Xiapi replied,⁴⁵ "Gonglu is proud and overbearing, not the man to cure

42 When first appointed Governor of Yi province in 188, Liu Yan set his headquarters at Mianzhu in Guanghan commandery, north of present-day Deyang in Sichuan. Chengdu city was in Shu commandery, by present-day Chengdu, some eighty kilometres or fifty miles to the south, on the broadened valley complex of the Min River. The "fire from heaven" (天火 *tianhuo*) was presumably a lightning strike

An ulcer (疽 *ju*) is identified as cause of death on a number of occasions in the records of early China: e.g. *Zuo zhuan*, Xiang 19; Legge CC V, 482 (Couvreur, *Chronique* II, 345), *SJ* 7:325; Chavannes, *MH* II, 304 (Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 200), *HS* 31:1813, and *HS* 40:2043.

43 Quren city was in the Yangzi Gorges, a short distance downstream from present-day Wanxian.

Z *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2):873 (5a-6a), the Biography of Liu Bei.

44 Gonglu 公路 was the style of Yuan Shu. He had been driven south by a series of attacks from Cao Cao early in the previous year, but then established himself at Shouchun on the Huai, naming himself head of Yang province with a claim also against Xu province: passage B of Chuping 4.

45 Chen Deng's position as a Colonel in Charge of Agriculture (典農校尉 *diannong xiaowei*) is attested by *SGZ* 7:230 PC quoting *Xianxian xingzhuang*. In later years, such a

disorder. Now we ask that the Commissioner [*i.e.* you, Liu Bei, as Governor] collect a hundred thousand horse and foot. Above, you will give help to the ruler and relief to the people, below you can seize land for yourself and guard its boundaries. We shall not take 'No' for an answer!"

The Chancellor of Beihai, Kong Rong, said to Liu Bei, "Yuan Gonglu, is he a man to care for the state? Can he ever forget his lineage? Dry bones from a tomb, why bother about them?"⁴⁶ In affairs of the present day, people entrust them to the man who is most competent. If you reject such gift from Heaven, you will be sorry when it is too late." So Liu Bei took over Xu.

AA Before this, the Grand Tutor Ma Midi had come with Zhao Qi as envoys to Shouchun.⁴⁷ Zhao Qi maintained his dignity without wavering, and Yuan Shu was intimidated by him.⁴⁸

When Ma Midi made some small request of Yuan Shu, however, he browbeat and ridiculed him. Claiming that he wished to inspect the regalia, he borrowed the imperial [144] credentials and the Staff

title was identified with the administration of military agricultural colonies (屯田 *tun-tian*) in the administration established by Cao Cao, and it is possible that Chen Deng's appointment under Tao Qian represents an early attempt at that form of resettlement. See also deC, *Generals of the South*, 313-316.

46 Kong Rong is casting scorn upon Yuan Shu's claim to precedence by right of his family's past tradition of high appointment in the bureaucracy of Han. One may observe, however, that Kong Rong was never averse to notice of his own claimed descent from Confucius, while Liu Bei claimed distant connection to the imperial house.

AA HHJ 28:11a-b;
SGZ 6:208 (74a), the Biography of Yuan Shu;
HHS 70/60:2264-65 (6a), the Biography of Kong Rong;
Xiandi chunqiu, quoted by HHS 70/60 TC and by SGZ 6:208 (74b) PC.

47 On the dispatch of this embassy of reconciliation and restoration of authority, sent out from the capital two years earlier after Li Jue and his fellows had seized power, see passage CC of Chuping 3.

48 The biography of Zhao Qi, junior colleague of Ma Midi on this embassy, is in HHS 64/54, and at 2123-24 there is a further account of his travels, which included negotiations with Yuan Shao, Cao Cao and Gongsun Zan.

Zhao Qi was a noted scholar, responsible for the major Han commentary (章句 *zhangju*) to *Mengzi*, and also the author of *Sanfu jue* 三輔決錄 "Evaluative Records of the Three Adjuncts [the area about Chang'an]," which contains a biography of Ma Midi, quoted in commentary to the present text of HHS 70/60. (On *Sanfu jue* as an early collection of local biographies, see *Cambridge China* I, 645 [Ebrey, "Economic and Social History of Later Han"], and deC, "Local Worthies," 545.

of Authority from Ma Midi, then kept them by force and refused to hand them back. He ordered a dozen of his men to bully Ma Midi so that he would be compelled to give him higher office.

Ma Midi asked to leave, but Yuan Shu held him and refused to allow him to proceed, and he tried to compel Ma Midi to act as his Master of the Army.⁴⁹ Ashamed to have lost his insignia, however, Ma Midi vomited blood and died.

BB Before this, Sun Jian had married a woman of the Wu clan from Qiantang, and they had four sons, Ce, Quan, Yi and Kuang, and one daughter. When Sun Jian went away on campaign he left his family at Shouchun, and while Sun Ce was still in his teens, he had already made friends with well-known men.

Zhou Yu of Shu [county in Lujiang] was the same age as Sun Ce, and he too showed early promise and ability. Hearing of Sun Ce's reputation, he came from Shu to visit him, and they became close friends. Zhou Yu urged Sun Ce to come to live in Shu, and when Sun Ce did so Zhou Yu presented him with a great house beside the road. He went there to pay respects to Sun Ce's mother, and they shared everything together.⁵⁰

Then Sun Jian died. Sun Ce was seventeen, and he went back for the burial at Qu'a, and from there he moved across the Yangzi to settle in Jiangdu. He made friends there with fighting men, and maintained his aim of revenge [for his father's death from Huang Zu].⁵¹ [145]

49 Master of the Army (軍師 *junshi*) was not a title in the regular system of Han. It evidently refers here to a position as an adviser. See further note 40 to Jian'an 1.

BB SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1101 (15b), the Biography of Sun Jian;
 SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1101 (16a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;
 SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1103 (17b-18a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;
 SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1101-02 (16a-18b), the Biography of Sun Ce;
 SGZ 50 (Wu 5):1195 (1b), the Biography of the Lady Wu;
 SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1259 (2a), the Biography of Zhou Yu.

50 Two points may be made concerning this account. Firstly, since Zhou Yu was the same age as Sun Ce, it is unlikely that he was in a position to give him a house. More probably, a more senior member of the Zhou family was responsible.

Second, though Sun Jian came from a comparatively humble background, he had gained reputation and rank. And the Wu clan into which he had married was of local significance in their home commandery. It was not inappropriate, therefore, that the Zhou family, though itself distinguished, with several high officials in the lineage, might have found it useful to establish some link with the Sun.

51 On the death of Sun Jian, fighting for Yuan Shu against Liu Biao's general Huang Zu, see passage DD of Chuping 2. The information on Sun Ce's age at that time is taken from a memorial which he sent in the following year to the imperial court under Cao

The Administrator of Danyang, Zhou Xin of Kuaiji, was on bad terms with Yuan Shu,⁵² and Yuan Shu recommended Sun Ce's maternal uncle Wu Jing in his stead. Wu Jing attacked Zhou Xin and seized the commandery, and he appointed Sun Ce's elder cousin Sun Ben as Commandant of Danyang.

1958 Sun Ce entrusted his mother and younger brothers to Zhang Hong of Guangling and went straight to Shouchun to see Yuan Shu. He wept and said, "When my late father came from Changsha to attack Dong Zhuo, he joined you at Nanyang, made alliance with you and became your friend. Through ill fortune he met with death, and his good work remained unfinished. In consideration of the favour that you showed my father, I wish to offer my services. Honourable Commissioner, please examine my sincere request."

Yuan Shu was most impressed, but he was not prepared to give Sun Ce back his father's troops. He said to him, "I have appointed your worthy uncle as Administrator of Danyang, and your excellent cousin Boyang [Sun Pen] is Commandant.⁵³ That is the place of the best soldiers. Go back there to join them and recruit your own men."

So Sun Ce went with Lü Fan of Runan and his clansman Sun He to escort his mother to Qu'a to stay with her brother's family, and then, taking anyone who came, he gradually collected a few hundred men. At this time, however, he suffered a surprise attack from the chieftain Zu Lang of Jing county and was almost killed. He went back once more to see Yuan Shu.

Yuan Shu now allocated Sun Ce about a thousand of Sun Jian's old soldiers, and recommended him as Colonel Who Cherishes Righteousness.

A cavalryman of Sun Ce who was guilty of some fault ran away to Yuan Shu's camp and hid in the headquarters stables. Sun Ce sent men to behead him there, then went to Yuan Shu to apologise.

Cao's control: the text of the memorial is preserved in a fragment of *Wu lu* quoted by SGZ 46:1107 PC.

The specific reference to Sun Ce's desire for revenge against Huang Zu is based primarily upon an account of his discussion of affairs about this time with his future officer Zhang Hong, recorded in SGZ 46:1102-03 PC quoting *Wu li*.

52 Zhou Xin was a brother of Zhou Ang, named in passage X of Chuping 2 as the officer of Yuan Shao who had attacked Yuan Shu and Sun Jian in 191. In fact it may have been Zhou Xin who attacked Sun Jian: note 50 to Chuping 2.

53 Boyang 伯陽 was the style of Sun Ben, a nephew of Sun Jian: passage FF of Chuping 2-

"Soldiers are too often insubordinate," responded Yuan Shu. "We should both be angry about it. Why apologise?" After this, the men in the army feared and respected him still more. [146]

Yuan Shu at one time promised he would make Sun Ce the Administrator of Jiujiang, but then he changed his mind and appointed Chen Ji of Danyang.

Later, when he was planning to attack Xu province, he asked Lu Kang the Administrator of Lujiang for thirty thousand *hu* of grain.⁵⁴ Lu Kang refused and Yuan Shu was very angry. He ordered Sun Ce to attack Lu Kang and said to him, "I was confused that other time and appointed Chen Ji. I have been annoyed with myself ever since. Now if you can take Lu Kang, Lujiang will certainly be yours." Sun Ce attacked Lu Kang and captured him.⁵⁵ Again, however, Yuan Shu gave the position of Administrator to one of his former officers, Liu Xun. Sun Ce was still more disillusioned.

CC The Imperial Clerk Liu Yao was a younger brother of Liu Dai. He had earlier gained a fine reputation, and an imperial letter was sent to appoint him as Inspector of Yang province. The provincial headquarters had previously been at Shouchun, but Yuan Shu had occupied that city, so Liu Yao arranged to go south across the Yangzi, where Wu Jing and Sun Ben received him and set him up at Qu'a.

Then Sun Ce attacked Lujiang. Liu Yao heard about it, and because Wu Jing and Sun Ben had been appointed by Yuan Shu he was afraid the Yuan and Sun clans would join to plan against him. So he stirred up trouble, forcing Wu Jing and Sun Ben to leave, and they set up a new base at Liyang.

1959 Liu Yao then sent his officers Fan Neng and Yu Mi to camp at Hengjiang, and Zhang Ying at Danglikou, to hold them off. [147]

54 Since a *hu* 斛 of grain was some twenty litres, this represented 600 kilolitres.

55 Lu Kang's biography in *HHS* 31/21:1114 says that Lu Kang defended his city for two years, aided by devoted retainers and citizens. This may be a fiction designed to present the hero of the biography in the best light; but so too may be the account in the biography of Sun Ce, which says that Sun Ce captured Lu Kang.

It is possible that Sun Ce occupied the greater part of the territory of Lujiang commandery on behalf of Yuan Shu, but that Lu Kang held out in his isolated capital, the city of Shu, for some time longer. Certainly, if the siege lasted more than a year, Sun Ce cannot have been in command of the attackers when the city fell, for by that time he had long been south of the Yangzi.

So it may be that Sun Ce had considerable, but not total, success in his attack, and did not capture Lu Kang. Because the campaign was not complete, Yuan Shu had reason not to give the reward he had promised.

Yuan Shu named his former officer Hui Qu as Inspector of Yang province and appointed Wu Jing as General of the Household Controller of the Army. Together with Sun Ben, they went to attack Zhang Ying and his fellows.⁵⁶

CC SGZ 49 (Wu 4):1183-84 (2b-3b), the Biography of Liu Yao;
SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1102 (19a-20a), the Biography of Sun Ce.

56 Liyang was a county in Jiujiang commandery, near present-day Hexian in Anhui, on the north-western bank of the Yangzi. Hengjiang 橫江 and Danglikou 當利口 (also known as Danglipu 浦) were reaches and crossing places of the Yangzi in Danyang commandery, opposite Liyang and south of present-day Nanjing.

The precise relationship between the various commanders in this region at this time is difficult to determine, but it appears that Wu Jing and Sun Ben, south of the Yangzi, had sought to establish some independence, and for this reason they were willing to welcome Liu Yao when he first arrived, presumably in hope of using him as a counter-balance to their former patron Yuan Shu.

Sun Ce, however, still seeking command of the troops who had served his father, maintained the connection with Yuan Shu and took active service in his army. This made Liu Yao suspicious of Wu Jing and Sun Ben, and he forced them back north across the Yangzi, then barred the major crossing-places against them.

In these new circumstances, Wu Jing and Sun Ben were compelled to seek help from Yuan Shu and reverted to their former position as his clients: it is symbolic of their loss of status that Yuan Shu appointed one of his own followers, not a member of the Sun/Wu group, as his claimant for Yang province in rivalry to Liu Yao.

Wu Jing's new title as General of the Household Controller of the Army is not a regular military appointment of the Han system. He evidently still held command of troops [passage FF of Xingping 2 below], but it was not a full general's command and he no longer had any territorial authority.

Xingping 2: 195 AD

29 January 195 – 16 February 196

- A In the spring, in the first month on the day *guizhou* [7 Feb] there was an amnesty for the empire.¹
- B Cao Cao defeated Lü Bu at Dingtao.²
- C An edict was sent to Yuan Shao appointing him General of the Right.³
- D At the time of Dong Zhuo's death, the population of the capital district was still numbered by the hundreds of thousands of households. But Li Jue and his armies plundered far and [149] wide, then there was famine, and within two years the people had been reduced to cannibalism. All but a very few left the territory or died of starvation.

A *HHS* 9:377 (6a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

1 *HHS* 9 describes this as a "great" amnesty: see note 8 to Zhongping 6.

B *SGZ* 1:12 (32a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

2 Dingtao was the chief county of Jiyin, in the middle of the commandery, the city is near present-day Dingtao in Shandong.

The base of Cao Cao's position was in the northern part of Jiyin. Lü Bu initially attacked from the west, but towards the end of the previous year he had moved to Shanyang in the southeast: passage V of Xingping 1. A detailed account in *SGZ* 1 says that this new operation was initiated by Cao Cao, attacking Lü Bu's allies in the southern part of Jiyin. When Lü Bu came to their support, he was defeated and driven back.

C *HHS* 74/64A:2382 (7b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;
HHJ 28:1a.

3 The date of this appointment is provided by *HHJ*, but the title is given as General of the Rear. Both alternatives present difficulties, for we have been told that Guo Si had been General of the Rear and Fan Chou General of the Right since at least the previous year: passage O of Xingping 1. Fan Chou, however, was killed by Li Jue in the second month of this year (passage F below), so the post of General of Right was then vacant. If the date of Yuan Shao's appointment is assumed to be slightly in error, we can accept that the new title he was offered was as General of the Right.

HHJ adds that Yuan Shao was also granted the Staff of Authority, appointed Governor of Ji province and enfeoffed as Marquis of Kang District. In fact, Yuan Shao had controlled Ji province, and styled himself as Governor, since 191 (passage P of Chuping 2), and he had been awarded the marquisate of Kang District by Dong Zhuo: passage QQ of Zhongping 6.

Some of these awards, therefore, did no more than restore or confirm honours which Yuan Shao had already taken for himself. They represent, however, an attempt by Li Jue and his party to restore relations with an important leader of the east. There had been a similar attempt to gain the support of Yuan Shu, Yuan Shao's cousin and rival, two years earlier: passage B of Chuping 4.

D *SGZ* 6:182 (25a-b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;

HHS 72/62:2341 (16a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.

E *HHJ* 28:1b.

E Li Jue, Guo Si and Fan Chou, boasting of their achievements and contending for power, were always on the point of quarrelling. Jia Xu exhorted them to good moral principles, and as a result, though each hated the other, they did not show their true feelings.

[In the previous year], when Fan Chou attacked Ma Teng and Han Sui, [Li Jue's nephew] Li Li had not conducted himself well in the fighting.⁴ Fan Chou swore at him, "These men are coming to take your uncle's head. How can you behave like this? I should have you killed?"

F Ma Teng and Han Sui were defeated and fled, and Fan Chou pursued them to Chencang. Han Sui said to Fan Chou, "Though we may be at war, we have no personal quarrel and we both come from the same district. I would like to speak with you in private to say farewell." Each rode forward, set their horses together, linked arms and talked for a time apart. When the army returned [to Chang'an], Li Li reported to Li Jue that "Han Sui and Fan Chou met on horseback and spoke together. I do not know what they said, but it looked friendly and was all very private." Li Jue, in any case, was jealous of Fan Chou because he was brave and had a large following.

1960 Then Fan Chou planned to take an army east out of the passes, and he asked Li Jue for additional troops. In the second month Li Jue called him to a meeting, then killed him where he sat.⁵ So the leaders began to distrust one another.

G Li Jue often invited Guo Si to drink, and sometimes kept him to stay overnight. Guo Si's wife was afraid that her husband [150] was having an affair with one of Li Jue's serving girls, and she was determined to break it up. A time came that Li Jue sent a gift of some food, and Guo Si's wife made salted beans into a poisonous drug, then

4 See passage C of Xingping 1.

F SGZ 6, 183 (25b-26a) PC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*; HHS 72/62, 2336-37 (12b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo, with TC quoting *Xiandi ji*.

5 Han Sui was a man of Jincheng commandery, but we do not know which county he came from. Fan Chou was certainly a man from Liang province, and on the basis of this evidence he too was a native of Jincheng.

Jiuzhou chunqiu gives more information: Han Sui said to Fan Chou that although they had disagreements at the present time, they both sought the best interests of the empire, and he would like them to part personally on fair terms.

For a similar incident concerning Han Sui, compare passage F of Jian'an 11.

G SGZ 6:183 (26a-b) PC quoting *Dian lue*; HHJ 28:1b-2a, quoted also by HHS 72/62:2337 (12b) TC.

picked them out as if they had come with the present. Showing them to her husband, she said, "Two cocks cannot roost on the same branch. I do not believe you should be so trusting of Lord Li."

Soon afterwards, Li Jue invited Guo Si again, and they both got very drunk. Guo Si thought that he had been poisoned, so he made an emetic of liquid excrement and drank it. At this, each gathered troops to fight the other.

H The emperor sent Palace Attendants and Masters of Writing to make peace, but neither would agree. Guo Si was going to take the emperor into his camp, but one of his soldiers deserted in the night and told Li Jue.

In the third month on the day *bingyin* [22 Apr]⁶ Li Jue had his nephew Li Xian take several thousand men and surround the palace, with three chariots to collect the emperor. The Grand Commandant Yang Biao said, "It is a rule since ancient times that an emperor or a king should never take up residence in another man's house. You gentlemen are engaged in a great cause. How can you act like this?"

"The general has made his decision," replied Li Xian.

As the ministers followed the imperial carriage on foot, the soldiers went immediately into the palace, plundered the place and seized all the women.

As the emperor arrived, Li Jue had all the gold and silk of the imperial treasury transferred to his own camp, and he set fire to the palaces and apartments, the offices and the people's houses. Everything was destroyed.

Again the emperor sent his highest ministers to make peace between Li Jue and Guo Si, but Guo Si detained Yang Biao, the Excellency of Works Zhang Xi, the Master of Writing Wang Long, the Minister of the Household Deng Yuan [miswritten as Liu Yuan],⁷

H SGZ 6:183 (26a-b) PC quoting *Xiandu qujuzhu*; HHJ 28:2a-b.

6 The date is given by the Annals in HHS 9:377.

7 ZZTJ here has the surname Liu 劉, but parallel passages in HHS 9:378 and HHS 103/13:3275 have the surname Deng 鄧, and in passage X below Sima Guang himself gives it as Deng. The source for reading the surname as Liu is HHJ 28, but this appears to be an error

As to the personal name, HHS 9 has Deng Quan 泉, but HHS 103/13 has Deng Yuan 淵, while HHJ 28 has Liu Yuan. The Qing scholar Qian Daxin, commenting on HHS 9, explains that the character *yuan* 淵 was changed to *quan* 泉 in the seventh century to avoid taboo on the personal name of the founding Emperor Gao of Tang, and later editors failed to restore the original text at this point.

the Minister of the [151] Guards Shisun Rui, the Minister Coachman Han Rong, the Minister of Justice Xuan Fan, the Minister Herald Rong Ge, the Minister of Finance Zhu Jun, the Court Architect Liang Shao, and the Colonel of Garrison Cavalry Jiang Xuan, and held them in his camp as hostages.

Zhu Jun was so furious he became ill and died.⁸

- I In the summer, in the fourth month on the day *jiazi* [miswritten for *jiawu*, 20 May]⁹ the Honoured Lady Fu from Langye was made Empress. The Empress' father the Palace Attendant Fu Wan was appointed Bearer of the Mace.
- J Guo Si gave a feast for the high ministers, and discussed an attack on Li Jue. Yang Biao said, "Imperial subjects are fighting one another, one man has kidnapped the Son of Heaven while another holds the highest officials hostage. What sort of situation is this?"
- 1961 Guo Si, furious, snatched up a sword to attack him. Yang Biao said, "You have no concern for the good of the state. Why should I live?" The General of the Household Yang Mi, however, protested fiercely, and Guo Si stopped.
- K Li Jue called up several thousand men of the Qiang and other tribes. First he gave them imperial treasure, silk and embroideries, and promised them women from the palace to be their slaves, then he urged them to attack Guo Si. [152]
- L Guo Si made plans with a member of Li Jue's party, the General of the Household Zhang Bao, for a secret attack, and on the night of

8 This statement comes from the biography of Zhu Jun at *HHS* 71/61:2313. A similar account of his death is given by his biography in the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao, quoted in *SGZ* 46:1094-95 PC.

I *HHS* 9:377 (6a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;
HHS 10B:453 (12a), the Biography of the Empress Fu.

9 *HHS* 9 has this day as *jiawu* 甲午; *ZZTJ* has miscopied it as *jiazi* 甲子: there was no *jiazi* day in this month.

J *HHJ* 28:2b;
HHS 72/62:2337 (13a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;
SGZ 6:184 (28a) PC quoting the [*Hou*] *Han shu* of Hua Qiao.

K *SGZ* 10:328 (37a) PC quoting *Xiandi ji*.

L *HHS* 72/62, 2337-38 (13a-b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo,
 with TC quoting *Xiandi ji* and *Xiandi qijuzhu*;
HHS 9:378 (6a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;
SGZ 6:183-84 (26b-29b) PC quoting *Xiandi qijuzhu*;
HHJ 28:3b-4b.

bingshen [22 May] he brought soldiers to attack Li Jue's gates. An arrow came through the curtains of the emperor's tent, and another hit Li Jue in the right ear.

Zhang Bao and his men set light to houses [within Li Jue's lines] but the fires did not take and Yang Feng drove off Guo Si's main attack [against his outer defences]. Guo Si's men retreated, but Zhang Bao and his friends, with the soldiers under their command, went over to Guo Si.

On this day [23 May] Li Jue shifted the emperor once more, to the Northern Fort, and appointed a colonel to keep the gate.¹⁰

The emperor was now cut off from all contact with the outside. The faces of his personal attendants were drawn with hunger, but when he asked for just five *dou* of grain and five sets of cattle-bones to feed them, Li Jue replied, "Morning and evening we send food. What do you want grain for?" And he gave nothing but old rotten bones.

The emperor was furious and wanted to shout at him, but the Palace Attendant Yang Qi advised against it, "Li Jue knows he is acting like a rebel. He wants to shift Your Majesty to Huangbocheng in Chiyang.¹¹ I beg Your Majesty to tolerate his insolence." So the emperor restrained his anger.

The Excellency over the Masses Zhao Wen sent a letter to Li Jue saying, "You began with massacre and looting in the [153] imperial city, and you slaughtered the great ministers. Then you quarrelled over some trivial insult and have made it a battle of life and death. The court has tried to get you to make peace, but the imperial orders have no effect. Now you want to shift the emperor to Huangbocheng, and I, an aging man, simply do not understand it. In the *Book of*

10 *ZZTJ*, following *HHJ* 28, has said above that the initial attack by Guo Si and his ally Zhang Bao took place in the night of *bingshen* 丙申 (cyclical number 33). The next day was *dingyou* 丁酉 (cyclical number 34): that date is given by *HHS* 9 for both the attack and the transfer of the emperor to Li Jue's Northern Fort.

Shanyang gong zaiji, quoted by *HHS* 9 TC, says that until now the emperor had been in a Southern Fort, while Li Jue's main base was in the Northern Fort. Both encampments evidently lay within the walls of the city of Chang'an.

11 Chiyang county was in Zuopingyi, twenty-five kilometres north of Chang'an across the Wei River. *SJZ* 19:24b says that Huangbocheng was the Quliang Palace 曲梁 of the Qin dynasty; the site is now close to Sanyuan in Shanxi. *Xiandi qijuzhu* explains that Li Jue had been camped at Huangbocheng for some time before he entered Chang'an, and he had evidently maintained a base there.

Changes, once is a mistake, twice is going further in, and if a third time there is still no change then overwhelming misfortune will come.¹² The best thing to do is to renew the alliance as quickly as possible." Li Jue was very angry. He was going to kill Zhao Wen, but his younger brother Li Ying opposed it and after some days he gave up the idea.¹³

1962 Li Jue believed in the arts of shamen and wizards and in the use of black magic to ward off ill fortune, and he regularly offered the triple sacrifice to Dong Zhuo outside the gate of the palace.¹⁴ Whenever he spoke to the emperor, he would always address him as "Wise Majesty" or "Wise Emperor," and would describe Guo Si as wicked and recalcitrant. The emperor replied accordingly and Li Jue was pleased, thinking that he had truly gained his favour.

In the intercalary [fifth] month on the day *jimao* [4 Jul]¹⁵ the emperor sent the Supervisor of the Internuncios Huangfu Li to make peace between Li Jue and Guo Si. He went first to Guo Si, and Guo Si accepted the message.

Then he went to Li Jue but Li Jue refused, saying, "Guo Duo is nothing but a horse-thieving brigand.¹⁶ How dare he seek to rank with me? I shall certainly punish him. You see my plans and my forces. Are they not sufficient to deal with Guo Duo? [154] Besides, Guo Duo has taken the senior ministers and holds them hostage. He acts like this and you still want to help him?"

12 *Yi jing*, hexagram 28: *Daguo* 大過 "Preponderance of the Great," sixth line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes*, 114:

Six at the top means:

One must go through the water.

It goes over one's head.

Misfortune. No blame.

In *Yi jing*, this is understood to describe a man who continues his labours for the highest motives, beyond the point of prudence and safety: although he may fail he is given credit for his fine intentions. Zhao Wen, however, has adapted the expression to indicate obstinate stupidity bringing on disaster.

13 *Xiandi chunqiu*, quoted by ZZTJ commentary, says that Li Ying was a former subordinate officer of Zhang Wen.

14 *Sansheng* 三生, the offering of one of each of the three kinds of animals, cattle, sheep and pigs, is the *tailao* 太牢 sacrifice: see also note 16 to Chuping 2.

15 This date is given by HHJ 28.

16 *Hanmo yingxiong ji*, quoted by SGZ 6:182 PC, says that Guo Si had the alternative personal name of Duo 多.

"Think back," replied Huangfu Li. "The general will surely recall how strong was Dong Zhuo just a short time ago. Lü Bu was his favourite, but then he led a plot against him, and before very long Dong Zhuo's head and body were in different places. That is what happens to men who have adequate courage but fail to make proper plans.

"Now you are chief commander, with all the favour and honour of the state. Guo Si holds the chief ministers, but you have taken the emperor: which is more serious? Zhang Ji has joined Guo Si. Yang Feng is no more than a leader of the Bobo bandits but even he realises you are in the wrong. You have treated him well, but he will soon be no use to you." Li Jue swore at him and told him to leave.

As Huangfu Li was leaving, he went to the gate of the palace and said to the emperor, "Li Jue refuses the imperial orders, and his speech is insubordinate." Concerned that Li Jue would hear of this, the emperor ordered Huangfu Li to leave at once.

Li Jue sent Wang Chang, one of the Guards Rapid as Tigers,¹⁷ to call Huangfu Li back, intending to kill him. Recognising that Huangfu Li was loyal and honest, however, Wang Chang let him go and told Li Jue that "We chased him but could not catch him."

On the day *xinsi* [6 Jul] the General of Chariots and Cavalry Li Jue became Grand Marshal, ranking above the Three Excellencies.¹⁸

M Lü Bu's officers Xue Lan and Li Feng were camped at Juye, and Cao Cao attacked them.¹⁹ Lü Bu went to aid Xue Lan, but he failed to break through and was compelled to retreat. Cao Cao cut off the heads of Xue Lan and his followers. [155]

N Cao Cao's army came to Shengshi.²⁰ Tao Qian had died, and someone suggested he should occupy Xu province and then return to deal with Lü Bu.

17 The Rapid as Tigers were one of the corps of bodyguards to the emperor: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 28-29, and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 47. At this time such forces were naturally under the direct control of Li Jue or one of his colleagues.

18 This date is given by *HHJ* 28. *HHS* 9 has *renwu*, which was the following day.

M *SGZ* 1:12 (32a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

19 Juye county was in the northern part of Shanyang, near present-day Juye in Shan-dong, at that time on the edge of the Daye or Juye marshlands.

N *SGZ* 10:308-10 (6a-7b), the Biography of Xun Yu.

N *SGZ* 10:308-10 (6a-7b), the Biography of Xun Yu.

20 Having taken Juye, Cao Cao moves southwest to Shengshi on the road to Dingtao, capital of Jiyin.

1963 "In earlier times," said Xun Yu, "Gaozu took the land within the passes, and Emperor Guangwu occupied Henei. Both set their control of the empire on deep roots and a secure base. When they advanced they could defeat their enemies, and if they were forced to retreat they could still maintain their ground. They were sometimes defeated, but in the end they achieved the great work and conquered the empire.

"When you were chief in Yan province before, you settled the disturbances east of the mountains and so the people turned to you and were glad to accept your rule. The Yellow River and the Ji, moreover, are strategic points of the empire: though the countryside is now in ruins it is still easy to maintain yourself here. This is your 'land within the passes' and your 'Henei;' you must settle it first.²¹

"Now that you have defeated Li Feng and Xue Lan, if part of your army goes east to attack Chen Gong he will certainly not dare to come west. Take that opportunity to have your men bring in the harvest, collect food and store grain: by this one move Lü Bu will be defeated. Once you have dealt with Lü Bu, you can make an alliance in the south with [Liu Yao of] Yang province so as to attack Yuan Shu and move towards the Huai and the Si. [156]

"But supposing you leave Lü Bu now and go east [into Xu province]: if you leave any substantial number of men here you will have too few with you to accomplish anything; and if you leave only a small defence force behind then the people will keep to the cities – they will not be able to gather the harvest and Lü Bu will take advantage of their weakness to rob and plunder. The people would become more and more uncertain of their attachment to you.

Cao Cao is continuing the strategy he embarked upon earlier this year with a preliminary assault against Dingtao: passage B above. Operating on interior lines from his limited but well-defended territory in the eastern part of Dong commandery and the north of Jiyin, he uses one force to hold Lü Bu while another attacks his enemy's nearest positions.

21 Cao Cao's territory at this time was bordered on the northwest by the Yellow River and in the south by the Ji, which flowed into the Daye Marsh (note 19 above).

As is well known, the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han established his base in the land within the passes, former heartland of Qin, and from there he conquered all of China: e.g. *Cambridge China* I, 112 and 117-118 [Loewe, "Former Han Dynasty"].

Two centuries later, in the civil war which followed the destruction of Wang Mang, Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu of Later Han first established an independent position in Henei commandery, extended his power into the North China plain, then returned to capture Luoyang and take the empire: Bielenstein, *RHD* II, 84-87 and 102-105.

Juancheng, Fan and Wei [*i.e.* Puyang] would hold, but all the rest would be lost to us.²²

"In that case, you would no longer have Yan province, and if your plan to take Xu province failed, where could you turn? Furthermore, though Tao Qian is dead, Xu will not be easy. The people have learnt from the defeats of the past: they will be frightened and will join together as closely as a jacket and its lining. Those lands of the east have already taken in the harvest, and they will wait for you with strong walls and empty fields. You will not be able to capture anything, and there will be nothing to plunder. In less than ten days, an army of hundred thousand men would be in trouble before ever it began to fight.

"When you attacked Xu province before, your majestic punishment was applied too harshly. The sons and younger brothers remember how their fathers and elders were humiliated, so they will guard themselves and have no mind to surrender. You might be able to defeat them but you will not be able to hold them.

"In every situation, there comes a time when it is possible to take one thing rather than the other. It is always best to consider the more important matter rather than the lesser; it is always best to seek security rather than danger; and it is always best to judge an opportunity carefully and make no move that may risk your base of operations. Your present plan takes no account of these three good principles. Please think it over again."

So Cao Cao gave up the idea. [157]

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O Lü Bu came again from Dongmin, joined Chen Gong and led ten thousand men to come and fight.²³ Cao Cao's soldiers were all out collecting the harvest, there were no more than a thousand men on the spot, and the camp was very lightly defended. West of the camp

22 There was a Wei 衛 county in Dong commandery, just north across the Yellow River from Puyang, but the commentary of Hu Sanxing identifies this place called Wei 衛 as the city of Puyang, capital of the commandery, and cites the third century scholar Du Yu 杜預, who observes that Puyang was in the territory of the ancient state of Wey 衛 during the Zhou period: on the variant pronunciation, see note 16 to Chuping 2 at 1912. Puyang was a strongpoint on the west of Cao Cao's present holdings, and had been a centre of the fighting against Lü Bu: see, for example, passages J and U of Xingping 1.

O SGZ 1:12 (32a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

23 Dongmin county was in Shanyang commandery, south of Juye and east of Dingtao.

was a large dyke, with thick woods south of it. Cao Cao hid soldiers behind the dyke and drew up only half his force in the open. As Lü Bu's army came closer he sent out skirmishers. The moment the two lines met, the men that had been hidden climbed the embankment and charged together horse and foot. They completely defeated the enemy, chased them all the way to their camp, and then returned. Lü Bu withdrew that night.

Returning to the attack, Cao Cao took Dingtao, then sent detachments to settle the other counties [of Yan province]. Lü Bu fled east to Liu Bei [in Xu province], and Zhang Miao followed Lü Bu, leaving his younger brother Zhang Chao in command of the family forces to hold Yongqiu.²⁴

- P When Lü Bu first came to Liu Bei he behaved with utmost courtesy, saying, "You and I are both men of the borders."²⁵ I saw that the east of the passes were raising soldiers because they wanted to attack Dong Zhuo, and I was the man who killed Dong Zhuo. Since I came east, however, not one of the leaders there has treated me well, and all seek to kill me."

He invited Liu Bei to his tent, sat him on his wife's bed and had his wife make obeisance to him. He poured wine, they ate and drank together, and he referred to Liu Bei as his younger brother. Liu Bei felt that Lü Bu's speech and conduct were inappropriate. Though he pretended to approve, privately he was quite put off. [158]

- Q Li Jue and Guo Si fought one another for months on end, and the dead were numbered in the tens of thousands. In the sixth month Li Jue's officer Yang Feng made plans to kill him. The plot was discovered, but Yang Feng led his men in a mutiny and so Li Jue's army was somewhat weakened.²⁶

24 Yongqiu county was in Chenliu, near present-day Jixian in Henan, a short distance from the capital of the commandery. Zhang Miao has thus abandoned the territory he controlled when he invited Lü Bu into Yan province against Cao Cao, and is leaving his brother to hold a rear-guard position.

P SGZ 7:222 (6b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

25 Lü Bu came from Wuyuan in Bing province; Liu Bei from Zhuo commandery in You province. Though far apart, both territories were on the northern frontiers of the empire.

Q HHS 72/62:2338 (13b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;
SGZ 6:185 (28a-30a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;
HHJ 28:6b.

26 ZZTJ commentary observes that this was just what Huangfu Li had predicted: passage L above.

On the day *gengwu* [24 Aug] the General Who Maintains the East in Peace Zhang Ji arrived from Shan. He wanted to make peace between Li Jue and Guo Si and shift the emperor temporarily to Hongnong.²⁷ The emperor had his mind on the old capital [at Luoyang], and he also sent messengers to proclaim [his wish for peace]. After ten exchanges, Guo Si and Li Jue agreed to a truce, each giving a favourite son as hostage. Li Jue's wife, however, loved her son, so negotiations came to a halt.

- R The Qiang tribesmen and other barbarians came constantly to stare at the gate to the emperor's lodging, saying, "Is the Son of Heaven in there? General Li promised us the palace [159] maidservants. Where are they all?"

Worried by this, the emperor sent the Palace Attendant Liu Ai to say to the General Who Proclaims Righteousness Jia Xu, "As a loyal officer, you have been honoured and favoured by his majesty. Now the Qiang and other barbarians are everywhere. You must do something."

- 1965 So Jia Xu called in the chieftains, gave them wine and food and promised them fiefs and rewards. They all went away.

Li Jue was now isolated and weak, and when there was further talk of reconciliation, he agreed. Each took a daughter as hostage.

27 Shan county in Hongnong was by present-day Shan in Henan. Zhang Ji had been appointed as a general in 193: passage CC and note 57 to Chuping 3. His post at Shan was the forward base for the leaders at Chang'an dealing with the various forces in the east of the empire, but he was now thinking of taking the emperor into his own charge.

HHS 9:378, and *HHJ* 28:6b both place the date of Zhang Ji's arrival in the sixth month on a *gengwu* 更午 day (cyclical number 7), and there is reference below to the seventh month, followed by the days *jiazi* 甲子 (cyclical number 1) and *bingyin* 丙寅 (cyclical number 3). This year, however, the seventh month is calculated to have begun on a *gengwu* day, so it could not have contained a *jiazi* or a *bingyin* day.

It is possible that the indication of the beginning of the seventh month in the chronicle should appear before the reference to the *gengwu* day, and that *gengwu* 更午 has been miswritten for *gengshen* 更申 (cyclical number 57). If that were the case, all three days would have been in the sixth month: *gengshen* on 14 August; *jiazi* on 18 August; and *bingyin* on 20 August. That, however, would indicate that the emperor remained for several weeks at Baling after his escape from Chang'an, and in context that is improbable: see passage T below.

Alternatively, we can accept the reading *gengwu* and reinterpret *jiazi* 甲子 as *jiawu* 甲午 (cyclical number 31) and *bingyin* 丙寅 as *bingshen* 丙申 (cyclical number 33). Those three dates are in the seventh month: *gengwu* was equivalent to 24 August, *jiawu* to 17 September, and *bingyin* to 19 September. Despite such re-reading of the text, this appears to be the best interpretation.

S In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *jiazi* [miswritten for *jiawu* = 17 Sep] the emperor came out by the Xuanping Gate.²⁸ As he was about to cross the bridge, several hundred of Guo Si's men blocked the way and said, "Isn't this the Son of Heaven?" Several hundred men of Li Jue, armed with great halberds, were marching in front of the imperial carriage, and the two groups were about to fight when the Palace Attendant Liu Ai called out in a loud voice, "This is the Son of Heaven!" He had the Palace Attendant Yang Qi raise up the curtains of the carriage, and the emperor said, "Soldiers, how dare you crowd our honourable person?" Guo Si's men drew back, and as the cortege crossed the bridge they all called out, "Ten thousand years!"

That night the convoy came to Baling. The attendants were hungry, and Zhang Ji allocated rations to each person. Li Jue went out and camped at Chiyang.²⁹

On the day *bingyin* [miswritten for *bingshen* = 19 Sep] Zhang Ji was made General of Agile Cavalry, with offices like the Three Excellencies. Guo Si became General of Chariots and Cavalry, Yang Ding was General of the Rear and Yang Feng was General Who Brings Righteousness to Flourish; all were enfeoffed as marquises. Dong Cheng, former [160] retainer of Niu Fu, became General Who Gives Tranquillity and Collects the Empire.³⁰

R SGZ 10:328 (37a) PC quoting *Xiandi ji*;
HHJ 28:6b-7a.

S *Xiandi qijuzhu*, quoted by HHS 72/62:2339 (14a) TC and by SGZ 6:186 (30a) PC;
HHJ 28, 7a-b.

28 *Sanfu huangtu* 1.7 describes the Xuanping Gate 宣平門 as the northernmost of three on the east wall of the city of Chang'an. *Sanfu huangtu* 6.7 records that the Yinma Bridge 飲馬橋 ["where horses are watered"] lay just outside the gate, presumably crossing a moated stream.

On the dating of all these events, see note 27 above.

29 Baling county was in Jingzhao, east of present-day Xi'an and east of the Han capital Chang'an. Chiyang was Li Jue's base north of the Wei River: note 11 above. The main text of HHS 72/62, 2338, says that Li Jue went to camp at Caoyang, but this is probably an anachronism, anticipating later events: passage X below.

30 This flurry of appointments reflects the last rearrangement of nominal authority among the contending leaders at Chang'an. Li Jue had lately promoted himself Grand Marshal (passage L above), and Guo Si now took over his former title. Zhang Ji's appointment as General of the Agile Cavalry has been described earlier (passage CC and note 57 to Chuping 3), but this was the more suitable occasion.

Niu Fu, son-in-law of Dong Zhuo, had been the former commander of Li Jue, Guo Si and their associates. SGZ 32 (Shu 2):875 describes Dong Cheng as a cousin of the

Guo Si wanted to have the emperor go to Gaoling, but the chief ministers and Zhang Ji thought he should go to Hongnong. A great meeting was held, but nothing was decided. The emperor sent a messenger to say to Guo Si, "It is merely that Hongnong is close to the sacrificial and ancestral temples. There is no cause for suspicion." Guo Si would still not agree. Then the emperor refused food for a whole day. Guo Si heard about this, and said, "For the time being, let him go to a county near here."³¹

- T In the eighth month on the day *jiachen* [27 Sep] the emperor went to Xinfeng. On the day *bingzi* [*bingwu* = 29 Sep?] Guo Si again planned to force the emperor back to take up residence at Mei. The Palace Attendant Chong Ji learnt of it, and he secretly told Yang Ding, Dong Cheng and Yang Feng to gather at Xinfeng. When Guo Si realised his plan had been found out, he abandoned his troops and went away to the southern hills.³² [161]

emperor on his mother's side. A note by Pei Songzhi adds that he was a nephew of the Lady Dong, mother of Emperor Ling, and thus a generation senior to Liu Xie, Emperor Xian. See also passage A of Zhongping 6.

On the dating of these appointments, see note 27 above. The day *bingyin* is given by *HHJ* 28, but not by *HHS* 9.

- 31 Gaoling was the capital of Zuopingyi, near present-day Gaoling in Shenxi, across the Wei River to the north of Baling. This was evidently Guo Si's base outside Chang'an. Hongnong, by contrast, was some distance off, in Zhang Ji's area of influence.

The phrase *jiaomiao* 郊廟 evidently refers to the altars for the annual sacrifices (*jiao*) and the ancestral temples (*miao*) of the Later Han dynasty about Luoyang. *HHJ* has more detail of the emperor's plea to be allowed to return to these sacred sites, but one may well believe that Guo Si was quite reasonably suspicious his prize was being wheedled away from him.

- T *HHJ* 28:8a.

- 32 Xinfeng county was in Jingzhao, near present-day Lintong in Shenxi, and a short distance east of Baling.

The sources disagree about events at this time. Sima Guang follows *HHJ* 28, but *SGZ* 6:185 says that Yang Feng and his allies fought and defeated Guo Si and he fled, presumably into the foothills of the Qin Ling ranges south of the Wei valley.

HHS 72/62:2339 says that Guo Si was worried about Yang Ding, Yang Feng and Dong Cheng, and he led his troops away to make alliance once more with Li Jue.

It is unlikely that Guo Si would have abandoned his troops so swiftly, nor, since he still had supporters at the imperial camp (passage V below), does it appear there was yet open conflict. Guo Si did re-establish his alliance with Li Jue later (passage X below), but he may have felt it politic at this time to take some of his forces away to the south, while still retaining men of his party at Xinfeng.

The day *bingzi* (cyclical number 13) for these events is given by *HHJ* 28, but there was no such day in the eighth month of this year. It seems most likely that *bingzi* 丙子

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U Cao Cao besieged Yongqiu. Zhang Miao went to Yuan Shu to ask help [for his brother Zhang Chao in that city] but on the way he was killed by his own men.

In the winter, in the tenth month Cao Cao was appointed Governor of Yan province.³³

V On the day *wuxu* [20 Nov] Guo Si's partisans Xia Yu, Gao Shi and others were planning to force the emperor back to the west. The Palace Attendant Liu Ai saw fires flare up one after another, and he asked the emperor to choose one of the camps as a refuge.³⁴

Yang Ding and Dong Cheng brought their troops to escort the emperor to the camp of Yang Feng. Xia Yu and the others urged their men on to halt the imperial carriage by force. Yang Ding and Yang Feng fought bravely and defeated them, so the emperor was able to get away. [162]

On the day *renyin* [24 Nov] the emperor came to Huayin.³⁵

W The General of Peace and Harmony, Duan Wei, set out his clothing and possessions for the emperor and made provision for the high ministers and other officials. He wanted the emperor to come to

has been miswritten for *bingwu* 丙午 (cyclical number 43): this was two days after the *jiachen* day given above.

U SGZ 1:12 (32b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 7:222 (5b-6a), the Biography of Zhang Miao.

33 This appointment is another attempt by the group now controlling the emperor to obtain support from one of the leaders in the east.

V HHJ 28:10a;
HHS 9:378 (6a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

34 HHJ says only that Xia Yu and the others caused a disturbance. HHS 9, however, says that one of Guo Si's associates started a fire in the schoolhouse where the emperor was lodging: this gives more point and immediacy to Liu Ai's advice.

ZZTJ commentary explains that Liu Ai was giving the emperor an open choice: did he want to take refuge with Yang Feng and his associates, who were prepared to move to the east, or was he willing to go to the camp of one of Guo Si's followers and accept a return to the west?

Though it seems a sad reduction, we must assume that the Xia Yu mentioned here as a follower of Guo Si is the same man as led the campaign of 177 against the Xianbi, and was last heard of in 184, defending the Herding Office of Hanyang against the rebels from Liang province: *Huan and Ling*, 286-291 and 368.

35 Huayin was by present-day Huayin in Shenxi, just inside the western border of Hongnong commandery.

W HHS 72/62:2338-39 (14a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;
HHJ 28:10a-b, quoted also by HHS 72/62 TC.

his camp. Duan Wei, however, was on bad terms with Yang Ding, and Yang Ding's followers Chong Ji and Zuo Ling claimed that Duan Wei planned to rebel.

The Grand Commandant Yang Biao, the Excellency over the Masses Zhao Wen, the Palace Attendant Liu Ai and the Master of Writing Liang Shao all said, "Duan Wei will not rebel. We stake our lives on it." But then Dong Cheng and Yang Ding forced one of the Investigators of Hongnong to say that Guo Si had come and was in Duan Wei's camp.³⁶ The emperor was uncertain, and he decided to stay south of the road without shelter.

On the day *dingwei* [29 Nov] Yang Feng, Dong Cheng and Yang Ding intended to attack Duan Wei. They sent Chong Ji and Zuo Ling to ask the emperor for an edict against him. The emperor said, "There is no evidence Duan Wei has done anything wrong, yet Yang Feng and the others are going to attack him. And you want me to issue an edict?" Chong Ji asked persistently, even up to midnight, but the emperor still refused.

Then Yang Feng and his associates attacked Duan Wei's camp without the authority, but after ten days they had not captured it. Duan Wei maintained provisions for the emperor and supplies for the officials, never wavering in his loyalty.

An edict ordered the Palace Attendants and the Masters of Writing to proclaim to Yang Ding and his fellows that they should make peace with Duan Wei. Yang Ding and the others accepted the command and went back to their camps. [163]

- X Li Jue and Guo Si were angry that the emperor had gone towards the east. When they heard Yang Ding was attacking Duan Wei they came to join him, intending to force the emperor back to the west. When Yang Ding, however, heard that Li Jue and Guo Si were coming, he wanted to go back to Lantian. Guo Si cut him off, and he escaped to Jing province alone and on horseback.³⁷

36 An Investigator was a junior, locally appointed, officer in the administration of a commandery, sent out to supervise the conduct of the various counties. See the *Hanguan yi* of Ying Shao, quoted in commentary to the Treatise of Officials at HHS 118/28:3622 LC, and discussed, for example, by Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 82-83, deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 50, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 97.

X *HHJ* 28, 10b-12a;
SGZ 6:185-186 (30b-31a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;
HHS 72/62:2339-40 (14b-15a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;
HHS 9:378 (6a-b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

Zhang Ji had frequently quarrelled with Yang Feng and Dong Cheng, and he now allied himself once more with Li Jue and Guo Si. 1967 In the twelfth month [miswritten for the eleventh],³⁸ as the emperor reached Hongnong. Zhang Ji, Li Jue and Guo Si came in pursuit. There was a great battle at Dongjian in Hongnong,³⁹ and Dong Cheng and Yang Feng were defeated. The officials, lower

37 Lantian county in Jingzhao, about present-day Lantian in Shenxi, was in the south of the Wei valley and southwest of Huayin. Jing province lay southeast of Lantian and south of Hongnong commandery.

38 Sources disagree about the dating of events at this time. *ZZTJ* follows *HHJ* 28, but *HHS* 9 has a different chronology for the journey of escape of Emperor Xian. *HHS* 9 may be summarised as follows:

- battle at Dongjian eleventh month *gengwu* (cyclical number 7) 22 Dec
- Emperor at Caoyang *renshen* (cyclical number 9) 24 Dec
- battle by Caoyang twelfth month *gengchen* (cyclical number 17) ?
- Emperor to Anyi *yihai* (cyclical number 12) ?

HHJ 28 may be summarised as follows:

- battle at Dongjian twelfth month no day specified
- Emperor at Caoyang *renshen* (cyclical number 9) ?
- battle by Caoyang *gengshen* (cyclical number 57) ?
- Emperor to Anyi *dinghai* (cyclical number 24) ?

The first two dates given by *HHS* 9 are possible, but all the others are confused:

1. The twelfth month of this year began on a *dingyou* 丁酉 day (cyclical number 34), so it cannot have contained a *gengchen* 更辰 day (17), an *yihai* 乙亥 day (12), or a *dinghai* 丁亥 day (24);
2. whether a *gengchen* day (17) is said to be followed by an *yihai* day (12), or a *gengshen* 更申 day (57) by a *dinghai* 丁亥 day (24), the order appears wrong.

My suggestions would be:

1. ignore all references to the twelfth month;
2. accept the reading *gengchen* [*HHS* 9] for the day of the battle by Caoyang, but take it as being in the eleventh month;
3. take the reading *dinghai* [*HHJ* 28] for the day the emperor arrived at Anyi, but again take it as being in the eleventh month.

If this interpretation is correct, then the battle by Caoyang took place on 6 January 196 and the emperor reached Anyi on 8 January.

Regardless of these adjustments, and the confusion of the dating – some of which may well be the effect of later errors in copying – one must nonetheless admire the conscientious attention with which some secretaries sought to preserve the details of the confused, dangerous and bloody course of the emperor's flight from Chang'an.

39 Hongnong must refer here to the chief county of the commandery of that name. The city was on the southern bank of the Yellow River by present-day Lingbao in Shanxi.

Dongjian 東澗 "the eastern ravine" was evidently within the borders of Hong-nong county. On the analogy of Caoyang, discussed at note 40 immediately below, this ravine was formed by a tributary stream which flowed from the south to join the Yellow River, and had cut a gully through the loess as it did so.

officers and commoners [164] who died were too many to count. They abandoned the imperial insignia and tallies, the tablets for appointment, the records and books. Almost nothing remained.

Ju Jun, Colonel of the Archers Who Shoot at a Sound, was wounded and fell from his horse. Li Jue asked his attendants, "Will he live?" Ju Jun cursed him and said, "You and your fellows have made brutal rebellion. You oppress the emperor, you have brought harm to the highest ministers, and the palace women are scattered abroad. Of all traitors and rebels in the past, none have been so bad." Li Jue killed him.

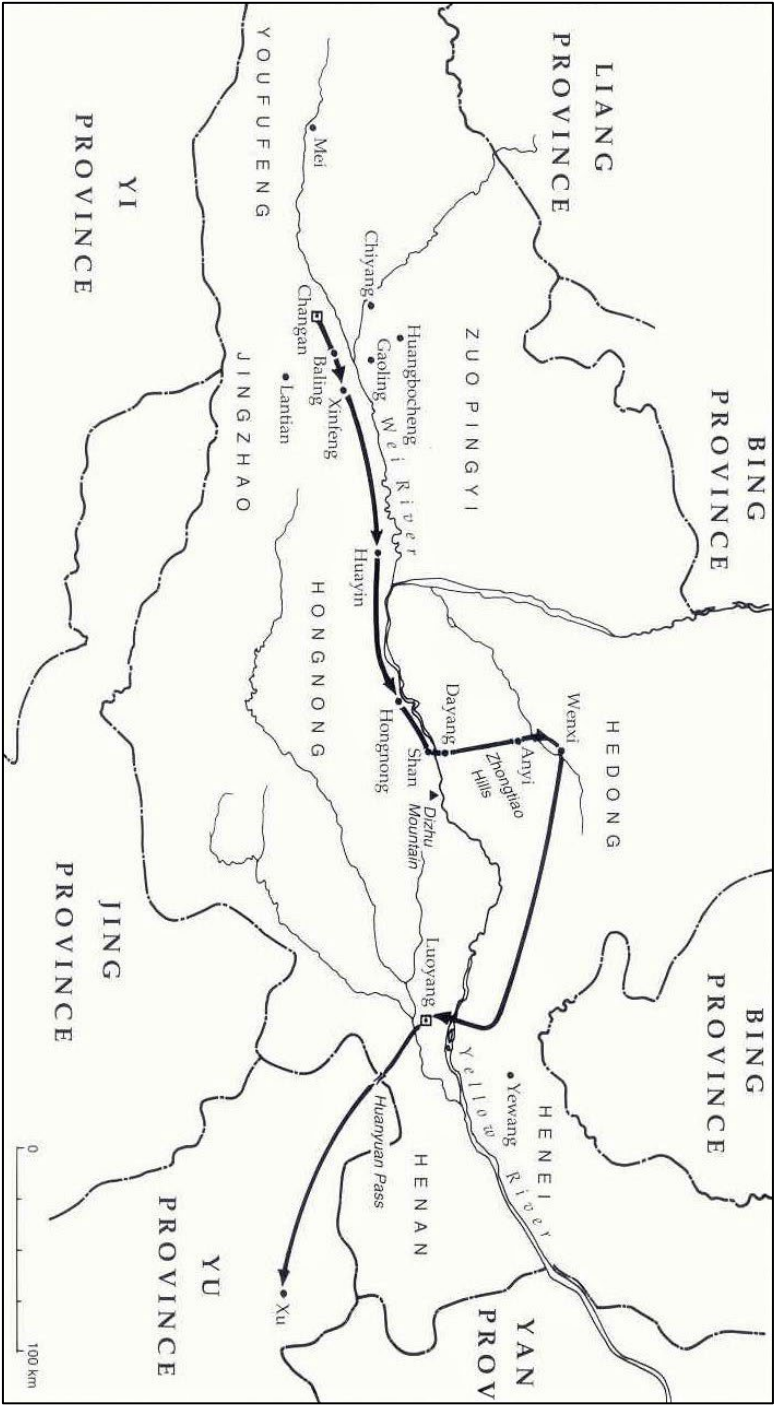
On the day *renshen* [24 Dec] the emperor came without shelter to Caoyang.⁴⁰ Dong Cheng and Yang Feng now pretended to make peace with Li Jue and the others, but they sent secretly to Hedong to call the former leaders of the Bobo bandits Li Le, Han Xian and Hu Cai, and the Worthy King of the West of the Southern Xiongnu, Qubei. Arriving with troops of several thousand horsemen, they joined Dong Cheng and Yang Feng to attack Li Jue and his fellows, completely defeated them, and killed several thousand.

As a result of this new defeat of Li Jue and his fellows, Dong Cheng and the others thought to continue their journey.

On the day *gengshen* [1 Jan 196?]⁴¹ the emperor came out [from Caoyang] and went east. Dong Cheng and Li Le guarded the imperial carriage, Hu Cai, Yang Feng, Han Xian and the Worthy King of the West of the Xiongnu were in the rear as guards. Li Jue and his fellows came again to the attack, and this time Yang Feng and the allies were utterly defeated, with greater casualties than at Dongjian. The Minister of the Household Deng Yuan, the Minister of Justice Xuan Fan, the Minister Steward Tian Fen, and the Minister of Finance Zhang Yi all died.

40 HHS 9 TC explains that Caoyang was the ravine of a tributary to the Yellow River.

41 On this dating see note 38 above.



Map 9: Imperial travels 195-196

- Y Zhao Wen the Excellency over the Masses, Wang Jiang the Minister of Ceremonies, Zhou Zhong the Minister of the Guards and the Director of Retainers Guan Ge were captured by Li Jue. He was about to kill them, but Jia Xu said, "These are great ministers, how can you harm them?" So he let them go. [165]
- 1968 Li Le said, "The situation is serious. Your majesty should get on a horse."
 "I cannot run away and abandon my ministers!" replied the emperor. "That would be a poor return for their service."
- Z The soldiers maintained a running fight for forty *li*, then they came to Shan and made camp to defend themselves.⁴² By this time, after all the destruction and defeat, there were fewer than a hundred remaining of the imperial guards Rapid as Tigers or Feathered Forest. The troops of Li Jue and Guo Si were shouting all about the camp, the officers and their men were pale for fear, and each thought only how he might desert and escape.
- AA Li Le, extremely concerned, proposed the emperor take a boat past Dizhu and out by the Meng Crossing. Yang Biao, however, thought that it was too difficult and dangerous for the emperor to travel on the Yellow River. So he had Li Le cross the River by night, get a boat ready quietly and then light a fire [as a sign of the landing place they should aim for].⁴³
 As the emperor and his ministers left the camp on foot, the Empress' elder brother Fu De escorted her, and he carried ten rolls of silk under his arm. Dong Cheng sent the Prefect of Insignia and Credentials Sun Hui to cut him down in the midst of the crowd. He

Y HHJ 28:12a;

SGZ 10:328 (37a) PC quoting *Xiandi ji*

Z HHJ:28, 12a;

HHS 72/62:2340 (15a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.

42 HHS 9 TC, cited in note 40 above, says that Caoyang was only seven *li* from Shan county of the Tang period. The distance of forty *li* is better understood in the context of HHS 72/62, which says that fighting had continued since the first encounter at Dongjian, several days earlier.

AA HHJ 28:12a-13a;

SGZ 6:186-87 (32a) PC quoting *Xiandi ji*;

HHS 72/62:2340 (15a-b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.

43 Dizhu is the name of a mountain and of a gorge on the Yellow River downstream from Shan by the present-day Sanmen Gorge. Li Le's plan was for the emperor to sail in a boat downstream to the Meng Crossing, just north of Luoyang, but Yang Biao arranged for the emperor to cross the Yellow River and make his way east along the northern bank.

killed one of the attendants and blood splashed on the Empress' clothes.

The river bank was more than a hundred feet high and people could not get down. A carriage chair was made from the silk and had a man in front support the emperor,⁴⁴ while others made [166] their way as best they could. Some jumped from above, and all their caps and headgear were ruined.

As they came to the water's edge, officers and men struggled to get into the boat. Dong Cheng and Li Le took dagger-axes to keep them back, and the cut-off fingers in the boat [from those who had tried to grasp the gunwales] could be gathered by handfuls.⁴⁵

Then the emperor was on board, and those that crossed with him were the Empress, and Yang Biao, and a few dozen others. All the palace women, officials and people that could not get across were

44 The story of Fu De, the silk and the emperor's means of descent is confused by the sources and thoroughly mixed up by *ZZTJ*.

The clearest account, though awkwardly phrased and somewhat corrupted, is that of *HHJ* 28:12b. There we are told that the first plan was to use the reins of horses and tie them around the emperor's waist so that he could be lowered, like abseiling. Then there was the incident when Fu De was threatened, one of the attendants was killed and his blood splashed on the Empress. Then it is said that, because the reins could not be joined together for a long enough rope, Fu De himself tied the lengths of silk around his waist to form a strand of support and the emperor made his way down, supported in front by the colonel Xiang Hong 向弘.

The biography of the Empress Fu in *HHS* 10B:453, followed by *JS* 26:782; Yang, "Economic History," 158, has quite a different story. In that account, the Empress herself was carrying some silken cloth, and Dong Cheng sent Sun Hui to take it from her. Sun Hui killed one of the attendants at her side, and blood splashed on the Empress' clothes. Yang Lien-sheng, however, in a note which follows the commentary to *JS* 26, discounts the tale, since other evidence indicates that Dong Cheng was a loyal officer of the throne.

Xiandi ji and also the *Hou Han shu* by Hua Qiao of the third century, quoted in *Taiping yulan* 817:1a-b, and cited by the Qing scholar Wang Wentai in commentary to *HHSJJ* 9:6b-7a, say that the silk was taken and used to support the emperor down the cliff. There is no specific mention of Fu De, Dong Cheng and Sun Hui, nor of any killing. *HHJ* 29:2b, quoted also by *HHS* 72/62:2342 TC, says that after the emperor had arrived at Luoyang various of his assistants were rewarded with marquises, and Fu De was one of them: this may have been no more than favour to a relative by marriage, or it may have been recognition of his help by the Yellow River. It is clear, however, that *ZZTJ* is wrong to say that he had been cut down and killed (斫 *zhuo*) at that time.

45 *ZZTJ* commentary here cites *Zuo zhuan*, Xun 12; Legge, *CC* V, 319 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 631) which describes a similar scene on the occasion an army of the state of Jin 晉 was defeated by Chu 楚. It is evidently something of a cliché.

robbed by the soldiers: their clothing was taken and even their hair was cut off. More people died from the cold than could be counted.

The Minister of the Guards Shisun Rui was killed by Li Jue.⁴⁶ [167>168]

1969 Li Jue saw the fire north of the River [which had been lit as a signal for the crossing], and he sent riders to scout. Seeing the emperor in midstream, they shouted, "You are taking the emperor away!" Dong Cheng, afraid they might shoot, screened him with some clothing.

When they reached Dayang the emperor went to Li Le's camp.⁴⁷ Zhang Yang the Administrator of Henei sent several thousand men bearing sacks of grain on their backs to feed them.

On the day *yihai* [miswritten for *dinghai* = 27 Dec?]⁴⁸ the emperor came to Anyi riding in an oxcart.⁴⁹ Wang Yi the Administrator of Hedong offered tribute of cotton and silk; it was all distributed among the ministers and officials, and Wang Yi was enfeoffed as a marquis. Hu Cai was made General Who Subdues the East and Zhang Yang became General Who Gives Tranquillity to the State. Both held the Staff of Authority with the right to maintain offices.

BB Every leader with a troop under his command competed for appointment. There was such a great demand for seals, and such a shortage of engravers, that some were scratched with an awl. The emperor lodged among thorns and wattles, his gates could not be fastened, and when the Son of Heaven met with his ministers,

46 This reference to Shisun Rui is confusing. Passage H above refers to him as Minister of the Guards earlier this year; *HHS* 9:378 says he was killed, as Minister, during the fighting at Dongjian; and passage Y above refers to Zhou Zhong as Minister, evidently his successor.

On the other hand, *Xiandi qijuzhu*, quoted by *SGZ* 6:186 PC, says that Shisun Rui was killed by Li Jue at this time, but that he held title as Director of the Secretariat. It is not possible to tell which account is correct.

47 Dayang county was on the northern bank of the Yellow River, almost opposite Shan.

48 On this dating see note 38 above.

49 Anyi was the capital of Hedong commandery. The city was near present-day Xia county in Shanxi, thirty kilometres north of Dayang.

This is the second time Emperor Xian is said to have ridden in a cart: passage U of *Zhongping* 6.

BB *HHS* 72/62:2340 (15b-16a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;

SGZ 6:186 (32b-33a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;

Wei shu by Wang Shen, quoted in commentary to *HHS* 72/62 and *SGZ* 6;

HHJ 28:13a-b.

common soldiers hid in the bushes to watch, pushing and jostling one another to make a laugh.

The emperor sent the Minister Coachman Han Rong back to Hongnong to make peace with Li Jue and Guo Si. Li Jue released the high officials he had held prisoner, and he also sent back some of the palace women, together with the carriages, robes, insignia and other goods that had been seized from the court. The supplies of grain were soon exhausted, however, and all the attendants were [reduced to] eating vegetables and fruit. [169]

CC On the day *yimao* [miswritten for *xinmao* = 17 Jan]⁵⁰ Zhang Yang came from Yewang to pay court. He planned to escort the emperor back to Luoyang, but the other leaders would not agree, and he went back to Yewang.

DD By this time the city of Chang'an city had been empty for more than forty days. Those who could had scattered, and starving people ate one another. For the next two or three years there was no trace of man within the passes.

EE Ju Shou advised Yuan Shao, "Your clan has provided honoured assistants to one ruler after another, and each generation has contributed loyalty and brave deeds. Now the court is wandering and in flight, and the imperial ancestral temples are destroyed. Look at the provinces and commanderies: their rulers pretend to maintain troops for the emperor, but in secret each is planning against the other. There is no concern for the national altars and no thought of giving rest to the people.

CC SGZ 8:251 (24b), the Biography of Zhang Yang;
HHJ 28:13b.

50 The day of Zhang Yang's arrival at Anyi is given by HHJ 28 as the *yimao* day, and this is followed by ZZTJ. Just before this, however, HHJ 28 has stated that the emperor arrived at Anyi on a *dinghai* day (cyclical number 24). The next *yimao* day, however, (cyclical number 52) would be four weeks later, and such a delay makes no sense at this time.

I discussed the earlier dates for the journey of the emperor in note 38 above. Following those arguments, I suggest that *yimao* 乙卯 has been miswritten here for *xinmao* 辛卯 (cyclical number 28). This would mean Zhang Yang arrived at Anyi four days after the emperor, on 17 January by the Julian calendar of the West.

DD HHS 72/62:2341 (16a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.

EE HHS 74/64A:2382-83 (7b-8a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;
SGZ 6:195 (48a-b) PC quoting *Xiandi zhuan*.

1970 "In this [Ji] province, the borders are comparatively peaceful, you have a strong army, and the gentry support you. Go west to welcome the imperial carriage, and set the palace at Ye city.⁵¹ If you hold the emperor you will have authority over the other lords, and you can collect men and horses to punish those that will not pay court. Who could dare to oppose it?" [170]

Guo Tu and Chunyu Qiong of Yingchuan argued, "The Han house has long been failing. Now you want to restore it, but that is surely too difficult. And brave men are rising everywhere, each with a province or a commandery. They gather followers and collect their forces, and whenever they move they can number their troops by the tens of thousands. This is the time that the Qin have lost a deer, and the first to catch it will rule as king."⁵²

"If you receive the Son of Heaven, you will have to report everything that you do. If you obey him you lose your independence, but if you disobey you will be opposing the mandate. This is not the best plan."⁵³

"If you receive the court now," replied Ju Shou, "you will be acting with justice to fulfil the needs of the time. Unless you decide quickly, someone else will be ahead of you." Yuan Shao would not follow his advice.

FF Before this, Zhu Zhi of Danyang had at one time served as a colonel under Sun Jian. He saw how badly Yuan Shu ruled and realised that his regime was not secure, so he urged Sun Ce to go back [to his home country] and occupy the territory east of the Yangzi.

In the mean time Wu Jing had been engaged with Fan Neng, Zhang Ying and others, but more than a year had passed and he had

51 The phrase Yedu 鄴都 describes the county city of Ye, capital (*du*) of Wei commandery and headquarters of Yuan Shao's administration as Governor of Ji province. The site is now close to Cixian in Henan.

52 This expression was first coined at the fall of the Qin dynasty, when the power of the imperial house was gone, and anyone in the empire could seek the throne: *e.g.* *SJ* 92:2629; Watson, *RGH* I, 231. The proverb continued during Han.

53 In commentary to his quotation from *Xiandi zhuan* in *SGZ* 6 PC, Pei Songzhi observes that the main text says Guo Tu also advised Yuan Shao to receive the emperor and set him at Ye; the texts disagree about his policy on the matter.

FF *SGZ* 56 (Wu 11):1303 (1b), the Biography of Zhu Zhi;
SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1102-04 (20a-21b), the Biography of Sun Ce;
SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1103 (20a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;
SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1104-05 (22a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1259 (2b), the Biography of Zhou Yu.

not defeated them. Sun Ce said to Yuan Shu, "My family has long had connections in the east. I wish to help my uncle attack Hengjiang. When Hengjiang has fallen I shall go to my homeland to raise troops. I can bring thirty thousand men to help Your Honour the Commissioner settle the empire."

Yuan Shu knew that Sun Ce was resentful [because he had not received the appointments he had been promised],⁵⁴ but since Liu Yao held Qu'a and Wang Lang was in Kuaiji he did not [171] expect he would be successful. So he gave his permission, and recommended Sun Ce as Colonel Who Breaks the Enemy Line.

Sun Ce had little more than a thousand soldiers and a few dozen horsemen, but he gathered more men on the march, and when he arrived at Liyang his force was five or six thousand.

Zhou Yu's uncle Zhou Shang was at this time Administrator of Danyang. Zhou Yu brought soldiers to welcome Sun Ce and again gave him help with supplies and food. Sun Ce was delighted, saying, "I have found you; we are together again!"⁵⁵

1971 Going forward to Hengjiang and Dangli[kou], they captured both places and drove Fan Neng and Zhang Ying away.

Sun Ce then crossed the Yangzi and fought one battle after another. All who faced him were defeated and none dared match themselves against him. When people heard that Young Gentleman Sun was coming they all lost heart, and the local officials left their cities and fled into the mountains and wilderness. When he arrived, however, the men of his army respected his orders, they did not dare rob or plunder, and no chickens or dogs or vegetables were stolen. Then the people were very pleased, and they hastened to bring cattle and wine as rewards for the army.

As a man, Sun Ce had a handsome face and he could laugh and talk. He was generous and prepared to listen, very good at managing men. That was why the soldiers and people who saw him were all devoted to him and would gladly give their lives for him.

54 See passage BB of Xingping 1.

55 Sun Ce's uncle Wu Jing had been the Administrator of Danyang for Yuan Shu, but he had been driven to the north of the Yangzi by Liu Yao in the previous year and had evidently lost that office; Yuan Shu had given him a military title instead: passage CC of Xingping 1.

It appears that Yuan Shu had named Zhou Shang as Administrator of Danyang in replacement for Wu Jing. Zhou Yu and Sun Ce had been friends when they were in their mid-teens, before Sun Ce's father Sun Jian was killed in 191: passage DD of Chuping 2. They now met again some four years later.

Sun Ce captured Liu Yao's camp at Niuzhu, and all the grain and weapons stored there. At this time the Chancellor of Pengcheng, Xue Li, and the Chancellor of Xiapi, Zhai Rong of Danyang, had both sworn allegiance to Liu Yao.⁵⁶ Xue Li held Moling city and Zhai Rong was camped in the south of that county. Sun Ce attacked them both and defeated them.

1972 Likewise defeating Liu Yao's detached commanders at Meiling, he went forward to Hushu and Jiangcheng and overran both places. From there he moved against Liu Yao at Qu'a.⁵⁷ [172]

GG Taishi Ci, from the same commandery as Liu Yao, had come to him from Donglai.⁵⁸ As Sun Ce was approaching, someone suggested Taishi Ci be given a senior command, but Liu Yao replied, "If I appointed Ziyi [Taishi Ci], Xu Zijiang [Xu Shao] would laugh at me."⁵⁹ He used him simply as a scout.

Accompanied by only a single trooper, Taishi Ci encountered Sun Ce unexpectedly at Shenting. Sun Ce was attended by thirteen

56 Pengcheng and Xiapi were both in Xu province, north of the Yangzi, and had thus been under the formal authority of Tao Qian. Xue Li, however, had been threatened by Tao Qian and gone south to join Liu Yao, and Zhai Rong had fled with his personal followers when Cao Cao attacked Xu province: *SGZ* 49:1185.

57 In this whirlwind campaign, Sun Ce first established a beachhead by taking Hengjiang and Dangli, near present-day Hexian in Anhui, then seized the enemy supply base at Niuzhu "Ox-horn" Mountain, northwest of present-day Dangtu.

He next turned north against the positions held by Xue Li and Zhai Rong, south of present-day Nanjing, and at Meiling he defeated a counter-attack from a section of Liu Yao's forces attempting to recapture the depot at Niuzhu. Advancing north past Moling, he took the two counties of Hushu and Jiangcheng, south of the Yangzi estuary.

Sun Ce now controlled all the northern half of Danyang commandery. His next move was east against Liu Yao's position at Qu'a in Wu commandery, present-day Danyang in Jiangsu. See also deC, *Generals of the South*, 158-165.

Qu'a was the site of the tomb of Sun Jian, Sun Ce's father, and the Sun and Wu families had maintained residences there. See, *inter alia*, *SGZ* 46:1101, passage BB to Xingping 1.

GG *SGZ* 49 (Wu 4):1188 (9a), the Biography of Taishi Ci.

58 Taishi Ci and Liu Yao both came from Donglai commandery, in Qing province on the tip of the Shandong peninsula. Taishi Ci's biography describes his career as an enterprising junior officer and a soldier of fortune, and he was actually in Liaodong, north of the Gulf of Bohai, when he decided to come and seek the opportunities which might arise from such a patron.

59 Ziyi 子義 was the style of Taishi Ci. Zijiang 子將 was the style of Xu Shao from Runan. Currently an adviser to Liu Yao, he was a celebrated moral critic: *Huan and Ling*, 358.

veteran horsemen with him, including his father's former officers Han Dang of Liaoxi and Huang Gai of Lingling. Taishi Ci went forward nonetheless, and he came face to face with Sun Ce. Sun Ce wounded Taishi Ci's horse, and grasped the dagger above Taishi Ci's neck.⁶⁰ Taishi Ci got Sun Ce's helmet. A moment later troopers came up from both sides and they broke off their fight.⁶¹

- HH Liu Yao fought with Sun Ce, but his men were defeated and fled to Dantu.⁶² Sun Ce entered Qu'a and gave rewards to his troops. He made generous proclamation through all the counties [of Wu], "When any fellow-countryman or former supporter of Liu Yao and Zhai Rong comes to surrender, no questions will be asked. Of those who volunteer to join the army, each man [173] who goes will satisfy the tax and corvée requirements of his household. Those who do not wish to go will not be forced." Within a few weeks, like clouds from every direction, more than twenty thousand men and a thousand cavalry had come to join him. His authority shook the lands east of the Yangzi.
- II On the day *bingchen* [6 Feb 196] Yuan Shu recommended Sun Ce as Acting General Who Destroys Criminals.⁶³
- JJ Sun Ce's officer Lü Fan said to him, "As your army grows larger, your responsibilities become greater each day. There are some items of administration which are still somewhat slack. I wish to act for a time as Chief Controller to help you sort things out."

60 Soldiers at this time often wore small daggers or throwing knives in a sheath at the back of the neck.

61 A well-known opera in the Peking repertoire, *Shenting ling* 神亭嶺, recounts this incident.

HH SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1104-05 (22a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

62 Dantu county was on the southern shore of the Yangzi estuary, just north of Qu'a, by present-day Zhenjiang.

II SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1102 (20a), the Biography of Sun Ce.

63 The main text of SGZ 46 indicates that when Yuan Shu first sent Sun Ce to join Wu Jing and Sun Ben in their attack on Liu Yao he named Sun Ce as Colonel Who Breaks the Enemy Line and simultaneously Acting General Who Destroys the Criminals: passage FF above.

While such a double appointment might have been possible in theory, albeit clumsy, a memorial sent by Sun Ce in 198 to the court under Cao Cao's control, preserved by *Wu lu* as quoted in SGZ 46:1107 PC, states that Sun Ce had received his appointment as a general from Yuan Shu on the twentieth day of the twelfth month of Xingping 2. That was indeed a *bingchen* day, equivalent to Western 6 February 196.

JJ SGZ 56 (Wu 11):1309-10 (9b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

"Ziheng," replied Sun Ce, "as a gentleman of family you have numbers of men under your command, and you have already made a reputation for yourself on campaign. Why should you accept such a low appointment and to attend the petty details of my army?"⁶⁴

1973 "No," replied Lü Fan, "I did not leave my native country and come to join you because of my family's position, but because I want to help in the work of the world. And this is like men sailing in the same boat: if one thing goes wrong we shall all of us drown. It is for my own benefit, not just for you!" Sun Ce laughed and made no further objection. [174]

Then Lü Fan went out, changed his ordinary clothing for riding costume, took up a whip, and went below the council hall to report for duty as Chief Controller. Sun Ce gave him tallies and credentials and put him in charge of all administration in the army. There was respect and good feeling among the troops, and regulations were well maintained.

KK Sun Ce made Zhang Hong Colonel of Upright Counsel and Zhang Zhao of Pengcheng was Chief Clerk. One would remain at base while the other accompanied the army on campaign. Qin Song, Chen Duan and other men of Guangling took part in planning.

Sun Ce treated Zhang Chao as a teacher and a friend, and always took his advice in both civil and military affairs. Zhang Zhao constantly received letters from scholars and gentry in the north, full of praise for him, but not for his associates. When Sun Ce heard about this, he laughed, "In olden times Master Guan [Zhong] was Chancellor in Qi. In one thing it was Father Zhong, in two it was Father Zhong, but it was Duke Huan who became the most distinguished of the hegemon rulers. Now Zibu [Zhang Zhao] is a

64 Ziheng 子衡 was the style of Lü Fan. A man of family from Runan, he had held local office in his county while he was still young, and he brought more than a hundred retainers to join Sun Ce early in his career. He took part in the fighting in Lujiang and across the Yangzi, and he had been appointed magistrate of Wanling in Danyang.

Chief Controller (都督 *dudu*) in these circumstances is an administrative post, like that of an adjutant, responsible for the organisation and discipline of an army. See also note 10 to Chuping 2, but compare the higher rank and responsibilities associated with the same title in the armies of Cao Cao and Yuan Shao in passages B and J of Jian'an 4 below.

KK SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1104 (24a), the Biography of Sun Ce;
 SGZ 52 (Wu 7), 1219 (2b-3a), the Biography of Zhang Zhao;
 SGZ 53 (Wu 8), 1243 (1b), the Biography of Zhang Hong;
 SGZ 53 (Wu 8), 1243 (1b) PC quoting Wu shu.

- worthy man. If I can use him, will his achievements and reputation show credit on anyone but me?"⁶⁵ [175]
- LL Yuan Shu appointed his younger cousin Yuan Yin as Administrator of Danyang, and Zhou Shang and Zhou Yu both went back to Shouchun.⁶⁶
- MM Liu Yao was going to retreat from Dantu to Kuaiji, but Xu Shao said, "Kuaiji is rich, which is what Sun Ce covets, and it is squeezed into a corner of the sea. Don't go there. The best place is Yuzhang: north it joins the territory of Yu, and in the west it marches with Jing province.
"Gather the officials and people, send messengers [to the court with] tribute, and make contact with Cao Cao in Yan province. Though Yuan Gonglu [Yuan Shu] stands between the two of you, he is selfish and cruel like a wolf or a jackal, and he will certainly not last long.
- 1974 "Once you have received royal authority [by sending tribute to the emperor], Mengde [Cao Cao] and Jingsheng [Liu Biao] will certainly send help."⁶⁷ Liu Yao accepted this advice.

65 Zibu 子布 was the style of Zhang Zhao. Sun Ce is referring to a story in the *Xin xu* 新序 by Liu Xiang 劉向 of the first century BC (at 1:4a), which tells of the time the great minister Guan Zhong 管仲, known by respect as "Father Zhong 仲父," was head of government for Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公 in the seventh century BC.

When the chief ministers asked Duke Huan of Qi about the appointment of an official, the Duke said, "Talk to Father Zhong about it."

The ministers asked about another matter, and again the Duke replied, "Talk to Father Zhong about it."

Someone standing by said, "In one thing it is Father Zhong; for the second thing it is also Father Zhong. Surely it is easy to be a ruler."

The Duke answered him, "Before I had Father Zhong I had difficulties; now I have him, why should it not be easy?"

So a man who rules as king puts his energies to seek for a good man, and when he has found him he can take his ease.

The biography of Guan Zhong is in *SJ* 62, and the book *Guanzi* 管子, part translated by Rickett, records his teachings.

LL SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1260 (3a), the Biography of Zhou Yu.

66 Yuan Shu had previously appointed Zhou Shang as his Administrator of Danyang: passage FF and note 55 above. Yuan Shu was presumably attempting to re-establish the position of his own family south of the Yangzi, as counterbalance to the energetic Sun Ce and his kinsmen and to weaken their connection with the Zhou family.

MM SGZ 49 (Wu 4):1184 (4a) PC quoting *HHJ* 27:12a-b.

67 Liu Yao, now at Dantu on the Yangzi estuary, had two routes of escape from Sun Ce: he could take ship along the coast to the east and south, to re-establish himself in Kuaiji

NN Some time before this, Tao Qian had appointed Zhai Rong as Chancellor of Xiapi and sent him to take charge of the official grain [176] transport from Guangling, Xiapi and Pengcheng. Zhai Rong, however, took the grain for his own purposes. He raised a great Buddhist hall of worship, encouraged people to read the Buddhist sutras, and brought in those of nearby commanderies who loved the Buddha, more than five thousand households.

On the Day of Washing the Buddha enormous quantities of food and drink were set out on mats along the roads for scores of *li*, and the wastage was counted in hundreds and hundreds of thousands.⁶⁸

Then Cao Cao attacked and defeated Tao Qian, and the territory of Xu had no peace. Zhai Rong led ten thousand men and women to Guangling, where the Administrator Zhao Yu received him with the courtesy of a guest. And before this, the Chancellor of Pengcheng, Xue Li, driven out by Tao Qian, had set camp at Moling.

on the south of Hangzhou Bay; or he could travel southwest up the river to Yuzhang, about the present-day Poyang Lake.

Kuaiji, however, was isolated from the rest of the empire, and since it was clear that Sun Ce was aiming in that direction (apart from its wealth, the Sun family came from that territory), Liu Yao would have found himself isolated and under attack from an enemy who had already shown himself to be far the more powerful and competent.

From Yuzhang, on the other hand, as Xu Shao observes, Liu Yao would have communications north to the plain, with the court re-established at Luoyang, with Yu province and with Cao Cao, and also west to Jing province on the middle Yangzi. He could then seek help from these allies against Sun Ce.

Gonglu 公路 was the style of Yuan Shu, Mengde 孟德 that of Cao Cao, and Jingsheng 景升 that of Liu Biao, who controlled Jing province.

NN SGZ 49 (Wu 4):1185 (4b-5a), the Biography of Zhai Rong supplementary to that of Liu Yao;

HHS 73/63:2368 (11a-b), the Biography of Zhai Rong supplementary to that of Tao Qian.

68 Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China* I, 27-28, and II, 327-328 notes 48-56, discusses Zhai Rong as an early exponent of Buddhism. As he points out, Zhai Rong did not follow many of the present forms of that religion, and his career was "triumphantly mentioned" by opponents of the creed in the early fourth century "as an example of moral depravity combined with Buddhist devotion."

The ceremony of Washing the Buddha (浴佛 *yu Fo*) is now held each year on the traditional date of the sage's birth, the eighth day of the fourth month in the lunar calendar. It is an important ritual, involving the bathing of a statue with scented water and the chanting of hymns. As Zürcher observes at note 53, it is unlikely Zhai Rong held his position long enough to hold more than one annual ceremony: either the historian sought to exaggerate his extravagance; or it was celebrated more frequently, perhaps even daily, in this early period.

Zhai Rong was greedy for the wealth and goods of Guangling, so he murdered Zhao Yu at a drinking party, let loose his soldiers to plunder far and wide, then crossed the Yangzi to join Xue Li. Later he killed him too.

OO Liu Yao sent his Administrator of Yuzhang, Zhu Hao, to attack Zhuge Xuan, the Administrator appointed to that territory by Yuan Shu, and Zhuge Xuan retreated to defend Xicheng.⁶⁹ Then Liu Yao went west up the Yangzi to [177] Pengze,⁷⁰ and sent Zhai Rong to help Zhu Hao attack Zhuge Xuan.

Xu Shao said to Liu Yao, "When Zhai Rong leads out his army, he is little concerned about the cause he should fight for. Zhu Wenming [Zhu Hao] deals with people in good faith.⁷¹ You should warn him to be very careful."

When Zhai Rong arrived, he did deceive Zhu Hao and kill him, and he took his place as head of the commandery. Liu Yao went to attack him and Zhai Rong was defeated. He fled into the mountains and was killed by the people there.

OO SGZ 49 (Wu 4):1185 (4a-b), the Biography of Zhai Rong, with PC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

69 Xicheng 西城, "Western City" or "the Western Fortress," was apparently some distance west of Nanchang, capital of Yuzhang commandery, on the Gan River by present-day Nanchang in Jiangxi. Zhuge Xuan was the uncle of the later celebrated Zhuge Liang, chief minister of Liu Bei and the state of Shu-Han.

There is disagreement among the sources about the allegiance of Zhuge Xuan about this time. The main text of SGZ 35:911, the Biography of Zhuge Liang, says that he was appointed to Yuzhang by Yuan Shu, but the Han court then changed its mind and chose Zhu Hao to replace him, so he went to join Liu Biao. *Xiandi chunqiu*, however, quoted here and by PC to SGZ 35, says that Zhuge Xuan was appointed by Liu Biao, but then the Han court sent Zhu Hao who got help from Liu Yao and attacked Zhuge Xuan.

Apart from the fact that in the circumstances of the time it is hard to believe the Han court had any effective opinion on the matter, we have been told above of Xu Shao's advice to Liu Yao that he should seek help from Liu Biao and avoid Yuan Shu. It therefore seems likely that Zhuge Xuan was initially an associate of Yuan Shu, that he was attacked for that reason by Zhu Hao in alliance with Liu Yao, and that he later sought support from Liu Biao.

Xiandi chunqiu adds that Zhuge Xuan was later killed in a mutiny among his people at Xicheng.

70 Pengze county in Yuzhang was near present-day Hukou in Jiangxi. During the Han period the southern part of the present Poyang Lake was primarily marshland, and the open water, then known as Pengli 彭蠡, extended north and south of the main stream of the Yangzi.

71 Wenming 文明 was the style of Zhu Hao.

PP An edict appointed Hua Xin, a former Senior Clerk under the Grand Tutor, to be Administrator of Yuzhang.⁷²

1975

QQ Zhu Zhi the Commandant of Danyang drove away Xu Gong the Administrator of Wu commandery, and took over [178] his territory.⁷³ Xu Gong went south to take refuge with White Tiger Yan, the bandit of the hills.

RR Zhang Chao was at Yongqiu and Cao Cao besieged him closely. Zhang Chao said, "If only Zang Hong would come to help us!"⁷⁴

PP *SGZ* 13:401 (18a), the Biography of Hua Xin.

72 Hua Xin's career had been more complex than this simple statement indicates. He held office for a time in the imperial secretariat at Luoyang, but escaped from the capital after Dong Zhuo seized power, and joined Yuan Shu when the eastern alliance was established.

While still with Yuan Shu, he joined the staff of Ma Midi, the Grand Tutor who had been sent out on a peace mission: passages CC of *Chuping* 3 and AA of *Xing-ping* 1. In that capacity, he travelled to Xu province, and then received appointment to Yuzhang.

As in note 68 above, it is hard to understand how the imperial government at this time could have been in a position to issue or enforce an edict concerning the administration of Yuzhang. It may be that Ma Midi's colleague Zhao Qi, who was in the area about this time, took some such authority (passage AA and note 48 to *Xing-ping* 1, and *HHS* 64/54, 2124), or perhaps the appointment came a little later, when the imperial court was under the control of Cao Cao.

QQ *SGZ* 56 (Wu 11):1303 (1b), the Biography of Zhu Zhi.

73 Zhu Zhi, former officer of Sun Jian, had also been a protégé of the Grand Tutor Ma Midi.

ZZTJ is mistaken in saying that he was Commandant of Danyang: he was a native of Danyang and had lately been appointed Commandant in Wu commandery. In that position he was chief military assistant to the Administrator, and was in an excellent position to organise a coup against him. Zhu Zhi's biography adds that he took over as Administrator.

RR *HHS* 58/48:1887-92 (15a-18b), the Biography of Zang Hong;

SGZ 7:233 (22a), the Biography of Zang Hong.

74 Zang Hong was a native of Guangling. At the beginning of the civil war, Zhang Chao had been Administrator of that commandery, and Zang Hong held office under him. He accompanied Zhang Chao to join the forces against Dong Zhuo, and gained advancement through his patronage.

We are told below that Zang Hong was at this time the Administrator of Dong commandery: the appointment is a little strange, for Dong commandery was in Yan province, formally controlled by Cao Cao, and had been Cao Cao's original base in that region, under appointment from Yuan Shao: e.g. passage S of *Chuping* 2.

Yuan Shao, however, had presumably appointed an Administrator of Dong commandery when Cao Cao was in difficulty with Lü Bu, and he maintained the post afterwards. Zang Hong's biography notes that his capital was at Dongwuyang, so it

"Yuan Shao and Cao Cao are presently at peace," observed his comrades, "and Zang Hong holds his appointment through Yuan Shao. He will not upset the good [relations between Yuan and Cao] and bring down misfortune [by such involvement]."

"Ziyuan [Zang Hong]⁷⁵ is one of the most loyal men of the empire" replied Zhang Chao." He will never turn his back upon me. My only concern is that he may be forcibly prevented from coming to join us."

Zang Hong was currently the Administrator of Dong commandery. With bare feet, crying and weeping, he begged Yuan Shao for soldiers to go to Zhang Chao's relief, but Yuan Shao refused. He asked to lead men from his own command, but Yuan Shao would not allow that either. Then Yongqiu was taken, Zhang Chao killed himself and Cao Cao destroyed his family and clan.⁷⁶ [179]

appears that his territory, under Yuan Shao, covered the part of the commandery north of the Yellow River.

75 Ziyuan 子源 was the style of Zang Hong.

76 The penalty "destruction of the three clans" (三族 *sanzu*) is discussed by Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 112-122. There are differing explanations, but Hulsewé suggests that in Han times it indicated:

the extermination of the extended family, including the culprit's grandparents; his wife and children, and presumably his grandchildren; his brothers and sisters, and presumably even his married sisters; of course all depending on the age and situation of the person concerned..... It remains possible that the extermination of the three clans did actually embrace even more persons than those enumerated above; in that case the limit which suggests itself is the group affected by the rules for mourning, which may include an important part of the culprit's own clan and members of both his mother's and his wife's clan."

The relationships for mourning in the Han period, based upon *Yi li*, are enumerated by Ch'ü, *Social Structure*, 313-317 note 274, and I have discussed them in connection with the proscription under Emperor Ling from 169 to 184: *Huan and Ling*, note 61 at 227, note 6 at 277-278 and note 41 at 323.

In the time of Emperor Ling, however, it is at least arguable that the definitions of the proscribed degrees of relationship had some formal significance in barring individuals from office. By contrast, in the bloody history of civil war, the expression *zu* or *sanzu* seldom refers to any legal formality, but rather to a general slaughter of those relatives unfortunate enough to be available.

Zhang Miao, elder brother of Zhang Chao, had been closely involved in the mutiny of Yan province against Cao Cao in Xp2: 195, and though Zhang Miao was now dead, passage O above indicates that most of the surviving members of the family were inside Yongqiu. So Cao Cao had material for his vengeance.

As a result of this, Zang Hong hated Yuan Shao. He broke off relations and would have nothing more to do with him. Yuan Shao brought troops to besiege him but a year went by and he still held out.

Yuan Shao had Zang Hong's fellow-townsmen Chen Lin write a letter urging him to give in, but Zang Hong replied,⁷⁷ "I am a mean fellow, lacking both ambition and ability. I happened to meet our master [Yuan Shao] when I was travelling as an emissary,⁷⁸ and since then I have received his courtesy, favour and generous kindness. So I hold office in this great province. Do you think I am pleased to bear arms against him now?"

"When I first received appointment, I believed we could do great things together to aid the imperial house. Then I heard that my native province had been invaded and the leader [180] of my commandery was in danger.⁷⁹ I asked for an army and was refused. I asked to go myself, but I was kept back. And now my former lord has come to harm.

"My sincerity has been denied its true expression, and how can I return to the path of amity? Should I do so, I would inflict still greater harm to my sullied name for filial piety and loyalty. This is the reason I must endure my grief and wave a weapon in farewell, hold back my tears and end our relationship.

77 Admired for his eloquent and persuasive writing, Chen Lin was regularly employed by Yuan Shu to draft his proclamations: see passage F of Jian'an 10.

Zang Hong's letter in reply, however, occupies a considerable part of both his biographies in *HHS* and *SGZ*, and became a celebrated and respected expression of an individual's sense of personal loyalty.

78 The expression 傾蓋 *qinggai* is explained by *ZZTJ* commentary with reference to *Kongzi jiyu* 2:8b-9a; Kramers, 237, where the phrase is used to describe how Confucius met with Chengzi 程子, who became his disciple.

Zang Hong had been sent by Zhang Chao on a mission to Liu Yu at the time of his quarrel with Gongsun Zan in 190. He was unable to make that contact, but he met Yuan Shao and entered his service: *HHS* 58/48:1886, *SGZ* 7:232, and passage Q to Chuping 1.

79 Zang Hong is referring to two matters. The first is the invasion by Cao Cao of Xu province in 193 (passage L of Chuping 4), for Guangling commandery was in that province. The second was the siege of Zhang Chao, who had, as we have seen, been Administrator of Guangling, and who may have kept that title. Yongqiu, however, was a county of Chenliu in Yan province, so Zang Hong's proposed relief expedition had no direct connection to the problems of his homeland.

"Go away, Kongzhang [Chen Lin]!"⁸⁰ Seek advantage where you will. I, Zang Hong, devote my life to personal loyalty.⁸¹ You follow the leader of the alliance [Yuan Shao], I serve [the emperor at] Chang'an.

1976 "You say I shall die and my name will be lost. But I can laugh at you, who must live in ignominy."

When Yuan Shao saw Zang Hong's letter he realised that there was no chance of his surrender. He reinforced his men and pressed the attack hard. Within the city all supplies were gone, and there was no hope of relief from the outside.

Knowing he could not escape, Zang Hong said to his military and civil officers, soldiers and people, "Yuan is a man without principle, and his ambitions are disloyal. Moreover, he gave no help to the leader of my commandery. For my own honour, I must die. I appreciate, however, that none of you have any concern in this affair, and there is no reason for you to share this ill fortune. Before the city falls you must take your wives and children and go."

All wept and said, "Your Excellency had no cause to quarrel with Yuan, and now you have come to this distress for the sake of an official appointed by our emperor. We are your people. How can we abandon you?" [181]

At first, they could still find rats, old bones and sinews, but then there was nothing that could be cooked and eaten. The Registrar reported that there were three *sheng* of rice in the inner kitchen, and asked for a little to make porridge.⁸² Zang Hong sighed and said, "How can I enjoy this alone?" He had a thin gruel made, and shared it with all the army. He also killed his favourite concubine to feed his men. All bowed their heads and wept.

Seven or eight thousand men and women lay dead one upon the other, but none went away or turned against him. Then the city fell and Zang Hong was taken alive. Yuan Shao gathered his chieftains to see Zang Hong, and said, "Zang Hong, how could you be so ungrateful? Will you submit to me now?"

80 Kongzhang 孔璋 was the style of Chen Lin.

81 It is difficult to decide the significance of Zang Hong's use of the phrase *junqin* 君親 "personal loyalty" at this point. At the beginning of the civil war, however, Zang Hong had made a fine speech and sworn a blood oath of loyalty to the emperor and to the leaders of the alliance against Dong Zhuo, notably including Zhang Miao and Zhang Chao: *HHS* 58/48:1886-87, and *SGZ* 7:232.

82 A *sheng* 升 measure was about one fifth of a litre.

Zang Hong was lying on the ground, but he stared up in scorn and replied, "All the Yuan served the Han, and in four generations they held five posts as Excellency. It may well be said that they received favour. Now, however, when the imperial house is weak and in decline, you have no intention to offer support and assistance. You seek only to seize opportunity, you possess an inordinate ambition, and you kill good and loyal men to establish your evil power.

"I myself heard you call Zhang of Chenliu [Zhang Miao] your elder brother, so my commandery leader [Zhang Chao] must be your younger brother.⁸³ You were supposed to be allies, eliminating evil and preserving the state from harm. How could you hold back your forces and stand idle as another man was destroyed?

"I regret only that I am too weak to raise my sword to right the wrongs of the empire. How can you speak of submission?"

1977 Yuan Shao was truly fond of Zang Hong. He had hoped to compel his submission and then forgive him. Seeing, however, that Zang Hong meant what he said, he realised he would never serve him. So he killed him.

Chen Rong, a man from the same town as Zang Hong, had admired him since he was young. He was at this time in the assembly with Yuan Shao, and he stood up and said, "You have embarked upon a great work, to end the violence in the empire. Yet you begin by killing a loyal, honest man. Does [182] this match the will of Heaven? Zang Hong took up arms for the chief of his commandery. How can you kill him?"

Embarrassed, Yuan Shao had Chen Rong led out, remarking, "You are not one of Zang Hong's people. This is pointless."

Chen Rong turned and said, "There are unwritten rules of humanity and honour. If you follow them, you are a gentleman. If you ignore them, you are a common fellow. I would rather die on the same day as Zang Hong than live under the same sun as you." So he too was executed.

Everyone who was there sighed and whispered to one another, "How could he kill two such heroes on a single day?"

83 Zhang Miao, elder brother of Zhang Chao, had been Administrator of Chenliu in 189 and still held that title at the time of the alliance against Dong Zhuo in 190: passages MM of Zhongping 6 and A of Chuping 1.

SS HHS 73/63:2362-64 (7b-8b), the Biography of Gongsun Zan;
SGZ 8:243-44 (11a-13a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan,
with PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

SS When Gongsun Zan had killed Liu Yu, he held all the territory of You province, and his ambition became ever greater. He took advantage of his ability and strength, he felt no pity for the people, he recorded faults and forgot good work, and he took revenge for no more than an angry look.

He used the law to bring harm to scholars and gentlemen of quality and to all those looked upon with greater respect than he was himself, while any man of ability was treated harshly and sent to exile in poor and bad territory. When asked why, Gongsun Zan replied, "Those gentlemen think they are all so virtuous that favours come to them by right. They have no gratitude for anything I do." His true favourites were merchants and common fellows, whom he treated like brothers and accepted as relatives by marriage. Such men behaved as bullies, and the people hated them.

Liu Yu's Assistant Officer Xianyu Fu of Yuyang, with a group of others, gathered the troops of the province and led an army of vengeance. Yan Rou of Yan state⁸⁴ had earlier been generous and faithful, and he became Major to the Wuhuan.⁸⁵ [183] Recruiting several ten thousand barbarians and Han Chinese, Yan Rou fought a battle to the north of Lu against Zou Dan, the Administrator of Yuyang appointed by Gongsun Zan. He took the head of Zou Dan and killed four thousand of his men.⁸⁶

84 There was no kingdom or commandery called Yan 燕 in the official geography of this time; the term is a general reference to the northeast of the empire, taken from the name of the ancient state in that region. According to the Account of the Wuhuan in *HHS* 90/80:2984, Yan Rou was a man of Guangyang in You province; he had lived among the Wuhuan and the Xianbi when he was young, and they trusted him.

85 According to the Treatise of Officials of Sima Biao, a Protector of the Wuhuan (護烏桓校尉 *hu Wuhuan xiaowei*) was appointed to supervise the Wuhuan and Xianbi tribes of the north-eastern frontier, and the *Hanguan* [yi] of Ying Shao lists two majors (司馬 *sima*) among his subordinates: *HHS* 118/28:3626, and see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 110-111 [as Colonel Protecting the Wuhuan].

Yan Rou may have received appointment from Liu Yu or from the leaders of the rebels against Gongsun Zan, but he may well have taken the title for himself. He was comparatively modest in his claim, but he was practically independent and the Account of the Wuhuan says that he later killed the Protector and took his place: *HHS* 90/80:2984.

86 Lu county was in Yuyang commandery, near present-day Tongxian in the east of Beijing Municipality.

King Qiao of the Wuhuan now brought his tribesmen,⁸⁷ and with a further seven thousand horsemen from the Xianbi [Yan Rou and his allies] followed Xianyu Fu south to join Liu Yu's son He and Yuan Shao's officer Qu Yi.

- 1978 The combined armies, a hundred thousand men, attacked Gongsun Zan and defeated him at Baoqiu. They took more than twenty thousand heads.⁸⁸ Then the people of Dai, Guangyang, Shang-gu and Youbeiping commanderies killed the officials appointed by Gongsun Zan and sent troops to join Xianyu Fu and Liu He. Gongsun Zan's army was defeated time and again.

Before this, there was a children's song which ran,

Yan comes down to the south, Zhao extends to the north;

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

Only there can you take refuge from the world."

Gongsun Zan believed this referred to the territory of Yi, so he transferred his headquarters there.⁸⁹ He had ten moats [184] dug around, and within the moats he built motte fortresses, each fifty or

87 Qiao 峭 "Severe" was the attribute taken by Supuyan 速僕延, leader of the Wuhuan people in the territory of the Dependent State of Liaodong: SGZ 30:834: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 396 and 549 note 79. His name is also transcribed as Supuwan 蘇僕丸: e.g. passage F and note 13 to Jian'an 12.

88 Baoqiu is the name of a river in present-day Hubei. SJZ 14:7b-8a, says that the place where the river passes to the south of the old city of Yuyang was the site of the battle. Yuyang, southeast of Miyun in Hebei, was the chief county of Yuyang commandery.

89 There are three definite rhymes in the song: the sixth character, 礪 (modern Mandarin *lì*): Karlgren, GSR 337; the thirteenth, 垂 (modern Mandarin *chui*): GSR 340; and the twentieth, 世 (modern Mandarin *shi*): GSR 339. As to the third character, 際 (modern Mandarin *ji*), GSR 31 indicates an open rather than a closed syllable as in the other three, but it may also have been taken as a rhyme. So the jingle comprised either one line of six characters and two of seven, or two couplets, the first with three characters to the line, the second with seven to the line.

Such popular or children's songs were regarded in Han times as having prophetic authority, and were included in the Treatise of the Five Powers compiled by Sima Biao: HHS 103/13:3280-85; Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 143. This one is mentioned in the commentary of Liu Zhao to the Treatise at 3285.

Yi county was in Hejian in Ji province, about present-day Xiong on the Yi River in Hebei. Gongsun Zan had been made Marquis of Yi two years before (passage N of Chuping 4). The city lay in the midst of a complex of watercourses at the extreme north of Ji province, just across the border with You. The northern state of Yan 燕 in the Warring States period occupied much of You province, while the state of Zhao 趙 based in present-day Shanxi had extended across the plain; the frontiers of the two, and that of the state of Qi 齊, met in the area of Yi county of Han. See, for example, *Zhongguo shi gao ditu ji* I, 21-22.

sixty feet high, and on top of these he put towers. The mound within the central moat was a hundred feet high, and that was where he lived himself. The gates of the fortress were made of iron.

Dismissing all his attendants and refusing entrance to any male over seven years old, he lived there with his concubines. All his files and documents had to be hauled up to him, and he issued orders by training his women to shout in unison so they could be heard at several hundred paces. He kept his followers at a distance, there was no-one he would trust, and his best councillors and commanders gradually drifted away. From this time on he seldom went to battle.

Asked the reason for all this, Gongsun Zan replied, "At first, when I drove the barbarians away beyond the borders, and destroyed the Yellow Turbans at the Meng Crossing,⁹⁰ it seemed that the empire might be settled with the signal of a flag. But now there are soldiers fighting everywhere, and this is more than I care to deal with.

"So the best policy is to leave weapons aside, put work into ploughing, and tide things over through these difficult years. By all the rules of warfare, no-one attacks a hundred towers, and I have scores of camps, watchtowers and pickets, with three million *hu* of stored grain. When all that is eaten, it may be time to review the affairs of the world." [185]

TT The Southern Shanyu Yufuluo died. His younger brother Huchuquan took his place and set his residence at Pingyang.⁹¹ [186>187]

90 On Gongsun Zan's campaign against rebels in the north in 188, see *Huan and Ling*, 403. On his slaughter of Yellow Turbans in 191, see passage V of Chuping 2.

The texts here quote him as referring to this latter exploit as taking place at the Meng Crossing, but there is no record of Yellow Turban forces so close to Luoyang, nor that Gongsun Zan engaged them there. In fact, the massacre took place at another crossing, on a lower reach of the Yellow River in the region of Pingyuan commandery.

TT *HHS* 89/79:2964 (19a), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

Pingyang county was in Hedong commandery, on the Fen River about present-day Linfen in Shanxi.

After Yufuluo was driven out by his own people (passage GG of Zhongping 6), he had set his base at Pingyang, but he acted as a wandering mercenary or occasional bandit during the years of civil war. See also deC, *Northern Frontier*, 347-349.



Map 10: North China in the time of Yuan Shao and Gongsun Zan

CHAPTER 62

*being Chapter 54 of the Chronicle of Han
containing Part 4 of the reign of Emperor Xian*

Jian'an 1: 196 AD

17 February 196 – 4 February 197

1979

- A In the spring, in the first month on the day *guiyou* [23 Feb] there was a great amnesty and the reign-title was changed [to Jian'an].
- B Dong Cheng and Zhang Yang wanted to have the emperor return to Luoyang, but Yang Feng and Li Le would not agree. All the generals were now suspicious of one another.
In the second month Han Xian attacked Dong Cheng, who fell back to Yewang. Han Xian camped at Wenxi, while Hu Cai and Yang Feng went to Wuxiang. Hu Cai wanted to attack Han Xian, but the emperor sent explicit orders to forbid him.¹
- C He Yi and other leaders brought a horde of Yellow Turbans from Yingchuan and Runan to join Yuan Shu. Cao Cao attacked them and defeated them.²
- D Zhang Yang sent Dong Cheng to restore the palaces at Luoyang, and the Minister Coachman Zhao Qi persuaded Liu Biao to send men to help with the construction work. The convoys of supplies arrived in a steady stream. [188]

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A *HHS* 9:379 (7a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

B *HHJ* 29:1a.

1 The emperor was at Anyi, capital of Hedong commandery (passage AA of Xingping 2 above), and Wenxi county was a little to the northeast.

Yewang county was in Henei commandery, a hundred and fifty kilometres to the east, north across the Yellow River from Luoyang. Zhang Yang had his base camp there (passage CC of Xingping 2).

ZZTJ commentary notes that the Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 119/19:3390, refers to a settlement called Wuju 鄔聚 [written as 塢聚 by Hu Sanxing] in Goushi 緱氏 county of Henan, and it evidently identifies this place with the district called Wuxiang. Goushi, however, was southeast of Luoyang, even further than Yewang and, in context, this is impossibly far away. We must assume Wuxiang was somewhere in the vicinity of Anyi.

C *SGZ* 1:13 (33b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

2 *SGZ* 1 observes that this group of Yellow Turbans had been allied with Yuan Shu before, and had operated in association with his general Sun Jian. In this campaign, Cao Cao killed several of their leaders, and the others surrendered.

D *HHS* 64/54:2124 (17a), the Biography of Zhao Qi.

- E In the summer, in the fifth month on the day *bingyin* [15 Jun] the emperor sent a messenger to the camps of Yang Feng, Li Le and Han Xian, asking them to escort him to Luoyang. Yang Feng and the others obeyed the edict.

In the sixth month on the day *yiwei* [14 Jul] the emperor arrived in Wenxi.³

- F Yuan Shu attacked Liu Bei to fight for Xu province. Liu Bei set his Major Zhang Fei to hold Xiapi while he himself led a force to oppose Yuan Shu at Xuyi and Huaiyin. They faced one another for a whole month without any result.

The Chancellor of Xiapi, Cao Bao, had been an officer under Tao Qian. He fell out with Zhang Fei and Zhang Fei killed him. There were riots in the city. Yuan Shu wrote to Lü Bu, urging him to attack Xiapi, and promised him help with his supplies. Lü Bu was very pleased, and he brought his army east down the [Si] River by water and land.⁴ The General of the Household Xu Dan of Danyang, one of Liu Bei's officers, opened the gates and received him. Zhang Fei was

E *HHJ* 29:1a.

3 Wenxi lay northeast of Anyi (note 1 above), so it might appear the imperial cortege was moving in the wrong direction. *HHJ* 29, however, explains that the party followed a roundabout route in order to avoid raiding parties of the Xiongnu.

F *HHS* 75/65, 2447 (11b-12a), the Biography of Lü Bu;
SGZ 7:223 (6a), the Biography of Lü Bu;
SGZ 7:223-24 (7a-b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2):873 (6a-b), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2):874 (6b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;
SGZ 38 (Shu 8):969 (10b), the Biography of Mi Zhu.

4 The details of this incident are confused. The main text of *SGZ* 32 says simply that Cao Bao rebelled and called in Lü Bu, while *Hanmo yingxiong ji*, as quoted by *SGZ* 32 PC, says that Zhang Fei intended to kill Cao Bao, but he took refuge in his encampment and called in Lü Bu. The extract from *Hanmo yingxiong ji* in *SGZ* 7 PC, however, quotes a letter written to Lü Bu by Xu Dan, offering to act as his agent within, and saying that Zhang Fei had already killed Cao Bao. It was through Xu Dan that Lü Bu defeated Zhang Fei and captured Xiapi city.

Lü Bu had joined Liu Bei two years earlier (passages O and P of Xingping 2), and was presumably stationed in the northwest of Xiapi commandery, near the border with Yan province from which he had been driven by Cao Cao. His line of approach to the city of Xiapi thus followed the course of the Si River.

HHS 75/65 and another extract from *Hanmo yingxiong ji* quoted in *SGZ* 7 PC contain the text of a letter written by Yuan Shu to Lü Bu about this time. It is certainly friendly, promising supplies and listing the achievements of Lü Bu on behalf of Yuan Shu, but it appears to refer to Lü Bu's attack on Liu Bei as having taken place, and so cannot have been an encouragement to that action.

defeated [189] and fled, while Lü Bu captured Liu Bei's wife and children and the families of his military and civil officers.

Liu Bei had turned back when he heard the news, but by the time he reached Xiapi his army had disintegrated. Gathering some remnants of his forces, he went east against Guangling. He fought with Yuan Shu, suffered further defeat, and went to camp at Haixi. Starving and desperate, his men had turned to cannibalism. His Assistant Officer Mi Zhu of Donghai gave aid to the army from his own family property.⁵

Liu Bei asked to surrender to Lü Bu. Lü Bu had quarrelled again with Yuan Shu because the supplies for his army had not been maintained, so he called Liu Bei and restored him to his position as Inspector of Yu province. They joined forces against Yuan Shu, and Lü Bu sent Liu Bei to camp at Xiaopei. Lü Bu named himself Governor of Xu province.⁶

Lü Bu's officer He Meng of Henei attacked Lü Bu during the night. Lü Bu fled bareheaded and unclothed to the camp of his Chief Controller Gao Shun, who immediately led soldiers into the headquarters to attack He Meng. He Meng was defeated and fled, and when daylight came his subordinate Cao Xing cut off his head.

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G On the day *gengzi* [19 Jul] Yang Feng and Han Xian escorted the emperor back to the east. Zhang Yang brought supplies for the journey. [190]

5 Based on Xiapi city, Liu Bei had been defending the line of the Huai against Yuan Shu approaching from Yang province in the southwest. Zhang Fei's brutality and Lü Bu's change of sides, however, removed the heart of Liu Bei's position, and after an unsuccessful attempt to move south into Guangyang he was driven into the isolated county of Haixi in Donghai commandery, on the seacoast north of the mouth of the Huai.

Mi Zhu had been locally appointed by Tao Qian in Xu province, and after Tao Qian died he transferred allegiance to Liu Bei: passage Z of Xingping 1. His biography says not only that he supplied the army at this time, but also that he gave his younger sister to Liu Bei as replacement for the wife he had lost in the fall of Xiapi.

6 SGZ 7 has Lü Bu's claimed title only as Inspector, but HHS 75/65 has Governor, and this is more likely.

Liu Bei been styled Governor of Xu province since his succession to Tao Qian in 194. For a short time earlier, he had been named Inspector of Yu province in Tao Qian's service, also stationed at Pei county (or Xiaopei): passage B of Xingping 1. So his position was back to where it had been once before, and inferior to that taken by Lü Bu. He would not have been pleased.

In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *jiazi* [12 Aug] the emperor came to Luoyang, where he took up lodgings in the mansion of the former Regular Attendant Zhao Zhong.⁷ On the day *dingchou* [25 Aug] there was a great amnesty.

In the eighth month on the day *xinchou* [18 Sep] the emperor moved into the Yang'an Apartments of the Southern Palace. Since Zhang Yang felt that it was his achievement, he had named these apartments Yang'an.⁸

Zhang Yang said to the other leaders, "Service to the Son of Heaven should be shared by everyone in the empire. Since the court has excellencies and high officials, I shall go to defend against any threats from outside." So he went back to Yewang, and Yang Feng set his camp at Liang. Han Xian and Dong Cheng stayed together on guard.⁹

On the day *guimao* [20 Sep] the General Who Gives Tranquillity to the State Zhang Yang was made Grand Marshal, Yang Feng became General of Chariots and Cavalry and Han Xian was named General-in-Chief with authority as Director of Retainers. All held the Staff of Authority and Battle-Axes.¹⁰

H At this time all the palaces and houses had been burnt, and the officials had to clear away thorns to live among the walls. The provinces and commanderies were crowded with fighting men, so no food arrived and everyone was hungry and in want. Gentlemen of the Masters of Writing and lower officials went out in person to gather wild grain. Some died of starvation among the walls; others were killed by the soldiers.

G HHS 9:379 (7a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;
HHS 72/62:2341-42 (16a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;
SGZ 8:251 (24b-25a), the Biography of Zhang Yang.

7 Zhao Zhong, a leading eunuch under Emperors Huan and Ling, had been killed in the disorders of 189: passage S of Zhongping 6. His biography is in HHS 78/68.

8 These apartments were evidently a small group of buildings which had been brought to some semblance of repair among the ruins of the old palace complex. It is not possible to say what they had been known as before.

9 Liang county in Henan was by present-day Linru, on the southern approaches to Luoyang. Yewang guarded the capital from the northeast across the Yellow River.

10 Like the Staff of Authority in civil circumstances, the Battle-Axe insignia (鉞 *yue*) gave the right to carry out judgement and execution under military law without prior reference to the throne.

H HHS 9:79 (7a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

I There was a prophecy which read, "The one to replace Han shall be 'high road'," and Yuan Shu said that the characters of [191] his personal name and style agreed with it. Moreover, the Yuan clan came from Chen, and was descended from Shun, and yellow took the place of red, and was next in the cycle of power. So he made plans to usurp the throne and rebel against Han.¹¹

When he found out that Sun Jian had found the Great Imperial Seal, he held Sun Jian's wife hostage and took it from him.¹² Then he heard about the defeat of the emperor near Caoyang,¹³ and he summoned his subordinates to discuss taking the imperial title.

At first, none dared oppose the plan, but then the Registrar Yan Xiang came forward and said, "In earlier times the Zhou accumulated virtue and added good works from Hou Ji to King Wen. They held two-thirds of the empire but they still submitted to the Yin."¹⁴

1982 "Your family has been successful and prosperous for many generations, but it still cannot compare with the splendour of the

I HHS 75/65:2439-40 (7a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shu; SGZ 6:210 (76a) PC quoting *Dian lue*.

11 SJ 36:1575; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 169, says that the descendants of the legendary Emperor Shun 舜 had been enfeoffed with the state of Chen 陳 at the beginning of the Zhou dynasty; the Yuan family claimed descent from a grandee of the state of Chen named Yuan Taotu 輟濤塗: HHS 75/65:2440 TC

In the theory of the Five Powers (五行 *wuxing*), Fire was said to produce Earth, and so the red of Fire should eventually give way to the yellow of Earth. The colour adopted by the Han dynasty was red, and it was generally agreed that it would be succeeded by a political entity associated with yellow: see, for example, *Cambridge China* I, 360 [Mansvelt Beck, "Fall of Han"]. The colour associated with Emperor Shun was yellow; but the Yellow Turbans had also adopted it, and twenty years later the successor states Wei and Wu also took yellow as their insignia.

The style Gonglu 公路 of Yuan Shu means a public road, and hence can be related to the prophetic phrase *tugao* 塗高. As *ZZTJ* commentary observes, however, the character Wei 魏, name of the state later founded by Cao Cao, has the meaning 'high' and fits as well. On this prophecy, see also Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 211, and deC, *Generals of the South*, 174 note.

12 See passage D of Chuping 2 above.

13 In the previous year: passage X of Xingping 2.

14 Hou Ji 后稷 "Prince Millet" was the title of the Minister of Agriculture under the legendary Emperors Yao and Shun. The kings of the Zhou dynasty claimed descent from him: SJ 4:111-12; Chavannes, *MH* I, 209-211 (Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 55).

Lun yu VIII.20; Legge *CC* I, 215 (Lau, *Analects*, 75): "King Wen possessed two of the three parts of the empire, and with those he served the dynasty of Yin. The virtue of the house of Zhou may be said to have reached the highest point indeed."

rulers of Zhou. And though the house of Han is weak, it cannot be likened to the cruelty of Yin." Yuan Shu was silent. [192]

Yuan Shu sent an invitation to Zhang Fan, a celebrated scholar who had never held office. Zhang Fan would not go, but he sent his younger brother Zhang Cheng to present his thanks. Yuan Shu said to Zhang Cheng, "I hold broad lands and a great mass of people and soldiers, I seek to achieve the fortune of Duke Huan of Qi and the work of Gaozu.¹⁵ What do you think?"

"Success," replied Zhang Cheng, "is not a matter of power but a question of virtue. If you act with virtue to follow the wishes of the empire, then even if you had no more than the ability of a common fellow, you would find no difficulty taking position as a hegemon king. If, however, you seek only to usurp the throne, then you will be going against the trend of our time, and people will leave you. In such a case, who could hope for success?" Yuan Shu was not pleased.

- J Sun Ce heard of all this, and he wrote to Yuan Shu,¹⁶ "When Cheng Tang attacked Jie, he could claim that 'The rulers of Xia have many crimes.' When King Wu raised an army against Zhou, he could claim that 'Yin has many faults.' These two masters had the power of sages, but if at that time [the established rulers] had not lost the Way of right action, there would have been no justification for taking them over.¹⁷ [193]

15 According to tradition, in the seventh century BC Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公 was the most powerful vassal of the weakened dynasty of Zhou. As hegemon of the other feudal lords, he brought them to serve the royal house.

Emperor Gao 高 (commonly referred to as Gaozu 高祖) founded the Han dynasty Former Han from the ruins of the empire of Qin at the end of the third century BC.

J HHS 75/65:2440-41 (7b-8a), the Biography of Yuan Shu;
HHJ 29:7a-8a;

SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1105-06 (24b-26b) PC quoting *Wu lu*.

16 The fullest version of this letter, listing nine points against Yuan Shu's ambitions, is given by *Wu lu*, which adds that Zhang Hong composed it for Sun Ce. HHJ, however, ascribes the work to Zhang Zhao, and Pei Songzhi, in a note at the end of the *Wu lu* quotation, observes that *Dian lue* also credits it to Zhang Zhao. Pei Songzhi, however, argues that Zhang Hong was the better scholar, and such a piece was surely written by him.

17 According to tradition, Jie 桀 was the last ruler of Xia 夏, notorious for his wickedness, and rightfully overthrown by Tang 湯, named "the Successful" (成 *Cheng*), who thus founded the Shang 商 dynasty, later renamed Yin 殷.

Similarly, the wicked King Zhou 紂 of Shang/Yin was properly destroyed by the warrior King Wu of Zhou 周武王, son of Wen 文: cf. note 14 above.

"As to our present emperor, he has done no wrong to the empire. It is only that he is young and small, and is at the mercy of mighty subjects. This is different to the time of Tang and Wu.

"Furthermore, though Dong Zhuo was a villain, proud and overbearing, with no restraint or limit to his ambition, even he dared not [claim the throne]. Yet all the empire joined in hatred of him. This would apply still more to someone who imitated him and acted even worse!

"I have heard that our young emperor is wise and intelligent, with a virtue which has come early to fulfillment. Though the empire has not yet received his grace, all turn their hearts to him. Just as you have five generations succeeding one another as great ministers of the Han, a splendour and favour to which none may compare, so you should express your loyalty and maintain your honour as a subject, to repay the royal house. Then you will have the good reputation of Dan [the Duke of Zhou] and Shi [the Duke of Shao]. All the world will admire you.¹⁸

"Many people at this time follow the words of prophecies and try to match affairs to the texts of unorthodox books. Thinking only of pleasing their master, they pay no attention to reality. That is what rulers both in ancient times and at the present day have always been careful to avoid. Should you not think this out properly?

"Loyal words may offend the ear, and contrary opinions may bring enmity, but I dare not excuse myself from speaking if it may bring advantage to your honour and your wisdom."

1983 Hitherto, Yuan Shu had believed that he controlled the forces south of the Huai, while Sun Ce [south of the Yangzi] was certain to support him. When he got this letter he was sad and downcast and became ill. He would not accept the argument, and so Sun Ce broke off with him.

ZZTJ commentary quotes as examples of this tradition the *Tang shi* 湯誓 "The Speech of Tang" Chapter of *Shu jing*; Legge, CC III, 173-175 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 101-103), and the annals of the house of Zhou in *SJ* 4:120-124; Chavannes, *MH* I, 227 (Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 60-61).

18 Dan 旦 and Shi 奭 were the personal names of the Duke of Zhou 周公 and of the Duke of Shao 召公. The Duke of Zhou was the full brother, and the Duke of Shao a half-brother by a concubine, of King Wu of Zhou. After the death of King Wu, the two dukes shared in the regency for his young son King Cheng 成.

K Cao Cao was at Xu city,¹⁹ and was planning to receive [194] the emperor. Many argued that "The east of the mountains is not yet settled, while Han Xian and Yang Feng are relying on their good work and look upon any rivals with an arrogant air. We shall not be able to deal with them quickly."

"In earlier times," responded Xun Yu, "when Duke Wen of Jin received King Xiang of the Zhou, all the feudal lords admired him and followed him.²⁰ Gaozu of Han wore mourning for the Provisional Emperor and the people of the empire turned their hearts to him.²¹ The emperor is an exile, and you were among the first to call up loyal troops. The east of the mountains has been disturbed and disordered, and that is the only reason you have had no opportunity to come to his aid.

"Now the imperial carriage has returned, but the eastern capital is overgrown and neglected. All loyal men hope to preserve the imperial house, and the people long sadly for the past. Truly, if you take this occasion to support the emperor and follow the expectations of the people, it will match the will of Heaven.

"To follow the cause of justice and so make the empire submit, that is a great plan, and to support the loyal cause and so attract talented men, that is great virtue. There are rebels and traitors in all

K *HHS* 70/60:2284 (17a-b), the Biography of Xun Yu;
SGZ 10:310 (7b-8a), the Biography of Xun Yu.

19 Xu 許 county was in Yingchuan commandery. The city is now Xuchang 許昌 in Henan; the name was changed at the end of Later Han: see, for example, Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 117, and *Huan and Ling*, note 41 at 60-261.

20 We are told that in 636 BC King Xiang 襄 of Zhou was forced from his capital at Luoyang by a revolt and took refuge at the court of Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公. In the following year Duke Wen escorted him back and restored him to his throne: *SJ* 39:1662-63; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 294-298.

21 Rather than its usual meaning of "righteous," the character *yi* 義 in the title of the Provisional Emperor 義帝, is better understood as "temporary."

This was the title granted to Xin 心, a descendant of the royal house of the state of Chu 楚, who was set upon the throne of that restored state in 208 BC as a figurehead for the rebellion against the empire of Qin. In 206 Xiang Yu 項羽 proclaimed him as Provisional Emperor, but murdered him soon afterwards. See *SJ* 7:300, 315 and 320; Chavannes, *MH* II, 257, 284 and 293 (Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 183, 194 and 197). In the following year, when the future Emperor Gao of Han learnt of this, he proclaimed mourning for three days, then announced his campaign against Xiang Yu as vengeance on the assassin: *SJ* 8:370; Chavannes, *MH* II, 364, Watson, *RGH* I, 96-97 [who describes the unhappy ruler as the "Righteous Emperor"], and *HS* 1A, 34; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 75-77.

directions, but what can they do? And why should men like Han Xian or Yang Feng be of any concern to you?

"Unless you make up your mind to act promptly, however, other strong men will become ambitious, and though you may plan it again later, such an opportunity will not repeat itself."

L So Cao Cao sent Cao Hong, General of the Household Who Manifests Firmness, to lead troops [195] west and receive the Son of Heaven. Dong Cheng and the others, however, held the passes against him, and Cao Hong could not get through.

M The Consultant Dong Zhao noted that Yang Feng had a strong force of foot-soldiers and horsemen, but few supporters at court. He wrote to him on Cao Cao's behalf, saying,²² "Knowing your reputation and admiring your fine deeds, I offer my full and sincere friendship. You have saved the emperor from his difficulties and have returned his court to the old capital. No-one else can match your achievement in his support. How splendid!

"At this time there are masses of wicked men causing trouble in China, and the four seas have no peace. The imperial throne is the most important thing, and all our work must be devoted to its protection and support.

1984 "This is the time for all men of good will to clear the imperial way, but such a task is more than any one man can manage alone. Truly the heart and the belly and the four limbs depend upon each other, and if one is absent, it will surely be missed. You may be master on the inside, and I shall be your ally abroad. I have supplies and you have troops, we complement each other. Live or die, let us act together."

Yang Feng was delighted with this letter, and he said to his colleagues, "The armies of Yan province are nearby at Xu city. There are soldiers and there are supplies. These are what the emperor should rely on." They jointly recommended that Cao Cao should be named General Who Maintains the East in Peace, and that he succeed his father as Marquis of Bi Village.²³

L *SGZ* 1:13 (33a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

M *SGZ* 14:437 (15b-16a), the Biography of Dong Zhao.

22 Dong Zhao was currently with the emperor. He had served Yuan Shao, and was later with Zhang Yang, whom he advised in favour of Cao Cao: passage II of Chuping 3. There is no record, however, that he had had any direct contact with Cao Cao.

23 The eunuch Cao Teng had been made Marquis of Bi 費 [or Fei] Village in 147, and the fief passed to his adopted son Cao Song, father of Cao Cao and now deceased.

- N Han Xian boasted of his achievements and acted without restraint. Dong Cheng disliked it. He sent a secret call to Cao Cao, and Cao Cao brought his soldiers to Luoyang. When he [196] arrived he presented a memorial on the faults of Han Xian and Zhang Yang. Frightened of the punishment he might meet, Han Xian fled alone on horseback to Yang Feng. Because Han Xian and Zhang Yang had done good work as escort to his escape, however, the emperor ordered that nothing more should be said.
- O On the day *xinhai* [28 Sep] Cao Cao was given charge as Director of Retainers with control of the Secretariat.²⁴ He immediately had the Master of Writing Feng Shi and two other men executed as punishment for crimes. He enfeoffed the General of the Guards Dong Cheng and twelve others as full marquises as reward for their good work, and he gave posthumous title as Administrator of Hongnong to the Colonel of the Archers Who Shoot at a Sound Ju Jun, in recognition of his honourable death.²⁵
- P Cao Cao invited Dong Zhao to sit with him and asked, "Now that I am here, what plans should I make?"
- "You have raised loyal troops to punish cruelty and disorder," replied Dong Zhao, "and you have come to pay court to the emperor and give help to the royal house. This is work worthy of the five hegemonies. Every subordinate commander here, however, has ideas of his own, and there is no way to be sure they will submit and obey you. If you stay here in Luoyang, it will not be easy to manage matters. The only thing to do is shift the emperor to Xu city."
- 1985 "On the other hand, the court has been homeless and wandering and has only lately returned to the old capital. Far and near, people have been waiting for this, and all hope they may now gain peace. If we transfer the emperor once more, it will not ease the hearts of the people."

On the change in pronunciation of the place-name from ancient Bi to present-day Fei, see note 22 to Chuping 4.

N *HHS* 72/62:2342 (16a-b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.

O *HHS* 9:380 (7a-b), the Annals of Emperor Huan;
HHJ 29:2a-b.

24 Reflecting the interests of the Han annalists, *HHS* 9 says that Cao Cao took these titles for himself (自領 *zi ling*); and it maintains the same policy in dealing with the appointments of other warlords.

25 See passage X of Xingping 2.

P *SGZ* 14:437-38 (16a-b), the Biography of Dong Zhao.

"In the end, however, it is only by extraordinary acts that one can build exceptional achievement. It is for you to decide the best policy."

"This [policy to move the emperor to Xu city] has been my aim from the beginning," replied Cao Cao. "Yang Feng, however, is near by at Liang, and I have heard that he has good soldiers. Mightn't he cause me trouble?" [197]

"Yang Feng has no friends at court," answered Dong Zhao, "and he is your ally. It is he who arranged your appointment as General Who Maintains the East in Peace, and also the restoration of the Bi Village marquisate. Send messengers with generous gifts to return thanks. That will set his mind at rest. Then say to him, 'The capital has no provisions, so I would like the emperor to stay for a while at Luyang. Since Luyang is close to Xu city, the transport of supplies will become easier, and there will be no concern for delays or shortages.'

"Though Yang Feng is brave, he is not very clever. He will not suspect anything, and will agree to the plan by return of courier. He is not a problem."

"Excellent!" said Cao Cao, and he sent messengers to Yang Feng.

Q On the day *gengshen* [7 Oct] the emperor went out east by the Huanyuan Pass, and the capital was shifted to Xu city.

[In the ninth month] on the day *jisi* [16 Oct]²⁶ the emperor entered Cao Cao's camp, appointed Cao Cao as General-in-Chief and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Wuping.²⁷ The imperial ancestral temple and the national altars were established for the first time at Xu city.

R Sun Ce planned to take Kuaiji. White Tiger Yan and other leaders of Wu commandery were camped in various positions, each with over ten thousand men. His officers urged that he attack White Tiger Yan

Q HHS 9:80 (7b), the Annals of Emperor Xian;
SGZ 1:13 (35a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

26 HHS annals, followed by ZZTJ, has the day *jisi* 己巳 before referring to the ninth month. The ninth month, however, began on a *guihai* 癸亥 day (cyclical number 60), so this *jisi* day (cyclical number 6) must have fallen in that month.

27 Wuping county was in Chen state in Yu province, near present-day Luyi in Henan.

R SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1104 (22a), the Biography of Sun Ce.

S SGZ 13:407 (26a), the Biography of Wang Lang;
SGZ 51 (Wu 6):1205 (1a-2a), the Biography of Sun Jing.

and his allies first, but Sun Ce said, "White Tiger and those fellows are nothing but mobs of bandits. They have no great ideas and they can certainly be taken." So he led his soldiers across the Zhe River.

S Yu Fan, Officer of Merit in Kuaiji, said to his Administrator Wang Lang, "Sun Ce is a brilliant [198] military commander. Better leave now; do not try to face him." Wang Lang did not agree, and he took soldiers to oppose Sun Ce at Guling.

Sun Ce tried several times to force a bridgehead over the river, but without success. Then his uncle Sun Jing [his father's younger brother] said to him, "Wang Lang holds the town defences, and it is difficult to storm them quickly. Zhadu is a few dozen *li* south of here. Go that way and get behind him. You will be attacking where he is not prepared and breaking out where he least expects it."

1986 Sun Ce did this. That night he had a great number of fires lit to pretend there were soldiers there, and sent part of his army along the Zhadu road against the camp at Gaoqian.²⁸ Wang Lang, completely surprised, sent Zhou Xin the former Administrator of Danyang with troops to oppose the attack. Sun Ce defeated them and took the heads of Zhou Xin and others.²⁹ Wang Lang ran away.

Yu Fan escorted Wang Lang back to his base camp and then across the sea to Dongye.³⁰

28 Neither Guling nor Zhadu were county cities, but both were fortified settlements by crossings of the Zhe River, which here flows northeast to the estuary. Guling was evidently close to the mouth of the river, about present-day Hangzhou; Zhadu was some distance upstream. In commentary to *SGZ* 51, Pei Songzhi notes that there was a Gaoqian Bridge in this region.

This region was the home territory of the Sun clan, which came from Fuchun on the Zhe River, now Fuyang in Zhejiang: *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1):1093. Sun Ce, however, had spent most of his life north of the Yangzi, and would not have known the land so well as his elder relatives.

29 The Zhou family of Kuaiji had been important. Apart from Zhou Xin's position in Danyang, from where he had been driven out by Sun Ce's uncle Wu Jing two years before, he and his brothers had earlier served Yuan Shao in the north against Sun Ce's father Sun Jian in the service of Yuan Shu: passages X of *Chuping* 2 and BB of *Xingping* 1, also deC, *Generals of the South*, 130-131 and 154.

30 The county of Dongye 東冶 and its neighbour Houguan 候官 lay at the mouth of the Min River by present-day Fuzhou in Fujian. Outposts of the empire, they were normally reached only by sea, and they served as communications points and a place for gathering toll on the local and passing trade. See Bielenstein, "Chinese Colonisation of Fukien," 121-122, and deC, *Generals of the South*, 43-44. The reference to the two places in the *Treatise of Administrative Geography*, *HHS* 112/22:3488, is seriously corrupt, and must be interpreted with the aid of the commentary in *HHSJJ* 112/22:47a-b.

1987 Sun Ce followed in pursuit, attacked and completely defeated them. Then Wang Lang came to surrender. [199]

T Sun Ce appointed himself Administrator of Kuaiji. He maintained Yu Fan as Officer of Merit and treated him with all the courtesy of a friend.

Sun Ce loved hunting, but Yu Fan objected, "You enjoy going without an escort, and your followers have no time to make suitable preparations. Your men are concerned about it. A ruler who is not serious will have no authority. It was in this fashion that the White Dragon put on fish clothing and was troubled by Yu Ju,³¹ and the White Snake acted wilfully and was brought to harm by Liu Ji.³² Please think about it!"

"You are right," agreed Sun Ce, but he would not change.³³

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U In the ninth month the Excellency over the Masses Chunyu Jia, the Grand Commandant Yang Biao and the Excellency of Works Zhang Xi all left office.³⁴

T SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1104 (23a), the Biography of Sun Ce;

SGZ 57 (Wu 12):1317-18 (2b-3b), the Biography of Yu Fan.

31 According to an anecdote in *Shuo yuan* 說苑 compiled by Liu Xiang 劉向 in the first century BC, 9:23b-24a, Yu Ju 豫且 was a fisherman of the state of Song 宋 in *Chunqiu* times. The White Dragon 白龍 came down to the water in the form of a fish, and Yu Ju shot him in the eye with an arrow. The dragon asked the ruler of Heaven for vengeance, but was told it was only natural for men to attack fish, and if he had kept his true shape he would have come to no harm. Cf. SJ 128:3229ff.

32 Ji 季 was the original personal name of Emperor Gao of Former Han, indicating that he was a younger son. Because it was in common usage, the emperor later took the personal name Bang 邦 to save problems with taboo.

HS 1A:7; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 34-36, tells how the future emperor was crossing a marsh one night when he was drunk, and he killed a magic serpent, son of the White God 白帝, which blocked his path. When he took command in the civil war in 209 BC he made his standards and pennons red "because the serpent he had killed was the son of the White God and the killer was the son of the Red God:" HS 1A:10; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 41.

33 Cf. passage N to Jian'an 5.

U HHS 9:380 (7b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

34 The reference to Chunyu Jia here is mistaken. In passage X of Xingping 1, *ZZTJ* has mentioned his leaving office as Excellency over the Masses and being replaced by Zhao Wen. Following *HHJ* 27:15b, *ZZTJ* gives the date as the twelfth month; the annals of *HHS* 9:377 have it in the ninth month. No source, however, supports this entry for Jian'an 1, and it appears to be an incorrect repetition from the *HHS* entry two years earlier.

V As the emperor was moving to the east, Yang Feng had tried unsuccessfully to intercept him from Liang. In the winter, in the tenth month Cao Cao turned against him, Yang Feng fled south to Yuan Shu, and Cao Cao captured his camp at Liang. [200]

W An imperial edict was sent to Yuan Shao, scolding him because, "Though your lands are broad and you have many soldiers, you have set up a party solely for yourself. We do not hear of you as a leader to give help to the true king, we only hear that you usurp authority and attack others."

Yuan Shao sent in a memorial, defending himself in detail against each charge.³⁵

[In the eleventh month] on the day *wuchen* [14 Dec]³⁶ Yuan Shao was appointed as Grand Commandant and enfeoffed as Marquis of Ye.

Yuan Shao was embarrassed and annoyed to be lower in rank than Cao Cao. He remarked angrily that, "There were several occasions Cao Cao was in danger of death, and I was quick to help him and save him. Now he is making use of the Son of Heaven to give me orders." He sent in a memorial with excuses and refused the appointment. Cao Cao was worried, and asked to cede the office of General-in-Chief to Yuan Shao.

On the day *bingxu* [2 Jan 197] Cao Cao became Excellency of Works with acting authority as General of Chariots and Cavalry.³⁷ [201]

V SGZ 1:14 (36a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

W HHS 74/64A:2384-88 (8b-11b), the Biography of Yuan Shao; SGZ 6:195 (49a) PC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*; HHJ 29:3a.

35 The text of Yuan Shao's letter is given by his biography in HHS 74/64A. It is very likely that he had his secretary Chen Lin compose it: note 77 to Xingping 2.

36 This date comes from HHJ 29, which gives the *bingxu* day in the tenth month: the tenth month is mentioned in passage V above, so ZTTJ omits the indication here.

The eleventh month of this year, however, began on a *renxu* day (cyclical number 59), so both the *wuchen* day (cyclical number 5) mentioned here, and the *bingxu* day (cyclical number 23) referred to below, were in that month.

37 As HHS 74/64A TC observes, the office of General-in-Chief had formerly been inferior to the Three Excellencies, of whom the Grand Commandant was the highest. During Later Han, however, because of its association with the imperial family and particularly with the relatives by marriage and the regency, the post of General-in-Chief had become more important.

X Cao Cao had Xun Yu appointed as Palace Attendant with responsibility as Director of the Secretariat. He asked him about scholars who could make plans, and Xun Yu recommended his cousin Xun You the Administrator of Shu commandery,³⁸ and Guo Jia of Yingchuan.

Cao Cao called Xun You to be a Master of Writing, spoke with him and was delighted, saying, "Gongda is quite exceptional!"³⁹ Now I can plan things with him, what difficulties will the empire offer?" He appointed him Master of the Army.⁴⁰

Before this, Guo Jia had gone to see Yuan Shao, who treated him with the utmost courtesy. After a few weeks, however, he observed to Yuan Shao's counsellors Xin Ping and Guo Tu, "A man who is wise takes care to examine his master. He will never come to harm then,

Cao Cao's revised appointment as "acting in the affairs" (行 *xing* ... 事 *shi*) of the General of Chariots and Cavalry placed him specifically below Yuan Shao as full General-in-Chief, while his new substantive post as Excellency of Works, third of the Three Excellencies, was also inferior to Yuan Shao's status as Grand Commandant. See, for example, the Treatise of Officials, *HHS* 114/24:3563 and 3557-60.

It is evident that Cao Cao had sought to use his control over the emperor and the government to enhance his formal status, but Yuan Shao's response was so hostile that he found it wise to change policy.

In some contrast to this account, and to passage J of Jian'an 2 below, the annals of *HHS* 9:380 say that Yuan Shao made himself (自為 *zi wei*) General-in-Chief in the third month of the following year: cf. note 24 above, where a similar term is applied to Cao Cao.

We are not told, however, that Yuan Shao actually accepted this appointment as Grand Commandant. According to *HHS* 62/52:2068, Yuan Shao attempted to cede the position to Chen Ji, but Chen Ji refused. The office of Grand Commandant under Han is not mentioned again in the histories. It is possible that Yuan Shao kept the position formally until his death or, at least, that no-one else ventured to take it. Cao Cao himself remained Minister of Works until he introduced a reorganisation of these senior positions in 208: passage I of Jian'an 13.

X *HHS* 70/60:2284-85 (17b-18a), the Biography of Xun Yu;
SGZ 10:310-11 (12b), the Biography of Xun Yu;
SGZ 10:322 (29b), the Biography of Xun You;
SGZ 14:431 (8b-9a), the Biography of Guo Jia.

38 Xun Yu was a cousin in the same generation as Xun You's father: *SGZ* 10:321 PC quoting *Xunshi jiazhuang* 荀氏家傳 "The Account of the Xun Family."

Formerly at Chang'an, Xun You had sought and been granted office in Shu. He did not, however, take up that appointment, but went to refuge in Jing province.

39 Gongda 公達 was the style of Xun You.

40 Master of the Army (軍師 *junshi*) and Libationer (祭酒 *jiji*), as in the appointment of Guo Jia below, were positions on the general staff: *JS* 24:724, the Treatise of Administration.

and he will be able to establish a good reputation. Lord Yuan seeks to imitate the Duke of Zhou by being polite to men of talent, but that is all. He does not comprehend the finer points of how to get men to serve him. He has many ideas but few of the essentials, he loves to plan but never makes a decision.

1989 "You wish to work with him, to save the empire in its time of calamity and to help him secure the throne. That, however, will not be easy. I intend to make a new start and seek another master. Why don't you come too?"

"The Yuan have shown favour and generosity to all the world," replied his colleagues, "and many men turn to them. Furthermore, [Yuan Shao] is very powerful now, and where can we go if we leave him?" Guo Jia realised that they would never understand, and he left without saying more.

Cao Cao called Guo Jia to audience and discussed affairs with him. He was pleased and said, "This is certainly a man who can help me gain the empire." As Guo Jia went out he too was pleased and said, "This is the master for me." [202]

Cao Cao recommended him as Libationer to the Excellency of Works.⁴¹

Y Cao Cao appointed Man Chong of Shanyang as Prefect of Xu. Some retainers of Cao Cao's cousin Cao Hong repeatedly disobeyed the law in that territory, and Man Chong arrested them and punished them. Cao Hong wrote to threaten Man Chong but he paid no attention. Cao Hong told Cao Cao and Cao Cao summoned the officers of Xu county. Man Chong knew that he would pardon the retainers, so he executed them at once. Cao Cao was pleased and said, "Here is real attention to duty?"

Z Kong Rong the Administrator of Beihai was a man of haughty bearing, with ambition to settle the disorders of the time.⁴² He was,

41 As *ZZTJ* commentary observes, the full title of Guo Jia's post is given by *SGZ* 14 as Libationer to the Army of the Excellency of Works (司空軍祭酒 *sikong jun jijiu*).

Y *SGZ* 26:721 (1b), the Biography of Man Chong.

Z *HHS* 70/60:2263-64 (5a-6a), the Biography of Kong Rong;
SGZ 12:370-71 (6a-8b) PC quoting the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao;
SGZ 12:371-72 (8b-9b) PC quoting the *Jiuzhou chunqiu* of Sima Biao.

42 Kong Rong is described here as Administrator, but the kingdom of Beihai had been granted as a fief to a nephew of the founding Emperor Guangwu, and the line was maintained by descendants throughout Later Han until 206: *HHS* 14/4:556-58, *HHS*

however, erratic and vague in his ideas and ineffectual in his actions. High-flown talk about pure teachings were all the vogue in his official circle, while the words and style of writings were so refined and elegant that they could be read aloud with pleasure. For the discussion of [203] affairs and examination of facts, however, they were quite impracticable.⁴³

His influence spread wide like a net, but the meshes were extremely loose. For a short time he could get people to follow him, but they never stayed for long. In appointing men to office he loved the unusual and chose the strange, so many of his subordinates were quick and frivolous, with slight ability.

He respected and honoured the famous scholar Zheng Xuan, treated him with the courtesy owed by a son or grandson, and changed the name of his village to "Village of Lord Zheng." On the other hand, while fine scholars such as Zuo Chengzu and Liu Yixun were invited to sit with him, that was all, for he would never discuss matters of government with them. He said nonetheless, "These are famous men and people look up to them. I must not lose them."⁴⁴

1990 When the Yellow Turbans came to plunder, Kong Rong fought and was defeated. He fled to take refuge in Duchang.⁴⁵

9:384. Kong Rong was therefore a Chancellor: he is given that title by *HHS* and by *Xu Han shu*.

Though both works are ascribed to Sima Biao, there is a marked contrast between the treatment of Kong Rong in *Xu Han shu* and in *Jiuzhou chungiu*. *Xu Han shu* emphasises the moral quality of his government in Beihai, including the re-establishment of schools and provision for proper burial. *Jiuzhou chungiu*, on the other hand, decries his affectation and his superficial approach to the needs of the time. Both texts influenced Fan Ye's treatment of the biography of Kong Rong in *HHS* 70/60, but Sima Guang places chief emphasis on the unfavourable points; *cf.*, however, note 44 below.

43 This is presumably a reference to the *qingtān* 清談 school of "Pure Conversation" popular among learned men of the late second century, and developed in the third century by experts of the *Xuan xue* 玄學 "School of the Mysteries." See, for example, *Cambridge China* I, 828 [Demiéville, "Philosophy and Religion"], also passage Q and notes 7 and 39 to Chuping 1.

44 The Village of Lord Zheng 鄭公鄉 may still be found in the present-day county of Anqiu in Shandong.

Both these men are identified only by their styles. Zuo Chengzu 左承祖 [also as 左丞祖] is recorded in both *HHS* 70/60 and *Jiuzhou chungiu*; Liu Yixin 劉義遜 only in *Jiuzhou chungiu*.

45 Duchang county in Beihai was near present-day Changyi in Shandong, by the northern coast at the base of the Shandong peninsula.

At this time [the territories of] Yuan Shao, Cao Cao and Gongsun Zan formed a continuous line. Kong Rong's forces were weak and he had few supplies, he occupied an isolated corner and had no communication with any of them. Zuo Chengzu urged him to trust himself to some more powerful state [Cao Cao or Yuan Shao], but Kong Rong would not hear of it, and he killed him. Liu Yixun left.

Yuan Tan the Inspector of Qing province attacked Kong Rong, and they fought from the spring to the summer.⁴⁶ Only a few hundred fighting men remained to him, and arrows filled the air, but Kong Rong reclined on an armrest to study, and he talked and laughed unconcerned. As the city [204] fell to a night assault, he made his escape to the eastern hills;⁴⁷ his wife and children were captured by Yuan Tan.

Cao Cao, who had an old acquaintance with Kong Rong, invited him to appointment as Court Architect.

AA When Yuan Tan first arrived in Qing province, his territory west of the Yellow River extended no further than Pingyuan. He pushed north against Tian Kai, and in the east he defeated Kong Rong. He was respected and honoured far and wide.⁴⁸

After this, however, he began to trust bad men and give them office. He had excessive ambition and extravagant faults, and so his reputation declined.

BB Ever since the Zhongping period the empire had been divided and disordered. People left their farmlands, armies rose up against one another, and all were short of provisions and grain. None could be sure of supplies from one year to the next. When men were starving they plundered, and when they had eaten they threw the rest aside.

46 Yuan Tan, son of Yuan Shao, was acting in his father's service, but had been given title as Inspector of Qing province by the imperial court under Cao Cao: *SGZ* 6:196 PC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*. The sources also mention that Kong Rong, despite his lack of success against the Yellow Turbans and the limited territory he controlled, had been recommended as Inspector of Qing province by Liu Biao.

47 These eastern hills were the ridges of the Mount Tai massif.

AA *SGZ* 6:196 (51b) PC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*.

48 Tian Kai had been named Inspector of Qing province by Gongsun Zan: passages Y of Chuping 2 and C of Chuping 4. So there were at this time three men claiming the title: Tian Kai, Yuan Tan and Kong Rong: note 46 above.

Pingyuan commandery straddled the estuary of the Yellow River in present-day eastern Hebei and northern Shandong. Tian Kai sought to control it from the north, while Kong Rong in Beihai occupied the middle of the Shandong peninsula some distance to the east.

The people were broken like tiles and scattered, and countless numbers died of natural causes, without enemy action.

Yuan Shao was north of the Yellow River, and the men of his army ate mulberries, Yuan Shu was by the Yangzi and the Huai, and his soldiers took clams and mussels. Many turned to cannibalism, and all the country was abandoned and desolate.

The Inspector of the Guards of the Feathered Forest Zao Zhi proposed that military agricultural colonies be set up, and Cao Cao did this. He appointed Zao Zhi Commandant of Agricultural Colonies, and made the Commandant of Cavalry Ren Jun General of the Household in Charge of Agriculture. He brought people to the colonies [205] about Xu city, and they produced a million bushels of grain. Then provinces and commanderies set up farming offices one after another and the granaries were filled. Cao Cao could campaign in any direction and have no trouble with his supplies, and so he was able to conquer all his rivals.

1991 The prosperity of the army and the state began with Zao Zhi and was accomplished by Ren Jun.⁴⁹

BB SGZ 1:14 (36b-37a) PC quoting *Wei shu*;
SGZ 16:489 (1b-2a), the Biography of Ren Jun.

49 As magistrate of Dong'a in 194, Zao Zhi had held the city for Cao Cao against the invasion of Lü Bu: passage M of Xingping 1. After Cao Cao had brought the emperor to Xu city he was given a formal position in the imperial guards.

Agricultural colonies (屯田 *tuntian*) had been recognised since Former Han, when the technique was used to control marginal or non-Han territory in the north and northwest. In particular, in the course of a campaign against the Qiang in the first century BC, the general Zhao Chongguo set up colonies in the valley of the Xining River in present-day Gansu and Qinghai. See, for example, deC, *Northern Frontier*, 63-64; Hsü, *Han Agriculture*, 139-141 and 236-237; and Dreyer, "Zhao Chongguo," 694.

Such settlements were essentially self-supporting in both food and defence, and this concept of the soldier-farmer was an important element in the northern expansion and frontier defence of the Han empire, and also in central Asia: e.g. deC, "Western Regions," 11. There are signs that the technique had been used at earlier stages of the civil war: in 194 Tao Qian in Xu province had a Colonel in Charge of Agriculture: passage Z and note 45 to Xingping 1.

Cao Cao and his advisers, however, extended the principle widely and effectively to the resettlement of the regions of central China devastated by civil war, first in the region about Xu city, then across the rest of his territory. Cao Cao's program provided the peasants with seed grain and sometimes also with farming equipment; concentrating upon sharing the yield rather than taxing the land, it removed the need for survey and assessment; and by placing the peasants under direct control of

CC Yuan Shu was afraid Lü Bu would become a threat to him, so he sought a marriage alliance through his son. Lü Bu agreed.

Yuan Shu sent his officer Ji Ling to lead thirty thousand horse and foot against Liu Bei, and Liu Bei asked help from Lü Bu. Lü Bu's officers said to him, "You always wanted to kill Liu Bei. Now you can leave Yuan Shu to do it for you."

"No," replied Lü Bu. "If Yuan Shu defeats Liu Bei, then he will join with all the leaders of Mount Tai in the north and I shall be surrounded.⁵⁰ I must help Liu Bei." With some thousand infantry and cavalry he went by forced marches to the relief. [206]

When Ji Ling and the others heard that Lü Bu had come, they gathered their troops and halted. Lü Bu camped southwest of Pei city, and sent one of his orderlies to invite Ji Ling and the others. Ji Ling and his fellows returned the invitation, and Lü Bu went to them, and they drank and ate with Liu Bei.

Then Lü Bu said to Ji Ling and his party, "Xuande [Liu Bei]⁵¹ is my younger brother. He is in trouble with you, and I have come to help him. I am not the sort of person who seeks to sow discord. I truly enjoy being a peace-maker."

Then Lü Bu ordered a captain to set up a halberd at the gate of the camp. He bent his bow, looked around and said, "You will all see me shoot at the small spike on that halberd. If I hit it, both sides draw back your men. If I miss, then you can stay to settle your quarrel." He fired a single shot, and hit square on the spike of the halberd.

Ji Ling and the others were amazed. "General," they said, "you have the authority of Heaven." Next day they met to drink again, and afterwards each side withdrew.

government the system eliminated the corrupting influence of the great private landholders.

See also *JS* 26:782; Yang, "Economic History," 158; Hsü, *Han Agriculture*, 319; deC, *Generals of the South*, 314-316, and *Imperial Warlord*, 91-92.

CC *HHS* 75/65:2447-48 (12a), the Biography of Lü Bu;

SGZ 7:222-23 (8a-b), the Biography of Lü Bu.

50 There were several groups of bandits in the region of Mount Tai. Among their leaders were Zang Ba, Sun Guan, Wu Dun and Yin Li: passages N of Jian'an 2 and I of Jian'an 3.

51 Xuande 玄德 was the style of Liu Bei.

DD *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2):874 (7b), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 14:433 (10a-b) PC quoting *Wei shu*.

DD Liu Bei collected troops, and gained over ten thousand men. Lü Bu was concerned at this and he in turn now led soldiers against Liu Bei. Liu Bei was defeated and fled to Cao Cao.

Cao Cao received him generously, and appointed him Governor of Yu province. Some, however, said that, "Liu Bei is ambitious. If you don't make plans to deal with him right away, he will certainly cause trouble later."

Cao Cao asked Guo Jia. Guo Jia said, "There is truth in that. On the other hand, you have called up loyal soldiers to rid the people of oppression. You act with honesty and you are relying on good faith to attract brave and able men. As yet, I fear you have not quite achieved that work.

1992 "Now Liu Bei has reputation as a hero. If he comes to us in time of need and we kill him, it will give us a bad name for injuring a worthy man. Should we behave like that, our wise scholars and military men will become uncertain and may regret their choice of a master. Who will remain with you to settle the empire? You might have eliminated the threat posed by a single man, but you would have disappointed the hopes of [207] people everywhere. This is a critical decision, and you should think about it carefully."⁵²

"You have a point!" laughed Cao Cao. Adding to Liu Bei's soldiers, he gave him provisions and sent him east to Pei to collect his scattered troops and make plans against Lü Bu.

EE When Liu Bei was in Yu province before [as Inspector in 194], he had recommended Yuan Huan of Chen commandery as Abundant Talent.⁵³ Yuan Huan was now held by Lü Bu, and Lü Bu wanted to have him write a letter to insult and abuse Liu Bei. Yuan Huan refused. Twice and three times Lü Bu threatened him, but Yuan Huan would still not agree.

52 Pei Songzhi's commentary also contains a substantial extract from the *Fuzi* book by Fu Xuan of the third century which, as Pei Songzhi himself observes, has a completely different account of Guo Jia's advice. According to that version, Guo Jia argued that Cao Cao could not trust Liu Bei, and recommended against giving him an independent command.

EE SGZ 11:333 (2a), the Biography of Yuan Huan.

53 Abundant Talent (茂才 *maocai*) was a title of nomination for office which could be made by the head of a province or by certain senior ministers at the capital. While Filial and Incorrupt candidates presented by commandery administrations were normally required to undergo a period of probation, men of Abundant Talent were immediately granted substantive office. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 136-137, and deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 20-21.

Furious, Lü Bu brandished a sword before Yuan Huan, "If you obey my commands you live, if you refuse you die."

Unperturbed, Yuan Huan laughed and replied, "I have heard it said that only a man of virtue can give disgrace to another, I have heard nothing about common abuse. If Liu Bei is a gentleman he will not be shamed by what you say. If he is a mean fellow, he will simply return your insults. So the disgrace will lie with you, not with him. Besides, I used to serve General Liu and now I serve you. If I leave here one day and then later I curse you, would that be right?" Lü Bu, ashamed, gave up the idea.

FF Zhang Ji led troops from inside the passes into the borders of Jing province and attacked Rang city.⁵⁴ He was hit by a random arrow and died.

The officers of Jing province all [208] offered congratulations, but Liu Biao replied, "Zhang Ji came because he was in want and we, as host, lacked courtesy. A 'shepherd' of his people cannot wish to fight them. This shepherd deserves condolences, not congratulations."⁵⁵

He sent some of his men to invite Zhang Ji's army. When the soldiers heard this, all were glad and turned their hearts to him. Zhang Ji's younger kinsman the General Who Establishes Loyalty Zhang Xiu took over command and came to camp at Wan.⁵⁶

GG Before this, after the emperor had left Chang'an the General Who Proclaims Majesty Jia Xu gave up his seal and ribbon and went to stay with Duan Wei at Huayin.⁵⁷

FF *HHS* 74/64B:2421 (9a), the Biography of Liu Biao.

54 Rang, now Dengxian in Henan, was a county in Nanyang commandery. Zhang Ji was one of the leaders who had come to power at Chang'an after the death of Dong Zhuo and had held the emperor hostage. After the situation there had collapsed, he invaded Liu Biao's northern territory from the direction of Hongnong in the northwest.

55 This is a play upon the literal meaning, "shepherd," for the official title *mu* 牧 which I render as "Governor." See *Mengzi* 1A, 6.6; Legge CC II, 137 (Lau, *Mencius*, 54).

56 Wan, chief county of Nanyang under Han, is present-day Nanyang in Henan. Zhang Xiu thus took command of the northern defences of Liu Biao's territory.

57 Jia Xu was the man who advised Li Jue, Guo Si and Zhang Ji how they might seize power after the assassination of Dong Zhuo by Lü Bu and Wang Yun: passage Q of Chuping 3. He first refused high appointment (passage AA of Chuping 3), but later appears as General Who Proclaims Righteousness (宣義將軍 *xuanwei jiangjun*) in association with Li Jue (passage R of Xingping 2). *HHS* and *SGZ* have no record of

Jia Xu had made a name for himself in the past and had been popular with Duan Wei's army, so Duan Wei received him well. Secretly, however, Jia Xu planned to join Zhang Xiu. Someone said, "Duan Wei treats you generously, why should you leave?"

"Duan Wei is a suspicious man," replied Jia Xu, "and worried about what I intend to do. Though he treats me generously now, if I presume on that too long he will make plans to harm me. If I leave now he will certainly be pleased, and since he will hope I may negotiate a good alliance for him outside he will treat my wife and children kindly.

1993 "Zhang Xiu, on the other hand, has no-one to make plans for him, and he will be glad to have me. So both my family and I will be safe."

Then Jia Xu went, Zhang Xiu treated him with the courtesy owed by a son or grandson, and Duan Wei did indeed look after his family well. [209]

HH Jia Xu encouraged Zhang Xiu to join Liu Biao, and Zhang Xiu followed this advice. Jia Xu went to call upon Liu Biao, and was treated as an honoured guest. He observed, however, "For times of peace, Liu Biao the ability to rank with the Three Excellencies, but he does not appreciate how things have changed. He leaves many matters uncertain and makes few decisions. He will not achieve anything."

II Liu Biao loved the people and cared for scholars. He maintained an easy government and had no trouble in his territory. Of the scholars from the west of the passes, from Yan province and from Yu, those that came to him were numbered by the thousands. Liu Biao set up schools to teach the classics, and he ordered the former Gentleman of the Court Music Du Kui of Henan to compose ceremonial music. When the orchestra was ready Liu Biao wished to hold audience to hear it. Du Kui, however, observed, "You do not have the title Son of Heaven. To assemble such an orchestra and have it play in court, is that proper behaviour?" Liu Biao abandoned the idea.⁵⁸

his title as General Who Proclaims Majesty 宣威將軍, and it appears that *ZZTJ* has miswritten *wei* 威 for *yi* 義.

Duan Wei, also a former officer of Dong Zhuo, and from the same commandery as Jia Xu, had been established peacefully in Huayin for several years: *SGZ* 10:328 PC note 6.

HH *SGZ* 10:329 (38a), the Biography of Jia Xu;
SGZ 10:330 (38a) PC quoting *Fuzi*.

II *HHS* 74/64B:2421 (9b), the Biography of Liu Biao;

JJ Ni Heng of Pingyuan had been known as a fine debater since he was young, but he was proud and arrogant. Kong Rong [210] recommended him to Cao Cao.⁵⁹

When Ni Heng abused Cao Cao, however, Cao Cao was angry and said to Kong Rong, "Ni Heng is a fool, and I should kill him like a small bird or a rat. I believe, however, though it is quite undeserved, that this fellow has gained some reputation. If I kill him, people everywhere will say I lack tolerance."

So he sent Ni Heng to Liu Biao, who received him as an honoured guest. Ni Heng was full of praise for Liu Biao, but he made fun of his attendants and disparaged them. So the courtiers slandered him to Liu Biao. Knowing how Ni Heng had behaved in the past, they told Liu Biao that, "Ni Heng praises your humanity, saying the Lord of the West could not surpass it,⁶⁰ but he that believes you cannot make decisions, and for this reason you will ultimately fail."

Though Ni Heng had not actually said this, it was an accurate criticism of Liu Biao, and Liu Biao was angry. Because Huang Zu, the Administrator of Jiangxia, had a quick temper, he sent Ni Heng

SGZ 29:806 (11b), the Biography of Du Kui.

58 ZZTJ commentary quotes the Later Han scholar Cai Yong, who says that the music of the Han court was classified in four categories: for offerings at the suburban altars and imperial tombs; for sacrifices at the altars of Soil and Grain and other rituals; for imperial banquets; and for military purposes. The statement is presumably a fragment of Cai Yong's Treatise of Music, perhaps never completed and in any case largely destroyed in the disturbances between 190 and 195.

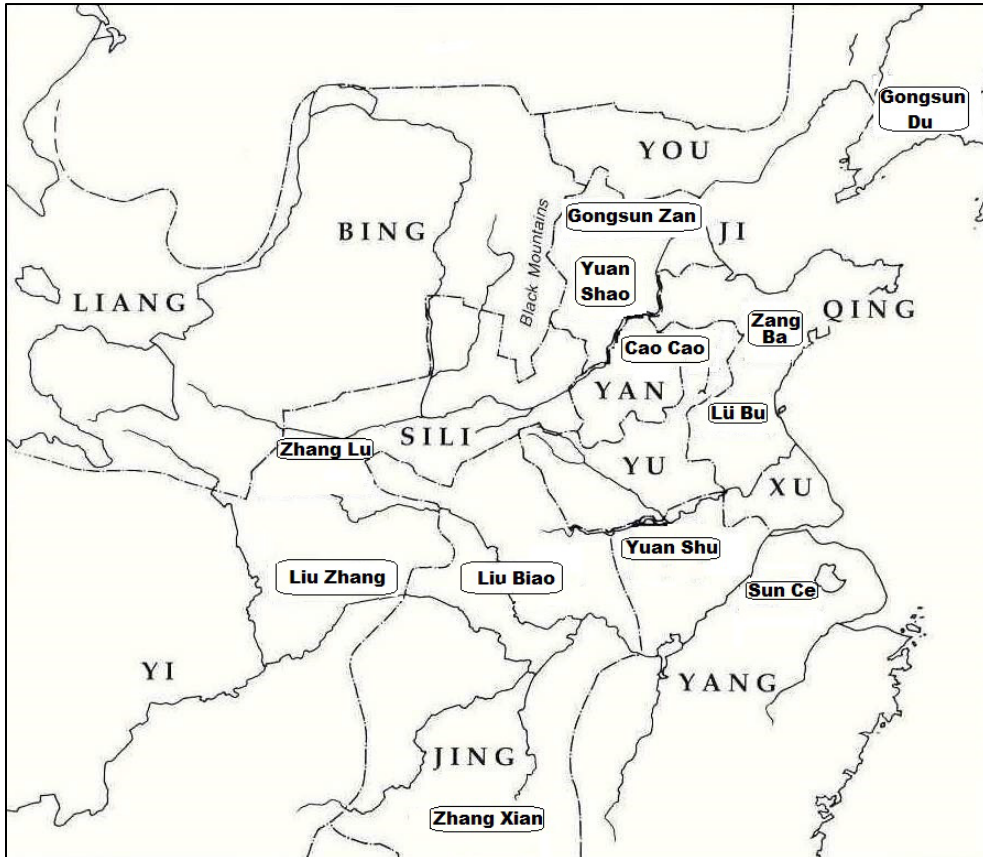
The title Gentleman of Court Music (雅樂郎 *yayue lang*) does not appear in *Hou Han shu*, but information on the arrangement and administration of the Office of Music is in any case limited and inadequate: see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 21, 164 note 75, and Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 41-52. Du Kui later advised Cao Cao and became Court Musician (太樂令 *taiyue ling*) under Cao Pi.

JJ HHS 80/70B:2652 (15a-b) and 2656-57 (17b-18b), the Biography of Ni Heng; SGZ 10:311 (8b-10b) PC quoting *Pingyuan Ni Heng zhuan*; SGZ 10:312 (12a) PC quoting *Wenshi zhuan*; SGZ 10:312 (12a) PC quoting *Fuzi*.

59 The surname of this celebrated critic appears both a 禰 and as 彌, and it is often transcribed as Mi; I follow ZZTJ commentary to this passage: deC, *Generals of the South*, 196 note.

On the association of Kong Rong with Ni Heng, see also passage R of Jian'an 13.
60 "Lord of the West" (西伯 *Xibo*) was a title held by King Wen of Zhou 周文王 (e.g. note 14 above). See Chavannes, *MH* I, 201-203 and 217 (Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 50-51 and 57-59).

to him. Huang Zu also treated Ni Heng well, but Ni Heng later insulted Huang Zu in public and Huang Zu killed him.⁶¹ [211>212]



Map 11: Warlords in China 197

61 *ZZTJ* commentary observes that when Cao Cao was angry with Ni Heng, he sent him to Liu Biao, believing Liu Biao to be reasonably tolerant. When Liu Biao had had enough of him, he sent him on to Huang Zu, a much more brutal man. So Liu Biao showed himself small-minded, and could be held responsible for Ni Heng's death.

On the other hand, *Pingyuan Ni Heng zhuan*, a biography of Ni Heng cited above, says that Ni Heng went to join Huang Zu because of his friendship for Huang Zu's son She 黄射. Ni Heng was eccentric and celebrated enough to collect a host of anecdotes about himself, many fictional and several contradictory.

Jian'an 2: 197 AD

5 February 197 – 25 January 198
1994

- A In the spring, in the first month, Cao Cao attacked Zhang Xiu. As his army reached the Yu River, Zhang Xiu came to surrender with all his troops.¹
- Cao Cao, however, took the widow of Zhang Ji as a concubine and Zhang Xiu was extremely angry.² Cao Cao also gave gold to one of Zhang Xiu's best fighting men, Hu Che'er, and when Zhang Xiu heard he became suspicious and anxious, and he made a sudden attack on Cao Cao's army. Cao Cao's eldest son Ang was killed, and Cao Cao was hit by a flying arrow.³ He was defeated and fled.
- B The Colonel Dian Wei fought against Zhang Xiu. Almost all the men about him were killed or wounded, and he himself was hit a score of times. Zhang Xiu's men came to capture him, but Dian Wei grasped two and killed them both. Then, with an angry glare and a great curse, he died.
- C Cao Cao collected his scattered troops and went back to Wuyin.⁴ Zhang Xiu led cavalry in pursuit, but Cao Cao attacked and defeated him. Zhang Xiu returned to Rang and again took service with Liu Biao.⁵
- D Cao Cao's forces were in total disarray, and the Colonel Who Pacifies the Caitiffs Yu Jin of Taishan was the only officer [213] to

A SGZ 8:262 (41b), the Biography of Zhang Xiu;
SGZ 8:263 (42a) PC quoting *Fuzi*;
SGZ 1:14 (37b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

1 Zhang Xiu was stationed at Wan city, present-day Nanyang in Henan, defending the north of Liu Biao's territory: passage FF of Jian'an 1. The Yu River flows south and passes the city on the east. Cao Cao was approaching from the northeast.

2 A younger kinsman of Zhang Ji, Zhang Xiu had succeeded to command of his men after Zhang Ji was killed the year before. According to *HHJ* 29:4b, Zhang Ji's widow was one of the celebrated beauties of her time.

On the treatment of this affair in the Peking opera *Zhan Wancheng* 戰宛城 "Fighting at Wan City," see deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 498-499.

3 According to *Wei shu* and [*Wei-Jin*] *shiyu*, quoted in SGZ 1:15 PC, Cao Cao was wounded in the back on the right-hand side and his horse was lamed. Cao Ang gave his own mount to his father, and was killed as Cao Cao escaped. SGZ 1 says that one of Cao Cao's nephews also died; *HHJ* 29 indicates it was another son of Cao Cao.

B SGZ 18:545 (17a-b), the Biography of Dian Wei.

C SGZ 1:14 (38a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

4 Wuyin county, near present-day Sheqi, was east of Wan city.

5 Rang city was southwest of Wan.

D SGZ 17:522 (8b-9a), the Biography of Yu Jin.

keep his men together and make an orderly retreat. On the way he came across some Qingzhou troops engaged in looting.⁶ Yu Jin told off their crimes and attacked them. The Qingzhou men ran away and went to Cao Cao.

When Yu Jin arrived, he prepared his camp for defence before he went to call upon Cao Cao. Someone told him, "The Qingzhou troops have already made a complaint against you. You should go to our master at once to explain yourself."

"The enemy are close behind us," replied Yu Jin, "and will be here in no time. How can we deal with them if we make no preparations? And our lord is too intelligent to listen to slander and false accusation."

He made sure the moat was cut deep, and only when the camp was completely ready did he go to Cao Cao to present a full report. Cao Cao was pleased and said to him, "In the misfortune at the Yu River, even I was helpless and confused. But you kept control in the confusion, you punished cruel robbers, and you have strengthened our defences. You have consistently maintained honour and good conduct. Could any of the most famous generals in the past have done better?" Recalling Yu Jin's good work at this time and before, he enfeoffed him as Marquis of Yishou Village.

Then Cao Cao led his soldiers back to Xu city.

E Yuan Shao wrote to Cao Cao, and his words were arrogant and insulting. Cao Cao said to Xun Yu and Guo Jia, "I am going to punish his discourtesy, but I am not yet strong enough. What can I do?"⁷

They replied,⁸ "You well know that Liu [Emperor Gao of Han] was no match for the power of Xiang [Yu]. In wisdom alone was the

6 The Qingzhou troops were former Yellow Turbans who had been persuaded by Cao Cao to join his service in 192. They maintained themselves as a separate unit of his forces. See passage GG and note 59 to Chuping 3.

E SGZ 10:313-14 (14a-b), the Biography of Xun Yu;
SGZ 14:432 (9a-10a) PC quoting *Fuzi*.

7 As SGZ 10 observes, though Cao Cao had established the imperial court under his control at Xu city, he faced enemies on every side: Yuan Shao in the north, Lü Bu in the east, Liu Biao in the south, and the various warlords of Liang province in the northwest. It appears that his defeat by Zhang Xiu was serious enough to have raised doubts about his real military strength and the morale of his followers. So Yuan Shao felt confident of his position, and showed it.

8 *Fuzi* ascribes this response to Guo Jia, but SGZ 10 has a similar speech by Xun Yu, speaking with his colleague Zhong Yao.

Founder of Han [214] superior to Xiang Yu; and though Xiang Yu was strong he was taken in the end.

1995 "There are ten points where Yuan Shao is weak and you are his superior, so though Yuan Shao may be powerful he will never gain success:

Yuan Shao esteems great ceremony and has fine manners; you show consideration and act naturally. This is superior moral conduct.

Yuan Shao acts as a rebel; you serve and obey the emperor and so command the empire. This is superior sense of honour.

"Since the time of Emperors Huan and Ling the government has declined through excessive indulgence. Yuan Shao is weak-willed and excessively lenient, and he does not maintain a firm rule. You, however, keep control of your people, so that everyone, high or low, knows the rules. This is superior government.

Outwardly Yuan Shao acts generously, but privately he is jealous. He uses men but he is suspicious of them, and he appoints only the sons and kinfolk of his own or his wife's families. Outwardly you are easy and simple, but inside you are clever and shrewd. You use men and trust them. It is only their ability that matters and you pay no attention to relationship. This is the superiority of a liberal mind.

Yuan Shao has many plans but makes few decisions; he lets things slip and acts too late. When you make a plan you take action quickly and you can always cope with a changing situation. This is superior strategy.

Yuan Shao uses fine talk and ceremony to attract men of good repute, and many scholars who love words and ornamental show will turn to him. You treat men in straightforward fashion, and you have no use for empty finery. So scholars with loyal hearts, who can see things clearly and are sincere, all want to serve you. This is superior virtue.

If Yuan Shao sees a man who is hungry or cold, he pities him and it shows on his face, but he deals only with things he can see. You sometimes neglect small things before your eyes, but when it comes to great matters concerning the people of all the empire, then you extend your grace and your providence is beyond expectation. You cannot see everything, but your consideration is always thorough and complete. This is superior human feeling.

Yuan Shao's officers struggle for influence, with accusations, confusion and uncertainty. You treat subordinates fairly and you pay no attention to rumour or slander. This is superior understanding. [215]

No-one knows what Yuan Shao really wants. You, however, bring forward with ceremony those who do right, and you use the law to correct those who do wrong. This is superiority in civil administration.

Yuan Shao is fascinated by empty show, and he does not appreciate the essentials of war, but you can defeat a host of men with a few and you use soldiers like a spirit. The people of the army trust you and the masses of the enemy fear you. This is superior military skill."

"How can I be worthy of all this?" laughed Cao Cao.

Guo Jia then said, "Yuan Shao will go north to attack Gongsun Zan. You can take advantage of his absence and go east to deal with Lü Bu. If Yuan Shao should take the offensive [against us] and Lü Bu gives him help, that would present a considerable danger."

"Unless you deal with Lü Bu first," advised Xun Yu, "it will not be easy to make plans for the north of the River."

1996 "Yes," agreed Cao Cao, "but what concerns me is that Yuan Shao may make trouble in the lands within the passes. If he stirs up the Qiang and other barbarians in the west, and urges on Shu and Han in the south, then I shall be facing five-sixths of the empire with only Yan province and Yu. What can I do about that?"⁹

"The leaders within the passes," replied Xun Yu, "are numbered by the score. No-one can bring them together. Han Sui and Ma Teng are the only strong ones, and if they see there is fighting east of the mountains they will certainly gather their forces to protect themselves. Treat them with favour and authority, and send messengers to offer alliance. It may not last long, but it will be enough to keep them quiet while you deal with the east.

"The Palace Attendant and Deputy Director of the Secretariat Zhong Yao is clever and a fine strategist. If you trust him with the west, you will have nothing to worry about."

9 Cao Cao's concern is that Yuan Shao may extend his power across the north, through present-day Shanxi, to contact the various Chinese and non-Chinese groups of the Wei valley. From there, he could further spread his influence south of the Qinling ranges, to make alliance with Liu Zhang in Yi province, present-day Sichuan.

F SGZ 13:392-93 (3b), the Biography of Zhong Yao.

F So Cao Cao recommended Zhong Yao as Palace Attendant with concurrent appointment as Director of [215] Retainers, bearing the Staff of Authority to command all the armies within the passes. He was given particular instructions to act [on his own initiative] unimpeded by rules and procedures.

When Zhong Yao arrived at Chang'an he sent letters to Ma Teng, Han Sui and the others to explain matters to them. Both Ma Teng and Han Sui sent their sons to attend the emperor.

G Yuan Shu took title as emperor at Shouchun, calling his new dynasty the House of Zhong.¹⁰ He styled the Administrator of Jiujiang as Intendant of Huainan,¹¹ he appointed his own excellencies and ministers, and he held state sacrifice and worship to Heaven and Earth.

H The Chancellor of Pei Chen Gui, son of a younger brother of Chen Qiu, had been a companion of Yuan Shu when he was young.¹² Yuan Shu sent a letter to summon Chen Gui, took his son as hostage, and was confident of his support. Chen Gui, however, replied,

G *HHS* 75/65:2442 (8a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shu.

10 Zhong 仲 is explained by the commentators as the name of the imperial state established by Yuan Shu, comparable to the name Han for that of the Liu family, or the name Cheng 成, taken by the warlord Gongsun Shu in the region of present-day Sichuan at the beginning of Later Han: *e.g.* *HHS* 13/3:535.

HHS 75/65 TC says that the name was sometimes written Chong 沖. It seems most probable, however, that the style chosen by Yuan Shu was Zhong, which has the meaning of "younger," and implied a courteous succession from Han; the later state of Shu-Han, founded by Liu Bei in the west, was sometimes described by later historians (though not by Liu Bei and his followers) as Ji-Han 季漢 "youngest-brother Han." The character *chong*, on the other hand, would indicate a young ruler still in his minority. That would not have flattered Yuan Shu's pretensions, and it may have been a deliberate corruption by his enemies.

The founder of Han took the name of his state from the kingdom with which he had been enfeoffed after the fall of Qin, and Gongsun Shu evidently took his dynastic name from his capital, Chengdu. It does not appear, however, that Yuan Shu had any association with a place called Zhong or Chong.

11 Under the Han dynasty, Intendant *yin* 尹 was the title given to the head of the commandery containing an imperial capital: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 88 [as Governor]. Yuan Shu's headquarters were at Shouchun, chief city of Jiujiang, so the name of the commandery was changed and the Administrator was given a new title.

H *SGZ* 6:209 (75a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shu.

12 Chen Qiu, whose biography is in *HHS* 56/46, had been a leading opponent of the eunuchs in the time of Emperor Ling. He was killed by them in 179: *Huan and Ling*, 325-326.

"General Cao is restoring law and order, and will disperse and pacify cruelty and evil. In my opinion [217] you should assist him, and think only how to help the house of Han. Instead you have secretly been planning rebellion. This will be a disaster for you, yet you want me to flatter you for my own interest. Though death may come, I cannot behave that way."

- I Yuan Shu wanted to appoint Jin Shang, former Inspector of Yan province, as his Grand Commandant, but Jin Shang would not accept. He tried to run away and Yuan Shu killed him.¹³
- J In the third month the Court Architect Kong Rong was sent with the Staff of Authority to appoint Yuan Shao as General-in-Chief, with government over the four provinces Ji, Qing, You and Bing.¹⁴
- K In the summer, in the fifth month there were locusts.¹⁵
- L Yuan Shu sent Han Yin as envoy to Lü Bu, explaining his imperial claim and asking for the marriage alliance. Lü Bu agreed to send his daughter back with him.
- 1997 Chen Gui was afraid that Xu and Yang [provinces, Lü Bu and Yuan Shu] would form an alliance and cause unending trouble. He went to Lü Bu and said, "Lord Cao has received the Son of Heaven and is supporting the government of the state. You should join with him to preserve the empire. But instead you are making a marriage connection with Yuan Shu. You will surely [218] get a reputation for disloyalty, and your position will be less secure than a pile of eggs."

I SGZ 7:223 (7a) PC quoting *Dian lue*.

13 Jin Shang had received imperial appointment as Inspector of Yan in 192, but was driven away by Cao Cao and took refuge with Yuan Shu: passage N of Chuping 3.

J HHS 74/64A:2389 (11b), the Biography of Yuan Shao, with TC quoting *Xiandi chungiu*.

14 For the negotiations on this appointment, see passage W of Jian'an 1. The date is taken from HHS 9:380: cf. note 37 of Jian'an 1.

HHS 74/64A says that at this time Yuan Shao was also awarded the Staff of Authority, Bows and Arrows, Battle-Axes and one hundred guards Rapid as Tigers, being items of the Nine Distinctions: on these, see HHS 74/64A:2390 TC, Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 27-29, and II, 504-509, deC, *Generals of the South*, 415-417 note, and passage C of Jian'an 18.

K HHS 9:380 (7b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

15 This plague of locusts is also mentioned, but without further comment, in the Treatise of the Five Powers, HHS 105/15:3320.

L SGZ 7:224-25 (8b-10b), the Biography of Lü Bu.

Then Lü Bu remembered with resentment how Yuan Shu had failed to receive him before [in 192, after he had fled Chang'an].¹⁶ Though his daughter was already on the road, he sent to bring her back and cancelled the engagement. He bound Han Yin and sent him to the court at Xu city. Han Yin was executed and his head exposed in the market-place.

Chen Gui wanted to send his son Deng to Cao Cao, but Lü Bu refused permission. Then an edict appointed Lü Bu General of the Left, and Cao Cao sent a letter in his own hand, full of encouragement and praise. Lü Bu was delighted, and immediately sent Chen Deng with a memorial of thanks for the favour, together with a reply to the letter.

When Chen Deng saw Cao Cao he described Lü Bu's bravery and lack of forethought, how he was erratic in alliances, and how Cao Cao should plan to take him early. "Lü Bu is like a wild wolf-cub," observed Cao Cao, "and it will certainly be difficult to keep him under control for long. You are the only man to deal with someone so erratic."

He raised Chen Gui's salary to Fully Two Thousand *shi*,¹⁷ and appointed Chen Deng Administrator of Guangling. As he was about to leave, Cao Cao took him by the hand and said, "This way, I am entrusting the affairs of the east to you." He ordered him to gather forces of his own and to act as an ally from the inside.

Through Chen Deng, Lü Bu had asked to be made Governor of Xu province, but this was not approved. When Chen Deng came back, Lü Bu was angry. He took up a halberd and chopped the table, saying, "Your father persuaded me to join Cao Cao and to break off the marriage with Gonglu [Yuan Shu]. Now my request has not been granted but you and your father have both done splendidly. You sold me out."

Quite unperturbed, Chen Deng replied with dignity, "When I saw Lord Cao, I said that keeping you was like caring for a tiger: it should be given plenty of meat, or it will bite [219] its master. The Duke replied, 'That is not the way. It is like keeping an eagle: if he is hungry

16 See passage BB of Chuping 3.

17 As head of a commandery administration in the Han system, Chen Gui's rank had been expressed in terms of the nominal salary of Two Thousand *shi*. Fully Two Thousand *shi* was a grade higher, comparable to that of a Minister in the central government.

he can be used, but when he is well fed he will fly away.' Those were his exact words." Lü Bu was mollified.¹⁸

Yuan Shu had his senior commanders Zhang Xun and Qiao Rui join forces with Han Xian and Yang Feng.¹⁹ With tens of thousands of horsemen and footsoldiers they advanced swiftly on Xiapi and attacked Lü Bu in seven separate columns. Lü Bu had only three thousand infantry and four hundred horse, and he was afraid he could not deal with them. He said to Chen Gui, "This is your work, to bring on Yuan Shu's army. What shall I do now?"

1998 "Han Xian and Yang Feng have only recently joined Yuan Shu," replied Chen Gui. "They have not had time to prepare any plans, so they will not work well together. My son Chen Deng has observed them, and he says they are like chickens that cannot share the same perch. We can separate them."

M Following Chen Gui's advice, Lü Bu wrote to Han Xian and Yang Feng, "You two gentlemen rescued the emperor, and I killed Dong Zhuo with my own hand. Each of us made his reputation [through these achievements]. Why do you join rebellion with Yuan Shu? Far better if we unite our forces, defeat Yuan Shu, and remove harm from the state." He also promised them all the loot from Yuan Shu's army, and Han Xian and Yang Feng were very pleased. They changed their plans and joined Lü Bu.

Lü Bu led his army to a hundred paces from Zhang Xun's camp, then the troops of Han Xian and Yang Feng shouted together and turned on their allies. Zhang Xun and his men were defeated and fled. Lü Bu's soldiers pursued them and took the heads of ten of his officers. Almost all his soldiers were killed, wounded or drowned in the river.

18 After his defeat of Liu Bei in the previous year, Lü Bu had styled himself Governor of Xu province. He had expected the title would be confirmed.

From this point in the text, Cao Cao is frequently referred to as "the Duke" (公 *gong*). The term *gong* was used for the Three Excellencies (三公 *san gong*; Bielenstein: Three Dukes), heads of the administration of Han, and Cao Cao now held title as Excellency of Works.

19 Han Xian and Yang Feng were two of the generals who had held the emperor, but they had been driven from Luoyang by Cao Cao in the previous year: passage N of Jian'an 1. Han Xian, we may observe, came from Xihe commandery, and Yang Feng was also from the northwest. They and their men were now a long way from home.

M SGZ 7:226 (10b) PC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*.

N Then Lü Bu combined forces with Han Xian and Yang Feng, and they all headed for Shouchun, advancing by land and [220] water as far as Zhongli, and plundering as they passed. They turned back north of the Huai, leaving a letter in insult to Yuan Shu. Yuan Shu came in person with five thousand horsemen to show his arms at the Huai, but Lü Bu's cavalry were north of the river, and they laughed and jeered at them and then went back.²⁰

Zang Ba, bandit leader of Mount Tai,²¹ attacked and defeated the Chancellor of Langye, Xiao Jian, at Ju,²² and captured Xiao Jian's treasure and provisions. He promised to present them to Lü Bu, but when he failed to do so Lü Bu went to ask for the goods himself.²³

N SGZ 7:226 (10b-11b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*; HHS 75/65:2448-50 (12a-13b), the Biography of Lü Bu.

20 Zhongli county was in Jiujiang, close to the borders of Xu province. The city lay near present-day Fengyang in Anhui, on the banks of the Huai River at that time, about eighty kilometres from Shouchun.

Following their victory at Xiapi, Lü Bu and his new allies had moved south along the waterways of the Si River and other streams, then turned west and advanced up the Huai in a display of strength. So Lü Bu had confirmed his control of Xu province, and Yuan Shu now held no effective control of any territory north of the river.

21 According to his biography in SGZ 18:536-37, Zang Ba came originally from Taishan commandery, but he quarrelled with the administration and fled to Donghai. By this time he had become the chief of the bandits in the region, with his base at Kaiyang 開陽, chief county of Langye under Later Han, about present-day Linyi in Shandong. The phrase *Taishan* in the text refers therefore to the hill country of the Mount Tai massif, not just to Zang Ba's native commandery.

22 Xiao Jian's capital at Ju county was in central Langye, about the present-day city of the same name in Shandong.

Xiao Jian should probably be described formally as Administrator, not as Chancellor. According to HHS 9:374 and 384 and HHS 42/32:1452, Liu Rong 劉容 the King of Langye died in 193, and the state was ended. Later, in 206, because of a personal relationship of the family with Cao Cao, the kingdom was re-established and Liu Rong's son Liu Xi 熙 was put upon the throne. In 216 Liu Xi was killed for suspected treachery, and the state was finally abolished.

So there was thus no king of Langye between 193 and 206, and the territory should have reverted to commandery status, headed by an Administrator. It is possible, however, that the territory was nominally maintained as a kingdom, and the situation at this time was in any case so disorganised that titles – and the records of them – were very erratic.

23 Langye was in Xu province. The fuller text of [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji* says that Lü Bu had earlier written to Xiao Jian demanding support and allegiance, which Xiao Jian had been reluctant to give. As head of the province, Lü Bu felt entitled to any funds which were available.

His commander Gao Shun objected, "Your name and your authority are well-known and respected everywhere. How can you ask for something and fail to obtain it? Yet you are going in person to seek a gift. If for some reason you are not successful, you will surely lose face." Lü Bu would not agree.

When he arrived at Ju, however, Zang Ba and his fellows did not understand why Lü Bu was coming against them. They [221] defended their positions and forced him away, so he came back emptyhanded.

Gao Shun was a man of honour, with an air of authority and few words. He had only seven hundred under his command, but his orders were clear and whenever his men fought they were always successful. They were known as the Shock Troops.²⁴

Later Lü Bu became less favourable to him, and because Wei Xu was a close relative he took Gao Shun's men and gave them to Wei Xu. Whenever there was fighting, however, he would return the command to Gao Shun. Despite this, Gao Shun had no feeling of resentment.

1999 Lü Bu made decisions hastily, and his actions were seldom consistent. Gao Shun would often remonstrate with him, "When you start something, you never think of details. Given a choice between the route to success or the possibility of failure, you always make the wrong decision!" Lü Bu appreciated his loyalty, but he could not follow his advice.

O Cao Cao sent the Consultant Wang Pu with an imperial message to appoint Sun Ce as a Commandant of Cavalry, granting him the succession to the marquisate of Wucheng,²⁵ and authority as Administrator of Kuaiji. He was ordered to join Lü Bu and Chen Yu the Administrator of Wu commandery in operations against Yuan

24 Shock Troops (陷陳營 *xianchen ying*, also 陷陣營 *xianzhen ying*) describes a force which breaks into the enemy's formation and fights there completely surrounded and quite cut off. The Forlorn Hope of early modern warfare was a similar technique.

O SGZ 46/Wu 1:1107 (26b-28a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan* and *Shanyang gong zaiji*.

25 Wucheng county was in Wu commandery, near present-day Huzhou in Zhejiang. Sun Ce's father, Sun Jian, had been enfeoffed there in 187: SGZ 46:1095.

SGZ 46:1101 PC note 2 quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen, says that Sun Ce ceded the fief to his youngest brother Sun Kuang. It was not a matter of significance.

Shu.²⁶ Sun Ce wanted title as general to enhance [222] his position, so Wang Pu took the authority to grant him provisional appointment as General Who Glorifies Han.²⁷

Sun Ce made his preparations and marched to Qiantang. Chen Yu, however, planned a surprise attack on Sun Ce, and he was in secret contact with Zu Lang, White Tiger Yan and others, to have them act as his allies behind the lines.²⁸ Sun Ce found out, and he sent his officers Lü Fan and Xu Yi to attack Chen Yu at Haixi.²⁹ Chen Yu was defeated, and fled alone on horseback to Yuan Shao.³⁰

P Before this, Liu Chong, King of Chen, was a brave man and expert with a crossbow.³¹ When the Yellow Turbans rebelled [in 184] he

26 Chen Yu had been appointed by Yuan Shu as Inspector of Yang province about 192, but then rebelled against him and was driven away to Xiapi, where he had evidently remained until this time. See passage B of Chuping 4.

27 Wang Pu's appointment of Sun Ce as a general is qualified by the term *jia* 假, implying a temporary or provisional establishment.

In the same fashion as Lü Bu, whose claim to be Governor of Xu province had been rejected (passage L above), Sun Ce must have been disappointed by the mission of Wang Pu. The Han court under Cao Cao did no more than confirm him in the commandery he already held, with succession to a marquissate he was already entitled to and for which he had little use. Sun Ce had been recognised as a general by Yuan Shu (passage II of Xingping 2), and a Commandant of Cavalry was substantially lower in rank, while it could also have presented him with formal difficulties in undertaking military operations or raising troops outside the borders of Kuaiji. So the title which he compelled Wang Pu to grant him had two important advantages: it restored his military rank; and it gave formal recognition to his acceptance as a loyal servant of Han.

Furthermore, though the appointment of Chen Yu as Administrator of Wu was described as a temporary arrangement, it paid no attention to the fact that Sun Ce's close associate, Zhu Zhi, had been acting as Administrator since his expulsion of Xu Gong more than a year earlier (passage QQ and note 72 of Xingping 2). If Wu commandery could be separated from Sun Ce's control, he would have lost half his base and be critically weakened.

In fact, as we see immediately below, Cao Cao's nominee Chen Yu made no attempt to co-operate with Sun Ce, but stirred up trouble against him from afar.

28 It is likely there was a plan to wait until Sun Ce had committed his army to an attack across the Yangzi against Yuan Shu, then arrange a rising to seize Wu commandery and cut his communications with Kuaiji. That would have destroyed him.

29 Haixi county in Guangling commandery lay well north of the Huai, about present-day Guannan in Jiangsu.

30 Chen Yu had thus been an officer of Yuan Shu (passage MM of Chuping 3), then an agent of Cao Cao against Yuan Shu and surreptitiously against Sun Ce, and finally went to serve Yuan Shao. He is not heard of again.

P HHS 50/40:1669-70 (3a), the Account of the Kingdom of Chen.

took command of his own forces and the people of the kingdom feared him and did not dare to [223] rebel. The Chancellor of the kingdom, Luo Jun of Kuaiji, had also shown authority and gained favour in the past.

At that time the kings and marquises no longer received their revenues.³² They were often robbed, some ate just once every other day, and some even died in ditches. Only Chen was wealthy and strong, and more than a hundred thousand people came from the neighbouring commanderies.

When soldiers rose up in the provinces and commanderies, Liu Chong led his troops to camp at Yangxia and took title as General-in-Chief Who Supports Han.³³

Yuan Shu asked provisions from Chen, but Luo Jun refused. Furious, Yuan Shu sent retainers to kill Liu Chong and Luo Jun by treachery. So the state of Chen was destroyed.

2000

Q In the autumn, in the ninth month the Excellency of Works Cao Cao went east to attack Yuan Shu. When Yuan Shu heard that he was coming, he abandoned his army and fled, leaving his officers Qiao Rui and others to face Cao Cao at Qiyang [miswritten for Qi or Ku?]. Cao Cao attacked, defeated and beheaded them all. Yuan Shu fled across the Huai.³⁴ [224]

31 The kingdom of Chen had been granted to Liu Xian 劉羨, a son of Emperor Ming of Later Han. Liu Chong was a great-grandson of Liu Xian.

32 Each king or marquis was awarded a specific territory as his fief, with formal right to the tax revenues from that state. In practice, however, the money had long been paid in the form of a pension (租祿 *zulu*) from the central government, and the amount was not necessarily based upon the official income from the territory concerned. With the breakdown of the empire, these funds ceased, and the nominal feudal rulers, particularly the kings of the imperial Liu family, were left to their own devices and to such authority as they might summon locally.

33 Yangxia county was in the north of Chen, near present-day Taikang in Henan. At that time in 190, the troops opposed to Dong Zhuo were drawn up in an arc east of Luoyang. Liu Chong's force at Yangxia was close to that line, though it appears that he had kept somewhat aloof from the allied counsels. Cf. passage A of Chuping 1.

Q *HHS* 75/65:2442 (8b), the Biography of Yuan Shu; *SGZ* 1:15 (38b-39a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

34 *HHS* 75/65, followed by *ZZTJ*, has the name as Qiyang 蕪陽, but *ZZTJ* commentary notes that Qiyang county was in Jiangxia commandery on the middle Yangzi, by present-day Qichun in Hubei.

Yuan Shu's biography at *SGZ* 6:209 is very summary and does not mention the site, but the account of the campaign in *HHS* 75/65 makes it clear that Qiao Rui and his

There was drought at this time, the harvest was spoilt, and the gentry and the people were cold and hungry. So Yuan Shu's power steadily declined.

- R Cao Cao summoned He Kui of Chen state to appointment as a Senior Clerk,³⁵ and asked him about Yuan Shu. "If a man seeks the support of Heaven," replied He Kui, "he must follow Heaven's will. If he wishes to receive the assistance of men, he must be worthy of their trust. Yuan Shu is neither obedient to Heaven nor faithful to his men. So when he looked for aid, where could he find it?"

"When a state loses its worthy men," responded Cao Cao, "it will be destroyed. Yuan Shu never gave you any official position, and it is only appropriate that he should fall."

Cao Cao was a strict man, and his officials were sometimes beaten. He Kui always kept poison by him, swearing he would rather die than suffer such disgrace, but it never came to that point.

- S Xu Chu of Pei state was braver and stronger than other men. He collected several thousand young people and members of his clan, and made firm defences and strong walls to keep out bandits. All the

comrades had been left to make their fatal stand north of the Huai. Hu Sanxing thus identifies this place as Qi 蕲 county in Pei, near present-day Suzhou in Anhui.

The biographies of Cao Cao's generals Yue Jin and Yu Jin, however, in *SGZ* 17:521 and 522, tell how each was with him at some notable feats of arms, including the capture of Qiao Rui in Ku 苦. Ku county was in Chen, at present-day Luyi in Henan, on the direct line of advance from Xu city to Yuan Shu's base at Shouchun. Qi, on the other hand, is northeast of Shouchun.

I believe, therefore, that the defence position was at Ku city, not at either Qiyang or Qi. [The biography of He Kui at *SGZ* 12:378, in the text before passage R immediately following, refers to Yuan Shu and Qiao Rui besieging Qiyang: this surely refers to Qi county in Pei, but the occasion is different.]

Kaoyi commentary notes that the biography of Lü Bu in *HHS* 75/65, describing his victory at Xiapi a few months earlier over Yuan Shu's forces, then commanded by Zhang Xun and Qiao Rui (passage M above) says that he captured Qiao Rui at that time: had that been the case, Qiao Rui should not have been available to command Yuan Shu's army now. Sima Guang, however, observes that the parallel text in the biography of Lü Bu in *SGZ* 7 makes no reference to the capture of Qiao Rui, and he therefore ignores it.

- R *SGZ* 12:379 (12a-b), the Biography of He Kui.

- 35 The offices (府 *fu*) of the Three Excellencies included a number of Senior and Junior Clerks (掾 *yuan* and 屬 *shu*): note 67 to *Zhongping* 6. He Kui was thus recruited to Cao Cao's personal staff.

people between the Huai and the Ru, and those in Chen and Liang, respected and feared him.³⁶ [225]

When Cao Cao came to this region, Xu Chu brought his forces to join him. "Here," said Cao Cao, "is my Fan Kuai!"³⁷ He immediately appointed Xu Chu as his Commandant and guard at night, while all his retainers were made Tiger Warriors.³⁸

T The former Grand Commandant Yang Biao was related to Yuan Shu by marriage, and Cao Cao disapproved. Presenting a false accusation that Yang Biao was planning to supplant the emperor, he recommended that he be arrested, sent to prison and impeached for treason.³⁹

The Court Architect Kong Rong heard of this. Not even taking the time to put on court dress, he went to Cao Cao and said, "The Yang family has shown virtue over four generations, and is respected within all the four seas."⁴⁰ *The Book of Zhou* says, 'Fathers and sons,

S SGZ 18:542 (14a-b), the Biography of Xu Chu.

36 The junction of the Huai and Ru rivers was in Runan commandery, the border of present-day Anhui with south-eastern Henan. Pei, Chen and Liang lay some distance to the north.

From his biography, which tells how he dealt with bandits in Runan, it appears that Xu Zhu's defence position was on the Ying River in the east of that commandery, about Taihe and Fuyang in present-day western Anhui.

37 There are biographies of Fan Kuai 樊噲, one of the great generals of the founding Emperor Gao of Han, in *SJ* 95 and *HS* 41.

38 The Tiger Warriors (虎士 *hushi*) were evidently Cao Cao's personal body-guard, the name being adapted from the Rapid as Tigers (虎賁 *huben*), the imperial guard unit of Han: e.g. Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 27-28, and cf. note 14 above.

T *HHS* 54/44:1788 (20a-b), the Biography of Yang Biao;
SGZ 26:721 (1b), the Biography of Man Chong.

39 The phrase *dani* 大逆, here rendered just as "treason," is discussed by Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 156-158ff as "Great Refractoriness." At 156, he remarks that

mostly we find [this and similar terms]... added to qualify a crime which is fully mentioned, though sometimes we find the terms by themselves. They give the impression of being not so much indications of well-defined transgressions, but rather of categories.

The accusation categorises Yang Biao's offence to make him liable to the most serious punishment.

40 Yang Biao's great-grandfather Yang Zhen 震, his grandfather Yang Bing 秉, his father Yang Ci 賜 and Yang Biao himself had all held office as Grand Commandant, highest in the imperial civil service. Their biographies are in *HHS* 54/44.

elder and younger brothers, their crimes do not affect one another.' How can you blame Lord Yang for the crimes of Yuan?"⁴¹ [226]

2001 "This is the emperor's idea," replied Cao Cao.

"Had King Cheng killed the Duke of Shao," responded Kong Rong, "could the Duke of Zhou claim not to have known?"⁴²

Then Cao Cao ordered Man Chong the Prefect of Xu to investigate Yang Biao.⁴³ Both Kong Rong and the Director of the Secretariat Xun Yu said to Man Chong, "Just take down what he says. Do not examine him by flogging."

Man Chong made no reply, but carried out the investigation in full accordance with the law. After several days he asked to see Cao Cao and said, "Yang Biao has been examined and makes no change in his statement. This man is known within all the four seas. If you

41 This quotation comes by a roundabout route. *Zuo zhuan*, Chao 20; Legge CC V, 682 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 315), says, "In the Announcement to the Prince of Kang [the *Kang gao* 康誥 Chapter of the Book of Zhou], it is said, 'The crimes of the father or son, the younger or elder brother, do not reach beyond the individual's self.'"

In notes to the translation, however, both Legge and Couvreur observe that the words quoted are not in the present text of *Shu jing* V.9. Only one section of that chapter refers to family relationships, discussing "cases in which severe punishment may be inflicted without hesitation – the case of the unfilial and the unbrotherly:" V.9.16; Legge, CC III, 392 (also Couvreur, *Annales*, 230, and Karlgren, *Documents*, 42).

So the speech by Kong Rong quotes *Zuo zhuan*, which claims to paraphrase a teaching of *Shu jing*, but the characters do not appear in the present text of that classic.

The traditional Confucian attitude towards the involvement of relatives was uncertain. The *Gan shi* 甘誓 "The Speech at Gan" Chapter of *Shu jing* III.2A.5; Legge, CC III, 155 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 91, and Karlgren, *Documents*, 18), says, "You who obey my orders shall be rewarded before my ancestors; and you who disobey my orders shall be put to death before the spirits of the land; and I will also put your children to death."

Mencius, more humane, describes the golden age of King Wen of Zhou as a time when "the wives and children of criminals were not involved in their guilt:" *Mengzi* IB.5.3; Legge, CC II, 162 (Lau, *Mencius*, 65).

In Han dynasty practice, people were certainly involved in the crimes of their relatives, and often shared their punishments. Cao Cao certainly accepted the concept of family responsibility: passage AA of Jian'an 19, and also deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 374-377.

42 The Duke of Zhou 周公, younger brother of the founding King Wu of Zhou 周武王, was regent for the son and heir King Cheng 成. The Duke of Shao 成, half-brother to King Wu and the Duke of Zhou, was associated in the government. See note 18 to Jian'an 1.

43 Xu city was now the imperial capital, so the local magistrate had particular responsibility for justice: see also passage Y of Jian'an 1.

punish him without firm evidence of his guilt, you will certainly lose many people's affections. In my humble opinion, you should reconsider the matter." That same day, Cao Cao pardoned Yang Biao and released him.

When Xun Yu and Kong Rong first heard that Man Chong had examined Yang Biao with flogging, they were angry. When this brought about the release, however, they became even more friendly towards him.⁴⁴

Yang Biao realised that the house of Han was weak and in decline, and government was now in Cao Cao's hands. He pretended to be suffering from cramps, and for more than ten years he did not walk. So he avoided further trouble. [227]

U As Ma Midi's body was brought back to the capital,⁴⁵ the assembled court intended to grant him additional honours. Kong Rong, however, argued that, "Ma Midi had high position [as Grand Tutor] even above the excellencies, and he bore the tasselled Staff of Authority on an imperial mission. Yet he went out of his way to curry favour with wicked ministers, and he permitted such people to control him. He was a great officer of the imperial house, and how can we accept the excuse that he was forced to act as he did?

"The emperor may mourn his former servant and have pity upon him, and he may not wish to inflict posthumous punishment upon him. He cannot, however, grant additional honours." The court accepted this argument.

V When the body of Jin Shang was brought to the capital an imperial edict ordered that all officials should attend sacrifices of mourning. Jin Shang's son Wei was appointed a Gentleman of the Palace.⁴⁶

44 Man Chong had shown Yang Biao no special consideration, but applied the full legal examination, evidently including torture. When he spoke in Yang Biao's favour, therefore, Cao Cao was willing to accept his argument for mercy.

U HHS 70/60:2264 (6a-7a), the Biography of Kong Rong.

45 On Ma Midi's harassment and death at the hands of Yuan Shu, see passage AA of Xingping 1. His coffin had evidently been kept at Shouchun and, now that Yuan Shu had fled, it came into the possession of Cao Cao.

V SGZ 7:223 (7a) PC quoting *Dian lue*.

46 Jin Shang had been killed by Yuan Shu for refusing to take office with him: passage I above. Gentleman of the Palace was a probationary appointment for a future official: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 27, and deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 10.

- W In the winter, in the eleventh month Cao Cao made another attack on Zhang Xiu. He stormed Huyang, taking prisoner Liu Biao's officer Deng Ji, and he attacked and captured Wuyin.⁴⁷
- X Han Xian and Yang Feng were in Xiapi and plundered across Xu and Yang provinces. Their army was short of supplies, so they asked leave to go into Jing province. Lü Bu refused. [228]
 Yang Feng knew that Liu Bei had been an enemy of Lü Bu, and he entered into secret negotiations with Liu Bei for a joint attack. Liu Bei pretended to agree.
 Yang Feng led his army to Pei, and Liu Bei invited him into the city. Halfway through the welcome banquet, however, Yang Feng was arrested, bound hand and foot, and beheaded.
 Without Yang Feng, Han Xian was isolated. Accompanied by a few score horsemen, he sought to go back to Bing province, but he was killed by Zhang Xuan the magistrate of Shuqiu.⁴⁸
- 2002 Hu Cai and Li Le had stayed in Hedong. Hu Cai was killed in a feud and Li Le died of illness. Guo Si was killed by his own follower Wu Xi.⁴⁹
- Y Du Xi, Zhao Yan and Po Qin, men of Yingchuan, had taken refuge from the troubles and come to Jing province. Liu Biao treated all three as his guests.

W SGZ 1:15 (39a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

47 Huyang county in Nanyang commandery was west of Xinye in present-day Henan, on a line of approach between Zhang Xiu's base at Rang and Liu Biao's head-quarters at Xiangyang. Wuyin county was further north near present-day Sheqi, west of Nanyang in Henan.

X HHS 72/62:2342 (16b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo,
 with TC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*;
 SGZ 6:187 (3b-34b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo,
 with PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

48 Shuqiu county was in Pei commandery, south of present-day Fengxian in Anhui, a little over a hundred kilometres northwest of Xiapi: so Han Xian did not get very far on his homeward journey. *ZZTJ* describes Zhang Xian as magistrate of Shuqiu, but *Yingxiong ji* describes him merely as chief of a local troop (屯帥 *tunshuai*): the term *tun* could describe groups of local people or refugees in self-defence units as well as bandits.

49 Guo Si had been one of Dong Zhuo's officers who seized power at Chang'an and held the emperor there. Hu Cai and Li Le, with Han Xian, were bandit leaders who had been involved in the emperor's escape back to the east: see passages X to AA of Xingping 2. On the fate of Li Jue, Guo Si's partner and rival, see passage C of Jian'an 3.

Y SGZ 23:664-65 (14a-15b), the Biography of Du Xi;
 SGZ 23:668 (18a), the Biography of Zhao Yan.

Po Qin received particular favour, but Du Xi said to him, "When I agreed to accompany you, we sought only to survive and wait for better times. Surely you cannot believe that Governor Liu is the ruler to end the troubles? So how can you advise your elders to accept him as their leader? If you keep trying to impress him with your abilities, you can no longer be my companion, and I shall break off all contact."

Po Qin readily agreed, "I respectfully request your guidance."

Later, when Cao Cao brought the emperor to Xu city, Zhao Yan said to Po Qin, "The General Who Maintains the East in Peace, Cao Cao, can certainly save the empire. I know where I am going." He went back to Cao Cao, and Cao Cao appointed him magistrate of Langling.⁵⁰ [229]

Z Li Tong of Jiangxia was the Commandant of Yang'an. When his wife's paternal uncle disobeyed the law Zhao Yan arrested him and sentenced him to death. At this time the final appeal on execution lay with the Governor or Administrator.⁵¹ Li Tong's wife and children wept and begged for his life, but Li Tong replied, "We are doing our utmost to support Lord Cao. It would be wrong for me to put private interest before public duty." He praised Zhao Yan for his upright conduct maintaining the law, and became friends with him. [230]

50 Langling county was in Runan commandery, near present-day Jueshan in Henan, on the frontier with Liu Biao's territory in Jing province.

According to *SGZ* 23, 665, the three men went first south into Changsha, away from Liu Biao's court. Later, after Cao Cao had brought the emperor to Xu city, they returned to the north. Du Xi was then appointed magistrate of Xi'e 西鄂 in Nanyang commandery, north of present-day Nanyang, on the frontier with Liu Biao.

Z *SGZ* 18:535 (3b), the Biography of Li Tong.

51 *SGZ* 18 says that Cao Cao had separated two counties, evidently Langling and Yang'an, to form a marcher territory against Liu Biao, and put Li Tong in charge as Commandant. As head of such a local military government, Li Tong had the powers of an Administrator, in similar fashion to the Commandant of a Dependent State (屬國 *shuguo*) on the frontiers of the Han empire in the past: e.g. *HHS* 118/28:3621, discussed by deC, *Northern Frontier*, 448; also Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 109 and 189-190 notes 138-142, and Yen Keng-wang, *Regional and Local Administration* IA, 160 and 164-165.

Jian'an 3: 198 AD

26 January 198 – 13 February 199

- A In the spring, in the first month, Cao Cao returned to Xu city.
- B In the third month, as Cao Cao was planning to renew the attack on Zhang Xiu, Xun You said, "Zhang Xiu and Liu Biao are allies, but Zhang Xiu has no established base for his army. The time will come when he will ask Liu Biao for provisions and Liu Biao will not be able to supply him. They will begin to fall out.
"It would be best to hold your army back and wait for this to happen, then find a way to catch Zhang Xiu by himself. If you act too quickly, you will force them to help one another." Cao Cao rejected this advice, however, and he besieged Zhang Xiu at Rang.

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- C In the summer, in the fourth month the Supervisor of Internuncios Pei Mou was sent with imperial orders for all the leaders within the passes, Duan Wei and the others, to punish Li Jue. They killed him and destroyed his family.¹ Duan Wei was appointed General Who Gives Tranquillity to the South and enfeoffed as Marquis of Min District.²
- D In recent years, each time Yuan Shao received an edict from the emperor, he was concerned it would cause him some difficulty. [As a result] he now wanted to bring the emperor to stay by him. He sent a messenger to Cao Cao, suggesting that since Xu city lay in marsh country and Luoyang was in ruins, the capital should move to Juancheng in order to be closer to supplies. Cao Cao refused.³ [231]

A SGZ 1:15 (39b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

B SGZ 10.322-23 (29b), the Biography of Xun You.

C HHS 72/62:2342-43 (16b-17a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.

1 The shorter, parallel passage in SGZ 6:187 places the death of Li Jue in Jian'an 2, the same time as his other colleagues were eliminated: passage X of Jian'an 2. The annals of HHS 9:380, however, support the date of Jian'an 3. HHJ 29:5b has all the deaths in the spring of this year.

Dian lue, quoted by HHS 72/62 TC, and [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*, quoted by SGZ 6 PC, both say that Li Jue's head was sent to Xu city, where an imperial edict ordered that it be put on display.

2 Min district was near present-day Wenxiang in Henan.

D HHS 74/64A:2390 (11b-12a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

3 Juancheng was in Jiyang commandery near Juancheng in present-day Shandong, just south of the Yellow River. Though the county was controlled by Cao Cao, it was well north of Xu city. It might indeed have been more central and convenient for supplies, but it was very close to Yuan Shao's territory, and would have been vulnerable to his influence or a sudden attack.

Tian Feng said to Yuan Shao, "Now that the idea of shifting the capital has not worked out, you must make early plans against Xu city and prepare to receive the emperor yourself. You could then claim that all your actions were in response to imperial orders, and by that means you would command all within the four seas. That is the perfect arrangement. If you do not follow this program, you will eventually be taken over by someone else, and it will be too late for regrets." Yuan Shao would not accept this advice.

- E About this time some deserters from Yuan Shao came to Cao Cao and reported that Tian Feng was urging him to attack Xu city. Cao Cao broke off the siege of Rang and went back, and Zhang Xiu led his forces after him.

In the fifth month Liu Biao sent soldiers to help Zhang Xiu. They camped at Anzhong and guarded the passes to block the retreat.⁴ Cao Cao wrote to Xun Yu, "When I come to Anzhong I am sure to defeat Zhang Xiu."

They arrived at Anzhong, and the army had enemies front and rear. During the night Cao Cao dug entrenchments in the pass and then feigned retreat. As the troops of Liu Biao and Zhang Xiu came with full force in pursuit, he loosed his soldiers from ambush, striking both flanks with horse and foot, and completely defeated them.

Some time later Xun Yu asked Cao Cao, "That time you knew the enemy would be defeated: how could you tell?"

"They cut my men's line of retreat," replied Cao Cao, "and by doing so they gave me a 'death ground.' Then I knew I would win."⁵
[232]

E SGZ 1:15-16 (39b-40b), the Biography of Cao Cao, with PC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

4 Anzhong county was in Nanyang commandery, south of present-day Nanyang in Henan, and east of Rang city. This was the route which Cao Cao had to follow as he withdrew.

5 "Death ground" (死地 *sidi*): where a retreating army's road is cut off, the soldiers must fight for their lives, and through desperation are more likely to win.

ZZTJ commentary quotes *Sunzi bingfa* 8.1: "On death terrain, Do battle;" Minford, *Art of War*, 215-216 (Ames, *Sun-tzu*, 132; Griffith, *Art of War*, 109). Also 11.1: "On death ground, Fight;" Minford, 277 (Ames, 160; Griffith, 133).

The theory of "death ground" is discussed in several other passages of *Sunzi bingfa*, and Hu Sanxing quotes commentary by Chen Hao 陳皞 of Tang to 11:15b, who speaks of "creating" death ground in order to [conquer and] live.

F As Zhang Xiu was in pursuit of Cao Cao, Jia Xu stopped him and said, "You must not go after him. If you chase him you will certainly be defeated." Zhang Xiu paid no attention but sent his men forward, and they were thoroughly beaten.

As they returned, however, Jia Xu was on the city wall and he said to Zhang Xiu, "Go back after him at once. If you fight this time you are sure to win." Zhang Xiu thanked him, but observed, "I did not use your advice earlier, and this is the result. Now that I have been defeated, how can I go in chase again?"

2004 "War has its changes," replied Jia Xu. "Follow him quickly." Zhang Xiu had always respected what Jia Xu said, so he collected his scattered soldiers and went again in pursuit. He joined battle and he was indeed successful.⁶

When he came back he asked, "I was pursuing a retreating army with good soldiers and you said I would suffer a loss. I attacked a victorious army with defeated men and you said that I would win. You were right both times. How did you do it?"

"Quite easily," replied Jia Xu. "You are good at using troops, but no match for Lord Cao. Since Lord Cao's army had only just begun its withdrawal, he was sure to command the rearguard. That is why I knew you would be defeated.

"Lord Cao had come to attack you, nothing had gone wrong with his plans and he was still at full strength. When he drew back so quickly, therefore, it could only have been for some reason of his state. In that case, once he had defeated you he would hurry on to Xu city with light-armed troops, leaving his officers to hold the rear. His officers are brave, but they are not as good as you; so despite the fact that you were using beaten men you could fight and be sure to win." Zhang Xiu was full of admiration. [233]

G Lü Bu renewed the alliance with Yuan Shu and sent his General of the Household Gao Shun and the Administrator of Beidi, Zhang Liao of Yanmen, to attack Liu Bei. Cao Cao sent his general Xiahou Dun to help Liu Bei, but he was defeated by Gao Shun's forces.

Cao Cao would use the tactic on other occasions: see passage F and note 10 of Jian'an 9 and, less successfully, passage V of Xingping 2. There is further discussion in deC, *Imperial Warlord* at 107-108 and 329-330.

F SGZ 10:329 (38a-b), the Biography of Jia Xu.

6 ZZTJ commentary suggests this was only a minor success compared to the recent defeat at Anzhong.

In the autumn, in the ninth month Gao Shun and his associates captured Pei city and took Liu Bei's wife and children. Liu Bei fled alone.

H Cao Cao wanted to go himself to attack Lü Bu, but his officers said, "Liu Biao and Zhang Xiu are behind you. If you leave to attack Lü Bu they will certainly be a threat."

Xun You said, "Liu Biao and Zhang Xiu have lately been defeated, and they will not dare make a move. Lü Bu is brave and fierce, and he has now allied himself once more with Yuan Shu. If he is allowed to operate at will between the Huai and Si rivers the local fighting men will certainly join him. Before his rebellion gets under way, and before his army is fully organised, this is the time to attack him. If you go at once you can defeat him."

"Excellent!" said Cao Cao.

I As he was marching, the leaders of Taishan, Zang Ba, Sun Guan, Wu Dun, Yin Li, Chang Xi and others all joined Lü Bu.⁷

J Cao Cao met Liu Bei at Liang and went forward to Pengcheng. Chen Gong said to Lü Bu, "Attack them at once. With fresh soldiers to deal with tired ones you cannot fail."

"Better wait until he comes further forward," considered Lü Bu, "then drive him into the Si River." [234]

K In the winter, in the tenth month Cao Cao stormed Pengcheng. Chen Deng the Administrator of Guangling led the troops of his commandery as advance guard for Cao Cao, and came to Xiapi. Lü Bu brought out his forces against Cao Cao several times, but he was

G HHS 75/65:2450 (13b-14a), the Biography of Lü Bu;
SGZ 7:226 (11b), the Biography of Lü Bu;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2):874 (7b), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2):875 (7b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

H SGZ 10:323 (30a) PC quoting *Wei shu*.

I SGZ 18:537 (6a), the Biography of Zang Ba.

7 On these groups, based about Mount Tai in present-day Shandong, see passage N and note 21 of Jian'an 2. On the term *tunshuai* 屯帥 "leaders of camps," see also note 48 to Jian'an 2.

J SGZ 32 (Shu 2):875 (7b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;
SGZ 7:227 (12a) PC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

K SGZ 1:16 (14b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 7:230 (16b) PC quoting *Xianxian xingzhuang*;
SGZ 7:226 (11b-12a), the Biography of Lü Bu;
SGZ 7:227 (12a-b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;
HHS 75/65:2450 (14a), the Biography of Lü Bu.

heavily defeated in one battle after another. He went back to hold the city [of Xiapi] and did not dare come out again.

2005 Cao Cao sent a letter to Lü Bu, pointing the situation out to him. Lü Bu was frightened and wanted to surrender. Chen Gong said, "Cao Cao has come a long way, and he cannot stay here indefinitely. If you take infantry and cavalry and make camp outside, I shall take command of the rest of the army and hold fast inside the city. If he turns against you, I can lead soldiers to attack his rear. If he only attacks the city, then you can give help from outside. Within a few weeks Cao Cao's supplies will be exhausted. Attack him then and you can defeat him."

Lü Bu approved this, and he planned to have Chen Gong and Gao Shun hold the city while he led cavalry to cut Cao Cao's lines of supply. His wife, however, said to him, "Chen Gong and Gao Shun have quarrelled in the past. Once you have gone they will certainly disagree about how to defend the city. If something goes wrong how will you manage alone?"

"Furthermore, Cao Cao treated Gongtai [Chen Gong]⁸ like his own son, but he still left him and came back to us. You have treated Gongtai no more generously than Cao Cao did, yet you intend to leave him the whole city, abandoning your wife and children, and go off alone with your army. If there is a sudden change, how would I be your wife any more?"

So Lü Bu gave up the idea, and he secretly sent his secretaries Xu Si and Wang Kai to ask help from Yuan Shu. Yuan Shu said, "Lü Bu refused me his daughter. It is right and natural that he should be defeated. Why do you come again?"

Xu Si and Wang Kai replied, "If Your Excellency does not help Lü Bu now, you will be bringing ruin upon yourself. When Lü Bu is defeated, you will be destroyed too." So Yuan Shu mobilised troops to give Lü Bu moral support. [235]

Lü Bu was afraid Yuan Shu would not send help because his daughter had failed to arrive. Wrapping the girl in silk and tying her to a horse, he escorted her out of the city by night. They met with Cao Cao's guards, who shot arrows at them. The party could not get through, and so came back to the city.

8 Gongtai 公臺 was the style of Chen Gong.

L Zhang Yang, Administrator of Henei, was an old friend of Lü Bu and wanted to come to his relief. He could not manage this but he brought out his men to make a diversion in his support at Dongshi.⁹

In the eleventh month Zhang Yang's officer Yang Chou killed Zhang Yang and went over to Cao Cao.¹⁰ Sui Gu, a detachment commander, killed Yang Chou in his turn and led the army north to join Yuan Shao.¹¹

Zhang Yang was a gentle and peaceful man who did not enforce punishments. Even when some of his men planned to revolt, each time it was discovered he wept for the plotters, pardoned them quickly and asked no more about it. So he came to misfortune.

M Cao Cao had dug a moat around Xiapi, but after some time his men were exhausted and he was thinking of retreat.

2006 Xun You and Guo Jia said, "Lü Bu is brave, but he has no sense of planning. He has fought you several times and has always been driven back. He must be downhearted. Armies take their leaders as their guide: if the leader is discouraged then the army loses heart. Chen Gong is wise, but he is slow. If you attack quickly, before Lü Bu recovers his spirit and Chen Gong can decide upon a plan, Lü Bu can be taken."

Then they brought the Yi and Si rivers to flood the city. [236]

N After a few weeks Lü Bu was in serious trouble. He called from the wall to one of Cao Cao's men, "If you do not force me to desperation, I shall surrender to your excellent master."

Chen Gong said, "That rebel bandit Cao Cao, how can you call him 'excellent master'? If you surrender to him you will be like an egg thrown at a stone. Do you expect to survive?"

L SGZ 8:251 (25a), the Biography of Zhang Yang, with PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

9 Zhang Yang had his base at Yewang county (e.g. passage G of Jian'an 1), so he was a considerable distance from the conflict between Cao Cao and Lü Bu about Xiapi. *ZZTJ* commentary suggests that this Dongshi 東市 "Eastern Market" village lay within the borders of Yewang county.

10 The date is given by *HHS* 9:380. These annals describe Zhang Yang, not just as Administrator of Henei, but as Grand Marshal, the title he held when he controlled the emperor at Luoyang: passage G of Jian'an 1.

11 Sui Gu, a former leader among the Black Mountain bandits, was an old enemy of Cao Cao: e.g. *Huan and Ling*, 377-378, and passage F of Chuping 3.

M SGZ 1:16 (40b-41a), the Biography of Cao Cao; SGZ 10:313 (30a), the Biography of Xun You.

N SGZ 7:227 (12a) PC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

- O Lü Bu's officer Hou Cheng had lost his best horse but then found it again. His fellow-officers gave a party to congratulate him.¹² They shared out wine and meat, and Hou Cheng went to offer a first share to Lü Bu. Lü Bu, however, was angry, saying, "I have forbidden wine, but now you brew it. You are using it to get people into plots against me!" Hou Cheng was angry and frightened.

In the twelfth month on the day *guiyou* [7 Nov 198] Hou Cheng, Song Xian, Wei Xu and other officers kidnapped Chen Gong and Gao Shun and brought their forces to surrender.¹³ Lü Bu and his followers climbed the White Gate Tower¹⁴ and the enemy soldiers were close around them. Lü Bu told his attendants to cut off his head and send it to Cao Cao. They could not bear to do it, so he went down and surrendered. [237]

- P Lü Bu saw Cao Cao and said, "It's all over now; the empire has been settled."

"Why do you say that?" asked Cao Cao.

"I was the only man to be a danger to Your Excellency," explained Lü Bu, "and now I have submitted to you. Put me in charge of cavalry while you command the infantry, and the empire will present no difficulties." Turning to Liu Bei he said, "Xuande,¹⁵ you are a

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- O *HHS* 75/65:2451 (14a-b), the Biography of Lü Bu;

SGZ 7:227 (13a), the Biography of Lü Bu;

SGZ 7:228 (13a-b) PC quoting *Jiuzhou chungiu*.

- 12 *HHS* 75/65 says that Hou Cheng, a cavalry officer, had sent one of his retainers out to pasture the animal, but the man tried to escape and join Liu Bei. Hou Cheng chased him, caught him, and brought the horse back. *Jiuzhou chungiu* says that fifteen horses had been taken, not just one. So Hou Cheng had reason to be congratulated.

- 13 The date is given by the annals of *HHS* 9:381.

- 14 According to *SJZ* 25:20b, the White Gate (白門 *Bomen*) was the main southern gate of the city of Xiapi. *HHS* 75/65 TC quotes from the *Song Wu beizheng ji* 宋武北征記 describing the northern expedition of the general Liu Yu 劉裕, future Emperor Wu of Song 宋武帝: the campaign began in 409, and the narrative was compiled by Dai Zuo 戴祚, a member of Liu Yu's staff [see Yao Chenzong 姚振宗, *Suishu jingji zhi kaozheng* 隋書經籍志考證 21, in *ESWSBB* IV, 5406]. The extract says that Xiapi had three lines of defence: the main wall, which contained the White Gate, had a circuit of four *li*, about two kilometres.

- P *HHS* 75/65:2451-52 (14b-15a), the Biography of Lü Bu;

SGZ 7:227 (13b-14b), the Biography of Lü Bu;

SGZ 7:228 (15a-b) PC quoting *Dian lue*.

- 15 Xuande 玄德 was the style of Liu Bei.

guest in a high place and I am a prisoner. These ropes are tight. Will you not speak a word for me?"

2007 Cao Cao laughed and said, "If I bind a tiger I must bind him tightly," but he gave orders to loose Lü Bu's bonds.

"You shouldn't do that," said Liu Bei. "Do you not recall how Lü Bu treated Ding Jianyang [Ding Yuan] and the Grand Master Dong [Zhuo]?"¹⁶ Cao Cao nodded in agreement.

Lü Bu glared at Liu Bei. "Big-ears," he said, "you're a disgrace!"¹⁷

"Gongtai," said Cao Cao to Chen Gong, "you always claimed to know more than others, and now you end like this!" Chen Gong pointed to Lü Bu and said, "That fellow refused to do as I said, and so it has come to this. If he had followed my advice we should probably not have been taken."

"What of your aged mother?" asked Cao Cao. "I have heard," replied Chen Gong, "that a man who rules the empire by his feelings as a dutiful son will not harm another man's family. Whether my mother lives or not, that rests with you, not with me."

"What of your wife and children?" asked Cao Cao. "I have heard," replied Chen Gong, "that a man who gives gentle government to the empire will not cut off another man's sacrifices [by killing his heir]. Whether my family lives or not, that rests with you, not with me."

Cao Cao said no more. Chen Gong asked to be taken to execution, and he left without a backward glance. Cao Cao wept for him.

Chen Gong, Lü Bu and Gao Shun were all killed by strangling, and their heads were sent for display in the market-[238]place at Xu city. Cao Cao called in Chen Gong's mother and looked after her to the end of her life. He arranged marriage for Chen Gong's daughter and cared for his family, treating them in all respects even more generously than before.

16 On the death of Ding Yuan, whose style was Jianyang 建陽, see passage X of Zhongping 6. On the title of Dong Zhuo as Grand Master (太師 *taishi*), see passage C of Chuping 2, and on his assassination by Lü Bu, passage I of Chuping 3.

17 On the physiognomy of Liu Bei, including his large ears, see passage Z and note 54 of Chuping 2, also deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 99 and 110 note 26.

While it is true that Liu Bei shows up poorly in this treatment of Lü Bu, who had after all saved his life at Pei city just the year before [passage CC of Jian'an 2], Cao Cao was subjecting him to a very tricky test of loyalty: deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 110.

- Q The former Director of the Secretariat Chen Ji and his son Chen Qun had both been with Lü Bu's army. Cao Cao treated them with courtesy and used them in office.
- R Zhang Liao led his troops to surrender and was made General of the Household.
- S Zang Ba went into hiding, Cao Cao raised a search and found him, then sent him to call Wu Dun, Yin Li, Sun Guan and the others; all came to Cao Cao and surrendered. Cao Cao divided Langye and Donghai to form the commanderies of Chengyang, Licheng and Changlu, and appointed Zang Ba and his fellows as administrators and chancellors.¹⁸ [239]
- 2008 Before this, when Cao Cao was in Yan province he had given appointments to Xu Xi and Mao Hui, but when the province rebelled

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- Q *HHS* 62/52:2068 (15b), the Biography of Chen Ji;
SGZ 22:633 (5b-6a), the Biography of Chen Qun.
- R *SGZ* 17:517 (1b), the Biography of Zhang Liao.
- S *SGZ* 18:537 (6a-b), the Biography of Zang Ba;
SGZ 1:16 (41a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao.
- 18 Zang Ba and his colleagues were leaders of bandits from the region of Mount Tai: passages N of Jian'an 2 and I above.

Chengyang had been the name of a kingdom under Former Han, with its capital at Ju 莒, now Juxian in Shandong; it was absorbed into Langye at the beginning of Later Han. Licheng and Changlu were counties in Donghai: Licheng was near the coast, by present-day Qingkou in Jiangsu; Changlu was in the west, by present-day Tengxian in Shandong.

So there were now five commandery units in this territory: reduced Langye and Donghai, restored Chengyang, and new Licheng and Changlu.

In this listing, *ZZTJ* follows the summary in *SGZ* 1. *SGZ* 18 has more, including the names of the local leaders appointed by Cao Cao to each territory. There are slight differences in the two lists, while *SGZ* 18 also states that Sun Guan became Administrator of Beihai, immediately north of Langye in Qing province (as discussed in note 42 to Jian'an 1, however, Beihai was a kingdom and should have been headed by a chancellor; Langye, on the other hand, was at this time a commandery and not a kingdom: note 22 to Jian'an 2).

The essential point, however, is that Cao Cao confirmed the local authority of these leaders by giving them official titles to govern a series of small territories, stretching in an arc across the coastal plain from the south of the Shandong peninsula. *SGZ* 18 adds, moreover, that he separated this territory from Qing and Xu provinces and placed it under the general command of Zang Ba; he thus held authority over his colleagues and over the whole eastern flank of Cao Cao's territory.

The area was at present marginal to Cao Cao's ambitions in central China, but the recognition of the former bandits kept the region quiet, and Zang Ba would become a loyal ally.

they both turned against him. Then Yan province was settled, and Xu Xi and Mao Hui fled to Zang Ba.

Cao Cao sent Liu Bei to Zang Ba with orders to send the heads of the two men, but Zang Ba replied, "The reason I have made a position for myself is because I do not do behave like that. Having received the grace of life from our lord, I dare not oppose his commands, yet a ruler of royal power can be appealed to for justice. I ask you to speak on their behalf."

Liu Bei told Cao Cao what Zang Ba had said. Cao Cao sighed in admiration and replied to Zang Ba, "This is the conduct of ancient times, and you maintain it still. That is the way I would wish to behave." He appointed Xu Xi and Mao Hui as commandery administrators.

- T In recognition of his good work, Chen Deng was promoted General Who Calms the Waves.
- U Liu Biao and Yuan Shao were in close alliance. The Headquarters Officer Deng Xi protested to Liu Biao, but Liu Biao replied, "Inside I do not neglect the tribute to the throne and outside I do not turn my back on the lord of our covenant. All the world can see that this is right. Why do you question it?"¹⁹ Deng Xi claimed to be ill, and went away.
- V Zhang Xian the Administrator of Changsha was a difficult man to deal with, and Liu Biao did not treat him with proper courtesy. Huan Jie of Changsha suggested that he raise the three commanderies of Changsha, Lingling and Guiyang against Liu Biao and send a messenger to Cao Cao. Zhang Xian did this. [240]
- W Sun Ce sent his Colonel of Upright Counsel Zhang Hong to bring produce from his territory as tribute to the court. Cao Cao wanted Sun

T SGZ 7:229 (15b), the Biography of Chen Deng.

U SGZ 6:211-12 (82b-83a), the Biography of Liu Biao, with PC quoting *Han-Jin chungiu*.

19 Liu Biao sent aid to the emperor at Luoyang in Jian'an 3: 198 (passage D of Jian'an 1) and despite Cao Cao's attacks on Nanyang commandery he had not rejected the authority of the court in Xu city.

Yuan Shao became head of the alliance against Dong Zhuo in 190 (passage A of Chuping 1), but Liu Biao's appointment to Jing province was made by the imperial government under the control of Dong Zhuo (passage O of Chuping 1). Liu Biao had never formally joined Yuan Shao and the allies, so this argument is disingenuous.

V SGZ 6:211 (83a-b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*; SGZ 22:631 (1b-2a), the Biography of Huan Jie.

Ce as an ally, so he recommended him as General Who Exterminates Rebels and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Wu. He sent his younger brother's daughter to marry Sun Ce's younger brother Kuang and took Sun Ben's daughter for his son Cao Zhang. He sent a special invitation to Sun Ce's younger brothers Quan and Yi to come to court, and he appointed Zhang Hong as an Imperial Clerk.²⁰

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X Yuan Shu had made Zhou Yu magistrate of Juchao and appointed Lu Su of Linhuai as magistrate of Dongcheng.²¹ Both men realised, however, that he would never succeed, so they left their posts and crossed the Yangzi to follow Sun Ce. Sun Ce appointed Zhou Yu as General of the Household Who Establishes Awe, and Lu Su went with his family to Qu'a.

Y Cao Cao recommended Wang Lang be called to court, and Sun Ce gave him permission to return. Cao Cao appointed him Counsellor [241] Remonstrant and Adviser to the Army of the Excellency of Works.²²

W SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1104 (26b-31a), the Biography of Sun Ce;
SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1108 (28b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;
SGZ 53 (Wu 8):1243 (2a), the Biography of Zhang Hong.

20 The main texts of SGZ 46 and SGZ 53 indicate that the embassy of Zhang Hong and the marriage alliance took place in Jian'an 4, the following year. The date of Sun Ce's tribute mission in Jian'an 3 is taken from *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

Cao Cao obviously planned to hold Sun Quan and Sun Yi as hostages, but neither accepted the invitation. Zhang Hong, however, did remain in the north and took office in the imperial censorate under the government controlled by Cao Cao. Though he was always loyal to the Sun family, his position was personally difficult: deC, *Generals of the South*, 220-223.

X SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1260 (3a), the Biography of Zhou Yu;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1267 (14a), the Biography of Lu Su.

21 Lu Su's biography says that he came from Dongcheng county in Linhuai commandery. Under Later Han, Xiapi commandery had been known as Linhuai until 72 AD: see the Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 111/21:3461. The old name evidently came back into use about this time.

By appointing Lu Su as head of his native county, Yuan Shu was disregarding the Han rule of "avoidance," which required that a man should not hold magisterial office within his own province, let alone his own commandery or county: see, for example, Yen Keng-wang, "Appointment for Local Administration." Such principles, however, were increasingly irrelevant.

Y SGZ 13:407 (27b), the Biography of Wang Lang.

22 Wang Lang was the former Administrator of Kuaiji who had been defeated and captured by Sun Ce two years earlier: passage S of Jian'an 1.

Cao Cao at this time held title as Excellency of Works, and the post of Adviser to his Army appears frequently in his command from this time. Mentioned in the *Jin shu*

Z Yuan Shu sent secret messengers to give seals to the clan leaders of Danyang, Zu Lang and others, that they should rouse the Shanyue and make a joint attack on Sun Ce.²³

When Liu Yao fled to Yuzhang, Taishi Ci had hidden among the Wuhu hills and styled himself Administrator of Danyang. Sun Ce had already settled the area east of Xuancheng, and only the six counties west of Jing had not yet submitted. Taishi Ci therefore brought his forces forward to Jing, and he was joined by great numbers of the Shanyue.²⁴

Then Sun Ce led an attack on Zu Lang at Lingyang and captured him.²⁵ He said to Zu Lang, "You attacked me once in the past, and chopped the saddle of my horse."²⁶ Now I am recruiting an army and building a state. I disregard old enmities and take only those who are capable and can be of service. With all the empire it is the same, not just you. Have no fear."

Zu Lang kowtowed and made his peace, and they broke his fetters and had him act as Chief of Police at the Gate.²⁷ [242>243]

Treatise of Officials at JS 24:740, it was probably a position on the general staff. For a possible earlier appearance, see *Huan and Ling*, 384, and for a similar appointment as Libationer, passage X with notes 40 and 41 to Jian'an 1.

Considering Wang Lang's unimpressive record against Sun Ce, however, we may assume his duties were primarily concerned with civil affairs, and that the association with Cao Cao's military staff was a formality.

Z SGZ 51 (Wu 6):1212 (9b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;
SGZ 49 (Wu 4):1188 (9b-10b), the Biography of Taishi Ci;
SGZ 56 (Wu 11):1310 (10a), the Biography of Lü Fan.

23 Yue 越 was a common term for the non-Chinese peoples of the southern and south-eastern seaboard, distinguished here by the prefix Shan 山 as inhabiting the hills. The Shanyue may be distinguished from *shanmin* 山民, a phrase also used at this time, but which appears to have referred rather to refugee or renegade Chinese in this region, and also from the Man 蠻, a term which appears less often in these texts, but traditionally describes the non-Chinese peoples of the inland south of the Yangzi.

24 Wuhu county in Danyang was near present-day Wuhu, on the Yangzi River in Anhui. South of Wuhu was Xuancheng county, about present-day Nanling in Anhui, and Jing county was west of Jingxian, further south again.

The Wuhu hills are the lower reaches of the Huang Shan massif; the border of Sun Ce's territory was on the Qingyi Jiang, which joins the Yangzi by Wuhu.

25 Lingyang county in Danyang was about present-day Taiping in Anhui. Sun Ce, based on the Yangzi, has by-passed Taishi Ci to attack Zu Lang in the hills to the west.

26 See passage BB of Xingping 1.

27 Zu Lang's appointment as *zeicao* 賊曹 "Chief of Police" was a local office under Han responsible for dealing with rebels and bandits; it could be made both at commandery or at county level: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 97 and 102 [as Bureau of Banditry].

Then Sun Ce attacked Taishi Ci at Yongli, and captured him.²⁸ He unloosed his bonds and took his hand and said, "Do you remember that time at Shenting?"²⁹ If you had caught me then, what would have happened?"

"I cannot imagine," replied Taishi Ci.

Sun Ce gave a great laugh and said, "I will share all my plans with you. I have heard that you are brave and loyal, one of the wise men of the empire, but that you have not yet found the right man to follow.

2010 "I am your close friend. Be confident that you have found what you were looking for." He immediately appointed him Commander at the Gate.

As they went back, Zu Lang and Taishi Ci rode together in the van of the army, and all could see the honour that was paid them.

AA Just at this time Liu Yao died in Yuzhang. His followers, numbering more than ten thousand, wanted to take Hua Xin the Administrator of Yuzhang as their leader. Hua Xin considered, "To take advantage of such opportunity and seize command is not the conduct of a loyal servant." The people held him for several months but in the end they let him go and still had no-one to lead them.

Sun Ce ordered Taishi Ci to go and settle them, and said to him, "Governor Liu always resented the fact that I attacked Lujiang for Yuan Shu. My late father had several thousand soldiers and they were all under Gonglu's [Yuan Shu's] command. It was my ambition to establish a position of my own, but how could I avoid joining Gonglu if I was to ask for those troops?"³⁰ Later, when Yuan failed to respect the proper conduct of a minister, I objected but he refused to listen. By any code of honour, such a great reason obliged [244]

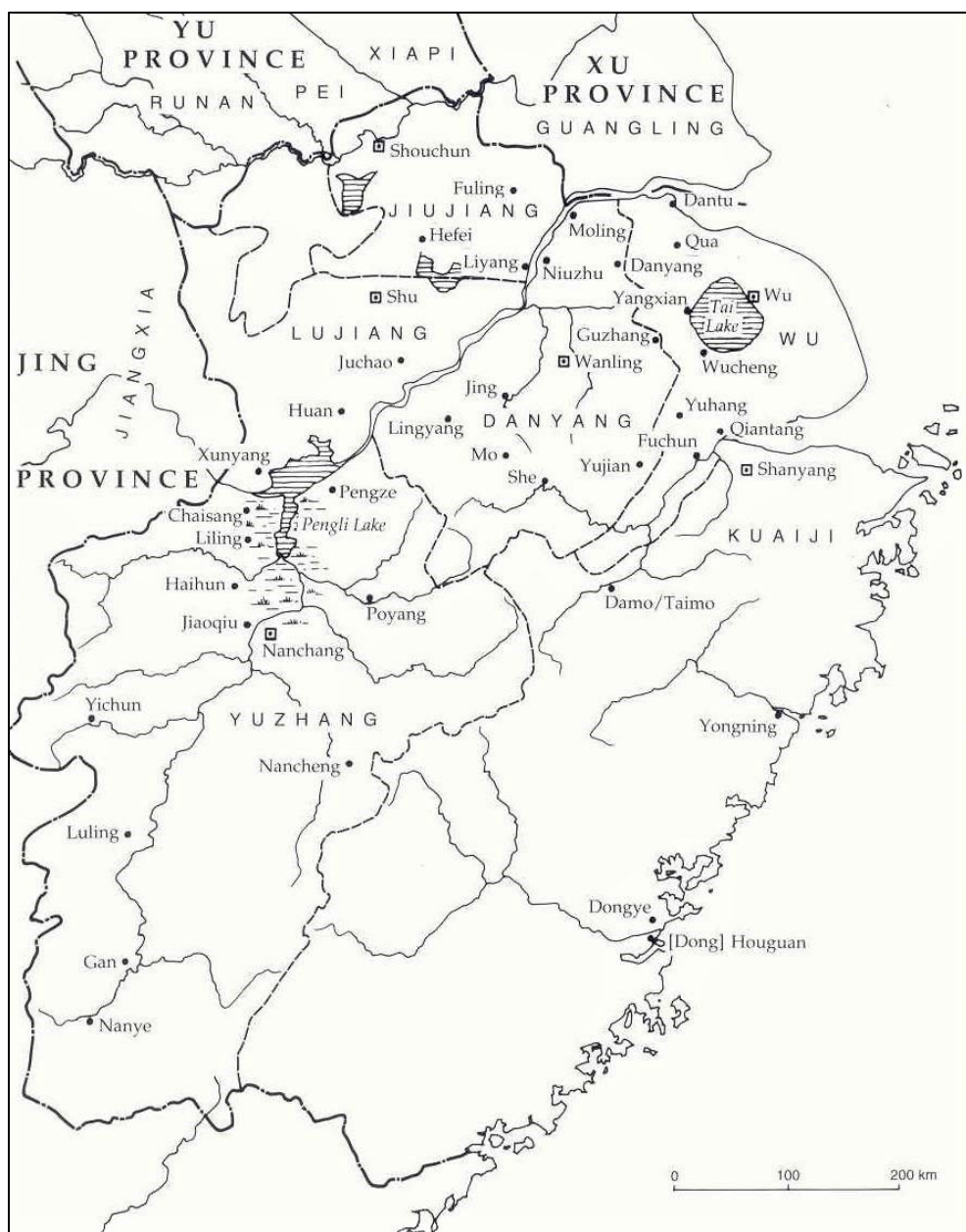
The prefix "at the Gate" (門下 *menxia*) could be added to the titles of certain posts at the central offices of a commandery or county, and indicated a close connection to the administrator or magistrate: Yen Keng-wang, *Regional and Local Administration* 1A, 128, but *cf.* Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 184 note 51. Here and immediately following, Zu Lang and then Taishi Ci as "Commander at the Gate" (*menxia du* 督) were being trusted with command of guards at Sun Ce's personal headquarters.

28 Yongli was in Jing county, near present-day Jing in Anhui.

29 See passage GG of Xingping 2.

AA SGZ 13:402 (18a) PC quoting Wei lue.
SGZ 49 (Wu 4):1188-90 (10b-11b), the Biography of Taishi Ci,
with PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

30 See passage BB of Xingping 1.



Map 12: Yang province in the time of Sun Ce

me to leave him. That is the whole story of my joining Gonglu and my breaking with him.

"I deeply regret that I never had the opportunity to explain [myself to Liu Yao] while he was alive. Now that his children are in Yuzhang, go and see to them. Tell of my feelings to his followers, and any that wish to do so may come back with you. Those that do not want to come, make them feel at peace for the time being. And at the same time, find out how well Hua Ziyu [Hua Xin]³¹ is managing. How many soldiers will you need? Take as many as you like."

"My offences have been unpardonable," replied Taishi Ci, "and you measure with [the great dukes] Huan [of Qi] and Wen [of Jin]. I would give my life to repay your kindness. Now that the fighting has halted on both sides, I shall not need many men. Thirty or forty will be enough."

Everyone said, "Taishi Ci is sure to go off to the north and will never come back." "If Ziyi [Taishi Ci]³² deserts me," replied Sun Ce, "whom can he turn to?"

He held a farewell ceremony at the Chang Gate,³³ and as they said goodbye he took Taishi Ci by the arm and asked him, "When can you get back?"

"No more than sixty days," replied Taishi Ci.

When Taishi Ci had left, people still argued it had been a bad idea to send him. "Be quiet," ordered Sun Ce. "I have thought it out it carefully. Taishi Ziyi is brave, he has fierce courage, and he is not a turncoat. His heart is loyal and honest, and he does not give his word lightly. Once he has entrusted himself to a real friend, he will not go back on the promise while he lives. There is no cause for concern."

Taishi Ci indeed came back when he had said he would, and he reported to Sun Ce, "Hua Ziyu is a worthy man, but he has no plans beyond his own territory. He keeps things going and nothing more.

2011 "Tong Zhi of Danyang has seized Luling for himself, and the leaders of the Poyang people have set up clan troops, saying 'We have set up our own commandery [245] administrations at Haihun and

31 Ziyu 子魚 was the style of Hua Xin.

32 Ziyi 子義 was the style of Taishi Ci.

33 The Chang Gate 昌門 was the northern gate on the western wall of the city of Wu. There is still a Chang Gate in present-day Suzhou.

Shangliao, and we take no orders from anyone.' Ziyu simply looks on and does nothing."³⁴

Sun Ce clapped his hands and laughed, and it was then that he decided to take over Yuzhang.

- BB Yuan Shao had attacked Gongsun Zan for several years but had not been able to defeat him. He wrote a letter to Gongsun Zan suggesting that they end their quarrel and make peace.³⁵ Gongsun Zan did not reply, but increased his preparations for defence. He said to his Chief Clerk Guan Jing of Taiyuan, "Everywhere in the empire men are fighting like tigers. It is obvious that no-one can maintain a siege against me for as long as a year. So what can Yuan Benchu do?"³⁶
- CC Yuan Shao now brought a great army against Gongsun Zan. Before this, when the commander of one of Gongsun Zan's outlying forts was besieged by enemies, Gongsun Zan sent no relief. He said, "If I send aid to one of them, my officers will always expect support and will be less anxious to fight." When Yuan Shao came to attack, the various camps on Gongsun Zan's southern borders realised they were too weak to defend themselves against him, and they knew there was no chance of relief. Some surrendered, others ran away, and Yuan Shao's army came straight to the gates [of Yi fortress].
- DD Gongsun Zan sent his son Gongsun Xu to ask help from the leaders of the Black Mountain bandit groups. He planned to lead fast cavalry out west towards the hills, then join the Black [246] Mountain forces in an attack on Ji province across Yuan Shao's rear.³⁷

34 Under Later Han, Poyang 番陽 county in Yuzhang was about Jingdezhen in Jiangxi, east of the marshland which is the present Poyang Lake. Haihun 海昏 lay west of marshes, about present-day Yongxiu in Jiangxi. *SJZ* 39:17a-b says that the Liao River which flowed past Haihun was in that area known as Shangliao 上繚.

The capital of Yuzhang was at Nanchang, present-day Nanchang in Jiangxi. Separated from the Yangzi by the two groups of rebels, Hua Xin controlled only the southern part of the commandery, the basin of the Gan River.

BB *SGZ* 8:244-46 (13a-14b), the Biography of Gongsun Zan, with PC quoting *Han-Jin chungiu*.

35 The text of the letter is given in the extract of *Han-Jin chungiu*.

36 Benchu 本初 was the style of Yuan Shao. Gongsun Zan had taken refuge in his great fortress complex of Yi city, by present-day Xiong in Hebei, since 195: passage SS of Xingping 2.

CC *SGZ* 8:245 (12a) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

DD *HHS* 73/63:2364 (8b-9a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan; *SGZ* 8:244 (15a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan.

Guan Jing, however, advised against this plan, "Your troops are on the point of collapse, and the only reasons that they still hold on are that they are concerned for their families and they rely upon you as their leader. If you can withstand a long siege, Yuan Shao may be forced to retreat. If you leave them and go out, however, there will be no strong guard and the fortress at Yi will fall immediately." So Gongsun Zan gave up the idea. As Yuan Shao pressed his attacks steadily tighter, Gongsun Zan's forces were more restricted every day. [247]

37 The hills are the Taihang Shan, whose rising ground commences some seventy-five kilometres west of Xiongshan city. The base area of the Black Mountain bandits had been in the eastern part of the ranges, and their chief surviving leader, Zhang Yan, was in Changshan: *Huan and Ling*, 379, and passage J of Chuping 4.

CHAPTER 63

*being Chapter 55 of the Chronicle of Han
containing Part 5 of the reign of Emperor Xian*

Jian'an 4: 199 AD

14 February 199 – 2 February 200

2012

A In the spring, in the third month,¹ Zhang Yan, leader of the Black Mountain bandits, joined Gongsun Xu and brought a hundred thousand soldiers by three routes to the relief [of Gongsun Zan in Yi].

Before they arrived Gongsun Zan had secretly sent a messenger with a letter to Gongsun Xu, telling him to lead five thousand armoured cavalry into the marshes to the north and light a fire as a signal. Then Gongsun Zan would make a sortie from inside the city.²

One of Yuan Shao's sentries intercepted the message, and at a suitable time Yuan Shao's army lit the fire. Believing that the relief force had arrived, Gongsun Zan came out to fight. Yuan Shao had laid an ambush to surprise him, and Gongsun Zan was heavily defeated. He went back to take refuge behind the walls.

Yuan Shao had a tunnel dug, with wooden supports, under one of the towers. When they judged it was at the centre, they set fire [to the supports]. The tower collapsed, and some of the ruins fell even into the citadel. Realising that he was doomed, Gongsun Zan strangled his sisters, his wives and his children, and prepared his own funeral pyre. Yuan Shao pressed his men forward to climb the terraces, and they cut off Gongsun Zan's head. Tian Kai died in the battle.

2013 Guan Jing sighed and said, "Had I not persuaded the general to stay here, he might have saved himself. I have heard that when a gentleman brings another into danger he must share the misfortune. Can I be the only one to survive?" He spurred his horse against Yuan Shao's army and died.

A *HHS* 73/63:2364-65 (9a-b), the Biography of Gongsun Zan;
SGZ 8:244 (15b-16a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan;
SGZ 8:247 (16a) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;
SGZ 8:247 (16a) PC quoting *Han-Jin chungiu*.

1 Some editions omit the reference here to the third month. It appears, however, in the earliest texts of *ZZTJ*, and is given by *HHS* 9:381.

2 The text of the letter appears in *HHS* 73/63, and also in an extract from *Dian lue* quoted by *SGZ* 8:246-47 PC.

Gongsun Xu was killed by the Chuge [group of the Xiongnu].³
[248]

- B Tian Yu of Yuyang said to his Administrator Xianyu Fu, "Cao Cao supports the Son of Heaven and so commands the lords. In the end he will settle the empire. You should be among the first to join him." So Xianyu Fu and all his associates sent messages of allegiance. An edict appointed him General Who Establishes Loyalty and Area Commander of six commanderies in You province.⁴
- C Before this time, King Qiuliju of the Wuhuan had died. His son Louban was young, and his nephew Tadun, a warlike man, took his place and held command of the chieftains Nanlou from Shanggu, Supuyan from Liaodong and Wuyan from Youbeiping. When Yuan Shao attacked Gongsun Zan, Tadun brought the Wuhuan to help him,

3 On the Chuge, see note 18 to Chuping 4.

B SGZ 26:726 (8a), the Biography of Tian Yu;
SGZ 8:247 (16b), the Biography of Gongsun Zan.

4 Xianyu Fu, a man from Yuyang, was a former supporter of Liu Yu who had driven Gongsun Zan's forces from the north in 195: passage SS of Xingping 2. One might have expected that he would be an ally of Yuan Shao, but he was now persuaded to link himself to the more distant authority of Cao Cao and the formal imperial court.

The title *dudu* 都督 here describes a substantial appointment with broad military authority, though it appears to have been lower than an Inspector: passage B and note 7 of Jian'an 7. I render it in this context as Area Commander, and the system developed further in later years.

Elsewhere (e.g. passage JJ of Xingping 2) the title *dudu* describes a comparatively low administrative rank in an army, while in passage J below *dudu* designates the commander of a major division in Yuan Shao's army.

The title does not appear in the system described by the Treatise of Officials of *HHS*, and there was at this time obviously a wide range of possible significance to an appointment with this style. Later, during the third century, holders of the title *dudu*, held broad military and territorial responsibility. On this development, see for example deC, "Three Kingdoms and Western Jin" II, 144 and 152, and *Imperial Warlord*, 123-124 note 48 and 188.

Five of the six commanderies entrusted to Xianyu Fu would have been Dai, Shanggu, Guangyang, Yuyang and Youbeiping, that is the western half of You province along the frontier. The sixth commandery may have been Zhuo, also in You province but inside the frontier in the north of the North China plain, or it could have been Liaoxi, which extended along the coast northeast towards the territory of Gongsun Du in Manchuria: see passage Y of Chuping 1. From his base in Yuyang, however, it is doubtful if Xianyu Fu controlled more than a small part of his broad but nominal command.

C *HHS* 90/80:2984 (4b), the Account of the Wuhuan;
SGZ 30:834-35 (7b-9a), the Account of the Wuhuan

and when Gongsun Zan was destroyed Yuan Shao took the occasion to grant seals and ribbons as Shanyu to Tadun, Nanlou, Supuyan and Wuyan.⁵ [249]

Knowing that Yan Rou had gained the affections of the Wuhuan,⁶ Yuan Shao granted him favours and good treatment so that he might keep the northern borders at peace. Later Nanlou and Supuyan appointed Louban as Shanyu and Tadun became a king, but Tadun still kept control of policy.

- D Sui Gu was camped at Shequan. In the summer, in the fourth month Cao Cao brought his army forward to the Yellow River, and sent his generals Shi Huan and Cao Ren across to attack him. Cao Ren was a cousin of Cao Cao.

Sui Gu took some of his men north to ask help from Yuan Shao, but Shi Huan and Cao Ren intercepted him at Quancheng, attacked and beheaded him. Cao Cao now crossed the Yellow River and laid siege to Shequan. The city surrendered and Cao Cao led his army back to the Ao Granary.⁷

Before this, when Cao Cao was in Yan province he had recommended Wei Chong as Filial and Incorrupt. When Yan province rebelled, Cao Cao said, "Wei Chong is one man who will not desert me." Then he heard that he had fled, and he was angry and said,

5 Qiuliju was a leader of the Wuhuan during the time of Emperor Ling. At one time he and his colleagues had joined rebels against Han, but they later made peace with Liu Yu. See *Huan and Ling*, 203, 394, 403 and 406, and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 396-397.

On the titles of these chieftains and the pronunciation of the name of Subuyan 速僕延, who also called himself the Qiao 峭 "Severe" King, see note 87 to Xingping 2 and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 549 note 79. On Wuyan, possibly also known as Neng-chendizhi 能臣抵之, see note 11 to Jian'an 12.

6 On Yan Rou, see passage SS of Xingping 2.

D SGZ 1:17 (42b-43a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

7 According to the Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 109/19:3395, Shequan was in Yewang county of Henei, north of the Yellow River about present-day Qinyang in Henan.

On the Ao Granary, a fortified establishment just south of the Yellow River near present-day Sishui in Henan, see note 33 to Chuping 1.

Sui Gu, sometime a leader of the Black Mountain bandits, had taken over the former troops of Zhang Yang and led them to join Yuan Shao: passage L of Jian'an 3. His base at Shequan in Henei commandery thus represented the western edge of Yuan Shao's interest. For Cao Cao's concern about the possibility of Yuan Shao's expansion in this direction, see his comments in passage E of Jian'an 2 at 1996.

"Chong, unless you run as far south as the Yue tribes or as far north as the Hu barbarians, you will never escape me!"

2014 When he captured Shequan Wei Chong was taken alive. "But such ability!" said Cao Cao. He loosed his bonds and appointed him Administrator of Henei, with responsibility for the north of the Yellow River. [250]

E The General of the Guards Dong Cheng was made General of Chariots and Cavalry.⁸

F After Yuan Shu had taken the imperial title, he acted most extravagantly. His concubines and attendants were numbered by the hundreds, and they swathed themselves in silk and stuffed themselves with millet and meat. The poor people were hungry and distressed, but Yuan Shu took no thought for them.

Then his treasury was empty and he could no longer maintain his position. Burning his palace buildings, he fled to his followers Chen Jian and Lei Bo in the Qian hills, but they turned him away.⁹

At the end of his resources, with all his troops scattered, he was sad and depressed and had no idea what to do. He sent a messenger to offer the title to his cousin Yuan Shao, saying: "Prosperity has long departed from the house of Han. The Yuan have received the mandate to rule; auspicious influences shine out in splendour. You hold four provinces with a population of a million families. I respectfully hand over this great trust, that you may bring it to fulfilment."¹⁰

Yuan Tan came from Qing province to receive Yuan Shu and planned to escort him north by way of Xiapi. Cao Cao sent Liu Bei

E HHS 9:381 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

8 Dong Cheng, a cousin of the emperor (note 30 to Xingping 2) was one of the leaders who brought the emperor back from Chang'an, and he assisted Cao Cao to reach Luoyang and bring the emperor to Xu city: passages N and O of Jian'an 1.

F HHS 75/65:2443 (9a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shu;
SGZ 6:210, the Biography of Yuan Shu,
with PC quoting *Wei shu* and *Wu shu*.

9 Qian county in Jiujiang was about present-day Huoshan in Anhui, some 120 kilometres south of Yuan Shu's former capital at Shouchun. The hills of that region, south of Huoshan and north of Qianshan in Anhui, are an eastern extension of the Dabie range between the Yangzi and the Huai.

10 *Wei shu*, followed by HHS 75/65, says that Yuan Shao agreed with this statement of the family claim to the empire. This may be a political libel against Cao Cao's chief rival, but cf. passage I below.

and his general Zhu Ling of Qinghe to intercept them.¹¹ Yuan Shu could not get through and was forced back towards Shouchun. [251]

In the sixth month Yuan Shu came to Jiangting.¹² He sat on a stretcher-bed and sighed, "So Yuan Shu is come to this!" Groaning in anger, he became ill, spat blood and died.

G For fear of Cao Cao, Yuan Shu's cousin Yuan Yin dared not remain at Shouchun. With Yuan Shu's coffin and his wife and children, he fled with his followers to Liu Xun, Administrator of Lujiang, at Huan city.¹³

H Xu Qiu, former Administrator of Guangling, obtained the Great Imperial Seal and sent it to the emperor.¹⁴

I Now that Yuan Shao had overcome Gongsun Zan he became still more proud and confident, and his tribute to the emperor was infrequent and small. His Registrar Geng Bao suggested privately that

11 Qinghe 清河 was the name of a kingdom in Ji province from the beginning of Later Han until 148, when it was renamed Ganling 甘陵. The name Qinghe was restored about 220, but the reference at this time is an anachronism.

12 The plan was for Yuan Shu to escape from Lujiang by travelling east of Shouchun, crossing the Huai in Xiapi, then going north through Xu province.

Wu shu says that Jiangting 江亭 "Village on the River" was some eighty *li*, forty kilometres, from Shouchun. There was a well-known site named Jiangting in Anyang county of Runan commandery (*HHS* 110/20:3424 and *SJZ* 30:3a-b), but this was 250 kilometres west of Shouchun, upstream on the Huai. It is unlikely that Yuan Shu had travelled so far, and the Jiangting where he died was probably a village of the same, common, name somewhere in Jiujiang or Pei.

G *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1):1108 (29a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

13 Liu Xun had been appointed Administrator of Lujiang by Yuan Shu in 194: passage BB of Xingping 1.

Kaoyi commentary notes that the main text of *SGZ* 46 claims the remnant of Yuan Shu's court was actually coming to Sun Ce, but they were abducted and their treasure was stolen by Liu Xun. As Sima Guang observes, however, the biographies of Yuan Shu in *HHS* 75/65 and *SGZ* 6 both say the refugees were going to Liu Xun, who was, in any case, an old follower of Yuan Shu, as opposed to Sun Ce, who was a declared enemy. *SGZ* 46 probably echoes a propaganda story put about by Sun Ce at this time.

H *HHS* 48/38:1621 (17b), the Biography of Xu Qiu.

14 The Great Imperial Seal had been lost at Luoyang in 189. It was found by Sun Jian in 191, then taken from him by Yuan Shu. See passages W of Zhongping 6, D of Chuping 2 and I of Jian'an 1, also note 17 to Chuping 2.

Xu Qiu's biography says that he was a man from Guangling. He held positions as Administrator and Chancellor, but never in his native commandery. *ZZTJ* has evidently misread the source text.

I *SGZ* 6:195 (50b) PC quoting *Dian lue*; *HHS* 74/64A:2390 (12a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

he should follow the will of Heaven and man and take the imperial title. Yuan Shao repeated Geng Bao's suggestion to his officers in council, but they all said Geng [252] Bao was out of his mind and should be punished. Yuan Shao was forced to kill Geng Bao in order to clear himself.

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Yuan Shao chose a hundred thousand good troops and ten thousand horse to make an attack on Xu city. Ju Shou objected,¹⁵ "You have only just dealt with Gongsun Zan, and your army has been away several years. The people are sick and distressed and the granaries and storehouses are empty. You should not move now, but rather pay attention to agriculture and allow your people some respite.

"First of all, send a messenger to present captives to the court. If he cannot get through, then report that Cao Cao is blocking our access to the emperor. Go forward to Liyang to camp, and gradually develop fortified positions south of the Yellow River.¹⁶ Build more boats, put your weapons and equipment in repair, and send detachments of good cavalry to raid the borders, so that the enemy has no peace and our men can take their ease. This way, we can settle the business at leisure."

Guo Tu and Shen Pei argued, "With your spiritual warfare, if you lead the mighty armies of the north against the Yellow River to attack Cao Cao, it will be easy as turning your hand. Why should you act as he says?"

"Troops that give aid against rebels and punish oppression," answered Ju Shou, "they are called loyal. Those that rely on numbers and trust to their strength, they are called proud. The loyal man has no match, but the proud are soon defeated. Now Cao Cao holds the emperor and so gives orders to the empire. If you raise an army against the south, you put yourself in the wrong.

"To plan a campaign, moreover, requires more than a simple count of numbers. Cao Cao's laws and orders are strict, his men are fresh and drilled. This is not Gongsun Zan, who sat and waited for

J HHS 74/64A:2390-91 (12a-13a), the Biography of Yuan Shao; SGZ 6:196-97 (52a-53a) PC quoting *Xiandi zhuan*.

15 *Xiandi zhuan* attributes this argument to Tian Feng as well as to Ju Shou.

16 Liyang county was in Wei commandery, near present-day Xunxian in Henan, on the northern bank of the Han time course of the Yellow River. During Later Han, it was the site of the major base for military recruits in north China: see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 50 and 253, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 118-119.

our attack. If you disregard the plans of security and safety, and raise an army without good cause, then I am anxious for you." [253]

"When King Wu [of Zhou] attacked Zhou [of Shang]," replied Guo Tu and Shen Pei, "that was not disloyalty.¹⁷ How much more is this true of fighting against Cao Cao. Yet you claim there is no good cause!

"Besides, our lord is strong and his troops in high heart. If we fail to settle the affair now, that can be described as 'Heaven gives it and we do not take it. Disaster will come in return.' This is how Yue became hegemon and Wu was destroyed.¹⁸ The Supervisor of the Army [Ju Shou]¹⁹ is too conservative. He fails to appreciate the opportunity, and he cannot judge how affairs will develop." Yuan Shao accepted Guo Tu's arguments.

Encouraged by this, Guo Tu and his associates spoke further against Ju Shou, saying, "Ju Shou supervises everything, with authority inside and out. His power overawes the army. If he becomes too mighty, how will you keep him under control? When a minister wields the same power as his ruler, disaster is sure to come. This is

17 The conquest of the wicked king Zhou 紂, last ruler of the Shang/Yin dynasty, by King Wu of the Zhou dynasty 周武王, is the traditional example of the just war in China. In *Mengzi* IB.8.3; Legge *CC* II, 167 (Lau, *Mencius*, 68) Mencius said, "I have heard how the common fellow [Zhou] was punished, but I have not heard [that case] described as the killing of a true sovereign.

18 At the battle of Fujiao 夫椒 in 494 BC King Fuchai 夫差 of Wu 吳, whose state was based on the region between the Yangzi estuary and the Bay of Hangzhou, defeated Goujian 句踐 the ruler of Yue 越, whose territory was on the southern shore of Hangzhou Bay. The army of Wu pursued the remnants of the Yue forces to Huiji (or Kuaiji) Mountain 會稽山, and held them completely at mercy. Goujian, however, managed to beg peace and escape his predicament and, with the advice of his minister Fan Li 范蠡, he awaited the occasion for revenge.

After twenty years, when Wu had been weakened by wars to the north, Yue attacked, and in 473 BC the army of Goujian conquered Wu. Fuchai now asked for quarter, but Fan Li replied that when Heaven had given Yue into the hands of Wu at Huiji Mountain, Wu had rejected the offer. Now Heaven had put Wu into the hands of Yue; if Yue refused this good fortune, it would meet once more with disaster. So the state of Wu was destroyed.

See *SJ* 41:1740-41 and 1745; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 421-424 and 429-431; also *SJ* 31:1469 and 1475; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 25-26 and 32.

19 "Supervisor of the Army" (監軍 *jianjun*) refers to Ju Shou's previous appointment as Supervisor and Protector (監護 *jianhu*) over all the officers of Yuan Shao's army: passage P of Chuping 2.

what the *Yellow Stone* [book] warns against.²⁰ Furthermore, the man who [254] controls the army outside should not be privy to decisions taken at the inner council."

So Yuan Shao divided Ju Shou's authority and appointed three Chief Controllers, with Ju Shou, Guo Tu and Chunyu Qiong each commanding one army.²¹

K The Commandant of Cavalry Cui Yan of Qinghe also objected [to the proposed campaign], "The Son of Heaven is in Xu city, and all people look to him. You cannot attack." Yuan Shao would not agree.

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L When the officers in Xu city heard Yuan Shao was coming, they were all afraid. Cao Cao said, however, "I know what sort of man Yuan Shao is: his ideas are big, but he has little wisdom; he looks stern, but his courage is slight; he is envious and malicious and has small power of command. His soldiers are many but his plans are confused, his leaders are proud but his government is not united. Though his lands are broad and his supplies are plentiful, that just makes it more worthwhile to take him over."

20 Zhang Liang 張良, a man of the state of Han 韓 in the late third century BC, made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the First Emperor of Qin. He fled to Xiapi, where he met an old man, who tested him for his courtesy and patience, then gave him a book entitled "The Grand Duke's Art of War" 太公兵法 *Taigong bingfa*. With this work as his guide, Zhang Liang became a leading adviser to the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han.

Thirteen years after the first meeting, the old man was revealed to Zhang Liang in the form of a yellow stone (黃石 *huang shi*) at the foot of Mount Gucheng 穀城 (or Huang Shan 黃山) in present-day Shandong. Zhang Liang worshipped the stone and had it placed in his tomb.

See the biographies of Zhang Liang in *SJ* 55:2034-35 and 2048 (Watson, *RGH* I, 135-136 and 150) and *HS* 40:2024 and 2038.

21 Chief Controller (都督 *dudu*) here describes the high-ranking head of an army group. Ju Shou's original appointment as Supervisor and Commissioner had entailed responsibility for administration and discipline, and the office of Chief Controller was used at various levels in other troops as an administrative position: see, for example, passage JJ of Xingping 2 and passage B with note 4 above. In this instance, however, it appears that Chief Controllers in Yuan Shao's army also held strategic and tactical authority: see passage AA of Jian'an 5, describing the active service of Chunyu Qiong and the advisory position of Guo Tu. But see also note 4 above.

K *SGZ* 12:367 (2a-b), the Biography of Cui Yan.

L *SGZ* 1:17 (43a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

- M Kong Rong said to Xun Yu, "Yuan Shao's lands are broad and his troops are strong. Tian Feng and Xu You are wise men to plan for him, Shen Pei and Pang Ji are loyal ministers to act in his affairs, Yan Liang and Wen Chou are brave generals to command his troops. Here are serious problems." [255]
 "Yuan Shao has many soldiers," replied Xun Yu, "but his government is not well-ordered. Tian Feng is stubborn and insubordinate; Xu You is greedy and ill-disciplined. Shen Pei is self-opinionated and lacks original ideas; Pang Ji is too adventurous and independent. People like that find it hard to co-operate, and they will certainly disrupt his councils. Yan Liang and Wen Chou have only the bravery of common fellows. One battle will be enough to deal with them."
- N In the autumn, in the eighth month Cao Cao brought an army forward to Liyang, and ordered Zang Ba and his fellows to lead picked men into Qing province to guard the east. He then set Yu Jin in camp by the Yellow River, and in the ninth month, with another division of his army left in garrison at Guandu, he returned to Xu city.²²
- O Yuan Shao sent messengers to call on Zhang Xiu, and he also wrote to Jia Xu to suggest an alliance. Zhang Xiu was prepared to agree, but Jia Xu stood over Zhang Xiu as he sat and said openly to Yuan Shao's messenger, "Go back and present our apologies to Yuan

M SGZ 10:214 (14b-15a), the Biography of Xun Yu;
 HHS 70/60:2285-86 (18b), the Biography of Xun Yu.

N SGZ 1:17 (43b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

22 The direct line of Yuan Shao's approach to Xu city was slightly east of the modern Beijing- Zhengzhou railway, and the major crossing point was at Liyang. The Yellow River at this time ran well north of its present course, and from Liyang it flowed generally northeast. Cao Cao therefore established a first line of defence under Yu Jin at Liyang, and had his ally Zang Ba patrol northeast along the line of the River to guard against any approach on that flank. He then developed a second defence position at Guandu, a hundred kilometres southwest of Liyang.

Guandu was in Zhongmou county in Henan commandery, just north of present-day Zhongmou in Henan. The site at this time was well south of the Yellow River, on a slight terrace above the Bian Canal, chief waterway connecting the former imperial capital, Luoyang, with the southern part of the North China plain.

Xu city, which now held the imperial court and was the heart of Cao Cao's power, lay ninety kilometres north of Xu city.

O SGZ 10:239-30 (38b-39a), the Biography of Jia Xu;
 SGZ 8:262 (42a), the Biography of Zhang Xiu.

Benchu. If he could not remain on good terms with his own cousin, how can he cope with the leaders of the empire?"²³

Startled and frightened, Zhang Xiu said, "There was no call to go so far as that!" He whispered to Jia Xu, "What do we do now?" [255]

"The best thing is to go to Lord Cao," replied Jia Xu.

"Yuan Shao is strong," observed Zhang Xiu. "Cao Cao is weak, and I have quarrelled with him. How can we join him?"

2017 "These are the reasons you should follow him," explained Jia Xu. "Lord Cao holds the Son of Heaven and so commands the empire, that is one.

"Yuan Shao is strong, and if we offer support with our small force he will certainly not treat us with respect. Cao Cao is weak, so if he gets us he will certainly be pleased; that is a second reason.

"A man with the ambition of a ruler will certainly forget private enmities in order to display his virtue before all the four seas; that is a third reason for us to join him. Don't you worry."

In the winter, in the eleventh month Zhang Xiu brought his troops to submit to Cao Cao.²⁴ Cao Cao took Zhang Xiu by the hand, gave a banquet, arranged for his son Cao Jun to marry Zhang Xiu's daughter, and appointed Zhang Xiu General Who Manifests Firmness. He recommended Jia Xu as Bearer of the Mace, and enfeoffed him as marquis of a chief village.²⁵

P The leaders within the passes stayed neutral as Cao Cao and Yuan Shao fought, watching to see what would happen. The Governor of Liang province, Wei Duan, sent his Assistant Officer Yang Fu of Tianshui to Xu city. When he returned the leaders west of the passes asked, "Between Yuan and Cao, who will win and who will lose?"

"Lord Yuan is lenient," replied Yang Fu, "but he is not decisive. He is fond of planning but cannot make up his mind. If he is not decisive he will have no authority, and if he is slow to make up his

23 Zhang Xiu was an ally of Liu Biao, guarding the area of Nanyang, and had been repeatedly attacked by Cao Cao. See, for example, passages B to F of Jian'an 3.

24 The date is given by SGZ 1:17.

25 The Bearer of the Mace commanded the imperial palace police: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 78-79 [as Bearer of the Gilded Mace].

A chief village (都亭 *duting*) was the administrative centre of a district (鄉 *xiang*), sub-division of a county. Enfeoffment with a chief village was one level higher than the basic marquisate of a village.

P SGZ 25:700 (7b), the Biography of Yang Fu.

mind he will not be able to keep pace with events. He is the stronger now, but he will never gain the empire.

"Lord Cao is brave and foresighted, he seizes opportunities without hesitation. His rules are consistent, his soldiers are well trained, he can appreciate exceptional men, and every one that he appoints will give all his effort to serve him. He is the man to carry out great plans." [257]

Q Cao Cao sent the Imperial Clerk Preparer of Documents Wei Ji of Hedong to keep the lands within the passes quiet.²⁶ At this time refugees everywhere were seeking to return to their former homes, but the leaders within the passes were forcing [those who came back into their territories] to enter their service.²⁷

Wei Ji wrote to Xun Yu, "The rich lands within the passes have quickly turned to a wilderness, while there are more than a hundred thousand families exiled in Jing province. When these people hear that their homeland is at peace they will be eager to come back. Those who do return, however, are prevented from attending to their own affairs, for local chieftains compete with one another to take them and press them into service. The commandery and county administrations are too weak to deal with the situation, so the fighting men are getting stronger. If they should suddenly turn against us, they will certainly cause trouble.

Q SGZ 21:610 (33a-b), the Biography of Wei Ji.

26 Imperial Clerks, members of the censorate, were trusted agents of the emperor, and could be sent to take administrative or even military responsibilities in sensitive areas. Imperial Clerks Preparers of Documents were senior members of that corps. See deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 71 [as Attendant Imperial Clerk], and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 58 [as Attending Secretary].

SGZ 21 says that Wei Ji had initially been sent as an envoy to Liu Zhang in Yi province, to persuade him to threaten Liu Biao on the west and thus prevent him from intervening against Cao Cao in support of Yuan Shao. The roads south from Chang'an, however, were blocked, so Wei Ji stayed there.

27 Great numbers of people had fled the region of Luoyang and Chang'an during the disturbances of Dong Zhuo and his associates at the beginning of the 190s, many of them, as appears below, taking refuge in Jing province. When they sought to return, however, they were often compelled to join the troops of the petty warlords who now competed for control in the region.

The term rendered as "service" is *buqu* 部曲, which was used in Han to refer to units in a regular army ["regiments and companies"], but which later developed to describe household slaves and serfs. See note 66 to Zhongping 6 and Yang Chung-yi, "Evolution of Dependents."

"Now, salt is the great treasure of the state, but since the rebellion it has been left untended. You should appoint commissioners to supervise its sale as in former times,²⁸ and use the profit to buy ploughs and cattle so that we can give them to the people as they return. If we [258] encourage farming, then grain can be collected to make the land prosper. When people hear about it far away, we can be sure that they will travel day and night in order to return as quickly as possible.

"And send the Director of Retainers to establish his administration and bring the people under his control. Then the fighting men will become steadily weaker, civilian officials and people will become stronger, and we shall strengthen ourselves at the expense of our enemies."

2018 Xun Yu told Cao Cao of this program, and Cao Cao followed it. For the first time he sent a Supervisor of the Internuncios to oversee the salt office and had the Director of Retainers set his office at Hongnong.²⁹ By this means the lands within the passes were brought to submit and follow Cao Cao.

R Yuan Shao sent men to ask help from Liu Biao, but though Liu Biao made promises he never actually sent anything. Neither would he help Cao Cao. His Gentleman of the General Staff Han Song of Nanyang and his Attendant Officer Liu Xian of Lingling said to him, "Now two warriors are at grips with one another and the balance of the empire rests with you. If you want something for yourself, you can rise up and take advantage of their difficulties. Even if you have

28 Salt, used as a savoury and a preservative, was an essential commodity in all early societies. In Former Han, the monopoly was controlled by the central government, but under Later Han this responsibility had been delegated to local administration. See *HHS* 116/26:3590; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 98-99.

29 The Director of Retainers at this time was Zhong Yao, appointed to that post by Cao Cao in 197: passage F of Jian'an 2. The capital city of Hongnong commandery was Hongnong, south of the Yellow River by present-day Lingbao in Henan.

There was a salt lake in the south of Anyi county in Hedong commandery, by present-day Yuncheng in Shanxi. This had been the site of a salt office (鹽官 *yan guan*) under Former Han, and it was still recognised as an important source of the mineral in the time of Later Han: *HHS* 109/19:3397. Though separated by the Zhongtiao hills from the Yellow River, the lake was only thirty kilometres north of Hongnong. So Cao Cao arranged for this area to be taken under the direct control of his officers.

R *HHS* 74/64B:2422 (9b-10b), the Biography of Liu Biao;
SGZ 6:212-13 (84b-85b), the Biography of Liu Biao,
 with PC quoting *Fuzi*.

no ambitions of your own, you should certainly choose one of them to follow.

"How can you command a hundred thousand men at arms and sit to watch the result of their contest? They ask for help and you refuse to assist them. You know which man is right, but you do not want to turn to him. As a result, both [259] sides will be angry with you, and we are afraid that you will not be able to maintain a neutral position.

"Cao Cao is skilled at using soldiers and many of the worthy and brave men turn to him. He will certainly defeat Yuan Shao. If he then turns his men towards the Yangzi and the Han we fear that you will not be able to deal with him.

"The best policy now is to bring Jing province to join Cao Cao. He will certainly treat you with respect and favour, you will enjoy fortune and honour for a long time to come, and you will be able to hand it on to your descendants. This is the perfect plan." Kuai Yue also urged this policy.

Liu Biao was uncertain and could not make up his mind. He ordered Han Song to go to Xu city, saying to him, "We cannot tell how the empire will be settled, but Cao Cao holds the emperor in his capital at Xu. Go and see what weaknesses he may have, then tell me."

"A sage can manage any commission at any time," replied Han Song, "but a lesser man keeps to his duty. I keep to my duty.³⁰ Once the name of master and servant has been settled, it must be held to the death. At the present time my name appears upon your service-list, I have handed you my pledge, and you are the only person to command me.³¹ You may send me through fire and water and I shall die without complaint.

"It is my firm opinion, however, that Lord Cao will achieve his design for the empire. If you wish to support the Son of Heaven above and Lord Cao below, then by all means send me. If you are undecided, however, and when I come to the capital the Son of

30 From *Zuo zhuan*, Cheng 15; Legge, *CC V*, 388 (Couvreur, *Chronique II*, 116):

It is contained in the books of an earlier time, that a sage is equal to the duties of all positions; that a man of the second class maintains the dignity of his position; and that one of the lowest class fails in the duties of his.

31 *Zuo zhuan*, Xi 23; Legge, *CC V*, 186 (Couvreur, *Chronique I*, 339):

The ancient rule was that when a son was fit for official service, his father should enjoin him to be faithful. The new officer, moreover, wrote his name on a tablet, and gave the pledge of a dead animal to his lord, declaring that any wavering in his fidelity should be punished with death.

Heaven grants me a single post, I shall not be able to refuse; and then I shall be a servant of the Son of Heaven, and my relationship to you will be no more than that of a former officer.

2019 "When I have a master, I work for him. So if I hold appointment from the Son of Heaven, I can no longer serve [260] you to the death. Please remember this, and do not turn against me."³²

Liu Biao thought only that Han Song was reluctant, and insisted that he go.

Then Han Song came to Xu city, and the emperor appointed him Palace Attendant and Administrator of Lingling. When he returned he praised the emperor and the virtue of Lord Cao, and urged Liu Biao to send his sons to enter service.³³

Liu Biao, furious, called him a traitor. Calling a full assembly of his officials, he drew up soldiers, took his Staff of Authority and intended to execute him. Accusing him, he said, "Han Song, how dare you betray me?" Everyone was afraid and pressed Han Song to apologise.

Han Song, quite unmoved, replied to Liu Biao slowly and seriously, "It is you who have turned against me; I never turned from you." Then he explained what he had said before.

Liu Biao's wife of the Cai clan protested, "Han Song is the hope of the state of Chu."³⁴ He is perfectly correct, and you have no right to execute him."

Liu Biao was still angry. He took the men that had accompanied Han Song and examined them by torture until they died. Then he realised that Han Song had never intended treachery, so he did not kill him but only put him in prison.

32 Hitherto, Han Song has been a locally-appointed officer under Liu Biao. His loyalty was therefore owed and given directly to Liu Biao, with no specific obligation to the imperial government. Even though the court is dominated by Cao Cao, however, should Han Song be granted a post in the formal service of the emperor, then he must regard himself as no longer having any direct relationship to Liu Biao; he will, however, treat Liu Biao with the courtesy owed to a former patron.

A similar situation was faced by Zhang Hong, an officer of the Sun family: note 20 to Jian'an 3.

33 SGZ 6 makes it clear that the sons would be going to Xu city as hostages (保質 *baozhi*), to confirm the alliance and guarantee Liu Biao's good behaviour.

34 Chu 楚 is a literary/archaic reference to the territory of the middle Yangzi, taken from the great state of that name in the time of the Zhou dynasty.

S Zheng Bao, bandit leader of Yang province, planned to force the people living there to go to the south of the Yangzi. Because Liu Ye of Huainan³⁵ was a well-known man from a [261] leading family he wanted to force him to set an example. Liu Ye was worried.

About this time Cao Cao sent a messenger to the province to hear court cases. Liu Ye invited him to his house, and Zheng Bao came to pay his respects to the messenger. Liu Ye kept them for a feast, but then he took a sword and killed Zheng Bao, cut off his head and gave orders to his troops, "Lord Cao has given instructions that anyone who dares make trouble will share Zheng Bao's punishment." The whole army of several thousand men was frightened, and they all submitted and accepted Liu Ye as their leader.

Then Liu Ye turned the troops over to Liu Xun the Administrator of Lujiang. Liu Xun asked him why, and Liu Ye explained, "Zheng Bao ruled lawlessly and his men found profit in plunder. I had no real authority but I have set them in order. They certainly hate me and I shall not be able to maintain my command of them for long. So I pass them to you."

Liu Xun had a great number of Yuan Shu's former followers, but he did not have sufficient food for them. He sent his cousin Liu Xie to ask for rice from the clan leaders of Shangliao, but they could not give him enough. Liu Xie urged Liu Xun to attack them.³⁶

2020 Sun Ce was concerned that Liu Xun had acquired such a strong army.³⁷ He pretended humility and wrote to Liu Xun to say, "The Shangliao clans have often raided my commandery. I want to attack them, but the approach is difficult. Shangliao is extremely rich. I ask you to deal with them and shall bring my troops to support you outside." He presented Liu Xun with pearls and jewels and Yue cloth.³⁸

S SGZ 14:443 (22a-23a), the Biography of Liu Ye;
SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1104 (28b-29a), the Biography of Sun Ce;
SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1108 (29a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

35 Huainan refers to Jiujiang commandery of Later Han. The name was changed by Yuan Shu in 197, when he claimed the imperial title: passage G and note 11 of Jian'an 2. Though it was generally rejected, the text here reflects that variation.

36 On the independent people of Shangliao in Haihun county, see passage AA and note 34 of Jian'an 3.

37 Liu Xun had been appointed to Lujiang by Yuan Shu five years before, though Yuan Shu had first promised the post to Sun Ce: passage BB of Xingping 1.

38 Yue cloth (葛越 *ge Yue*): a light cloth woven in south China from the dolichos plant. See, for example, the *Ge tan* 葛覃 Ode, *Shi jing* I.1.2, in the collection "Odes of Zhou and the South," rendered and discussed by Legge, CC IV, 6 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 2-3).

Liu Xun was pleased, and everyone congratulated him, all except Liu Ye. Liu Xun asked him why.

"Shangliao may be small," he replied, "but the walls are strong and the moat is deep. It is difficult to attack and easy to defend, and it will be at least ten days before we have any hope of taking it. If our soldiers are worn out from fighting beyond their [262] borders and the state has been left empty behind them, and if Sun Ce takes that opportunity to attack, we shall not be able to manage alone. You will have taken the offensive but gained no success, and when you seek to retreat you will have no place to turn. If the army goes out, disaster is coming."

Refusing to listen, Liu Xun marched on Shangliao. The clan leaders, however, heard about it before his troops reached Haihun. They left their positions and fled, and Liu Xun gained nothing.

Sun Ce was at this time leading his soldiers west to attack Huang Zu.³⁹ Just as he reached Shicheng, he heard that Liu Xun was at Haihun. He sent his cousins Sun Ben and Sun Fu with eight thousand men to camp at Pengze,⁴⁰ while he himself led Zhou Yu, acting Administrator of Jiangxia, with twenty thousand men in a surprise attack on Huan.⁴¹ They captured the city, and Sun Ce made prisoners of Liu Xun's family, together with that of Yuan Shu and over thirty thousand of their followers.

He recommended Li Shu of Runan as Administrator of Lujiang, gave him three thousand soldiers to hold Huan city, and brought all the people he had captured east to Wu.

39 Huang Zu, Administrator of Jiangxia in the service of Li Biao, controlled the east of Jing province on the Yangzi downstream from present-day Wuhan, and was in the line of Sun Ce's expansion up-river from Yang province. Moreover, Huang Zu had been the commander of Liu Biao's army when Sun Ce's father Sun Jian was killed in 191; so there was a family motive for attacking him. See passages JJ of Jian'an 1 and DD of Chuping 2.

40 Sun Ben and Sun Fu were sons of Sun Qiang 羌, elder twin brother of Sun Ce's father Sun Jian: *SGZ* 51:1209 and 1211.

41 Shicheng county in Danyang was near present-day Ma'anshan in Anhui, more than three hundred kilometres downstream from the Poyang marshes and the Pengli Lake. Pengze county was on the Yangzi by present-day Hukou in Jiangxi, and Huan city was west of present-day Anqing in Anhui.

Sun Ce thus moved with considerable speed to attack his rival's headquarters, while at the same time sending a substantial detachment to guard the route by which Liu Xun must bring his main forces to the relief.

As Liu Xun came back to Pengze, Sun Ben and Sun Fu intercepted and defeated him. Liu Xun retreated to Liuyi and asked help from Huang Zu.⁴²

Huang Zu sent his son She with a fleet and five thousand men to help Liu Xun, but Sun Ce attacked again and completely defeated him. Liu Xun went north to Cao Cao and Huang She also fled. [263]

2021 Sun Ce collected more than two thousand of Liu Xun's men and a thousand ships, and went forward again to attack Huang Zu.

In the twelfth month on the day *xinhai* [11 Jan 200]⁴³ Sun Ce came to Shaxian.⁴⁴ Liu Biao sent his nephew Liu Hu and Han Xi of Nanyang with five thousand spearmen to help Huang Zu. On the day *jiayin* [14 Jan] Sun Ce fought and completely defeated them, cutting off the head of Han Xi. Huang Zu managed to escape, but his family was captured, and six thousand ships, while tens of thousands of his men were killed or drowned.

T Sun Ce brought heavy reinforcements to attack Yuzhang, setting camp at Jiaoqiu.⁴⁵ He said to his Officer of Merit Yu Fan, "Hua Ziyu [Hua Xin]⁴⁶ has a fine reputation, but he is no match for me. Unless he opens his gates and surrenders the city, people will surely be killed and wounded in the fighting. Go and tell him how I feel."

42 ZZTJ commentary identifies Liuyi 流沂 as a settlement on the Yangzi near Xisai Mountain 西塞山 on the border of Jing and Yang provinces by present-day Huangshi in Hubei. Cut off from Lujiang, Liu Xun had been forced westwards up the Yangzi towards Jing province, and Huang Zu was a natural ally.

43 The dates are in the memorial sent by Sun Ce to Xu city, announcing his victory over Huang Zu. The text was preserved by *Wu lu*, quoted in SGZ 46:1108 PC. The memorial gives the dates as the eighth and eleventh days of the twelfth month, but ZZTJ has converted them to the cyclical system.

44 Shaxian 沙羨 county in Jiangxia was southwest of present-day Wuhan, on the Yangzi upstream from the junction with the Han River.

ZZTJ commentary quotes a Jin dynasty authority for sounding the second character of this place-name as *yi*, but I follow the modern pronunciation.

T SGZ 57 (Wu 12):1318-19 (3b-4a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;
SGZ 13:402 (18b) PC quoting *Wu li*;
SGZ 13:402-03 (19a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

45 SJZ 39:16b says that Jiaoqiu was on the Gan River, downstream and north of Nanchang. Nanchang, the capital of Yuzhang commandery of Han, was present-day Nanchang in Jiangxi. So Sun Ce, having defeated Liu Xun and Huang Zu in two battles, and extended the range of his operations into the middle Yangzi, returned east to mop up the last substantial local power, that of Hua Xin.

46 Ziyu 子魚 was the style of Hua Xin, a man of Pingyuan in Qing province. See passages LL of Chuping 2, PP of Xingping 2, and AA of Jian'an 2.

Yu Fan went to see Hua Xin and said, "I know that both you and former Magistrate Wang [Lang] of my own commandery are men of wide renown in the central provinces.⁴⁷ All within the seas have heard your name, and although you have come down to the east everyone regards you with respect." [264]

"I am not equal to Wang of Kuaiji," replied Hua Xin.

"Have you considered the wealth and resources, the tools and weapons of Yuzhang?" continued Yu Fan. "And the bravery of the people, how do they compare with my commandery?"

"Considerably worse," answered Hua Xin.

"You say that you are not the equal of Wang of Kuaiji," observed Yu Fan, "and that is extravagant modesty. But it is true that your best troops are not as good as those of Kuaiji.

"Sun the General Who Exterminates Rebels is the finest strategist in the world, a military genius. You have seen for yourself how he put Liu [Yao] of Yang province to flight, and you will also have heard how he settled my own commandery in the south. You are now hoping to hold an isolated city against him, but you realise yourself that your resources are too limited. Unless you make a decision soon, it will be too late for regrets.

"Our army is camped at Jiaoqiu. I am leaving now. If we have no reply to our summons by midday tomorrow, then this is goodbye."

"I have long been south of the Yangzi," replied Hua Xin, "and have always wanted to return to the north. If Sun of Kuaiji comes, I shall leave."

That night he drafted a proclamation, and next morning he sent some of his officers to take it with them and to welcome Sun Ce.

2022 Sun Ce brought his army forward and Hua Xin received him in a headdress of fine cloth.⁴⁸ Sun Ce said to him, "Your reputation for virtue has long been respected and people everywhere admire you. I

47 Yu Fan, a man of Kuaiji, held local appointment under Wang Lang when he was Administrator there, then transferred his service to Sun Ce: passages S and T of Jian'an 1.

Wang Lang came from Donghai commandery. His biography in *SGZ* 13:406 and 414, and that of Zhang Zhao in *SGZ* 52 (Wu 7) at 1219, describe his early recognition and later achievement as a scholar.

48 The term *gejin* 葛巾 describes a shawl made of light cloth, probably Yue cloth (note 38 above), draped about the head. This was elegant, but not part of any official costume: Hua Xin wore it to show that he was meeting Sun Ce as a private gentle-man, and had retired from public life.

am still young, and should act as a son or younger brother." He bowed to Hua Xin and treated him with the utmost courtesy.

- U Sun Sheng says:⁴⁹ [265]
 Hua Xin lacked the spirit of [Bo]yi and the Four Greybeards, for [while he made no attempt to avoid responsibility] he failed to maintain his honour as a royal minister.⁵⁰ He lost heart at the words

U SGZ 13:403 (19a-b) PC.

49 Sun Sheng (c.302-373), whose biography is in *JS* 82:2147-49, wrote several books and essays on the Three Kingdoms: deC, *Generals of the South*, 566 and note.

Pei Songzhi does not specify which work of Sun Sheng this comment is taken from; it was probably part of his *Zaji* 雜記 "Miscellaneous Essays."

50 Boyi 伯夷 and the Four Greybeards of the Shang Mountains (商山四皓 *Shangshan sihao*) were famous for their rejection of the world.

Boyi was the eldest son of the king of Guzhu 孤竹. His father proposed to leave the throne to the third son, Shuqi 叔齊, but Shuqi refused to take it from his elder brother and Boyi, for his part, would not disobey his father's wishes. So they left the state to their brother the second son, and retired to the wilderness together. Later, Boyi and Shuqi went to the Lord of the West 西伯 (posthumously King Wen of Zhou 周文王), but they disapproved the plans of his son, King Wu 武, to attack his overlord the king of Shang/Yin. They withdrew to Shouyang Mountain 首陽山, where they eventually starved to death. See *SJ* 61, 2123-28; Vervoorn, "Boyi and Shuqi" and *Men of the Cliffs and Caves*, 35-37, also *Huan and Ling*, 167.

The Four Greybeards of the Shang Mountains were Lord Dongyuan 東園公, Lord Xiahuang 夏黃公, Qi Liji 綺里季, and Scholar Luli 角角先生. At the end of the Qin dynasty they retired as hermits into the mountains north of Shang county in present-day Shenxi, though sources disagree whether they were avoiding the disorders of Qin or expressing disapproval for the uncouth conduct of Emperor Gao, founder of Han. Emperor Gao, however, was known to admire them, and at the end of his reign, through a plan of the minister Zhang Liang and the Empress Lü, they were persuaded to come to court and support the Heir, future Emperor Hui, against rivalry from one of his half-brothers. See *SJ* 55:2044-47 (Watson, *RGHI*, 146-147), *HS* 40:2033-36 and Vervoorn, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves*, 96-100.

Sun Sheng is saying that an honourable man in Hua Xin's position had two courses open to him: he could follow the example of Boyi and Shuqi and the Four Old Men by retiring from the world or, if he maintained an official position, he should fully accept its responsibilities.

The reference to Hua Xin's failure to maintain honour as a royal minister 失王臣匪躬之操 is taken from *Yi jing*, hexagram 39: *Jian* 蹇 "Obstruction," second line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes*, 152:

The king's servant is beset by obstruction upon obstruction,

But it is not his own fault.

This is explained as an instance where a man is required by duty to face difficulty and danger, even though it is no advantage to him to do so, nor is it his fault that he has encountered such a situation. Hua Xin failed to reach such a standard.

of a false scholar [Yu Fan] and he linked arms with a follower of oppression and plunder [Sun Ce]. His position was taken and his reputation was lost. What could be more shameful?

V Sun Ce divided Yuzhang to make Luling commandery. He appointed Sun Ben as Administrator of Yuzhang and Sun Fu as Administrator of Luling. Tong Zhi was sick, [266] and so Sun Fu went forward and took Luling, leaving Zhou Yu to hold Baqiu.⁵¹

W When Sun Ce had captured Huan city he looked after Yuan Shu's family,⁵² and when he entered Yuzhang he collected Liu Yao's coffin and treated his family well.⁵³ Gentlemen and scholars praised him for it.⁵⁴

X Wei Teng the Officer of Merit in Kuaiji offended Sun Ce, and Sun Ce was going to kill him. Everyone was anxious and at a loss what to do.

Sun Ce's mother the Lady Wu took her stand by a great well and said to him, "You are building up the south of the Yangzi, and the work is not complete. This is the time to treat your worthy men well and be polite to your officers, forget their faults but note their good work. Merit Officer Wei was simply doing his duty. If you kill him

V SGZ 51 (Wu 6):1210 (6b-7a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

51 It seems likely that the capital of Luling commandery was at Luling county on the upper Gan River, near present-day Ji'an in Jiangxi, so the commandery controlled the upper valley of the Gan and the far south of present-day Jiangxi. This was the region which had been taken over by the local warlord Tong Zhi: passage AA of Jian'an 3. Baqiu county in Yuzhang was on the Gan River near present-day Xiajiang in Jiangxi, just north of the border with Luling.

W HHS 75/65:2444 (9b), the Biography of Yuan Shu;
SGZ 6:210 (78a), the Biography of Yuan Shu;
SGZ 49 (Wu 4):1185 (5a-b), the Biography of Liu Yao.

52 The daughter of Yuan Shu was taken into the harem of Sun Quan, Sun Ce's younger brother and successor, his son Yao 耀 held office at the court of Wu, and Yuan Yao's daughter became a concubine of one of Sun Quan's sons.

Yuan Shu's daughter was at one time considered for position as Sun Quan's principal wife, but she was passed over because she had borne him no children: see HHS 75/65 and SGZ 6, also SGZ 50:1200 PC quoting *Wu lu*.

53 Liu Ji 基, eldest of Liu Yao's three sons, who was fourteen at the time of his father's death, later held high rank and favour at the court of Sun Quan. His two younger brothers also held official posts, and his daughter was married to a son of Sun Quan: SGZ 49:1186.

54 This sentence appears to be based upon a letter written by Wang Lang to Sun Ce, recorded in SGZ 49:1185-86.

X SGZ 50 (Wu 5):1196 (2a-b) PC quoting *Kuaiji dianlu*.

today, people will turn from you tomorrow. Before I see such disaster come I would first jump into this well." Very startled, Sun Ce promptly set Wei Teng free. [267]

2023

Y Before this, the Administrator of Wu commandery, Sheng Xian of Kuaiji, had recommended Gao Dai as Filial and Incorrupt. When Xu Gong came to take over the commandery Gao Dai brought Sheng Xian to take refuge with the household of Xu Zhao, leader of an encampment.⁵⁵

Zou Tuo and Qian Tong of Wucheng, Wang Sheng of Jiaying⁵⁶ and other leaders each collected thousands of men, some as many as ten thousand, and refused to submit to Sun Ce. Sun Ce brought his troops and defeated them all.

He went on to attack White Tiger Yan. Yan's soldiers were defeated and he fled to Yuhang and went to Xu Zhao. Cheng Pu asked permission to attack Xu Zhao, but Sun Ce said, "Xu Zhao is acting right by his former lord and is faithful to his old friend. This is the heart of a true man." So he left him alone.

Z Cao Cao returned to the camp at Guandu. His attendants Xu Tuo and others planned to kill him. As they entered his tent, they met the colonel Xu Chu and their faces changed expression. Realising their intention, Xu Chu killed them.

Y SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1109 (32a) PC quoting *Wu lu*;
SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1105 (22b-23a) PC quoting *Wu lu*.

55 Xu Gong had been Administrator of Wu commandery in 195, when he was deposed by Sun Ce's ally Zhu Zhi: passage QQ of Xingping 2.

The expression *yingshuai* 營帥 "leader of an encampment" indicates that Xu Zhao controlled a small private army of family retainers and refugees.

56 Several commentators note that the name Jiaying 嘉興 is an anachronism here. The county, in Wu commandery by present-day Jiaying in Zhejiang, was known as Youquan 由拳 under Qin and Han. In 232, after a fortunate omen was reported from there, Sun Quan changed the name to Hexing 禾興 "Grain Springs Up." In 242 he changed it again to Jiaying "Fortune Arises" so as to avoid taboo on the personal name of the new Heir Sun He 孫和. See SGZ 47:1136, and 1145. [*Song shu* 35:1031 mistakenly ascribes the change to Sun He's son Sun Hao 孫皓.]

Wu lu, cited by SGZ 46, 1105 PC, says that Wang Sheng had been Administrator of Hepu commandery in the far south. Some of these local opponents of Sun Ce were men of social rank above that of the Sun family, for Sun Ce's father Sun Jian had been a man of humble origin: see deC, *Generals of the South*, 72-74, 170-171 and 183-185.

Z SGZ 18:542 (14b), the Biography of Xu Chu.

AA Before this, the General of Chariots and Cavalry Dong Cheng had a secret edict from the emperor. Hiding it in [268] his clothing, he made plans with Liu Bei to kill Cao Cao.⁵⁷

Speaking casually with Liu Bei, Cao Cao observed, "You and I are the only brave men in the empire. People like Benchu [Yuan Shao] simply don't count."

Just then Liu Bei was eating, and he dropped his spoon and chopsticks [in his flurry]. At that moment there was thunder in the sky, and Liu Bei said, "The sage has it, 'On a sudden clap of thunder, or a violent wind, he would change composure.' Very much like me."⁵⁸

Liu Bei made plans with Dong Cheng, with the Colonel of the Chang River Regiment Chong Ji and the generals Wu Zilan and Wang Fu.⁵⁹

Then Cao Cao sent Liu Bei with Zhu Ling to intercept Yuan Shu.⁶⁰ Cheng Yu, Guo Jia and Dong Zhao all objected, "You can't send Liu Bei." Cao Cao changed his mind and sent men after him, but they were not able to catch him.

After Yuan Shu turned back to the south Zhu Ling returned. Then Liu Bei killed Che Zhou the Inspector of Xu province. Leaving Guan Yu to hold Xiapi and attend to the responsibilities of the Administrator, he went himself back to Xiaopei.⁶¹

2024

Chang Xi the bandit from Donghai, joined by many of the commanderies and counties, rebelled against Cao Cao and turned to

AA SGZ 32 (Shu 2):875 (8a-10a), the Biography of Liu Bei, with PC quoting *Huayang guo zhi*; SGZ 14:428 (4b), the Biography of Cheng Yu.

57 Dong Cheng was a cousin of the emperor: note 8 above and note 30 to Xingping 2.

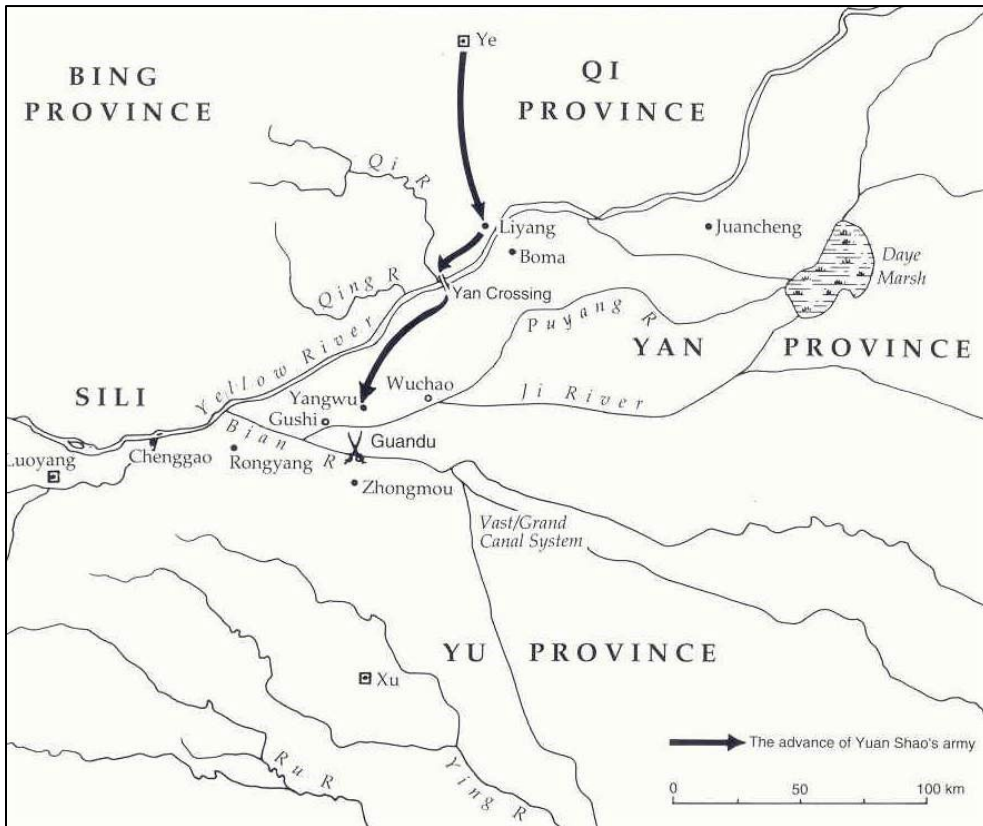
58 This phrase describing the conduct of Confucius appears in *Lun yu* X.16.5; Legge, *CC* I, 236. Liu Bei was startled at Cao Cao's words, firstly because Cao Cao evidently regarded him as a potential rival, and second because of his guilty knowledge of Dong Cheng's plot. (Lau, *Analects*, 95, numbering this passage as X.25, has Confucius assuming "a solemn attitude," but Legge's interpretation fits better with Liu Bei's circumstance.)

59 The main text of SGZ 32 gives the personal name of Wang Fu as 子服, but *Xiandi qijuzhu*, quoted by PC, and the parallel texts HHS 9:381 and HHS 72/62:2343, all omit the character *zi* 子. It is presumably dittography from the name of Wu Zilan immediately preceding.

60 This was in the fifth month: passage F above.

61 That is Pei county in the north of Pei commandery, near present-day Pei in Shan-dong: note 6 to Xingping 1.

Liu Bei.⁶² Liu Bei's troops amounted to several ten [269>] thousand men, and he sent messengers to contact Yuan Shao with a view to joint operations. Cao Cao sent the Chief Clerk to the Excellency of Works Liu Dai of Pei state and the General of the Household Wang Zhong of [You]fufeng to attack him, but they had no success. Liu Bei said to Liu Dai and his fellows, "I can deal with you and a hundred like you, but if Lord Cao came himself I would feel less certain." [270-271]



Map 13: Operations about Guandu 200

62 SGZ 32 has this name as Chang Ba 昌霸, not Chang Xi 狝. SGZ 1:18, however, refers to Chang Xi in alliance with Liu Bei at this time, and ZZTJ accepts that version.

Chang Xi has appeared earlier as one of the bandit leaders associated with Zang Ba 臧霸 about Mount Tai: passage I of Jian'an 3. (And it may be from this we have the confusion in personal names.) Most of these men were persuaded to take allegiance to Cao Cao after the destruction of Lü Bu: passage S of Jian'an 3; Chang Xi now turned once more against Cao Cao.

Jian'an 5: 200 AD

3 February 200 – 20 February 201

- A In the spring, in the first month Dong Cheng's plan was found out. On the day *renzi* [miswritten for *renwu*, 10 Feb]¹ Cao Cao killed Dong Cheng, Wang Fu, Chong Ji and all their families.
- B Cao Cao wanted to go in person to attack Liu Bei, but his officers all advised him, "It is Yuan Shao who is fighting you for the empire, and he may make his move any time. If you turn east, and he comes in behind you, what happens then?"
"Liu Bei is among the bravest of men," argued Cao Cao. "If I leave him now he will surely cause trouble later."
"Yuan Shao is slow and hesitant," observed Guo Jia. "He will not come quickly. Liu Bei made his rebellion just a short time ago, so he cannot have his troops under full control. If you move promptly you are sure to defeat him." So Cao Cao did go east.
- C Tian Feng, Attendant Officer of Ji province, said to Yuan Shao, "Cao Cao has engaged Liu Bei and he will not be able to break off easily. If you take the army against his rear, you can settle things at once." Yuan Shao replied that his son was sick, so he would not go. Tian Feng beat the ground with his staff, "Alas, at a critical moment he throws away opportunity for the sake of a sick child. The pity of it, the chance is lost."

A *HHJ* 29:9b;
HHS 9:381 (45a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;
SGZ 1:18 (8a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

1 This month began on a *jiaxu* 甲戌 day (cyclical number 11), so it cannot have had a *renzi* 壬子 day (cyclical number 49). *HHS* 9 has *renwu* 壬午 (cyclical number 19), which would be correct. *HHJ* 29 miswrote *zi* for *wu*, and *ZZTJ* followed it.

B *SGZ* 1:18 (45a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 14:423-24 (11a) PC quoting *Fuzi*;

D Cao Cao defeated Liu Bei and captured his wife and children.² He [272] went on to storm Xiapi and captured Guan Yu there. He attacked Chang Xi and defeated him.³

2025 Liu Bei fled to Yuan Tan in Qing province and so joined Yuan Shao. When Yuan Shao heard that Liu Bei was coming, he came out two hundred *li* from Ye to greet him. Liu Bei stayed at Ye for a month, and the men he had lost gradually returned to him.

E As Cao Cao brought his army back to Guandu, Yuan Shao now considered an attack on Xu city. "Since Cao Cao has destroyed Liu Bei," observed Tian Feng, "the area about Xu city will no longer be undefended. Cao Cao, moreover, is extremely good at using soldiers, and you can never tell what he will do next. Though his army is small he cannot be taken lightly.

"The best policy is to keep him at a distance and make him wait. You hold the strong places of the hills and rivers and you command the troops of four provinces. Keep contact with leaders outside and encourage farming in your own lands.

"When all is ready, choose your best men and send out raiding parties.⁴ Take advantage of his weak points to break through in one place or another so as to trouble the territory south of the Yellow River. If he relieves the right, you attack the left; if he sends help to the left, you attack him on the right. The enemy will be marching

C HHS 74/64A:2392 (13a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

D SGZ 1:18 (45a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2):875-76 (10a-b), the Biography of Liu Bei.

2 Kaoyi commentary observes that a fragment of *Wei shu*, the official history of Wei, quoted by SGZ 42:876 PC, says that Liu Bei was confident Cao Cao would not be able to free himself from the defence of Guandu, and could not come against him in person (see also passage AA of Jian'an 4). When Cao Cao did come, however, Liu Bei abandoned his followers and fled.

As Sima Guang notes, however, this is surely an exaggerated calumny of Liu Bei, and an example of *Wei shu*'s partisan inaccuracy.

3 Despite this defeat, it appears that Chang Xi was still able to maintain himself in Donghai commandery: passage E of Jian'an 6.

E HHS 74/64A:2392-93 (13b-14a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;
SGZ 6:200 (60a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

4 ZZZJ commentary quotes from *Sunzi bingfa* 5.2: Minford, *Art of War*, 166, with comments at 164-165 (Griffith, *Art of War*, 91; Ames, *Sun-tzu*, 119):

In warfare

Engage directly [正 *zheng*]

Secure victory indirectly [奇 *qi*].

Commentaries to this passage by Cao Cao and others explain that the "direct" force is used to fix or distract the enemy, and the "indirect" forces act when and where their attacks are not anticipated. This concept is discussed by deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 329.

backwards and forwards and his people will have no peace. We shall not be tired, but they will be exhausted. In no more than three years success will come as you wait.

"If, on the other hand, you do not follow this plan of certain victory,⁵ but prefer to trust the result to a single [273] battle, you may find that affairs go against you; and it will then be too late for regrets."

Yuan Shao refused this advice, but Tian Feng pressed his argument. Believing he would upset the morale of the army, Yuan Shao had him chained up.

Then Yuan Shao sent a summons for war to the provinces and commanderies, listing Cao Cao's crimes and wrong-doing,⁶ and in the second month he brought his army forward to Liyang.⁷

F As Ju Shou was about to leave, he called his clansmen together, divided his possessions among them and said, "If we survive, my authority will certainly be recognised everywhere. If we lose, I shall not escape with my life. The pity of it." His younger brother Ju Zong said, "Cao Cao's men and horses are no match for ours. Why are you afraid?"

"Because Cao Cao has clear plans," replied Ju Shou, "and he controls the Son of Heaven. Though we have defeated Bogui [Gongsun Zan]⁸ our soldiers are exhausted, our master is proud and his officers arrogant. This will bring our army to destruction.

"Yang Xiong observed, 'The six kingdoms were foolish and stupid. They weakened the Ji [family of the Zhou dynasty] for the Ying [family of Qin].' These are words for today."⁹

5 ZZTJ commentary explains that the phrase *miaosheng* 廟勝, literally "success in the ancestral temple," abbreviates the expression "to settle plans in the temple, and determine victory at a distance of a thousand *li*:" that is, far-sighted and sure strategy, because decisions are blessed by the ancestors when they are advised of the plan. See *Sunzi bingfa* 1.7; Minford, *Art of War*, 99 (Griffith, *Art of War*, 71; Ames, *Sun-tzu*, 105), and HHS 1B:87-88, the Eulogy to Emperor Guangwu with Tang commentary quoting *Huainan zi*.

6 The text of Yuan Shao's proclamation is given by SGZ 6:197-99 PC quoting *Weishi chungiu*, and by HHS 74/64A:2393-99. *Weishi chungiu* ascribes the composition to Yuan Shao's adviser Chen Lin.

The proclamation is translated and discussed by deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 128-136.

7 The date of Yuan Shao's advance is given by SGZ 1:19.

F HHS 74/64A:2399 (17b-18a), the Biography of Yuan Shao; SGZ 6:199-200 (57a) PC quoting *Xiandi zhuan*.

8 Bogui 伯珪 was the style of Gongsun Zan.

9 On the *Fa yan* 法言 "Model Sayings" of Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BC-18 AD), see Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, 100-104 [David R Knechtges]. This quotation comes from *Fa yan* 10:3b-4a. The six kingdoms were Han 韓, Wei 魏, Zhao 趙, Yan 燕, Qi 齊 and

2026

G The General Who Inspires Awe Cheng Yu was at Juancheng [274] with a garrison of seven hundred men. Cao Cao wanted to send two thousand soldiers to reinforce him, but Cheng Yu refused, "With his army of a hundred thousand, Yuan Shao is confident that nothing can stand before him. If he sees that I have very few, he will pay little attention and will not attack. If you add to my troops, however, then if he passes by he is sure to attack, and if he attacks he will certainly win. Both you and I would lose strength. Please have no doubts."¹⁰

Indeed, when Yuan Shao heard how few soldiers Cheng Yu had, he did not move against him. Cao Cao said to Jia Xu, "Cheng Yu is braver than Meng Ben or Xia Yu."¹¹

H Yuan Shao sent his officer Yan Liang to attack Liu Yan the Administrator of Dong commandery at Boma.¹² Ju Shou said, "Yan Liang is careless and impatient. He is brave, but he cannot manage alone." Yuan Shao did not agree.

I In the summer, in the fourth month Cao Cao went north to help Liu Yan. Xun You said, "Our men are too few to match the enemy. In order to win, you must divide our opponents' strength. When you come to the Yan Crossing, pretend to send men across the river against his rear. Yuan Shao will certainly turn west to deal with them. If you then send light troops to Boma and surprise the enemy there, Yan Liang can be taken." Cao Cao followed this plan.

When Yuan Shao heard that enemy troops had crossed the Yellow River he immediately sent a detachment west to intercept them. Then Cao Cao led his army on a forced march against Boma. They were still over ten *li* away when Yan Liang, very startled, came out to fight. [275]

Chu 楚 of the Warring States period. Quarrelling amongst themselves, they weakened and destroyed the authority of the royal house of Zhou 周, and so fell prey to the power of Qin 秦. Ji 姬 was the family name of Zhou, Ying 嬴 that of the rulers of Qin.

G SGZ 14:428 (5a), the Biography of Cheng Yu.

10 Juancheng in Jiyin, near present-day Juancheng in Shandong, lay just south of the Yellow River, on the frontier of the territory controlled by Cao Cao and that of Yuan Shao: note 3 to Jian'an 3. It was some eighty kilometres east of Liyang, however, and thus not on Yuan Shao's direct line of attack.

11 Meng Ben 孟賁 and Xia Yu 夏育 were men of the Zhou period, famous for their strength and daring: e.g. SJ 79:2407.

H SGZ 6:199 (57a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

12 Boma county in Dong commandery was near present-day Huaxian in Henan. It lay south of the Yellow River some twenty kilometres southeast of Liyang.

I SGZ 1:19 (46a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao;

SGZ 36 (Shu 6):939 (2a), the Biography of Guan Yu.

Cao Cao sent Zhang Liao and Guan Yu to go ahead and begin the attack. Guan Yu saw Yan Liang's standard in the distance. Whipping his horse, he broke through to Yan Liang among the ten thousand men of his army, took off his head and came back. No-one could withstand him. So the siege of Boma was broken, and the people were shifted west up the Yellow River.¹³

J Yuan Shao crossed the Yellow River to follow them,¹⁴ but Ju Shou objected, saying, "When fighting a war, you must take care to consider every possibility. The best plan now is to stay in camp at the Yan Crossing and send an advance guard towards Guandu. If they manage to capture the place you will have time to join them, but if you go forward immediately and something goes wrong, none of the army will be able to get back." Yuan Shao did not agree.

Ju Shou came to the crossing and sighed, "The master is too confident; his servants too ambitious. Oh, Yellow River, distant and troubling, why do I cross?" He pleaded sick and asked to leave. Yuan Shao refused, and became angry with him. He abolished Ju Shou's command and gave it to Guo Tu.

2027

K As Yuan Shao's army came south from the Yan Crossing, Cao Cao had his soldiers in camp under the southern slope.¹⁵ He [276] sent men to look out, and they reported, "Some five or six hundred

13 The Yellow River at this time flowed considerably north of its present course, and the Yan Crossing is north of present-day Yanjin in Henan. See also notes 31 and 37 to Chuping 2.

Cao Cao's direct line of advance from Xu city and Guandu to Boma would have taken him northeast through the region of present-day Kaifeng. At Xun Yu's suggestion, however, he marched due north to the Yellow River, made a feint across the Yan Crossing, southwest of Liyang, to draw Yuan Shao's attention, then brought his light troops along the south bank of the Yellow River directly past the front of Yuan Shao's main position at Liyang, eastwards to Boma.

J SGZ 6:200 (58a) PC quoting *Xiandi zhuan*; HHS 74/64A:2399 (16a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

14 As a result of Cao Cao's feint, described in passage I above, Yuan Shao has brought the advance-guard of his army southwest up the Yellow River from Liyang to the Yan Crossing. At that point he was almost due north of Cao Cao's defence positions at Guandu and his capital at Xu city.

K SGZ 1:19 (46b-47a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

15 Since the context indicates that Yuan Shao's men could not see Cao Cao's, and Cao Cao had to send look-outs to tell him of the enemy movements, he had evidently concealed his troop on the southern side of the major dyke south of the Yellow River. These great dykes are some distance from the regular stream, to make room for seasonal flood-waters.

So Yuan Shao's army had been allowed to cross the River unhindered.

horsemen." After a short time they reported again, "Horsemen gradually increasing; too many foot-soldiers to count."

"No more reports," ordered Cao Cao. He had his cavalry get down from their saddles and let the horses loose.

The baggage from Boma was still on the road, and the officers thought that since there were so many enemy horsemen it would be better to go back and guard the camp. Xun You said, "This is a trap for the enemy, how can we leave?" Cao Cao looked at him and smiled.

Wen Chou and Liu Bei, commanders of Yuan Shao's cavalry, came up together with five or six thousand horsemen. The officers said again, "Now we can mount." "Not yet," said Cao Cao. There was a pause, the enemy approached in greater numbers, and some split off to go for the baggage.

"Now!" said Cao Cao, and they leapt on their horses.¹⁶ They were fewer than six hundred in number, but they charged at speed, they completely defeated the enemy, and they took Wen Chou's head.

Wen Chou and Yan Liang had been Yuan Shao's most celebrated captains, and in just two engagements both had been killed. Yuan Shao's men were discouraged.

L Before this, Cao Cao had always admired Guan Yu, but he saw on his face that he would not stay long. He sent Zhang Liao to ask Guan Yu about it, and Guan Yu sighed and said, "I know very well how generously Lord Cao has treated me, but I have received favours from General Liu [Bei] and I swore to die with him. I cannot turn away [from that commitment], and eventually I must leave here. I want to offer Lord Cao some assistance in return [for the generous treatment he has given me], and then I shall go."

Zhang Liao told Cao Cao what Guan Yu had said and Cao Cao saw the justice of it. Then Guan Yu killed Yan Liang and Cao Cao knew that he was sure to go. He had given him great rewards, but Guan Yu sealed up everything he had [277] received. Then he wrote to make his excuses and fled to Liu Bei in Yuan Shao's army. Some of the attendants wanted to chase after him, but Cao Cao said, "That man has chosen his master. Let him go."

16 Again from the description of the action, it appears that the road along the Yellow River, which was being used by the baggage train from Boma, ran on the inner, northern, side of the major southern dyke which concealed Cao Cao and his men from the enemy. Having crossed the River, Yuan Shao's men were tempted to approach Cao Cao's position by the offer of plunder from the baggage-carts which they could see, apparently undefended, on the open ground below the dyke.

L SGZ 36 (Shu 6):939-40 (2a-b), the Biography of Guan Yu.

2028

M As Cao Cao brought his army back to Guandu, Yan Rou sent messengers to him, and Cao Cao appointed him Protector of the Wuhuan.¹⁷ Xianyu Fu came in person to meet Cao Cao at Guandu, and Cao Cao made him General Who Crosses the Liao on the Right and sent him back to settle the territory of You province.¹⁸ [278]

N Chen Deng the Administrator of Guangling had his capital at Sheyang.¹⁹ When Sun Ce went west to attack Huang Zu, Chen Deng

M *SGZ* 8:247 (16b), the Biography of Liu Yu.

17 Under Later Han, the Protector of the Wuhuan, with headquarters at Ning 寧 in Shanggu commandery, near present-day Zhangjiakou [Kalgan] was responsible for dealings with the Wuhuan and the Xianbi tribes of the north-western frontier. See, for example, *HHS* 118/28:3626, the Treatise of Officials, *HHS* 90/80:2982, and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 37 and 383.

Yan Rou had already established influence over the non-Chinese people of this region, and Yuan Shao had earlier granted him authority: passages SS of Xingping 2 and C of Jian'an 4.

18 1 During Later Han, the General Who Crosses the Liao, with headquarters at Manbo 曼柏 in Wuyuan, near present-day Baotou, was responsible for control of the frontier against the Xiongnu, including supervision of the dependent court of the Southern Shanyu. See, for example, *HHS* 89/79:2949 and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 252-253 and 518-519. Though the Liao River flows through southern Manchuria, the title had long ceased to have such specific geographical relevance.

Xianyu Fu, based in Yuyang, was a colleague of Yan Rou in the north of the North China plain: passage SS of Xingping 2. He had earlier made contact with Cao Cao and had been appointed as a general with authority over the western half of You province: passage B of Jian'an 4. Appointment as a general of the Trans-Liao command presumably gave him the right to deal with non-Chinese people, Xiongnu and others, in comparable fashion to Yan Rou.

SGZ 8 has this appointment as General Who Crosses the Liao River on the Left, but *ZZTJ* has changed it. (The parallel text of *HHS* 73/63:2365 does not specify a side.) *ZZTJ* commentary suggests that the designation "Right" defines Xianyu Fu's sphere of responsibility as You province, on the east of the frontier, excluding the Ordos region, which would be on the "Left." This was evidently the view of the Song period, viewing the northern frontier from a stand-point in the south of China.

I observe, however, that from the point of view of a ruler of all under Heaven, who would sit on the throne with his back to the north and his face to the south, the west is then on his right and the east on his left. This equation of direction can be seen in the Han-time designation of the two capital commanderies Zuopingyi and Youfufeng, which were established east and west respectively of the Former capital Chang'an. I suspect, therefore, that *SGZ* was correct in identifying Xianyu Fu's appointment as being on the Left, and so responsible for the western part of the frontier, and that the change by *ZZTJ* was mistaken.

N *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1):1109 (33b-36a), the Biography of Sun Ce;

SGZ 46 (Wu 1):1111 (34a-b) PC quoting Jiangbiao zhuan .

19 Sheyang county was near present-day Huaian in Jiangsu, in the north of Guangling commandery.

encouraged the remnants of White Tiger Yan's following to make trouble behind him.²⁰ Now Sun Ce came back to attack Chen Deng. When his army arrived at Dantu and he called a brief halt to wait for supplies.²¹

Before this, Sun Ce had killed Xu Gong the Administrator of Wu commandery,²² and Xu Gong's retainers had concealed themselves among the people in hope of avenging him. Sun Ce loved hunting and often went out riding. His horse was very good and none of his escort could keep up.

2029 Suddenly he met with three of Xu Gong's men, and they shot him in the jaw. The escort arrived very soon afterwards, struck them down and killed them, but Sun Ce was badly hurt.

He called in Zhang Zhao and others and said to them, "Central China is now in confusion. With the forces of Wu and Yue and the security of the Three Streams [the Yangzi], we can observe other

Chen Deng was a long-time associate and trusted officer of Cao Cao (e.g. passage L of Jian'an 2) who had been appointed to his present position after Sun Ce drove away his cousin, the earlier agent Chen Yu: passages O of Jian'an 2 and K of Jian'an 3. His policy was the same as Chen Yu's: to encourage local opposition south of the lower Yangzi in order to prevent Sun Ce making plans too far afield.

20 On White Tiger Yan, see passages QQ of Xingping 2, R of Jian'an 1, O of Jian'an 2, and Y of Jian'an 4; the implication of the last is that White Tiger Yan was no longer significant.

Jiangbiao zhuan, however, refers to Chen Deng sending seals and insignia to these allies as Chen Yu had before him (passage O of Jian'an 2). It is possible White Tiger Yan was not finally eliminated until this year.

21 Dantu in Danyang commandery, by present-day Dantu in Jiangsu, was on the border with Wu commandery just south of the Yangzi estuary from Guangling.

There is a tradition, recorded by the main text of *SGZ* 46 and some other sources, that Sun Ce was planning to take advantage of Cao Cao's preoccupation with Yuan Shao at Guandu and strike north against Xu city, to kidnap the emperor and then use him to control the empire.

As the fourth-century scholar Sun Sheng and the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang have observed, and as I have argued in *Generals of the South* at 208-211, this is most unlikely. Sun Ce was a minor local warlord, and if he had attempted to claim to govern in ten am of the emperor he would have lost support in the same way as the presumptuous Yuan Shu.

22 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes the story in *Jiangbiao zhuan* that Xu Gong had sent a memorial to the court warning against Sun Ce; Sun Ce learnt of this, taxed Xu Gong with it, and killed him. Xu Gong had earlier taken refuge with White Tiger Yan: passage QQ of Xingping 2.

Sima Guang suggests, plausibly enough, that Xu Gong had been captured when Sun Ce destroyed White Tiger Yan or his associates, this year or last. See also deC, *Generals of the South*, 198-199.

men's success and failure without being involved. You must all do your best to assist my younger brother."²³

Calling Sun Quan, he put his seal and ribbon on his belt, and said to him, "To raise the forces east of the Yangzi, to decide the opportunities between two battlelines and to fight for supremacy in the empire; in that you are not as good as I am. To raise the worthy and give appointment to able men, so that each gives all his efforts to keep the east of the Yangzi; in that I am not equal to you."

On the day *bingwu* [5 May] Sun Ce died. He was then aged twenty-six.²⁴

- O Sun Quan wept for grief and would not attend to affairs. "Candidate,"²⁵ said Zhang Zhao, "is this a time for weeping?" He had Sun Quan put off his mourning clothes, helped him mount a horse, and sent him out to inspect the army.

Zhang Zhao acted as head of the whole administration. Above he reported to the court, and below he gave orders to the cities, while the army commanders were all instructed to maintain their positions. Zhou Yu brought his troops from Baqiu to attend the funeral, and he then stayed in Wu to act as Protector of the Army at the Centre, sharing the government with Zhang Zhao.²⁶ [280]

23 The phrase *sanjiang* 三江 refers at this time to the Yangzi River. It is not certain whether the "Three Streams" should be identified as the upper, middle and lower Yangzi, being the reaches flowing through modern Sichuan, Hubei/Hunan and Jiangxi/Anhui/Jiangsu, or whether it describes three major branches which had formerly flowed through the ancient delta region below present-day Nanjing: e.g. deC, *Generals of the South*, 47.

24 Sun Ce's age at death is given by the main text of SGZ 46. The date is given by the *Zhi lin* of Yu Xi quoted in SGZ 46:1110 PC, as the fourth day of the fourth month, which was indeed a *bingwu* day; Sima Guang notes in his *Kaoyi* commentary that he has made the adjustment.

O SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1115-16 (2a-b), the Biography of Sun Quan;
SGZ 52 (Wu 7):1220 (3a-b), the Biography of Zhang Zhao;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1260 (4b), the Biography of Zhou Yu.

25 Sun Quan's biography says that under the auspices of his elder brother Sun Ce he had received two recommendations as a candidate for government office: Filial and Incorrupt from his commandery, and Accomplished Talent by the provincial administration: SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1115. Zhang Zhao is addressing him by the former, less distinguished, title.

26 Zhou Yu had been stationed at Baqiu in Yuzhang, in charge of the major Sun forces in the west: passage V of Jian'an 4. He had previously been Protector of the Army at the Centre for Sun Ce: SGZ 54:1260. Such an appointment generally indicates disciplinary powers: for example, passage P and note 39 of Chuping 2, and deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 62 note 46.

Though Sun Ce had held Kuaiji, Wu commandery, Danyang, Yuzhang, Lujiang and Luling, there was still difficult country which had not been brought fully under control. And there were many refugees, who came or wandered away wherever they thought they would find good government and peace, and who had no sense of loyalty to any ruler.

2030 Zhang Zhao, Zhou Yu and the others nonetheless believed that with their help Sun Quan could maintain the state. They gave him their allegiance and served him.

P In the autumn in the seventh month the imperial son Liu Ping was made King of Nanyang. On the day *renwu* [9 Aug] he died.

Q The Yellow Turban rebels of Runan, led by Liu Pi, turned from Cao Cao to support Yuan Shao. Yuan Shao sent Liu Bei to bring soldiers to help them, and many of the commanderies and counties joined him.

R Yuan Shao sent a messenger to appoint Li Tong, Commandant of Yang'an, as General Who Subdues the South.²⁷ Liu Biao also sent him a secret summons, but Li Tong rejected both of them. Someone urged him to support Yuan Shao, but Li Tong put his hand to his sword and swore at him, "Lord Cao is wise and he will certainly settle the empire. Though Yuan Shao is strong, Cao Cao will take him in the end. I would not change for my life."

He cut off the head of Yuan Shao's messenger and sent the seal and ribbon which he had been offered to Cao Cao. [281]

Li Tong kept a particular check on the tax which was due to be paid in silk by each household.²⁸ Zhao Yan the magistrate of Lang-

ZZTJ commentary observes here that the state of Wu also had Protectors of the Army on the Right and on the Left, and suggests there were three divisions of the forces. In fact, however, Protectors of the Army on the Right and on the Left appear much later in the reign of Sun Quan: *SGZ* 52:1237, 54:1277, 56:1306, 58:1345, 60:1382 and 64:1445 PC.

Those later positions, moreover, do not appear to have any territorial significance, but were dual appointments to the same office. The post held by Zhou Yu is the only reference to the Centre: he was evidently chief of staff of all Sun armies, with responsibilities comparable to those of Zhang Zhao in the civilian side of government.

P *HHS* 9:381 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

Q *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2):876 (10b), the Biography of Liu Bei.

R *SGZ* 18.535 (3b-4a), the Biography of Li Tong;

SGZ 23.668 (18a-19a), the Biography of Zhao Yan.

27 On Li Tong's appointment in Yang'an, at the frontier of Cao Cao's territory with that of Liu Biao, see passage Z of Jian'an 2.

28 The traditional coinage of Han had been destroyed by Dong Zhuo (passage U of Chuping 1), so official levies were now collected by commodities, grain or silk. See

ling went to him and said, "All the commanderies are in rebellion and only Yang'an remains obedient. If you press the collection of silk, however, men of mean spirit will be glad to make trouble. Surely this is a mistaken policy?"

"My lord and Yuan Shao are in a critical fight," replied Li Tong, "and many commanderies and counties have turned away to rebellion. If the silk is not collected and sent to the capital, those who hear of it will surely claim that my loyalty is suspect and that I am waiting to see who wins."

"That is certainly a cause for concern," agreed Zhao Yan, "but we must consider how serious it is. If you will delay the tax just a little, I can solve the problem for you."

Then he wrote to Xun Yu, "The people of Yang'an are poor and distressed, neighbouring cities are in rebellion, and our government could easily be overthrown. Here is a time of crisis for the region. Moreover, the people of this commandery have held loyal, and even in time of danger they have never been uncertain. I believe the state should be showing some consideration, but we still impose the silk tax. What sort of encouragement is that?"

Xun Yu spoke to Cao Cao, and all the silk was returned to the people. Everyone was pleased and there was peace in the commandery. Li Tong attacked and defeated the various bandit groups led by Qu Gong and others, and he settled all the territory between the Huai and the Ru.

S At this time Cao Cao made new rulings on the collection of revenue, and orders were sent out to the provinces and commanderies. He increased the punishments for failure, and collection of the silk tax was strictly enforced.

He Kui, Administrator of Changguang,²⁹ said to Cao Cao, "The [282] former kings distinguished the taxes of the nine tributaries, taking notice of distance, and they maintained three sets of

also passage S immediately following and also *JS* 26:790 with Yang, "Economic History," 159 and 191.

S *SGZ* 12:380 (22a-b), the Biography of He Kui.

29 Changguang 長廣 commandery had been lately established by Cao Cao in the south of the Shandong peninsula. The Later Han county of that name was in Donglai commandery, near present-day Haiyang in Shandong. The new establishment represents an extension of Cao Cao's authority into the disordered territories of the mountainous peninsula, and He Kui's biography describes how he had to deal with Yellow Turbans and other local rebels, and also with threats from Yuan Tan to the north.

regulations [for governing according to conditions] of recent pacification, good administration or rebellion.³⁰

2031 "I believe that this commandery should come under the rules for distant areas and new states, so that minor affairs among the people are dealt with by chiefs and civil officials according to circumstance. Above, such a policy will follow the correct model, and below it will accord with the feeling of the people. Wait three years, until the people are following their occupations in peace; then you can apply the regular laws."³¹ Cao Cao agreed.

T Liu Bei plundered between the Ru and the Ying. The people south of Xu city were unsettled and Cao Cao was concerned about it.³² Cao Ren said, "Those districts in the south know that our army is facing a crisis, and they realise we cannot bring help. If Liu Bei comes with a strong force it is quite reasonable for them to turn away from us. Liu Bei, however, has not long held command of Yuan Shao's soldiers and he has yet not had time to get the best from them. If we attack we can defeat him."

So Cao Cao sent Cao Ren with cavalry to attack Liu Bei. He defeated him and drove him away, took back control over all the counties that had rebelled, then returned. [283]

U Liu Bei went back to Yuan Shao's army, but he secretly wanted to get away, so he urged Yuan Shao to make an alliance with Liu Biao in the south. Yuan Shao sent him back to Runan with his own men and he joined with a group of bandits under Gong Du, gathering a force of several thousand men. Cao Cao sent his officer Cai Yang against Liu Bei, but Liu Bei killed him.

30 ZZTJ commentary quotes from *Zhou li* 8:27b-28a; Biot II, 276-277, describing the division of the empire into nine concentric regions, each zone further from the capital.

Hu Sanxing quotes further from *Zhou li* 9:9a-b; Biot II, 307-308, describing the three rules of governing: the lightest punishments were applied to those territories which had come newly under control; the medium range was for those which were settled and at peace; and the heaviest strictures should be applied only to those which were disordered and rebellious.

31 On the basis of the *Zhou li* models, He Kui is arguing that his commandery should be considered not as a settled region which has wilfully broken out in disorder, but as a new territory of Cao Cao, distant from his capital, for which lenient treatment is appropriate.

T SGZ 9:274 (13a), the Biography of Cao Ren.

32 The Ying River flowed just south of Xu city, and the Ru was roughly parallel, further south again. Passage R above has described how Li Tong in Yang'an settled the region from the Ru River southwards to the Huai basin, but this area of disturbance was closer and in that respect more dangerous.

- V Yuan Shao's army came to Yangwu.³³ Ju Shou said to him, "Though our northern troops are many, their strength and spirit are not equal to the men of the south. The supplies of the southerners are few and their stores are not as plentiful as ours of the north. So the south will want to fight early, while delay gives advantage to the north. You should wait and do nothing for a few weeks." Yuan Shao did not agree.
- 2032
- W In the eighth month Yuan Shao brought his forces gradually forward and established his position on some sand-dunes stretching several dozen *li* east and west. Cao Cao spread out his camps to face him.³⁴
- X In the ninth month on the day *gengwu* [26 Nov], first of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.³⁵ [284]
- Y Cao Cao made a sally against Yuan Shao, but gained no success and was forced back to strengthen his own defences. Yuan Shao built high towers and raised hills of earth to shoot down into the camp. Everyone had to wear shields over them to move about. Then Cao Cao made 'thunder cars' to fire stones at Yuan Shao's towers and

U *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2):876 (10b), the Biography of Liu Bei.

V *HHS* 74/64A:2400 (18a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;
SGZ 6:199 (58a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

33 Yangwu county in Henan was near present-day Yuanyang, close to the course of the modern Yellow River, and just north of the canalised Ji River of Han. The city became Yuan Shao's headquarters for his attack on Cao Cao, whose defences were based on Guandu, immediately to the south.

W *SGZ* 1:19 (47a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

34 Guandu, where Cao Cao had established his main line of defences in the previous year (passage N of Jian'an 4), was just north of present-day Zhongmou in Henan. The Han city was on a slight terrace above the southern bank of the Bian Canal, a branch of the Vast or Grand Canal network: note 32 to Chuping 1. It was the last obstacle of any significance to an approach against Xu city from the north.

X *HHS* 9:381 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

35 *HHS* 108/18:3371, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this eclipse, but gives no astronomical details. The eclipse, Oppolzer 3372, which is mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 217, affected the far north of Manchuria and Mongolia.

Despite the confrontation at Guandu at this time, the Treatise offers no prognostication. Commentary to the Treatise, however, quotes from *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, apocryphal work on the *Chunqiu*, which says that an eclipse on a *gengwu* day foretells the destruction of a government army by fire. This would actually fit better with Cao Cao's defeat at the Red Cliffs in 208 than with the present engagement at Guandu: passage PP of Jian'an 13, and deC, *Generals of the South*, 267-269.

Y *SGZ* 1:19-20 (48b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
HHS 74/64A:2400 (18a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;
SGZ 6:199 (58b-59a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

destroyed them all.³⁶ Yuan Shao made a tunnel to attack Cao Cao, but Cao Cao dug a long ditch inside his walls to block it.

Z Cao Cao's army was small, his supplies were exhausted, his troops were tired and ill, his people were troubled by the taxation and levies and many turned to Yuan Shao. Cao Cao was worried, and he wrote to Xun Yu that he was thinking of a retreat to Xu city, so that Yuan Shao would be compelled to fight him there.

"Yuan Shao has all his army at Guandu," replied Xun Yu, "and that is where he will settle victory and defeat with you. You face great strength with great weakness, and if you cannot control him you will be taken. Here is a crisis for the empire.

"Furthermore, Yuan Shao is a very ordinary leader: he can collect men but he does not know how to use them. With your uncanny arts of war, your clear understanding and the favour of Heaven; how can you fail?

"Your supplies may be low, but you are not in the straits of Chu and Han between Rongyang and Chenggao. At that time neither Liu nor Xiang were willing to retreat, for they knew that the first to abandon the field would lose everything.³⁷ [285]

"Your force is only a tenth of his, yet you have marked the ground and hold it. You have him by the throat so that he cannot get forward, and you have now maintained that position for half a year. It is obvious that his strength is almost exhausted. The decisive

36 SGZ 6 and HHS 74/64A say that "thunder cars" (霹靂 *pili*) was the name given by Yuan Shao's troops to these machines of Cao Cao. The text describes them as stone-throwers, and they must have been mobile ballistae. "Thunder" may have referred to the crash as the firing arm of the machine reached its limit, or to the effect of the stones as they arrived.

It seems likely that the ballistae of this period in China were fairly simple and short-range, probably trebuchets without counter-weights, hauled by teams of men on ropes. Such machines could not easily be used in attack, for crews in the open would be vulnerable, but they could be used in defence, shooting from behind the walls with a spotter on the rampart to guide them. See deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 175-176, following Needham and Yeates, *Science and Civilisation in China* V.6.

Z SGZ 1:20 (48b), the Biography of Cao Cao;

SGZ 10:314 (15a-b), the Biography of Xun Yu.

37 Rongyang and Chenggao were west of Guandu, near the present-day places of the same names in Henan, by the junction of the Bian River and the Vast Canal system with the Yellow River. At the beginning of Han, this region was the scene of critical campaigns between Liu Ji 劉季 (later Liu Bang 邦), future Emperor Gao of Han, and his rival Xiang Yu 項羽, King of Western Chu 西楚, with battles and sieges at both cities. See, for example, *SJ* 7, 324-30; Chavannes, *MH* II, 302-311, and *HS* 1A, 37-56; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 80-94.

moment is approaching, and this is the time to surprise him. Do not miss your chance."

Recognising the truth of this, Cao Cao strengthened his defences and held on.

2033

AA Cao Cao went to welcome the men bringing up supplies. "Another fortnight and I shall have defeated Yuan Shao for you," he told them. "Then I need trouble you no more."³⁸

Yuan Shao's transports were approaching Guandu with several thousand wagons of grain. Xun You said to Cao Cao, "His supplies are on the way. Their commander Han Meng is brave, but he tends to underestimate his enemies. If we attack him he will be destroyed."

"Whom can we send?" asked Cao Cao.

"Xu Huang can do it," replied Xun You. So they sent the Lieutenant-General Xu Huang of Hedong to go with Shi Huan and intercept Han Meng. They defeated him, put him to flight and burnt the baggage.³⁹

In the winter, in the tenth month Yuan Shao brought up more carts with grain supplies, and he sent Chunyu Qiong and other commanders with over ten thousand men to escort [286] them. They halted for the night forty *li* north of Yuan Shao's camp.⁴⁰

Ju Shou said to Yuan Shao, "You should send Jiang Qi out with a separate force to guard against Cao Cao's raids." Yuan Shao did not agree.

Xu You said, "Cao Cao has few soldiers, and he has brought his whole army to face us [at Guandu]. There cannot be many of his men left at Xu city. If we send a light force by night to make a surprise attack, Xu can be taken. Once Xu is captured, then we hold the

AA SGZ 1:21 (49a-50b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
 SGZ 10:323-24 (30b-31a), the Biography of Xun You;
 SGZ 6:199 (59a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;
 HHS 74/64A:2400-01 (18b-19b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;
 SGZ 1:21-22 (49b-50a) PC quoting *Cao Man zhuan*;
 SGZ 17:525 (11b), the Biography of Zhang He.

38 In SGZ 1, this minor incident is described after the first attack on Yuan Shao's supply trains, recommended by Xun You and described immediately below. That seems a slightly more likely order of events, and it is not possible to say why *ZZTJ* changed it.

39 The biography of Xu Huang in SGZ 17:528 says that this raid was made against the supply base at Gushi.

Gushi had been a county under Former Han, but was disestablished by Later Han. The town was northwest of present-day Zhengzhou in Henan, at the western edge of the sphere of operations about Guandu. See also note 42 below.

40 SGZ 6 and HHS 74/64A both identify this place as Wuchao. See note 42 below.

emperor and can attack Cao Cao in his name, while Cao Cao becomes an outlaw. Even if he is not destroyed, we can make him rush back and forth and we are sure to defeat him." Yuan Shao would not agree, saying, "The main thing is to take Cao Cao first."

About this time a member of Xu You's family broke the law and Shen Pei arrested him. Xu You was angry and went to Cao Cao. As soon as Cao Cao heard that Xu You had come, he went barefoot to greet him, grasped him by the hand and laughed, "Ziyuan, you have come a long way.⁴¹ Now I am sure to succeed."

They went in and sat down, and Xu You said, "Yuan has a strong army, how can you withstand him? And what supplies have you?" Cao Cao said, "We can still manage for a year."

"That is not right," replied Xu You, "tell it truthfully!" Cao Cao said, "We can last out half a year."

"Don't you want to defeat him?" asked Xu You. "Why won't you tell the truth?" "I was joking," said Cao Cao. "In fact we can hold out just one more month. What shall I do?"

2034 "You are facing him alone with an isolated army," observed Xu You. "There can be no help from outside and your supplies are already exhausted. This is a critical situation.

"Now Yuan Shao has over ten thousand carts of supplies at Gushi and Wuchao,⁴² and the escort which accompanies them [287] is quite

41 The style of Xu You was Ziyuan 子遠, but the text here reads Ziqing 子卿. One suggestion is that Cao Cao addressed him as *qing* "minister" as a compliment. The more probable alternative is that the character *yuan* has been mistakenly omitted, and *qing* is here simply the courteous address for the second person: "you."

42 The Wuchao Marsh is now southeast of Yanjin in Henan. *SGZ* 6 says that Wuchao, forty *li* from Guandu, was where Chunyu Qiong was camped (note 39 above), and the area was indeed some twenty kilometres north of Guandu on Yuan Shao's line of communications to the Yellow River at Boma and the Yan Crossing. The marsh, moreover, was linked to the Ji River/Canal 濟水, a branch of the Vast Canal network (notes 33 and 34 above), which gave east-west access behind Yuan Shao's front line and would have aided distribution.

It thus appears that supplies for Yuan Shao's army were brought by land and water to the Boma and Yan crossings on the Yellow River, then transported in carts across the ridge between the Yellow River and the depression which forms the modern course of the stream, and which held the Bian Canal, the Puyang River, and other waterways near Guandu. At Wuchao the goods were gathered and stored for distribution, again to some extent by water, behind Yuan Shao's front line facing Guandu.

From the account below of a cavalry action at Wuchao, it is clear that this was the chief objective of Cao Cao's second raid, and though we have been told above that Chunyu Qiong halted overnight (宿 *su*), it is more likely that he was in command of a semi-permanent supply depot.

unprepared. If you move with light-armed troops and take them by surprise you can destroy their stores. No more than three days after that, Yuan will be defeated of himself."

Cao Cao was very pleased. Leaving Cao Hong and Xun You to hold the camp, he took personal command of five thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers, all with flags of the Yuan army. Gagging the men and tying the horses' mouths, they went out by night and moved along side-paths between the roads. The men carried bound firewood. If anyone questioned them, they explained that, "Lord Yuan is afraid Cao Cao may attack his afterguard, so he is sending reinforcements to the defence." Those who were told this believed it, and they went on as before.⁴³

When Cao Cao's force arrived they surrounded the enemy camp and raised a great fire, and those inside were startled and confused. As soon as it was light, Chunyu Qiong and the others saw how few men Cao Cao had with him, and they set out their line of battle before the gates of the camp. Cao Cao attacked at once. Chunyu Qiong retreated to the shelter of the camp, but Cao Cao followed up and attacked him again.

When Yuan Shao heard Cao Cao had attacked Chunyu Qiong, he said to his son Yuan Tan, "As Cao Cao is defeating Chunyu Qiong, I shall take his camp and he will have nothing to return to." He sent his officers Gao Lan and Zhang He to attack Cao Cao's defences. [288]

Zhang He said, "If Lord Cao's best troops have gone he is sure to defeat Chunyu Qiong. When Chunyu Qiong is defeated the affair is lost. I beg to go and help him first." Guo Tu argued firmly that they should attack Cao Cao's camp.

"Lord Cao's camp is strong," argued Zhang He. "If we attack it we shall certainly not succeed. If Chunyu Qiong and the others are taken then we shall all be captives."

Gushi had earlier been the object of Xu Huang's raid (see above and note 39 quoting *SGZ* 17). This place also lay on the Ji. It was probably the western terminus of the distribution system, and may also have received supplies directly across the watershed from the Yellow River.

Besides modern topographical maps, there are reconstructions of the scene of conflict in *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* II, 16 and 43, and *Zhongguo shi gao ditu ji* I, 47.

43 Tying the horses' mouths and gagging the men was, of course, to ensure their silence, and carrying firewood was presumably to make the party appear as scavengers. But how a man gagged to silence and carrying a load of wood could explain successfully to an interested enquirer that he was actually part of a group of military reinforcements taxes the imagination. The raid was indeed carried out in secret and deception, but the historian has multiplied the clichés.

Yuan Shao sent only light troops to aid Chunyu Qiong and used his main force to attack Cao Cao's camp. They could not capture it.

As Yuan Shao's cavalry approached Wuchao,⁴⁴ some of Cao Cao's attendants said, "The enemy is coming closer, we ask to send a detachment to hold them off." Cao Cao was angry and said, "When they are behind our backs, then tell me."

Fighting for their lives, his men quickly defeated the enemy. They took the heads of Chunyu Qiong and others, burnt the supplies and killed more than a thousand soldiers. They cut the noses from the men, and the lips and tongues from the cattle and the horses, and displayed them before Yuan Shao's army.⁴⁵

Yuan Shao's men were now anxious and afraid. Ashamed that his plan had failed, Guo Tu now spoke to Yuan Shao against Zhang He, saying, "Zhang He is pleased that our army has been defeated."

Angry and frightened, Zhang He joined with Gao Lan to burn the engines of attack, and they went to Cao Cao's camp to surrender.

2035 Cao Hong was suspicious and was reluctant to receive them, but Xun You said, "Zhang He's plan was rejected. He is angry and he has come away. How can you have doubts?" So they let them in.

At this Yuan Shao's army was alarmed and upset and fell into utter confusion. Yuan Shao, with Yuan Tan and a few of their [289] senior staff,⁴⁶ fled on horseback across the Yellow River with an escort of eight hundred cavalry. Cao Cao chased them but failed to catch them. He collected their baggage, maps and books, and their treasure. All the other men of the army that surrendered were buried alive by Cao Cao. More than seventy thousand men were killed from first to last.⁴⁷

44 These were the reinforcements Yuan Shao had sent.

45 This is surely another cliché (*cf.* note 43 above). The mind boggles at the time and labour this would have entailed in the middle of a tight schedule, surrounded still by potentially overwhelming enemy forces; and how does one make a display of the lips and tongues of cattle and horses, let alone a thousand noses?

On the other hand, *Cao Man zhuan* has the sad story how Chunyu Qiong, the defeated commander, was captured alive and had his nose cut off. He was then brought before Cao Cao, who would have spared him. Xu You, however, urged his execution, and Chunyu Qiong died.

46 The text has the characters *fujin* 幅巾. The *Fuzi* book by Fu Xuan of the third century, quoted here by *ZZTJ* commentary, explains that commanders and high officers wore silken cloth for elegance and distinction.

47 As the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes, *HHS* 74/64A and the *Han ji* of Zhang Fan (quoted in *SGZ* 6:200 PC) say that eighty thousand men were killed. The figure of seventy thousand comes from the official report presented by Cao Cao to the emperor, quoted from *Xiandi qijuzhu* by *SGZ* 1:22 PC.

BB Ju Shou was unable to cross with Yuan Shao. Caught by Cao Cao's men, he cried out loud, "I do not surrender, I [290] have been captured!" Cao Cao knew him from before, and greeted him, "We have been separated under different mansions of the stars, and it is long since our paths have crossed."⁴⁸ It is quite unexpected that we should have taken you today."

"Ji province [Yuan Shao] made bad plans," replied Ju Shou, "and he brought defeat upon himself. I was neither clever nor strong enough. It is fitting I should be taken."

These figures are impossibly high: the total strength of Yuan Shao's army at the beginning of the campaign is recorded as only a hundred thousand (e.g. passage G above), and a seventy per-cent fatality rate cannot be credited.

It is nonetheless true that the losses of a defeated and broken army at this time could be quite disproportionate to those of the victors: pursuers had little difficulty in cutting down men running away from them, and generally small hesitation in doing so.

One sad reason for such slaughter was the difficulty of ensuring that a prisoner, left unattended, would not immediately take up arms again from the clutter of weapons which lay about any battle-field. After fire-arms were developed, it became easier to disarm a group of men and hold them in some form of control, but before that time an able-bodied, trained soldier, simply by grasping a spear or sword, could instantly change back from a surrendered captive to a dangerous enemy.

In this respect, the heavy Roman casualties after the defeat by Hannibal at Cannae were attributed to the problems the Carthaginians had in securing prisoners, and similar excuses have been offered for Henry V's order to slaughter his captives during the battle of Agincourt: see, for example, Keegan, *Face of Battle*, 107-112. Even in the days of firearms, Keegan at 194 and 48-50 describes vividly the difficulties of surrender at Waterloo and in modern times.

Furthermore, while the account of Cao Cao burying surrendered enemies alive (坑 *keng*) appears again to be a horrific cliché, the fuller text of *HHS* 74/64A puts it in a slightly different light. There it is said that a number of men surrendered falsely (偽降 *wei*) to Cao Cao, but then attempted to rejoin Yuan Shao as he gathered his scattered troops together north of the Yellow River (passage DD below). These repeated turncoats were buried alive. By slight adaptation of the text, *ZZTJ* has turned a punishment designed to discourage desertion, and limited to those who sought to escape, into a classical atrocity. Cao Cao, however, was nonetheless pleased to boast of the number of enemy dead.

BB *HHS* 74/64A:2402 (19b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;
SGZ 6:199 (59b-60a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;
SGZ 6:200 (59b-60a) PC quoting *Xiandi zhuan*;
HHJ 29:11a.

48 According to the "Starfield" astrological theory of Han times, the twenty-eight lunar mansions (宿 *xiu*) were identified with different regions of the empire. See, for example, the astronomical discussion of *SJ* 27, 1330 and 1346; Chavannes, *MH* III, 384 and 405-406, the description of the Han empire in *HS* 28B:1641-71, and the discussion by Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 121-126.

"Yuan Benchu had no good ideas," said Cao Cao, "and he refused your advice. There is still disorder and confusion, and I should be glad of your assistance."

"My uncle, my mother, and my younger brother are all in Yuan's hands," answered Ju Shou. "I shall be obliged if you will kill me quickly."

Cao Cao sighed and said, "If I had had you earlier, the empire would have been no problem." He released him and treated him generously, but later Ju Shou tried to return to Yuan Shao, so Cao Cao killed him.

2036

CC Cao Cao collected Yuan Shao's papers, including letters from men at Xu city and within his army. He burnt them all, saying, "When Yuan Shao was strong, even I was not sure of myself. How much more is this true for my men."⁴⁹

Many walled cities in Ji province surrendered to Cao Cao.

DD Yuan Shao fled to the north bank [of the Yellow River] by Liyang and went to the camp of his General Jiang Yiqu. He took him by the hand and said, "I entrust you with my head!" Jiang Yiqu gave up his tent, set him in place and asked him to take over command. When the soldiers heard where Yuan Shao was they gradually came back. [291]

EE Someone said to Tian Feng, "You will now become important."

"Our lord may seem lenient," replied Tian Feng, "but he never forgets. He does not value my loyalty, and I have several times angered him with advice or warning. Had he won, he would have been pleased and might have forgiven me. But now the battle is lost and he is angry. It will bring back all his hidden resentment, and I do not expect to live."

All Yuan Shao's men beat their breasts and wept and said, "If Tian Feng had been here we would never have suffered such a defeat." Yuan Shao said to Pang Ji, "The people of Ji province have heard my army is defeated and they should all remember [how they

CC SGZ 1:21 (51b), the Biography of Cao Cao;

SGZ 1:22 (51b) PC quoting *Weishi chungiu*.

49 ZZTJ commentary cites similar action by Emperor Guangwu, founder of Later Han, after the capture of Handan in 24 AD: HHS 1:14-15; Bielenstein, *RHD* II, 77. The incident may be a cliché or, as Hu Sanxing suggests, an example of great leaders following the same policy. As Bielenstein observes, one may doubt the documents really remained unread, but it was good propaganda.

DD HHS 74/64A:2401 (19a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

EE HHS 74/64A:2402 (19b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;

SGZ 6:200-01 (60b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

misled] me. My Attendant Officer Tian Feng was the only one who did not agree, but advised me not to go. I am still ashamed to face him."

"When Tian Feng heard you had retreated," replied Pang Ji, "he clapped his hands and laughed aloud. He was pleased that things had turned out as he foretold."

Yuan Shao said to his officers, "I did not use Tian Feng's advice, and so he laughs at me!" And he killed him.

Before this, when Cao Cao heard that Tian Feng had not accompanied the campaign, he was pleased and said, "Yuan Shao will certainly be defeated." Later, when Yuan Shao fled, he said again, "If Yuan Shao had accepted the advice of his Attendant Officer, everything would still be in the balance."

FF Two sons of Shen Pei were captured by Cao Cao. Yuan Shao's officer Meng Dai argued, "Shen Pei has a position of special authority and he belongs to a powerful clan. Now that his sons are in the south he will certainly plan to rebel." Guo Tu and Xin Ping agreed. Yuan Shao made Meng Dai Supervisor of the Army, to take Shen Pei's place in command of the garrison at Ye.⁵⁰

The Protector of the Army Pang Ji had long been an enemy of Shen Pei. Yuan Shao asked him about the matter, and he [292] replied, "Shen Pei is fiercely honest and always respects the examples of the ancients. He could not turn traitor just because his two sons are in the south. Have no doubts."

"But you have always disliked him?" asked Yuan Shao.

"Our previous quarrel," replied Pang Ji, "that was private. We are talking now about matters of state."

"Excellent!" said Yuan Shao. He did not dismiss Shen Pei.

2037 After this, Shen Pei became friends with Pang Ji.

GG Yuan Shao attacked the cities of Ji province that had rebelled and steadily recaptured them.

HH As a man, Yuan Shao was generous and elegant. He had ability, and neither pleasure nor anger would show on his expression. Yet he

FF *HHS 74/64A:2402-03 (20a)*, the Biography of Yuan Shao.

50 Shen Pei had been appointed Headquarters Officer when Yuan Shao first took over Ji province in 191: passage P of Chuping 2. It appears he remained at Ye thereafter, and did not accompany the campaign against Cao Cao. We are told in passage AA above that Xu You resolved to desert Yuan Shao because one of his relatives had been arrested by Shen Pei: the offence and punishment presumably took place at Ye city.

GG *HHS 74/64A:2403 (20b)*, the Biography of Yuan Shao;
SGZ 6:201 (61b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

was proud, obstinate and self-satisfied, and seldom followed the best course. So he came to defeat.

II In the winter, in the tenth month on the day xinhai [6 Nov], there was a comet in the Great Dyke constellation.⁵¹

JJ The Administrator of Lujiang, Li Shu, had attacked and killed the Inspector of Yang province Yan Xiang,⁵² and Mei Qian, Lei Xu and Chen Lan of Lujiang each collected forces of several ten thousands between the Yangzi and the Huai.

Cao Cao recommended Liu Fu of Pei state as Inspector of Yang province. The province at that time controlled only Jiujiang, but Liu Fu rode alone to the empty city of Hefei and set his provincial headquarters there. He called Mei [293] Qian, Lei Xu and the others to join him, and they all sent tribute and accepted alliance.

For several years Liu Fu acted with grace and honesty, and the wandering people that turned to him were numbered by the tens of thousands. He extended military colonies and repaired the embankments and dams. People were able to store up supplies, and he then brought in teachers and set up schools. He reinforced the walls of the cities and prepared great stocks of wood and stone, ready for defence in war.

KK When Cao Cao heard that Sun Ce had died, he thought to take the opportunity to attack. The Imperial Clerk Zhang Hong protested, "To gain advantage from another man's mourning does not accord with traditional patterns of honourable conduct. If you fail, moreover, you will have made enemies and ended good feeling. This is a time to behave generously."⁵³

HH *HHS* 74/64A:2402 (20a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;
SGZ 6:201 (61b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

II *HHS* 9:382 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

51 The Great Dyke constellation (大梁 *Daliang*) is the same as the Wei 胃 "Stomach" lunar mansion, the seventeenth, represented in Western astronomy by the small group *Musca Borealis*, east of Hamal in Aries: Schlegel, *Uranographie chinoise* I, 343, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 100 and Star Map 6.

This comet is described in the Treatise of Astronomy at *HHS* 102/12:3261. The constellation is linked to Ji province, so the portent is related to the death of Yuan Shao two years later and the conquest of his territory by Cao Cao.

JJ *SGZ* 15:463 (1a-2a), the Biography of Liu Fu.

52 Li Shu had been appointed to Lujiang by Sun Ce: passage S of Jian'an 4.

KK *SGZ* 53 (Wu 8):1243-44 (2b), the Biography of Zhang Hong;
SGZ 53 (Wu 8):1244 (2a) PC quoting *Wu shu*.

53 Sun Ce had sent Zhang Hong with tribute to the court two years earlier, and Zhang Hong had been appointed there as an Imperial Clerk: passage W of Jian'an 3.

So Cao Cao recommended Sun Quan as General Who Exterminates Caitiffs, with command as Administrator of Kuaiji.

2038

Cao Cao wanted Zhang Hong to persuade Sun Quan into a close alliance. He appointed him Commandant of the Eastern Region of Kuaiji, and so Zhang Hong came to Wu.⁵⁴ The mother of Sun Quan [Lady Wu] believed that he was too young [to take full authority], so she commissioned Zhang Hong and Zhang Zhao to act together as his assistants.⁵⁵ Zhang Hong had no thought but to give help in the supervision and to make sure everything was done correctly.

LL Sun Quan's mother asked the Commandant Who Manifests Firmness Dong Xi of Kuaiji, "Can we hold the east of the Yangzi?" [294]

"The lands east of the Yangzi have security from mountains and rivers," replied Dong Xi, "while the government and virtue of the General Who Exterminates Rebels [Sun Ce] have already attracted the people. The General Who Exterminates Caitiffs [Sun Quan] can build on these foundations, so that great and small follow his commands. Zhang Zhao can look after affairs of government, while others like me act as claws and teeth. With strategic advantage and support from the people, there is surely no cause for concern."

MM Sun Quan sent Zhang Hong to his territory. Because Zhang Hong had originally received his appointment from the north, some people suspected his ideas might go further. Sun Quan, however, would not attend to such suggestions.⁵⁶

NN Lu Su was intending to return to the north,⁵⁷ but Zhou Yu persuaded him not to, then recommended him to Sun Quan, "Lu Su has ability

54 Under Later Han, Commandants (尉 *wei*) were appointed to border commanderies or in territories of particular military emergency. Where more than one was appointed, the commandery was divided into regions (部 *bu*).

55 The title *taifuren* 太夫人 refers to the dowager Lady Wu, widow of Sun Jian, who is mentioned in the following passage.

LL SGZ 55 (Wu 10):1291 (11a), the Biography of Dong Xi.

MM SGZ 53 (Wu 8):1244 (3a) PC quoting *Wu shu*.

56 Though Zhang Hong, as Commandant in Kuaiji, was formally the subordinate of Sun Quan as Administrator, he owed his appointment to the court under Cao Cao: passage KK above. On the conflict of loyalty caused Zhang Hong by his successive service to Sun Ce, to the imperial court under Cao Cao, and now to Sun Quan, see deC, *Generals of the South*, 223. Despite show of good faith by both Sun Quan and Zhang Hong, there was always some uncertainty.

NN SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1268 (15a), the Biography of Lu Su.

which can be valuable to us. You should look widely for men like him to assist your great work."

Sun Quan gave audience to Lu Su and was pleased with him. When the other guests had withdrawn he invited Lu Su to stay back, and they sat with their tables together and drank face to face. Sun Quan said, "The Han house is in danger, and I have in mind to follow the great examples of Huan [of Qi] and Wen [of Jin].⁵⁸ How would you help in this?"

"In earlier times," answered Lu Su, "though Emperor Gao [of Han] wanted to honour and serve the Provisional Emperor, he could not manage it because he was under threat from Xiang Yu.⁵⁹ Now Cao Cao is like Xiang Yu, and how can you manage like Huan or Wen?

"As I see it, the Han house is fallen forever and Cao Cao is here to stay. Your best plan is to hold the east of the Yangzi [295] and watch the conflicts of the empire. Take advantage of the northerners' preoccupations, attack Huang Zu and drive him away, go forward against Liu Biao, then seize the full length of the Long River [the Yangzi]. Here is the task for a king."

Sun Quan replied, "Now I am putting all the strength of my domain to help and support the house of Han. What you propose is far beyond my ability."

Zhang Zhao spoke against Lu Su, saying that he was young and irresponsible. Sun Quan, however, showed him increasing honour and respect, and granted him supplies so that Lu Su became as wealthy as he had been before.⁶⁰

2039

OO

Sun Quan held examination of those junior officers who had few soldiers and were therefore less useful, and he combined their troops to make larger units. The Senior Major Lü Meng of Runan had his squadron looking fresh and drilled, and his men were well-trained. Sun Quan was impressed. He increased his command, promoted him and showed him favour.

57 Lu Su came originally from Xiapi (also known as Linhuai), near the Huai River: note 21 to Jian'an 3.

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

59 On the Provisional Emperor, see note 21 to Jian'an 1.

60 SGZ 54 says that Lu Su was a man of wealthy family, but their property had been lost in the troubles of the time.

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

PP SGZ 57 (Wu 12):1335 (32b), the Biography of Luo Tong.

- PP The Officer of Merit Luo Tong urged Sun Quan to honour worthy men, to welcome scholars and to be diligent in seeking advice. On days when there were feasts and rewards every man should be allowed to come forward and have personal audience. He should enquire whether his lodgings were comfortable, show a personal interest, and encourage him to talk in order to find out what was on his mind. Sun Quan followed this advice. Luo Tong was the son of Luo Jun.⁶¹
- QQ The Administrator of Luling, Sun Fu, was afraid Sun Quan would not be able to hold the east of the Yangzi, and he sent men in secret with letters to call Cao Cao. Someone reported it, and Sun Quan beheaded all Sun Fu's close [296] companions, redistributed his followers, and exiled him to the east.⁶²
- RR Cao Cao recommended that Hua Xin be called for appointment as Consultant and Adviser to the Army of the Excellency of Works.⁶³
- SS Li Shu the Administrator of Lujiang refused to submit to Sun Quan and several times took in fugitives and rebels against him. Sun Quan reported the situation to Cao Cao and said, "Inspector Yan Xiang was appointed by you, and Li Shu harmed him."⁶⁴ This was a wanton criminal act. He should be punished and destroyed quickly. Li Shu is

61 Luo Jun was the Chancellor of Chen assassinated at Yuan Shu's orders in 197: passage P of Jian'an 2.

QQ SGZ 51 (Wu 6):1211 (9b), the Biography of Sun Fu;
SGZ 51 (Wu 6):1212 (9b-10a) PC quoting *Dian lue*.

62 On Sun Fu's campaigns in Yuzhang and his appointment as Administrator of Luling commandery, see passages S and V of Jian'an 4. SGZ 51 says that Sun Fu was not only exiled, but held in confinement.

ZZTJ here dates the disaffection of Sun Fu to the beginning of Sun Quan's reign, just after the death of Sun Ce. In *Generals of the South* at 260-261, however, I have argued that Sun Fu was more likely to have been concerned in 208, on the eve of the Red Cliffs campaign, when Cao Cao controlled Jing province and there was serious debate whether or not to surrender. At present, Cao Cao was primarily engaged in the north. Luling commandery, in the south of present-day Jiangxi province, separated from the Yangzi by the rump of Yuzhang, was surely too far away for useful contact, and we see in passage JJ above that Cao Cao's officer Liu Fu had hardly begun to establish a position even south of the Huai.

RR SGZ 13:401-03 (19b-20a), the Biography of Hua Xin.

63 Hua Xin had surrendered to Sun Ce in the previous year: passage T of Jian'an 4. SGZ 13 says that Sun Quan was at first reluctant to let Hua Xin go, but was eventually persuaded to do so. The appointments that Hua Xin was given are comparable to those awarded his colleague Wang Lang: passage Y and note 22 of Jian'an 3.

SS SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1116 (2b-3a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

64 See passage JJ above.

sure to ask help from you on false pretences. You hold the position of an Aheng,⁶⁵ and you are respected by all within the seas. I ask that you instruct your officers to pay him no attention."

Then he raised troops and attacked Li Shu in Huan city. Li Shu asked help from Cao Cao but Cao Cao sent none. They stormed the city, cut off Li Shu's head and exposed it. His forces, more than twenty thousand men, were taken over and transferred elsewhere.

TT Liu Biao attacked Zhang Xian,⁶⁶ but for several years he gained no headway. Then, while Cao Cao was facing Yuan Shao and had no opportunity to help him, Zhang Xian became ill and died.

2040 The people of Changsha set up his son Zhang Yi to succeed him, but Liu Biao attacked Zhang Yi and also Lingling and Guiyang and conquered all of them.

Liu Biao's territory now extended over several thousand *li*, and he had more than a hundred thousand men at arms. He no longer sent up tribute, he held state sacrifice and worship to Heaven and Earth and in his lodging and clothing he usurped the regalia of an emperor.⁶⁷

UU Because Liu Zhang was dull and weak, Zhang Lu refused to accept his orders, but attacked his Senior Major Zhang Xiu, killed him and took over his troops. Liu Zhang was angry and killed Zhang Lu's mother and younger brother.⁶⁸ [298]

65 Aheng 阿衡 was the name or title held by Yi Yin 伊尹, chief minister at the beginning of the legendary Shang dynasty: see, for example, Chavannes, *MH* I, 178, and Legge, *CC* III, 199-200 (Couvreur, *Chou king*, 118).

TT *HHS* 74/64B:2421 (9a-b), the Biography of Liu Biao;
SGZ 6:211 (83b), the Biography of Liu Biao.

66 On the rebellion of Zhang Xian in the southern part of Jing province, distantly allied to Cao Cao, see passage V of Jian'an 3.

67 As Lu Bi observes in *SGZJJ*, the clearest source for this last set of statements is in the biography of Kong Rong, *HHS* 70/60:2269, concerning a memorial which Kong Rong had sent to the court. There is further evidence scattered elsewhere: in discussion with Cao Cao, for example, after the surrender of Jing province in 208, Liu Xian 劉先 described the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth: *SGZ* 6:216 PC quoting *Lingling xianxian zhuan*. The usurpation of imperial honours, however, is not mentioned in Liu Biao's biographies of *HHS* 74/64B and *SGZ* 6: and cf. passage II of Jian'an 1.

UU *HHS* 75/65:2433 (2b-3a), the post-Biography of Liu Yan;
SGZ 8:263 (44a), the Biography of Zhang Lu;
SGZ 31 (Shu 1):868 (9b-10a), the Biography of Liu Zhang;
SGZ 31 (Shu 1):869 (10b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;
Huayang guo zhi 5:6a.

68 This first paragraph follows *HHS* 75/65, but disagrees with the two texts from *SGZ*.

Then Zhang Lu seized Hanzhong and declared war on Liu Zhang. Liu Zhang sent the General of the Household Pang Xi to attack him, but when he had no success Liu Zhang appointed him as Administrator of Ba commandery, to camp at Langzhong and oppose Zhang Lu. Pang Xi, on his own authority, recruited the Zong people of Hanchang as soldiers.⁶⁹

Someone spoke to Liu Zhang against Pang Xi, and Liu Zhang became suspicious of him. Zhao Wei protested several times, but his advice was not heeded, and he too became angry and resentful.

Before this, tens of thousands of families from Nanyang and the Three Adjuncts [about Chang'an] had migrated into Yi province. Liu Yan had recruited them as soldiers, calling them the Dongzhou troops.⁷⁰ Liu Zhang was by nature tolerant and lenient, he maintained no authority, and when the Dongzhou troops plundered and oppressed the local people he could do nothing to prevent it.

The biography of Zhang Lu says that he killed Zhang Xiu before the death of Liu Yan and the succession of Liu Zhang in 194, while both texts agree that Zhang Lu and Zhang Xiu were in rebellion against Han, so the killing of one by the other would hardly have been a matter of defiance to Liu Zhang: passage JJ of Chuping 2.

It appears, indeed, that Liu Yan, and Liu Zhang after him, had been for some time largely unconcerned at Zhang Lu's activities. Liu Yan used the physical break with the Han court to justify the establishment of his own regime, and members of Zhang Lu's family and following continued to reside at Liu Zhang's court in Chengdu. It is generally agreed that Liu Zhang was considered a weak ruler, but in this case, on the evidence of *SGZ*, it appears most probable that the final break took place because he attempted to enforce some authority by pressure against Zhang Lu's relatives. See further deC, *Generals of the South*, 363, and *Imperial Warlord*, 291-294.

69 Pang Xi was an old supporter of Liu Zhang and his father Liu Yan: passage Y of Xingping 1.

Langzhong city was near present-day Langzhong in Sichuan, on the Jialing Jiang; Hanchang county was in the next major valley to the east, near present-day Bazhong on a tributary of the Qu Jiang. The non-Chinese people of the hills and mountains on the eastern border of Yi with Jing province were commonly known as Zong 賡, after the tribute of cloth they were required to present each year: see *HHS* 86/76:2831, and the discussion of Tang Changru in his *Wei-Jin nanbeichao shi luncong*, 4.

Hanmo yingxiong ji, and *SGZ* 45:1071 and 1089 (cited in passage G of Jian'an 6), describe Pang Xi as Administrator of Baxi 巴西 commandery rather than of Ba. In 194 Liu Zhang had divided Later Han Ba commandery to form three new commandery units, retaining the name Ba for the limited area about Langzhong. In 201, however, the name of the Langzhong region was changed to Baxi. As a result, Pang Xi could be Administrator successively of Ba and of Baxi without changing his territory. On this complex administrative history see Wu Zengjin, *Sanguo junxian biao*, 2920-2922, and deC, *Generals of the South*, 364-366.

70 The Dongzhou troops were given that name because many of them had come from Nanyang, in the "eastern province" (東州 *dongzhou*) of Jing.

Zhao Wei had gained the people's affections in the past. Taking advantage of local resentment in Yi province, he made a rebellion, bringing tens of thousands of soldiers to attack Liu Zhang. He gave large bribes to establish an alliance with [Liu Biao in] Jing province. Shu commandery, Guanghan and Jianwei all joined him. [299-303]

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 [304]

A *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* 癸未 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 the entry in *HHS* 108/18 is false and *HHS* 9 is basically correct. The text, however, should refer to the second month, not the third: there was no *dingmao* 丁卯 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.

B *SGZ* 10:314 (15b-16a), the Biography of Xun Yu;
HHS 70/60:2287 (18a), the Biography of Xun Yu.

2 *ZZTJ* commentary quotes *SJZ* 8:7a to show that Anmin village was on the eastern bank of the Ji River 濟水, west of Shouzhang 壽張 county in Dongping, southeast of present-day Dongping in Shandong. This was near the Great Marsh 大野澤, and 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.

C *SGZ* 1:23 (52a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

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

Cao Cao brought 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 that 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 that I do not ride any more, they have become fat and flabby. The 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 were considering whether they should withdraw their troops.

Zhang Liao said to Xiahou Yuan, "Over 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." [305]

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

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.

D SGZ 32 (Shu 2):876 (11a), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2):876 (11a) PC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*.

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

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

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 三公 "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 鄆 was the capital of Donghai commandery, so this was evidently where Chang Xi had regrouped and maintained his defence.

Then Chang Xi came down and spoke with Zhang Liao, and Zhang Liao told him about Cao Cao's miraculous ability in war, how he extended his virtue far and wide, 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 Sangong Hill to Chang Xi's house and paid 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].

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 officer Cheng Qi to go to his father Cheng Ji the magistrate 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 shall always be loyal to him. You are an officer in the commandery, and must certainly do all you can for your Administrator. But it would be better to die than act dishonourably."

2043 Pang Xi became angry and sent a messenger to Cheng Ji to say, "Unless you obey your Administrator, misfortune will come to your family."

"When Yue Yang ate [306] his child, "replied Cheng Ji, "it was not because he lacked the feelings of a father for his son, but because

F SGZ 31 (Shu 1):869 (10b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

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.

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 Ji as Yu 郁 rather than Qi 祁. ZZTJ has followed *Huayang guo zhi*.

On the Zong people of Hanchang, see note 69 to Jian'an 5.

there were greater principles at stake which forced him to it. If you made Qi into soup, I would still drink it."¹⁰

Then Pang Xi offered apologies to Liu Zhang and made peace with him. Liu Zhang promoted Cheng Ji to become Administrator of Jiangyang.¹¹

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

I Zhang Lu taught superstition.¹² Those who were sick were required to confess their sins, and he said prayers for them. It was no real use as a cure, but masses of ignorant people, confused and foolish, vied with one another to serve him. Those who offended the law were pardoned three times before they were punished, and he did not appoint civil officials, but all were governed by Libationers.¹³ Both the Chinese and the non-Chinese were pleased with this, and none of the refugees that came to live in this area would dare to disobey his teachings.

Later, Zhang Lu attacked and occupied Ba commandery. The court was not strong enough to fight him, so he was given title as General of the Household Who Maintains the [307] People in Peace,

10 *Zhanguo ce* 7:2a; Crump, *Chan-kuo ts'ue*, 371, tells how Yue Yang 樂羊 commanded the army of Wei 魏 at the siege of Zhongshan 中山 during the Warring States period. As Yue Yang's son was in the city, the ruler killed him, boiled the body and sent the soup to Yue Yang. Yue Yang drank it, continued the attack and stormed 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.

H *SGZ* 31 (Shu 1):869 (10b) PC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

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

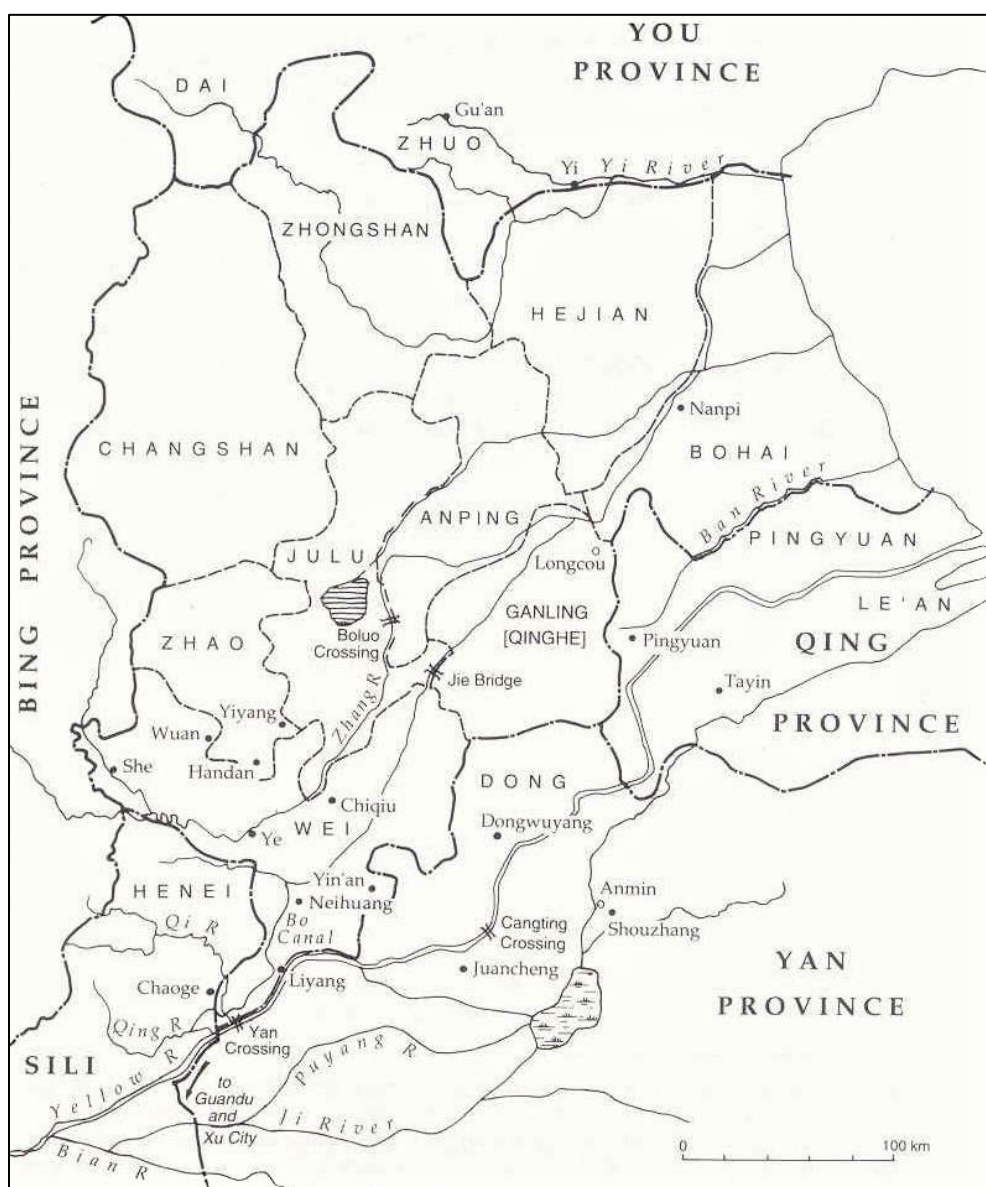
12 On the teachings of Zhang Lu and his previous history, see passage JJ and note 61 to Chuping 2. The term "superstition" renders the phrase *guidao* 鬼道 "teachings about demons and spirits."

13 The title Libationer (祭酒 *jijiu*) appears under Han administration, as for example at the head of the Imperial University (*HHS* 115/25:3572; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 23), and note 70 to Zhongping 6; Cao Cao had several offices with that style (e.g. passage R to Jian'an 13). Here, however, it particularly reflects the theocratic regime of Zhang Lu.

and was also appointed Administrator of Hanning.¹⁴ 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 Merit Yan Pu of Baxi objected, "The Han valley contains more than 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.¹⁵ For next best you could emulate Dou Rong, and you will never lack for wealth or honour.¹⁶ 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. [308>309]

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- 14 Hanning 漢寧 was the name given by Zhang Lu to the Han commandery of Hanzhong 漢中, and until his 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 安陽 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 under Yuan Shao and his sons 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 was 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.

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 offering restitution for the kinfolk and the spirits of those who had died in his service: deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 205-206. He then made his further moves to Junyi and Guandu.

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, Grand Commandant in the time of Emperor Ling, he had shown favour and given advice to Cao Cao early in his career: *Huan and Ling*, 357-358.

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*.

4 Yuan Shao's biographies in SGZ 6 and *HHS* 74/64A at 2403, do not mention the date of his death. The Annals at *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.

There is likewise no record of Yuan Shao's age. There are anecdotes of uncertain reliability which indicate that he was quite close in age to Cao Cao, who was born in 155. He was probably slightly the elder, and was perhaps about fifty when he died.

5 As *ZZTJ* commentary observes, the rivalry of Yuan Shao's three sons has been described more extensively by *HHS* 74/64A:2383, dated about 195.

Ju Shou 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 [310]

"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 that 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 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

6 This was indeed a proverb. *ZZTJ* commentary quotes the early text *Shenzi* 慎子, while the Tang commentary to *HHS* 74/64A:2383 cites the *Zi Sizi* 子思子 and the *Book of Lord Shang* 商君子.

7 *Jiuzhou chunqiu* notes that initially Yuan Tan was not appointed as a full Inspector, but only as a Chief Controller (都督 *dudu*): cf. note 4 to Jian'an 4.

C *SGZ* 6:201-202 (62a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;
HHS 74/64A:2403 (20b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;
HHS 74/64B:2409 (1a), the post-Biography of Yuan Shao;
SGZ 1:23 (53b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

8 *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.

D Yuan Shang sent Guo Yuan, the Administrator of Hedong whom he had appointed, to join Gao Gan and the Southern [311>312] Shanyu of the Xiongnu and attack 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 officers 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, to let a good fellow die like this?"

The record here, based largely on the official records of Wei, indicates that Cao Cao was consistently successful, but other sources which imply that he encountered major difficulties and that he gained very little. See note 2 to Jian'an 8 below.

D SGZ 13:393 (4b) PC quoting *Zhan lue*.

E SGZ 15:479-80 (24a-b), the Biography of Jia Kui;
SGZ 15:480 (24b) PC quoting *Wei lue*.

9 Jiang county in Hedong was near present-day Houma in Shanxi. It appears that Jia Kui was a local officer currently acting as magistrate.

According to *Wei lue*, quoted by SGZ 15:481 PC, the original given name of Jia Kui 賈逵 was Qu 衢. Though the name is written with identical characters, it does not appear that this man was any relation to the celebrated scholar of the same name in the first century whose biography is in *HHS* 36/26. The earlier Jia Kui came from Youfufeng, and the later from Hedong. Furthermore, the fact that the junior man had or took an identical given name shows he could not be a member of the same lineage: filial piety would forbid it.

10 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.

A certain Zhu Gongdao happened to hear him. Stealing in by night, he brought Jia Kui out, broke his fetters and arranged his escape. He would not [at that time] give his name.¹¹ [313]

- F Cao Cao sent the 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 magistrate of Xinfeng, Zhang Ji of [Zuo]-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 those who oppose virtue will lose.'¹³ 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, relying on their strength, turn their backs to the royal commands and urge on barbarians to oppress China. One may well say that they oppose virtue.

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- 11 *Wei lue*, quoted by SGZ 15:480 PC note 2, says that Zhu Gongdao had no previous connection with Jia Kui. Another 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.

- F SGZ 13:393 (4a-5a), the Biography of Zhong Yao;
SGZ 15:472 (13b), the Biography of Zhang Ji;
SGZ 13:393 (4b) PC quoting *Zhan lue*.

- 12 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 had laid siege to him before Guo Yuan began his invasion. (Variant editions of *ZZTJ* here read 援 *i.e.* Guo Yuan, rather than 救 *yuan* "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 as he was investing Pingyang, and 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 (三老 *sanlao*) Lord Dong 董公 of Xincheng 新城 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 and Nienhauser, *GSR* II, 48-49.



Map 15: Southern Bing province and Hedong commandery 201-206

2046 "You have always given loyal service, but you have not committed your full strength.¹⁴ 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 [314] 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 against 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.

G 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 only reason they have not rebelled is because they respect our authority. If we give up and go away it will show 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 and 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

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.

G SGZ 18:545 (18a), the Biography of Pang De;
SGZ 18:546 (18a), PC quoting *Wei lue*.

nephew of Zhong Yao. After dark, Pang De of Nan'an,¹⁵ a Colonel under Ma Chao, brought out a head from his quiver. Zhong Yao saw it and wept. Pang De apologised to him, but Zhong Yao replied "Guo Yuan was my nephew, but he was also an enemy of the state. Why apologise?"

H After this, the Southern Shanyu also surrendered.¹⁶ [315]
2047

I Liu Biao sent Liu Bei to make raids in the north. He came to She,¹⁷ 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."

Refusing to listen, Xiahou Dun and the others left Li Dian behind as guard while they followed the chase. They did indeed fall into an ambush and were thoroughly defeated. Li Dian came to their rescue, and then Liu Bei withdrew.

J 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

15 Nan'an commandery had been 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* 秦州記, and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 494 note 35 and 148 map 5.

H *SGZ* 13:393 (4a-5a), the Biography of Zhong Yao.

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.

I *SGZ* 18:524 (2a), the Biography of Li Dian.

17 She 葉 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 place-name is confused. The regular sound is Ye, which is used for the modern county. *ZZTJ* commentary, however, follows a *fanqie* spelling of 之+涉 and suggests that 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. *Huan and Ling*, 151, following Legge, *CC* V, 919, and Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 784), while there are echoes of such a pronunciation in Karlgren's reconstruction of that phonetic group: *GSR* 633. I follow the traditional version.

established as a vassal state [of the Zhou dynasty], it had not so much as a hundred *li* of territory. The men who succeeded to the fief, however, were worthy and capable. 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.¹⁸ [316]

"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 the people obey your commands. You can get copper from the hills and salt from the sea.¹⁹ There is wealth and abundance within your borders and your subjects have no thought of rebellion. What is there to threaten you? Why send hostages?

"Once you have sent a hostage, you cannot avoid being in close alliance with Cao Cao, and once you are in alliance, you are forever at his beck and call. So 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?"

2048 "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

J SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1260-61 (4b-5a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

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

19 The Zhang Hills 鄣山 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, and *HS* 28A:1592; Swann, *Food and Money*, 444-445, deC, *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 of the counties in Wu commandery was actually named Haiyan 海鹽: *HHS* 113/23:3489.

20 The term *gu* 孤 "solitary man" had long been 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 公瑾, that of the late Sun Ce was Bofu 伯符. On the early association between the two, see for example passage BB of Xingping 1.

So Sun Quan sent no hostages.²² [317]

22 In fact, it is uncertain whom Sun Quan could 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 孫登, 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 deC, *Generals of the South*, 224 note.

Jian'an 8: 203 AD

31 January 203 – 17 February 204

A 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.¹

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 may 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.² [318]

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" (後出師表 *Hou chushi biao*) 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 chungiu*; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 257-259 and 283-285 at 258. Hu Sanxing suggests this implies that 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, does state 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.

- B 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 doubted him. He did not give Yuan Tan any more men troops, nor did he change his equipment. Yuan Tan was very 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 withdrew to Nanpi.³

- 2049 The Attendant Officer Wang Xiu of Beihai brought officers and men from Qing province to aid Yuan Tan, and Yuan Tan planned to go back again to fight Yuan Shang.

"Elder and younger brothers are like the 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 pushing you into a family quarrel, but I beg you to close your ears and pay no attention. If both of you would cut the heads off some of your false ministers and become friends again, you could control the whole country and act in the empire as you please." Yuan Tan would not accept this advice.

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 that he withdrew of his own accord, maintaining a bridge-head on the north of the Yellow River about Liyang; this, however, was not a major advance.

See further deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 209-210.

- 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 coast north of the mouth of the Yellow River.

Yuan Tan was Yuan Shao's eldest son, but his appointment as adoptive heir to his uncle had weakened his claim to succeed his natural father: see passage B of Jian'an 7.

Yuan Tan's officer Liu Xun raised a force at Tayin to oppose Yuan Tan, and the other cities supported him. Yuan Tan sighed, "Now the whole province has rebelled.⁴ What have I done wrong?" [319]

Wang Xiu said, "Though Guan Tong the Administrator of Donglai is across the sea, he has not rebelled and he will certainly bring help."

Some ten days later Guan Tong did come to assist Yuan Tan; he left his wife and children behind and they were killed by bandits. Yuan Tan made Guan Tong Administrator of Le'an.⁵

C In the autumn, in the eighth month Cao Cao attacked Liu Biao, and his army came to Xiping.⁶

D 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.⁷ 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,⁸ "When a gentleman finds himself in difficulty, he does not ally himself with an enemy

4 Tayin county was in the far south of 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] but he was currently in Bohai in the northeast of Ji province and north of Pingyuan. This rebellion meant he was potentially cut off from the south of the territory where he held nominal authority.

5 Donglai in Qing province was on the point of the Shandong peninsula, and the most direct route to Bohai was by sea across the south of the Gulf of Beihai.

Le'an commandery in Qing province lay across the mouth of the Yellow River, immediately east of Pingyuan. It was substantially closer to Yuan Tan's core position in Bohai, but, given the rebellion of Liu Xun and his allies in that commandery, one cannot be sure how of the territory was under Yuan Tan's control.

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

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

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

7 Having pursued his brother to the north, Yuan Shang has now driven him south out of Ji province and into Pingyuan. Pingyuan city, on the northern bank of the Yellow River, was the capital of the commandery.

8 The text of Liu Biao's letter to Yuan Tan as preserved in HHS 74/64B differs slightly from the version in *Weishi chungqiu*. The letter to Yuan Shang which follows appears only in the latter text, which is also quoted by HHS 74/64B TC.

HHS 74/64B TC notes that both letters appear also in the *Collected Works* (集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.

state.⁹ When friendship comes to an end, he does not abuse his former comrades.¹⁰ How much serious must it be to [320] 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.¹¹

2050 "Even though Jizhou [Yuan Shang]¹² 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."¹³

"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?"

"Unless you change your mind, however, even the barbarians will despise you, and how can I, sharer in the oath, continue to give

9 These words are ascribed to Gongshan Buniu 公山不孺. See *Zuo zhuan*, Ai 8; Legge, CC V, 816-817 (Couvreux, *Chronique* III, 647):

Gongshan Buniu was an officer of the state of Lu 魯 in the early fifth century, but left for exile in Wu 吳. Later, as the king of Wu was planning an attack on Lu, he asked and obtained advice from one of Gongshan Buniu's fellow-refugees. When Gongshan Buniu heard of this, he criticised the man 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 aid an assault against it.

10 This comes from the biography of Yue Yi 樂毅 in *SJ* 80:24329-34: Nienhauser, *GSR* VII, 256-259. A descendant of Yue Yang (note 10 to Jian'an 6), Yue Yi became chief general of the state of Yan 燕 in the early third century BC but was away with enmity and distrust by a new ruler. After several military set-backs, however, the king asked Yue Yi to return, and he sent a conciliatory letter in reply. See also Crump, *Chan-kuo ts'ue*, 543-547.

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

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

13 *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.

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."¹⁴

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 [321] strong and should be settled first, while Yuan Tan and Yuan Shang were no longer a concern.

Xun You said, "Despite all the activity elsewhere, Liu Biao has done nothing but hold his position between the Yangzi and the Han. It is clear that he has no broader ambitions. 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.

"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 settle Jing province first, and leave 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 need have no concern about Yuan Tan's reliability," replied Xin Pi. "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

"But now one of them has suddenly asked your help, and you can see from this [how weak they are]. Xianfu [Yuan Shang] has Xiansi [Yuan Tan] in trouble,¹⁵ but he cannot defeat him, and this is because his strength is exhausted.

14 Han Lu 韓廬 was the finest hound in the world and Dongguo Suan 東郭豸 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'ue*, 159.

E SGZ 25:695 (1a-2b), the Biography of Xin Pi;
SGZ 10:324 (31a-b), the Biography of Xun You.

15 Xianfu 顯甫 was the style of Yuan Shang, Xiansi 顯思 the style of Yuan Tan.

"As their men-at-arms suffer defeat outside, and their ministers of counsel are killed within,¹⁶ the brothers slander and quarrel with one another. 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 that they are done for. Now is the time Heaven has abandoned Yuan Shang. [322]

"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.

"Suppose, 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.'¹⁷ The two Yuan pay no attention to any broad 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.

"On the other hand, should you fail to deal with 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 agree to Yuan Tan's request and take 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."¹⁸

"Excellent!" said Cao Cao, and he promised peace to Yuan Tan.

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

17 See the "Announcement of Zhonghui" 仲虺之誥 Chapter of *Shu jing* IV.2.7; Legge CC III, 181 (Couvreux, *Annales*, 107): "Take their states from the disorderly, and deal summarily with those going to ruin."

18 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.

2052

F 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 [323] carved in secret and sent to them.¹⁹ Cao Cao realised that 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, then led his army back [south across the Yellow River].²⁰

G Sun Quan went west to attack Huang Zu.²¹ 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.

As he passed Yuzhang, he sent Lü Fan, General of the Household Who Subdues the Caitiffs, to pacify Poyang,²² and the General of the Household Who Terrifies Criminals Cheng Pu to attack Le'an.²³

[He also ordered] Taishi Ci, Commandant of Jianchang, to take command at Haihun, while the senior majors Huang Gai, Han Dang,

F *SGZ* 1:24 (55b-56a), the Biography of Cao Cao;

HHS 74/64B:2414 (4a), the post-Biography of Yuan Shao.

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

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

G *SGZ* 47 (Wu 2):1116 (3b), the Biography of Sun Quan.

21 Huang Zu was 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 a personal feud, for Huang Zu had been the commander of Liu Biao's army when Sun Jian, father of Sun Quan, was killed: passage DD of Chuping 2.

22 The text of *SGZ* 47 here includes 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 to the east, makes no sense in this context.

23 Le'an 樂安 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 the commandery with the same name in Qing province: passage B above.

Zhou Tai and Lü Meng were sent to occupy the important cities as magistrates and to attack the Shanyue. All was settled.²⁴ [324]

- H The people of Jian'an, Hanxing and Nanping made trouble; each district had more than ten thousand men. Sun Quan sent He Qi, 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.²⁵ [325]

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- 24 The biography of Taishi Ci, *SGZ* 49 (Wu 4):1190, says that he had been appointed Commandant of Jianchang by Sun Ce. Jianchang county was in Yuzhang, by present-day Gao'an in Jiangxi, on the Jin or Rui River west of the Poyang marshlands (see note 33 to Jian'an 3). Taishi Ci's new 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. 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; likewise record their campaigns in this region.

The term *Shanyue* 山越 describes the non-Chinese people of the hill country in southeast China, as distinguished from *shanmin* 山民 "hills people," who may be Chinese renegades or refugees, and who can also be described, when recalcitrant, as *shanzei* 山賊 or (as earlier in this passage) *shankou* 山寇 "hills bandits." See also note 22 to Jian'an 3.

- H *SGZ* 60 (Wu 15):1378 (2a-3a), the Biography of He Qi.
 25 This passage is a summary of the first part of He Qi's biography in *SGZ* 60, and has somewhat over-simplified the facts described there.

He Qi had been appointed Commandant of the Southern Region of Kuaiji, based upon the isolated cities of Dongye 東冶 and Houguan 候官, soon after the capture of that region by Sun Ce in 196: passage S of Jian'an 1. From there, he steadily expanded his control northwest up the river system of present-day Fujian province towards the Poyang region in present-day Jiangxi: the cities of Jian'an 建安 (by present-day Jian'ou in Fujian), Hanxing 漢興 (later Wuxing 吳興; present-day Pucheng in Fujian) and Nanping 南平 (present-day Nanping in Fujian) were all new foundations, and had not been part of the Han empire. He Qi himself had set them up in previous years: despite local troubles and the need for restoration, all was part of a continuing program.

He Qi's appointment as Colonel Who Pacifies the East was made in the following year, Jian'an 9, when 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 deC, *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 magistrate at Wu'an, 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 returned. He also attacked Yuan Shang's officer Ju Gu at Handan and seized that city.⁵

Han Fan, magistrate of Yiyang, and Liang Qi the magistrate of She, both surrendered with their counties.

B Xu Huang said to Cao Cao, "The Yuan brothers have not yet been defeated, and all the cities that are thinking of surrender will listen carefully for news of how you handle this matter. You should give generous rewards to these two counties generously in order to

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 內黃 (northeast of present-day Neihuang in Henan). *SJZ* 9:8b says that 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, and deC, *Imperial Warlord*, Map 11 at 215.

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 Wu'an county was about present-day Wu'an in Henan, northwest of Ye city, and the fortification at Maocheng was evidently further to the west, in the foothills of the Taihang mountains.

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

B SGZ 17:528 (16a-b), the Biography of Xu Huang.

encourage the others."⁶ Cao Cao followed this advice, and Han [326] Fan and Liang Qi were both granted enfeoffment as secondary marquises.⁷

C Zhang Yan, leader of the Black Mountain bandits, sent a messenger to Cao Cao offering assistance, 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 made it shallow, to look as if 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.

E Before they arrived, he wanted to let Shen Pei know his movements, and he sent his Registrar Li Fu of Julu to go ahead into the city.

6 Xu Huang's advice actually related only to Han Fan of Yiyang. 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 Wu'an, on the upper course of the Zhang River and thus controlling communications with Bing province and threatening the flank of the Yuan loyalists (note 4 above). [This She 涉 county should not be confused with She 葉 county in Nanyang: passage H and note 17 to Jian'an 7.]

7 The appointments as secondary marquises come from SGZ 1:25.

On enfeoffment as secondary marquis (關內侯 *guannei hou*), a title also rendered as Marquis Within the Imperial Domain or, more literally, as Marquis Within the Passes, nineteenth of the twenty orders of aristocratic rank, see Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank," 152-154. 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, the holder of such a fief should not have been granted any specific territory, for the Land Within the Passes (*guannei*) had been the domain of the emperor under Former Han, and classical tradition implied that no subject could control land there. In some cases, however, a secondary marquis 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.

C SGZ 8:261 (40b), the Biography of Zhang Yan.

D SGZ 1:25 (57b), the Biography of Cao Cao;

SGZ 6:202 (68a), the post-Biography of Yuan Shao.

2054 Li Fu broke his staff of authority, tied it at the side of his horse and put on a flat-topped cap. Taking three horsemen with him, he went by night towards Ye. Styling himself [327] a Chief Controller, he passed through the north of the siege, following signs towards the east. Every so often he would find fault with officers and men on sentry duty and punish them accordingly,⁸ and in this way he passed through Cao Cao's camp and came to the southern face of the siege opposite the Zhang Gate.⁹ Again, he found fault with the men on picket duty, arrested them and tied them up. Then he broke through the siege lines, galloped his horse 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, sounded the drums and 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 again. He asked Shen Pei to send out all the old people and the weak 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 with them and disappeared into the dark. So they broke through the siege-lines and made their escape.

F 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," observed Cao Cao, "we should indeed keep away. But if he comes through the western hills, then we have him."¹⁰ [328]

E SGZ 15:484 (31b-32b) PC quoting the Biography of Li Fu from Wei lue.

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

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

F 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.

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.¹¹ He lit a fire in the night as a signal to the city, and the people in the city lit another fire in reply.

2055 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 forced back.

Yuan Shang, also defeated, fled to Quzhang and fortified himself there.¹² 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.¹³ 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 troops were utterly scattered and he fled to Zhongshan. They captured his baggage, his seal and ribbon and other

10 *Sunzi bingfa* 7.6; Minford, *Art of War*, 211 (Griffith, *Art of War*, 109; Ames, *Sun-tzu*, 109): Do not thwart

A returning army.

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 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 for their homes. Compare passage E and note 5 of Jian'an 3.

11 *Weidu fu* 魏都賦 "The Rhapsody on the Capital of Wei," by Zuo Si 左思, in *Wen xuan* 6:118; Knechtges I, 437, describes the Fu River flowing north of the city of Ye.

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 across the plain southwest from Pingyuan, Yuan Shang chose an oblique approach: having passed by well north of the city, he then turned through the foothills of the Taihang range and came towards Ye from the northwest.

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

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

HHS 74/64B TC says there was a Lancuo Hill 濫嵯山 close to Ye, and this is the place referred to. The Qing scholar Gu Zuyu 顧祖禹, cited by *SGZJJ* 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.

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.¹⁴ There is no cause to worry that we [329] have lost a leader." When Cao Cao went out to inspect the siegeworks, Shen Pei had hidden crossbows to shoot at him; they only narrowly missed.

Shen Pei's nephew, Shen Rong, was colonel at the eastern gate.¹⁵ In the eighth month, on the day *wuyin* [13 Sep], Shen Rong opened the gates during the night and let Cao Cao in. Shen Pei fought them in the streets, but Cao Cao's men captured him alive.

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.¹⁶ Cao Cao's men had bound Shen Pei, and as they brought him to headquarters 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 regret that I could not kill you, but do you now have any right to say whether I live or die?"¹⁷

Some time later Cao Cao had Shen Pei brought before him, and said, "When I was riding 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.

14 Yuan Xi, third of the sons of Yuan Shao, had been appointed Inspector of You province (幽州 Youzhou) by his father: passage B of Jian'an 7, and *cf.* note 11 to Jian'an 8.

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

G *SGZ* 6:205-206 (69a-b) PC quoting *Xianxian xingzhuang*; also in *HHS* 74/64B:2417 (6a) TC.

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.

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

2056 You are a turncoat," replied Shen Pei in a harsh voice. "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." [330]

H Cao Cao went to offer sacrifice at the tomb of Yuan Shao, and wept for him until 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 were raising 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.¹⁹ 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 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 he relinquished that appointment and reverted to Governor of Yan province.²⁰

I Yuan Shang had previously sent his Assistant Officer Qian Zhao of Anping to go to Shangdang and arrange supplies for his army. Before he could get back, however, Yuan Shang had fled to Zhongshan.

18 Zhengnan 正南 was the style of Shen Pei.

H SGZ 1:25-26 (59a-60b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

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

I SGZ 26:730 (13a-b), the Biography of Qian Zhao.

²⁰ As ZZTJ commentary observes, Cao Cao held all effective power and was making appointments in Ji province. This was an empty gesture for public relations.

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 Assistant Officer of Ji province.

J Cao Cao also appointed Cui Yan as Attendant Officer [of Ji province]. [331] 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.²¹ 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 believe that is 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.

2057

K Because of his good work, Xu You acted proud and arrogant. On one occasion he was present in open assembly, and he called Cao Cao by his childhood name,²² 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.

L In the winter, in the tenth month there was a comet in the Eastern Well.²³ [332]

J SGZ 12:367-68 (2b), the Biography of Cui Yan.

21 The phrase 尋干戈 *xun gange* appears in *Zuo zhuan*, Chao 1; Legge CC V, 580 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 31), where the adviser Zichan 子產 refers to the quarrel of two princely brothers: the third-century commentator Du Yu 杜預 explains that *xun* 尋 means *yong* 用 "to use."

K SGZ 12:373 (13a) PC quoting *Wei lue*.

22 The text at this point has the characters Moujia 某甲 "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 孟德, but according to the *Cao Man zhuan*, by an anonymous author believed to be a subject of the rival state of Wu, quoted by SGZ 1:1 PC, his childhood name (小子 *xiaozi*) was A'man 阿瞞.

L HHS 9:383 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

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

- M Gao Gan surrendered Bing province. Cao Cao re-appointed him as Inspector.²⁴
- N While Cao Cao was besieging Ye, Yuan Tan had again turned away [from their agreement]. Taking a loose control over Ganling, Anping, Bohai and Hejian,²⁵ he attacked Yuan Shang in Zhongshan. Yuan Shang was defeated and fled to Gu'an to join Yuan Xi.²⁶

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

HHS 102/12 says that the comet appeared in the area of the Eastern Well and the Chariot of the Spirits (*Yugui* 與鬼) constellation: the *Gui* lunar mansion 鬼宿, the twenty-third, is part of Western Cancer; Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 436, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 103 and Star Map 7. It then entered *Xuanyuan* 軒轅, Western Leo centred on the star Regulus; Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 452, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 93 and Star Map 2, and the *Taiwei* Enclosure (太微垣 *Taiwei yuan* [Enclosure of Supreme Subtlety] a circle of stars in Western Leo and Virgo; Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 534, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 76-78 and Star Map 2.

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 145°E, 19°N. The eclipse is mapped by Stephenson and Houlden, 218, but it was 90% obscured and does not appear in Chinese records.

- M SGZ 1:28 (63a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 6:202-03 (70a), the post-Biography of Yuan Shao;
HHS 74/64B:2416 (6a), the post-Biography of Yuan Shao.
- 24 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.
- N SGZ 1:26 (61a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 6:206 (70a-b), the post-Biography of Yuan Shao;
HHS 74/64B:2417 (6a-b), the post-Biography of Yuan Shao.
- 25 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 復背之 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.
- 26 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.

Yuan Tan collected his [Yuan Shang's] forces and came back to camp at Longcou.²⁷

Cao Cao wrote to Yuan Tan, accusing him of breaking their agreement. He cancelled the marriage alliance, sent Yuan Tan's daughter back, 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. [333]

Cao Cao entered Pingyuan and established a general authority over all the counties [of that territory].²⁸ [334]

27 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.

28 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 (拔 *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 there he had taken control over the northeast of Ji province (passage N above).
- The Qing River flowed northeast through the north of Ganling commandery (formerly named Qinghe), passed Nanpi on the west and then entered the sea by present-day Tianjin. Yuan Tan's camp was evidently 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.

- O 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 put the seal and ribbon in his arsenal.

Gongsun Du died in this same year. He was succeeded by his son Gongsun Kang, who enfeoffed his younger brother Gong as Marquis of Yongning.²⁹

- P 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,³⁰ 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.

- 2058 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 this, there is an envoy with insignia from Liaodong. Which is the right one?"

"Formerly," replied Qian Zhao, "Lord Yuan held office and was entitled to make appointments. Later, however, he opposed the

If Cao Cao was attacking Yuan Tan, we would expect him to move first against his defences 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 (拔 *ba*) the city of Pingyuan, capital of the commandery, then established a loose authority (略定 *lue ding*), not yet full government, over the whole commandery.

Qimen 其門 should not be regarded as a place in its own right, but 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.

- O SGZ 8:252 (28a), the Biography of Gongsun Du.
 29 It is not possible to identify this district (鄉 *xiang*) of Yongning 永寧.
 P SGZ 26:730 (13b), the Biography of Qian Zhao.
 30 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.

imperial commands, so Lord Cao has taken his place. He is willing to arrange for you to receive title as Shanyu from 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.³¹ 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, [335] he attacks rebels but is kind to those who submit. He gives peace to the four seas. You, master and servant, are both stupid and disobedient. You hide away in the furthest corner of the empire and turn your backs to the royal commands. You claim 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!" Seizing Han Zhong by the neck, he brought him to the floor and drew a sword to cut his head off.

Startled and frightened, King Qiao ran barefoot to grasp Qian Zhao and ask mercy for Han Zhong. All his attendants turned pale. Qian Zhao returned to his seat, then told King Qiao and the others who would win, who would lose, and what was the right course to follow. They 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.

Q Gui Lan, Grand Chief Controller of Danyang, and the Commandery Assistant Dai Yuan killed the Administrator Sun Yi.³² General Sun

31 The Fuyu 扶餘 [Puyô] and the associated Hui 濊 [Ye] and Mo 貊 [Maek] peoples (the latter two often combined as 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.

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.

32 This story is discussed in deC, *Generals of the South*, 233-234.

Gui Lan's appointment as Grand Chief Controller of the commandery (大都督 *da dudu*) was presumably a comparatively junior post of military police, comparable to that of a regular Commandant (尉 *wei*), and with similar rank to that of the civil assistant (郡丞 *juncheng*) Dai Yuan. Cf. note 8 above.

He was in camp at Jing city, and he hurried to Wanling,³³ 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 camp at Liyang; they could then arrange for [the whole commandery of] Danyang to accede to him.³⁴

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, [336] to marry him. The Lady Xu put him off, saying, "I beg to wait until the end of the month, when I have completed the sacrifice and taken off my mourning clothes. Then I shall attend your orders." Gui Lan agreed.

2059 The Lady Xu secretly sent a man she could rely upon 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 sad and disappointed, surprised that she could act in such a way. Gui Lan spied upon her and was convinced he could believe her.

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

33 Wanling, present-day Suancheng in Anhui, was the capital of Danyang commandery. Jing city (京城 *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 came from its position on top of a ridge of hills overlooking the Yangzi.

34 Liu Fu had been appointed by Cao Cao in 200; his headquarters were at Hefei: passage JJ of Jian'an 5.

Liyang county in Jiujiang, by present-day He county in Anhui, was a major crossing place of the Yangzi, directly on the border with Danyang: passage CC and note 56 of Xingping 1, and passage FF of Xingping 2. Wanling city lay some hundred kilometres to the south, but with the army of Liu Fu to support them, the rebels planned to bring the whole commandery over to Cao Cao.

Then 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.³⁵ When he arrived in Danyang, he destroyed the remnants of Gui Lan's and Dai Yuan's following and granted commissions as military officers to Sun Gao and Fu Ying; their companions were also given rewards.

Sun Shao the son of Sun He, seventeen years old, had 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 night and feigned a surprise attack. 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.³⁶ [337]

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

36 This is an early, albeit conditional, example of the developing principle of heredity in the command of military units at this time.

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 Consultant Cao Chun said, "Our army is isolated, we are a long way into enemy territory, and it will not be easy to hold this position for long. Now that we have gone forward, however, if we go back without victory we shall certainly lose face." He beat a drum to lead the men in attack, and the battle was won.
- 2060 Yuan Tan ran away and was killed in the pursuit.²
- B Li Fu, announcing himself as Registrar 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 proclaim to the people that they should all carry on business as usual, without any disturbance. The city was quiet.
- C Cao Cao now cut off the heads of Guo Tu and his fellows and [also killed] all their wives and children.⁴
- D Yuan Tan had sent Wang Xiu to Le'an to supervise grain transport. When Wang Xiu heard that 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 [338]

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 told by HHS 74/64B:2417, the post-Biography of Yuan Shao. See also note 4 immediately below.

B SGZ 15:484 (32b-33a) PC quoting the Biography of Li Fu from *Wei lue*.

3 Li Fu had been Registrar under Yuan Shang: passage E of Jian'an 9.

C HHS 74/64B:2417 (6b), the post-Biography of Yuan Shao.

4 HHS 74/64B:2417 describes the fate of the wives and children as "massacre" (戮 *lu*).

SGZ 1, 27 says Yuan Tan was beheaded (斬 *zhan*), presumably as he attempted to flee: note 2 above. The same text goes on to say that Yuan Tan's wife and children were "punished" (誅 *zhu*); this may not have entailed execution, but they are not mentioned again.

D SGZ 11:346-47 (19a), the Biography of Wang Xiu

5 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 that Wang Xiu had been given a commission to range widely along the Shandong peninsula in search of supplies.

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 Administrator of Le'an, Guan Tong, would 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 Excellency of Works.⁶

E Guo Jia encouraged Cao Cao to appoint many of the famous scholars of Qing, Ji, You and Bing as clerical officers to increase support for his regime among the people, and Cao Cao did this.

F At the time of the Guandu campaign, Yuan Shao had Chen Lin write his proclamation. Chen Lin accused Cao Cao of a multitude of crimes, even attacking his family and ancestors, and thoroughly abused and slandered him.⁷ After the Yuan had been defeated, Chen Lin came before Cao Cao. "When you wrote those proclamations for Yuan Benchu," he said, "you needed only to insult me. Why my father and my 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.

2061

G 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 Excellency of Works.

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

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

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

⁷ Texts of the Call to Arms (檄 *xi*) issued by Yuan Shao in 200 are preserved by HHS 74/64A:2393-98 and SGZ 6:197-199 PC quoting *Weishi chungiu*, and there is a longer version in *Wen xuan* 44:2b-7a: von Zach, *Anthologie* II, 811-818. It is discussed and part-translated by deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 128-134.

Among many other calumnies, Che Lin described Cao Cao as the "Revolting remnant from a succession of castrates and parasites" 贅閹遺醜: HHS 74/64A at 2393, *Weishi chungiu* at 197 and *WX* at 5a; deC at 129.

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

H Yuan Xi was attacked by his officers Jiao Chu and Zhang Nan, and he fled with Yuan Shang to the Wuhuan in Liaoxi. [339]

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 Attendant Officer 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."

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

Jiao Chu and his fellows went over to Cao Cao and they were all enfeoffed as full marquises.

I In the summer, in the fourth month Zhang Yen, leader of the Black Mountain bandits, brought his forces to surrender, more than a hundred thousand men.⁸ He was made Marquis of Anguo Village.

J Zhao Du, Huo Nu and other men of Gu'an killed the Inspector of You province and the Administrator of Zhuo commandery,⁹ the Wuhuan of three commanderies attacked Xianyu Fu at Gongping.¹⁰ [340]

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

I SGZ 8:261 (40b), the Biography of Zhang Yan.

8 Zhang Yan had already established an association with Cao Cao at the time of his attack on Ye city: passage C of Jian'an 9. He now formally surrendered to him.

J SGZ 1:27 (62a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

9 Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi had set their base at Gu'an in Zhuo commandery, but were driven away to the Wuhuan in the north: passages M of Jian'an 9 and H above. Zhao Du and his companions were acting in support of the Yuan brothers.

10 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.

In the autumn, in the eighth month Cao Cao attacked Zhao Du and his associates and killed them. He crossed the Lu River to relieve Gongping, and the Wuhuan fled back across the borders.¹¹

In the winter, in the tenth month, as Gao Gan heard of Cao Cao attacking the Wuhuan, he rebelled again in Bing province.¹² He arrested the Administrator of Shangdang and brought troops to hold the entrance to the Hu Pass.¹³ Cao Cao sent his officers Yue Jin and Li Dian to attack him.

2062

K Zhang Cheng of Henei had ten thousand men under arms and was plundering between the Xiao [Hills] and Mian[chi].¹⁴ Zhang Yan of Hongnong raised troops to join him.¹⁵

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

The Wuhuan of the three commanderies were the groups from Liaoxi, headed by Tadun, from Liaodong, led by Supuyan, and from Youbeiping, 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.

11 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: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 406.

12 According to *SGZ* 1, Cao Cao embarked on his campaign in the eighth month and had returned to Ye by the tenth month. Gao Gan evidently thought Cao Cao was more firmly committed to dealing with the Wuhuan than he was; Cao Cao did not make a serious attack for another eighteen months: passage B of Jian'an 12.

13 Huguankou 壺關口 describes the entrance (*kou*) to the Hu Pass in Huguang county of Shangdang. This is 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.

K *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.

14 The Treatise of Administrative Geography at *HHS* 109/19:3401 says that the Two Xiao hills were in the county of Mianchi in Hongnong. The phrase *Xiao-Mian jian* 峭澗 "between Xiao [hills] and Mian[chi]" indicates the south of the valley of the Yellow River downstream of the Sanmen Gorge in Henan.

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

Cao Cao said to Xun Yu, "The leaders west of the passes have made formal submission, but amongst themselves they are planning treachery. Zhang Cheng plunders and causes trouble between Xiao and Mian, and he has contact with Liu Biao in the south. If Wei Gu [341] and the others follow his example, they could be a real danger. Just 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 Administrator of Xiping, Du Ji of Jingzhao, is courageous enough to cope with danger and wise enough to deal with any situation."¹⁶ So Cao Cao appointed Du Ji as Administrator of Hedong.

Zhong Yao urged Wang Yi to hand over his insignia of office, but Wang Yi took the seal and ribbon with him and went straight from Hebei to present himself at Xu city.¹⁷

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.¹⁸

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 power, and they will certainly fight to the death.¹⁹ 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.

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

Xiping 西平 commandery, on the upper Xining River in Liang province, had been set up in the western part of Jincheng commandery of Han, possibly as the base for Du Ji's previous appointment. *JS* 14:433 says that the capital was at Xidu 西都, a new county which had been established at present-day Xining. See also deC, *Northern Frontier*, 500 note 64.

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

18 The Shan Crossing 陝津 of the Yellow River, also known as the Mao 茅 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 following the southern bank of the Yellow River to approach his designated territory from his former post in the west.

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

"On the other hand, Wei Gu and his fellows have not yet made a public break from the imperial authority. They claim [342] 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 stay in the commandery for just one month it will give me time to arrange a plan to keep them quiet." So he went by side-roads over the Dou Crossing.²⁰

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

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

Du Ji said to Wei Gu and Fan Xian, "The people of Hedong look up to Wei and Fan families, and I rely upon you entirely for my administration. There is, however, a code of conduct established for rulers and their ministers: just as we share in success or failure, 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 Office of Merit, while all the troops, more than three thousand men, were placed under Fan Xian's command.²¹ 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, and said to him, "Such a large-scale recruitment will surely make the people uneasy. Far better raise troops many men."²² [343]

20 According to *SJZ* 4:19a, the Dou Crossing 鄧津 of the Yellow River was northeast of the former Hu city, so north of present-day Lingbao in Henan. Upstream from the Shan/Mao Crossing, it was south of Hebei county in Hedong commandery.

21 Fan Xian thus held command of the local militia, while Wei Gu was the civilian Assistant with responsibility for military discipline, selection of staff, and general administration.

22 *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 it appears there was not a great deal of money available.

Du Ji also said to Wei Gu and his fellows, "It is only natural that a man should be concerned for his family. Let your officers take turns to go home on leave. It will not be difficult to call them back when you need them." Wei Gu and his party wanted to be popular, so they followed his advice. As a result, while loyalists outside were making secret plans to support Du Ji, the rebels were divided and scattered and had all gone back to their homes.

About this time White Rider [Zhang Cheng]²³ attacked Yuan [county in He]dong,²⁴ and Gao Gan entered Huoze.²⁵ 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 could capture none of them.

Cao Cao sent the Consultant Zhang Ji to go to the west and raise the leaders within the passes, Ma Teng and his fellows. They brought troops to attack and destroy Zhang Cheng and his allies. They took

23 *SGZ* 18:545 refers to a rebellion of White Rider (白騎 Boji) Zhang in Hongnong at this time, and he was destroyed by Ma Teng in the same fashion as was 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. *Huan and Ling*, 377-378.

24 The Treatise of Administrative Geography at *HHS* 109/19:3398 lists a Yuan 垣 county in Hedong. 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 東垣.

Wang Xianqian, however, in *HHSJJ* at 18a, believes the simple entry for Yuan is correct, and that the character *dong* in *SGZ* 16, which has been followed by *ZZTJ*, appears because the character *he*, as in Hedong commandery, has been omitted. So the text here should read 河東垣[縣], and it is the transmission of *SGZ* which is at fault, not that of *HHS* treatise.

Neither the Beijing edition of *HHS*, nor 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.

It is also possible that Dongyuan was the name of a sub-county town or village in Yuan county.

25 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.

the heads of Wei Gu, Zhang Yan and some others, but the rest of their followers were pardoned. [344]

2064

L 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, then 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 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.

M Xun Yue, Palace Attendant and Custodian of the Private Library, wrote the *Shenjian* in five sections and presented it to the throne. Yue was the son of an elder brother of Xun Shuang.²⁶

At this time Cao Cao controlled the government and the emperor was no more than a figurehead. Xun Yue had sought to advise the emperor, but none of his plans were put into effect, so he wrote the book. In general outline, it said:²⁷

"The art of good government lies in first doing away with the four harmful things, then promoting the five good points. [345]

L SGZ 16:496 (10a-b), the Biography of Du Ji.

M HHS 62/52:2058-63 (8a-11a), the Biography of Xun Yue;
HHJ 29:14b-16b.

26 HHS 62/52 describes the career of Xun Yue (148-209). An expert on the *Chunqiu*, with Xun Yu and Kong Rong, he was favoured by Emperor Xian, who was himself a keen scholar. Xun Yu and his cousin Xun You, advisers to Cao Cao, were also nephews of Xun Shuang and thus cousins to Xun Yue.

As Custodian [or Inspector] of the Imperial Library (祕書監 *mi/bishu jian*) and Palace Attendant (侍中 *shizhong*), Xun Yue was a member of the emperor's personal staff: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59 and 60.

Shenjian "Extended Reflections" was originally composed in five *pian* 篇; modern editions, which appear essentially complete, are divided into five *juan* 卷. Ch'en Ch'i-yün has studied the life of Xun Yue and translated *Shenjian*.

27 This text of ZZTJ is based upon the précis in HHS and HHJ rather than upon direct reference to *Shenjian*, and reflects only an early part of the work: *Shenjian* 1:6-1:14: Ch'en, *Mind of Late Han China*, 107-112.

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

"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 life, you cannot encourage him with good treatment. For this reason the one who holds high position must first increase his people's property in order to settle their ambitions; this is called 'nourishing life'.

"Whether a work is good or bad depends upon its intention, and undeserved 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 thus disturb the people. In such a case, customs will have neither fault nor perversity, and the 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 by ritual and instruction 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.

2065

"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 folk can be brought to the Way of the gentleman. This is what is meant by 'manifesting reform.'

"Those who hold high positions should prepare for war, so that they may always be ready for the unexpected. In time of peace they give responsibility for military training to the civil administration,²⁸ so that when there is an emergency the armies are ready. This is what is meant by 'maintaining authority'. [346]

"Rewards and punishment are the handles of government. If the ruler grants few rewards, it is not because he is ungenerous, but

28 This phrase is used of Guan Zhong 管仲, great minister of Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公, in *Guo yu* 6:6a.

because rewards which are given indiscriminately do not encourage good conduct. If the ruler is sparing in meting out punishment, it is not because he has pity for the people; but because punishments applied at random do not discourage bad behaviour. If 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 with²⁹ 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." [347]

29 At this point this edition of *ZZTJ* has *du* 獨 "only." Other editions follow the original text of *HHS* 62/52 and read *juan* 蠲 "remove;" *du* is evidently corrupt.

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 Attendant Officer Cui Yan to guide him.²

Cao Cao besieged Huguan, and in the third month the city surrendered.

Gao Gan sought aid from the Xiongnu, but the Shanyu would not receive him. He fled south with a few horsemen, hoping to escape into Jing province, but Wang Yan, Commandant at Shangluo,³ arrested him and took his head. All Bing province was pacified.⁴
[348]

A HHS 9:384 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

1 The constellation of the Northern Dipper (*Beidou* 北斗) 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 that 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* 紫宮), or Enclosure of the *Ziwei* (*Ziwei yuan* 紫微垣), is a great circle of stars about the North Celestial Pole, extending through Western Draco, Ursa Major, Cepheus and Camelopardalis; Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 508 ff and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 71 and Star Map 1. "Northern Arranger" (*Beichen* 北陳) refers to the group *Gouchen* 勾/鉤陳 "Angular Arranger," a line of stars extending across the polar region from Ursa Major to Camelopardalis: Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 525-526, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 67, Figure 5 at 68, and Star Map 1.

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

B SGZ 1:28 (63a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

2 Born in 186, Cao Pi was now 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. Cao Cao's operations had been largely restricted to Shangdang, and he had little influence north of the Fen River.

C SGZ 15:469 (9b-10a), the Biography of Liang Xi.

C Cao Cao appointed Liang Xi of Chen commandery as Senior Major 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 people to return. He send courteous summons to all the chiefs of powerful families, recommended them for appointment, 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 [regular] officers to take them over as volunteers. Once they had left, he sent their families off to Ye, and in 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 submitted and joined him.

The Shanyu was now respectful and obedient, tribal chieftains bowed to the ground, and all submitted and served the empire as if they were registered Chinese citizens. The borders were peaceful and the people spread across 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 known or heard of, 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 [349] for refuge in his territory. Cao Cao gave them appointments as county magistrates, and each of them later became famous.⁶

5 "Auxiliary force" above renders the phrase *yicong* 義從, "volunteers" (勇力 *yongli*). *Yicong* had been the name of a force of non-Chinese people on the western frontier: note 26 to Zhongping 6 and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 86.

What Liang Xi did was first 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.

D SGZ 23:659 (7b), the Biography of Chang Lin;
SGZ 15:469 (10a), the Biography of Liang Xi.

6 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.

E Before this, Zhongchang Tong of Shanyang had come as a refugee scholar to Bing province and attended 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 ability. 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:⁸

F 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 the meanest ability holds the position, his grace will match Heaven and Earth, and his authority equals that of the [350] 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

E SGZ 21:620 (48a), the sub-Biography of Zhongchang Tong;
SGZ 21:620 (48b-49a) PC quoting an account of Zhongchang Tong by Miao Xi;
HHS 49/39:1646 (10b-11a), the Biography of Zhongchang Tong.

7 *Changyan* 昌言 "Sincere Words" was originally composed in thirty-four *pian* 篇, but modern reconstructions contain only two *juan* 卷 of fragments. On the thought of Zhongchang Tong, see Balazs, "Political Philosophy and Social Crisis."

F HHS 49/39:1646-48 (12b-13b), the Biography of Zhongchang Tong.

8 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 26 to Jian'an 10.

9 On the legendary heroes Meng Ben and Xia Yu, see note 11 to Jian'an 5.

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,¹⁰ 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 no more than persuasive flatterers. Those whom he favours and honours are none but the kinfolk of his empress or of his various concubines. They burn up the riches of the empire and they cut the bone and marrow from 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 cyclical fate of dynasties, just as good order and rebellion follow one upon the other. This is the great constant of the Way of Heaven.

- G In the autumn, in the seventh month Zhang Meng the Administrator of Wuwei killed the Inspector of Yong province, [351] Handan Shang. The provincial troops attacked and killed him. Meng was a son of Zhang Huan.¹¹

10 This echoes a remonstrance addressed by Xie Ye 泄冶 to the licentious Duke Ling of Chen 陳靈公 in 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 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).

G HHS 9:384 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Xian;
HHS 65/55:2144 (11b), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

11 Yong province 雍州 had been established from the western part of Liang province, the present-day Gansu corridor, in 194, and Handan Shang was appointed Inspector at that time: passage R and note 29 to Xingping 1.

H In the eighth month Cao Cao went east to deal with the pirate Guan Cheng. When he came to Chunyu,¹² 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.¹³

I In this year, the son Liu Xi of the late [Liu] Rong, former King of Langye, was made King of Langye.¹⁴ The eight kingdoms of [352] Qi, Beihai, Fuling, Xiapi, Changshan, Ganling, Jiyin [for Jibei] and Pingyuan were all abolished.¹⁵

Zhang Huan was one of the great northern generals in the time of Emperors Huan and Ling: see deC, *Northern Frontier*, and Young, *Three Generals*. *HHS* 65/55:2144, at the end of Zhang Huan's biography, has a brief account of Zhang Meng, a younger son of Zhang Huan, which tells how he was born while his father was stationed in Wuwei, how his mother had a prophetic dream foretelling his death at the same place, and how this was indeed fulfilled. *SGZ* 18:547-48 PC quotes *Wei lue*, which 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.

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

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

13 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, when he first obtained general control of this region south of the Shandong peninsula: passage S of Jian'an 3. The territory was reincorporated into Langye.

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

14 Liu Rong 劉容 was the great-great-grandson of Liu Jing 京, a son of Emperor Guangwu of Later Han. When he died in 193, his kingdom had not been continued, either because the ramshackle government at Chang'an which had succeeded Dong Zhuo was not interested, 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 Administrator of Dong commandery in 191-192, Liu Rong's brother Miao 邈 visited Chang'an and commended his loyalty to Emperor Xian. Cao Cao was grateful, and now that he had gained effective power in this area, the family was rewarded.

15 *HHS* 9 has the first kingdom as Jibei 濟北, but the Qing scholar Qian Daxin notes that *ZZTJ* is correct to read it as Qi 齊. The Palace and other editions agree.

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

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, and he 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 across the borders in hope of helping Yuan Shang regain his former territory.

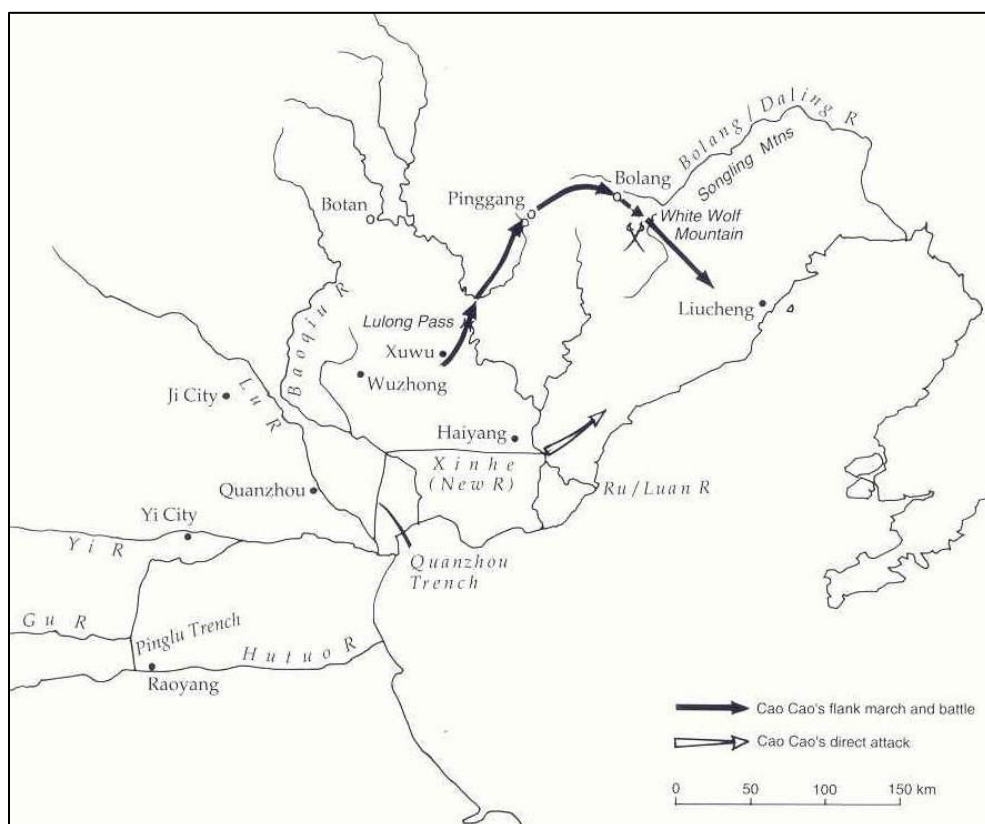
Intending to attack Tadun, Cao Cao dug the Pinglu Trench and the Quanzhou Trench to bring up his supplies.¹⁷ [353]

All but one of these kingdoms had been of commandery size. Fuling 阜陵, however, was a county within Jiujiang. In 87 AD, Liu Yan 劉延, 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.

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

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

17 On these two works, see deC, *Northern Frontier*, Map 12 at 406, discussed at 407-408 and in note 100 at 552-555. The Pinglu 平虜渠 "Pacify the Caitiffs Trench" probably linked the Hutuo 滹沱 and Gu 沽 Rivers near Raoyang, south of Yi city, while the Quanzhou Trench 泉州渠 ran parallel with the coast near present-day Tianjin, connecting the Yi 易 River with the Baoqiu 鮑丘 and the Ju 洶. A further extension to the east was later known as the Xinhe 新河 "New River."



Map 16: Cao Cao in the northeast 206-207

- K Sun Quan attacked two camps of hills bandits at Mo and Bao and pacified them.¹⁸ [354>355]

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, though the inhabitants of the camps are described by *ZZTJ* as "hills bandits" (山賊 *shanzei*), 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 gathered for self-defence: deC, *Generals of the South*, 237-238 and 327.

Jian'an 12: 207 AD

15 February 207 – 3 February 208

2070

A 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 granted enfeoffment; 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.

B Cao Cao planned to attack the Wuhuan, but his officers said, "Yuan Shang is an enemy in flight. The barbarians think only of themselves and have no feeling of affection for him; why should they be any use to him? If we advance deep into their territory, Liu Bei will surely persuade Liu Biao to raid Xu city. If they cause trouble from that direction, you will have no chance for second thoughts."

Guo Jia argued, "Your authority makes the empire tremble, but the northern barbarians are relying upon the fact that they are a long way away. They will certainly not be prepared for 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 on account of your military strength, for they have not yet seen the true grace of your government. If you go away on campaign in the south, then Yuan Shang will use the resources of the Wuhuan to gather followers prepared to die for him. Once the northern barbarians are on the move, then the Chinese and the eastern barbarians will join them. This would give Tadun ideas and allow him to plan aggression. And

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 biezhuàn*.

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.

if that happens I fear both Qing and Ji provinces will be lost to us. [356]

"Liu Biao, on the other hand, is the sort of fellow who does nothing but sit and talk, and he knows that he is no match for Liu Bei. He must be concerned that Liu Bei will become too powerful if he gives him an important post, 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 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 swiftly 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."

2071

C

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 an Assistant Officer of Ji province.

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 伊尹 decided to take service with the sage ruler Tang 湯, founder of the Shang/Yin dynasty: *Mengzi* 5A.7; Legge, *CC* II, 363 (Lau, *Mencius*, 146).

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 a messenger to summon him, and Tian Chou urged his servants to hasten his packing. They 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 just one 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 don't understand." He accompanied the messenger to Cao Cao's army, he was named magistrate of Tiao,⁴ and he went with the army to Wuzhong.

D 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 major 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 but too shallow for boats, it has long been a problem."⁵

"[You]beiping commandery used to be 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 track you can follow."⁷ [358]

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 Liucheng 柳城 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 大凌河. In deC, *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.

Liucheng was the chief object of Cao Cao's attack. His initial plan of advance, 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.

7 Tian Chou is referring to the situation under 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

2072 "The enemy commanders will be convinced that any substantial force must come [directly east] from Wuzhong, and if it cannot get forward it will have to withdraw. They will be idle and will 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 take them unawares and Tadun will be caught without a fight."⁸

"Excellent!" said Cao Cao, and he led his army back. He set a large wooden sign by the water at the side of the road, 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 had Tian Chou act as guide. Climbing the hills of Xuwu,⁹ filling up gorges and gullies for more than five hundred *li*, they 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 was happening. 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.

county, southwest of present-day Ningcheng in Liaoning: *HS* 28B:1624 and see *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* II, 27-28.

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

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

9 Xuwu 徐無 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 (庭 *ting*) of the Xianbi describes the region east of present-day Chengde towards the Nulu'erhu Shan.

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 烏延, but *SGZ* 1 here has Nengchendizhi 能臣抵之. *SGZ* 30:835 mentions a Nengchendi as the leader of the Wuhuan in Dai commandery in 218.

One would expect Wuhuan from Youbeiping to have taken part in the battle. *ZZTJ* commentary suggests that Nengchendi[zhi] was another name for Wuyan, but it may

In the eighth month, as Cao Cao was climbing White Wolf Mountain,¹² he was suddenly faced by great numbers of the enemy. [359] His baggage was in the rear and he had few armoured men. All about him were afraid, but as he reached the top of a slope he saw a weakness in the enemy lines and 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 more than two hundred thousand barbarians and Chinese surrendered.

F Supuwan [*i.e.* Supuyan] the Shanyu of Liaodong¹³ fled with Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi to the Administrator of Liaodong, Gongsun Kang. They still commanded several thousand horsemen, and some people urged Cao Cao to follow up and attack them again.¹⁴ Cao Cao said, "I shall arrange that Gongsun Kang takes the heads of Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi and sends them to me. No need to bother with soldiers."

2073 In the ninth month Cao Cao withdrew his men from Liucheng. Gongsun Kang wanted to gain credit for taking Yuan Shang and Yuan Xi, so he first hid some trusted soldiers inside a stable, then invited the two men in. Even before they sat down, Gongsun Kang called the

be that troops from Dai commandery under Nengchendi[zhi] were also there; or else this is just a scribal error.

12 During Former Han there had been a county called Bolang 白狼 "White Wolf" in Youbeiping (*Hs* 28B:1624); it was abolished by Later Han and was now beyond the frontier. The eponymous mountain is 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 松岭. At this point the Wuhuan learned of his presence and came to fight.

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

13 *ZZTJ* here follows *SGZ* 1 in writing the name of the Wuhuan leader Supuyan 速僕延 with the final character 丸 *wan* instead of 延. Cf. passage C of Jian'an 4, which follows the form in *HHS* 90/80:2984. As *ZZTJ* commentary observes, these certainly refer to the same man. *SGZ* 30:835 has the name as Sufuwan 速附丸. During Han, all these would have been close variants transcribing the Wuhuan language.

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

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 had put pressure on them they would naturally [360] have joined forces, but when I eased it they were sure to betray one another. That is all there was to it."¹⁶

G 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.¹⁷

H 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 dug wells three hundred feet deep to get water.

When Cao Cao returned, he made a list and asked for the names of all those who had given warnings before he began the campaign. No-one knew the reason, and everybody was afraid, but 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."

15 SGZ 30:835 says that the Wuhuan leaders Tadun and Wuyan had also fled with Supuyan to Gongsun Kang, and that they were also killed and had their heads sent to Cao Cao.

16 *Dian lue* and HHS 74/64B:2418 say that Yuan Shang was indeed planning a coup to take over Gongsun Kang's forces.

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

17 Under the Han system – now of course largely ineffective – nomination as Filial and Incorrupt formally required a period of probation, but 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 Assistant Officer, a locally-appointed member of the staff of Ji province: passage I of Jian'an 9. His biography does not identify, however, the substantive position he was appointed to now.

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

- I In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *xinmao* [10 Nov] there was a comet in the Tail of the Pheasant.¹⁸ [361]
 On the day *yisi* [24 Nov] some Yellow Turbans killed [Liu] Yun, King of Ji'nan.
- J 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.¹⁹
- K 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, "My first intention was to avenge Lord Liu [Yu], and so I led the people away."²⁰ Now my fine ambition has come to nothing, but I gain personal profit instead. This was not what I wanted." He refused it firmly and would not accept. Recognising how strongly he felt about it, Cao Cao did not press him.

2074

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

18 The constellation of the Tail of the Pheasant (鶉尾 *Chunwei*) is the Yi 翼 "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 the Treatise of Astronomy at *HHS* 102/12:3261. The Treatise says that this part of the sky indicates Jing province, and Sima Biao then quotes the scholar Zhou Qun 周群, 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.

J *SGZ* 1:30 (68b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

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 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 上 for Shanggu 上谷 commandery, which was immediately east of Dai. Furthermore, the name Nalou 那樓 is probably a variant of Nanlou 難樓, 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" (行 *xing*) Shanyu. Yuan Shao had appointed them as full Shanyu, but Cao Cao was not so generous.

SGZ 1 adds that troops of the Wuhuan became a force of elite cavalry in Cao Cao's service.

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.

- L As Cao Cao was engaged in the north Liu Bei had advised Liu Biao to attack Xu city, but Liu Biao did not agree.²¹ 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." [362]
- M In this year Sun Quan went west to attack Huang Zu. He captured his people and came back.²²
- 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.²³
- O Before this, Zhuge Liang of Langye had been living at Longzhong in Xiangyang.²⁴ He always compared himself to Guan Zhong and Yue

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- 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.
- M SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1117 (4b), the Biography of Sun Quan.
- 22 Together with the seizure of the camps at Mo and Bao in the previous year (passage K of Jian'an 11), this campaign prepared the ground for a final attack on Huang Zu's headquarters by the junction of the Han and the Yangzi: passage D of Jian'an 13. See deC, *Generals of the South*, 237-239.
- N SGZ 50 (Wu 5):1196 (2b), the Biography of the Lady Wu.
- 23 SGZ 50 places the 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 SGZ 50, however, quotes the *Zhi lin* 志林 by Yu Xi 虞喜 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, though without explanation or comment by Sima Guang in his *Kaoyi* commentary
- 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 諸葛珪, had died early and Zhuge Liang accompanied his uncle Zhuge Xuan 玄, who was for a time 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.

Yi,²⁵ but at that time no-one would agree with him, save only Xu Shu of Yingchuan and Cui Zhouping, a son of Cui Lie.²⁶

When Liu Bei was in Jing province, he asked Sima Hui of Xiangyang about scholars. [363]

"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]."²⁷

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 meet him?"

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

"This man, you go to visit," explained Xu Shu. "You can't make him come to you. You must be prepared to attend him yourself."

2075 So Liu Bei went to Zhuge Liang, and he had to go three times before he was allowed to see him. 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 limited virtue and my feeble strength, I desire to extend true justice to the empire. My wisdom and skill, however, are shallow and slight, so I sometimes act wildly and mistakenly, and now I am reduced to my present state. Even so, I still have hope. Can you tell if I may ever be successful?"

25 The biography of the great minister Guan Zhong 管仲 of the state of Qi 齊 is in *SJ* 62, and the *Guanzi* 管子 book records his teachings.

The biography of Yue Yi 樂毅, statesman and general of the state of Yan 燕 who conquered the state of Qi, is in *SJ* 80; see also Crump, *Chan-kuo ts'ue*, 204, 293 and 543, also note 9 to Jian'an 8 and *Huan and Ling*, note 55 at 369.

26 The information that Cui Zhouping was a son of Cui Lie comes from *SGZ* 35 (Shu 5):911 PC quoting the Family Register (譜 *pu*) of the Cui clan.

27 Kongming 孔明 was the style of Zhuge Liang; Shiyuan 士元 that of Pang Tong. *Xiangyang ji*, quoted by *SGZ* 35 (Shu 5):913 PC, refers to Sima Hui by his style Decao 德操. 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 P immediately following and also the commentary of Lu Bi to *SGZJJ* 37 (Shu 7):1a, quoting *Sima Hui biezhuàn*.

The extract from *Xiangyang ji* in *SGZ* 37 (Shu 7) refers again to Sima Hui's description of Zhuge Liang as a "dragon" (龍 *long*), though there, as in the comment of Xu Shu below, he is said to be "dormant/lying" (臥 *wo*) rather than "hidden" (伏 *fu*). *ZZTJ* uses Sima Hui's personal name rather than his style.

"Cao Cao has an army of a million men," replied Zhuge Liang. "He holds the Son of Heaven and so commands the lords. You cannot match him. Sun Quan occupies the east of the Yangzi, and three of his family have held power there already.²⁸ The terrain is difficult to approach, its people are loyal, and he has worthy and able men in his service. You may ally with him for mutual support, but you cannot make plans against him. [364]

"In the north Jing province holds the Han and the Mian,²⁹ and it gains vast profit from the southern sea. East it joins with Wu and Kuaiji, west it reaches to Ba and Shu.³⁰ Here is a country which is valuable in war, yet its master cannot hold it. It is almost as if Heaven is giving it to you.

"Yi province has borders difficult to attack, a thousand *li* of fertile land, 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 throughout 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 join in friendship with Sun Quan; if you maintain order and good government inside and

28 Three of his family 歷三世; 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 authority in the lower Yangzi.

29 The names Han 漢 and Mian 沔 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 main 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 for 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 孔安國 of Former Han and Ru Shun 如淳 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 巴蜀 here refers not so much 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.

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 don't speak of this again." So they 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. Whenever Zhuge Liang went to Pang [365] Degong's house he would go forward alone and make his bow at the foot of his divan.³¹ Pang Degong never objected.

2076 Pang Degong's nephew, Pang Tong, was a dull fellow when he was young, and only Pang Degong and Sima Hui were able to 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. That is why Sima Hui used those terms when he described the two men to Liu Bei. [366]

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 床 *chuang*, which may be understood as a bed, but 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 Excellency 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. Realising that he was certain to fail, Gan Ning was afraid that when his followers were scattered he would share their fate. He wanted to go east into Wu.⁴

A SGZ 2:57 (1b) PC quoting *Xiandi qijuzhu*.

- 1 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *Xiandi qijuzhu* dates this incident to Jian'an 15. The positions of the Three Excellencies were abolished later this year, however (passage I below and *HHS* 9:385), so Zhao Wen could not have been Excellency over the Masses at the later time. Sima Guang therefore follows the date given by the annals.

Immediately before the *Xiandi qijuzhu* entry, PC quotes the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen, which says that Cao Pi was recommended as Abundant Talent, but did not take up the candidacy 舉茂才不行. This must be the recommendation of Zhao Wen, for the right to make such nominations was restricted to the Three Excellencies, the Minister of the Household, and the heads of provinces: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 136-137.

With his father's views expressed so forcefully, the affair must have been very embarrassing to Cao Pi, and it was naturally impossible for him to accept the nomination.

- B SGZ 1:30 (68b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

- 2 SJZ 9:37a says that the Huan River 洹河 flowed past Ye, and that Cao Cao dammed it to form the Xuanwu Pond 玄武池, set in the midst of a park. The artificial lake was designed to train his men in naval warfare, preparing them for a southern campaign against Liu Biao along the Han and the Yangzi.

Map 18 of deC, *Imperial Warlord* at 337 provides a sketch map of the waterways about Ye city.

- 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 吳 here is evidently an early reference, not just to the commandery of that name, but to the whole territory controlled by Sun Quan: see also note 30 to Jian'an 20 at 2141.

Huang Zu, however, was at Xiakou,⁵ and Gan Ning's troop [367] could not get past. He was obliged to stay three years with Huang Zu, who treated him as no better than an ordinary soldier.

2077 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 magistrate of Zhu, so he got away to Sun Quan.⁷

5 The lower reach of the Han or Mian River (note 29 to Jian'an 7), close to the junction with the Yangzi [Jiang], was also known as the Xia 夏: the commandery of Jiangxia 江夏 took its name from the combination of the two: see *HS* 28A:1567 and commentary note 1 at 1568 quoting the scholar Ying Shao 應邵 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 夏口 or Miankou 沔口: *SJZ* 35:7b, *SJZ* 28:23b, the commentary of Lu Bi to *SGZJJ* 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 that 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 remarks, 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 the position of Sun Quan's forces in the east.

Zhou Yu and Lü Meng both recommended him, and Sun Quan treated him with particular courtesy, just like his long-established officers.

Gan Ning offered a plan to Sun Quan: "The fortunes of Han decline 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 are likewise of poor quality; neither is capable [368] 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.⁸ 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. If the army leaves 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.⁹ If all you can do is sit and worry about rebellions, how will you compare to the men of ancient time?"

2078 Sun Quan raised a cup of wine and gave it to Gan Ning, saying, "This year, Xingba,¹⁰ I go to the attack. Like this wine, I have decided

8 *ZZTJ* commentary identifies Chuguan 楚關 with the Han Pass 扞關, on the Qutang Gorge 瞿塘峽 of the Yangzi, in the extreme east of present-day Sichuan at 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 蕭何, Chancellor of State to Emperor Gao, in *SJ* 53; (Watson, *RGH* I, 91-98) and *HS* 39.

10 Xingba 興霸 was the style of Gan Ning.

to entrust it to you. Just make the plans we need to defeat Huang Zu. Why need you object to anything that Chief Clerk Zhang may say?"

- D 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,¹¹ [moored by] a great rope of coir-palm fibre, with stones attached as anchors. Above this were a thousand [369] men with crossbows to give covering fire. Arrows poured down like rain, and the army could not get forward.

The Lieutenant-General Dong Xi and the Senior Major Ling Tong were together in the van, each leading a hundred volunteers in double armour.¹² They boarded a great barge, charged the covered ships, and Dong Xi himself cut the two mooring ropes with his sword. The enemy ships were swept sideways downstream and the main body of Sun Quan's forces could now go forward.

- E Huang Zu had ordered his Chief Controller Chen Jiu to lead his fleet into battle, but Lü Meng, 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.

- F Huang Zu fled and they chased him and cut off his head. Several ten thousand men and women were taken prisoner.

- G Sun Quan had 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. As his blood and tears flowed together, he said to Sun Quan, "Su Fei showed me favour in the past; but for him I would now be neglected bones in a ditch, and I could never have come under your standard. Though his crimes are surely worthy of death, I beg that you will allow him to keep his head."

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 (敢死 *gansi*): 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*.

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 drove him away he would not go. Why should he plan to escape? If he does leave, let my head take his place in the box."

2079 So Sun Quan pardoned Su Fei. [370]

H 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.

I 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 named Imperial Chancellor.¹³

J Cao Cao appointed the Attendant Officer of Ji province Cui Yan to be 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 Excellency of Works, took an equivalent post under the Chancellor.¹⁴ The magistrate of Yuan-

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 Excellency 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" (自為 *ziwei*) as Imperial Chancellor; SGZ 1 omits the sign of disapproval.

On the Imperial Counsellor (御史大夫 *yushi dafu*), essentially a position of censorial review, see deC, "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.

cheng,¹⁵ Sima Lang of Henei, became Registrar, his younger brother Yi became Senior Clerk for Literary Scholarship, and the Registrar of Ji province Lu Yu, became Consultant Foreman Clerk in the [371] Department of Law. Yu was a son of Lu Zhi.¹⁶

K Cui Yan and Mao Jie were together in charge of promotions, and those whom they recommended for appointment were all scholars of purity and honesty. Though there were many men who had fine reputations but lacked personal integrity, none 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; they repressed the flatterers and politicians. As a result all the scholars of the empire acted modestly and sought 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 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?"¹⁷

L When Sima Yi was young he was already intelligent and had ambitious plans. Cui Yan said to his elder brother Sima Lang, "Your

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. Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 13.

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.

16 Lu Zhi, a noted scholar, had also been a leading military commander against the Yellow Turban rebels in 184: *Huan and Ling*, 362. An enemy of the eunuchs, he had been driven from the court by Dong Zhuo: passages S and AA of *Zhongping* 6.

As Consultant Foreman Clerk in the Department of Law (法曹議令史 *facao yi lingshi*), Lu Yu was an officer of the censorate under the Imperial Chancellor.

K *SGZ* 12:375 (14b), the Biography of Mao Jie;

SGZ 12:375 (15b) PC quoting *Xianxian xingzhuang*.

17 This strong 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..

young brother has 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 by claiming he [372] had rheumatism. Cao Cao was angry and was going to have him arrested. Sima Yi was frightened and took the post.¹⁸

M Cao Cao sent Zhang Liao to camp at Changshe.¹⁹ Just before he set out some men in the army planned to rebel, and during the night they raised an alarm and started fires. All the army was in confusion, but Zhang Liao said to the men with him, "Don't 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 who 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.²⁰ Each acted as he saw fit, and they refused to cooperate. Cao Cao sent the Registrar to the Excellency of Works, Zhao Yan, to act as liaison between the armies and give counsel on all matters. There was now good will and good order.²¹

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

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

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

19 Changshe county was in Yingchuan, west of present-day Changge in Henan and a short distance north of Xu city.

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

20 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 as above, these three formed a half-circle north and west of Xu city, and were Cao Cao's garrison positions about this centre of his power.

21 The phrase here is 并參三軍 *bingcan sanjun*. *Can junshi* can indicate the office of "Adviser to the Army;" JS 24:740. Here, however, it appears to be no more than a description of Zhao Yan's function: *cf.* the appointment of Sun Jian in Liang province in 185: *Huan and Ling*, note 26 at 387.

More generally, however, *can junshi* was coming into use as a formal title: Wang Lang and Han Xin had been appointed Consultants and Advisers to the Army under Cao Cao in 197 and 200: passages Y of Jian'an 2 and RR of Jian'an 5; and when Zhang

- O 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 [373] retainers and they became enemies.²² The court sent the 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 return to court.²³ Ma Teng promised to do so, but later became hesitant. 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 Minister 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.

-
- Ji was appointed as Cao Cao's agent in the west in 206 he was given title as a Consultant and was also named *can junshi* to Zhong Yao: passage L of Jian'an 11 and SGZ 15:472.
- O SGZ 36 (Shu 6):945 (10b) PC quoting *Wei lue*; SGZ 15:472 (14a), the Biography of Zhang Ji; SGZ 36 (Shu 6):944-45 (9b), the Biography of Ma Chao.
- 22 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: 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.
- 23 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 Consultant Zhang Ji was Cao Cao's agent in the west: passage K to Jian'an 11 and also note 21 above.

The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *Dian lue* dates the appointment of Ma Teng as Minister of the Guards, 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.

It is difficult to work out why the text has the term 還朝 *huan chao* "return to court." Ma Teng had been briefly at Chang'an in 192 (passage DD of Chuping 3), but he had never held a formal position at court – the ministerial appointment below was the first he received – and he had never been to the east.

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

Q In the eighth month, on the day *dingwei* [21 Sep] the Minister of the Household Chi Lü of Shanyang was appointed Imperial Counsellor.²⁴ [374]

2081

R On the day *renzi* [27 Sep] the Palace Counsellor Kong Rong suffered public execution.

Kong Rong had relied upon his well-known ability, frequently making fun of Cao Cao or abusing him. He enjoyed saying unusual things and he was insubordinate and discourteous. Because of his great reputation in the empire, Cao Cao pretended to be tolerant and agreeable, but 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 that Kong Rong was beginning to go too far, and he disliked him still more.²⁵

Kong Rong had quarrelled earlier with Chi Lü, and with Cao Cao's encouragement Chi Lü now built a case against him.²⁶ 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

P SGZ 1:31 (70a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

Q HHS 9:385 (10a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

24 .HHS TC 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, however, and was evidently chosen by Cao Cao for this second position in the government rather for his loyalty than for outstanding ability.

R HHS 70/60:2272 (10b-11a) and 2278-79 (13b-14b), the Biography of Kong Rong.

25 *Zhou li* 7:11b; Biot II, 167, identifies the central region of the state, one thousand *li* across, as the "zone of the state" (國畿 *guo ji*), and the next five hundred *li* outside was the "zone of supervision" (侯畿 *hou ji*). In commentary, the scholar Zheng Xuan of the second century AD explains *ji* as equivalent to *xian* 限 "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.

26 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.

sought to plan rebellion.²⁷ He has spoken to an envoy from Sun Quan and he has slandered the imperial court.²⁸

"Furthermore, he spoke in extravagant terms with the worthless scholar Ni Heng,²⁹ and they praised one another: [375] Ni Heng said to Kong Rong, 'Zhongni [Confucius] is not dead!' and Kong Rong replied, 'Yan Hui lives again!'"³⁰ This is Great Refractoriness and Impiety, to be punished with the utmost rigour."³¹

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

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?"³² Cao Cao arrested Zhi Xi and was going to kill him, but then pardoned him.

S 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

27 Kong Rong had been Chancellor of Beihai several years earlier: e.g. passage Z of Jian'an 1. This accusation of planning rebellion (不軌 *bugui*) may refer to his support of Liu Bei at that time: passage Z of Xingping 1.

28 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; deC, *Generals of the South*, 221-222. It is possible, however, that there were other visitors with whom Kong Rong could have been accused of indiscreet conversation.

29 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.

30 Zhongni 仲尼 was the style of Confucius; Yan Hui 顏回 was one of his close disciples.

31 Great Refractoriness and Impiety (大逆不道 *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*, also note 39 to Jian'an 2.

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

32 Wenju 文舉 was the style of Kong Rong.

S 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.

in Liu Biao's favour, and every day they slandered Qi and praised Zong.

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

2082 Zhuge Liang replied, "Have you never heard how Shensheng stayed inside and so came into danger, while Chong'er went [376] away and saved himself?"³³ 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 Administrator of Jiangxia.³⁴

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, the 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

33 Shensheng 申生, elder son of Duke Xian of Jin 晉獻公 in the seventh century BC, was slandered and destroyed by his father's favoured concubine. His younger brother Chong'er 重耳, however, went away to avoid the danger, returning only when Duke Xian was dead. Chong'er became Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公, one of the great hegemonies 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.

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

trouble, but it was at this time Cao Cao's army came up, and Liu Qi fled south of the Yangzi.³⁵

Several of Liu Zong's officers, including Kuai Yue the Administrator of Zhangling³⁶ and Fu Xuan, Senior Clerk in the Department of the East, urged him to surrender to Cao Cao.³⁷ They argued that "There are important principles for opposition [377] 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.³⁸ And alliance with Liu Bei against 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 would not be able to maintain your position; and if Liu Bei is indeed a match for Lord Cao, he will never agree to serve you." Liu Zong agreed.

T In the ninth month Cao Cao came to Xinye.³⁹ Bearing his insignia of office, Liu Zong went to receive him and surrender the province.

Cao Cao's officers suspected a trap, but Lou Gui said, "The empire is fallen into confusion and each leader is seeking authority from the emperor as a means to increase his power. Now Liu Zong

35 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.

36 It appears that Zhangling commandery had been established in the time of Liu Biao. The county of that name, by present-day Zaoyang in Hubei, was formerly in Nan-yang, and the territory of the new commandery would have extended to the southeast.

37 *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 had been sent to 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 that he was currently involved in policy.

38 Chu 楚 here refers to the territory of the ancient southern state; "China proper" renders 中國 *Zhongguo*.

T *SGZ* 1:30 (70a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao; *SGZ* 12:374 (13b) PC quoting Wu shu.

39 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.

has brought his credentials, and this shows he is completely reliable."
So Cao Cao brought his soldiers forward.

2083

U

All this time Liu Bei had been in camp at Fan,⁴⁰ but Liu Zong did not dare let him know about the surrender. When he at last heard something, he sent one of his close attendants to ask Liu Zong what was going on, and Liu Zong sent his 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 [378] let me know. Isn't that the limit!"⁴¹ Drawing his sword, he turned on Song Zhong, "If I cut your head off now, it would not make me feel any 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.

U

SGZ 32 (Shu 2):877 (12b-14a), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2):877 (12b-13a) PC quoting Han-Wei chungqu;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2):878 (14a), PC quoting Dian lue.

40

Fan city was on the northern side of the Han River opposite Xiangyang, the capital of Liu Biao and now of Liu Zong. The present-day city of Xiangfan in Hubei combines the two sites.

41

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 across the river from Fan.

Cao Cao and his army were moving from the northeast along the line of the present railway, past Wan to Xinye, and Liu Zong went from Xiangyang to meet them at Xinye, a distance of some seventy kilometres.

Though Liu Bei found out about the plan to surrender only after it had been decided upon, it was nonetheless some time before it actually took place: Cao Cao had only reached Wan, and Liu Zong had not yet left to meet him at Xinye: as below, Liu Bei attempted to call upon him in Xiangyang.

Though Liu Bei might well have felt indignant at having been excluded from Liu Zong's councils, it is not entirely surprising, since Liu Zong's advisers had to consider the question of his ability and potential loyalty. In any case, Liu Bei did find out about the decision fairly promptly. His biography and the passages quoted by Pei Songzhi's commentary seek to emphasise the limited time he had to make plans, but 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.

Liu Bei then called his followers to council. Some suggested that if he attacked Liu Zong he could take over Jing province.⁴² 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?"⁴³

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. [379>380] 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.⁴⁴

Someone said to Liu Bei: "You should go quickly to defend Jiangling. Though you have a great number of people with you, few of them are men at arms. If Lord Cao's soldiers catch up, how will you cope with them?"

42 *Han-Wei chunqiu*, quoted by SGZ PC and followed by ZZTJ, ascribes this suggestion to an anonymous adviser, but the main text of SGZ 32 says that it came from Zhuge Liang.

43 Here and below, Liu Biao is described with the attribute Jingzhou 荊州, from his position as ruler of Jing province.

SGZ 32 (Shu 2):877 PC has a short passage from [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*, which says that when Liu Biao was taken ill he had recommended Liu Bei as Inspector of Jing province, and another extract from *Wei shu*, which says that he urged Liu Bei to take the position, on the ground that his own sons were lacking in ability; Liu Bei worthily refused.

As Pei Songzhi remarks, however, since we are told that Liu Biao was particularly fond of his younger son Liu Zong, it is unlikely he would have invited Liu Bei to take power instead. Most probably, this is propaganda from Liu Bei's supporters to show his loyalty and sense of honour.

44 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.

There were two naval squadrons in Jing province. One, based at Jiangling the capital of Nan commandery, present-day Jiangling in Hubei, controlled the Yangzi; the second guarded the Han River, and was presumably based at Xiangyang. This latter had been taken over by Guan Yu, and it was planned that he would sail down to the junction with the Yangzi at Hankou, in present-day Wuhan, then turn upstream to Jiangling; Liu Bei would move cross by land between the rivers and join him there.



Map 17: The Red Cliffs Campaign 208

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

V Xi Zuochi discusses this:⁴⁵ [381]

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],⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ 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 chungiu*, the bulk 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 accepted as the legitimate successor to Han, not the usurping state of Wei founded by Cao Cao. Xi Zuochi was a partisan of Liu Bei, and his *Han-Jin chungiu* was compiled to emphasise continuity from Han through Shu-Han to Jin: deC, *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 (正統 *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, deC, "Three Kingdoms and Western Jin" I, 33-37, and on the general topic of legitimate succession at this time, deC, *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.

⁴⁶ Xuande 玄德 was the style of Liu Bei; Jingsheng 景升 that of Liu Biao.

⁴⁷ 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 compelled to abandon not only his general followers, but even his family. So the entire exercise was of small benefit to anybody, and certainly not to those who depended upon Liu Bei.

W SGZ 6, 214 (87b-88a) PC quoting *Han-Jin chungiu*.

- W Liu Zong's officer Wang Wei said to him, "Cao Cao has heard that 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.⁴⁸
- 2084
- 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 had already gone past, so he led five thousand of his best cavalymen in close pursuit. In a single day and night they covered more than three hundred *li* to the Chang Slope in Dangyang.⁴⁹ Abandoning his wife and children, Liu Bei fled with Zhuge Liang, Zhang Fei, Zhao Yun and a few score horsemen. Cao Cao captured all his army and his baggage. [382]
- 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.⁵⁰
- Z Zhang Fei commanded twenty horsemen as rearguard. Holding the river and breaking down the bridges, he looked fierce and shook his lance, shouting, "I am Zhang Yide.⁵¹ Come and die with me." None of Cao Cao's men dared go near him.

48 Compare the advice of Lou Gui at the end of passage U above.

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

49 The Chang Slope 長坂 was a short distance north of the city of Dangyang, on the southern foothills of the Jingshan 荆山 range.

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

50 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.

51 Yide 益德 was the style of Zhang Fei. Lu Bi notes the name also appears as 翼德.

- 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."⁵² Zhao Yun arrived soon afterwards, 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.⁵³
- CC Cao Cao brought his army forward to Jiangling. He appointed Liu Zong Inspector of Qing province with fief as a full marquis, and he also enfeoffed Kuai Yue and fourteen other men as marquises. [383]
Cao Cao released Han Song from prison, treated him with the courtesy of a personal friend, and had him make gradings of the good and the bad officials of the province. All his nominees were appointed.⁵⁴
- 2085 Han Song was made Minister Herald, Kuai Yue became Minister of the Household, Liu Xian became a Master of Writing and Deng Xi became a Palace Attendant.
- DD Wen Ping of Nanyang, a high military officer in Jing province, had kept his camp apart outside. As Liu Zong went to surrender 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 attend him.⁵⁵
"Why have you come so late?" asked Cao Cao.

AA SGZ 36 (Shu 6):949 (15b) PC quoting *Zhao Yun biezhuàn*.

52 Zilong 子龍 was the style of Zhao Yun.

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

53 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 join Liu Qi in Jiangxia commandery on the east. Xiakou/Miankou was at the junction of the Han River with the Yangzi; the Sun forces had evidently with-drawn after storming the fortress earlier in the year: passage D and note 11 above.

On Guan Yu and the fleet, see passage U and note 44 above.

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

54 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.

55 This refers to Cao Cao's crossing of the Han at Xiangyang on his way south towards Jiangling: passage X above. As in passage T, Liu Zong had gone north to meet Cao Cao at Xinye and offer his surrender there.

"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 died 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 could not face coming to audience any earlier." He sobbed and wept.

Cao Cao was sorry for him, and addressed him by his style, "Zhongye, you are truly a loyal servant."⁵⁶ He treated him with great courtesy, allowed him to retain all his troops, and appointed him Administrator of Jiangxia.⁵⁷ [384]

EE Before this, when Yuan Shao was in Ji province he had sent messengers to call the gentry of Runan to join him. He Xia of Xiping⁵⁸ 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,⁵⁹ it was not as good as Jing province, where the territory was difficult and there were fewer 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.

56 Zhongye 仲業 was the style of Wen Ping.

57 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 had been with Cao Cao to the defeat of Liu Bei at the Chang Slope, and it was only later that he was appointed to Jiangxia.

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.

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

59 This phrase is omitted from some editions of *ZZTJ*.

2086 Liu Biao had appointed Liu Wangzhi of Nanyang as an Assistant Officer. 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 either take Hui of Liuxia as a model: stay at court and maintain your virtue regardless of others' bad conduct; or you can follow the example of Fan Li: go away and change your occupation. Just sitting there disapproving is no use at all."⁶⁰ [385]

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 had gone to live in the Shandu Hills. Then Liu Biao also called him up, and he moved away to Chanling. Liu Biao was extremely angry,

60 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 趙簡子 of the state of Jin 晉. Then, however, he heard that Zhao Jianzi had killed the counsellor Dou Mingdu 竇鳴犢. He promptly turned back, explaining to his disciples that a sage keeps his distance from those who harm men like himself.

Hui of Liuxia 柳下惠 is described by *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 范蠡 was minister of Yue 越 in the fifth century BC. Yue had been devastatingly defeated by its neighbour Wu 吳, but in 473 Fan Li master-minded the campaign of revenge which allowed Yue to conquer its rival.

After the final victory, however, he retired into private life, explaining that while the ruler of Yue was a good man to serve in difficult times, he would be hard to deal with now that he had gained such success.

Fan Li went north to live in Tao 陶 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.

and Han Ji became frightened, so he obeyed the summons. He was appointed magistrate of Yicheng.⁶¹

Pei Qian of Hedong was also treated with great courtesy by Liu Biao, but he said privately to Wang Can, son of Wang Chang,⁶² 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. He cannot survive for long."⁶³ So they too went south to Changsha.

Cao Cao now appointed Han Ji as Junior Clerk in the Department of Officials under the Imperial Chancellor, and Pei Qian as Adviser to the Army of the Imperial Chancellor. He Xia, Liu Yi and Wang Can became clerical officers, and Sima Zhi was made magistrate of Jian.⁶⁴ Each of them had established a fine reputation among the people.⁶⁵ [386]

2087

61 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 Gong'an in Hunan. [ZZTJ commentary gives the pronunciation as Shenling.] The place was named Gong'an 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.

62 Zhang Yu notes that the text should describe Wang Can as a grandson, not the son, of Wang Chang: see Wang Can's biography in SGZ 21:597.

63 "Lord of the West" (西伯 *Xibo*) was a title held by the future posthumous King Wen of Zhou 周文王 under the Shang/Yin dynasty. It was said that he held two-thirds of the empire, but still served the rightful king of Shang/Yin so long as 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 武 of Zhou overthrew the wicked government of King Zhou 紂 of Shang/Yin and established a new dynasty.

The term "hegemon" (罷 *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 hegemon: the hegemon made show of loyalty to their ruler; but the Lord of the West, unlike the later chieftains, was ancestor of an imperial house.

64 Jian county was in Ji'nan, near present-day Jiyang in Shandong.

65 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 newly-appointed officials, 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.

FF In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *guiwei* [27 Oct], first of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.⁶⁶

GG Before this, when Lu Su heard of Liu Biao's death, 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 and hold it, it 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.⁶⁷ 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 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. While 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 the invitation. If he agrees, the empire can be settled. Unless I [387] go at once, however, I fear Cao Cao may get there first." Sun Quan sent Lu Su off.

When Lu Su arrived at Xiakou he heard that Cao Cao was already moving into Jing province. Travelling day and night, he came

FF *HHS* 9:385 (10a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

66 *HHS* 108/18:3371, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this eclipse, and notes that it took place in the *Wei* 尾 "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 the commentary of Liu Zhao quotes from *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, apocryphal work on the *Chunqiu*, which says that an eclipse on a *guiwei* day reflects the suppression of humanity and honourable conduct.

GG SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1269 (15b-16b), the Biography of Lu Su;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2):878 (14b-15a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

67 The phrase used here, *xiaoxiong* 梟雄, was also applied to the commander Ying Bu 英布 during the civil war at the beginning of Former Han: *SJ* 55:2039 (Watson, *RGH* I, 104) and *HS* 40:2028. The term may be understood as indicating a leader who is brave, but also fierce and unscrupulous

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.⁶⁸ He put forward Sun Quan's ideas, then discussed the situation of the empire and their ambitions to assist it. Then he asked Liu Bei, "Yuzhou,⁶⁹ where do you plan to go?"

"My old friend Wu Ju is Administrator of Cangwu," replied Liu Bei. "I shall go and join him."

2088 "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.

"I suggest that your best plan now 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 idea. Lu Su also told Zhuge Liang, "I am a friend of Ziyu," and they immediately became friends. Ziyu was Liang's elder brother [388] Zhuge Jin, who had fled the troubles and gone east of the Yangzi, where he [later] became Chief Clerk to Sun Quan.⁷⁰

68 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 may not have been taken until Liu Bei and his immediate followers reached the comparative security of Xiakou.

69 On two occasions during his chequered career in the north, Liu Bei had held authority in Yu province (豫州 *Yuzhou*): first from 194 to 196, with the title of Inspector allied first to Tao Qian and then to Lü Bu against Cao Cao (passages B of Xingping 1 and F of Jian'an 1); and later again in 196, with the title of Governor in alliance with Cao Cao against Lü Bu (passage DD of Jian'an 1). He is often referred to by the courtesy attribute "Yuzhou."

70 Ziyu 子瑜 was the style of Zhuge Jin. This sentence was constructed by Sima Guang from the biography of Zhuge Jin at SGZ 52 (Wu 7):1231.

Liu Bei followed Lu Su's advice, and he went forward to stay at Fankou in E county.⁷¹

HH Cao Cao was about to bring his forces eastwards down the Yangzi from Jiangling.⁷² Zhuge Liang said to Liu Bei, "The matter is now urgent. Please give me authority to seek help from General Sun." So he went with Lu Su to Sun Quan.

Zhuce Liang saw Sun Quan at Chaisang and said to him,⁷³ "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 the better. If you cannot manage it, then why have you not restrained your troops, curbed your armed men, and faced north to serve Cao Cao? You pretend that you will submit and obey, but in fact you have not made up your mind. Time is pressing: unless you make a decision, misfortune may come at any moment."

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

It is uncertain when Zhuge Jin became Chief Clerk (長史 *zhangshi*) to Sun Quan, but it is unlikely that he had yet received the appointment. Zhang Zhao is identified as Chief Clerk earlier in this year [passage C above] and again a short time later [passage JJ below; though this is not explicitly supported by the original text of SGZ 9: see note 78]. Zhuge Jin probably took over as Chief Clerk a few years later, after Zhang Zhao had lost some favour: see note 8 to Jian'an 20.

71 According to *SJZ* 35:11a, Fankou and the county city of E lay on the right [southern] bank of the Yangzi, near present-day Huangshi in Hubei.

HH *SGZ* 35 (Shu 5):915 (7a-8a), the Biography of Zhuge Liang.

72 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.

73 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. [DeC, *Generals of the South*, at 239, 255 and 267, has the mistaken transcription Zhaisang.]

"Tian Heng was a single man from Qi," replied Zhuge Liang, "but he protected his honour and refused to disgrace [389] himself.⁷⁴ 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, it may be a decision of Heaven, but how could he submit to another?"

2089 Sun Quan was furious. "I am not going to collect the resources 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 returned to him, added to 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 travelled more than 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.⁷⁵ [390]

74 Tian Heng 田橫, whose biographies are included in *SJ* 94 and *HS* 33, took title as King of Qi 齊王 during the time of disorder at the end of the Qin dynasty. Compelled to surrender to Emperor Gao of Han in 202 BC, he killed himself before he reached the capital, and his attendants and supporters followed his example. See, for example, Watson, *RGH* I, 201-202. Zhuge Liang has not chosen a particularly encouraging model; and it is a little surprising that his hero had been an enemy of the imperial house from which Liu Bei claimed his descent.

75 *HS* 52:2402 records the words of Han Anguo 韓安國: "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 曲阜 (present-day Qufu in Shandong) in the ancient territory of the state of Lu 魯 during the Zhou period, wove a light cloth of particularly fine quality.

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*: 7.2: "marching at double time for a hundred *li*, the three commanders (三將軍 *san jiangjun*) will be captured (擒 *qin*);" Griffith, *Art of War*, 103 (Ames, *Sun-tzu*, 129; Minford, *Art of War*, 199). Cao Cao's own commentary adds: "Do not fight after marching thirty miles [a hundred *li*].

"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 withdraw 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 possibilities of victory and defeat rest on this day!"⁷⁶ Sun Quan was most impressed, and he discussed the matter with his ministers.

Your commanders will all be taken;" Minford, 200. The same section goes on to say, "In a forced march of fifty *li*, the commander of the van (上將軍 *shang jiangjun*) will fall (蹶 *jue*);" Griffith, 104 (Ames, 129; Minford, 200).

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, so the *shang jiangjun* is only the first of these.

76 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 and 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 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.

II Just 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 [391] hands. I control a fleet with eight hundred thousand men, and I plan to come hunting with you in Wu."⁷⁷

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

JJ The Chief Clerk Zhang Zhao and others said,⁷⁸ "Lord Cao is like a jackal or a tiger. He controls the Son of Heaven as a means to justify his attacks, and whatever he does he can claim to support the imperial 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 well-trained fleet, with thousands of armoured boats and other ships of war.⁷⁹ If Cao Cao sails all this

ZZTJ presents a coherent record of the debate, with material from all traditions, and I accept its account: deC, *Generals of the South*, 255-260 and especially note 66.

II *SGZ* 47 (Wu 2):1118 (5b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

77 In traditional China, including the Han period, the hunt held each 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.

78 Though Zhang Zhao is mentioned here by *ZZTJ*, the defeatist argument is not specifically attributed to him by *SGZ* 54, which refers merely to "some advisers." *Jiangbiao zhuan*, however, in *SGZ* 54:1262 PC, followed by passage NN below, identifies 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 deC, *Generals of the South*, 465-466.

79 At this point *ZZTJ* commentary has a considerable discussion by the Tang scholar Du Yu 杜佑 on the phrase *mengchong doujian* 蒙衝鬪艦.

In a section entitled "Some Notes on Ships and Naval Warfare" in deC, *Generals of the South*, 275-286, and especially at 276-280, I discuss these styles of warships, and argue that they were different to those described by Du Yu for his own time.

I interpret the *mengchong* as "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

along the Yangzi and supports it with foot-soldiers, he will be coming against us by land and water. [392]

2090 "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."

KK 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 want to say?"⁸⁰

"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 Assistant Officer. So I would 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."⁸¹

"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."

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.

80 The phrase "to change the clothes" (更衣 *geng yi*) is a euphemism for Sun Quan's activity, and the area sheltered by the eaves of a building (字下 *yu xia*) was commonly used as a lavatory. [For another occasion when a lavatory (廁 *ce*) was used for secret conversation, see ZZTJ 46:1745; *Huan and Ling*, 25, 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 naturally suspect, but they are a fair summary of the arguments that could be raised against surrender, and their substance was no doubt attested to later by Sun Quan and by Lu Su.

81 If not an anachronism, the phrase "graded for name and rank" is probably an early reference to the *jiupin zhongzheng* 九品中正 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 could 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.

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. [393]

LL When Zhou Yu arrived, he said to Sun Quan,⁸² "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 territory of several thousand *li*, 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?"

2091 "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 good 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 who remains. Between the old brigand and me, one

LL SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1261-62 (6a-7a), the Biography of Zhou Yu.

82 The text of SGZ 54 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 that he was already on the way. From the time of Zhuge Liang's arrival to the final arguments of Zhou Yu and Sun Quan's decision described below, the debate must have lasted at least two days. See also note 76 above.

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 suffer like this." And he dismissed the assembly.

That night Zhou Yu spoke again with Sun Quan, and said,⁸³ "When those men saw Cao Cao's letter about eight hundred thousand soldiers and sailors, they were all afraid, and the advice they offered was given without any thought whether the figures were true or 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 nothing to be worried about. I am certain that fifty thousand good men will be enough to deal with them. Do not worry about it."

2092 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.⁸⁴ I am disappointed in them. Only you and Zijing [Lu Su]⁸⁵ agree with me: Heaven 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

MM SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1261 (7a-b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

83 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 deC, *Generals of the South*, 259-260.

84 Zibu 子布 was the style of Zhang Zhao. Wenbiao 文表 was the style of Qin Song, another counsellor: ZYTJ has Yuanbiao 元表, but *Jiangbiao zhuan* has Wenbiao, which is supported by SGZ 53 (Wu 8):1247; ZYTJ commentary notes the error. Cf. also note 78 above.

85 Zijing 子敬 was the style of Lu Su. Gongjin 公瑾, above, was the style of Zhou Yu. Mengde 孟德, below, was the style of Cao Cao.

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]." [395]

NN So he appointed Zhou Yu and Cheng Pu as Controllers of the Left and of the Right in command of the troops to join Liu Bei against Cao Cao.⁸⁶ Lu Su was named Colonel Who Assists the Army, to take part in planning.

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

Liu Bei sent men to welcome them, but Zhou Yu said, "I have command of the army and 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," replied 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, you can call on him yourself."

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

PP They went forward to meet Cao Cao at the Red Cliffs.⁸⁷

NN SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1118 (5b), the Biography of Sun Quan;

SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1270 (17b), the Biography of Lu Su.

86 According to SGZ 47 (Wu 2), these two Controllers (督 *du*) each commanded ten thousand men. Cheng Pu, described above as "Lord" (公 *gong*), was the senior officer of Sun Quan's forces. We are told Zhou Yu was in command of operations, but Cheng Pu formally held equal authority. Years later, Lü Meng described the arrangement as cumbersome and dangerous, not to be repeated: SGZ 51 (Wu 6):1207-07; deC, *Generals of the South*, 291 note.

OO SGZ 32 (Shu 2):879 (15b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

PP SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1262-63 (7b-8b), the Biography of Zhou Yu;

SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1263 (8b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

87 There has been considerable debate on the site of the Red Cliffs, but I follow the arguments of Lu Bi, in SGZJJ 1:74a-75a, and the map of *Zhongguo shi gao ditu ji* III,

2093

Cao Cao's army was now weary, and there was sickness. They made an initial attack but gained nothing, and they withdrew[396] 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."

Taking ten ships of war,⁸⁸ he filled them with tinder grass and dried wood, poured oil inside, then covered them with tent curtains and set up flags. He also prepared light fast boats and fastened them to the sterns. And before this he sent a letter to Cao Cao pretending he wanted to surrender.⁸⁹

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

Cao Cao's men all came out from their camps to stand and 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.

QQ Cao Cao led his troops on foot to escape by the Huarong road.⁹⁰ They met with mud and mire, and the road became impassable. Heaven sent a great wind, and sick soldiers had to carry grass on their backs

28-29, accepting the site of the battle as the area of present-day Wulin, on the stretch of the Yangzi near Jiayu in Hubei: deC, *Generals of the South*, 265 note.

88 On *mengchong doujian* as a general description of warships, see note 78 above. SGZ 54 says that the number was several dozen.

89 The text of Huang Gai's letter is given in the extract from *Jiangbiao zhuan* quoted by SGZ 54 PC.

QQ SGZ 1:31 (75b-76a) PC quoting *Shanyang gong zaiji*.

90 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.

to fill the road before any horsemen could get through. Trodden down by men and horses, they sank into the mud and a whole mass of them died together. [397]

RR Advancing by land and water, Liu Bei and Zhou Yu pursued Cao Cao into Nan commandery. All his 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.⁹¹ He took the remainder of his troops back to the north.

SS 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 make an oblique approach against Yiling. He stormed the city and occupied it.⁹²

2094

TT Xi Su, an officer of Yi province, brought his troops to surrender.⁹³ Zhou Yu recommended that they be allocated to increase the command of Lü Meng, General of the Household Who Traverses Open Country. Lü Meng said [398] generously, "Xi Su is a brave man who can offer good service, and he 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.⁹⁴

RR SGZ 32 (Shu 2):878 (16a), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1263 (9a), the Biography of Zhou Yu.

91 The titles of Cao Ren and his colleagues, and the defence responsibilities of Xu Huang and Yue Jin, come from their biographies, SGZ 9:275, SGZ 17:528 and SGZ 17:521 respectively.

SS SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1263 (9a), the Biography of Zhou Yu;
SGZ 55 (Wu 10):1293 (14a-b), the Biography of Gan Ning.

92 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 yet able to establish a position on the northern bank.

Yiling was some hundred kilometres further upstream, northwest of Jiangling and on the northern bank of the Yangzi. Gan Ning's a detachment was able to establish a bridgehead there and outflank Cao Ren's position.

TT SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1274 (22a-b), the Biography of Lü Meng.

93 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.

94 It appears that a commander's troops, even when they were held through his official position, were beginning to be considered as his personal possession.

Cao Ren sent troops to besiege Gan Ning [at Yiling], and Gan Ning was hard pressed and asked help from Zhou Yu. The officers held that there were too few soldiers to send, but Lü Meng said [398] to Zhou Yu and Cheng Pu, "Leave Ling Gongji [Ling Tong] at Jiangling.⁹⁵ If you and I go [with the main army] it will not take long for us to break the siege and remove the threat. I guarantee Gongji can hold out [here] for ten days."

Zhou Yu followed this plan. They completely defeated Cao Ren's men at Yiling and returned with three hundred horses.⁹⁶ The men's confidence was doubled, and Zhou Yu crossed the Yangzi and camped on the northern bank to oppose Cao Ren directly.

UU In the twelfth month Sun Quan himself led an army to lay siege to Hefei. He also sent Zhang Zhao to attack Dangtu in Jiujiang, but Zhang Zhao had no success.⁹⁷

95 Gongji 公績 was the style of Ling Tong.

96 SGZ 54 also says Lü Meng 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 three hundred gave Zhou Yu and his men the possibility of cavalry action.

UU SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1118 (6a), the Biography of Sun Quan.

97 Hefei county in Jiujiang, near present-day Hefei in Anhui, had been the headquarters of Liu Fu, Cao Cao's Inspector of Yang province: passage JJ of Jian'an 5. Liu Fu had died earlier this year [SGZ 15:463], and it is probable that Sun Quan was hoping to take advantage of any confusion which followed the change of administration.

Dangtu county was on the Huai River near present-day Huainan, well north of Hefei. This unsuccessful attack was the only time Zhang Zhao, normally a civilian administrator and adviser, was ever given substantial military responsibility.

This 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, how-ever, they were never successful.

The account of the attack on Hefei is confused by SGZ 1:30: that text says Sun Quan attacked the place "on behalf of (為 *wei*) Liu Bei" but was driven away by the arrival of a relief force under Zhang Xi: see passages B and C of Jian'an 14, the following year. 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, and it is most unlikely 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 that 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.

VV Liu Bei, recommending Liu Qi as Inspector of Jing province, led his soldiers south to occupy four commanderies. The [399] 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.⁹⁸

Liu Bei appointed Zhuge Liang as General 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 Administrator of Guiyang.

2095

WW When Liu Zhang, Governor of Yi province, heard that Cao Cao had captured Jing province, he sent his Attendant Officer Zhang Song to pay respects. Zhang Song was a man of short stature and erratic conduct, 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. His Registrar Yang Xiu suggested he 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. Liu Zhang followed his advice.⁹⁹ [400]

The *Yitong ping* 異同評 of Sun Sheng (see note 49 to Jian'an 4), quoted by SGZ 1:30-31 PC, notes the disagreement and supports SGZ 47.

VV 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*.

98 We may observe here that the allies went separate ways after their joint success at the Red Cliffs. Sun Quan's main force, under Zhou Yu and Cheng Pu, moved up the Yangzi and sought to make ground northwards past Cao Ren's defences at Jiangling, while on the eastern front Sun Quan himself attempted to break out towards the Huai. Zhou Yu's progress was slow, however, and Sun Quan did not have any success.

By contrast, Liu Bei had turned to the south and was mopping up isolated commanderies and counties which had formerly been under the nominal control of Liu Biao; Cao Cao had made some appointments in that region (e.g. passage K to Jian'an 19), but the defeat at the Red Cliffs meant that he had no further influence or control there.

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.

WW SGZ 31 (Shu 1):868 (11b), the Biography of Liu Zhang.

XX Xi Zuochi discusses this:¹⁰⁰

There was just one occasion in ancient times that Huan of Qi boasted of his own good work, and nine states turned rebel as a result.¹⁰¹ For a short time Cao Cao made show of his pride, and so the empire divided into three. Both worked hard for many years, 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 that he had allowed him to refuse all honours.¹⁰² "It may have pleased the man himself," he remarked, "but it means the royal laws lack their full effect."

He enfeoffed Tian Chou again, 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,¹⁰³ "The case of Tian Chou is the same as that of Ziwen refusing official salary, or Shen Xu fleeing from wealth.¹⁰⁴ We should [401] appreciate his feelings and not force him to accept."

99 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 named an Administrator. It appears that Cao Cao had become bored with this pattern of tribute and rewards, while Zhang Song suffered from disappointed expectation.

XX SGZ 31 (Shu 1):869 (11b-12a) PC quoting Xi Zuochi, probably his *Han-Jin chungiu*.

100 On Xi Zuochi, see note 44 above.

101 Gongyang commentary to the *Chunqiu* chronicle for the sixth year of Duke Xi (650 BC) tells how at the assembly of Kuiqiu 葵丘 the hegemon Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公 bullied the other rulers, then boasted of it. Nine feudatories rebelled.

YY SGZ 11:343-44 (15a-16b), the Biography of Tian Chou.

102 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 previous refusal of a reward, see passages D and K of Jian'an 12.

103 SGZ 11 does not name Cao Pi, but refers to him by the designation *shizi* 世子.

104 Ziwen 子文 was the style of Douguwu 鬥穀於菟, chief minister of the state of Chu 楚 in the seventh century BC. *Guo yu* 18:7a tells how he was offered honours and rewards but always refused 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

The [Director of the] Masters of Writing Xun Yu¹⁰⁵ and the Director of Retainers Zhong Yao also believed Tian Chou should be allowed to refuse, but Cao Cao still wanted to make him a marquis.

Tian Chou was an old friend of Xiahou Dun, and so Cao Cao sent Xiahou Dun to explain things to him. He 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.

2096 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 a salary. Even though the state may grant me undue consideration, how can I face my own conscience? The general [Cao Cao] knows me well, but he keeps pressing me like this. I assure you, I would rather cut my throat." His tears flowed down as he spoke.

Xiahou Dun reported all this to Cao Cao, who sighed and realised Tian Chou would never yield. He made him a Consultant.

ZZ Cao Cao's young son Cangshu [Cao Chong] died,¹⁰⁶ and Cao Cao was extremely sad. The daughter of Bing Yuan, a Senior Clerk in the

his people, that there were still many people in need of care, that if he accepted gifts it would be at the expense of others, and that such action would soon bring destruction. "I turn away from death, not from wealth." In the great purge at the time of King Zhuang 莊 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 吳 in the early sixth century, and its capital fell to the invaders. Shen Baoxu 申包胥 went to Qin 秦 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 Your Majesty is now restored to his position, what more do I need?"

105 ZZTJ here describes Xun Yu only as a Master of Writing, a member of the Secretariat, but SGZ 11:343 identifies him as its Director (尚書令 *shangshu ling*). He had been appointed to act in that office in 196 (passage X of Jian'an 1), and it appears that the post had been made substantive soon afterwards: passage T of Jian'an 2 and also, for example, SGZ 10:317 PC quoting *Weishi chunqiu*.

ZZ SGZ 11:351 (25a-b), the Biography of Bing Yuan.

106 Cangshu 倉舒 was the style of Cao Chong 曹沖, eldest son of Cao Cao's concubine the Lady Huan 環. His biography in SGZ 20:580 has several anecdotes which tell of his intelligence while very young. He was thirteen *sui*, twelve years old 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 鄧.

office of the Excellency of Works, had also died young, and Cao Cao asked that she might be buried with Cangshu. [402]

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?" Cao Cao gave up the idea.¹⁰⁷

AAA Sun Quan sent He Qi, General 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.¹⁰⁸ 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,¹⁰⁹ then let down a cloth to bring up the men below. Some hundred men reached the top, and He Qi ordered them to split up 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 army was able to climb in, and they completely defeated the bandits.

Sun Quan divided Danyang to form the new commandery of Xindu, with He Qi as Administrator.¹¹⁰ [403>404]

107 Despite Bing Yuan's strictures, the marriage of deceased children was practiced 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 甄 family, who had also lately died.

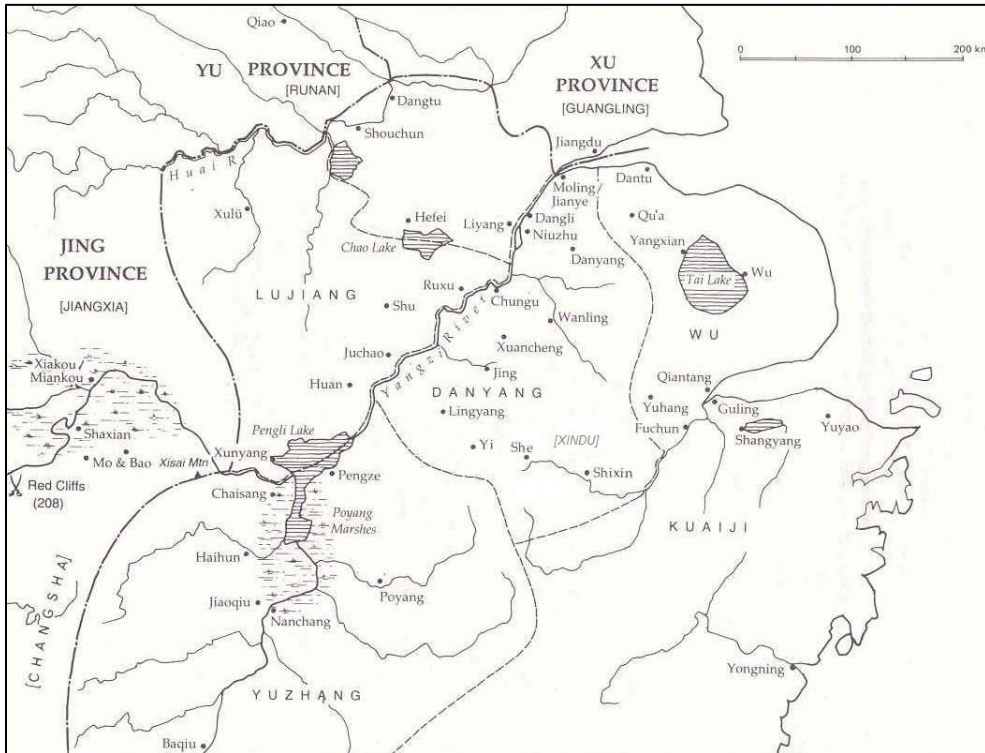
There is some further discussion in deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 24.

AAA *SGZ* 60 (Wu 15):1378-79 (3a-4b), the Biography of He Qi.

108 Yi 黟 and She 歙 counties, near the present-day cities of the same name in southern Anhui, lay south of the Huang Shan 黄山 massif, and were thus isolated from the main territory of Danyang commandery. The Linli Hills 林歷山 were evidently a section of the main range of the Huang Shan.

109 One imagines that the heads of halberds or similar weapons were used as pitons to make a step-way up the cliff face.

110 *SGZ* 60 says that Xindu 新都 commandery contained six counties: Yi, She and four others established about this time. The capital was at Shixin 始新, 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



Map 18: The Lower Yangzi 208-220

the communications already established along the Yangzi, see deC, *Generals of the South*, 330-332.

CHAPTER 66

*being Chapter 58 of the Chronicle of Han
containing Part 8 of the reign of Emperor Xian*

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 standard, though your prowess shook the ground beneath their feet, this is nonetheless 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 the conduct of a hegemon king."³ So Sun Quan gave up the idea.
- C Cao Cao sent his general Zhang Xi with troops to break the siege, but it was going to be a long time before he arrived. The Attendant Officer 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 [405]

A *SGZ* 1:32 (76a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

1 Following his defeat at the Red Cliffs, Cao Cao had withdrawn 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.

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 at the end of Jian'an 13, not to this Jian'an 14.

3 On the legendary heroes Meng Ben and Xia Yu see note 11 to Jian'an 5 and *SJ* 79:2407.

C *SGZ* 14:450 (31b), the Biography of Jiang Ji.

4 According to his biography, Jiang Ji was a man from Ping'a 平阿 in Chu 楚 kingdom. The Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 112/22:3486, lists Ping'a in Jiujiang 九江 commandery under Later Han. In 197 Yuan Shu changed the name of Jiujiang

- 2098 The Registrar 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 siegeworks and went away.
- D In the autumn, in the seventh month Cao Cao brought his fleet from the Guo to the Huai. Following the Fei River down to Hefei, he established military colonies at Quebei.⁶ [406]

commandery to Huainan 淮南 (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 the 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: Cao Cao had given him no more than a thousand cavalry, and he was raising levies as he approached 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.

- 5 The modern edition of *ZZTJ* has here made one of its few errors in punctuation, showing this sentence as direct speech.

The Inspector was evidently convinced by the false information from Jiang Ji, for he sent his own secretary, the Registrar, to Xulü. The three groups of messengers served a double purpose: those who got through to Hefei encouraged the defenders; the ones which were captured brought convincing misinformation to Sun Quan.

- D *SGZ* 1:32 (76a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

- 6 The Guo River 渦河 flowed past Qiao, then southeast. *HS* 28B says that it joined the Huai at Xiang 向 county in Pei, but *SJZ* 23:8b says that it entered the Huai at Suiling 睢陵 county in Xiapi, seventy-five kilometres further east. The Qing commentator Zhao Yiqing 趙一清 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 戈 *ge*, with a variant 瓜 *gua*, while Wang Xianqian notes that the character can also be written as 過: 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. Quebei 芍陂 is 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 鵲 *que*; the second character is also sounded *bei*; and the modern name is the same::; see Crowell, "History and Tradition;" deC, *Generals of the South*, has the mistaken transcription Shaoban.

- 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.⁸ 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 Administrator of Nan commandery and had him occupy Jiangling. Cheng Pu was Administrator of Jiangxia, with headquarters at [407] Shaxian. Lü Fan became Administrator of Pengze, and Lü Meng was magistrate of Xunyang.⁹

So Cao Cao brought his army down the Guo River to the Huai, turned right to travel a short distance southwest up the main stream, then turned left to move south-wards up the Fei. He established military agricultural settlements about Quebei, and the city of Hefei became the apex of a strong salient against the south.

- E *HHS* 9:386 (10a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.
- 7 It is the only event recorded in the Annals for this year but *HHS* 106/16, the Treatise of the Five Powers, does not mention this earthquake. Any interpreter would surely have related the phenomenon to the mighty events of the previous year.
- F *SGZ* 1:32 (77a), the Biography of Cao Cao.
- G *SGZ* 17:518 (2b-3a), the Biography of Zhang Liao.
- 8 *SGZ* 17 refers to the scene of the rebellion as 氏六縣 "six counties of the Di people." The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang, however, dating the incident to this year, refers to the *Zheng Tianshan fu* 征天山賦 "Rhapsody on the Campaign against Tian Shan" by the contemporary Po Qin 繁欽 (biography at *SGZ* 21:603 PC note 2 citing *Dian lue* by Yu Huan), which gives the places as Qian and Liu.
- Qian 潛 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 六安 during Later Han; the name had evidently changed again about this time: *HHS* 112/22:3487 (43a-b). Both counties lay south of the Quebei lake.
- 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

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.¹⁰ Zhou Yu handed over all the territory south of the Yangzi to Liu Bei. Liu Bei set his base at You[jiang]kou, and changed the name to Gong'an.¹¹

I Sun Quan gave his younger sister as wife to Liu Bei.¹² 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 Jiang Gan of Jiujiang was the finest debater between the Yangzi and the Huai, and Cao Cao sent him on a secret mission to win over Zhou Yu. 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, but said immediately, "You must be tired, Ziyi, for you have travelled a [408] long way across rivers and lakes. Was it just to be a mouthpiece for Master Cao?"¹³

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 "support cities" (奉邑 *feng yi*) or as "supplying provisions" (食 *shi*).

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 that Sun Quan was in awe of him. Cf. passage E of Jian'an 15 below.

Since Cao Cao controlled the court, such formal "recommendations" (表 *biao*) were naturally meaningless.

11 Youjiangkou 油江口, at the junction of the You River with the Yangzi, was the chief city of Chanling county: note 61 to Jian'an 13. Liu Bei changed the name of both the city and the county. The place is still called Gong'an.

I *SGZ* 37 (Shu 7):960 (14a), the Biography of Fa Zheng.

12 Sun Quan's father, Sun Jian, had at least three daughters. It is probable that this Lady Sun was a full sister of Sun Quan, born of his mother the Lady Wu, Sun Jian's principal wife: deC, *Generals of the South*, 86 note.

On Liu Bei's other women, see *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 甘, who died about this time: *SGZ* 34 (Shu 4):905.

J *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9):1265 (11a-b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*

13 Ziyi 子翼 was the style of Jiang Gan.

Then he escorted Jiang Gan all around the camp. They looked at the granary and the 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, "In all the world, I have found the one master who understands me. Outwardly, we behave with the formalities 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?"¹⁴

Jiang Gan simply laughed, and did not raise the subject 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.

K 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 everyone who pays no attention to his appearance and wears worn-out clothing and furs is considered to be 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 bring their own food and drink to the office.

2100 "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 now you are encouraging a pattern of conduct which is difficult, and you use it to judge all manner of men. When you force things like that, it is not surprising if people become annoyed and irritated.

"Great teachers of the past always put emphasis on following human nature. When the requirements of conduct are awkward and exaggerated, they only encourage secrecy and deception."

14 Su Qin 蘇秦 and Zhang Yi 張儀 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'ue*, 13-15.

K SGZ 23:655 (1b-2a), the Biography of He Xia.

Cao Cao accepted his argument.¹⁵

15 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, but the approach based upon competence rather than personal morality was clearly followed in the ordinance of the following year: passage A of Jian'an 15.

At the same time, however, the strict 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 simply 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 [411]

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 Jin 晉 was at that time controlled by the three great clans of Zhao 趙, Wei 魏 and Han 韓, which later divided the whole state between themselves. At this time, however, they were not full states, so Meng Gongchuo 薛孟公 was competent to manage their internal affairs.

On the other hand, though Teng 滕 and Xue 薛 were small and weak, the ruler held his fief directly from the royal house of Zhou 周, 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 魯, 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 (正人 *zheng ren*).

2 Guan Zhong 管仲, great minister of the state of Qi 齊 during the seventh century BC, was wealthy and ostentatious. Duke Huan 桓, however, used him in office without concern for his private 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.

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 additional information or prognostication. The eclipse, Oppolzer 3394, mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 219, affected eastern Mongolia and Manchuria.

- C In the winter Cao Cao built the Bronze Bird Terrace at Ye.⁵
- D In the twelfth month [miswritten for the eleventh month] on the day *jihai* [1 Jan 211]⁶ Cao Cao issued an ordinance:⁷
- When first I was recommended Filial and Incorrupt,⁸ I realised that I had no reputation as a scholar recluse.⁹ I was afraid that the world 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 my recommendations for appointment or promotion were made without bias, against the interests of the [palace eunuch] Regular Attendants. Because of this, however, I made

C SGZ 1:32 (78a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

5 The construction of the 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 *Dengtai fu* 登臺賦 "Rhapsody on Climbing the Terrace" appears in an extract from the *Wei ji* 魏紀 of Yin Dan 陰澹 preserved by SGZ 19:558 PC.

In previous editions, I have rendered the name of the *Tongjue tai* 銅爵臺 as "Copper Bird Terrace," but I now accept the more general usage of Bronze Bird: the character *tong* can indicate either material. There is further discussion of the terrace and its two neighbours, the Ice Well (冰井 *bingjing*) and the Metal Tiger (金虎 *jinhu*) terraces, in deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 338-339.

D SGZ 1:32-34 (78b-81b) PC quoting *Wei-Wu gushi*.

6 The twelfth month of this year contained no *jihai* day (cyclical number 36), but a *jihai* day was second last of the eleventh month, and I have taken that emendation.

7 The text which follows is a summary of an *Apologia* of Cao Cao, which is discussed by Bauer, *Anlitz Chinas*, 131-133, as an early and distinctive example of autobiography. The whole text as preserved in *Wei-Wu gushi* is discussed and translated by Kroll, "Portraits," 9-15, and by deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 356-363.

8 Cao Cao received nomination as Filial and Incorrupt (孝廉 *xiaolian*) at the age of twenty by Chinese reckoning: SGZ 1:2. He was born in 155, so this was in 174.

Nomination as Filial and Incorrupt was made by a man's commandery unit: for Cao Cao this was Pei kingdom. Candidates served a period of probation as a Gentle-man (郎 *lang*) at the imperial court, then received substantive appointment.

9 The prestige of a "scholar in retirement" (巖空之士 *yankong zhi shi*) 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, deC, "Politics and Philosophy," 53-55, Powers, *Art and Political Expression*, 349, Vervorm, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves*, 179-185.

enemies of powerful men. I was afraid I would bring misfortune to my family, so I pleaded sick and went back home.¹⁰ [412]

2101 I was still young at that time. I built a fine house fifty *li* east of Qiao,¹¹ 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.¹² Once 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 chief minister. I have the utmost honour that 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

10 SGZ 1:3 PC quoting *Cao Man zhuan* says that Cao Cao had become known in Luoyang as a local official prepared to deal brutally with any associates of the eunuchs who offended the law, and he was sent out as magistrate of Dunqiu, a county in Dong commandery. This was in 177, but he was dismissed in the following year, apparently on account of his family's association with the disgraced Empress Song: deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 33-34, and on the empress see *Huan and Ling*, 304.

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 an important 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-controlled regime of Emperor Ling.

11 Qiao county, in the west of Pei state, was Cao Cao's home country.

12 This appointment was in 188, at the time of the establishment of the Colonels of the Western Garden, private army of Emperor Ling: *Huan and Ling*, 400-401.

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.

That is why I am now revealing my true feelings, with words from the bottom of my heart.

On the other hand, should anyone suggest that I give up my [413] 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 lakelands 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 Yang-xia, Zhe and Ku, with twenty thousand households, keeping only the income from ten thousand households in Wuping.¹³ This way, I reduce the opportunity for rumour and slander, and I relieve myself of some responsibilities.

- E 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

13 The counties of Wuping 武平, which gave its title to Cao Cao's fief, Yangxia 陽夏, Zhe 柘 and Ku 苦 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.

city¹⁴ to see Sun Quan and to ask for appointment as Area Commander of Jing province.¹⁵

2102 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 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 away from him, each [414] 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 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 close 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 Gong'an.

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

E SGZ 32 (Shu 2):879 (18b), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1264 (10b), the Biography of Zhou Yu;
SGZ 37 (Shu 7):954-55 (5b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

14 Jing city 京 was at this time another name for Dantu 丹徒, the headquarters of Sun Quan's government. See note 32 to Jian'an 9.

15 *Dudu* 都督 would become the formal title of an Area Commander, with military authority over a wide region. This may be an early reference such a position, but it may be used here as a general term for command. Note that previous usages of the title had related both to lower ranking supervisory officers and to high-level officers: compare passage JJ of Xingping 2 with passage J of Jian'an 4.

16 This statement appears in the biography of Lü Fan, SGZ 56 (Wu 11):1310.

17 This comment of Liu Bei comes from an informal conversation with his officer Pang Tong, recorded by *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

F SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1264 (10a-12a), the Biography of Zhou Yu;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1271 (18b-19a), the Biography of Lu Su;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1271 (19a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1265 (11a-12a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

F Zhou Yu went to Jing city to see Sun Quan, and said to him, "Cao Cao has just been defeated, he will be worried about the loyalty of even his closest companions, and he won't be able to do anything against 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 can then take Xiangyang, putting pressure on Cao Cao, and after that we can make plans to deal with the north." Sun Quan approved. [415]

The General Who Displays Majesty was Sun Yu, son of Sun Jian's younger brother, who also held office as Administrator of Dan-yang.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.

2103 "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 anxiety.

"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

18 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.

19 This explanation is added by Sima Guang, based upon Sun Yu's biography in *SGZ* 51 (Wu 6):1206. A son of Sun Jing, elder twin of Sun Quan's father Sun Jian, Sun Yu was a first cousin of Sun Quan.

20 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.

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 Zhou Yu's son Xun as Commandant of Cavalry and gave him his daughter in marriage.²² [Zhou Yu's other son] Yin became Commandant Who Carries on Tradition and married a woman of the Sun clan.²³ [416]

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 continued to treat 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 responding to 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."

- G Sun Quan appointed Lu Su as Colonel Who Displays Firmness, taking command of Zhou Yu's troops,²⁴ and he named Cheng Pu Administrator of Nan commandery.

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.

- 21 The biography of Sun Deng is in *SGZ* 59 (Wu 14):1363-1365. He had been born just the year before, in 209.
- 22 *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9):1265, adds that Zhou Xun inherited the qualities of his father, but he died young.
- 23 *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9):1266, says that Zhou Yin was given a thousand troops and sent to Gong'an, 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. He was granted pardon ten years later, in consideration of his father's achievements, but he died about that time.
- G *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9):1271 (19a-b), the Biography of Lu Su;
SGZ 55 (Wu 10):1284 (2a), the Biography of Cheng Pu;
SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1118 (6b), the Biography of Sun Quan.

Lu Su urged Sun Quan to lend Jing province to Liu Bei so that they could deal with Cao Cao together, and Sun Quan agreed.²⁵ He [417] divided Yuzhang to create Poyang commandery,²⁶ and Changsha to form Hanchang commandery. Cheng Pu returned as Administrator of Jiangxia, while Lu Su became Administrator of Hanchang and camped at Lukou.²⁷

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H Before this, Sun Quan had said to Lü Meng, "Now that 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

24 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).

25 This sentence is based upon a passage of *Han-Jin chungiu*, 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 the 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 deC, *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 south of the Yangzi, and in 210, following the death of Zhou Yu, he was given access to the north. 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/Gong'an, access to and control of all the western part of Jing province, north and south of the Yangzi.

After the death of Zhou Y, therefore, the position of Sun Quan's forces at Jiangling was all but untenable against Liu Bei, and Lu Su's advice was no more than a recognition of the new reality. Later there was propaganda in Wu that the territory of Jing province had only been lent (借 *jie*) to Liu Bei, and that 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.

26 Poyang commandery was in Yang province, in the east of present-day Yuzhang.

27 The new commandery of Hanchang, 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 combined territory from the three Han commanderies of Nan, Changsha and Jiangxia, and formed the frontier between Sun Quan and Liu Bei.

H SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1274 (22b-23a), the Biography of Lü Meng;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1274-75 (23a-24a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

am. I am always reading books, and I believe they have a great deal to do with my success."²⁸

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!"²⁹

"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. [418]

I Liu Bei sent his Assistant Officer Pang Tong to act as magistrate 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 Headquarters or Attendant Officer, and he will find his feet."³⁰ 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 as his Headquarters Officer, trusted him and treated him just a little less

28 *Jiangbiao zhuan* gives the reading list recommended by Sun Quan. It includes *Shi ji*, *Han shu* and *Dongguan Hanji*, *Zuo zhuan*, *Guo yu* and *The Book of the Art of War* by Sun Wu: deC, *Generals of the South*, 386.

29 The 阿 before Lü Meng's given name may be no more than the introductory vocative initial, common in many dialects of Chinese, but it can have an implication of "simple:" cf. Lu Xun's *The True Story of Ah Q*.

Lü Meng came originally from Runan commandery, but Lu Su is presumably referring to the time he and Lü Meng served together in the early years under Sun Ce: e.g. passages NN and OO of Jian'an 5.

I SGZ 37 (Shu 7):954 (5a-5b), the Biography of Pang Tong.

30 Shiyuan 士元 was the style of Pang Tong.

Under the system of Han, Assistant Officers of a province were locally appointed. Some held office at the headquarters, but others could be sent to supervise areas outside. The use of the term *shou* 守 indicates that Pang Tong was 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 it 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 Headquarters Officer, with responsibility for central administration, or as Attendant Officer to 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.

favourably than Zhuge Liang. Pang Tong and Zhuge Liang were both appointed Generals of the Household Masters of the Army.³¹

- J Before this, Shi Xie of Cangwu was Administrator of Jiaozhi. Zhu Fu the Inspector of Jiao province was killed by rebel barbarians and the province and commanderies fell into disorder.³²

Shi Xie recommended his younger brothers for office, so Shi Yi took over as Administrator of Hepu, Shi Hui became Administrator of Jiuzhen, and Shi Wu was Administrator of Nanhai. [419]

- 2105 Shi Xie was a tolerant and generous man, and many gentlemen from central China came to him. Ten thousand *li* from the imperial court, he dominated the province with no rivals to his authority. As his prestige rose ever higher, the insignia carried before him in procession and the guards who escorted him became ever more magnificent, and all the barbarians feared and served him.

The court sent Zhang Jin of Nanyang to be Inspector of Jiao province. Zhang Jin was a believer in spirits and demons. He always wore a purple-red turban, he played drums and lutes, he burnt incense, he read Taoist books; and he claimed that it would all help his government. He was killed by his officer Ou Jing.³³

Liu Biao sent Lai Gong of Lingling as replacement for Zhang Jin, and since Shi Huang the Administrator of Cangwu had died about this time, he also sent Wu Ju to take his place.³⁴ The court [*i.e.* Cao Cao, on the other hand] gave Shi Xie a sealed commission as General of the Household Who Comforts the South, to govern the seven

31 The attribute "Master of the Army" (軍師 *junshi*) evidently indicates a senior staff position, responsible for administration, planning and discipline.

J SGZ 49 (Wu 4):1191 (13a-16b), the Biography of Shi Xie;
SGZ 52 (Wu 7):1237 (30a-b), the Biography of Bu Zhi.

32 Zhu Fu met his fate during the 190s: deC, *Generals of the South*, 343.

33 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: deC, *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 regarded as a special region, not as a full province: deC, *Generals of the South*, 31-32 note and 348, and *Huan and Ling*, note 31 at 361.

34 Shi Huang was not a member of the clan led by Shi Xie; his surname is written with a different character.

commanderies while still holding position as Administrator of Jiaozhi.³⁵

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, Administrator of Poyang, as Inspector of Jiao province.³⁶ Shi Xie brought [420] 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.³⁷ [421>422]

35 Lai Gong and Wu Ju, nominees of Liu Biao, were thus formally opposed by Shi Xie, who now held recognition from Cao Cao. This, of course, refers to the period before the death of Liu Biao and the take-over by Cao Cao in 208.

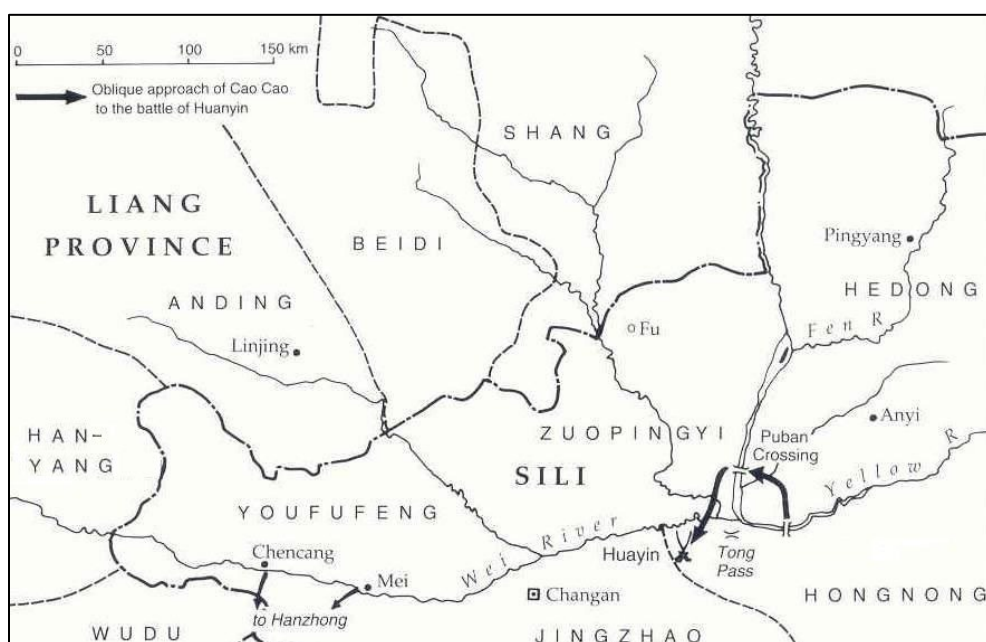
36 SGZ 49 (Wu 4):1192 and SGZ 52 (Wu 7):1237 date this appointment to Jian'an 15.

Bu Zhi's biography at SGZ 52 (Wu 7):1236 describes him as a man of Huaiyin 淮陰 county in Linhuai 臨淮. The Treatise of Administrative Geography, HHS 111/21, 3462, lists Huaiyin 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 places Huaiyin county in Guangling commandery.

37 As at the present day, Lingnan 嶺南 identifies the far south of China proper, present-day Guangdong and Guangxi provinces; during Han it also included the north of Vietnam, then 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. His capital Longbian 龍編, identified by some scholars as the Kattigara described by the Western geographer Ptolemy in the second century AD, was celebrated for its trading prosperity: Yü, *Trade and Expansion*, 177-178, deC, *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

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A In the spring, in the first month Cao Cao's eldest son Pi was made General of the Household for All Purposes with subordinate officials, to serve as Associate to the Imperial Chancellor.¹

B In the third month Cao Cao sent the 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, Liang Xing, Cheng Yi, Ma Wan and their followers, ten divisions altogether, rose in rebellion. Their combined force was a hundred thousand men, and they set encampments to guard the Tong Pass.²
[423]

A SGZ 1:34 (81b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

1 In the system of Han, Generals 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.

B SGZ 1:34 (82a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 24:683 (11a), the Biography of Gao Rou;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6):186 PC quoting *Dian lue*.

2 Ma Chao and his associates at this time occupied the valley of the Wei, including the territory of the Three Adjunct commanderies (三輔 *sanfu*), 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 was to attack Zhang Lu in Hanzhong, 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 believe that 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),

Cao Cao sent the General Who Gives Tranquillity to the West Cao Ren to take overall command of operations against the rebels. An edict ordered the soldiers to strengthen their fortifications but not to join battle.

C The General 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

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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 [424] four thousand

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.

C SGZ 14:429 (5b) PC quoting *Wei shu*;
SGZ 22:645 (22b), the Biography of Xu Xuan;
SGZ 11:339 (9b), the Biography of Guo Yuan.

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 the regular administration.

D SGZ 1:34 (82b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 1:35 (82b-83a) PC quoting *Wei shu*.

4 Cao Cao's confidence is justified, for this will be one of his most brilliant campaigns. It is discussed in deC, *Northern Frontier*, 163-165, and *Imperial Warlord*, 296-301.

E SGZ 1:34 (83a-84a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 1:35-36 (83b) PC quoting *Cao Man zhuan*.

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*.

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.

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* 胡床, a light-weight camp stool, was an early form of the chair in China: Fitzgerald, *Barbarian Beds*, 23. Cao Cao had cut his timing rather fine, but he now showed a lack of concern to reassure his followers. Tiger Warriors above and Cavalry below (虎士 *hushi* and 騎 *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.

From Puban he crossed west of the Yellow River,⁸ then formed a protected way to move southwards downstream.⁹ [425] 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

8 The phrase here is *xihe* 西河, 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* 甬道 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); and *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.

F *SGZ* 1:34-35 (84a-85a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 10:330 (40a-b), the Biography of Jia Xu;

F 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 other 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, [426] 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."

2108 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 sent 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.

G Then Cao Cao did agree upon a day for battle. He first sent out light troops to skirmish, and when they had fought for a time he let loose his Tiger Cavalry to attack the enemy on both flanks and completely defeated them.

They took 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

SGZ 1:36 (85a) PC quoting *Wei shu*.

12 SGZ 1:34 remarks that Cao Cao had been recommended as a Filial and Incorrupt candidate in the same year as Han Sui's father, and that he himself had been in the same set of companions as Han Sui.

13 ZJTJ commentary remarks that once before Han Sui had disrupted a hostile alliance by speaking privately with Fan Chou: passage F of Xingping 2. He may have planned the same trick, but this time it was played by Cao Cao.

G SGZ 1:35 (85b-86a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

[Zuo]pingyi, but instead you halted at the pass, and it was some time before you crossed to the north. Why was that?"¹⁴ [427]

"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.

"So I reinforced the troops facing the pass. The enemy were all concerned about the south, so they left the west of the River undefended, 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 take my own forces across to the north, and the detachment under those two commanders then prevented the enemy from interfering with my [subsequent] 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

14 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.

15 On the protected way, see note 9 above. *ZZTJ* commentary quotes *Sunzi bingfa* 4.1: "The Skilful Warrior first ensured his own invulnerability; then he waited for the enemy's vulnerability;" Minford, *Art of War*, 149 (Ames, *Sun-tzu*, 115; Griffith, *Art of War*, 115).

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 had looked more and more pleased. His officers asked why, and he explained. "The land within the passes is very broad. If each group of rebels kept to the difficult country and made us attack him, it would take more than two years to settle them. Now they have all come together, and although they have 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 easier, so naturally I am pleased." [428]

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H 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.¹⁶ 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 Consultant Zhang Ji as Intendant of Jingzhao. Zhang Ji received and cared for the refugees, and restored the county cities. The people loved him.

I 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 were still more than twenty thousand bushels left over.

Cao Cao increased the salary of Du Ji the Administrator of Hedong to Fully Two Thousand *shi*.¹⁷

J 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

H SGZ 1:36 (86a-87a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 15:472 (14a), the Biography of Zhang Ji.

16 The capital of Anding, base of Yang Qiu's regime, was at Linjing, north of present-day Qingquan in Gansu.

I SGZ 16:496 (10b-11a), the Biography of Du Ji.

17 The increase in nominal salary also raised Du Ji to rank with the Nine Ministers of the Han system.

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.

Zhang Song the Attendant Officer of Yi province was a close friend of Fa Zheng. He was confident of his own abilities, and he too felt that Liu Zhang did not appreciate him, so he was privately discontented.

Zhang Song urged Liu Zhang to ally with Liu Bei.¹⁹ "Whom can I send?" asked Liu Zhang, and Zhang Song recommended [429] Fa Zheng. When Liu Zhang gave him the commission, Fa Zheng made many excuses to avoid the mission, so that 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 secret plans together to invite Liu Bei to take over the province.

K Then Cao Cao sent Zhong Yao against Hanzhong. Liu Zhang heard about it and was worried.²⁰ Zhang Song said to him, "Lord Cao's troops have no match in the empire. If he can use Zhang Lu's resources to seize the territory of Shu, who can resist him?"

"Liu 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; 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

J SGZ 37 (Shu 7):957 (9b-10a), the Biography of Fa Zheng.

18 Fa Zheng came from Mei county in Youfufeng. He and other people of that region come for 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 he was treated dismissively, and became a supporter of Liu Bei: passage XX of Jian'an 8.

K SGZ 32 (Shu 2):881 (20a), the Biography of Liu Bei;

SGZ 31 (Shu 1):868 (12a), the Biography of Liu Zhang.

20 This refers to the attack planned for the beginning of this year, which then became the campaign against Ma Chao and his fellows: note 2 to Jian'an 16.

21 The epithet "Yuzhou" 豫州 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, G of Jian'an 6 and Y of Xingping 1. According to *Hanmo yingxiong ji*, quoted

boastful. You cannot rely upon them. Unless you get Liu 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.

L The Registrar Huang Quan of Baxi objected,²³ "Liu the General of the Left has a great reputation for bravery, [430] and you are inviting him here.²⁴ You will never satisfy his ambition if you treat him as a subordinate, but if you behave towards him as your guest and equal, it will be difficult for a single state to hold two lords. The guest may be as secure as Mount Tai, but the position of the ruler is unstable as a pile of eggs. Far better close your borders and wait until the situation becomes clearer."

Liu Zhang would not attend to this advice, and he sent Huang Quan away to be magistrate of Guanghan. The Assistant Officer Wang Lei of Guanghan hung himself upside down at the gates of the capital in protest, but Liu Zhang would not be moved.

M When Fa Zheng arrived in Jing province he put his plan to Liu Bei in a 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 was uncertain, however, and could not make up his mind. 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."

in SGZ 31:869 PC, Li Yi was one of the local leaders who defeated and killed Zhao Wei when he 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: 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.

"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, [431] 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, he will eventually 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 ten thousand foot-soldiers into Yi province.

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

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* 戶口 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" 仲虺之誥 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 Lu Jia 陸賈, 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 湯 of the Shang dynasty and Wu 武 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.

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 [432]

- 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 Wherever he passed, he received valuable gifts, worth hundreds of millions of cash.

As he came to Ba commandery, the Administrator Yan Yan laid his hand on his heart and sighed, "This is what describes '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.²⁹ Liu Zhang led more than thirty thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers, with chariots and canopies 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 move so fast," said Liu Bei.

N SGZ 36 (Shu 6):949 (15b) PC quoting *Zhao Yun biezhuàn*.

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 biezhuàn*. It appears that 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 succeeded his father as sovereign of Shu-Han, and the Lady Gan 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.

O SGZ 31 (Shu 1):868 (12b-13a), the Biography of Liu Zhang;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2):881 (20b-21a), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6):943 (7b) PC quoting *Huayang guo zhi*;
SGZ 37 (Shu 7):955 (6a), the Biography of Pang Tong.

28 The phrase *rugui* 如歸 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."

29 Jiangzhou, present-day Chongqing in Sichuan, was the capital of Ba commandery. Fu county was in Guanghan commandery, by present-day Mianyang, about a hundred kilometres northeast of Liu Zhang's capital at Chengdu.

Liu Bei had journeyed up the Yangzi into Yi province, passed Jiangzhou, where Yan Yan made his proverbial comment, 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.

"If you take the opportunity of this meeting," urged Pang Tong, "you will not 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 have not yet shown my grace and good faith. I cannot act like that."³⁰

Liu Zhang proposed Liu Bei as Acting Grand Marshal with concomitant office as 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 more than a hundred days.

Liu Zhang added to Liu Bei's troops and supplied him generously with provisions and equipment. Then he sent him to attack Zhang Lu and gave orders that he should also take [433] command of the army already at Boshui.³¹ 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.³² Before he departed for the campaign against Zhang Lu, however, he acted with generosity and grace to win the hearts of the people. [434]

³⁰ The reader's mind must boggle at Liu Bei's reference to his own "good faith" (信 *xin*) even as he was debating when he might best betray his trusting host.

³¹ The Boshui Pass was on the upper reaches of the Jialing River, near the border of Hanzhong commandery and some hundred kilometres from Mianyang, the 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 about thirty kilo-metres west of the pass, on a tributary of the Jialing.

³² 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 base headquarters for the 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 that 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 Household for All Purposes Cao Pi wanted to go in person to attack them, but Chang Lin the Officer 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 successful it is still 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 and 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 for instructions." [435]

A SGZ 1:36 (87a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

1 Xiao He 蕭何 was the celebrated adviser and Chancellor of State to the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han. His biographies at *SJ* 53:2016 (Watson, *RGH* II, 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.

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.

The advisers said, "An army must be controlled by one man. There is no need 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, "Not only do you 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 the tally of heads [for this campaign] they matched 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 encourage 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 such a campaign should ever have been necessary." Cao Cao was very pleased.⁴

2113

- D In the summer, in the fifth month on the day *guiwei* [?] the Minister of the Guards Ma Teng was executed and all his family destroyed.⁵
[436]

3 Cao Pi had been appointed General of the Household in charge of the defences of Ye city in the previous year, with Cheng Yu as his Adviser to the Army, essentially his chief counsellor: passage C of Jian'an 16.

Cheng Yu's argument here is that the question of executing surrendered rebels should either be left to Jia Xin, as commander in the field, or preferably 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 Ye city, but he would be exceeding his instructions if he interfered in military and political matters outside.

C SGZ 11:339 (9b-19a), the Biography of Guo Yuan.

4 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.

D HHS 9:386 (10a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

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.

5 Though he had been named a minister in the imperial government, Ma Teng had been an 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* 癸未 which is given for this event (cyclical number 20), did not fall in the fifth month of this year, for the first day of that month was *renchen* 壬辰 (cyclical number 29). *ZZTJ* follows *HHS* 9, but there is obviously a mistake.

6 *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.

7 This plague of moths is not mentioned at the expected place in the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 106/16:3336.

E *SGZ* 1:36 (87b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

8 Lantian county in Jingzhao was about present-day Lantian in Shenxi, southeast of Chang'an in the foothills of the Qin Ling range.

ZZTJ implies that Ma Chao was at Lantian and was there compelled to submit, but the full text of *SGZ* 1 refers to Liang Xing, described as a subordinate officer of Ma Chao, whose career is dealt with in passage F below. Liang Xing, however, was probably not at Lantian. His area of operations was in the north of Zuopingyi, two hundred kilometres from Lantian, and it appears he met his death there. Sima Guang has omitted the reference to him.

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 was probably not there at the critical time.

F *SGZ* 16:510-511(30b-31a), the Biography of Zheng Hun.

9 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.

10 The capital of Zuopingyi commandery was at Gaoling, near present-day Gaoling, across the Wei River north of Chang'an.

Zheng Hun the Administrator of Zuopingyi 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 [437] for them to surrender by showing authority and fair dealing. To run away into the wilderness merely shows weakness."

So he gathered the people together, set walls and outworks 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 trustworthy 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 were now frightened, and they led their remaining 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

- G In the ninth month on the day *gengxu* [2 Nov] the emperor's sons were enfeoffed: Liu Xi was made King of Jiyin, Liu Yi became King of Shanyang, Liu Miao became King of Jibei and Liu Dun became King of Donghai.¹³

11 "Eastern Supporter" (左馮翊 *zuopingyi*) was the title given to head of the commandery of that name, one of the Three Adjuncts about Chang'an. For clarity, however, I refer to the officer as Administrator: note 51 to Chuping 3.

12 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 by *SGZ* 16:509-10 PC.

G *HHS* 9:386 (10a-b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

- H Before this, Zhang Hong had urged Sun Quan to set his centre of government at Moling, as it was a fine site [438] among rivers and hills. When Liu Bei went east he passed Moling,¹⁴ and he too urged Sun Quan to live there.
- 2114 So Sun Quan built Shitou Citadel and shifted his capital to Moling. He changed the name from Moling to Jianye.¹⁵
- I Lü Meng heard that Cao Cao intended to bring soldiers to the east, and he urged Sun Quan to establish a fortress near the mouth of the Ruxu River.¹⁶ 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.
- J In the winter, in the tenth month, Cao Cao moved east to attack Sun Quan.

13 The Qing scholar Qian Daxin 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 東海 has evidently been miswritten for Beihai 北海, 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.

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 deC, *Generals of the South*, 318-319.

Under Han, the chief town of Moling 秣陵 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 石頭城 was completed in the following year, and it was at this time that the capital was named Jianye 建業 "Establishing the Great Work."

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.

2115

K Dong Zhao said to Cao Cao, "Since ancient times, of all great ministers who have saved the empire, never has there been [439] 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 reluctant to make a mistake you might regret, and you are glad to maintain your honour and loyalty. Nevertheless, when a man remains too long as a powerful subject, 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 that 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

J SGZ 1:36 (88a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

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 Later Han, the title of king (王 *wang*) was reserved for members of the imperial Liu clan, while the notional descendants of the ancient Shang/Yin and Zhou dynasties were granted title as dukes (公 *gong*) and held small fiefs (公國 *gongguo*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 105-109 at 108. The highest noble rank available to others was marquis (侯 *hou*), with a fief of varying size and value, 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]. Within the imperial bureaucracy, the Three Excellencies (三公 *san gong*) held the highest position; Dubs and Bielenstein render the phrase as "Three Dukes," but they were not feudal ranks and their incumbents held no fiefs.

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 was 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. The term *guogong* 國公 appears only in this context, and though I render it here as "Duke of the State," it may indicate no more than "duke with a fief."

18 On the fulfilment of this policy, and on the Nine Distinctions, see passage C of Jian'an 18.

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.

As he moved to attack Sun Quan, Cao Cao sent a memorial to the court that Xun Yu should come down to encourage the army at Qiao. Then he suddenly gave orders for Xun Yu to be kept in his company, with position as Palace Attendant, Household Counsellor bearing the Staff of Authority, and Adviser to the Army of the Chancellor.

While Cao Cao's army advanced towards Ruxu, Xun Yu [440] stayed behind at Shouchun because he was sick. 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 mourned his death.

- L 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

19 This expression comes from the *Tan gong* 檀弓 chapter of *Li ji* 2A.18; Couvreur, *Mémoires* 1A, 126.

20 *HHS* 70/60 contains a text of the proclamation with which Cao Cao announced the new 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, 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.

L Comment written by Sima Guang.

this was because Guan Zhong, as assistant to Duke Huan of Qi, gave great relief to living people.²¹ [441]

2116 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 his chancellor. It is clear 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 utmost misery, and only a man of unusual ability could bring them help. If Xun Yu had left Emperor Wu of Wei [Cao Cao],²² 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 that Han at the beginning of the Jian'an period. At that time the whole world was in turmoil and overturned, and the Han dynasty 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 turn weakness into strength 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,²³ but Xun Yu died for the house of Han. So his sense of humanity was superior to that of Guan Zhong.

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 子路 [also named You 由]:

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 公子糾, 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 When his son Cao Pi claimed the imperial throne in 220, Cao Cao was given post-humous title as Emperor Wu 武 of the new WEI dynasty: e.g. SGZ 1:1 and 53.

23 See note 21 above.

Yet Du Mu says,²⁴ "When Xun Yu encouraged Wu of Wei to hold Yan province, he compared him to Gaozu and Guangwu;²⁵ when Cao Cao was at Guandu and he urged him not to withdraw to Xu city, he made comparison with Chu and Han.²⁶ 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 that he too is not a robber?"

2117 I, your servant Sima Guang, recall Confucius' saying: "Literature over reality, that is a scribe."²⁷ Whenever a historian records a man's words, he always adds a literary [442] touch. So comparing Wu of Wei with Gaozu and Guangwu and with Chu and Han, that 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.

Furthermore, 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.²⁸ 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

24 Biographies of Du Mu 杜牧 (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: 文勝質則史; 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" (史 *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.

M In the twelfth month there was a comet among the Five Feudal Princes.³⁰ [443]

N 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 that 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.

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.

DeC, "A Question of Loyalty," offers a fuller discussion of the relationship between Xun Yu and Cao Cao, and the details of this incident.

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* 五諸侯 "Five Feudal Princes:" one in Western Gemini, close to the Milky Way; the other, also specified as the "Inner" (內 *nei*) group, in Coma Berenices within the *Taiwei* Enclosure (太微垣 *Taiwei yuan*) (Enclosure of Supreme Subtlety): Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 422 and 473, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 92 and 77, Star Maps 7 and 2. Since comets commonly appear on the line of the ecliptic, it is most 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).

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* 關頭 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.

"Go back to Bodi and join up with Jing province, then gradually make plans to return. This would be the worst plan.³³ Should you delay without making some move, however, you will be in great difficulty. You cannot wait too long." [444]

Liu Bei approved the middle plan.³⁴

- O 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 angrily, "I have attacked strong enemies for Yizhou,³⁶ and my men have exhausted themselves in the struggle. Yet he hoards his treasure and he is mean in rewards. Is this any encouragement to fight and die for him?"

33 Bodi was the 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 公孫述 pro-claimed himself as the White Emperor 白帝, and the name of the city was taken from his title: *SJZ* 33:22a, *Huayang guo zhi* 1:12a, and Bielenstein, *RHD* II, 234.]

34 The first two plans put forward by Pang Tong assumed that Liu Bei would take advantage of his position in the heart 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 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 option was to retire to the south-west, make contact with Jing province, then advance once more up the Yangzi and its tributaries towards Chengdu. This would provide a secure base, and he 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*.

35 See passage I above.

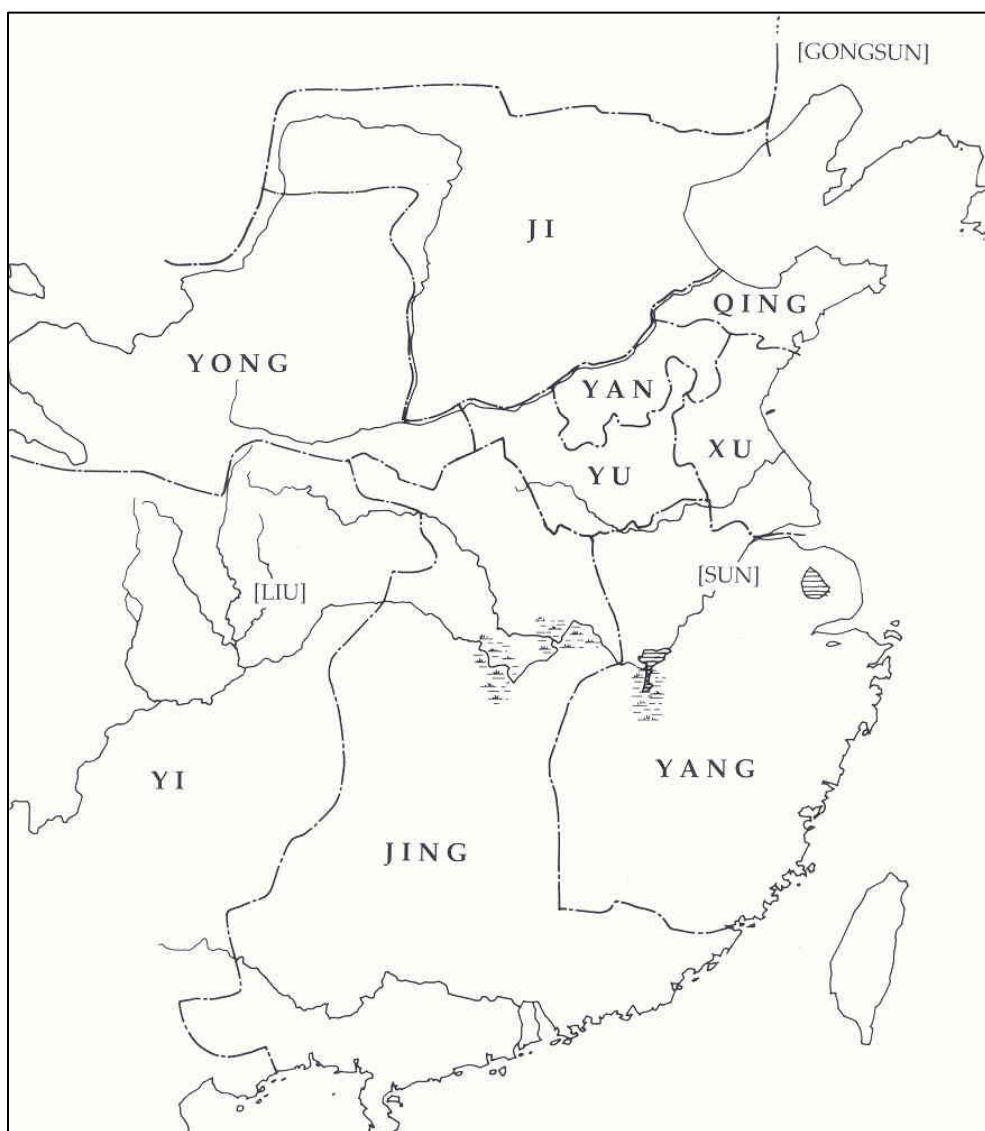
36 Like Liu Bei's designation as "Yuzhou" in passage K and note 21 to Jian'an 16, the phrase Yizhou 益州 "Yi province" refers to Liu Zhang in his capacity as Governor.

2118 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?"³⁷ Zhang Su the Administrator of Guanghan was elder brother to Zhang Song. Afraid he might be implicated, he revealed the plot to Liu Zhang. Liu Zhang arrested Zhang Song and beheaded him, and sent instructions to the commanders of the garrisons at the passes that they should have no further communication with Liu Bei.

Liu Bei was furious. 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 then urged 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.³⁸ [445>446]

37 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 that 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.

38 As *ZZTJ* commentary observes, these actions follow the lines of Pang Tong's second plan.



Map 20: The provinces re-arranged by Cao Cao 213

Jian'an 18: 213 AD

8 February 213 – 28 January 214

A 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 thousand.¹ He attacked and overran 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],² 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 does not take advantage of me." He withdrew his army and went back.

[In the third month] on the day *gengyin* [11 Apr]³ an edict combined the fourteen provinces to make nine again.⁴ [447]

A SGZ 1:37 (88b-89b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1118 (8b), the Biography of Sun Quan;
SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1119 (8b) PC quoting *Wu li*.

1 Quite apart from the normal exaggerations of historians, there was a custom at this time of deliberately inflating the numbers of a major army. See, for example, Bielenstein, *RHD* I, 118; and the remarks of Guo Yuan in passage C of Jian'an 17.

2 Zhongmou 仲謀 was the style of Sun Quan; Jingsheng 景升 that of Liu Biao.

3 SGZ 1:37 and HHS 9:387 both date this edict to the first month. HHJ 30:9b, however, has the second month.

The first month of this year began on a *wuzi* day [8 Feb] (cyclical number 25), and the *gengyin* day (cyclical number 27) was the third [10 Feb]. The second month contained no *gengyin* day. The third month began on a *dinghai* day (cyclical number 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 re-arrangement 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 (see below).

It is possible that the character 元 *yuan* for the first month has been corrupted to read 二 *er* "second," but I suggest the number should read 三 *san* "third."

4 ZZTJ commentary lists the fourteen provinces as Sili 司隸, Yu 豫, Ji 冀, Yan 兗, Xu 徐, Qing 青, Jing 荆, Yang 揚, Yi 益, Liang 梁, Yong 雍, Bing 并, You 幽 and Jiao

In the summer, in the fourth month Cao Cao came to Ye.

- B Before this, when Cao Cao was at Qiao, he was afraid that the people of the commanderies along the Yangzi would suffer raiding by Sun Quan.⁵ He planned to bring them closer, and he discussed the proposal with Jiang Ji, Attendant Officer of Yang province.
- 2119 "Once before, when Yuan Benchu [Yuan Shao] and I were facing one another with our armies at Guandu, I shifted the inhabitants of

交. 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 *HHS* 9 TC, says that at this time the northern provinces You and Bing of Later Han were abolished and absorbed into Ji province, while in the northwest the territory of Liang 涼 province under Later Han was combined with the western part of Sili to form the new Yong 雍 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: see deC, *Generals of the South*, 445.

HHS 9 says that the nine provinces restored the arrangements recorded by the *Yu gong* 禹貢 "Tribute of Yu" Chapter of *Shu jing* III.1: 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 涼 province, a name used in Han which does not appear here, and has no Yi 益 province, which continues at this time from the Han tradition.

Apart from the ideals of *Yu gong*, however, a significant 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 Three Adjunct 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.)

- B *SGZ* 14:450 (31b-32a), the Biography of Jiang Ji;
SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1118-19 (9a), the Biography of Sun Quan.
- 5 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.

Yan and Boma. That way, they could not defect, and the [448] enemy did not dare attack them.⁶ I now intend to transfer people from south of the Huai. What do you think?"

"At that time," replied Jiang Ji, "your troops were weak and the enemy was strong: had you not shifted the people you would certainly have lost them. Since the defeat of Yuan Shao, however, your authority makes the empire tremble and no-one would think of opposing you. 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 did not accept his advice.

People did become anxious and afraid, and more than a hundred thousand households from Lujiang, Jiujiang, Qichun and Guangling went east across the Yangzi, so that the territory west of the river was abandoned. South from Hefei there was only Huan city.⁷

Later Jiang Ji came with dispatches to Ye, and when Cao Cao received him he gave a great laugh, said, "I wanted only to keep the people safe from the enemy, but instead I drove them away!" He named Jiang Ji Administrator of Danyang.⁸ [449]

6 Benchu 本初 was the style of Yuan Shao. Yan 燕 and Boma 白馬 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.

7 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 蕲春 was a new commandery, 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 the new administration 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 皖 in Lujiang [pronunciation from Yan Shigu] was northwest of present-day Anqing in Anhui, over 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 north of the lower Yangzi, leaving Lujiang commandery all but uninhabited.

See further passage D of Jian'an 19 below.

8 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.

C 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.⁹ 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 a hundred Scarlet Arrows, and ten Black Bows with a thousand Black Arrows; one goblet of the Black Millet Herb-Flavoured Liquor, with a Jade Libation-Cup to match.¹⁰

2120

D There was great rain and flooding.¹¹ [450]

E When the Assistant Officer 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 troops and they are not yet attached

C SGZ 1:37-39 (89b-97b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

9 ZJTJ 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.

10 The enfeoffment and appointment of Cao Cao, and the award of the Nine Distinctions (九錫 *jiu xi*), were granted by an edict from the emperor, quoted in the main text of SGZ 1. HHS 9:387 says that Cao Cao took the position himself: 自立為魏公.

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 deC, *Generals of the South*, 415-417 note. The award to Cao Cao is also discussed by deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 384-385 and 388-390.

D HHS 9:387 (10b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

11 Not surprisingly, this inauspicious omen is not recorded by the biography of Cao Cao in SGZ 1, but it appears both in HHS Annals and in the Flood section of the Treatise of the Five Powers, HHS 105/15:3312. Commentary to the Treatise quotes *Xiandi qijuzhu*, which says the rain was so severe that in the seventh month the emperor left his apartments, presumably seeking to placate the elements. It continued into the eighth month, however, and only then did the emperor return to his normal residence.

E SGZ 37 (Shu 7):958 (10a-b), the Biography of Fa Zheng;
SGZ 37 (Shu 7):959 (10b) PC quoting *Huayang guo zhi*.

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.¹² 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."¹³

When Liu Bei heard of this, he was worried and asked Fa Zheng, but Fa Zheng replied, "There is nothing to worry about. Liu Zhang will never use such methods."

And indeed Liu Zhang said to his followers, "I have heard that a man may face the foe to give peace to the people, but I have [451] never heard of shifting the people to avoid an enemy." He would not use Zheng Du's plan.

12 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, 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 deC, *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* 內, which the punctuation of *ZZTJ* 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: cf. note 16 to Jian'an 19.

13 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.

F Liu Zhang sent his officers Liu Gui, Leng Bao, Zhang Ren, Deng Xian, Wu Yi and others to oppose Liu Bei.¹⁴ They were all defeated and came back to hold Mianzhu,¹⁵ 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 led their troops to surrender to Liu Bei.¹⁶ 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 men were defeated and he himself was killed.¹⁷

2121

G 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.¹⁸

Duke Cao of WEI had three of his daughters taken into the emperor's harem as Honoured Ladies.¹⁹ [452]

F SGZ 32 (Shu 2):882 (22a-b), the Biography of Liu Bei;

SGZ 32 (Shu 2):883 (23a) PC quoting *Yibu qijiu zaji*.

14 SGZ 32 that says this group of commanders confronted Liu Bei's advance at Fu, so Liu Bei had been able to advance without difficulty from his original starting point at Jiameng: passage O of Jian'an 17.

15 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.

16 Fei Guan was a relative of Liu Zhang on his mother's side, and had also married Liu Zhang's daughter: SGZ 45:1081.

17 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.

G SGZ 1:42 (14a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

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, *Loyang*, 56, and *Cambridge China* I, 263 Map 13. Such ceremonies could be carried out locally at county level, but these were national rituals which Cao Cao now took for himself and his new state.

19 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 憲, Jie 節 and Hua 華. 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

H 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 went back.²⁰

[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,²¹ and he is popular with the Qiang and other barbarians. If the imperial army leaves before he has been dealt with, we shall lose control of all the commanderies west of Long Mountain."²²

When Cao Cao withdrew, Ma Chao did lead Qiang and other non-Chinese people against the commanderies and counties west of Long.²³ All those territories joined him and only Ji city, headquarters of the province and of [Hanyang] commandery, held firm.²⁴

Ma Chao controlled all the forces west of Long Mountain, and Zhang Lu sent his high officer Yang Ang to join him. Their combined array 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 Attendant Officer Yan Wen to advise Xiahou Yuan of their danger. The siege works were set in several [453] rings about the city, and during the night Yan Wen stealthily followed the river. The following morning, however, Ma Chao's soldiers saw his tracks, and they chased him and caught him.

imperial capital at Xu city to Cao Cao's headquarters at Ye, taking these gifts and also *bi*-rings (璧), insignia of rank.

Following the execution of the Empress Fu two years later, the middle daughter Cao Jie became Empress: passages Y of Jian'an 19 and A of Jian'an 20.

H SGZ 36 (Shu 6):945-46 (11a-b), the Biography of Ma Chao;
SGZ 25:701 (8a-b), the Biography of Yang Fu;
SGZ 18:550 (24a-b), the Biography of Yan Wen.

20 The rebellion of Tian Yin and Su Bo in Hejian had taken 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 deal only with Anding.

21 The celebrated fighting men Han Xin 英布 and Ying Bu 英布 were associates of the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han. They have biographies in *SJ* 92 and *SJ* 91 and also in *HS* 34.

22 The phrase *Longshang* 隴上 "above Long [Mountain]" indicates the territory to the west, the upper reaches of the Wei and the tributaries of the Yellow River.

23 SGZ 36 here reads *rong* 戎, a general name for non-Chinese people of the west. *ZZTJ* has *Qiang-hu* 羌胡 "the Qiang and other barbarians of the north [or west]."

24 Ji city was on the Wei River by Gangu in present-day southwest Gansu.

Ma Chao had Yan Wen brought below the walls and wanted to make him tell the people inside that there was no help coming from the east. Instead, however, Yan Wen faced the city and called out, "A great army will be here in no more than three days. Fight your hardest until it comes." Everyone in the city wept for joy and cried out: "Ten thousand years!"

Ma Chao was angry, but he had maintained the siege a long time without success, so he kept his self-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 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?"

2122 The Inspector and Administrator paid no attention, and they opened the gates to Ma Chao. As soon as he came in, however, he killed them both. He named himself General Who Subdues the West, with command as Governor of Bing province and Controller of Military Affairs in Liang province.

I Duke Cao of WEI sent Xiahou Yuan to relieve Ji city, but the place had fallen before the relief had arrived it, and Ma Chao came out to fight while Xiahou Yuan was still more than two hundred *li* from the city. Xiahou Yuan attacked him, but without success.

Qianwan, King of the Di, rebelled to join Ma Chao and camped at Xingguo.²⁵ Xiahou Yuan led his army back. [454]

I SGZ 1:42 (101b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 9:270-71 (7a), the Biography of Xiahou Yuan.

25 The Di 氏 people inhabited the hill country about Wudu commandery, in the south of Liang province on the borders of Yi province, present-day southern Gansu: deC, *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. The Account of the Western Barbarians (西戎傳 *Xirong zhuan*) of *Wei lue*, however, quoted by SGZ 30:858 PC, refers to Xingguo as the name of a group of Di, with Qianwan the leader of another tribe.

J About this time Yang Fu's wife died, so he went to Ma Chao and obtained leave to attend her burial.²⁶ Yang Fu's brother-in-law Jiang Xu of Tianshui was General Who Cherishes Barbarians and commanded troops in camp at Li city.²⁷

When Yang Fu saw Jiang Xu and his mother, he wept in an 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.²⁸ 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 similar circumstances, Zhao Dun was recorded as the murderer of his master.²⁹ Ma [455] Chao is strong,

J SGZ 25:701-02 (8a-9b), the Biography of Yang Fu;
SGZ 25:702-04 (10a-12a) PC quoting *Lienü zhuan* by Huangfu Mi;
and comment by Pei Songzhi;

SGZ 36 (Shu 6):946 (11a-b), the Biography of Ma Chao.

26 The reference to the request for leave being made of Ma Chao is an interpolation by ZZTJ. Yang Fu's biography says that he was anxious to avenge the death of his former commanders, but for the time being Ma Chao held command in Ji city, and Yang Fu was compelled to accept office as his subordinate.

27 Jiang Xu was a local man. Hanyang 漢陽 commandery had been known as Tianshui 天水 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 end of Han, and the name Tianshui was restored soon afterwards. So Tianshui here is an anachronistic reference to Hanyang.

Li city was in Xi county of Hanyang, south of Ji city near present-day Lixian in Gansu.

28 This refers to the fact that Ma Chao had rebelled 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.

29 Towards the end of the seventh century BC, Zhao Dun 趙盾 was chief minister of the state of Jin 晉. After Duke Ling 靈 had three times attempted to kill him, Zhao Dun fled the capital. The duke was later killed by a cousin of Zhao Dun, and so he was able to return.

The court historian recorded that "Zhao Dun murdered his ruler." Zhao Dun protested his innocence, but the clerk replied, "You are the highest minister. You had run away, but you had not crossed the frontier. Now that you have returned, you have

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."³⁰

"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.³¹

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Ma Chao held Zhao Ang's son Yue as a hostage. Zhao Ang said to his wife Yi,³² "I have made my plans, and they will certainly be successful. But 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 even more true for a son."

In the ninth month Yang Fu and Jiang Xu brought their forces forward into Lucheng, while Zhao Ang and Yin Feng occupied Qi Mountain and prepared to move against Ma Chao.³³

failed to punish the criminal. If it was not you who murdered the prince, who did?" See *Zuo zhuan*, Xuan 2; Legge, *CC V*, 290 (Couvreur, *Chronique I*, 572).

30 Boyi 伯奕 was the style of Jiang Xu, Yishan 義山 that of Yang Fu. The term Commissioner (使君 *shijun*) refers to the late Wei Kang as Inspector of Liang province.

31 Nan'an 南安 commandery had been established from the northern part of Hanyang at the time of the great rebellion in Liang province in 188: *HHS* 113/23:3517 commentary quoting *Qinzhou ji* 秦州記; deC, *Northern Frontier*, 494 note 35.

32 *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 "Biographies of Exemplary Women," compiled by the third century scholar Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 and quoted by *SGZ* 25:703-04 PC, basis for this text, says that this wife of Zhao Ang, whose personal name was Yi 異, was a woman of the Wang 王 family, and gives her a substantial biography. *ZZTJ* commentary cites this text, saying that the lady's original surname was Shi 士, but this appears to be a miswriting.

33 The city of Lucheng evidently lay between Xi county and Ji city. Qi Mountain was north of present-day Li county in southern Gansu. There were some fortifications there: passage A of Jian'an 19.

When Ma Chao learnt of this he was very angry, and Zhao Qu tricked him into going out immediately to attack them. As soon as he left, however, Zhao Qu and Liang Kuan barred the gates of the 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 [456] abandoned his father. You are a cruel brigand who murdered his lord. How can Heaven and Earth tolerate 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 Expositor.³⁴ He was going to give him one of his daughters in marriage, but someone said, "A man like this: if he has 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: eleven men were enfeoffed as marquises, and Yang Fu was awarded rank as a secondary marquis.³⁵

M In the winter, in the eleventh month WEI first established Masters of Writing, Palace Attendants, and six ministers.³⁶ [457]

K SGZ 36 (Shu 6):946 (12a) PC quoting *Dian lue*.

34 On the appointment of Libationers (祭酒 *jijiū*) in Zhang Lu's theocratic state, see note 13 to Jian'an 6. Expositors (都講 *dūjiāng*) were supposedly learned teachers of Daoist doctrines. As Libationer Expositor, however, regardless of his qualifications in these terms, Ma Chao ranked second only to Zhang Lu himself: *ZZTJ* commentary.

L SGZ 25:702 (9b-10a), the Biography of Yang Fu.

35 On secondary marquisates, an aristocratic rank immediately below that of a full marquis, see note 7 to Jian'an 9.

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 Minister of Ceremonies (太常 *taichang*), the Minister of the Household (光祿勳 *guangluxun*), the Minister of the Guards (衛尉 *weiwei*), the Minister Coachman (太僕 *taipu*), the Minister of Justice (廷尉 *tingwei*), the Minister Herald (大鴻臚 *da honglu*), the Minister of the Imperial Clan (宗正 *zongzheng*), the Minister of Finance (大司農 *da*

2124 Xun You was made Director of the Secretariat, Liang Mao was Deputy Director, 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.³⁷

 Zhong Yao became Grand Judge, Wang Xiu became Minister of Finance, Yuan Huan became Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace acting as Royal Counsellor, and Chen Qun became Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk.³⁸

sinong) and the Minister Steward (少府 *shaofu*). 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 (大理 *da li*) is an alternative title for the Minister of Justice (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 38) and the Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace (郎中令 *langzhong ling*) was the equivalent of the Minister of the Household: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 23.

Cao Cao at this time appointed only six ministers. *Wei shu* refers to the establishment of an Upholder of Ceremonies (奉常 *fengchang*) and a Minister of the [Royal] Clan (宗正 *zongzheng*) in 216, and to a Minister 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 Minister of Ceremonies: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 17.]

So besides the Grand Judge, the Minister of Finance 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 Minister Coachman, the Minister Herald and the Minister Steward, with more to follow.

37 The appointments to the Secretariat are listed by *Weishi chungqiu*. Those which follow, to the various ministries, are given by the biographies of the men concerned.

38 As we have observed, Grand Judge, Minister of Finance and Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace were all ministerial positions. The Imperial Counsellor (御史大夫 *yushi dafu*; Bielenstein: Grandee Secretary) and his subordinate the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk (御侍中丞 *yushi zhongcheng*: Palace Assistant Secretary), however, were different officers supervising the whole administration, and were not numbered among the nine imperial ministries: see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 7-9, deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," and note 13 to Jian'an 13.

SGZ 11:347 says that Wang Xiu was not only Minister of Finance 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

N Though Yuan Huan received rewards and presents, he spent everything and had nothing kept by in his house. When he was short he [458] would beg from others, but he made no show of his cleverness and insight, and people of the time respected his integrity.

On one occasion someone reported Liu Bei was dead. As other ministers offered congratulations, Yuan Huan was the only one to refrain.

O Duke Cao of WEI was considering reintroduction of the mutilating punishments.³⁹ He issued an ordinance was issued, saying, "Some years ago, Minister Herald Chen gave his opinion that the death penalty was kinder and more humane. Can the Palace Assistant Clerk explain his father's reasoning?"⁴⁰

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. See also deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 393-395.

N SGZ 11:334-35 (4a-b), the Biography of Yuan Huan.

O SGZ 22:634 (6b-7a), the Biography of Chen Qun.

39 The mutilating punishments (肉刑 *rouxing*) 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 (黥 *qing*), a slashed cicatrice rather than the more elegant dots), amputation of the nose (劓 *yi*), and amputation of the left foot (斬左止 *zhan zuozhi*) or of both feet (斬右止 *zhan youzhi*: literally "of the right foot [after the left has been cut off]"). They were normally used as an aggravation of hard labour, and often accompanied by flogging with the bastinado (笞 *chi*).

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 strokes of the bastinado, later reduced to two hundred strokes followed by hard labour; the double "right foot" penalty by execution, later reduced to flogging 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.

40 The biography of Chen Qun's father Chen Ji, in *HHS* 62/52 at 2067-68, tells of his appointment as Minister Herald during the time of disorder after the usurpation of

"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 [459] 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 suffers no more than having his hair cut off and his beard shaved. This is not the right pattern.⁴³

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.

- 41 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.

- 42 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.

- 43 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, 346-350, 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.

"If we used the old punishments, sending adulterers to the Silkworm House [for castration]⁴⁴ and cutting the feet off [460] 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

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- 44 The Silkworm House (蠶室 *canshi*) was a place where the punishment of castration (*gong* 宮 or *fu xing* 腐刑 "the punishment of rottenness") was carried out. *HHS* 1B:80 TC 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. *HHS* 46/36:1556 TC notes that during Former Han the Hunting Dog Prison (若廬獄 *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; also deC, *Fire over Luoyang*, 320. 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 司馬遷: e.g. *HS* 54, 2456; Chavannes, *MHI*, xxxix-xl, Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, 62, and Nienhauser, *GSR* I, x.

In 52 AD, an edict of Emperor Guangwu of Later Han ordered that men subject to the death penalty should be castrated (*HHS* 1B:80), and similar edicts were issued by emperors Ming (*HHS* 2:111), Zhang (*HHS* 3:143, 147 and 158), and 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 陳忠 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 The *Lü xing* 呂刑 "The Prince of Lü on Punishments" Chapter of *Shu jing* V.27.18; Legge *CC* III, 605-606 (Karlgrén, *Documents*, 77, and Cuvreur, *Annales*, 385-386), tells how King Mu of Zhou 周穆王 ordered that three thousand criminal offences be identified, each allocated to one of the five categories of penalty (五刑 *wu xing*), 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.

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 believed that his proposals were [461] practicable. Because military matters were still unsettled, Cao Cao accepted the majority position and took no action.⁴⁷ [462]

46 Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 109, notes that Chen Qun is making a distinction between major crimes, to be punished by the "full" death penalty (殊死 *shu si*), and others which attained death (其餘逮死 *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.

ZZTJ at this point reads 可易以肉刑 instead of 可以刑殺 in *SGZ* 22. Sima Guang has expanded the original text 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.

CHAPTER 67

*being Chapter 59 of the Chronicle of Han
containing Part 9 of the reign of Emperor Xian*

Jian'an 19: 214 AD

22 February 214 – 11 February 215

2125

A 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 that 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

2126 "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 to deal with the Qiang at Changli.⁵ Many

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 at 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.

The first distance appears to be exaggerated, but the total distance from this area of present-day southern Gansu to Ye city was about a 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 長離水 is identified as the Wating River 瓦亭水, which joins the Wei from the north near present-day Tianshui: SJZ 17:6a.

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, [463] our government troops can meet him in the field, and 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 a 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 may come in great numbers, they are easy to 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 [464]

6 The Shao[dang] 燒當 tribe of the Qiang had been notable for its rebellions during Later Han: e.g. deC, *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.

B SGZ 1:43 (103b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

8 SGZ 1:42 records that in the first month of this year Cao Cao undertook for the first time the ceremony of ploughing the sacred field (耕籍田 *geng jitian*), privilege of an independent ruler.

9 The Treatise of Carriages and Robes describes the Cap for Long Journeys (遠遊冠 *yuanyou guan*) at HHS 120/30:3666, and identifies it as one of the insignia of a king under Han. A simpler model of the imperial Cap Which Reaches Heaven (通天冠 *tongtian guan*), the Cap for Long Journeys was a bonnet nine *cun* 寸 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 seal-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.

- C In the summer, in the fourth month, there was drought.
In the fifth month there were great rains.¹⁰
- D Before this, Duke Cao of WEI had appointed Zhu Guang as 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 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, relief troops will arrive, and we shall not be able to manage them. Furthermore, the rain and floods have helped us move in, but if we stay too long the water will go down and the return will be difficult. It is my humble opinion that the situation can become dangerous.
"Look at this city now: it cannot be very secure. If we use all our strength and make fierce attacks 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."

In *Treatises*, 226-268, however, Mansvelt Beck observes that the system recorded in the *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.

- C *HHS* 9:387 (11a), the *Annals of Emperor Xian*.
- 10 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 points out in *Treatises*, 148-148, the list of portents compiled by Sima Biao does not preserve all those which were recorded as significant by the offices of Han.
- D *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9):1276 (24b-25b), the Biography of Lü Meng;
SGZ 55 (Wu 10):1294 (15a), the Biography of Gan Ning.
- 11 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 magistrate of Xunyang (note 14 below), drove him away.

2127 Sun Quan approved, and Lü Meng recommended that Gan Ning command the assault force. With a grapnel-rope of silk in his hands, Gan Ning climbed the walls and was first [465] into the city.¹² Beating the drum himself, Lü Meng followed close with well-trained men. All the soldiers leaped to the fray. They advanced to the attack at day-break, and by breakfast-time they had taken the city. They captured Zhu Guang and several score thousands of men and women. As Zhang Liao reached Jiashi he heard that the city had fallen, and he turned back.¹³

Sun Quan appointed Lü Meng as Administrator of Lujiang. He went back to camp at Xunyang.¹⁴

E Leaving Guan Yu to hold Jing province, Zhuge Liang went with Zhang Fei and Zhao Yun to led troops upstream to seize Badong. When they reached Jiangzhou they defeated and captured Yan Yan, Administrator of Ba commandery.¹⁵

12 The character *lian* 練 describes a piece of silk used as a rope for climbing. Gan Ning was known for his extravagance.

13 The place-name Jiashi 夾石 appears in *SGZ* 54 as Jiakou 夾口. 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 in Song times the pass lay west of the 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; deC, *Generals of the South*, 440. The place thus became the effective border between the two rival states.

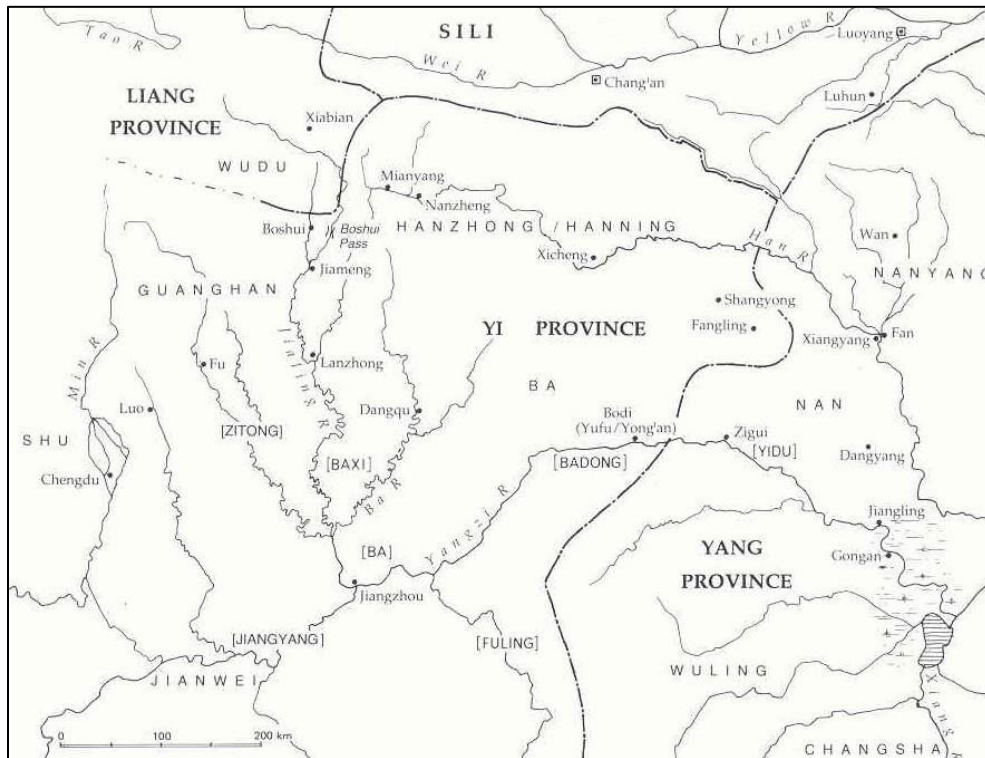
14 Lü Meng had been appointed magistrate of Xunyang in 209: passage H of Jian'an 14, also note 11 above. Xunyang county was in Lujiang commandery of Later Han, north of the Yangzi by present-day Guangji in Hubei.

It would appear now, after two failed attempts by Cao Cao to establish a position at Huan city, that the site was for the time being abandoned. Lü Meng, now nominal Administrator for Sun Quan, held control only over the southernmost county of the Han commandery. He was responsible, however, 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.

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 when Liu Zhang invited Liu Bei into his province: passage O of Jian'an 16.

Divided from the territory of Later Han Ba commandery, Badong commandery occupied the region of the Yangzi valley upstream from the Gorges. Truncated Ba commandery, based upon Jiangzhou, present-day Chongqing, controlled the lower



Map 21: Western China 211-220

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 [466>467] our province, but our province has only generals who take heads, not generals who surrender."

Furious, Zhang Fei ordered his attendants to lead Yan Yan out and cut off his head. Showing no change to his expression Yan Yan observed, "Beheading is beheading. Why make a fuss about it?" Recognising his courage, Zhang Fei him free, and kept him as a guest.

reaches of the Jialing Jiang and the valley of the Yangzi about the junction with that stream. See deC, *Generals of the South*, 364-366, Wu Zengjin, *Sanguo junxian biao*, 2920-2922, and note 12 of Jian'an 18.

Zhao Yun was sent off along the Outer River to settle Jiangyang and Jianwei,¹⁶ while Zhang Fei took Baxi and Deyang.¹⁷ [468]

- F Liu Bei besieged Luo city for more than a year. Pang Tong was killed by a stray arrow.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 武陽, by present-day Pengshan on the Min River, some fifty kilometres south of Chengdu.

Jiangyang 江陽 county was by present-day Luzhou in Sichuan, on the junction with the Tuo Jiang 沱江, then known as the Luo 洛 or Yu 渝. 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] (外水 *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 Maoni 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" (內 *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.

- F *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2):882 (22b-23a), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 37 (Shu 7):956 (7b), the Biography of Pang Tong;

Fa Zheng sent a written message to Liu Zhang. He set out the situation, then 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 came in with their troops to join him.²¹

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G Ma Chao realised that 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 escaped from Wudu into 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 into camp north of Chengdu. The people in the city were surprised and shaken. [469]

H 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.²⁴ At this time there were still thirty

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 that 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 locally-appointed officer in a commandery who was sent out from the headquarters to supervise subordinate counties: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 97 and deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 50.

ZZTJ commentary observes that in 225 the Han commandery of Yizhou was divided, and a part was named 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.

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 for more than 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?" He opened the gates and rode out in a carriage with Jian Yong to surrender. His attendants wept.

Liu Bei moved Liu Zhang to Gong'an, restored all his treasure, and allowed him to wear the seal and ribbon of General Who Inspires Awe.²⁵

- I 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.²⁶ [470]

24 A Gentleman of the General Staff (從事中郎 *congshi zhonglang*) was a member of the headquarters of a general [Bielenstein: Attendant Gentleman-of-the-Household].

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, and for that reason 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.

I SGZ 32 (Shu 2):882 (22b-23a), the Biography of Liu Bei;
 SGZ 35 (Shu 5):916 (9b), the Biography of Zhuge Liang;
 SGZ 39 (Shu 9):979 (1b), the Biography of Dong He;
 SGZ 36 (Shu 6):946 (12b), the Biography of Ma Chao;
 SGZ 37 (Shu 7):960 (14a), the Biography of Fa Zheng;
 SGZ 36 (Shu 6):948 (14a), the Biography of Huang Zhong;
 SGZ 38 (Shu 8):969 (11a), the Biography of Mi Zhu;
 SGZ 38 (Shu 8):971 (12a), the Biography of Jian Yong;
 SGZ 38 (Shu 8):970 (12a), the Biography of Sun Qian;
 SGZ 43 (Shu 13):1043 (1b), the Biography of Huang Quan;
 SGZ 38 (Shu 8):966 (7a), the Biography of Xu Jing;
 SGZ 40 (Shu 10):998 (11b), the Biography of Li Yan;
 SGZ 38 (Shu 8):971 (12b), the Biography of Yi Ji;
 SGZ 39 (Shu 9):981 (4a), the Biography of Liu Ba;
 SGZ 40 (Shu 10):995 (7a), the Biography of Peng Yang.

26 Passage O below also describes the looting of the official treasury. One suspects Liu Bei had not decided whether he was an inheritor of Han or a leader of brigands.

Though Chengdu was the capital of Shu commandery, the name refers here to the whole region which Liu Bei had 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

Then Liu Bei took over as Governor of Yi province. He appointed Zhuge Liang, hitherto General of the Household Master of the Army, as General Master of the Army.

The Administrator of Yizhou, Dong He of Nan commandery, became General of the Household Manager of the Army, and shared responsibility for the office of the General of the Left.²⁷

The Lieutenant-General Ma Chao became General Who Pacifies the West, and the Colonel Consultant of the Army Fa Zheng became Administrator of Shu commandery and General Who Manifests Firmness.

The Major-General Huang Zhong of Nanyang became General Who Exterminates Caitiffs, and the Gentleman of the General Staff Mi Zhu became General Who Gives Tranquillity to Han.²⁸

2129 Jian Yong became General Who Shines in Virtue, Sun Qian of Beihai became General Who Supports Loyalty, and Huang [471] Quan, magistrate of Guanghan, became a Lieutenant-General.²⁹ Xu

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;" the commandery is indicated as "Shu."

The list of appointments given here is based upon the information provided by the individual biographies in *SGZ* (Shu) as listed.

27 *ZZTJ* follows the text of *SGZ* 39:979, which says Dong He "shared responsibility" (並署 *bing shu*) with Zhuge Liang in the office of the General of the Left. *SGZ* 35:916, however, refers to Zhuge Liang as being in sole charge of the administration at Chengdu and the maintenance of supplies whenever Liu Bei was away. Dong He was apparently concerned specifically with Liu Bei's military office, while Zhuge Liang had general authority in the government.

The text of *SGZ* 39:979 actually describes the office controlled by Dong He as that of the General of the Left and Grand Marshal. At this time, however, Liu Bei held title only as General of the Left. Though he had been proposed as Acting Grand Marshal by Liu Zhang when he first came to Yi province (passage O of Jian'an 16) he may not have used it so soon after overthrowing his sponsor, and he took the full title of Grand Marshal only in 219 (*SGZ* 32:886). It is probable that the reference to the office at this point in Dong He's biography refers to the later time.

On Dong He's earlier career, see passage J and note 34 below.

28 Huang Zhong was a former officer of Liu Biao who had joined Liu Bei as he took over the south 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). In 196, when Lü Bu took Xiapi and captured Liu Bei's family (passage F of Jian'an 1), Mi Zhu gave his sister to him and supplied servants and treasure for his army: *SGZ* 38 (Shu 8):969 and note 5 to Jian'an 1.

29 Jian Yong, from Liu Bei's own Zhuo commandery, and Sun Qian were both long-time followers. On Huang Quan, see passage L below.

Jing of Runan became Chief Clerk to the General of the Left.³⁰ Pang Xi became a Major, Li Yan became Administrator of Jianwei and Fei Guan Administrator of Ba commandery.³¹

Yi Ji of Shanyang became a Gentleman of the General Staff,³² Liu Ba of Lingling was appointed Senior Clerk in the Department of the West and Peng Yang of Guanghan was made Headquarters Officer for Yi province.³³

- J Before this, when Dong He had held office in the commanderies, he was honest and temperate, honourable and upright, loved and trusted by both the Chinese and the barbarians.³⁴ He was respected throughout SHU as an upright official, so Liu Bei chose him.
- K When Liu Bei left Xinye to escape to the south of the Yangzi,³⁵ the great majority of officials from Jing province had followed [472] him like clouds. Liu Ba, however, went north to Duke Cao of WEI, who

30 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.

31 Pang Xi, originally 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.

32 Yi Ji had been an officer of Liu Biao in Jing province, and later joined Liu Bei.

33 Peng Yang had held minor office under Liu Zhang's government, but was then slandered and sentenced to exile as a convict (徒隸 *tuli*) with his head shaven and an iron collar about his neck (髡鉗 *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.

J SGZ 39 (Shu 9):979 (1a-b), the Biography of Dong He.

34 This passage is 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 magistrate of the capital county Chengdu, and he reformed the people by his honest and exemplary conduct. He was transferred to the Dependent State of Badong and was then Administrator of Yizhou commandery.

K SGZ 39 (Shu 9):981 (3a-b), the Biography of Liu Ba;
SGZ 39 (Shu 9):981-82 (4a) PC quoting *Lingling xianxian zhuan*.

35 This was in 208, after the death of Liu Biao, when Cao Cao invaded Jing province: passage U of Jian'an 13.

appointed him 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 loosing a tiger in 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.

- L All 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 submitted only after Liu Zhang had surrendered.³⁷
- M 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 [473] had been sent to convict service by Liu Zhang; and Liu Ba who had an old hostility [for Liu Bei]: all received honourable positions and were willing to enter Liu Bei's service. Men of ambition vied with one

36 Linzheng was established as a county about this time. The city 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 Nan Ling range into present-day Guangdong, then travelled northwest across the mountains into Yi province.

L SGZ 43 (Shu 13):1043 (1b), the Biography of Huang Quan.

37 Huang Quan had been one of the advisers of Liu Zhang warning against his invitation to Liu Bei: passage L of Jian'an 16.

M SGZ 32 (Shu 2):882-83 (24a), the Biography of Liu Bei.

38 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 later became the wife and Empress of Liu Bei: SGZ 34 (Shu 4):906.

another to join his government, and the people of Yi province were fully content.³⁹

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N Before this, Liu Zhang had appointed Xu Jing as Administrator of Shu commandery. Just before Chengdu surrendered, Xu Jing was planning to cross the wall and join the besiegers.⁴⁰ Liu Bei accordingly thought little of him and was reluctant to give him an appointment.

Fa Zheng said, "Many men obtain 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.

O When Chengdu was under siege, Liu Bei promised his troops, "If we are successful, I have no account of what 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 for the army was short, and Liu Bei was extremely worried.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 [474]

39 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.

Despite the claim that the people of Yi province were pleased, therefore, it is notable that the great majority of posts in the new regime, and certainly the most senior ones, were taken by outsiders.

N SGZ 37 (Shu 7):959-60 (13a-b), the Biography of Fa Zheng.

40 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 order his execution.

O SGZ 39 (Shu 9):982 (4b) PC quoting *Lingling xianxian zhuan*.

41 Liu Bei had told his troops that he had no idea of the contents of Liu Zhang's official treasury, hinting that his men could take what they wanted. The expectation of plunder did indeed inspire his army, and as soon as they entered Chengdu his troops accepted the implied invitation to loot.

official monopolies." Liu Bei did so, and within a few months the treasury was full.⁴²

P At this time advisers wanted to distribute the famous estates about Chengdu among Liu Bei's officers, but Zhao Yun argued, "Because the Xiongnu had not been completely destroyed, Huo Qubing had no use for a house.⁴³ Now the enemies of our state are 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 recently suffered warfare. You must return their fields and houses to them, and order them to live in peace and renew their occupations. Later, you can get corvée and taxes from them, and you will gain their affection, but you should not rob them now to give presents to your favourites." Liu Bei accepted this.

Q When Liu Bei went to attack Liu Zhang, he had left the General 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

42 *Zhibo* 直百 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. See also *JS* 26:795; Yang Lien-sheng, "Economic History," 192, recording a comparable experiment under Sun Quan.

P SGZ 36 (Shu 6):950 (16a) PC quoting *Zhao Yun biezhuàn*.

43 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 have not yet been destroyed. This is no time to think about houses!"

Q SGZ 41 (Shu 11):1007 (1a-b), the Biography of Huo Jun.

2131 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, but he waited for an opportunity when the besiegers were off their guard, then 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 Administrator.⁴⁵

R 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, everything was repaid, 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 Gong'an," replied Zhuge Liang, "in the north he faced the strength of Cao Cao, in the east he was under pressure from Sun Quan, while near at home he was concerned that the Lady Sun would cause trouble in his own house.⁴⁶ Through the aid that Fa Xiaozhi 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?"⁴⁷

S 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 [476] sections, and the

44 Yang Ang was one of Zhang Lu's chief 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.

45 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.

R SGZ 37 (Shu 7):960 (14a), the Biography of Fa Zheng.

46 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. Passages J and K of Jian'an 16 describe how he arranged for Liu Bei to gain access to Yi province.

S SGZ 35 (Shu 5):917 (10b-11a) PC: comment by Pei Songzhi himself.

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. That 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.

"As a result, if we now favour them with positions, then even the highest ranks will be held in disrepute, and if we show them grace, then our greatest kindness will be held in contempt. Here is potential for the government to fall apart.

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" (匹夫 *pifu*) referred to here by Zhuge Liang is surely Chen She 陳涉, first leader of rebellion, whose biography is in *SJ* 48. See, for example, *Cambridge China* I, 83 [Bodde, "State and Empire of Ch'in."

"What I am doing now is demonstrating our authority by use of the law. When people have seen its full rigour they will [477] 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

T Liu Bei appointed Jiang Wan of Lingling magistrate 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 was furious, and 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 small 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, but 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 Zhi, Marquis of Linzi, to hold Ye.⁵⁴ [478]

52 On the twenty orders of noble ranks (爵 *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.

Zhugé Liang's policy, therefore, is to begin by enforcing the laws harshly. When the people have seen how fierce they can be, they will recognise and appreciate any show of leniency by the government, and will be glad to have the protection provided by noble ranks. So government first makes itself feared by rigid application of a strict penal code, then gains support and popularity by individual gestures of generosity.

T SGZ 44 (Shu 14):1057 (1a-b), the Biography of Jiang Wan.

53 Guangdu county in Shu commandery was a short distance south of Chengdu.

U SGZ 1:43 (104a), the Biography of Cao Cao;

SGZ 19:557 (6a), the Biography of Cao Zhi.

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

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 Retainer Liu Zhen wrote beautiful essays,⁵⁶ 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 and a heavy penalty upon you. I am truly concerned about this."

W Xun You, Director of the Secretariat 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 was said.

2133 Cao Cao once remarked, "When Xun Wenruo [Xun Yu] recommended a worthy project, he would follow up until it had been 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 Directors Xun grew [479] ever more reliable

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 the 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 he was transferred to this new fief in the present year.

V *SGZ* 12:383 (25b), the Biography of Xing Yong;

SGZ 21:599 (10a), the sub-biography of Liu Zhen,

cited also in commentary to the Biography of Liu Liang, *HHS* 80/70B:2640 (8a).

55 Xing Yong, a gentleman of Hejian commandery, had 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 (家丞 *jiacheng*) was the senior officer on the staff of a full marquis: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 108.

56 Liu Zhen was the grandson of a celebrated scholar, Liu Liang.

A Retainer (庶子 *shuzi*; Bielenstein: Cadet) was a junior member of the staff of a marquis.

W *SGZ* 10:324-25 (32a-b), the Biography of Xun You;

SGZ 10:325 (33a) PC quoting *Fuzi*;

SGZ 10:318 (21b) PC quoting *Xun Yu biezhuàn*.

in their judgement of men. As long as I live I shall never forget them."⁵⁷

- X 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 [480]

57 Wenruo 文若 was the style of Xun Yu; Gongda 公達 that of his cousin Xun You. Xun You died as Director of the Secretariat of WEI; Xun Yu had been Director of the Secretariat of Han: passage X of Jian'an 1 and note 104 to Jian'an 13.

X SGZ 1:44 (105a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 9:271 (8b), the Biography of Xiahou Yuan;
HHS 72/62:2343 (17b-18a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.

58 As King of the Sources of the River Who Will Pacify Han (河首平漢王 *Heshou ping-Han wang*), Song Jian had established his isolated, independent state at the time of the Liangzhou rebellion in 184. Fuhan county was in Longxi commandery, by present-day Linxia in Gansu, on the upper reaches of the River as known to Han. Song Jian took his title from that situation. See also deC, *Northern Frontier*, 161 and 496 note 45.

59 On Xingguo, see passage A above. On the destruction of Song Jian's kingdom, see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 165 and 499 note 60.

60 SGZ 9:271 says that Zhang He also captured the county of Heguan 河關 "Pass on the River," further up the Yellow River about present-day Guide in Qinghai. From there he crossed the River and the hill country to the north, to enter 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 湟中. (The prefix *xiao* 小 "Lesser" appears only in this text of SGZ 9, and does not appear to have any particular significance.)

The phrase "west of the River" (河西 *hexi*) describes 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 to the commanderies of Wuwei, Zhangye, Jiuquan and Dunhuang, which lay along the Gansu panhandle, and SGZ 1:44 indeed says 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.

Y Since the emperor set his capital at Xu [in 196], he had held his position and no more. His attendants and guards were all men of the Cao family. At one time, the 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 after this, 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, it would be generous of you. 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, but without success. As a result, the Empress Fu herself became afraid. She wrote

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 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: *SGZ* 1:45; deC, *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 north-western commanderies and restore connection with central Asia: e.g. *SGZ* 2:79, also deC, *Northern Frontier*, 165-167, with notes at 498-500.

Y *HHS* 10B:453-54 (12a-13a), the Biography of the Empress Fu;
SGZ 1:44 (105a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 1:44 (105b-106a) PC quoting *Cao Man zhuan*.

61 On the emperor's entry to Xu city under Cao Cao's protection and control, see passage Q of Jian'an 1.

The death of Zhao Yan is mentioned in a proclamation of Yuan Shao in 200, so it had 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 authority of an Excellency, leader in civil administration, who also held a 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.

to her father Fu Wan, accusing Cao Cao of oppression and cruelty, and ordering him to make secret [481] plans against him. Fu Wan had not dared to take any action, 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 Hua Xin the Director of the Secretariat 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 where she died of grief.⁶⁷ The two imperial children born to her were both poisoned, and more than a hundred of her brothers, cousins and clans-people also died.⁶⁸

Z In the twelfth month Duke Cao of WEI arrived at Mengjin.⁶⁹ [482]

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 Administrator of Yuzhang who had been captured by Sun Ce and later sent to Cao Cao by Sun Quan: passages T of Jian'an 4 and RR of Jian'an 5. Following Xun Yu's death in 212, he replaced him as Director of the Secretariat of Han: *SGZ* 13:403. His biography in *SGZ* 13 contains no reference to this brutality against the Empress Fu.

67 "To die of grief" (以幽死 *yi you si*) was often a euphemism for enforced suicide.

68 *HHS* 10B:454 says that the Empress's mother and some other kinfolk were not killed but were sent to exile in Zhuo commandery

Z *SGZ* 1:44 (106a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

69 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.

Following the success of Xiahou Yuan's campaign in the far west, he now 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 his route.

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 argued, however, "Deserters must certainly be punished. But I have heard that they 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 rule as before, it removes any expectation they may be pardoned, while if you increase the penalty I am afraid 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 want to kill them, they will no longer be there. So heavier punishments will not stop desertions; they will make the problem worse!"

"Right!" agreed Cao Cao. So he stopped, and did not kill.⁷² [483]

AA *SGZ* 24:683-84 (11a-b), the Biography of Gao Rou.

70 As *ZZTJ* 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 an appropriate question to refer to this new office.

71 On the general principle of implication of relatives in Han tradition, see, for example, Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 112ff.

Though *ZZTJ* presents this as a theoretical debate about policy, *SGZ* 24 explains that the question arose from a specific case. A group of bandsmen (鼓吹 *guchui*) had deserted the garrison at Hefei, and one of them, whose name was Song Jin 宋金, had a mother, a wife and two younger brothers, all of whom were liable for the death penalty under the new arrangements.

72 In fact *SGZ* 24 says only that Cao Cao did not kill Song Jin's mother and brothers. Though we are not told the fate of Song Jin's wife, we must assume that 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

2135

- 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 a 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.³
- C Before this, when Liu Bei was still in Jing province, Zhou Yu, Gan Ning and others had often urged Sun Quan to take over [484] SHU.⁴

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.

B SGZ 1:45 (107b-108a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

2 Chencang in Youfufeng was on the Wei River by present-day Baoqi in Shenxi, and the San Pass through the Qin Ling range lay to the southwest. Hechi county in Wudu was by present-day Huixian in Gansu.

The most direct route from the valley of the Wei into Hanzhong was the Baoye Road 褒斜道, 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: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 14 and map 2 at 92. This, however, was easy to defend, so Cao Cao made an oblique approach along the old Lianyun 連雲 "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.

3 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 16 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 that Han Sui was over seventy when he was killed.

C SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1271-72 (19b), the Biography of Lu Su;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2):880 (19b) PC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

Sun Quan had sent messengers to Liu Bei saying, "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."⁵

"The people of Yi province are prosperous," replied Liu Bei, "and their territory is difficult to approach. Liu Zhang is weak, but he is well able to hold his place. To lead an army into the open country of Shu commandery and Hanzhong, with lines of communication over ten thousand *li*, then conquer the whole province all without a reverse, this is something Sun Wu and Wu Qi would have found difficult."⁶

"Your advisers observe that Cao Cao was unsuccessful at the Red Cliffs, so they argue that his power is in decline and that he no longer holds any ambition for more distant regions. But Cao Cao still controls two-thirds of the empire, and he plans to water his horses at the ocean shore and review his troops in Wu and Kuaiji. Why should he be willing merely to keep what he has and wait for old age?

"Furthermore, if allies attack one another without good reason, we are giving Cao Cao a lever and allow the enemy to take advantage from our quarrel. This is not a far-sighted plan.

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"Besides, Liu Zhang and I belong to the same clan, and we hope to use the authority and inspiration of our ancestors to revive the house of Han. If Liu Zhang has offended you, then I very much regret it. I would not presume to become involved in this matter, but I do ask you to be lenient."

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 [485] Yu, "If you insist on taking SHU, then I shall go with dishevelled hair to the mountains. I cannot lose faith before the empire."

4 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.

5 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 proposed this enterprise to Liu Bei as a joint venture; not, as *ZZTJ* interprets it here, as a campaign he would run on his own.

6 The biographies of Sun Wu 孫武 and Wu Qi 吳起, great generals of the Warring States period, are in *SJ* 65. Sun Wu is credited as author of the book *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法 "The Art of War," while a similar work is ascribed to Wu Qi.

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.⁷

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 with Guan Yu's territory. Guan Yu was constantly on guard against treachery, but Lu Su always acted in most friendly fashion.

- D Now that Liu Bei had taken Yi province, Sun Quan sent Zhuge Jin, his Major at Headquarters,⁸ to ask Liu Bei to hand back the commanderies of Jing province. Liu Bei would not agree, however, explaining that, "I am just now 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.⁹ "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 those who saw how things were going came to submit. Only [486]

7 In deC, *Generals of the South*, 308-309 note, I suggest this abortive campaign of Sun Yu did not in fact take place. 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 *Sanguozhi yanyi* 57, is quite fictitious.

D SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1119 (9b-10a), the Biography of Sun Quan;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1276-77 (25b-27a), the Biography of Lü Meng.

8 Zhuge Jin's title at this time is given by his biography, SGZ 52 (Wu 7), 1231. The appointment was held concurrently (輔 *fu*) with his office as Chief Clerk: cf. note 70 to Jian'an 13.

9 *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.

the Administrator of Lingling, He Pu, held to his city and would not surrender.¹⁰

Liu Bei heard of the situation. He came himself from SHU to Gong'an, 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.¹¹

2137 Lü Meng received the letter, but 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,¹² and is hoping to emulate them. He does not appreciate, however, the situation he is dealing with.

"Now the General of the Left [Liu Bei] is under siege 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 the extra resources to deal with this part of the world?¹³

"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 [487] come to this. Go and see him, and tell him what will happen."

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 Gong'an and Sun Quan at Lukou, some 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 advance, but his ten thousand men were 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 子太 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.

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 had 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 Gong'an 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,¹⁴ and that same day he led his army back to Yiyang.

- E 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 personally in the ranks, destroying the powerful and defeating the enemy.¹⁵ 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 [488] 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

14 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that Sun He had died many years before: passage Q of Jian'an 9. Sima Guang suggests it may have been another person of the same name.

The punctuated edition of *SGZ* at 1507, however, following a suggestion of the modern scholar Zhu Bangheng 朱邦衡, gives the name as Sun Jiao 孫皎. Sun Jiao, whose biography is in *SGZ* 51 (Wu 6), was a younger brother of Sun Yu he held command in this region and was an associate of Lü Meng: see also note 55 to Jian'an 24.

E *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9):1272 (20a-b) PC quoting *Wu shu*.

15 Wulin 烏林 is another name for the region of the Red Cliffs. 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, deC, *Generals of the South*, 267, and *Zhongguo shi gao ditu ji* 1, 47.

he was planning to creep off and go far away. He had totally lost heart.¹⁶

"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.

2138 "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.

F About this time news came that Duke Cao of WEI was moving against Hanzhong.¹⁷ Liu Bei was afraid he might lose Yi province, so he sent messengers to Sun Quan asking 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.¹⁸

G Though Zhuge Jin was sent on many embassies to SHU, he spoke with his younger brother Liang only in public assemblies, and never sought a private meeting.¹⁹ [489]

16 See passage GG of Jian'an 13.

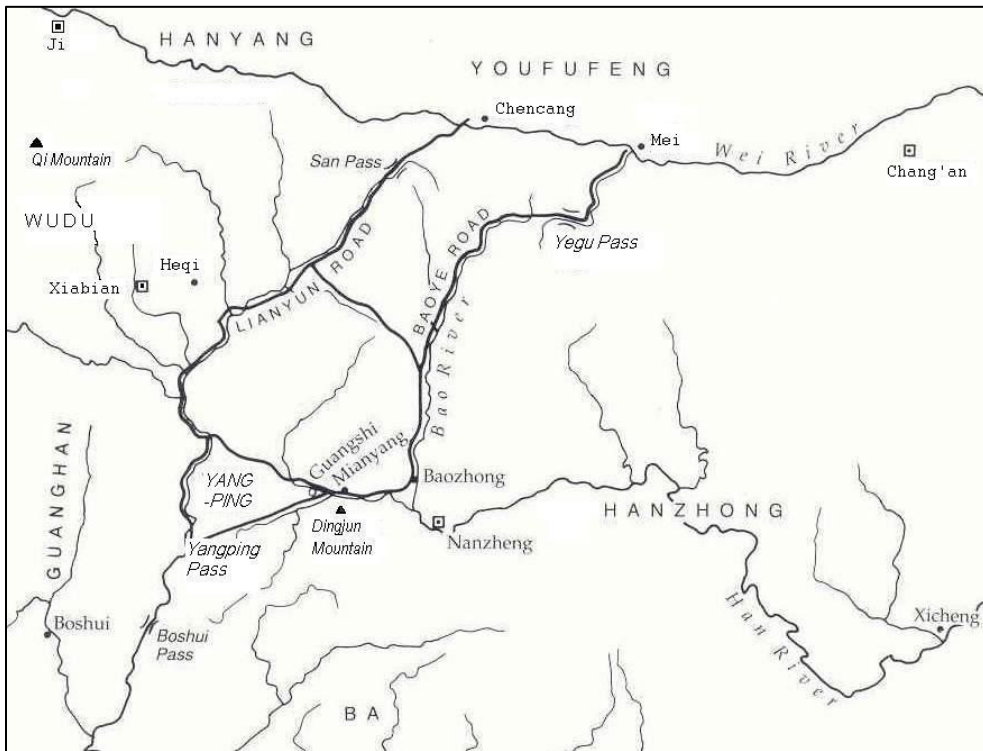
F SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1119-20 (10a), the Biography of Sun Quan.

17 *Kaoyi* commentary observes that the biography of Liu Bei, SGZ 32 (Shu 2):883, says Liu Bei heard Cao Cao had already taken Hanzhong. As Sima Guang points out, however, Cao Cao's attack on Hanzhong took place in the seventh month (passage H below), and Sun Quan made his unsuccessful attack on Hefei, evidently designed to take advantage of Cao Cao's commitment in the west, in the eighth month (passage L below). For the truce to be agreed upon, and for Liu Bei and Sun Quan to have withdrawn their forces west and east respectively, the news of Cao Cao's invasion, not its successful outcome, must have been critical.

18 On the details of this settlement, by which Sun Quan gained Guiyang and the greater part of Changsha, but handed back Lingling commandery so recently seized by Lü Meng, see deC, *Generals of the South*, 375-376.

G SGZ 52 (Wu 7):1231-32 (23a), the Biography of Zhuge Jin.

19 On the separation of the two brothers, see passage GG of Jian'an 13.



Map 22: Theatre of operations about Hanzhong 215-220

H 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 *li* of fortifications across the mountains.²⁰

H SGZ 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 The communication routes of this region have been discussed in note 2 above, and Cao Cao's first advance is described in passage B.

SJZ 27:2a describes the Yangping Pass 陽平關 on the Jin River 湑水, 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: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 14.

Cao Cao had relied on reports from Assistant Officers of Liang province and from men surrendered in Wudu, who had 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 situation was quite different to the way they had described it. "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 [491] them on the first assault. Many soldiers were killed or wounded, and 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.

2139 The advance guard, however, got lost in the dark, and 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 Registrar 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."

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, turning east in the area of present-day Lueyang to approach Hanzhong from the northwest.

In the present instance, Cao Cao had crossed the Qin Ling divide through the San Pass into Wudu commandery. On reaching the area of 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 mentions some 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.

The generals could not believe it, but Xiahou Dun went up to see for himself. He came back and told Cao Cao, so they sent men forward to attack. 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, you will gain no great credit. The best thing to do is join [the barbarian leaders] Duhu and Fuhu.²¹ 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.²²

- 2140 Zhang Lu's attendants were going to burn all the stores of treasure and grain, but Zhang Lu said, "My true intention is to hand over government to the 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 came into Nanzheng he [492] was extremely pleased. Realising that Zhang Lu meant well, he sent messengers to put his mind at ease.

- I Sima Yi, Registrar to the Chancellor, said to Cao Cao, "Liu Bei 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,²³ this is too good a chance to miss. You have conquered Hanzhong, and Yi province is trembling. Send your troops against them, and their position will collapse. The sage does not oppose the time, and

21 Duhu was a leader of the Zong people: note 69 to Jian'an 5. Fuhu was chief of the seven clans of the Banshun 板楯 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 had rebelled for a time in the early 180s (*Huan and Ling*, 326, 332, 342-343), and during the period of trouble between Zhang Lu and Liu Zhang they had established a degree of independence from Chinese authority.

22 The phrase Bazhong 巴中 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.

I JS 1:2, the Biography of Sima Yi.

23 This argument was evidently presented while Liu Bei was still engaged with Sun Quan and his forces in Jing province, before he was able to extricate himself and return: passage F above.

he cannot let such an opportunity slip." "A man who cannot be satisfied," remarked Cao Cao, "will get Long and look to Shu."²⁴

J Liu Ye argued,²⁵ "Liu Bei is a hero among men and has the generosity of a ruler, but he has come a little late. He has held SHU for only 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 should 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 came to surrender reported that, "There are scores of alarms every day, and though the officers on guard behead the [493] 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 authority over Zhang He, Xu Huang and others to hold Hanzhong,²⁶ while the Chief Clerk to the Chancellor Du Xi became Commandant of Attendant Cavalry, responsible for administration. Du Xi gave

24 Long 隴 refers to Long Mountain in present-day Shenxi, Shu 蜀 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. The expression may have become a proverb, and was certainly apposite here.

J *SGZ* 14:445 (25a), the Biography of Liu Ye;
SGZ 14:445-46 (25b) PC quoting *Fuzi*.

25 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 Registrar.

K *SGZ* 9:272 (9a), the Biography of Xiahou Yuan;
SGZ 23:666 (16b), the Biography of Du Xi.

26 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, gave him military responsibility for the newly-captured territory. Here, as in passage L below, the title Protector indicates an area command.

peace and encouragement, and over eighty thousand of the people were glad to migrate to Luoyang and Ye.²⁷

2141

L In the eighth month Sun Quan led a hundred thousand men to besiege Hefei.²⁸ Zhang Liao, Li Dian and Yue Jin had a 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 instructions 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."²⁹

Believing their men were too few to match the enemy, the officers were very doubtful about this 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 [494] 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." Yue 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 keep my 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 the first to break the enemy lines. He killed several dozen

27 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.

One may compare this success with the debacle when the same policy was attempted between the Huai and the Yangzi: passage B to Jian'an 18; and to the difficulties encountered by Zhao Yen and others: passage T below.

L SGZ 17:518-19 (3a-4a), the Biography of Zhang Liao;
SGZ 18:534 (2b), the Biography of Li Dian.

28 The month is given in SGZ 1:45. Sun Quan is attempting to take advantage of Cao Cao's engagement in the far west.

29 This order and the subsequent campaign are discussed by Griffith, *Art of War*, 93-94, but cf. deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 316-317.

men, took 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.³⁰ 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 withdraw. [495]

M As the army was on the march, Sun Quan and his officers were halted north of the Xiaoyao Crossing.³¹ Zhang Liao was watching, and when he saw them he led horse and foot in a swift attack. Gan Ning, Lü Meng and others fought strongly to hold the enemy off. Ling Tong led Companions to help Sun Quan break out from the circle,³² then went back 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.

2142 Sun Quan rode a swift horse to the bridge of the crossing, but the southern end had broken down, and there was a gap more than ten feet wide. The Inspector of Companions Gu Li was following him.

30 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.

M SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1120 (10a-b), the Biography of Sun Quan;
 SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1120 (10b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;
 SGZ 55 (Wu 10):1296-97 (18a), the Biography of Ling Tong;
 SGZ 60 (Wu 15):1380 (5b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

31 The name of the crossing is given by SGZ 55 (Wu 10):1295, the biography of Gan Ning. SJZ 32:11a says that it was on the Shi River 施水, southeast of Hefei. SGZ 55 says also that Sun Quan's army was affected by sickness, which may explain the unimpressive performance on this campaign.

32 Companions (親近 *qinjin*) were the personal bodyguards of a commander.

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 so he 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 engraved on my heart, not just written on a girdle."³³

N 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 Administrator of Badong and Duhu as Administrator of Baxi, while Ren Yue became [496] Administrator of [the rump] Ba commandery. All were enfeoffed as marquises.³⁴

In the winter, in the tenth month Marquises of Title were appointed for the first time, as a reward for military service.³⁵ [497]

33 *Lun yu* XV.5/6; Legge, *CC* I, 296 (Lau, *Analects*, 151), describes how Confucius' disciple Zizhang 子張 recorded his master's teachings on the end of his sash.

N *SGZ* 1:46 (110b-111b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

34 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 袁約. Ren Yue 任約 is a variant form. 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 changes which had been made 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.

35 This represents an amendment to the system of noble ranks of Han, on which see note 52 to Jian'an 19.

SGZ 1, supplemented by *Wei shu* quoted in PC, explains that the new system retained the two highest titles of Han, those of full Marquis (侯 *hou*) and secondary marquis (關內侯 *guannei hou*: Marquis of the Imperial Domain). Cao Cao added three new grades: Marquis of Title (名號侯 *minghao hou*), Marquis Within the Passes (關中侯 *guanzhong hou*) and External Marquis of the Imperial Domain (關內外侯 *guannei wai hou*). Below these five marquises was the title Quintuple Grandee (五大夫 *wu dafu*), formerly the ninth rank of Han.

- O In the eleventh month Zhang Lu came with his family and followers to surrender. Duke Cao of WEI welcomed him and appointed him as 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.
- P Xi Zuochi discusses this:³⁷

During Han, general bestowals of honours had been common, and a man in the right circumstances could accumulate eight ranks through such promotions. Above that, however, Quintuple Grandee and higher ranks 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 secondary marquis, and replace them by three new grades. 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* 級 continued to be used 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 regularly given for civil service. Cao Cao's reform, though not so bloodthirsty as the pre-Han system, 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" (虛封 *xufeng*) without identifiable territory, known in his own time of the early fifth century, had 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 the system continued under WEI. [Former Han fiefs were county-level, but Later Han also used the smaller units.] From the early years of Han, however, even full marquises 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 as a pension to the holder of the title. A secondary marquis 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.

See also Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank," and *Cambridge China I*, 485-486 [Loewe, "Structure and Practice of Government"].

- O SGZ 1:46 (113a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 8:265 (47b-48a), the Biography of Zhang Lu.
- 36 Langzhong, at the present-day city 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 (note 35 above).
- 37 On Xi Zuochi, see note 44 to Jian'an 13.

Yan Pu advised Zhang Lu not to take the title of king,³⁸ and Cao Cao remembered this and enfeoffed him. What man in a future time 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, a ruler fails to appreciate this, praising only men of physical achievement and reserving great [498] fiefs and rich rewards for his men of war,⁴⁰ then his people will see the advantages of disorder, they will begin to compete in fighting and killing, and they will rely upon military might and trust to strength: shields and weapons will never be put away.

We may say that when Lord Cao enfeoffed Yan Pu he showed true understanding of the proper bases for rewards and punishments.⁴¹

Q Cheng Yin, Hou Xuan and Pang De all came with Zhang Lu to surrender. Duke Cao of WEI restored Cheng Yin and Hou Xuan to office, and named Pang De General Who Supports Righteousness.⁴²

38 See passage I of Jian'an 6.

39 That is, the effect of an action reaches far into the distance and the future.

40 ZZTJ commentary notes that the phrase 焦爛之功 "the good work of those who have suffered burns" comes from HS 68:1958.

After the fall of the great Huo 霍 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 wood near a fierce-burning stove, but paid no attention. Later his house did catch fire, and neighbours came to help him put it out. When he gave a feast to reward people who had assisted him, he gave pride of place to men with the most burns, but was rebuked for failing to recognise those who warned him earlier.

The emperor accordingly rewarded the scholar Xu Fu 徐福, 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.

Even as he quotes these approving words of Xi Zuochi, however, Pei Songzhi remarks that the grant of fiefs to all Zhang Lu's five sons appears excessive.

Q SGZ 8:266 (49a) PC quoting *Wei lue*;

SGZ 18:545 (18b), the Biography of Pang De.

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.

R 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 away the rump and the 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 [499]

S Duke Cao of WEI sent Zhang He to take charge 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 Administrator of Baxi, to face him. After almost two months Zhang Fei caught Zhang He with a surprise attack and thoroughly defeated him. Zhang He retreated to Nanzheng, and Liu Bei went back to Chengdu.

T 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 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

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.

R SGZ 43 (Shu 13):1043 (1b-2a), the Biography of Huang Quan.

43 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.

44 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.

S SGZ 36 (Shu 6):943 (7b-8a), the Biography of Zhang Fei.

45 Dangqu county in Ba commandery was northeast of present-day Quxian in Sichuan, at the junction of the Ba 巴 and Zhou 州 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.

T SGZ 23:668-69 (19b-21a), the Biography of Zhao Yan.

46 As in note 51 to Chuping 3, this commandery west of Chang'an was named Youfufeng, and the title of the head of its administration was the same: *e.g.* HHS 117/27; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 87-88 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 administrator.

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 foot-soldiers 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. [500]

2144 When a count was made it was found that eight hundred of the mutineers had scattered into the countryside, but Zhao Yan issued orders to "Take only the ringleaders for punishment. Ask nothing of the others." Those caught by commandery and county administrations were sent back, and all the rest gave 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 should be attempted until these troops 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 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.

47 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.

Altogether he transferred more than twenty thousand people.⁴⁸
[501>502]

48 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 surrendered 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, 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 men 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 final result of the exercise was that they were all resettled in the east, out of the immediate frontier region. They could be held in check there 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 certainly survived it, 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 raised 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 took the royal title, Yang Xun published a eulogy of his achievements and virtue. Some people despised him as 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 [503] been on bad terms with him in the past, and someone reported

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. HHS 9:389 has the date in the fourth month, and states that Cao Cao promoted himself: 自進號魏王.

SGZ 1:47 also records that in the third month of this year Cao Cao had personally engaged in the ceremony of ploughing the sacred field, privilege of an independent ruler. He first performed the ceremony 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 (中尉 *zhongwei*) 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 Mace (執金吾 *zhi jinwu*: Bielenstein: Bearer of the Gilded Mace). Under Later Han a Commandant of the Capital was the head of military administration in a kingdom, equivalent to the 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 member of the Secretariat of 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). Until this fatal incident, therefore, Cui Yan's position at the court of WEI was rather that of a trusted adviser than a military official.

On Cui Yan's role in on the recruitment of officials, see passage K of Jian'an 13. SGZ 12 describes Yang Xun as a man of limited ability but honourable conduct.

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 Mao Jie the Deputy Director of the Secretariat felt that 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 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 Yen. 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 [504]

4 Though used here innocently by Cui Yan, *bian* 變 "changes" 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.

D *SGZ* 12:377 (17a), the Biography of Mao Jie;
SGZ 23:656-57 (2b-3a), the Biography of He Xia.

7 *Mengzi* IIB.2.4; Legge *CC* II, 212 (Lau, *Mencius*, 86):

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.

"On the other hand, Mao Jie has received honour and favour for many years, he has always been upright and loyal, and everyone has held him in respect. It is surprising he should act like this now. Of course it is 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 want 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.

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 Deputy Director of the Secretariat 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 Administrator of Wei commandery. It was only through intercession from Huan Jie that he escaped serious punishment.¹⁰ [505]

8 ZZTJ commentary here quotes commentary by Ying Shao of Later Han to *Lun yu* XIV.38/36 [Legge CC I, 289 (Lau, *Analects*, 143)], where he says that officials of high rank who are sentenced to death should have their corpse displayed at court, while lesser men suffered public execution and their bodies were exposed in the market-place. Cf. Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 110-112, and Couvreur, *Mémoires* I, 238.

E SGZ 12:377 (17b-18a), the Biography of Xu Yi;
SGZ 22:632 (3a), the Biography of Huan Jie;
SGZ 12:381 (23a-b) PC quoting *Wei shu*.

9 Dongguan county, at present-day Yishui in Shandong, had been in Langye, but became the basis of a separate commandery during the Three Kingdoms: *JS* 15:452.

10 SGZ 1:36 describes how, when Cao Cao set his residence at Ye in the beginning of 212, he reorganised the local government of the region, so that Wei commandery was

The Master of Writing Fu Xuan¹¹ said to He Kui, "Ding Yi has already brought harm to Mao Jie. You should show him somewhat 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 had not been able to 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 had all styled themselves Shanyu.¹⁴ Relying upon their strength, they acted [506]

enlarged by the addition of counties from the neighbouring areas of Henei, Dong commandery, Julu, Guangping and Zhao. It was from Wei commandery, of course, that Cao Cao's later ducal and royal state took its name.

The city of Ye was the capital of Wei commandery and also that of Cao Cao's state at this time. Xu Yi's appointment, therefore, though formally not part of the central government at court, was nonetheless sensitive and important.

- 11 This Fu Xuan 傅選 must be distinguished from Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217-276) author of the book *Fuzi* 傅子. Both men came from Beidi commandery in the northwest, but Fu Xuan 傅選 had taken refuge with Liu Biao in Jing province and joined Cao Cao in 208: passage S of Jian'an 13. The two were surely related, but were of different generations. See HHS 74/64B:2424 commentary quoting *Fuzi*, and Paper, *Fu-tzu*, 71.

F SGZ 12:370 (6a) PC quoting *Wei lue*.

- 12 *Wei lue* dates this conversation to the reign of Emperor Ming 明 of Wei, being Cao Pi's son Cao Rui 曹叡 who had come to the throne in 226. Chen Qun was then one of the four regents controlling the state of WEI, so Cui Lin was very courageous.

G HHS 9:388 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

- 13 HHS 108/18:3372, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this event but has no further information. The eclipse, Oppolzer 3408, mapped by Stephenson and Houl-den at 220, affected the west of Mongolia.

The Treatise offers no prognostication, but commentary quotes from the anonymous apocryphal work *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, which says that an eclipse on a *jihai* day indicates that mean men have charge of affairs, while worthy gentlemen are unable to take action.

H SGZ 23:672 (23b), the Biography of Pei Qian.

- 14 ZZTJ commentary gives the names of only two of these leaders: Pulu 普廬 and Wuchendi 無臣氏. Passage J of Jian'an 12 tells how the Wuhuan leader Pufulu 普富

arrogantly and wilfully, and the 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 Administrator. He offered him good soldiers, but Pei Qian said, "The Shanyu know that 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 no more than 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 him and submitted.

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 that their numbers were becoming too great and that it would become increasingly difficult to keep them under control; some protection should be made against them.

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 [507]

廬 had surrendered to Cao Cao after the victory at White Wolf Mountain in 207. This is very likely the same man under a slightly different name.

Similarly, Wuchendi may be a variant for the chieftain Nengchendi[zhi] 能臣抵之 : note 10 to Jian'an 12.

I *HHS* 89/79:2965 (19b), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu;
HHS 9, 388 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;
SGZ 1, 47 (117a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
JS 97, 2548, the Account of the Northern Peoples.

15 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, Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 118-122, and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 230-242. The region they occupied extended from Beidi commandery in the west across the Ordos region to Dai commandery in the east.

16 On the arrangement of the Xiongnu by Cao Cao at this time, see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 353-354, Uchida, "Five Tribes," 292, and Boodberg, "Two Notes," 292. The

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. [508]

Northern Division (北部 *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 平陽 on the Fen, south of present-day Linfen.

J *SGZ* 1:47-49 (117b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

17 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 rule, 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 and Director of the [Royal] Clan, and in the following year he appointed a Minister of the Guards: passage M and note 36 of Jian'an 18, and see deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 394-396. Upholder of Ceremonies was an alternative name for the Minister of Ceremonies (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 17), and these new establishments filled the complement for a royal state under the Later Han system.

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 the magistrate of Wuhu had arrested one of his officers and recommended that 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.

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

A SGZ 1:49 (117b-118a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

1 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 officer in Sun Quan's forces, and his appointment at this time was at the central headquarters. The incident with Xu Sheng had taken place earlier, when Jiang Qin was engaged in eastern Danyang and northeast Yuzhang, and was based at Xuancheng county in Danyang, west of present-day Xuancheng in Anhui. Wuhu county bordered Xuancheng to the north. Though Xu Sheng recommended the officer's execution, Sun Quan had refused because Jiang Qin was on campaign at the time and could not be consulted. Since then, Xu Sheng had been 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.

C In the third month, Cao Cao led his troops away, but he left the General Who Calms the Waves Xiahou Dun [509] as Area Commander over Cao Ren, Zhang Liao and others, and they camped at Juchao with twenty-six armies. Sun Quan sent the Commandant Xu Xiang to ask Cao Cao for terms. Cao Cao agreed to restore friendly relations, and they renewed the marriage alliance.³

D Sun Quan had appointed the General Who Pacifies Caitiffs, 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 he had finished Sun Quan had him get dressed again, then took him by the arm and wept, saying, "Youping,⁴ you are my

3 Xiahou Dun's appointment gave him military authority over this frontier region, with a number of high-ranking officers under his command. On the position of Area Commander (都督 *dudu*), still developing at this time, see note 4 to Jian'an 4.

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 troops, 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* 軍 here refers to some lesser military unit, perhaps of regimental size. The force was substantial, but one cannot assess its actual size.

From a military point of view, while there was only a limited time that Cao Cao could maintain such troops so far south, for as long as he did so they remained a threat and seriously restricted Sun Quan's freedom of manoeuvre, particularly to deal with any advance 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; deC, *Generals of the South*, 383 and 284.

Secondly, though *SGZ* 47 uses the term *xiang* 降 "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.

D *SGZ* 55 (Wu 10):1288 (7b), the Biography of Zhou Tai.

4 Youping 幼平 was the style of Zhou Tai.

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 with the affection of a close kinsman, and you surely deserve your high command." When the feast ended [510] 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.

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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 named the Master of the Army Hua Xin as Royal Counsellor.

In the winter,⁵ 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.⁶ [511]

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 granted to Cao Cao. More probably, however, the text is a dittography, with slight variation, for the great comet recorded in the following year: passage B of Jian'an 13.

The Annals also tell us of a major outbreak of contagious disease (大疫 *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 (冕 *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 (旒 *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 (金根車 *jin'gen che*) with six horses to pull it, together with the escort of chariots of the five seasons (五時車 *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 (五行 *wu xing*), were likewise imperial prerogatives. See the Treatise of Carriages and Robes at HHS 119/29:3644.

WEI appointed the General of the Household for All Purposes, Cao Pi, as Heir.

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 and Cao Cao became angry. He sent her away and appointed the Lady Bian as his second wife.⁷

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.⁸

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

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 董巴, 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, while another account refers to tinkling bells, reminiscent of the Phoenix Carriage (note 56 to Chuping 2). *JS* 25:754 and 759, where the Root of Gold and its ten associate chariots of five colours are described, also says that the Root of Gold had no banners.

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 the defeat at Rang in Nanyang in 197, see passage A of Jian'an 2.

There is a biography of the Lady Bian in *SGZ* 5:156-158; Cutter and Crowell, *Emperors and Consorts*, 90-94. The sad story of the Lady Ding and her break-up with Cao Cao is told in *SGZ* 5:156-157 PC quoting *Wei lue*; Cutter and Crowell, 91, discussed by deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 401.

G *SGZ* 19:562 (14b), PC quoting *Wei lue*.

8 This collection of comments is based upon texts in *SGZ* 19 and the Pei commentary.

younger brother Ding I,⁹ Gentleman at the [512] Yellow Gates, and Yang Xiu who was Registrar 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.¹⁰

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H 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 *Chunqiu* that in establishing a son you take the eldest."¹¹ The General 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 a daughter of Cui Yan's elder brother.¹²

I The Supervisor of the Secretariat Mao Jie said, "Some while ago, Yuan Shao made no distinction between the sons of the legal wife and of the concubine. He overturned his clan and destroyed his state."¹³ To set aside the heir is a matter of great moment. It is inappropriate for me to even hear of such a plan."

9 I use variant transcription to distinguish the brothers, the sounds of whose personal names were at this time quite distinct: Karlgren, *GSR* 2, reconstructs the elder brother's name Yi 儀, sounded in the second tone in modern Mandarin, as *ngia/ngie-/yi*, while that of I 廙, the younger, in the fourth tone, is *GSR* 954: *giək/iək/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 Han. See *HHS* 44 and passage T of Jian'an 2.

Like his colleagues the Ding brothers, Yang Xiu has no separate biography in *SGZ*. *SGZ* 19:558-60 PC, however, preserves a biography from *Wei lue*.

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 connection, of course, would incline Cui Yan to support the claim of Cao Zhi, and reflects credit upon him for not doing so.

Cui Yan had been done to death in the previous year and Mao Jie, cited below, had been disgraced soon afterwards (passages B, C and D of Jian'an 21), the debate about succession must have been maintained for some time.

I *SGZ* 12:375 (15b), the Biography of Mao Jie.

13 See passages B and C of Jian'an 7.

- J Xing Yong, Senior Clerk in the Department of the East, said, "To replace the true wife with a commoner is something that men of ancient times avoided. I beg your majesty to think again."¹⁴ [513]
- K Cao Pi sent a man to ask the Palace Counsellor 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, and carefully cultivated 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.¹⁵
- L 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 Jiying 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.
- M Cao Zhi acted often upon impulse and paid no attention to his conduct, while the General of the Household for All Purposes [Cao Pi] could plan things in advance and act against his true nature.¹⁶ All

J SGZ 12:383 (26a), the Biography of Xing Yong.

14 The Department of the East in the Secretariat was responsible for financial matters.

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.

15 Benchu 本初 was the style of Yuan Shao: see note 13 above. Jingsheng 景升 that of Liu Biao: see passage S of Jian'an 13.

L SGZ 21:609 (31b) PC quoting [*Wei-Jin*] *shiyu*.

M SGZ 19:557 (7a), the Biography of Cao Zhi.

the maidservants and [514] attendants of the palace praised him and spoke on his behalf, and so he was established as Heir.

N Her harem attendants congratulated the Lady Bian, "Now that the General of the Household has been appointed Heir, 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 simply be content if I have borne a son without fault in teaching or guidance. Why should I give great presents?"

2152 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."

O The Heir flung his arms around the neck of the Consultant Xin Pi and said: "Can you imagine, Mr Xin, how happy I am?"

Xin Pi told his daughter Xianying, and she sighed, "The Heir 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 to 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!"¹⁷

P 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

16 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 think ahead and control his basic instincts, had much to commend it.

N *SGZ* 5:157 (4b-5a), the Biography of the Lady Bian.

O *SGZ* 25:699 (6b) PC quoting [*Wei-Jin*] *shiyu*.

17 We may contrast the enthusiasm 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. It is possible, however, that Cao Pi was simply pleased to have gained his father's trust and approval.

P *SGZ* 19:558 (7a-b), the Biography of Cao Zhi.

regulations for the feudal lords were made still more strict, and Cao Zhi's favour steadily declined.¹⁸ [515]

Q 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

R Fa Zheng observed to Liu Bei, "Cao Cao forced Zhang Lu to surrender and settled Hanzhong with a single blow, but he [516] failed to

18 This 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 would have followed that used at the Later Han capital Luoyang.

Entrances to the palace were under the authority of the Minister of the Guards (which office 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 picket to guard it, and these were known as the "Major's Gates" (司馬門 *Sima men*). The chief inner gate was that of Official Carriages (公車門 *Gongju men*): 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 (公車司馬令 *gongju sima ling*) was responsible for receiving them: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 22-23; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 32-33; and the Treatise of Officials at *HHS* 115/25:3579.

From the present context, and the commentary of Yan Shigu to *HS* 19A:729 quoting *Hanguan yi* by Ying Shao of the late second century AD, the Prefect was also responsible for all the outer Major's Gates and for night-time patrols. As Bielenstein 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 nonetheless the unfortunate Prefect 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 called a "speedway" (馳道 *chidao*) 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 have been all the more embarrassed and jealous when his son usurped it.

Cao Zhi's second cause of offence was that all those entering or leaving the palace were required to 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 proclamations 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*.

19 Cao Zhi's wife was a niece of Cui Yan: 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.

follow up that 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 or that he is too weak. He must have some hidden 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 a second level, you may nibble away at Yong and Liang provinces and so extend your territory; and at the very least, you can set 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!"

2153 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.

S Lu Su died, and Sun Quan ordered the Gentleman of the General Staff Yan Jun of Pengcheng to take Lu Su's position in command of ten thousand men in garrison at Lukou. Everyone was pleased for Yan Jun, but he firmly refused the appointment, saying, "I am a simple scholar, with no experience of military affairs." He spoke with the utmost sincerity and even wept.²¹

Then Sun Quan had Lü Meng, Protector of the Army of the Right and General Majestic as a Tiger, take the position, [517] serving

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.

20 *SGZ* 32 says that 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.

Xiabian 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, 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 Xiabian, 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

21 *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.

concurrently as Administrator of Hanchang.²² All admired the honest way that Yan Jun had refused the appointment.

- T 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. Sheltered in deep and difficult country, the hills bandits have long been a source of trouble. Unless the core of our state is at peace, it will be difficult to make plans for places further afield. On the other hand, we can organise those people into divisions and units, and we can get good soldiers from them."²³

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, made trouble about this time and encouraged the Shanyue to join him. Sun Quan sent Lu Xun, and he attacked and defeated him.²⁴

Lu Xun then arranged the eastern three commanderies into divisions and units,²⁵ 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 the bad

22 This was the same appointment as 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.

23 The phrase *buwu* 部伍 "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 deC, *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 (督 *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 title 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.

elements of the past were eliminated, [518] and wherever he went everything was set in good order. He returned to camp at Wuhu.

The Administrator of Kuaiji, Chunyu Shi, sent in a memorial saying, "Lu Xun oppresses and kidnaps the people. There is misery and trouble wherever he goes." Lu Xun later 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 for his people," answered Lu Xun, "and that is why he laid accusations against me. If I slander him in return, and confuse your sage hearing, that would be no advantage to anyone."

"Very fine," said Sun Quan. "Few men could be so generous."

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King Cao of WEI had appointed Wang Bi, Chief Clerk [in his office as] Imperial Chancellor, to hold command of troops and general administration about Xu city.²⁶

At this time Guan Yu [in Jing province] was growing stronger. Jin Yi of Jingzhao,²⁷ realising the Han emperor was in danger of being deposed, arranged a plot with the Minister Steward Geng Ji, the Director of Justice Wei Huang,²⁸ the Court Physician Ji Ben, and with Ji Ben's sons Miao and Mu. They planned to kill Wang Bi, take

U SGZ 1:50 (119b-120a), the Biography of Cao Cao;

SGZ 1:50 (120b-121a) PC quoting Commentary to *Sanfu juehu*.

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 follow the modern pronunciation for this personal name 禕, *ZZTJ* commentary gives the sound as Wei, and this may be the same man as Jin Wei 瑋, son of the martyred Jin Shang of Jingzhao, who was appointed Gentleman of the Palace in 197: passage V of Jian'an 2.

Sanfu juehu was composed by Zhao Qi (d. 201), 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 禕 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 as 瑋. 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 Justice (司直 *sizhi*) was an officer of the censorate about the capital under the Imperial Chancellor: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 8 (as Director of Uprightness); and deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 47. The position had evidently been restored by Cao Cao.

control of the emperor as a means to turn against WEI, then call Guan Yu to bring help from the south. [519]

Jian'an 23: 218 AD

13 February 218 – 2 February 219

- A In the spring, in the first month Ji Miao and his fellows led a thousand supporters 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 Household in Charge of Agriculture in Yingchuan,² Wang Bi attacked them and cut off their heads.
- B In the third month there was a comet in the east.³
- C Cao Hong led an attack on Wu Lan. Zhang Fei was camped at Gushan, and threatened that he would cut [Cao Hong's] lines of communication to the rear. All Cao Hong's advisers were uncertain.⁴
[520]

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- A SGZ 1:50 (119b-120a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 1:50 (120b-121a) PC quoting Commentary to *Sanfu juehu*.
- 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 initial site for the establishment of military agricultural colonies: passage BB of Jian'an 1. The General of the Household in Charge of Agriculture commanded a local defence force.
- 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 (東井 *Dongjing*) in Gemini: Schlegel at 404; Ho at 103 and Map 7;
Five Feudal Princes (五諸侯 *Wu zhuhou*) in Gemini: Schlegel at 422; Ho at 92 and Map 7;
Literary Brilliance (文昌 *Wenchang*) in Ursa Major: Schlegel at 530; Ho at 74 and Map 1;
Chariot (軒轅 *Xianyuan*) in Leo centred on Regulus: Schlegel at 452; Ho at 93 and Maps 7 and 2;
Empress (后妃 *Houfei*) in Ursa Minor: Schlegel at 525; Ho at 67;
the Enclosure of Supreme Subtlety (太微垣 *Taiwei yuan*) in Leo and Virgo: Schlegel at 534; Ho at 76-78 and Map 2;
while the tail reached to the Imperial Throne (帝坐 *Dizuo*), Rasalgethi in Hercules: Schlegel at 518; Ho at 84 and Map 3.
The prognostication of the Treatise says the comet shows the old giving way to new.
- 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

The 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 have not done so. Before they have gathered their forces, go quickly to attack Wu Lan. When he is destroyed, Zhang Fei will be forced 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 withdrew.⁵

Cao Xiu was a junior clansman of King Cao of WEI.

D 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, Administrator of Dai commandery, to be 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, but 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 have become slack and then you try to restore law and order, it brings hatred and rebellion. Looking at things this way, there will soon be another rebellion in Dai."

Cao Cao now regretted that he had brought Pei Qian back so soon,⁷ and a few weeks later came the news of the rebellion of the three Shanyu. [521]

Wu Lan as an outpost against the Cao forces in Hanzhong, while Zhang Fei threatened their lines of communication if they moved against him.

5 In referring to the third month at this point, *ZZTJ* mistakenly 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 to the WEI forces.

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 chieftains Pulu/Pufulu, and Wuchendi [or Nengchendi], see passage H and note 14 to Jian'an 21.

7 It does seem strange of Cao Cao to bring a successful 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 surely not an urgent and necessary transfer.

- Cao Cao appointed his son Cao Zhang, Marquis of Yanling, as Acting General of Resolute Cavalry and sent him to attack them.⁸
- E When he was young, Cao Zhang was extremely good at archery and at driving a chariot, and he was stronger than most. 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 Road¹¹ but Xu Huang attacked and defeated them. Zhang He was camped at Guangshi, and Liu Bei attacked him without success.¹² [522]
- G Liu Bei sent back urgent instructions to raise all the forces of Yi province. Zhuge Liang asked the Attendant Officer Yang Hong of

8 A son of Cao Cao by the Lady Bian, Cao Zhang 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" (行 *xing*) appears in the biography of Cao Zhang in *SGZ* 19:555: his substantive appointment was General of the Household in the North (北中郎將 *bei zhonglang jiang*).

E *SGZ* 19:555 (1b), the Biography of Cao Zhang.

9 The advice was given to Cao Zhang by his father as he was departing for this campaign.

Despite his physical prowess, Cao Zhang was 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. There is no sign that Cao Zhang was ever considered as a contender for the succession.

F *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2):884 (25b), the Biography of Liu Bei;

SGZ 17:529 (17b), the Biography of Xu Huang;

SGZ 17:526 (13a), the Biography of Zhang He.

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 east at Yangping and enter Hanzhong down the valley of the Han.

11 This "Trestle Road Where the Horses Cry Out" (馬鳴閣道 *Maming gedao*) probably refers to a stretch of the 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 communications route bringing supplies and reinforcements to the WEI defenders in Hanzhong. See note 2 to Jian'an 20, also deC, *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.

Jianwei about it. "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 that Yang Hong act for him as Administrator of Shu commandery. All affairs of the people were well-managed, and he was then given permanent appointment.

Before this, the Administrator of Jianwei, Li Yan, had made Yang Hong his Officer of Merit. Before Li Yan left Jianwei, Yang Hong had been appointed 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 made 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 [523] thoroughly 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

G SGZ 41 (Shu 11):1013 (9b), the Biography of Yang Hong;
SGZ 41 (Shu 11):1014 (11a), the Biography of Yang Hong.

13 Clerical Assistants were junior clerks in a commandery: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 97 [Accessory Clerk for Documents]. The designation "at the Gate" (門下 *menxia*) indicated membership of the administrator's personal staff rather than attachment to a regular bureau.

H SGZ 1:51 (112b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

I SGZ 19:555-56 (2a-b), the Biography of Cao Zhang.

14 Sanggan county was in Dai commandery. The city lay on the present-day Sanggan River east of Yangyuan in Hebei.

battle, and how those who faced him were all destroyed. He asked to submit, and so all the north was pacified.¹⁵

- J The people of Nanyang were suffering under the demands for corvée labour. In the winter, in the tenth month there was a mutiny led by Hou Yin, an officer of the garrison at Wan.

The Administrator of Nanyang, Dongli Gun, and his Officer of Merit Ying Yu fought fiercely and managed to escape. Hou Yin sent horsemen after them, and arrows came from every direction. As Ying Yu protected Dongli Gun with his body, he was wounded seven times and died. Hou Yin's troopers captured Dongli Gun and brought him back.

At this time the General Who Subdues the South Cao Ren was camped at Fan guarding Jing province. King Cao of WEI ordered him to go back and attack Hou Yin.¹⁶

The [new] Officer of Merit Zong Ziqing said to Hou Yin,¹⁷ "You accord with the people's hearts, and you have taken up a great affair. All men far and near attend your actions. Yet you still hold the head 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 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. [524]

15 The biography of Kebineng is in *SGZ* 30:838-39. A rival to the descendants of Tan-shi-huai 檀石槐, he was in the process of establishing a new confederacy over the Xianbi tribes of presentday Mongolia. See deC, *Northern Frontier*, 415 and 330-331.

On Tan-shi-huai, whose short-lived state controlled present-day Mongolia and further territory beyond the northern frontiers of Han, and whose raids and incursions had been a constant source of trouble in the 160s and 170s, see, for example, *Huan and Ling*, 160-161, 290-291 and 336; also deC, *Northern Frontier*, 330-344, and Gardiner/deC, "Tan-shih-huai."

J *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.

17 Zong Ziqing had evidently succeeded the heroic Ying Yu as Officer of Merit. Hou Yin presumably made the appointment in hope of attracting additional local support.

Jian'an 24: 219 AD

3 February 219 – 21 February 220

A In the spring, in the first month Cao Ren stormed Wan. He sacked the city, took the head of Hou Yin, and returned to camp at Fan.

B 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. Though a commander takes courage as the basis, he must always act wisely and with forethought. If he thinks only of physical bravery, a common fellow can match him."¹

2157 After 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, and 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 [525]

A SGZ 1:51 (122b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

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 the men of WEI. If we consider the information contained in SGZ 9 and SGZ 17, however, the tactics seem more complex, but the nature of the engagement is more intelligible, than it 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 [鹿角 *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

- C 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, and 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 the officers accepted his orders, and morale was restored.

Next day Liu Bei wanted to attack across the Han.⁴ The officers [of WEI] believed their army was too weak [526] to match the enemy, and they wanted to form ranks to guard the bank against him.

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 defences in Running Horse Valley (走馬谷 *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.

- 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 漢 and Mian 沔 are effectively interchangeable for the main stream of this river: cf. passage B above.

"Such tactics," argued Guo Huai, "will only show weakness, and will not give us a sufficiently strong position against the enemy. This is not a good plan.

"It would be best to set our position some distance from the river 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.

D In the second month, on the day *renzi* [2 Apr], the last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.⁵

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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 [527] 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,

By his victory at Dingjun Mountain, Liu Bei has gained control of Mianyang, and he is moving east along the southern bank of the stream in pursuit of the men of WEI. They, for their part, are reduced to holding the line of communications north through the Qinling range, particularly the city of Baozhong, entrance to the Baoye Road.

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.

E SGZ 1:52 (123a-b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2):884 (26b), the Biography of Liu Bei.

6 ZZZJ commentary notes that some scholars believe the phrase *zheyao* 遮要 refers to a place on the Baoye Road. Hu Sanxing interprets it, however, as meaning that Cao Cao was concerned Liu Bei could attack his communications along the road (as below) so he set guard posts at critical points. The punctuation of ZZZJ 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.

F SGZ 36 (Shu 6):950 (16a-b) PC quoting *Zhao Yun biezhuàn*.

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 battlefield 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 [528]

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 [zhi] 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 passage DD of Jian'an 13; see also deC, *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 子龍 was the style of Zhao Yun.

G SGZ 32 (Shu 2):884 (26b), the Biography of Liu Bei; SGZ 1:52 (123b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

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 danger 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 Han-zhong rather than, as Sima Guang has placed it, after his defeat there by Liu Bei. This is certainly the more likely time for such a threat to be considered.

Yong province now 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

Zhang Ji advised him, "Encourage the people to go north for harvest and avoid the enemy. Give generous rewards to the ones who arrive first. When those firstcomers appreciate the advantages, others are sure to follow."

Approving this policy, Cao Cao 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 had seized control as warlords in their commanderies, styling themselves generals and fighting one another. Yan Jun sent his mother and 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 perverse. When they have agreed their plans and feel strong enough, they will all rebel together. Now, while you are still occupied with SHU, just leave them to fight. Like Bian Zhuangzi destroying tigers, you can sit and wait until they are worn out."¹²

2159 "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

I Liu Bei sent the Administrator of Yidu, Meng Da of Fufeng, to go north from Zigui to attack Fangling. The [529] Administrator of Fangling, Kuai Qi, was killed.¹⁴ Then Liu Bei sent his adopted son

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 天水 until 72 AD, and was evidently restored to that name at the end of Han: 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.

- 13 This minor local leader Wang Bi 王祕 must be distinguished from Wang Bi 王必 the officer of Cao Cao at Xu city: passages U of Jian'an 22 and A of Jian'an 23.

I *SGZ* 40 (Shu 10):991 (1b-2a), the Biography of Liu Feng.

- 14 According to *SJZ* 34:10b and *JS* 15:454, when Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208, he established a new commandery named Linjiang 臨江 from the western part of Nan commandery, with its capital at Yidao 夷道, 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 Yidu commandery was established by WU,

Liu Feng to follow the Mian River down from Hanzhong and take command of Meng Da's army to make a combined attack on Shangyong.¹⁵ The 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 Administrator of Shangyong, and he named Shen Dan's younger brother Yi as General Who Establishes Trust and Administrator of Xicheng.¹⁷ [530]

but this is presumably a mistake.) Zigui 秭歸 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.

- 15 Liu Feng was a descendant of the imperial clan, connected by marriage to the royal house of Changsha. When Liu Bei first came to 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.

- 16 Shangyong county was in Hanzhong commandery of Later Han, west of Fangling near present-day Zhushan in Hubei.

SGZ 40 (Shu 10):994 PC quotes the biographies of Shen Dan and Shen Yi from *Wei lue*. 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 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 Administrator.

- 17 Xicheng 西城 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.

SGZ 1:45 says that Cao Cao also established a Commandant's commandery based upon Xi 西 county, likewise north of the Han River but east of Xicheng. The area of eastern Hanzhong commandery of Later Han was thus divided into four area defence units: Xicheng and Xi north of the river, Shangyong and Fangling to the south.

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:

- J In the autumn, in the seventh month, Liu Bei named himself King of Hanzhong. He set up an altar at Mianyang,¹⁸ arrayed his soldiers and people in order, and all the ministers took their places. He read out a memorial,¹⁹ took seal and ribbon, and put on a cap of royalty.²⁰ 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].²¹

Liu Bei appointed his son Liu Shan as Heir to the kingdom.

- K Liu Bei promoted the General of the Standard, Wei Yan of Yiyang,²² to become General Who Maintains Distant Lands in [531] Peace, with command as Administrator of Hanzhong guarding the Han River.

it gave Liu Bei a firm hold in eastern Hanzhong, and it exposed Cao Cao's position in Nanyang commandery, further down river, to threat from this enemy in the west.

- J SGZ 32 (Shu 2):885 (29b), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 33 (Shu 3):893 (1a), the Biography of Liu Shan.
- 18 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.
- 19 SGZ 32 (Shu 2):884-85 preserves the text of a memorial which the officers of Liu Bei sent to the Han emperor to urge that their master be granted the royal title.
- 20 The seal of a king was gold, with a red ribbon, 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.
- 21 SGZ 32 (Shu 2):886-87 preserves the text of the memorial which Liu Bei sent to the court returning the insignia and justifying his self-promotion.
- 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.
- K SGZ 40 (Shu 10):1002 (17a), the Biography of Wei Yan;
SGZ 38 (Shu 8):966 (7a), the Biography of Xu Jing;
SGZ 37 (Shu 7):961 (15b), the Biography of Fa Zheng;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6):941 (4a), the Biography of Guan Yu;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6):943 (8a), the Biography of Zhang Fei;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6):946 (13a), the Biography of Ma Chao;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6):948 (14b), the Biography of Huang Zhong.
- 22 Yiyang 義陽 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.

2160 Liu Bei went back and set his capital at Chengdu. He appointed Xu Jing as Grand Tutor,²³ Fa Zheng became Director of the Secretariat, 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 his officers were granted some promotion.

L The Major of the Forward Division of Yi province, Fei Shi of Jianwei, was sent to carry the seal and ribbon to Guan Yu.²⁴ 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, and he refused to accept 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."²⁵ [532]

"On this one occasion the King of Hanzhong is honouring the house of Han, and he rewards a man for his achievement, why should you believe that his affection for you is no different to that which he holds for 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

23 On Xu Jing, see passages I and N of Jian'an 14.

L SGZ 41 (Shu 11):1015-16 (12a-b), the Biography of Fei Shi.

24 Fei Shi was a former officer of Liu Zhang who had surrendered Mianzhu to Liu Bei at the time of his rebellion: passage F to Jian'an 18. He had since been employed as 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.

25 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 had blackmailed Emperor Gao into granting him the fief by threatening to join forces with Xiang Yu at a critical point (*SJ* 92:2621 and *SJ* 8:376; Nienhauser, *GSR* II, 59), 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.

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 no more than 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.

- M An edict appointed the Lady Bian, wife of King Cao, as Queen of WEI.
- N Sun Quan attacked Hefei.²⁶ The soldiers of several [WEI] provinces were stationed along the frontiers in Huainan.²⁷ 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 any contingencies. Guan Yu is brave and cunning. If he attacks, I fear the General Who Subdues the South [Cao Ren] will have trouble."²⁸
- O In the event, Guan Yu set the Administrator of Nan commandery, Mi Fang, to guard Jiangling and the General [Fu] [533] Shi Ren²⁹ to guard Gong'an while he himself led an army to attack Cao Ren at Fan.

M *SGZ* 1:52 (123b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

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 would always have been some threat of trouble, but the biography of Wen Hui has exaggerated the situation to emphasise his perspicacity.

27 On Huainan as a new name for Jiujiang commandery at this time, see note 35 to Jian'an 4.

28 Zixiao 子孝 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. While he is confident of the defences in his own area, Wen Hui is concerned about Cao Ren's position to the west.

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 傅士仁. Parallel texts 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.

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.

- 2161 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.³⁰ Seven armies under Yu Jin and his colleagues were flooded out.³¹ 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, though 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?"³² [534]

"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.

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. In real terms, of course, the floods were highly relevant to the armies engaged about Xiangyang.

31 These seven 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 龐柔 was at this time a subject of SHU. The main text of *SGZ* 18:546 says that for this reason, before Guan Yu's attack, many of the officers at Fan had been doubtful of Pang De's loyalty. Pang De, however, had always claimed that he was a loyal servant of Cao Cao and that he would fight Guan Yu to the death.

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. Affected by the water, the fortifications gradually crumbled and fell. All the army was nervous and afraid, and some 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."

Man Chong the Administrator of Runan said,³³ "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,³⁴ and that 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.³⁵ 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.³⁶ 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 [535] the Administrator of Nanxiang, Fu Fang, both surrendered.³⁷

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.

33 Though it was obviously outside his area of official authority, Man Chong had brought troops south to assist against Guan Yu's assault.

34 Jia county was in Yingchuan commandery, at present-day Jiaxian in Henan, some eighty kilometres west of Xu city.

35 "Great River" 洪河 *Hong He* here indicates the Yellow River.

36 The text refers to several *ban* 板. Commentary says that the *ban* was a unit for the height of city walls: one *ban* equalled two *chi* 尺 feet, about 45 centimetres, or eighteen inches English measure.

37 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 had been established at the time Cao Cao took over Jing province in 208; JS 14:454.

- Q Before this, Wei Feng of Pei state³⁸ 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 as 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,³⁹ warned him on several occasions, "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 [536] time had come

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 observed above, Guan Yu's forces in the northeast were close to Xu city, while the pressure against Nanxiang meant that Cao Cao's forces were now pressed into a salient marked by Wan city, present-day Nanyang, and the forces under Cao Ren at Fan. The biography of Liu Feng at SGZ 40 (Shu 10):991, however, says that he and his associates failed to give active support to Guan Yu's operations: they claimed that it was difficult to keep control of the mountainous territory of their commanderies so soon after it had been taken over.

- Q 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.
- 38 SGZ 1:52 PC quotes the *Jia jie* 家誡 "Household Precepts" of Wang Chang 王昶, which describes Wei Feng as a man from Ji Yin. JS 44 agrees. As Pei Songzhi observes, there is no way to determine which is correct.
- 39 Zheng Tai, a scholar of good family, had served in the Imperial Secretariat 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 headquarters of a Commandant's region (SGZ 24:691) and in 242 the WEI government established the commandery of Rongyang: SJZ 7:12a-b and see 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.

- 40 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 now the consort of Emperor Xian: passage A of Jian'an 20.

ZZTJ commentary gives the *fanqie* of the personal name 禕 as 呼+韋=Wei, but I follow the modern pronunciation. Cf. note 27 to Jian'an 22.

Chen Yi became frightened and told about it. The Heir Cao Pi executed Wei Feng, several thousand other men died because they were implicated,⁴¹ and Zhong Yao was dismissed.

- R Before this, Yang Xiu, Registrar to the Chancellor, with Ding Yi and his brother [Ding I], were planning for Cao Zhi to succeed his father.⁴² The [then] General of the Household for All Purposes, Cao Pi, was anxious about it. He had a chariot filled with empty baskets, so that the magistrate of Chao county, Wu Zhi, could come in secret to advise him.⁴³ Yang Xiu told King Cao of WEI about it, but Cao Cao delayed 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 dared not 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 right response and send it in." By this means the order was scarcely out before the answer came in. Amazed at the speed, Cao Cao investigated, and the trick was discovered.

Cao Cao had always disliked Yang Xiu because he was a nephew of Yuan Shu, and when he found that he had been passing on everything he said and communicating with a feudal lord [Cao Zhi], he had him arrested and executed.⁴⁴ [537]

41 ZZTJ here reads 千 "thousands," but the original text of *Wei-Jin shiyu* has 十 "tens," which is more likely.

R SGZ 19:558 (8a), the Biography of Cao Zhi;
SGZ 19:560-61 (13a-b) PC quoting *Wei-Jin shiyu*.

42 This refers to the period when Cao Cao was considering the two rival 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 23.

On the personal names of the brothers Ding Yi and Ding I, see note 9 to that passage.

43 On Wu Zhi as an adviser to Cao Pi at this time, see also passage L of Jian'an 22.

44 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.

S King Cao of WEI appointed Du Xi as Chief Clerk on Station for the lands within the passes.⁴⁵ Xu You, commander of a small force in that territory, refused to submit to Cao Cao but sent insulting messages instead.

2163 Cao Cao was furious, and wanted to attack Xu You. All his officers 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 listen.

Du Xi went to protest, but Cao Cao interrupted him, "My plans are set. Don't 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 nonetheless change them. Yet your majesty interrupts me and orders me not to speak. Is this the right way to behave towards one of 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 takes a worthy man to recognise another," observed Du Xi, "and only a sage can appreciate a sage. How can a common fellow acknowledge his true superior? At this time, however, if wolves are on the road and the fox is taken first, then people may believe your majesty is avoiding the strong but attacking the weak. You cannot display your courage by punishing 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.⁴⁶ This miserable fellow Xu You, is it worth your while to exercise 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. [537]

S SGZ 23:667 (16b-17b), the Biography of Du Xi.

45 Du Xi had held area commands in the northwest and in Hanzhong. This appointment, based upon Chang'an, was made as Cao Cao was preparing to leave the region.

46 The text refers to a bow of a thousand *jun* 鈞 and a bell of ten thousand *shi* 石. The measurements are rhetorical, but a *jun* of the Han period was 7.37 kg. and a *shi* was 29.5 kg.

T SGZ 1:52 (124b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

T In the winter, in the tenth month King Cao of WEI came to Luoyang.
 U Sun Lang, a man of Luhun,⁴⁷ made rebellion. He killed the Registrar 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 was even thinking of shifting the capital from Xu city to avoid his attacks.

2164 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 floods, they were not defeated in battle, and there not yet any real damage 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 move against his rear, and promise to enfeoff him with all the territory 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.⁴⁸ He believed that Guan Yu had always been an brave fighting man, and that he was intending to take over all the territory. He already controlled the upper reaches of the state,⁴⁹ and this situation could not be maintained for long. [539]

He therefore spoke secretly to Sun Quan, "Order the General Who Subdues the Caitiffs [Sun Jiao] to hold Nan commandery, Pan

U SGZ 11:362 (42a-b), the sub-Biography of Hu Zhao;
 SGZ 36 (Shu 6):941 (4a), the Biography of Guan Yu;
 JS 1:3; the Biography of Sima Yi;
 SGZ 14:450-51 (32b), the Biography of Jiang Ji.

47 Luhun county was in Hongnong commandery of Later Han, south of present-day Yichuan and some fifty kilometres southwest of Luoyang.

V SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1277-78 (27a-28a), the Biography of Lü Meng.

48 This was in 217: passage S of Jian'an 22.

49 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.

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?⁵⁰

"Moreover, though Guan Yu and his master [Liu Bei] boast of their pretended power, they are very erratic 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. If you fail to act now that we are strong, then one day we may be gone, and should you wish to muster your forces again, how will you manage?"

"It was my intention to take Xu province first, and 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, you may be sure that 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.⁵¹ [540]

50 On Bodi, the key defence position of the Yangzi Gorges, see note 33 to Jian'an 17. Lü Meng's strategy is to take control of the communications route along the middle Yangzi, blocking Guan Yu from Liu Bei's reserves in Yi province, then attack up the Han to drive Cao Cao's forces back north of Xiangyang. The plan was imaginative and ambitious, but in the situation of 217 – as in note 48 above – one must doubt the likelihood of success against two formidable opponents who were not yet in combat.

51 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 date this discussion to some time after Lü Meng had taken over from Lu Su in 217, and *ZZTJ* follows, but it is quite anachronistic here.

- W Sun Quan had at one time suggested a marriage alliance for his son with [a daughter of] Guan Yu, but Guan Yu abused the messenger and refused the marriage. Sun Quan was angry.
- X 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 concerned that I may threaten his rear.
- 2165 "I am frequently unwell. 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 let it be known 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.
- Y As Lü Meng passed Wuhu, the Colonel Who Settles Majesty Lu Xun said to him,⁵² "You hold the border against Guan Yu, why have

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 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.

Given that in 208 Lü Meng was a comparatively junior officer, it is very possible that this entire conversation is an invention, designed to present the strategic situation through fictitious speech. It fits well with the pattern used by Roman historians, and pointed out by Diény, "Littérature chinoise et littérature gréco-latine."

- W SGZ 36 (Shu 6):941 (4a-b), the Biography of Guan Yu.
- X SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1278 (28a-b), the Biography of Lü Meng.
- Y SGZ 58 (Wu 13):1344-45 (2b-3b), the Biography of Lu Xun.

you come down here, so far away? 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 recently gained 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. If we break out now when he is not [541] 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. "It is difficult to match him. He already holds Jing province and he governs with great favour and good faith. Now that he has begun to be successful, 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 to make secret reconnaissance. Then we can win."

So Sun Quan summoned Lu Xun and appointed him as 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 humble and restrained and sounded utterly reliable and loyal.⁵³ 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 the details, and he prepared a master-plan for how Guan Yu should be taken.

Z When he captured Yu Jin and the other generals, Guan Yu had also obtained several ten thousand men and horses, and his supplies of food were running low. Without asking permission, he seized Sun

52 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.

53 The texts of two letters are preserved in SGZ 58 (Wu 13):1344-45.

Quan's grain store at Xiangguan. When Sun Quan heard about it, he raised troops for a surprise attack on Guan Yu.⁵⁴

AA He was intending to appoint the General Who Subdues the Caitiffs Sun Jiao to act jointly with Lü Meng as Grand Controllers of the [542>543] Left and Right Divisions.⁵⁵ 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.

2166 "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."⁵⁶

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."

BB As King Cao of WEI was returning from Hanzhong, he had sent the General Who Pacifies Criminals Xu Huang to camp at Wan city in support of Cao Ren.

After Yu Jin and the others had been destroyed, Xu Huang came forward to the Yangling Slope.

Guan Yu had sent soldiers to camp at Yancheng,⁵⁷ 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.

Z SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1278 (28b), the Biography of Lü Meng.

54 Xiangguan 湘關, the Pass on the Xiang River, was evidently a garrison point at a crossing of the Xiang, the 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 served as a justification, it is clear that plans were well under way.

AA SGZ 51 (Wu 6):1207-07 (4a-b), the Biography of Sun Jiao.

55 A cousin of Sun Quan. Sun Jiao had distinguished himself in the defence of Ruxu on the lower Yangzi and later took the position of Cheng Pu in garrison in Jing province.

56 Lü Meng is referring to the campaign against Cao Ren after the victory at the Red Cliffs in 208: passages NN and SS of Jian'an 13.

BB SGZ 17:529 (17b-18a), the Biography of Xu Huang;
SGZ 23:670 (21a-b), the Biography of Zhao Yan.

57 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.

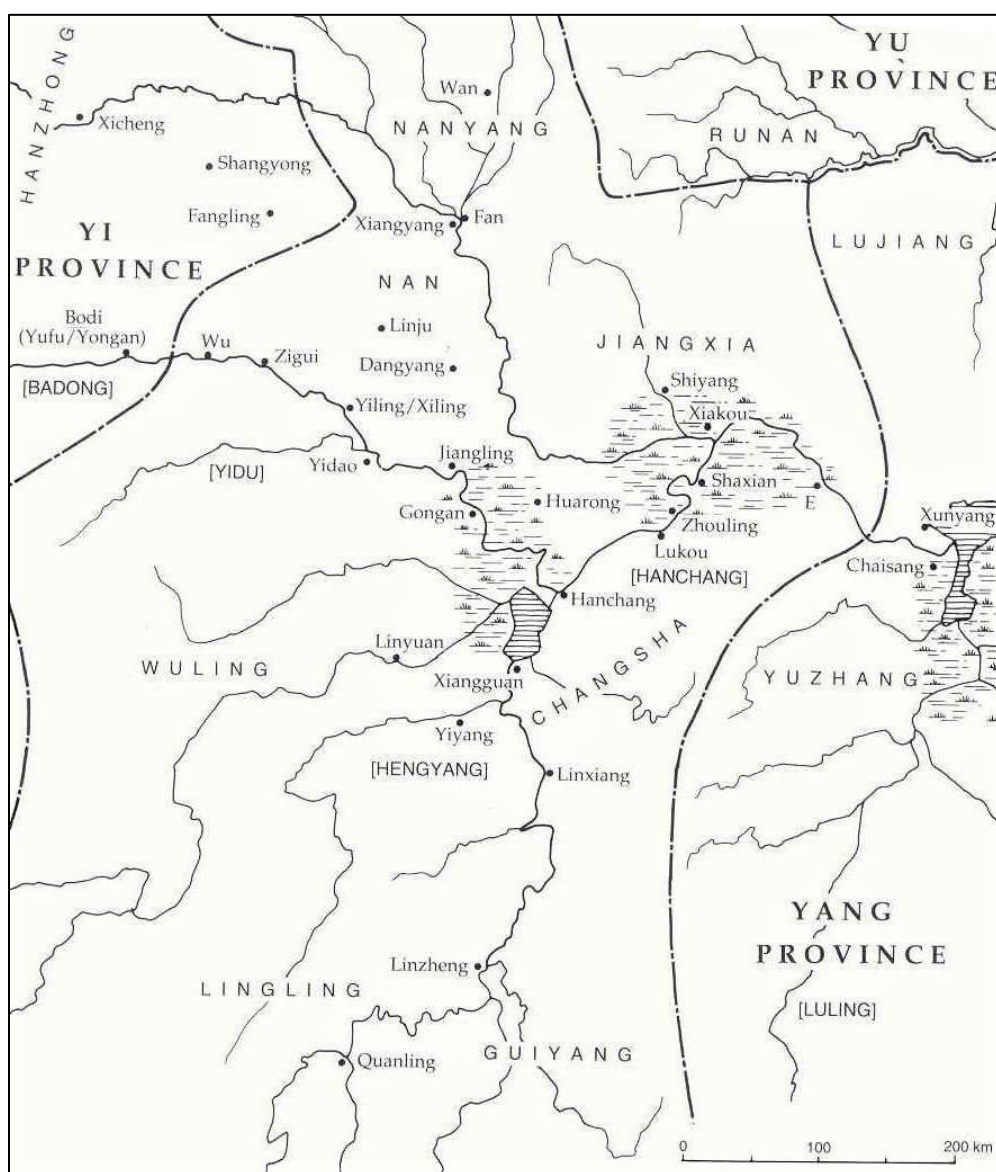
Cao Cao had sent Zhao Yan to accompany Xu Huang as Consultant and Adviser to the Army of Cao Ren. Though the other units had not arrived and Xu Huang's command was too small to break the siege, his officers kept urging him to hasten to Cao Ren's relief.

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. [544]

"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 the main force from the north will arrive within ten days, and Cao Ren can hold out that long. Then we can coordinate our attacks 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 camp no more than thirty feet from Guan Yu's siegeworks.⁵⁸ He dug tunnels into the city and shot letters to Cao Ren on arrows, so news and information were exchanged several times.

58 The distance is given as three *zhang* 丈; one *zhang* was ten *chi* 尺 feet, or 2.3 metres..



Map 23: Jing province 210-220

CC Sun Quan wrote to King Cao of WEI, requesting permission to attack Guan Yu with his own forces, but asking he keep it secret so that 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 be broken quickly, 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.

2167 "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 maintain 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 [545] were raised a hundred times. Guan Yu, however, suspected it was a trick and did not withdraw.⁵⁹

DD 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.

CC SGZ 14:440 (19a), the Biography of Dong Zhao;

SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1121 (11a-b), the Biography of Sun Quan.

59 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: deC, *Generals of the South*, 398-400. Cf. also, however, passage RR and note 78 below.

DD SGZ 22:632 (3a-b), the Biography of Huan Jie;
SGZ 17:529 (18a), the Biography of Xu Huang.

"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 have no hesitation in holding to the death. This is because your majesty shows strength for them at a distance. If they can occupy a position with scarcely one chance in ten thousand of survival, then 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 thus show you are concerned about the possibility of defeat?"

Cao Cao considered his advice excellent, so he halted his army at the Mo Slope.⁶⁰ One after another he sent Yin Shu, Zhu Gai and ten other divisions to reinforce Xu Huang. [546]

EE 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 horse and foot to support them. Xu Huang attacked and put them to flight.

2168 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.⁶¹

60 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.

EE *SGZ* 17:529 (18a), the Biography of Xu Huang; *SGZ* 23:670 (21b), the Biography of Zhao Yan.

61 Fan city was on the northern bank of the Mian/Han, and Xiangyang lay south across the river. The WEI forces under Xu Huang had thus regained control of much of the area, but Guan Yu still held the river and the southern bank, where he maintained the pressure on Lü Chang in Xiangyang: 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

FF When Lü Meng reached Xunyang, he hid his best troops in barges and had men in plain clothes rowing, so they looked like merchants. 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.⁶²

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. Both men were afraid. [547]

Lü Meng had Yu Fan, former Commandant of Cavalry, write to Shi Ren [at Gong'an], setting out the situation, and Shi Ren promptly surrendered.⁶³ Yu Fan said to Lü Meng, "This campaign needs a delicate touch. We should leave a garrison in the city and have Shi Ren accompany us." So they brought 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 too 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

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.

FF SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1278-79 (28b-29b), the Biography of Lü Meng;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1279 (28b-29a) PC quoting *Wu shu*;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6):941 (4b-5a), the Biography of Guan Yu.

62 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.

SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1120, the biography/annals of Sun Quan, dates the beginning of the campaign against Guan Yu to the intercalary tenth month of this year: late November or early December in the West.

63 Yu Fan was an experienced negotiator. Many years earlier, he had persuaded Hua Xin to surrender to Sun Ce: passages T and U of Jian'an 4, and deC, *Generals of the South*, 192-193, also 217 note.

According to *Wu shu*, when Yu Fan first sought to speak with Shi Ren he was rebuffed. He then sent in a letter, however, so eloquent that Shi Ren agreed to surrender.

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 the same commandery,⁶⁴ 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 official 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, enquiring 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.

GG 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."

2169 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 sent a surprise attack against his rear. [548]

"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."⁶⁵

"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." Cao Ren therefore cancelled his orders.

When King Cao of WEI heard that Guan Yu had fled, he was afraid his officers might follow him in pursuit, and he did send orders post-haste to Cao Ren, just the way Zhao Yan had said.

64 SGZ 54 says that the man came from Runan; which was indeed Lü Meng's native commandery

GG SGZ 23:670-71 (21b-22a), the Biography of Zhao Yan.

65 This is the other side of the proposal recorded of Dong Zhao: passage CC above. A three-cornered combat can produce complicated argument.

HH Guan Yu sent messengers several times to Lü Meng to exchange news, and Lü Meng treated them most generously. He took them around 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 they all knew that their families had come to no harm, and were actually treated better than in peacetime. Guan Yu's soldiers became less interested in fighting.

II About this time Sun Quan came to Jiangling, and the military and civil officers of Jing province came to attend him. Only the Headquarters Officer Pan Jun of Wuling claimed to be sick and refused to come to audience.⁶⁶

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. 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 handcloth. Then Pan Jun sat up, bowed to the ground, and asked for pardon. He was at [549] once reappointed Headquarters Officer, and his advice was sought on all military matters in Jing province.

Fan Zhou, Assistant Officer in Wuling, allied with the non-Chinese people and planned to take the commandery for the King of Hanzhong, Liu Bei.⁶⁷ 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. "They will be quite enough to deal with Fan Zhou."

"How can you treat him so lightly?" asked Sun Quan.

HH SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1279 (29b), the Biography of Lü Meng.

II SGZ 61 (Wu 16):1397-98 (1b-2a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

66 Sun Quan is receiving the submission of the officials who had hitherto been in the service of Guan Yu and Liu Bei. Pan Jun had earlier held appointment under Liu Biao, then took a position of trust with Liu Bei: SGZ 61 (Wu 16):1397.

67 In the system of Han, an Assistant Officer could be sent out from the provincial headquarters to supervise each commandery: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 92 [Attendant Clerk], and deC, "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. deC, *Generals of the South*, 10.

2170 "Fan Zhou comes from an old family in Nanyang,"⁶⁸ explained Pan Jun. "He talks well, but he has absolutely no idea how to plan anything. 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.

JJ Sun Quan appointed Lü Meng as Administrator of Nan commandery, enfeoffed him as Marquis of Chanling, and awarded him a million cash and five hundred catties of gold.⁶⁹

KK Lu Xun became Administrator of Yidu. [550]

In the eleventh month Fan You, the Administrator of Yidu appointed by Liu Bei, King of Hanzhong, fled the commandery.⁷⁰ 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 raised in fief to be Marquis of Lou. He camped at Yiling to guard the mouth of the Gorges.⁷¹

68 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, 95-98.

JJ *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9):1279 (30a), the Biography of Lü Meng.

69 The number of cash is given as *yì* 億, which may be understood either as a hundred thousand (小億 *xiao yì*) or a million (大億 *da yì*). A catty (斤 *jīn*) was 245 grams.

KK *SGZ* 58 (Wu 13):1345 (3b-5a), the Biography of Lu Xun;

SGZ 47 (Wu 2):1121 (12a), the Biography of Sun Quan.

70 On Yidu commandery under SHU, see note 14 above. Fan You was probably a kinsman of Fan Zhou, former Commandant of Wuling for Liu Bei: passage II above.

71 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.

LL *SGZ* 47 (Wu 2):1121 (12a), the Biography of Sun Quan;

LL 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 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.⁷² So Jing province was settled. [551]

2171

MM 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 there might be a leak, so he kept it and made no reply.

Later, when Guan Yu had been taken, Sun Quan set out a feast at Gong'an. He turned and said to Quan Zong, "You planned this too, and although I did not reply, today's success is also to your credit." He enfeoffed Quan Zong as Marquis of Yanghua Village.

NN Sun Quan also gave Liu Zhang appointment as Governor of Yi province, with temporary residence at Zigui.⁷³ Soon afterwards Liu Zhang died.

SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1279 (29b-30a), the Biography of Lü Meng.

72 ZJTJ follows the biography of Sun Quan, explaining how he sought to persuade Guan Yu to surrender; SGZ 36 (Shu 6):941, the biography of Guan Yu, says only that Sun Quan had him chased and killed.

SGZ 47 describes Guan Yu's flight into Dangyang 當陽, then west to Maicheng 麥城, then to the death place at Zhangxiang 章鄉. SGZ 54 has him flee to Maicheng then west to Zhangxiang. SGZ 36 has the death place as Linju 臨沮.

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 also appears as 漳鄉, 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.

MM SGZ 60 (Wu 15):1381-82 (7b), the Biography of Quan Zong.

NN SGZ 31 (Shu 1):870 (13b), the Biography of Liu Zhang.

73 After his surrender to Liu Bei in 214 Liu Zhang had been exiled to Gong'an under the control of Guan Yu: passage H of Jian'an 19. His appointment to the title of Governor of Yi province was a challenge to Liu Bei.

OO 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 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.⁷⁴ 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 [552] of forty-two. Sun Quan was in the utmost grief and pain, and three hundred families were set to maintain Lü Meng's tomb.⁷⁵

PP 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."⁷⁶ 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."⁷⁷

"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 officers for advice, not one of them had anything to suggest, while Zhang Zibu [Zhang Zhao] and Qin

OO SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1279-80 (30a-31b), the Biography of Lü Meng.

74 The text of ZZTJ at this point omits the reference in SGZ 54 to Sun Quan talking and laughing, but other editions include it.

75 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 extra-ordinary honour.

PP SGZ 54 (Wu 9):1280-81 (31a-32a), the Biography of Lü Meng.

76 Gongjin 公瑾 was the style of Zhou Yu; Mengde 孟德 that of Cao Cao. Sun Quan refers here to the campaign of the Red Cliffs in 208.

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.

77 Zijing 子敬 was the style of Lu Su. On this conversation, see passage NN of Jian'an 5.

Wenbiao [Qin Song] both said that we should send tribute and receive Cao Cao.⁷⁸

"Lu Su, however, argued against them, that we should do no such thing. He urged me to call Zhou Yu to take command of the army to face and attack the invaders. This was the second occasion that caused me pleasure.⁷⁹

"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.⁸⁰ [553]

2172 "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.⁸¹

"When Ziming [Lü Meng] was young,⁸² 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 fine 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.

"When 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 no concern.' But this was simply because he realised he could not cope with Guan Yu; so he talked big. Yet I can excuse him and I do not blame him.

"Furthermore, in his management of the army 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

78 Zibu 子布 was the style of Zhang Zhao, Wenbiao 文表 that of Qin Song.

79 See passage KK of Jian'an 13.

80 Xuande 玄德 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.

81 According to *Lun yu* XVIII.10; Legge, *CC* I, 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 valued 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.

82 Ziming 子明 was the style of Lü Meng.

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.
- RR As Sun Quan had now returned to his allegiance,⁸³ King Cao of WEI called Zhang Liao and the others back [from Hefei] to relieve Fan. Before they arrived, however, the siege was broken. [554]
- SS Xu Huang brought his troops in order back to the Mo Slope, and Cao Cao came out seven *li* from his camp to welcome him. He 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 a Master of Writing.⁸⁴
- TT Cao Cao had suspicions about the people in the areas of Jing province which had been overrun [by Guan Yu] and also about those in the military colonies along the Han.⁸⁵ He planned to shift all of them.

QQ SGZ 57 (Wu 12):1320 (6b), the Biography of Yu Fan.

RR SGZ 17:520 (4b), the Biography of Zhang Liao.

83 It is difficult to judge the significance of the phrase *cheng fan* 稱藩 [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 nature 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 is hard to believe is that Sun Quan wrote to Cao Cao and his court to inform them of his plans against Guan Yu.

SS SGZ 17:529 (18a-b), the Biography of Xu Huang.

84 On Huan Jie's advice to Cao Cao at the time of Xu Huang's campaign, see passage DD above.

TT JS 1:3, the Biography of Sima Yi.

85 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 system, 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. Since they had been under the control of Guan Yu, and had evidently not opposed him as fiercely

"The people of Jing and Chu," argued Sima Yi, "are fickle and easily swayed."⁸⁶ Now that Guan Yu has been defeated, any trouble-makers will have gone into hiding and will be reluctant to show themselves. So the only people you will be shifting are the ones who are loyal to you. They will become resentful, while those who have left will never be willing to return."

"True," agreed Cao Cao.

Later, all those who had run away came back from their hiding-places.

UU King Cao of WEI recommended Sun Quan to be General of Agile Cavalry, bearing the Staff of Authority as Governor of Jing province, with enfeoffment as Marquis of Nanchang.⁸⁷

2173 Sun Quan sent the Colonel Liang Yu to take in tribute,⁸⁸ and he sent back Zhu Guang and others.⁸⁹ He also sent a letter describing himself as 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!"⁹⁰

The Palace Attendant Chen Qun and others all said,⁹¹ "The fortune of Han has long departed, and the dynasty is now meaningless. Your majesty's achievements and virtue, how truly imposing! Everyone looks to you. That is why Sun Quan, far away, calls himself your subject. This is the accord of Heaven and Man, differing

as he might have hoped, Cao Cao now doubted the loyalty of both the common people and the colonists.

86 Sima Yi is using the names of the ancient state of Chu 楚 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.

UU *SGZ* 47 (Wu 2):1121 (12b), the Biography of Sun Quan; *SGZ* 1:52-53 (125a-b) PC quoting *Wei lue*.

87 Nanchang county was in Yuzhang commandery, by present-day Nanchang in Jiangxi.

88 *SGZ* 47 (Wu 2) specifies that this was tribute to the court of Han.

89 As Cao Cao's Administrator of Lujiang, Zhu Guang had been captured at Huan city in 214: passage D of Jian'an 19.

90 As in the Western proverb, Cao Cao's words could 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 uses the letter from Sun Quan to canvass opinion among his ministers.

91 According to *Wei lue*, this memorial was presented jointly by Chen Qun and Huan Jie.

voices sounding in harmony. Your majesty should accept 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."⁹²

VV Your servant Sima Guang remarks:⁹³

Teaching is of utmost importance to the state, but officials of the common sort treat it with contempt. Custom is [556] 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.⁹⁴ 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 counsellors 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. All the Guards Rapid as Tigers were learned in the *Classic of Filial Piety*,

92 At the end of the Shang/Yin dynasty, King Wen of Zhou 周文王 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).

VV Comment written by Sima Guang.

93 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 *Huan and Ling*, xiii-xiv. The terms Teaching and Custom here render the Chinese *jiaohua* 教化 and *fengsu* 風俗.

94 The prefix *xiao* 孝 "Filial" was a part of the posthumous dynastic names of all Han emperors except the two founders, Kao[zu] and Guangwu.

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 appreciated by even the common people. Men of stupidity and meanness, dirt and disgrace, not only were they kept from the court, they were banished from their villages and districts. Since the time of the three dynasties,⁹⁵ 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.⁹⁶ 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.

2174 Yet the reason the state continued and did not collapse 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 debated in the imperial presence and struggled to support the state with justice and honour in its time of danger.⁹⁷ And at the same time there were scholars of plain

95 The Three Dynasties were the legendary Xia 夏, the Shang/Yin and the Zhou.

96 Emperor He came to the throne as a minor in 88 AD. His reign was first dominated by the Dou 竇 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 Dowager Deng 鄧, 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 梁冀 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"], and on Liang Ji see *Huan and Ling*, xxiv and 7 ff.

97 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, *Huan and Ling* note 75 at 44. 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 *Huan and Ling*, 143-146, 155-156, 189-198. The biography of Li Ying is in *HHS* 67/57; *Huan and Ling*, 129-131, 155-158, 224-225.

clothing such as Fu Rong, Guo Tai, Fan Pang and Xu Shao, who held private discussions to help in that time of chaos.⁹⁸

And so, though 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, their example of 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.

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 the four seas. Then He Jin called to arms, Dong Zhuo took advantage of discontent, and men like Yuan Shao made trouble everywhere.⁹⁹ 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 up, 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

98 The biography of Fu Rong is in *HHS* 68/58; see also, for example, *Huan and Ling*, 87, 93-95. The biography of Guo Tai is in *HHS* 68/58; *Huan and Ling*, 87-92, 95, 140, 218, 227-228, 235. Both men were noted for their ability to judge and promote men of worth.

The biography of Fan Pang, who was active among the Men of Faction, is in *HHS* 67/57; *Huan and Ling*, 33-35, 139-140, 156, 167, 218, 224-226. The biography of Xu Shao, another man celebrated for his judgement of character, is in *HHS* 68/58; *Huan and Ling*, 358.

99 This refers, of course, to the events which followed the death of Emperor Ling in 189, recounted from the beginning of this work.

not do away with Han and set himself upon the throne. That was surely what he wanted, but he still respected the honour of the name, and curbed himself.

From this we may observe: how can Teaching be neglected? how may Custom be despised?

CHAPTER 69*

*being Chapter 1 of the Chronicle of Wei
containing Part 1 of the reign of Emperor Wen*

Huangchu 1: 220 AD¹

22 February 220 – 9 February 221

2175

- A In the spring, in the first month King Wu [Cao Cao] came to 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

* This is the first chapter of the section of *ZZTJ* which has been rendered by Achilles Fang in *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 name was changed to Yankang 延康 "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 黃初 "Yellow Beginning," named in honour of the Power of Yellow and Earth, which had been foretold to succeed the Red and Fire of Han. Cf. note 85 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"], also deC, *Generals of the South*, 450-457, and *Imperial Warlord*, 450-451 and 467-468.

A SGZ 1:53 (126a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
HHS 9:390 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

2 Now that the threat from Guan Yu has been removed, Cao Cao is returning with his army from the Mo Slope, some 150 kilometres south of Luoyang.

3 Born in 155, Cao Cao was sixty-five years old, or 66 *sui* by Chinese reckoning. In this passage *ZZTJ* describes him for the first time by his posthumous title Wu 武 "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* 王 "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 高陵 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 used for Cao Cao's death is also a matter of varying formulae. *SGZ* has the character *beng* 崩, appropriate for the death of emperors, for Cao Cao was granted posthumous imperial rank by Cao Pi: *SGZ* 2:76. *HHS* Annals has *hong* 薨, used for feudal lords and high officials. *ZZTJ* has followed *HHS*.

These formalities are discussed in further detail by deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 440-441 and 471-472.

B *SGZ* 1:54 (127a-128a) PC quoting *Wei shu*;
SGZ 1:54-55 (129b-130a) PC quoting *Cao Man zhuan*.

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 not give a single cash to those who sought largesse without earning 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 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.

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 8, the Annals of Emperor Ling: Zp6C, Zp6E, Zp6J, Zp6U, Zp6W

HHS 9, the Annals of Emperor Xian: Zp6CC, Zp6DD, Zp6FF, Zp6HH,

Zp6NN, Cp1C, Cp1G, Cp1L, Cp1M, Cp1S, Cp1T, Cp1X, Cp2A, Cp2K, Cp3A, Cp3J, Cp3O, Cp3CC, Cp3FF, Cp4A, Cp4G, Cp4I, Cp4M, Cp4R Xp1A, Xp1Q, Xp1T, Xp2A, Xp2I, Xp2L, Xp2V, Xp2X, Ja1A, Ja1G, Ja1H, Ja1O, Ja1Q, Ja1U, Ja2K, Ja4E, Ja5A, Ja5P, Ja5X, Ja5II, Ja6A, Ja9L, Ja11A, Ja11G, Ja11I, Ja12I, Ja13I, Ja13Q, Ja13FF, Ja14E, Ja15B, Ja17D, Ja17G, Ja17M, Ja18D, Ja19C, Ja20A, Ja21G, Ja21I, Ja23B, Ja24D, Hc1A

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 69/59, the Biography of He Jin: Zp6B, Zp6D, Zp6F, Zp6G,
 Zp6H, Zp6K, Zp6O, Zp6Q, Zp6S
HHS 70/60, the Biography of Kong Rong: Xp1AA, Ja1Z, Ja2U, Ja13R
HHS 70/60, the Biography of Xun Yu:
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, Cp3KK
HHS 72/62, the Biography of Dong Zhuo: Zp6M, Zp6P, Zp6V, Zp6X,
 Zp6AA, Zp6BB, Zp6CC, Zp6DD, Zp6HH, Zp6MM, Zp6PP,
 Cp1G, Cp1I, Cp1J, Cp1K, Cp1L, Cp1U, Cp1W, Cp2C, Cp2D,
 Cp2F, Cp2U, Cp3B, Cp3G, Cp3I
HHS 72/62, the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo: Cp3DD, Cp3Q, Cp3W,
 Xp1C, Xp1O, Xp2D, Xp2F, Xp2J, Xp2L, Xp2Q, Xp2W, Xp2X,
 Xp2Z, Xp2AA, Xp2BB, Xp2DD, Ja1G, Ja1N, Ja2X, Ja3C, Ja19X
HHS 73/63, the Biography of Gongsun Zan: Cp2V, Cp2Y, Cp4C,
 Xp2SS, Ja3DD, Ja4A
HHS 73/63, the Biography of Liu Yu: Zp6DD, Cp1R, Cp2B, Cp2W,
 Cp4N, Cp4P
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,
 Xp2C, Xp2EE, Ja1W, Ja2J, Ja3D, Ja4I, 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: Ja1JJ
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 1*, the Biography of Cao Cao: Zp6RR, Cp1P, Cp2S, Cp3F, Cp3M,
Cp3GG, Cp4B, Cp4D, Cp4H, Cp4L, Xp1D, Xp1N, Xp1V, Xp1W,
Xp2B, Xp2M, Xp2O, Xp2U, Ja1C, Ja1L, Ja1Q, Ja1V, Ja2A, Ja2C,
Ja2Q, Ja2W, Ja3A, Ja3E, Ja3K, Ja3M, Ja4D, Ja4L, Ja4N, Ja5A,
Ja5B, Ja5D, Ja5I, Ja5K, Ja5W, Ja5Y, Ja5Z, Ja5AA, Ja5CC, Ja6C,
Ja7A, Ja7C, Ja8A, Ja8C, Ja8F, Ja9A, Ja9D, Ja9E, Ja9F, Ja9H,
Ja9M, Ja9N, Ja10H, Ja10J, Ja11B, Ja11H, Ja11J, Ja12A, Ja12B,
Ja12D, Ja12E, Ja12F, Ja12J, Ja13B, Ja13I, Ja13P, Ja13T, Ja13CC,
Ja14A, Ja14D, Ja14F, Ja15A, Ja15C, Ja16A, Ja16B, Ja16D, Ja16E,
Ja16F, Ja16G, Ja16H, Ja17A, Ja17E, Ja17J, Ja18A, Ja18C, Ja18G,

- Ja18I, Ja18M, Ja19B, Ja19U, Ja19X, Ja19Y, Ja19Z, Ja20B, Ja20H,
Ja20N, Ja20O, Ja21A, Ja21I, Ja21J, Ja22A, Ja22C, Ja22E, Ja22R,
Ja23A, Ja23C, Ja23D, Ja23H, Ja23J, Ja24A, Ja24E, Ja24G, Ja24M,
Ja24Q, Ja24T, Hc1A
- 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, Zp6II, 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 Zang 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 Xiu: 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: Zp6G, 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, Ja7F, 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
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 SGZ 18, the Biography of Pang De: Ja7G, Ja20Q, Ja24O
 SGZ 18, the Biography of Wen Ping: Ja13DD
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 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
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 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
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 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: Ja9I, Ja9P, Ja12G
 SGZ 26, the Biography of Tian Yu: Ja4B
 SGZ 29, the Biography of Du Kui: Ja1II
 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,
 Ja18F, Ja19E, Ja19F, Ja19I, Ja19M, Ja22R, Ja23F, Ja24B, Ja24E,
 Ja24G, Ja24J
 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*
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- SGZ 38, the Biography of Sun Qian: Ja19I*
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- 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
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 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 biezhuàn: Cp2MM

Cao Man zhuan: Xp1H, Ja5AA, Ja12H, Ja16E, Ja19Y, Ja23J, Hc1B

Chuguo xianxian zhuan: Ja23J

Dian lue: Zp6V, Cp2DD, Cp3N, Xp1P, Xp1I, Xp2G, Xp2H, Ja1I, Ja2I, Ja2V, Ja3P, Ja4I, Ja5QQ, Ja7B, Ja12F, Ja13U, Ja18K, Ja19A, Ja19G

Fuzi: Cp2NN, Ja1HH, Ja1JJ, 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

Hanmo yingxiong ji: Zp6U, Zp6Z, Zp6CC, Zp6II, Zp6OO, Zp6SS, Cp2Q, Cp2M, Cp2N, Cp2O, Cp3D, Cp3I, Cp3MM, Cp4B, Cp4O, Xp1Y, Xp2P, Xp2SS, Ja1F, Ja2N, Ja2X, Ja3G, Ja3J, Ja3K, Ja3L, Ja3V, Ja3CC, Ja4A, Ja5UU, Ja6F

Hou Han ji by Yuan Hong: Zp6BB, Zp6II, Xp1O, Xp1R, Xp1S, Xp1X, Xp1AA, Xp2C, Xp2E, Xp2G, Xp2H, Xp2J, Xp2L, Xp2Q, Xp2R, Xp2S, Xp2T, Xp2V, Xp2W, Xp2X, Xp2Y, Xp2Z, Xp2AA, Xp2BB, Xp2CC, Xp2MM, Ja1B, Ja1E, Ja1J, Ja1O, Ja1W, Ja5A, Ja5BB

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 zhi: Ja4AA, Ja5UU, Ja6G, Ja6I, Ja16O

Jiangbiao zhuan: Xp1BB, Xp2FF, Xp2HH, Xp2JJ, Ja2O, Ja3W, Ja3Z, Ja3AA, Ja4G, Ja4S, Ja4T, Ja4V, Ja5N, Ja5SS, Ja7J, Ja13GG, Ja13II, Ja13MM, Ja13OO, Ja13PP, Ja14H, Ja14J, Ja15E, Ja15F, Ja15H, Ja17H, Ja20M, Ja20M, Ja22B, Ja24II

- Jiuzhou chunqiu*: Cp1Q, Cp2N, Cp2Q, Cp3I, 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 jue* Commentary: Ja22U, Ja23A
- Sanguo ping*: Xp1L
- Shanyang gong zaiji*: Cp2E, Ja2O, 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 shu* by Wang Shen: Zp6L, Zp6O, Zp6OO, Cp1B, Cp2B, Cp2J,
Cp2R, Cp3F, Cp3Q, Cp3M, Xp2BB, Ja1BB, Ja1DD, Ja3H, Ja4F,
Ja16C, Ja16D, Ja16F, Ja17B, Ja17O, Ja21E, Hc1B
- Wei zhi*: Ja19V
- Wei-Jin shiyu*: Zp6RR, Cp3M, Cp4L, Ja22L, Ja22O, Ja22Q, Ja24Q,
Ja24R
- 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
- Wu shu*: Cp2B, Cp4L, Xp2KK, Ja4F, Ja5KK, Ja5MM, Ja13C, Ja13G,
Ja13H, Ja13T, Ja20E, Ja24FF
- Xiandi chunqiu*: Zp6A, Zp6Z, Cp1M, Xp1AA, Xp1V, Xp2OO, Ja1W,
Ja2J, Ja3E, Ja3J, Ja3N, Ja17K, Ja20C
- Xiandi ji*: Zp6V, Zp6AA, Cp1K, Cp2I, Xp2F, Xp2K, Xp2L, Xp2R,
Xp2Y, Xp2AA
- Xiandi qijuzhu*: Xp1O, Xp2L, Xp2S, Ja13A
- Xiandi zhuan*: Xp2EE, Ja4J, Ja5F, Ja5J, Ja5BB
- Xiangyang ji*: Ja12P, Ja12O
- Xianxian xingzhuang*: Cp2OO, Ja3K, Ja9G, Ja13K
- Xu Han shu*: Cp1E, Cp1J, Ja1Z

Xun Yu piezhuan: Ja12A, Ja19W

Yibu qijiu zaji: Ja18F

Zhan lue: Cp1O, Ja7D, Ja7F

Zhao Yun biezhu: 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

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Common abbreviations:

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- Cambridge China I*
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- ESWSBB* *Ershiwu shi bubian* 二十五史補編, 6 volumes, Kaiming 開明 edition, Shanghai 1936-37
- HJAS* *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*
- PFEH* *Papers on Far Eastern History*, Australian National University, Canberra
- QJHHS* *Qijia Hou Han shu* 七家後漢書 compiled by Wang Wentai 汪文臺, Taipei 1974:
includes the remnant texts of five *Hou Han shu*: by Xie Cheng, by Xue Ying, by Hua Qiao, by Xie Shen, and Yuan Shansong; of the *Hou Han ji* 後漢記/紀 by Zhang Fan [qq.v.] and of the *Xu Han shu* by Sima Biao [see *HHS*]
- SBBY* *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 collection
- SBCK* *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 collection
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Where appropriate, references are given to chapters of the standard histories which contain a relevant biography. An asterisk [*] indicates an individual, historical or legendary, who was **not** alive during the period 189-220 AD.

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