

EMPEROR HUAN AND EMPEROR LING

CHAPTER 55

being Chapter 47 of the Chronicle of Han
[and Part 2 of the reign of Emperor Huan]

Yanxi 7: 164 AD

[10 February 164 – 29 January 165]

1768

A In the spring in the second month on the day *bingxu* [?] the Loyal Marquis of Kang District, Huang Qiong, died.¹

B From far and near and from every direction, six or seven thousand well-known scholars gathered together to accompany his funeral.²

Before this, when Huang Qiong was maintaining private tuition at his own home, Xu Zhi attended on him, and they discussed questions of moral principle. Then Huang Qiong rose to high position, and Xu Zhi had no more contact with him. At this time, however, Xu Zhi came to join the mourning: he went forward to pour out the libation, and he cried out in sorrow before he left the assembly.

No-one knew who he was, and some of the leaders asked the director of the funeral, and he replied, "There was a scholar came here earlier, with coarse and simple clothing, weeping for grief. He did not write his name."

Then they all said, "This must have been Xu Ruzi."³ So they chose out Mao Rong of Chenliu, a most persuasive talker, and sent him to ride quickly after him.

Mao Rong caught up with Xu Zhi on the road, and he bought wine and meat to eat with him.

1769 Mao Rong asked him about affairs of state, but Xu Zhi made no reply. So he asked him about matters of farming, and then Xu Zhi did respond to him. When Mao Rong went back, he told the others about it. Someone remarked, "Confucius said, 'When a man may be spoken with, not to speak to him is to err in reference to the man.'⁴ Has Xu Ruzi, then, misjudged his man?"

Guo Tai of Taiyuan⁵ said, "No. Xu Ruzi is a man of purity and high principles. Even if he was hungry, he would not eat [if it was wrong to do so], and if he was cold he would refuse to put on clothes [if he was required to act wrongly to obtain them]. He drank the wine and ate the meat that Jiwei [Mao Rong] gave to him; and that was because he recognised that Jiwei was a worthy man. And the reason he did not reply to questions about

affairs of state: his wisdom can be matched by other men, and his foolishness they will not understand."⁶

Guo Tai was a man of wide learning, extremely good at debate. Earlier, when he first arrived in Luoyang, there was no-one who recognised his abilities. Fu Rong of Chenliu saw him just once and sighed in admiration, and he then introduced him to Li Ying, the Intendant of Henan.

When Li Ying met Guo Tai, he remarked, "I have met many scholars, but never a man of such quality as Guo Linzong. His penetrating intelligence and his fine erudition, we seldom see his like in China." So he became friends with him, and Guo Tai's reputation spread throughout the region of the capital.

Some time later, when Guo Tai was returning to his native commandery, all scholars of official rank came to the Yellow River to make their farewells. There were several thousand carriages there. Li Ying was the only one to cross the river in the boat with Guo Tai, and the others looked upon them from afar as if [Guo Tai and Li Ying] were spirits or immortals.

Guo Tai understood well all types of men, he enjoyed praising or admonishing them, and he would travel about the commanderies and kingdoms.

[Yx7: 164]

D When Mao Rong [of Chenliu] was over forty years old, he was working in the fields, but then took shelter from the rain with his fellows under a tree. All the others huddled down in a group, but Mao Rong kept aloof in a proper attitude of dignity. Guo Tai saw him and admired him, and so he asked to lodge with him.

Next morning, Mao Rong killed a chicken for the meal, and Guo Tai thought that this was for him. Mao Rong, however, took half the bird to feed his mother and put the other half away into storage. He himself brought some vegetables to put into the dish to share with his guest.

1770 Guo Tai said, "Your worth is far beyond the common run of men! I would have been willing to give some of the food of my parents to a guest⁷ but you have your own [mode of conduct]. You must be my companion." He stood up and bowed to him, and then he urged him to study. As a result, Mao Rong became a scholar of high morality and great virtue.

Meng Min of Julu came as a migrant to Taiyuan. When a pot which he was carrying on his back fell to the ground, he did not turn his head to look,

but simply walked away. Guo Tai saw this, and asked him about it. Meng Min replied, "The pot is broken. What is the point of looking at it?"

Guo Tai considered this showed a true discernment, and engaged him in further conversation. He recognised his virtuous qualities, and urged him to travel [to Luoyang] to study. As a result, Meng Min made his name known among all the people of that time.⁸

Shentu Pan of Chenliu was a man of poor family who had worked as an artisan in lacquer. Yu Sheng of Yanling [in Yingchuan], when he was a young man, served as a janitor at his county headquarters. Guo Tai saw them and admired them, and both of them later became celebrated scholars.

There were great numbers of such men, whom Guo Tai brought forward from obscurity as butchers or wine-sellers or the rank and file of soldiery, and who later became celebrated.

E Wei Zhao, a boy from Chen kingdom, asked Guo Tai, "To find a master that can teach about the classics is easy; to find a master that can teach about men is difficult. I ask to become your attendant and act as servant and cleaner in your house."⁹ Guo Tai agreed.

There was one occasion that Guo Tai felt unwell, and he ordered Wei Zhao to prepare him some gruel. When the gruel was ready, he brought it to Guo Tai, but Guo Tai abused him, saying, "If you make gruel for your senior, but add no care or respect, it becomes quite inedible." And he tipped it away on the floor.

Wei Zhao prepared another dish and brought it in again, but Guo Tai still abused him.

The scene was repeated three times, and Wei Zhao showed no signs of resentment or dismay. Then Guo Tai said to him, "At first I could see only your outward appearance; from now on, however, I appreciate your true nature." So he took Wei Zhao as his friend, and treated him with the utmost affection.

[Yx7: 164]

F Zuo Yuan of Chenliu was a student in the commandery, but he violated the law and was expelled from the school. Guo Tai happened to meet him on the road, and he prepared wine and food to comfort him.

1771 He said to Zuo Yuan, "In former times, Yan Zhuoju was the great bandit of Liangfu, and Duangan Mu was a broker in Jin. In the end, however, one

became a loyal minister of the state of Qi, and the other was a famous worthy of the state of Wei.¹⁰ On the other hand, Qu Yuan and Yan Hui were not without their faults,¹¹ and how much more did this apply to the other [associates of Confucius]! There is really no need to feel hatred or resentment. It is simply a matter of re-examining oneself." Zuo Yuan accepted his words and went on his way.

There were some people who criticised Guo Tai for not keeping himself aloof from an evil-doer, but Guo Tai remarked, "If a man is not virtuous, and you show too much dislike for him, he will behave all the worse."¹²

Later, Zuo Yuan did feel a great resentment, and he collected a band of followers to revenge himself against the other students. But on that very day Guo Tai was at the academy. Zuo Yuan remembered what had been said to him before, and he felt ashamed of himself. So he gave up his plan and went away. Later, this was discovered. Everyone thanked Guo Tai and acknowledged his wisdom.

G Someone asked Fan Pang, "What sort of a man is Guo Linzong?" Fan Pang replied, "In concealment, he does not abandon his parents;¹³ his personal morality does not necessarily keep him away from the common run of men.¹⁴ The Son of Heaven has not been able to obtain him as a minister, and no feudal lord has been [found worthy] to be friends with him.¹⁵ I can make no further comment."

H At one time, Guo Tai was recommended as "Knowing the Way,"¹⁶ but he would not go. Song Chong, a man from the same commandery [Taiyuan],¹⁷ who had long admired his virtues and considered that there was no-one to equal him since the beginning of Han, urged Guo Tai to take office.

1772 Guo Tai replied, "At night I observe the signs of the heavens. By daylight I examine the affairs of men.¹⁸ That which heaven is destroying cannot be supported.¹⁹ I shall keep up my idle wanderings a few more years, and that is all." However, [despite his professed love of idleness] he continued to travel in the region of the capital, and he maintained his teaching and instruction without cease.

I Xu Zhi wrote to warn Guo Tai, "When a great tree is about to fall, a single rope will not be enough to save it. Why do you concern yourself on these matters, and do not seek a quieter place?" Guo Tai was surprised and

touched, and said, "I note your advice with respect, and regard you as my guide."

[Yx7: 164]

J Huang Yun of Jiyin was known for his outstanding talents. Guo Tai saw him and said, "You have high abilities, surpassing other men, and quite enough to gain you wealth and power. By the time you are forty, you will have a wide reputation. When you reach this point, however, you must keep a careful check upon your conduct. If you don't, you will lose everything."

Later, the Minister over the Masses Yuan Wei wanted to find a husband for his niece. When he saw Huang Yun, he sighed and said, "If only I had a son-in-law like him, that would be the ideal."

Huang Yun heard of this, and he planned to divorce his wife [in order that he might be free to marry the Lady Yuan]. His wife called together a great assembly of the family for this ceremony of parting and then, in the middle of the gathering, she rolled up her sleeves and itemised a fifteen-fold list of Huang Yun's guilty secrets. Then she went out. Huang Yun was utterly shamed and rejected.²⁰

K Before this, Huang Yun and Jin Wenjing of Hanzhong both relied upon their talents and intelligence, and their names were celebrated far and near, but neither would accept summons to office. They claimed to be staying at the capital for medical reasons, and they would have no dealings with clients or retainers. Day and night the excellencies and other high ministers sent their personal followers to ask after their illnesses, and junior officials gathered in crowds outside their gates; but they would see only a few of them. When one of the three excellencies had it in mind to make a personal appointment, they would often ask their opinion, and they would act according to their advice.

Fu Rong said to Li Ying, "These two men never earned real fame for their conduct, but they maintain themselves now like the heroes of the age. They have dukes and ministers asking about their illnesses, and imperial officials sitting at their gateway. I am afraid that their petty trickery will do injury to the cause of righteous reform, for their reputation is groundless and untrue. You should make a special investigation of them."²¹

Li Ying did so. As a result the reputation of the two men was punctured and those who had attended them dwindled away. Within a couple of weeks, they fled away in shame and embarrassment. Later, for one fault or another, they both suffered public rejection.²²

[Yx7: 164]

L Qiu Xiang of Chenliu was an upright and modest man, but no-one in his neighbourhood recognised his worth.²³ At the age of forty he became the Chief of Pu village.²⁴ Among the people was a certain Chen Yuan, who lived alone with his mother. The mother went to Qiu Xiang and accused Chen Yuan of failing to act with proper filial piety.²⁵

Qiu Xiang was very surprised, and said, "Just recently I went by Chen Yuan's house, and the buildings were in good order and the fields were at the right stage of the season's work.

1773 "This man is not wicked, it is simply that his moral training has been lacking. The mother is a widow and has cared for the orphan son. She is now growing old and frail. How can she truly want to abandon years of the toil of upbringing for a single burst of anger?

"Moreover, the mother has cared for this son whom her husband left to her. If she fails to carry out this duty, and supposing the dead do have consciousness, then even if she lives a hundred years how will she face her man?"

The woman wept and got up. Then Qiu Xiang went himself to Chen Yuan's house, and he explained for him the proper relationships of mankind and the proper conduct of a filial son, illustrating his talk with examples of good luck or misfortune which came in retribution.

Chen Yuan was touched and impressed, and he thereupon became a most filial son.

The Prefect of Kaocheng, Wang Huan of Henei, appointed Qiu Xiang as his Master of Records, and he said to him, "I have heard that when you were at Pu village, you, did not punish Chen Yuan but reformed. You seem to have been reluctant to act as an eagle or a hawk."²⁶

Qiu Xiang replied, "To act as an eagle or a hawk is not so good as being a phoenix. That is why I took no legal action against him."

Wang Huan remarked, "A thicket of thorns is not the nest for a phoenix, and a hundred li is too little road for a man of worth."²⁷ So he gave Qiu Xiang a month's salary, and sent him to the Imperial University.

Guo Tai and Fu Rong each paid him a visit, sending in their cards,²⁸ and then he lodged with them. The following morning, when Guo Tai got up, he went to the foot of Qiu Xiang's bed and bowed to him, saying, "Rather than my colleague, you are my teacher."

When Qiu Xiang had completed his studies he returned to his native village. When he was at home, he was always dressed in formal clothes, and his wife and children served him as they would the sternest of rulers. If his wife or one of his children did something wrong, he would take off his hat to admonish himself [for his failure in teaching or guidance]. His wife or child would stand down in the courtyard to apologise or repent for the misdeed, Qiu Xiang would put his hat on again, and only then would the culprit venture to return once more to the dais. At no time did Qiu Xiang show any change of expression for pleasure or anger.

He refused all invitations to official position, and he died in his own home.

[Yx7: 164]

M In the third month on the day *guihai* [?]29 there was a fall of meteorites at Hu.30

In the summer, in the fifth month on the day *jichou* [2 Jul] there was rain and hail in the capital district.31

N The Inspector of Jing province Du Shang called up all the local barbarians to attack the rebels of Ai county,32 and he heavily defeated them. Several tens of thousands of them surrendered.

Bu Yang and Pan Hong, long-established bandits of Guiyang, fled into the deep mountain country, but Du Shang followed after them, penetrating several hundred li, destroying three of their encampments, and capturing great quantities of treasure.33

1774 Bu Yang and Pan Hong, however, still had a strong following, and Du Shang wanted to attack them again. His officers and men, however, were now satisfied with their achievements and concerned with their newly-acquired wealth, so they had no wish to fight further.

Du Shang calculated that if he treated his men leniently they would refuse battle, and if he compelled them they would simply run away. He therefore made a proclamation, "Bu Yang and Pan Hong have acted as bandits for more than ten years, and they are practised in both attack and defence. Our forces now are few and isolated, and it is not easy for us to go forward. We shall wait a little while, until the commandery levies have all arrived, and then we may resume the advance with combined forces."

And he issued an order for the day giving permission for a hunt. All the officers and men were delighted, and all went out to take part. Then Du

Shang gave secret instructions to his trusted personal followers that they should set fire to the camp, and all the treasure was destroyed. When the men came back from the hunt, every one of them wept for sorrow.

Du Shang went from man to man to comfort them and commiserate, and he showed the deepest regret for their losses. Then he said, "Bu Yang and his fellows have enough treasure with them to make any family rich for generations to come. If you all go to attack them now, without waiting for the reinforcements, then the booty you will gain will be so great that the few pieces you have just lost will not be worth remembering." The soldiers were filled with enthusiasm.

Du Shang gave orders for the men to feed the horses, and to rest and eat, and the next day he led his men direct to the enemy camp. Bu Yang and Pan Hong and their fellows felt secure in their isolated fastness, and they had made no further preparations for defence. The imperial forces took advantage of their surprise, and the enemy were smashed and settled.

Du Shang had been engaged on these campaigns for three years, and all the disturbances were now ended. He was enfeoffed as Marquis of You District.³⁴

[Yx7: 164]

O In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *renyin* [6 Nov], the Emperor made a progress to the south. On the day *gengshen* [24 Nov] he came to Zhangling, and [in the eleventh month] on the day *wuchen* [2 Dec]³⁵ he visited Yunmeng and viewed the Han river there. On his return journey he visited Xinye.³⁶

P At this time the carriages and outriders for the dukes and ministers and the imperial concubines and their relatives were numbered in the tens of thousands, and the expenses and labour that was levied were beyond calculation. Hu Teng of Guiyang, who was Attendant in Charge of Conveyances,³⁷ made the proposal that, "The Son of Heaven is always at the centre of the empire;³⁸ wherever his carriage may go, there is the capital. I ask that the Inspector of Jing province be given powers equivalent to those of the Colonel Director of Retainers, and that my position be the same as the Attendant for Officials at the Capital."³⁹ The Emperor approved this, and from that point all was well-ordered and none of the entourage dared to extort supplies or give any further trouble to the local government officials.

Q When the Emperor was in Nanyang, his attendants all accepted bribes, and had numbers of imperial letters issued to appoint various men as Gentlemen. The Grand Commandant Yang Bing sent in a letter to say, "There is a group of stars by the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure which is called the 'Seats of the Gentlemen.'⁴⁰ On the inside, they afford protection to the royal house; on the outside, they guide the common people. You should cut away your undue generosity, and block the road of acquisitive demands." As a result of this, the series of imperial appointments came to an end.

1775

R The Colonel Protector of the Qiang Duan Jiong attacked the Dangjian Qiang and defeated them.

In the twelfth month on the day *xinchou* [4 Jan 165] the imperial cortege returned to the capital.

S The Regular Palace Attendants Tang Heng, the Marquis of Ruyang, and Xu Huang the Marquis of Wuyuan, both died.

[Yx7: 164]

T Before this, the Palace Attendant Kou Rong, a great grandson of Kou Xun,⁴¹ was a man with a strong sense of moral conduct. There were few people that he was prepared to have dealings with, and as a result the powerful favourites hated him.

The son of Kou Rong's elder cousin married the Emperor's younger sister, the Senior Princess of Yiyang, and the Emperor also took a great-niece of Kou Rong into the harem. The attendants became increasingly resentful of him, and so they joined in slander to accuse him of some crime, and as a result he was dismissed and was sent back to his former commandery [of Shanggu] with all his clans-people.

There were junior officials in the local government who had seen the way things were going, and they joined in the actions against him. Kou Rong was afraid that he would not escape [this combination of hostility] and he [sought to] go back to the palace to plead his case. Before he could get there, however, the Inspector [of You province] Zhang Jing sent in a document of impeachment, claiming that Kou Rong was planning to cross the frontier illegally. An edict was issued that he should be arrested. Kou Rong then fled into hiding and he remained there several years. When an

amnesty was issued, Kou Rong was excluded from its benefits. He was in growing poverty and distress.

Then he sent in a letter to the Emperor from his place of exile,⁴² "Your majesty governs heaven and keeps all worldly things in their proper order. You are father and mother to the people, and every person, from the moment of the first teeth, receives your virtuous influence.⁴³

"Yet my brothers and I are the only ones who, without committing any crime, have been attacked and criticised by ministers of special power, while swarms of false witnesses have joined in plots against us.⁴⁴ This has caused your majesty to neglect the compassion worthy of a forgiving mother, but display instead the anger which throws down the shuttle.⁴⁵

"Cruel and slanderous officials have spread broad nets for me, and they urge one another on against us. It is as if they pursued an enemy, and sought to extend punishment even against those who are dead.⁴⁶ They would hack down the trees from our family tomb-mound, and they cause your august court to raise false accusations.

"It is for this reason that I did not dare to stand alone against your heavenly authority, but instead took refuge among the mountains and forests. I thought to wait for the time that your majesty would bring your spiritual and sage-like attention to my case, would apply your special and unique intelligence, saving the lives of the miserable and the innocent.

1776 "How could I have known that your wrath would be more than a season's duration,⁴⁷ and that your anger would fail to ease within the year? But as a result, messengers have been sent post-haste to proclaim the accusations far and near, and the cruel words of indictment are more bitter than frost or snow. Those who had me cast out still follow in my tracks, those who pursue me are in chariots without cease. Though the ruler of Chu offered rewards for Wu Yun,⁴⁸ and Emperor Gaozu of Han pursued Ji Bu;⁴⁹ neither were so fierce as this.

"Since the time that I suffered accusation, three amnesties have been issued and two opportunities for redemption.⁵⁰ There has been no evidence to support the charges laid, and this alone should be enough to justify some remission. Yet your majesty maintains a still deeper hatred against me, and those in authority are as determined against me as ever before.

"If I halt [in my flight], then I am caught and destroyed; if I continue to run, then I remain a fugitive exile. Should I live, then I am doomed to

poverty; when I die, I shall be an unquiet ghost. Heaven is broad, and there is no place to conceal myself; earth is wide, but there is no place to take refuge. I tramp the hard ground, and yet I feel I am drowning in troubled waters; I keep away from the precipitous cliffs, and yet I have the frightening sense of being crushed beneath a great weight. If I have committed the ultimate and most heinous crime against every form of morality, worthy to be staked out in the open, with the knives prepared for torture,⁵¹ then your majesty should make public proclamation of my faults, so that suspicions of those who examine the matter may be put at rest.

"I long to return within the gates of the nation, to sit on the red jasper stone of humble witness, that the three counsellors, with the lords and ministers, may judge my cause.⁵² But the gates to heaven are ninefold deep, and there are pitfalls at every turn. Any step may bring me into a trap; any movement may cause a net to cast upon me. I have no way to come before you, and no expectation that I shall be believed. Alas! One may live so long, but what is there to hope for?

"A loyal minister, it might seem, would kill himself to appease his master's anger, and a filial son would give up his life to soothe his father's rage. In this way, the great Shun refused to avoid the dangers of the earthen granary or the deep-dug well,⁵³ and Shensheng made no arguments against the wicked slanders of his father's wife.⁵⁴

1777 "Have I ventured to neglect this code of conduct, and have I failed to sacrifice myself as appeasement for your wrath? I beg now to carry out this duty, and I ask that your majesty grant pardon for their lives to my brothers, and permit my family to retain some part of our inheritance. This would redound to your broad and generous humanity.

"In the face of death I express these feelings. My heart's blood flows in tears as I write."

When the Emperor saw this letter he was even more angry than before. Kou Rong was executed, and from this time on his family became weak and withered away.⁵⁵

Notes to Yanxi 7: 164

A *HHS* 61/51, 2038 (19b), the Biography of Huang Qiong; and *cf.* *HHJ* 22, 6a.

1 There is a good deal of confusion between the texts for this passage. *HHJ* 22 says that Huang Qiong died in office as Grand Commandant, but the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima

Guang notes that *HHS* 8, 308–09, has mentioned his leaving that office in the third month of Yanxi 4, three years earlier, that he was appointed Minister of Works in the sixth month of that year, leaving that office in the ninth month (passages A and D of Yanxi 4); and *HHS* 61/51, 2037–38, tells us that he died without holding further appointment. The office of Grand Commandant during this period had been held by Liu Ju and then by Yang Bing (passage A of Yanxi 4 and passage K of Yanxi 5). Sima Guang therefore preferred to follow the *HHS* text.

There is also difficulty with the date of Huang Qiong's death. *HHS* 61/51 says only that he died in Yanxi 7, and gives no indication of the month. *HHJ* 22 says that he died in the second month, but gives no indication of the day. And there was in fact no *bingxu* day (cyclical no. 23) in the second month of Yanxi 7: that month began on a *renyin* day (cyclical no. 39): see also Xu Shaozhen, 2030a. There seems no way to tell where the reference to the day *bingxu*, as cited in *ZZTJ*, came from.

Finally, *HHS* 61/51 says that the posthumous title awarded to Huang Qiong was Zhong "Loyal," but *HHJ* 22 has it as Zhao "Renowned." We may note also, though *ZZTJ* does not take up the point, that *HHS* 61/51, 2038, says that Huang Qiong was awarded the posthumous title of General of Chariots and Cavalry, similar to the distinction granted the eunuch Shan Chao at the time of his death (passage JJ of Yanxi 2).

In fact, as will be seen below, this passage serves primarily to introduce the anecdote concerning Xu Zhi in passage B following, which in turn leads on to the various accounts of Guo Tai and his associates. For this purpose Sima Guang has used a number of different sources, in various combinations, and has included occasional bridging texts of his own. It is not easy to determine which source was regarded as being of chief importance, and one has the suspicion that Sima Guang was making a deliberate attempt to compile a picture of this scholarly world similar to but different from that presented by Fan Ye and Yuan Hong. In this sense, unusually for the compiler of *ZZTJ*, he is showing himself more involved as an author than in his regular role of collator, editor, and occasional commentator.

In the passages which follow, from B to N, one may see some similarity to parts of the celebrated novel *Rulin waishi*, by Wu Jingze of the eighteenth century. It is notable, however, that although a number of anecdotes are reflected in the important fifth-century compilation *Shishuo xinyu* by Liu Yiqing, translated by Mather, *New Account*, there does not appear to be any occasion that Sima Guang has drawn directly upon the text of that work.

[Yx7: 164]

- B *HHJ* 22, 2a–b;
and cf. *HHS* 53/43, 1747 (7a–b), the Biography of Xu Zhi.
- 2 The texts do not agree on the numbers attending this funeral. *HHJ* says that all scholars came from far and near; *HHS* 53/43 adds that those who assembled numbered "several tens." It seems possible that the character *qian* "thousands" in the text of *ZZTJ* should read *shi* "tens."
- 3 We have been told earlier (passage U of Yanxi 2) about this courteous custom of Xu Zhi, whose style was Ruzi.

Commentary to *Shishuo xinyu* A, 1a; Mather, *New Account*, 3–4, quotes from the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 3, 2b, with the same description. Mather, however, indicates that Xu Zhi performed the offering of chicken and wine-soaked silk only on this occasion in

honour of Huang Qiong, while the Chinese texts imply that he did this on a number of occasions, and it just happened to be at Huang Qiong's funeral that he was identified and accosted.

4 *Lun yu* XV.8; Legge, *CCI*, 296 (Lau, *Analects*, 133):

The Master said, 'When a man may be spoken with, not to speak to him is to err in reference to the man. When a man may not be spoken with, to speak to him is to err in reference to our words. The wise err neither in regard to their man nor to their words.'

5 The personal name of Guo Tai was the same character,, as that of Fan Ye's father. For this reason *HHS* gives his personal name by the homonym character, and frequently refers to him by his style Linzong. See commentary to *HHS* 68/58, 2225. The custom is sometimes followed by other texts.

6 *Lun yu* V.20; Legge *CCI*, 180 (Lau, *Analects*, 79 [as V.21]):

The Master said, 'When good order prevailed in his country, Ning Wu acted the part of a wise man. When his country was in disorder, he acted the part of a stupid man. Others may equal his wisdom, but they cannot equal his stupidity.'

Ning Wuzi, whose personal name was Yu, was an officer of the seventh-century state of Wey (so transliterated to distinguish it from Wei, which was the name of a state during the Warring States period and again in the time of the Three Kingdoms). According to the traditional interpretation, when the state was in good order, he acted as a good counsellor; later, when there was confusion and rebellion, he showed exceptional loyalty and courage, even though it could have been regarded as foolish to do so.

On the troubles in the state of Wey, see *SJ* 37, 1593–95; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 197–200. On Ning Wuzi, see also *Zuo zhuan*, Wen 4; Legge *CC* V, 239 (Couvreux, *Chronique* I, 464–465).

In the present case, it appears Guo Tai is suggesting the political situation of the empire is so bad no wise man would comment upon it.

[Yx7: 164]

C *HHS* 68/58, 2225 (1a–b), the Biography of Guo Tai;
and *HHS* 68/58, 2232 (6a), the Biography of Fu Rong;
and *HHJ* 23, 9a;
and the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao, 5, 2b.

[Yx7: 164]

D *HHS* 68/58, 2228–9 (3b–4a), the Biography of Mao Rong, the Biography of Meng Min and the Biography of Yu Sheng;
and *HHS* 53/43, 1751 (9b–10a), the Biography of Shentu Pan;
and *HHJ* 23, 9a–10a.

7 The commentary of Hu Sanxing explains the phrase *sansheng zhi yang* with reference to *Xiao jing* 10, being the action of providing three different kinds of meat to one's parents each day.

8 The commentary to *Shishuo xinyu* C, 81b–82a; Mather, *New Account*, 452, quotes a version of this story from the *Guo Linzong biezhuàn* "The Additional Biography of Guo Tai," a work which is now lost.

[Yx7: 164]

E *HHJ* 23, 9b–10a.

9 The phrase *sasao* refers to sprinkling to ground with water to settle the dust, then sweeping. It later became a standard practice for the neo-Confucianist training of youth.

[Yx7: 164]

F *HHS* 68/58, 2227–8 (3a–b), the Biography of Guo Tai.

10 *Lüshi chungju* 4, 9a; Wilhelm, *Frühlung und Herbst*, 47, refers to Yan Zhuoju as a great bandit of the region of Liangfu who received teaching from Confucius, and to Duangan Mu as a *zang* "broker in the market place" from Jin, who studied with the disciple of Confucius, Zixia.

The commentary of Du Yu of the third century to *Zuo zhuan*, Ai 23; Legge, *CC* V, 854, identifies the general Yan Geng of the state of Qi as Yan Zhuofu (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 750).

Liangfu, also written, was a territory south of Mount Tai in present-day Shandong
Lüshi chungju 21, 6b–7b, Wilhelm, *Frühlung und Herbst*, 378, refers to Duangan Mu as a worthy man. *SJ* 44, 1839, with the *Zhengyi* commentary of Zhang Shoujie of Tang quoting the *Gaoshi zhuan* by Huangfu Mi of the third century AD, describes how Duangan Mu studied and practiced virtue and was honoured by the Marquis Wen of Wei as a sage and worthy; Chavannes, *MHV*, 141–143.

The Marquis Wen of Wei was the first ruler of that state, established in 403 after the division of the earlier, larger state of Jin. Thus Duangan Mu was evidently born in the time of Jin, but became celebrated in the successor state of Wei.

11 *Lun yu* XIV.27; Legge, *CC* I, 285–286, describes how Qu Boyu, or Qu Yuan, sent a messenger with greetings to Confucius. Confucius asked the messenger about his master, and the messenger replied, "My master is anxious to make his faults few, but he has not yet succeeded." Confucius approved. (Lau, *Analects*, 128 [as XIV.25]).

Lun yu VI.2; Legge, *CC* I, 185, tells of Confucius' praise for his disciple Yan Hui: "... he loved to learn. He did not transfer his anger; he did not repeat a fault...." The implication is, of course, that Yan Hui committed some faults at least once. (Lau, *Analects*, 81 [as VI.3]).

12 *Lun yu* VIII.10; Legge, *CC* I, 211 (Lau, *Analects*, 93):

The Master said, 'The man who is fond of daring and is dissatisfied with poverty, will proceed to insubordination. So will the man who is not virtuous, when you carry your dislike of him to an extreme.'

[Yx7: 164]

G *HHS* 68/58, 2226 (2a), the Biography of Guo Tai.

13 Commentary to *HHS* relates this description to the conduct recorded of Jiezi Tui by *SJ* 39, 1660–62; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 291–296.

Jiezi Tui had accompanied Chong'er, the future Duke Wen of Jin, into exile. When he returned to take over the government of the state, one of his followers spoke to Chong'er, and received an assurance that his service would be remembered. Jiezi Tui disapproved of such importunity, remarking that the return of Chong'er had been obtained by the will of Heaven, not by the efforts of men. And he went into hiding. Later, when rewards were distributed, Jiezi Tui was overlooked, and when Duke Wen sent to look for him, he could not be found. Duke Wen then marked out the mountain region where Jiezi Tui had gone and ascribed it as his fief, renaming the mountain as Jie, in memory of the man he had wrongly neglected.

- When Jiezi Tui decided to go into permanent hiding, his mother argued with him, but was persuaded by his sense of honour and then accompanied him.
- 14 Commentary to *HHS* relates this description to that of Hui of Liuxia, described in *Lun yu* XVIII.2 and XVIII.8; Legge, *CC* I, 331–332 and 336–337, and *Lun yu* XV.13; Legge, *CC* I, 298–299 and notes (Lau, *Analects*, 149, 151 and 134 [as XV.14]). Hui of Liuxia was the posthumous name given to Zhanhuo Qin, a worthy officer of the state of Lu in the *Chunqiu* period.
- Mencius tells how Hui of Liuxia
 ...had a saying, "You are you, and I am I. Although you stand by my side with breast and arms bare, or with your body naked, how can you defile me?" Therefore, self-possessed, he companied with men indifferently, at the same time not losing himself. In the following passage, however, Mencius criticises Hui of Liuxia as "wanting in self-respect." See *Mengzi* IIA, 9.2 and 3; Legge, *CC* II, 207–208 (Lau, *Mencius*, 84), also *Mengzi* VB, 1.3; Legge, *CC* II, 207–208 (Lau, *Mencius*, 150).
- 15 Commentary to *HHS* here cites *Li ji* 38.16; Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies* II, 610, in praise of the scholar who accepts no court appointments, but remains in retirement to cultivate his learning and his personal conduct.
- [Yx7: 164]
- H *HHS* 68/58, 2225 (1b), the Biography of Guo Tai; and *HHJ* 23, 12b.
- 16 The recommendation "Knowing the Way" was a special nomination called by imperial order, and appears to have given the possibility of swift appointment to high office. See note 47 to Yanxi 2.
- There is no reference in the annals to any order for such a nomination during this period.
- 17 *ZZTJ* follows *HHS* in rendering the given name of this man as Chong; *HHJ* 23, 12b, and also 8b, has Zhong.
- 18 *HHJ* 23, 13a, mentions that Guo Tai had an interest in astrology and the portents of the apocryphal texts of the New Text school of Confucianism.
- 19 Commentary to *HHS* (at 2226 note 1) observes the parallel with the comment ascribed to Ru Shukuan of the state of Jin, recorded in *Zuo zhuan*, Ding 1; Legge, *CCV*, 745 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 487). Commentary explains the character *zhi* as "to hold, maintain, support."
- [Yx7: 164]
- I *HHJ* 22, 2b–3a; and *HHS* 53/43, 1747 (7b), the Biography of Xu Zhi.
- [Yx7: 164]
- J *HHS* 68/58, 2230 (5a), the Biography of Guo Tai; and *HHJ* 23, 11a–b.
- 20 *HHS* and *HHJ* say that the wife of Huang Yun was a woman of the Xiahou clan. The Xiahou clan of Qiao county in Pei rose to great prominence under the successor state of Wei founded by Cao Cao at the end of Han.
- [Yx7: 164]
- K *HHS* 68/58, 2232–33 (6a–b), the Biography of Fu Rong.

21 During these years, Li Ying was variously Intendant of Henan, administrator of the capital commandery, or Colonel Director of Retainers, with inspection and censorial authority over the capital province: *HHS* 67/57, 2192–94.

22 There is something of a contradiction between the stories about Huang Yun in this passage and in passage J immediately above. If he had been so humiliated by his wife's revelations, as passage J tells us, how could he have restored his position to be regarded as highly as the present passage describes? On the other hand, if he had been the subject of a formal investigation and so driven from the capital in shame, why should an influential man such as Yuan Wei have wished to have him as a son-in-law? One may observe, moreover, that although Yuan Wei was a member of a powerful clan, he became Minister over the Masses for the first time only in the reign of Emperor Ling, in 172 (passage L of Xiping 1; see also note 77 to Jianning 2).

HHS 68/58 puts the two stories in different places, one in the Biography of Guo Tai, and the other in that of Fu Rong. In fact, the Palace edition text of the Biography of Fu Rong, the base of the present passage, describes the partner of Jin Wenjing of Hanzhong as Wang Ziai of Liang kingdom. Commentary of *HHSJJ* 68/58, 6a, however, observes that editors agree the character *wang* has been miswritten for *huang*, that *HHS* 68/58, 2230, gives the style of Huang Yun as Ziai, and that Liang is an old name for the region of Jiyin. On that basis, they accept the identification, as followed by *ZZTJ*.

HJ 23, 11a–b, in the description of the embarrassing divorce in passage J above, describes the husband as Huang Yuanai, presumably an elision and slight corruption of the personal name and style. The *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 7, 16a–b, describes the partner of Jin Wenjing as Wang Ziai. There seems no doubt, however, that the same person is referred to in all accounts of these anecdotes.

Whether it is a correct identification, however, is still questionable. It is quite possible that the two disparate anecdotes were attached early to the same unfortunate confidence trickster.

[Yx7: 164]

L *HHS* 76/66, 2479–80 (15a–16b), the Biography of Qiu Lan in the Chapter on the Lenient Officials.

23 *HHS* says that Qiu Lan had the second personal name of Xiang, and *ZZTJ* refers to him by that second name.

24 *HHS* says that Qiu Lan/Xiang came from the county of Kaocheng in Chenliu (see below). Pu village must have been within that county, and was probably his native place.

25 The charge of *buxiao* "failing to act with proper filial piety" was extremely serious, for such behaviour was a sin against the proper order of the Confucian state.

26 *Zuo zhuan*, Wen 18; Legge *CCV*, 282 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 551), has the homily, "When you see a man who transgresses those rules [of propriety] towards his ruler, take him off as an eagle or a hawk pursues a small bird."

27 By "thicket of thorns" Wang Huan refers to the complications of day-to-day business, and "a hundred *li*" has layered meaning; a *li* was both a length of road and also a unit of local administration, while a hundred square *li* was an territory for government. So the hundred *li* could refer to the county of Kaocheng.

28 *HHS* gives more details of the relationship: Fu Rong came from the same commandery as Qiu Xiang, and after they had met he was impressed by the manner in which Qiu Xiang

held himself aloof from the social and political gatherings of the students of the University. He then introduced Qiu Xiang to Guo Tai.

[Yx7: 164]

M *HHS* 7, 312–13 (12a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

29 There was no *guihai* day (cyclical no. 60) in the third month of this year, which began on a *renshen* day (cyclical no. 9) and ended on a *gengzi* day (cyclical no. 370). The two parallel texts, *HHS* 102/12, 3262, the Treatise of Astronomy, and *HHJ* 22, 6a, however, both give the same date.

30 *HHS* 102/12, 3262, says that one meteorite fell at Youfufeng and two at Hu; all three made a sound like thunder. No prognostication is attached to the entry.

Hu county was in Youfufeng, southwest of present-day Xi'an. It is possible that the odd meteorite which did not fall there was recorded from the capital, Huaili, which lay on the northern bank of the Wei River west of present-day Xi'an.

31 *HHS* 105/15, 3314, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this phenomenon. The prognostication is associated with the arrogance and jealousy of the Empress Dou, and with her dismissal and death and the fall of her family in the following year (passage G of Yanxi 8).

[Yx7: 164]

N *HHS* 38/28, 1285–86 (8b–9a), the Biography of Du Shang.

32 On the previous history of the rebellion and banditry in Jing province, see passages C to J of Yanxi 5 and passages A and B of Yanxi 6. Ai county was in Yuzhang commandery, in the west of present-day Jiangxi. In fact, therefore, these bandits were based upon the neighbouring Yang province, but their incursions had troubled Jing.

33 *HHS* says that Du Shang pursued these bandits into Nanhai commandery, which was in Jiao or Jiaozhi province to the south, across the watershed of the Nan Ling range.

34 Youxiang, "West [or Right] District," could be the name of a subordinate unit of any county. It is not possible to tell the site of Du Shang's fief.

[Yx7: 164]

O *HHS* 7, 313 (12a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

35 The *wuchen* day (cyclical no. 5) was the first day of the eleventh month of this year. *HHS*, followed by *ZZT*, has here omitted the designation of the eleventh month.

36 Zhangling county in Nanyang commandery, east of present-day Xiangfan in Hubei, was near the upper reaches of the Yuan River which flowed into the marshland region of Yunmeng, near the junction of the Han with the Yangzi. This place, known as Chongling in Former Han, was the site of the district marquisate of the Liu family lineage which had produced the founding Emperor Guangwu of Later Han. The district was raised in status to be a county, and the name was changed to Zhangling, in 30 AD. See Bielenstein, *RHD* 1, 96. *HHS* 7 notes that Emperor Huan visited Zhangling and gave sacrifice at the ancestral home, tombs and memorial temples.

Xinye, midway between present-day Xiangfan and present-day Nanyang, was the site of a number of family tombs and temples established in the time of Emperor Guangwu. Emperor Huan also paid his respects there.

Emperor He had made a similar journey in 103: *HHS* 4, 191. The timing of this procession by Emperor Huan may have been intended to confirm the recovered security in the south.

[Yx7: 164]

P *HHS* 69/59, 2245 (5b–6a), the Biography of Hu Teng.

37 Attendant in Charge of Conveyances was not a regular title, but had obviously been set up for the occasion of this procession. Hu Teng was a locally-appointed official on the staff of the Inspector of Jing province, whose circuit included Nanyang and Jiangxia commanderies, on the Emperor's route to Yunmeng.

38 Hu Teng is here quoting and adapting an expression, *wangzhe wu wai*, which appears several times in Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*: e.g. Yin 1. 6, and Huan 8. 6.

39 A regular Inspector had authority only to report upon wrongdoing within his province, and did not have the right to investigate imperial officials. The Colonel Director of Retainers had some authority to act without prior reference to the throne, and he had specific power to deal with officials of the government within the territory of the capital province. The Attendant in charge of the Bureau for Officials at the Capital was responsible for this aspect of the Colonel's duties. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 85.

[Yx7: 164]

Q *HHS* 54/44, 1773 (10b–11a), the Biography of Yang Bing.

40 *SJ* 27, 1299, and *JS* 11, 291–293, the treatises of astronomy, describe the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure (*Taiwei yuan*), a circle of stars in the Western constellations Virgo and Leo and, to the north, a cluster of fifteen stars in Coma Berenices identified as the "Seats of the Court Gentlemen" (*lang-wei*). See Chavannes, *MH* III, 347, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 78 and Star Map 2.

[Yx7: 164]

R *HHS* 7, 313 (12a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

[Yx7: 164]

S This passage is adapted by Sima Guang from *HHS* 69/59, 2522.

[Yx7: 164]

T *HHS* 16/6, 627–33 (21b–24b), the Biography of Kou Rong.

41 Kou Xun, a man from the northern commandery of Shanggu, became one of the earliest supporters of the future Emperor Guangwu, and served as a military commander and administrator in the civil wars which brought the establishment of Later Han. See Bielenstein, *RHD* I, 26; *RHD* II, 73, 224 et *sub voce*. His biography is in *HHS* 16/6, 620–26, preceding that of Kou Rong.

As reward for Kou Xun's support, he and other members of his family were enfeoffed as marquises. One of his grand-daughters married Deng Zhi, elder brother of the regent Empress Dowager Deng in the time of Emperor An at the beginning of the second century AD. The Kou family was thus one of the powerful and wealthy groups at the imperial capital (*HHS* 16/6, 626–27).

Kou Rong does not appear to have held any of the regular administrative posts in the bureaucracy, and his appointment as a Palace Attendant, a high and honourable advisory position (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59), was evidently due primarily to his family background and relationship to the throne.

42 An extended version of this letter comprises almost the whole of the biography of Kou Rong, *HHS* 16/6, 628–632. The document was regarded as an important literary composition from an innocent man, wrongly accused.

43 Commentary to *HHS* quotes from *Da Dai li ji* 13, 3a–b; Wilhelm, *Buch der Sitte*, 244–245, which observes that male children get their first teeth at eight months, female children at seven months. There is a parallel text in *Hanshi waizhuan* 1, 8b–9b; Hightower, *Han shih wai chuan*, 27–28.

44 The phrase *qing ying* "dark flies" is an metaphor for slanderers: see, for example, the *Qing ying* Ode of *Shi jing*, II.7.5; Legge, *CC IV*, 394–5, also Karlgren, *Odes*, 219 at 172.

45 This is a reference to a well-known parable. The worthy Zeng Can, a disciple of Confucius, was away from his home when another man, also called Zeng Can, committed a murder. People went to tell Zeng Can's mother, "Zeng Can has killed someone." At first, the mother replied that her son would do no such thing, but when the same news was brought to her for the third time, she believed it, and in grief and despair she threw down the shuttle and abandoned her weaving, leapt over the wall of the courtyard, and fled.

The biography of Zeng Can is in *SJ* 67, 2205; the authorship of *Xiao jing*, the Classic of Filial Piety, is ascribed to him. The anecdote about him is recorded in *SJ* 71, 2311, as told by Gan Mao to King Wu of Qin, warning him against the influence of slanders.

46 The text in *HHS* 16/6 identifies these dishonest accusers by name. Kou Rong was complaining not only against the Inspector Zhang Jing, but also the Colonel Director of Retainers Ying Feng, the Intendant of Henan He Bao, and the Prefect of Luoyang Yuan Teng; these latter three presumably being the officials who had reported against him in the first place.

47 Kou Rong here refers to the seasons of spring and summer, the times of growth and life, and therefore periods when deathly anger should not be maintained. See, for example, *Chunqiu fanlu* 12 (49), 2a–3a.

48 Wu Zixu, who had the personal name Yun (Zixu being his style), was a celebrated statesman of the region of the lower Yangzi in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC. Originally from Chu, he fled that state when his father and uncle were killed by the king of Chu. He then took service with the king of Wu, and guided him to victory over Chu and the rival state of Yue. His biography is in *SJ* 66, 2171–83; see also Chavannes, *MH IV*, 18–32.

SJ 66, 2173, tells that the king of Chu announced a reward of fifty thousand *shi* of grain, and noble honours, for any person who could capture Wu Zixu.

49 Ji Bu was a man from Chu, who served as a military commander under Xiang Yu, the great rival to Gaozu, founding Emperor of Han.

After Xiang Yu was overthrown Gaozu proclaimed a reward of a thousand pieces of gold for the capture of Ji Bu, and threatened the destruction of any family that sheltered him. Through an intermediary, however, Ji Bu was able to make his peace with Gaozu, and he became a loyal and distinguished minister of Han.

The biography of Ji Bu is in *SJ* 100, 2729–32.

50 Hulsewé, *RHL I*, 205–214, discusses redemption (*shu*) as a special act of grace from the emperor, permitting a person subject to punishment to commute this penalty into a payment of money or goods. (One may distinguish redemption from an ordinary fine, which was a prescribed penalty for certain specified acts; redemption was a special privilege to ease the penalty for a more serious crime.)

At 208, Hulsewé notes that redemption appears to have been granted particularly to fugitives from justice who had not yet been apprehended: this would have been appropriate to Kou Rong, and he may have hoped for such a grant.

At 214, Hulswé lists the edicts of redemption recorded for this period: there appear to have been none issued between 149 and 168. There had, however, been amnesties in 160 (passage A of Yanxi 3), 161 (passage D of Yanxi 4) and 163 (passage A of Yanxi 6), and there was another in 165 (passage H of Yanxi 8); some opportunity for redemption may have been included in those edicts. See also note 2 to Yongshou 3.

51 *Guo yu* 4, 38, refers to punishment for the most serious crimes being carried out on open ground outside the city walls (*yuanye*), as opposed to those which were administered in the market-place (*shi*) or within a court (*chao*).

52 *Zhou li* 9 (36), 22b–23a; Biot, *Rites* II, 347–348, describes the audience of a ruler. On his left are nine bunches of thorns which mark the places of the ministers and grandees; on his right are another nine bunches of thorns which mark the places of the great feudatories; in front of the ruler are three *huai* trees (*Sophora japonica*) which mark the places of the three excellencies (*san gong*).

The same text refers to the *feishi* "the lung-coloured stone." This is described also in *Zhou li* 9 (35), 11a; Biot, *Rites* II, 313, as the place of a witness: the red of the stone reflects the sincerity of the heart.

53 *SJ* 1, 34; Chavannes, *MHI*, 74–75, tells how the father Gusou and the half-brother Xiang of the mythical Emperor Shun sought to kill him. For a first attempt, they ordered him to climb an earthen granary in order to re-plaster it, then they took away the ladder and set fire to it. Shun, however, used two large hats as a form of parachute to lighten his fall, and so came safely to the ground (or, according to another interpretation, he used them as coverings to protect himself as he made his way through the flames).

In the second attempt, Sun was ordered to dig a well. When he was deep enough, the two men threw down the spoil again to smother him: Shun, however, had dug a side-passage in the wall of the well, and so made his escape.

Although Shun saved himself from these attempts on his life, it is notable that he would not disobey a direct command of his father. See also *Mengzi* VA, 2.3; Legge, *CC* II, 346–347 (Lau, *Mencius*, 139).

53 Shensheng was the eldest son of Duke Xian of Jin and the elder brother of Chong'er, who later became Duke Wen of Jin.

Duke Xian took the Lady Li as his principal wife. Lady Li ordered Shensheng to offer sacrifice to his own dead mother, and Shensheng sent some of the sacrificial foods to his father. Then Lady Li put poison into them and accused Shensheng of seeking to kill his father.

His supporters urged Shensheng to explain the truth, but he said, "If I explain the matter, the guilt will be fixed upon the Lady Li. The duke is getting old, and I will have taken his joy away from him." Rather than do such a thing, he killed himself. (After this incident, Chong'er and his remaining brother fled the state). See *Zuo zhuan*, Xi 4; Legge, *CCV*, 141–142 (Couvreux, *Chronique* I, 245–247).

54 Sima Guang, in his *Kaoyi* commentary to this passage, notes that *HHJ* 21, 12b–14a, has the destruction of Kou Rong dated in Yanxi 1: 158, *i.e.* during the hegemony of Liang Ji.

As he remarks, however, the affair was obviously spread over some years, and *HHS* 16/6 says that it took place during the Yanxi period. Moreover, Xiang Kai in his memorials of 166, and Dou Wu in 167, both refer to the destruction of Kou Rong with the implication that Emperor Huan was personally responsible: see passages S of Yanxi 9 and G of

Yongkang 1 (though the extract of the memorial in the latter passage does not include that particular sentence from *HHS* 69/59).

It would seem, then, that the incident of Kou Rong should have taken place between the time Emperor Huan took personal power in 159 and Xiang Kai's first memorial of criticism in 166. Moreover, since the listings by Xiang Kai and Dou Wu put Kou [Rong] in third place after Liang [Ji] and Sun [Shou], but before Deng [Wanshi], who died in 165 when the Empress Deng was disgraced (passage G of Yanxi 8), it seems likely that Kou Rong was dead by the beginning of that year.

Yanxi 8: 165 AD

[29 January 165 – 17 February 166]

A In the spring, in the first month the Emperor sent the Regular Palace Attendant Zuo Guan to go to Hu county and offer sacrifice to Laozi.¹

B Liu Kui, King of Bohai,² had frequently acted wildly and eccentrically, and he several times showed himself presumptuous, proud and disobedient of the law.

Shi Bi of Chenliu, who was Captain at the Centre of the Northern Army, sent in a sealed letter, "I have heard that the proper attitude of an emperor or king towards his relatives and kinsmen is that although his affection is abundant he will certainly display it with authority, and even though the person is of noble birth he will certainly apply the regular restraints to him. By this means, the cause of peace and harmony will flourish, and generous treatment of one's own flesh and blood will be maintained.

"Now I have heard that Liu Kui, the King of Bohai, has collected around him companions who are frivolous, arrogant and never satisfied. Within his palace he holds orgies of wine and music, and in his public behaviour there is no good order. Those whom he keeps with him are either the disgraced scions of other households, or the dismissed servants of this court. We may surely expect such troubles as were brought by Yang Sheng and Wu Bei.³

1778 "The officials of the province are reluctant to make any accusation, and the Tutor and the Chancellor have been unable to give any assistance.⁴ Your majesty has shown abundant affection toward your young brother, and you cannot bring yourself to act with firmness. However, I am worried that delay may only increase the harm that is done.⁵

"I beg that you will give publicity to my humble submission, to let it be known to the hundred officials, that punishment must be meted out with

justice and equity. When the law has been settled and the punishment fixed, then you may send down an edict of compassion. It is appropriate for you to make a few special concessions, but that can happen only after your officials have carried out their strict responsibilities.

"If this procedure is followed, your sage court will be free of any accusation that you have brought harm to a close relative, and at the same time the King of Bohai will be able to continue his reign in prosperity. If you do not do this, I am afraid there will be serious trouble in the future."⁶

The Emperor would not agree to this, and Liu Kui did later plan rebellion. The senior ministers asked that he should be dismissed, and an imperial edict demoted him to be King of Yingtao, with the revenue of a single county.⁷

- C On the day *bingshen* [28 Feb], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.⁸

An edict ordered the excellencies, ministers and colonels to recommend Capable and Good, Sincere and Upright men [as candidates for office.]⁹

[In the second month on the day *jiyou*: 13 Mar] there was a fire in the Hall of a Thousand Autumns and the Hall of a Myriad Years.¹⁰

[*Yx8*: 165]

- D Hou Can, younger brother of the Regular Palace Attendant Hou Lan,¹¹ was Inspector of Yi province. Cruel and extortionate, he accumulated treasure which was counted by the hundreds of thousands.

The Grand Commandant Yang Bing memorialised that Hou Can should be summoned with a cage cart, and on the way Hou Can committed suicide. When his treasure was assessed, it filled more than three hundred wagons, all laden with gold and silver, brocade and silk.

Yang Bing now sent in a further memorial, "When I examine the ancient regulations, I find that eunuchs were first used simply as messengers, porters and guards for the inner apartments. Now, however, they receive excessive favour and they hold real power. Those who support them are given praise and promotion; those who oppose them are likely to find that some opportunity have been taken to do them harm.

"Their mansions could serve as models for the palaces of kings and dukes, their treasure is comparable to that of the Emperor himself. They have nothing but the best of food and drink, and even their servants and handmaidens are dressed in fine white silk.

"Hou Can, younger brother of the Regular Palace Attendant Hou Lan, has shown the utmost greed and cruelty, and has brought upon himself misfortune and destruction. Hou Lan will immediately have appreciated the significance of this, and he now has some cause for anxiety on his behalf. It is my humble opinion that he should no longer be permitted to remain in a close position to your majesty.

"In former times, when Duke Yi punished the father of Bing Chu and took for himself the wife of Yan Zhi, he caused these two men to combine forces and he met with disaster amongst the bamboo.¹²

1779 "Hou Lan should be removed at once and thrown to the tigers. It is not appropriate that you should extend your gracious leniency to a person such as this. I ask that he be dismissed from office and sent back to his home commandery."

When the memorial came in, the office of the Masters of Writing summoned the clerks in Yang Bing's office and reprimanded them,¹³ "In the organisation of government and the demarcations of responsibility, each has its own areas of concern. The three excellencies deal with matters outside, the imperial clerks investigate matters within.¹⁴ In this memorial, you have gone beyond your proper authority and discussed the affairs of the Emperor's personal staff. By what precedent, either in the classical texts or in the regulations of Han, do you justify this? We ask that the minister reply in detail."

Yang Bing sent in his answer, "The Zuo Chronicle of the Spring and Autumn Annals says, 'charged to remove the danger to my ruler, I regarded nothing but how I might be able to do it.'¹⁵

"When Deng Tong was acting negligently, Shentu Jia summoned him and criticised him. Emperor Wen accepted this, and then begged him off.¹⁶ In the precedents of Han, there is no subject from which the three excellencies are debarred."

The Masters of Writing could not maintain their reprimand, and the Emperor in the end had no recourse but to dismiss Hou Lan.

[Yx8: 165]

E Following this,¹⁷ the Colonel Director of Retainers Han Yan sent in memorials on the crimes and wrongdoing of Zuo Guan. Moreover, he called evidence from their native province and commandery that [Zuo Guan's] elder brother, the Grand Coachman and Marquis of Nan District Zuo Cheng,¹⁸ had accepted and offered special favours, and had taken bribes

and collected contributions for wrongful purposes, while their retainers had acted lawlessly and had bullied and abused the local officials and the common people. Zuo Guan and Zuo Cheng both committed suicide.

Han Yan further reported that Ju Gong, elder brother of the Regular Palace Attendant Ju Yuan, who was Chancellor of Pei, had accumulated bribes; and he was summoned by imperial order to the Commandant of Justice. Ju Yuan went to the court to make apologies on his brother's behalf, and he returned to the Emperor's seal and ribbon as Marquis of Dongwu[yang]. An imperial edict demoted him to become marquis of a chief district.

The marquises which had been awarded by favour to Shan Chao, Xu Huang and Tang Heng were now all reduced to be district fiefs. Those of their family who had shared the fiefs were stripped of their titles. Liu Pu and his colleagues were demoted to marquises of the imperial domain.¹⁹

F Yin Xun and the others also lost their ranks of nobility.²⁰

G The emperor had a great many favourites in the palace, and his concubines numbered five or six thousand, with twice as many handmaids and servants besides. The Empress Deng was a woman of great arrogance and pride, and she quarrelled with the Honoured Lady Guo, whom the Emperor had favoured.

1780 On the day *guihai* [26 Mar] the Empress Deng was dismissed. She was sent to the Drying House Building, and she died there of misery.²¹ Deng Wanshi the Intendant of Henan and Deng Hui the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers were both sent to jail and executed.

[Yx8: 165]

H The Colonel Protector of the Qiang Duan Jiong attacked the Lejie Qiang and defeated them.

In the third month on the day *xinsi* [14 Apr] there was an amnesty for the empire.

I Yang Yuanqun, a man of powerful family from Wanling, left his post in Beihai commandery. He was notorious for corruption, and even the lavatory in the commandery residence had strange and unusual toys and devices, all of which he took home with him.

The Intendant of Henan, Li Ying, sent in a memorial on the crimes of Yang Yuanqun, but Yang Yuanqun gave bribes to the eunuchs, and in the end he managed a successful counter-accusation against Li Ying.²²

K Shan Qian, younger brother of [the late eunuch] Shan Chao, was Grand Administrator of Shanyang, and he was arrested and sent to prison for his crimes. Feng Gun, Commandant of Justice, examined him and condemned him to death, but then the eunuchs formed a faction amongst themselves, and they joined to send in an urgent message making false accusations against Feng Gun.

L The Regular Palace Attendants Su Kang and Guan Ba had enclosed good farmlands and fine properties throughout the empire, while the provincial and commandery authorities had not dared to make any objection. [Even though it was not strictly within his area of responsibility,] the Grand Minister of Agriculture Liu You sent in a letter on the matter, suggesting that their lands and properties should be confiscated in accordance with their nature and the circumstances. The Emperor was extremely angry, and Liu You, with Li Ying and Feng Gun, were all sent to convict labour in the Enclosure of the Left.

M In the summer, in the fourth month on the day *jiayin* [17 May] there was a fire in the temple apartments of the funerary park of Anling [the tomb of Emperor Hui of Former Han].²³

N On the day *dingsi* [20 May] an edict was issued that all the non-orthodox local shrines in the commanderies and kingdoms should be destroyed. Special exemption was allowed to the two shrines of Wang Huan at Luoyang and of Zhuo Mao in Mi county.²⁴

[Yx8: 165]

O In the fifth month on the day *bingxu* [18 Jun] the Grand Commandant Yang Bing died.

P As a man, Yang Bing was pure and upright, and he had few desires or wishes. He once remarked of himself, "There are three things which do not affect me: wine, women and wealth."

Q Just after Yang Bing had died, Liu Yu of Guangling, whom he had recommended as a Capable and Good candidate, came at that time to the

capital and sent in a document saying,²⁵ "Officials of the palace should not be compared to those who divide the land [in fiefs]. Now, however, they take position alongside the hereditary houses, and they maintain succession to a fief with heirs not from their own body."²⁶

"Moreover, there are great numbers of concubines in the palace, consuming food with no work to justify themselves. They are bad for [normal] life and they are a waste of the resources of the state. Buildings and mansions are constantly being increased in number, and they are filled with clever toys and unusual trinkets; oppressed by fierce punishments the people are forced to dig into the mountains, quarrying out stone for the work.

1781 "The offices of the provinces and commanderies are each conducting investigations into these affairs within their own territory, but such rampant corruption and bribery presents a source of temptation to honest officials. The common people are in constant anxiety and distress, and so they rise up and join with bandit gangs. The officials just send soldiers to punish them for their crimes, [paying no attention to the genuine origins of the disorders]. So great are the miseries of the people that some would sell their own heads for the sake of a reward, fathers and brothers help one another to injure their bodies [in order to avoid conscription], and wives and children are driven in distress from their homes.

"Again, your majesty loves to go incognito to the houses of your close associates, and you honour the residences of eunuchs with private visits. Clients and retainers may be bargained for in the market-place, authority is peddled at the roadside, and so oppression springs up everywhere and everything is open to influence.

"If only your majesty would open the way for criticism to reach you, and pay good attention to all the precedents of the past. Put away the specious talkers from your presence, and abandon the music of Zheng and Wey.²⁷ Then your government will reach a peak of peace and harmony, and your virtues will attract the influence of a benevolent wind."²⁸

A special edict was issued to summon Liu Yu, that he should discuss the evidence of portents and disasters. The people responsible hoped that he would renege on his previous arguments, and so he was asked supplementary questions upon other topics. Liu Yu, however, presented a further eight thousand words, reiterating even more forcefully the same

sincere opinions as he had before. He was appointed a Gentleman-Consultant.

[Yx8: 165]

R Zhu Gai, a soldier of Jing province, led a mutiny, and he joined with the Guiyang bandits under Hu Lan to attack that commandery. The Grand Administrator Ren Yin abandoned his city and fled, and the rebel forces then rose in numbers to several tens of thousands. They now turned against Lingling, but the Grand Administrator Chen Qiu of Xiapi held a firm defence against them.

[The site of the capital of] Lingling lay on low and swampy ground, and the city wall was built only of logs. People in the commandery were frightened and confused, and some of the clerical officers urged Chen Qiu to send his family away, out of the danger. Chen Qiu replied angrily, "I hold the tiger tally from my government,²⁹ and I have been given charge of this territory. How can I concern myself with wife and children if I harm the authority of the state by doing so? The next man who makes any such suggestion will be executed."

Then he had great trees strung to make bows, and feathered whole lances to make arrows, and he had a device to draw the weapon and fire it. Many of the enemy were killed or wounded.

The enemy brought a flood of water against the city, but Chen Qiu used the lie of the ground inside the walls to turn the flood back upon them. Each side maintained its position for more than ten days, without either being able to gain a decisive victory.

At this time Du Shang had been recalled to the capital,³⁰ and an imperial edict appointed him as General of the Gentlemen of the Household, with command of more than twenty thousand men, horse and foot [from You and Ji provinces, from the Liyang encampment and from the Wuhuan auxiliaries] to go to relief of Chen Qiu. He raised soldiers from all the commanderies of Jing province and combined them for the attack, and he completely defeated the rebels.³¹ They cut off the head of Hu Lan and more than three thousand of his followers. Du Shang returned to his former position as Inspector of Jing province.³²

The Grand Administrator of Cangwu, Zhang Xu, had been captured by the rebels. He and Ren Yin were both summoned to the capital and sentenced to public execution.

The remnants of Hu Lan's band fled south into Cangwu, and the Inspector of Jiaozhi Zhang Pan attacked them and defeated them. They turned back into Jing province.³³ Du Shang was afraid that he would be blamed [for not having destroyed the rebellion completely in the earlier stage of the campaign], so he sent in a false report that some bandits from Cangwu had come into his territory. As a result, an imperial edict ordered Zhang Pan to report to the Commandant of Justice.

1782 Before the documents in the case had all been sorted out, there was an amnesty of pardon.³⁴ Zhang Pan, however, was not prepared to leave the prison, and he sat there in his cangue and his fetters. The prison officer said to him, "The heavenly grace has been extended, but still you do not leave. Why is that?"

Zhang Pan said, "I hold position as chief of a province, but I have been wronged by Du Shang, and so now I am punished with imprisonment. All things, however, have their truth and their falsehood, and all matters of law have their right and their wrong. The simple fact is that I am not guilty, so there is nothing an amnesty of pardon can do for me. If I accepted this humiliating way of escape, I should always suffer the shame of the accusation. Alive, I shall appear as a bad official; dead, I will be a miserable ghost.

"I beg that a summons be sent for Du Shang to attend the Commandant of Justice, to answer me face to face on the rights and wrongs of this affair. That will be quite enough to make clear where truth and falsehood lie. If Du Shang is not summoned, I shall bury myself here in this prison cage. I shall never consent to a meaningless release. As long as I live, I shall witness to this injustice."

The Commandant of Justice reported on this, and an imperial letter was sent to summons Du Shang to the Commandant's office. He failed to give a good explanation and eventually accepted the blame, but on account of his previous good service he was granted a special remission.

[Yx8: 165]

S In the intercalary [seventh] month on the day *jiawu* [25 Aug?] there was a fire in the Office of Northern Tranquillity in the Southern Palace.³⁵

T Duan Jiong attacked and defeated the Western Qiang, and led his army forward in an exhaustive pursuit. They followed the enemy through the mountains and valleys, and every day from spring into autumn they were

engaged in combat. So the enemy were defeated and scattered. Altogether they killed 23,000 of them and took several tens of thousands of prisoners. More than ten thousand *luo* "campfire" groups surrendered.³⁶ Duan Jiong was enfeoffed as marquis of a chief district.

U In the autumn, in the seventh month the Grand Palace Grandee Chen Fan became Grand Commandant. Chen Fan had sought to cede this position to the Grand Master of Ceremonies Hu Guang, to the Gentleman-Consultant Wang Chang, or to Li Ying, currently a convict under reduced sentence. The Emperor would not allow this.

V Wang Chang was a son of Wang Gong.³⁷ He had at one time been Grand Administrator of Nanyang. Concerned by the great numbers of imperial relatives and powerful families in the commandery, as soon as he arrived he began to govern with the utmost firmness and fierceness. On occasion, when some member of a great clan committed a fault, he sent officers to destroy the homestead and cut down the trees there, and they would fill up the wells and smash the kitchens.

The Officer of the Bureau of Merit Zhang Chang sent in a letter of protest [to Wang Chang], "Men such as Wen Weng, Shaofu and Zhuo Mao all based their administration on gentleness and generosity, and the memory of them has come down to later ages.³⁸

"To destroy houses and trees is an action which is harsh and cruel. Even though it is your wish to give warning against wrongdoing, it will not be easy to make a lasting reputation by such means.

1783 "This commandery is the seat of an ancient capital, and it lies within the inmost regions of the empire.³⁹ The tombs and funerary parks [of the dynasty] have their origins at Zhangling, and three empresses have been born at Xinye.⁴⁰ Since the time of the restoration of Han, worthy ministers, generals and chancellors have emerged from here, one generation after another.

"It is my foolish opinion that even the most earnest use of punishment will be less effective than a policy of graciousness, and the most careful search after wrongdoers is not so good as showing proper respect to men of worth. When Shun recommended Gaoyao, those who were not men of humane spirit were kept at a distance.⁴¹ Influence on men rests in virtue, it is not a matter of punishments."

Wang Chang was most impressed by these words, and he changed the manner of his government to one of respect and tolerance. His influence spread very wide.

[Yx8: 165]

W In the eighth month on the day *wuchen* [28 Sep] it was ordered for the first time that those people in the commanderies and kingdoms who owned farmland should pay a tax in cash on each mu at the time of the harvest.⁴²

In the ninth month on the day *dingwei* [6 Nov] there was an earthquake in the capital district.⁴³

In the winter, in the tenth month the Minister of Works Zhou Jing left office. The Grand Master of Ceremonies Liu Mao was appointed Minister of Works. Liu Mao was a son of Liu Kai.⁴⁴

X The Gentleman of the Palace Dou Wu, a great-great grandson of Dou Rong, had a daughter who became an Honoured Lady.⁴⁵

The Chosen Lady Tian Sheng was favoured by the Emperor, and he intended to establish her as his Empress.⁴⁶ The Colonel Director of Retainers Ying Feng sent in a letter, "The importance of the empress-mother is so great that the prosperity or failure [of the dynasty] must depend upon her.⁴⁷ When Han established Flying Swallow [Zhao Feiyan] the succession and the sacrifices were broken and ended.⁴⁸ We should be thinking of the qualities that the Guanju Ode requires,⁴⁹ and we must avoid the dangers named in the Five Prohibitions.⁵⁰

The Grand Commandant Chen Fan also argued that the Tian family was humble and insignificant, while the Dou were a good family,⁵¹ and he supported them extremely strongly.

The Emperor had thus no alternative, and on the day *xinsi* [10 Dec] the Honoured Lady Dou was established as Empress. Dou Wu was appointed Specially Advanced and Colonel of the City Gates, and he was enfeoffed as Marquis of Huaili.⁵²

Y In the eleventh month on the day *renzi* [10 Jan 166] there was a fire in the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates.⁵³

Z On several occasions, Chen Fan described how Li Ying, Feng Gun and Liu You had been wrongly treated, and he asked that they should be pardoned, given noble rank and high office. He repeated this arguments again and again, his words were most earnest and sincere, and he even shed tears, but the Emperor would not approve.

AA Ying Feng sent in a letter, saying, "Now, loyal and worthy military commanders are the backbone of the state. When I consider the cases of Feng Gun, Liu You and Li Ying,⁵⁴ who are currently convicts on reduced punishment under the Enclosure of the Left, [then I find that] they have punished or sent in reports on wicked ministers, and in all cases they have acted according to the law. Your majesty, however, has failed to make a full investigation, and you have been influenced by slander, and so it has come about that loyal subjects have shared the penalty of those who are true evil-doers. Spring has passed through to winter, and they have still not received your mercy. Near and far, all people look and listen to learn of their fate, and they are anxious and concerned on their behalf.

"The most important thing in setting up government is to record men's good work and to be forgetful of their faults. It is in this tradition that Emperor Wu brought Han Anguo from his convict status,⁵⁵ and Emperor Xuan summoned Zhang Chang from his position as a fugitive.⁵⁶

"In former times, Feng Gun defeated the barbarians of Jing province, and his merit is comparable to that of [Yin] Jifu.⁵⁷ Liu You has several times held responsibility, and he is known for his steadfast determination. Li Ying has shown authority in You and Bing provinces, and benevolence in the Trans-Liao command.⁵⁸

"Yet now these three frontiers are still unsettled, and the imperial sway remains insecure. I beg that you give them pardon, and use their services as they are needed."

The letter was memorialised, and all three were released from their punishments.

[Yx8: 165]

Some time later, Li Ying was again appointed as Colonel Director of Retainers.⁵⁹

At that time Zhang Shuo, younger brother of the Junior Attendant of the Yellow Gates Zhang Rang, was Prefect of Yewang. He was greedy and cruel and completely immoral, but he feared Li Ying's strict authority, and so he fled back to the capital and hid in a secret chamber within Zhang Rang's

house. Li Ying found out about this, and he led his men to break the place down, seize Zhang Shuo, and put him in the Luoyang jail. When all the evidence had been gathered, he was killed.⁶⁰

Zhang Rang brought complaint to the Emperor, and the Emperor summoned Li Ying and reprimanded him for not having asked permission before carrying out the execution. Li Ying replied, "In ancient times, when Zhongni was Director against Brigands in Lu, after seven days he executed Shaozheng Mao.⁶¹ I have been in this post for ten days already, and privately I was rather worried that I might be held at fault for the delay. I hardly expected that I would be criticised for acting too quickly against a criminal.

1785 "Now that I know I shall be blamed in this way, I realise that I face instant death. I ask only five days more, to destroy and eliminate the sources of evil. Then I can readily accept even the punishment of being boiled alive. This is my life's desire."

The Emperor made no further reply, but turned to Zhang Rang and said, "Your brother was a criminal. What did the Director of Retainers do that was wrong?" And he sent him away.

As a result of this incident, all the officials of the Yellow Gates and the Regular Attendants were cowed and quiet, and they did not dare go outside the palace precincts except on official business.⁶² When the Emperor asked them the reason, they would kowtow and say, "We are afraid of Colonel Li."

There was turmoil in the court every day at this time, and law and order were poorly maintained. Li Ying, however, retained his composure and his high sense of proper administration and integrity. Such was his fame, that those gentlemen who were received and interviewed by him were described as having "climbed the Dragon Gates."⁶³

[Yx8: 165]

BB Liu Kuan, Chancellor of Donghai, was appointed Prefect of the Masters of Writing. Kuan was the son of Liu Qi.⁶⁴ He had held office in three commanderies, he was warm and generous and kind to everyone, and even though he might be startled or put out he never spoke angrily or showed his concern. If one of his officers or one of the people did something wrong, he would use only a whip made of rushes to punish them, just to show the disgrace, and he would never inflict real pain. Whenever he saw an old man, he would chat with him about the affairs of farming and the village. When he met young men, he would give them good advice about filial piety and

the respect owed to elder brothers. All the people were pleased and affected by his example.

Notes to Yanxi 8: 165

A *HHS* 7, 313 (12a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

1 The biography of the sage Laozi, legendary author of the philosophical Taoist classic *Daode jing* is in *SJ* 63, 2139–43, where we are told that he was a man from Hu in the state of Chu, that his surname was Li and his personal name Er.

In Later Han times, Hu county was in Chen kingdom, near present-day Luyi in Henan, some 250 kilometres southeast of Luoyang: *HHSJJ* 110/20, 16a–b. On pronunciation, I follow the commentary of Li Xian to *HHS* 7.

A temple to Laozi had been erected at the accepted site of the sage's birthplace in Hu county at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Huan, when the minority government was under the control of the Liang family. The ceremony at this time evidently represents a personal interest, revived by Emperor Huan himself.

In the eleventh month of this same year, (being January 166 according to the Western calendar), the Regular Palace Attendant Guan Ba was sent on another visit to pay respects at Hu county, and on this occasion it is probable that the celebrated Laozi ming stele was erected. The second visit, however, is not mentioned in *ZZTJ* below.

On the ceremonial, and some aspects of the political and religious background, see Seidel, *La Divinisation de Lao tseu*, 36–43, de Crespigny, "The Harem of Emperor Huan," 34–42, and "Politics and Philosophy," 72–80.

[Yx8: 165]

B *HHS* 64/54, 2109 (6b–8a), the Biography of Shi Bi; and *HHJ* 22, 7b–8a.

2 Liu Kui was the younger brother of Emperor Huan. He had succeeded to the marquisate of Liwu, vacated by the Emperor when he came to the throne, but he was made King of Bohai in 147, to maintain the lineage of Liu Kang, son of Emperor Zhang, whose grandson Liu Hong had been King of Bohai but had died without heirs. There is a short biography of Liu Kui in *HHS* 55/45, 1798.

3 Yang Sheng was a counsellor of Liu Wu, King of Liang, second brother of Emperor Jing of Former Han. He encouraged Liu Wu to seek to be made heir-apparent, and assassins were sent against ministers of Han who opposed the project. Yang Sheng and his colleagues were found out and compelled to commit suicide. See *SJ* 58, 2085, *SJ* 108, 2859–60, *HS* 47, 2208–10, *HS* 52, 2396–97.

Wu Bei was a minister of Liu An, King of Huainan, who took part in the plans of his king to revolt against Han in the time of Emperor Wu. The plot was discovered, the king committed suicide, and Wu Bei was executed. See *SJ* 118, 3085–94; Watson, *RGH* II, 372–387; *HS* 44, 2149–52, *HS* 45, 2167–74.

Both these kings had some expectations that they might be named heirs to the imperial throne, and it was this misplaced and mistaken ambition which encouraged them on the fatal path of revolt. At this time, Emperor Huan also had no sons, and Liu Kui was thus his nearest male relative.

4 The Chancellor was the effective head of administration in a royal fief, with status and powers equivalent to those of a Grand Administrator in a commandery; he was not the subject of the nominal ruler: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 106–107.

A Tutor in a kingdom performed essentially an honorary role, but he was theoretically appointed as the moral guardian of the ruler. Like the other members of the personal and senior administrative staff of the kingdoms under Later Han, he was appointed directly by the central government: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 107.

5 *Zuo zhuan*, Yin 1; Legge, *CC V*, 5–6 (Couvreur, *Chronique I*, 4–7) tells how the mother of Duke Zhuang of Zheng persuaded him to grant an important city to her younger son, the duke's brother Duan. One of the duke's counsellors warned him not to allow the situation to develop further; like a creeping vine when it has grown and spread, the danger becomes more and more difficult to eradicate. Eventually, indeed, Duan did set himself up against Duke Zhang, but was defeated and driven into exile.

The phrase *ziman* used by Shi Bi here reflects this anecdote: *zi* indicates abundance, flourishing, and hence action and disturbance; *man* is the creeping of a plant.

6 There are some curious aspects of this memorial, which is, apart from the king's biography in *HHS* 55/45 (see note 2 above), the only significant source of information about Liu Kui.

Shi Bi's biography, which is followed by *ZZTJ*, says that he gave his comments while he was at the capital, in a comparatively low-ranking post, primarily concerned with the good order of the Northern Army, the five regiments of professional troops maintained as a strategic reserve at the capital: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 118, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 45–46. It is hard to imagine that Shi Bi had adequate information at that time, and it would have been quite inappropriate for him to have criticised the Emperor's brother in such fashion.

In fact, it is fairly clear that Shi Bi must have sent in the report after he had been appointed Chancellor of Pingyuan commandery, a position he held at the time of the First Faction Incident in 166–167 (passage M of Yongkang 1): Pingyuan was in Qing province, while Bohai was in Ji province, but the two districts bordered one another in the region of the mouth of the Yellow River north of the Shandong peninsula.

After his appointment to Pingyuan, though the criticism of a neighbouring administration and court might still have needed justification, Shi Bi could at least have claimed he was acting from a sense of public responsibility.

HHJ 22 dates the memorial of Shi Bi to Yanxi 7, the year before the degradation of Liu Kui recorded below – this seems quite likely.

Nothing is known about the actual form Liu Kui's later "rebellion" or insubordination is supposed to have taken. He was reinstated less than three years later, just before Emperor Huan's death, but the scandal obviously removed any possibility that he might succeed to the imperial throne, and this was a matter of considerable advantage to the Dou family of the future Empress-Dowager and her relatives. (See passage T and notes 29 and 31 to Yongkang 1.) Regardless of Shi Bi's comments, it seems possible that the accusation was trumped up: and it may be that Shi Bi's criticism was in fact part of a larger design.

7 Yingtao was the capital of Julu commandery in Ji province, near present-day Baixiang in Hebei, more than a hundred kilometres from Bohai.

HHS 7, 313, dates the demotion to the first month of Yanxi 8.

C *HHS* 7, 314 (12a–b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.
8 *HHS* 108/18, 3369, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records that the eclipse took place in the *Yingshi* constellation, also known as the Shi lunar mansion, being a part of Western Pegasus about the two chief stars of that constellation (Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 99 and Star Map 5). The eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3291.

The Treatise notes that the *Yingshi* constellation represents the chief among women, and that the death of the Empress Lü in 180 BC was foretold by an eclipse in the same constellation: on that eclipse of 4 March 181 BC, being Oppolzer 2441, see *HS* 27Bc, 1501; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 212–213 and 199. The Treatise duly relates this eclipse to the deposition and death of the Empress Deng, which took place less than four weeks later (passage G below).

9 *HHS* 7 indicates that this edict was issued in response to the omen of the eclipse, which was not an uncommon procedure: see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 133. It is uncertain whether one set of candidates was recommended as Capable and Good (*xianliang*) and the other as Sincere and Upright (*fangzheng*), both of which titles could be allocated separately, or whether they were in this instance combined (*cf.* note 25 below). Similarly, among the recommending officers, it is difficult to judge who were designated by the term "colonels" (*xiaowe*): it seems likely to have included the colonels of the regiments of the Northern Army, and perhaps also the Colonel Director of Retainers, possibly the Colonel of the City Gates, but probably not the Colonel Protector of the Qiang.

10 *HHS* 7, and the parallel passage in *HHS* 104/14, 3296, the Treatise of the Five Powers, both give this event as taking place on the day *jiyou*. The Treatise mentions the second month specifically, and although it is not mentioned in *HHS* 7, it must be assumed from the reference to the eclipse taking place on the last day of the month before [the first month].

The Annals say that a yellow dragon (*huang long*) appeared in an office of the Hall of Excellent Virtue (*Jade shu*) of the Southern Palace. The Treatise says that there were fires in the Hall of Excellent Virtue and also in the Hall of the Yellow Dragon and in the Hall of a Thousand Autumns and the Hall of a Myriad Years in the Southern Palace. It seems likely that the Treatise is correct, that there was a hall called "Yellow Dragon," and that the character in *HHS* 7 is a mistaken interpolation. *HHS* 107/17, 3344, being the relevant section of the Treatise on the Five Powers, records the appearance of a dead dragon at Yewang in Yanxi 7, but has no reference to a yellow dragon at the palace in the following year. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 25, 27 and 33.

The Treatise records a number of fires in the imperial palace at this time, but does not relate them to any particular political event. They were presumably taken as signs of general unrest and potential misfortune.

[Yx8: 165]

D *HHS* 54/44, 1773–74 (11a–12a), the Biography of Yang Bing; and *HHJ* 22,6a–b.

11 The main edition of *ZZTJ* here describes Hou Can as the elder brother (of Hou Lan, but another version has him as a younger brother. Yang Bing's memorial, below, and the text of *HHS* 54/44 confirm that he was a younger brother.

12 *Zuo zhuan*, Wen 18; Legge, *CCV*, 281 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 546–547), tells how Duke Yi of Qi, before he came to power, had a dispute about some land with a man of the Bing

surname, but got the worst of it. Later, after his accession, his opponent was dead, but the duke then had his grave opened up and desecrated the corpse by cutting off its feet. He nevertheless employed Bing Chu, the son of his late enemy, as his charioteer.

Again, he took the wife of Yan Zhi for himself, but he used Yan Zhi as number three man in his chariot.

Predictably, the two men whom the duke had wronged plotted against him, and they killed him during a bathing party, leaving his body in a grove of bamboo.

13 The Masters of Writing, the imperial secretariat, evidently held the authority to check the content of documents, and when there was suspicion of lese-majesty, discourtesy or some improper expression of opinion, they made the first investigation, sometimes by an oral interrogation, with the opportunity for the examinee to justify himself.

For another such case, one may note the discussion concerning the memorials submitted by Xiang Kai in the following year (passage S of Yanxi 9).

14 It seems most probable that the Masters of Writing are referring to the principle from the beginning of Former Han, when it appears that the Imperial Chancellor (*chengxiang*) was responsible for general administration, and the Imperial Counsellor (*yushi dafu*: Bielenstein: "Grandee Secretary") was charged with the overview of the imperial officials themselves. See de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 43, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 9. The situation, however, had developed considerably since that time, and it would seem that in general terms the Masters of Writing were relying on a very vague precedent.

It is the next sentence, accusing Yang Bing of interference in the affairs of the personal staff of the ruler, that presents the critical point of the debate.

15 *Zuo zhuan*, Xi 24; Legge, *CCV*, 191 (Couvreux, *Chronique I*, 351–352), tells how Chong'er, Duke Wen of Jin, eventually came to power in that state in 635 BC. The chief eunuch Pei came to see him, but the duke at first refused audience, accusing Pei of two earlier attempts to assassinate him, at the behest of his father and his brother, who had held power before him. Pei, however, replied in these terms, that he gave his loyalty entirely to his ruler, and thought of no-one else. Now that Chong'er was his ruler, his loyalty went to him. And he went on, to warn Chong'er of a plot against his life: the new duke escaped as a result of Pei's warning.

16 Deng Tong was a personal favourite of Emperor Wen of Former Han, who rose to high rank under the imperial patronage and also became immensely wealthy through his control of the minting of copper coinage.

There was one occasion, however, that the Imperial Chancellor Shentu Jia attended court and found Deng Tong sitting beside the Emperor and acting in a most disrespectful manner. Shentu Jia remarked that although Emperor Wen was entitled to favour whomsoever he wished, and grant them such rank and wealth as he pleased, when it came to a matter of court ceremonial this was a question of the dignified tradition of the dynasty, handed down from the founding Emperor Gaozu. He therefore summoned Deng Tong to the Chancellor's offices, accused him of "Great Iniquity"/nefas (*da bujing*: see note 66 to Yanxi 2), and was prepared to execute him. Deng Tong was only rescued by personal order of the Emperor, and Emperor Wen apologised on his behalf, explaining that Deng Tong was a foolish fellow, and it was appropriate for Shentu Jia to show him mercy.

There are biographies of Deng Tong in *SJ* 125, 3192–93, and *HS* 93, 3722–24. The biographies of Shentu Jia, which contain an account of the incident with Deng Tong, are in *SJ* 96, 2682–85, and *HS* 42, 2100–02.

[*Yx8: 165*]

E *HHS* 78/68, 2522 (11b), the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

17 The character *yin* "following" comes directly from the text of *HHS* 78/68; the actions of Han Yan, however, are not attributed there to the success of Yang Bing's accusation against Hou Lan, but rather to the death of the eunuchs Xu Huang and Tang Heng in the previous year (passage S of Yanxi 7).

HHS 102/12, 3256–57, the Treatise of Astronomy, relates the overthrow of the Zuo brothers to a series of planetary movements in Yanxi 7.

It is not possible to say in which county Zuo Cheng held his fief of Nan "Southern" District (Nanxiang). It is unlikely to have been the same as that which had been awarded to Deng Wanshi in 159 (passage RR of Yanxi 2).

18 Zuo Guan came from Henan commandery, so his native province was the capital province of Sili, under the Colonel Director of Retainers (*HHS* 78/68, 2520).

19 Liu Pu and other eunuchs had been enfeoffed as marquises of districts in reward for their assistance to the Emperor at the time of the coup against Liang Ji in 159 (passage DD of Yanxi 2).

[*Yx8: 165*]

F *HHS* 57/47, 1858 (14a), the Biography of Yin Xun.

20 Yin Xun was Prefect of the Masters of Writing and assisted at the time of the coup against Liang Ji. He and six other men were then made marquises of villages (passage Q of Yanxi 2).

[*Yx8: 165*]

G *HHS* 10B, 445 (7a), the Biography of the Empress Deng; and *HHS* 7, 314 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

21 The Drying House (*Pu shi* or possibly *Bao shi*) was the harem hospital, but served also a place of imprisonment for an empress or high-ranking concubines when they fell from favour or committed some crime (*HHS* 106/26, 3595, the Treatise of Officials).

The Drying House was also known as the Tong-Wood Palace (Tong gong), and was perhaps incorporated with a larger complex of prison buildings, the Prison of the Lateral Courts (*Yiting yu*). See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 53–54.

Goodrich, "An Empress of the Later Han" II, 201–202 note 27, has a considerable discussion of the name of this institution, which was sometimes known as *Bo shi*, and which was perhaps originally associated with the processing of silk and in particular with its drying in the sun (see the commentary of Ying Shao and Yan Shigu to *HS* 8, 236 note 3 at 237). It seems possible, as Goodrich suggests, that the concept of heat may have been associated with punishment and exorcism, rather than simply of drying silk, as Yan Shigu explains.

During Later Han, three deposed empresses died in the Drying House: the Empress Yin of Emperor He (*HHS* 10A, 417); the Empress Deng of Emperor Huan, on the present occasion, and the Empress Song of Emperor Ling (passage G of Guanghe 1 below, and see also Goodrich op. cit.). Each of the three soon afterwards "died of grief" (*yi you si*). It may

well be, as Bielenstein suggests, that the phrase is a euphemism for suicide or even an enforced death.

[Yx8: 165]

H *HHS* 7, 314, (12b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

[Yx8: 165]

I *HHS* 67/57, 2192 (7b), the Biography of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

22 Wanling county was the capital of Danyang commandery, south of the Yangzi near present-day Nanjing. Li Ying's accusation, therefore, was being made on the grounds of public interest rather than as a necessary part of the duties of his office.

The appointment of Li Ying as Intendant of Henan during this period, and the dating of this specific incident with Yang Yuanqun, present some problems of chronology.

According to Li Ying's biography, he was appointed Intendant of Henan in Yanxi 2: 159, and the biography gives no further account until the trouble with Yang Yuanqun, when Li Ying was dismissed and imprisoned. The impression is that he continued as Intendant of Henan for several years after 159; and indeed we have seen, in note 21 to Yanxi 7, that Li Ying is described as Intendant of Henan about 163 or 164.

However, the biography of Liu You, *HHS* 67/57, 2199, says that he became Prefect of the Masters of Writing in Yanxi 4: 161, then Intendant of Henan and later Colonel Director of Retainers. After several more appointments, he became Grand Minister of Agriculture, in which post he was involved with the eunuchs Su Kang and Guan Ba, as described in passage L immediately below. Liu You must therefore have become Intendant of Henan sometime about Yanxi 5: 162.

Moreover, we have just seen in passage G above that Deng Wanshi had been Intendant of Henan until his imprisonment and execution earlier this year.

It is possible that the Yang Yuanqun affair actually took place some three years earlier, and it was at that time Li Ying was dismissed and jailed, and he then languished in convict service. It would be surprising, however, if such a case had not attracted political attention at an earlier stage, and it therefore seems more likely that Li Ying had left the position of Intendant of Henan, and was re-appointed after the fall of Deng Wanshi. We do not know what he was doing in the interim.

One may note here also that *HHS* 67/57, 2187, in the general history of the Proscribed Faction, says that the First Proscription was sparked off by the attack of Li Ying, as Intendant of Henan, against the necromancer Zhang Cheng and his son (passage Y to Yanxi 9). The biography of Li Ying, at *HHS* 67/57, 2195, indicates that he was then Colonel Director of Retainers. One has the impression that Li Ying was strongly associated with the office of Intendant of Henan at that time; he may have held it on several occasions, but not every reference is necessarily accurate.

For further discussion on this matter, see note 59 below.

[Yx8: 165]

K *HHS* 38/28, 1284 (7b), the Biography of Feng Gun.

[Yx8: 165]

L *HHS* 67/57, 2199 (12b), the Biography of Liu You.

[Yx8: 165]

M *HHS* 7, 314 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

23 The Anling "Mound of Peacefulness" tomb lay northwest of Chang'an, across the Wei River, and gave its name to a county in Youfufeng (*Sanfu huangtu* 6, 52, and *HHS* 109/19, 3406).

[*Yx8: 165*]

N *HHS* 7, 314 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Huan;
and *HHS* 76/66, 2470 (9a), the Biography of Wang Huan.

24 Wang Huan had been Prefect of Luoyang from 103 to his death in 105. His biography is included in the Chapter on the Lenient Officials, and he was evidently extremely popular with the people, who escorted his funeral, and established a temple to him at Anyang village. His popularity was recognised by an edict of the Empress-Dowager Deng in 108, which also appointed his son as a Gentleman of the Palace, the first step to an official career.

The Biography of Zhuo Mao is in *HHS* 25/15, 869–73. He became Grand Tutor to Emperor Guangwu at the time of the restoration, and died in 28.

The cult of Wang Huan was very likely exempted because of its popularity in the region of the capital, and that of Zhuo Mao, which was at Mi county in Henan, near the city of the same name in present-day Henan, about 100 kilometres east of Luoyang, may have been maintained on account of the close association with the foundation of Later Han.

HHS 76/66 associates this decree with the interest of Emperor Huan in the worship of Laozi/Huang-Lao. It is difficult to assess how effective the prohibition was in the further regions of the empire, and it certainly appears to have ceased to be enforced after the death of Emperor Huan. *HHS* 65/55, 2143–44, for example, says that the general Zhang Huan, when he was Grand Administrator of Wuwei about 164, had a number of temples erected in his honour. These should have been affected by the present edict, but the same text also tells us that later the worship was maintained for several generations without interruption.

See also, de Crespigny, "Politics and Philosophy," 78–79, and Stein, "Religious Taoism and Popular Religion," 78–80, who gives examples of other local temples and of their opposition and suppression both by orthodox Confucianists and by Taoists.

[*Yx8: 165*]

O *HHS* 7, 314 (13a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

[*Yx8: 165*]

P *HHS* 54/44, 1775 (12a), the Biography of Yang Bing.

[*Yx8: 165*]

Q *HHS* 57/47, 1855–57 (12a–13b), the Biography of Liu Yu.

25 *HHS* 57/47, says that Liu Yu was recommended as Capable and Good, Sincere and Upright in Yanxi 8, but *ZZTJ* here describes him only as a Capable and Good candidate. The nomination had taken place in the first month of this year: passage C and note 9 above.

It was customary, when a candidate received such a special nomination as this, that he came to the capital and submitted a general statement on the affairs of government.

26 "Officials of the palace" refers to the eunuchs, many of whom had been enfeoffed at this time by Emperor Huan. In 135, moreover, in the time of Emperor Shun, eunuchs had been given permission to adopt sons in order to maintain hereditary fiefs: *HHS* 6, 264, and *HHS* 78/68, 2518.

27 This is a close echo of the words of Confucius, from *Lun yu* XV.10.6; Legge, *CCI*, 298 (Lau, *Analects*, 133–135):

Banish the songs of [Zheng], and keep far from specious talkers. The songs of [Zheng] are licentious; specious talkers are dangerous.

Li ji 20A.6; Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies* II, 49, remarks that the tunes of Zheng and Wey are those of a time of disorder.

The odes of Zheng are the seventh collection of the *Guo feng* section of *Shi jing*, and include some charming "licentious" verses. See, for example, Legge, *CC* IV, 126–127, 140 and 146–149; Karlgren, *Odes*, 76 at 51; 87 at 57; 93, 94 and 95 at 61–62. The Odes of Wey are in the fifth collection: Legge, *CC* IV, 91–109; Karlgren, *Odes*, 55 at 36–37 to 64 at 44.

- 28 Commentary to *HHS* notes that this echoes a text from the apocryphal work *Xiaojing yuanshen qi* "Divination Assisted by the Spirits from the Classic of Filial Piety [?]"

[Yx8: 165]

- R *HHS* 56/46, 1831–32 (13a), the Biography of Chen Qiu; and *HHS* 38/28, 1286–87 (9a–10b), the Biography of Du Shang; and *HHS* 7, 315 (13a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

- 29 The tiger tally (*hufu*) gave authority to a Grand Administrator or Chancellor to raise and command troops. It was a traditional symbol in ancient China, and in 178 BC Emperor Wen had formally established a system of bronze or copper (*tong*) tallies formed in the shape of a tiger: the figure was cast in two halves, identified by lugs on the inner surface where it joined. When an appointment was made, one part was given to the officer concerned, while the other half was kept in the capital. See *SJ* 10, 424; Chavannes, *MH* II, 465–467, *HS* 4, 118; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 245, with the commentaries and notes to those texts.

Tiger tallies were very likely part of the regular insignia of a Grand Administrator or Chancellor, but we may note that Chen Qiu's biography says that he had been appointed to Lingling commandery particularly to deal with banditry in that region: *HHS* 56/46, 1831.

- 30 After his victory over the rebels in Jing province (passage N of Yanxi 7), Du Shang had been briefly appointed as Grand Administrator of Guiyang; Ren You had evidently succeeded him.

- 31 The biography of Du Shang, *HHS* 38/28, 1286, gives more and better detail of the troops and commanders called up for this campaign than does *ZZTJ*.

Generals of the Gentlemen of the Household were normally officials in charge of one of the contingents of formal guards at the capital, but this appointment was obviously for a military commander on active campaign. A similar title had lately been given to Huangfu Gui for operations against the Qiang in 161 (passage H and note 23 to Yanxi 4).

ZZTJ suggests that Du Shang used only the military levies of Jing province, but *HHS* 38/28 tells us that he in fact held command of troops from You and Ji provinces, from the encampment at Liyang, and from Wuhuan auxiliaries. After he arrived in Jing province, he combined these forces with others raised locally by the Grand Administrator of Changsha, Kang Xu, and his colleagues.

On the Wuhuan auxiliaries, recruited from the non-Chinese people of the northeast, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 387– 389. On the encampment at Liyang, a base and training ground for the regular army, situated just north of the Yellow River in Wei commandery, near present-day Xunxian in Henan, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 50 and 253, also Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 118–119. Du Shang was therefore commanding a

major army, drawn from widespread regions of the empire, and he was given a military title commensurate with that responsibility.

32 Formally speaking, this re-appointment of Du Shang as Inspector represented a loss of rank, for a Grand Administrator was far higher in than an Inspector, and the special commission as General of the Gentleman of the Household was obviously important. The position of Inspector, however, gave Du Shang authority over all the local troops of Jing province, and it therefore continued his general military authority for dealing with the rebellion, albeit on a slightly restricted scale and with lesser authority.

33 Cangwu commandery was in the province of Jiaozi. It occupied the greater part of the lower reaches of the Xi Jiang/West River in the northeast of present-day Guangxi about the city of Wuzhou, and extended north into the Nan Ling to the southern borders of present-day Hunan province. It was thus a major communications route to the south.

34 As the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang points out, there is a considerable question about this amnesty. According to the Annals, there were amnesties about this time only in Yanxi 6:163 (*HHS* 7, 311) and then in Yongkang 1: 167 (*HHS* 7, 319); the chronology of the rebellion in Jing province, however, makes it clear that this dispute between Du Shang and Zhang Pan must have taken place at this time, in Yanxi 8: 164.

It seems most unlikely that a general amnesty was issued, but unchronicled anywhere but in this one anecdote. More probably, Zhang Pan was offered some special pardon, which he then refused in the terms described below.

[Yx8: 165]

S *HHS* 7, 315 (13a–b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

35 There is a good deal of confusion about this entry.

Firstly, the event is chronicled both in *ZZTJ* and in *HHS* 7 as taking place in the intercalary month, and the month mentioned next before is the fifth month. Xue and Ouyang, *Calendar*, 33, however, indicate the intercalary month as following the seventh month, and Xu Shaozhen, 2030b, agrees. (It seems, moreover, that there should be interpolated a date for the sixth month in the annals for this year: see also the editorial notes to *HHS* 7, 324). I suspect the item has become misplaced in *HHS* annals, and I accept the calculations of Xue and Ouyang.

Secondly, the entry in *ZZTJ* is notably shorter than that of *HHS* annals and that of *HHS* 104/14, 3296, the Treatise of the Five Powers. As it stands in *ZZTJ*, the fire is described as affecting the office of Northern Tranquillity in the Southern Palace: however, the Major of Northern Tranquillity was in charge of the northern gate of the Northern Palace (*HHS* 15/25, 3580; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 33, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 34).

In the fuller account of this portent, however, it appears that a number of different buildings were affected by fire at the same time, notably the apartments of Prolonged Autumn (*Changqiu*) in the Southern Palace, which were the quarters of the empress (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 69, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 39).

In abbreviating the *HHS* account, therefore, it appears that Sima Guang mistakenly retained the designation "Southern Palace," and when he omitted the names of buildings which followed, it remained to be applied wrongly to the office of Northern Tranquillity.

[Yx8: 165]

T *HHS* 65/55, 2147 (13b–14a), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

36 The term *luo* is frequently used at this time as a numerator for nomad peoples. I have suggested (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 179), that it may be equated to the *ayil*, or "campfire" among the Mongols, being effectively a family unit.

[Yx8: 165]

U *HHS* 66/56, 2163 (4a–b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

[Yx8: 165]

V *HHS* 56/46, 1823–24 (7a–8b), the Biography of Wang Chang.

37 The Biography of Wang Gong is in *HHS* 56/46, 1819–22, immediately before that of his son Wang Chang. He came from a great family in Shanyang commandery, and rose to become Grand Commandant in the time of Emperor Shun. He was at one time threatened by a conspiracy of the palace eunuchs, but was rescued by the intervention of the General-in-Chief Liang Shang, urged to do so by a most eloquent appeal from his aide Li Gu.

38 Wen Weng was a scholar who became Grand Administrator of Shu commandery in the time of Emperor Jing of Former Han in the second century BC. He was celebrated for his encouragement of learning and his foundation of government schools. His biography is in *HS* 89, 3625–27, the Chapter on the Lenient Officials.

Shaofu "Father Shao" describes Shao Xinchun, a scholar and official of the late first century BC, celebrated for his administration of Nanyang commandery. His biography is also in *HS* 89, 3641–43. On the pronunciation of his surname, see the commentary of Hu Sanxing, following Yan Shigu.

On Zhuo Mao, see note 24 above. Before he joined the court of Emperor Guangwu, he had been known for his gentle administration of Mi county under the government of Wang Mang.

All three of these men had local temples established in their honour.

39 The phrase *houdian* here refers to the traditional division of the ancient empires into concentric regions about the capital.

The *Yu gong* "The Tribute of Yu" Chapter of *Shu jing* III.1B, 8 and 9; Legge, *CC* III, 142–144 and notes following, describes the "imperial domain" (*dian fu*) as the region five hundred *li* about the capital, and the "domain of the nobles" (*hou fu*) as the five hundred *li* beyond. See also Karlgren, *Documents*, 18.

The *Yu gong* system had five rings. However, *Zhou li* 7 (29), 11b; Biot, *Rites* II, 167–168, and *Zhou li* 8 (33), 27b–28a; Biot, *Rites* II, 276, describes a nine-ring system (with the units named either *ji* or *fu*); the second region was called *hou* and the third was called *dian*.

Though the systems do not agree whether *dian* describes the innermost region or the next ring out from *hou*, the phrase *houdian* may be taken as a general term for the territory close about the imperial capital.

40 On Zhangling and Xinye see note 36 to Yanxi 7.

The three empresses born at Xinye were the Lady Yin, wife of Emperor Guangwu (*HHS* 10A, 405), the Lady Yin, wife of Emperor He (*HHS* 10A, 417), and the Lady Deng, wife of Emperor He and later regent Empress–Dowager (*HHS* 16/6, 599, and *HHS* 10A, 419).

41 This is a direct quotation from *Lun yu* XII.22; Legge, *CC* I, 261 (Lau, *Analects*, 116–117), being a commentary by the disciple Zixia on the teachings of Confucius about the importance of employing honest men as a means to encourage crooked men to virtue.

Gaoyao was appointed Minister against Crime (*zuoshi*) by Emperor Shun: see the *Shun dian* "The Canon of Shun" Chapter of *Shu jing* II.I, 20; Legge, *CC* III, 44–45; Karlgren, *Documents*, 7.

[Yx8: 165]

W *HHS* 7, 315 (13b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

42 It would appear that this levy by Emperor Huan was exceptional, applying only for the one year. In 185 the eunuchs Zhang Rang and Zhao Zhong urged Emperor Ling to demand a similar impost, to fund the rebuilding of the Southern Palace which had been damaged by fire (passage B of Zhongping 2). *JS* 26, 781; Yang, "Economic History," 156, in particular, refers to the levy of 185 as being made "again" (*fu*), and Yang's note 52 identifies the previous instance as this demand by Emperor Huan.

HHS commentary to this passage states that the levy was ten cash to the *mu*. The commentary of Hu Sanxing observes that the statement is based upon the levy of 185, and he argues that the rate on the two occasions need not have been the same; the important thing was the precedent that was set. It may well be, however, that the rate on the second occasion was adopted from the first.

We have observed that there had been a considerable fire in the two palaces some months earlier, though the item in *ZZTJ* does not describe their full extent (passage C and note 10 above). At the same time, Emperor Huan is known to have had a large harem, and he was criticised for his costly building program: *e.g.* by Liu Yu in passage Q above. It seems possible that Emperor Huan, like Emperor Ling his successor, intended the money to support his building program.

On the traditional tax system of Han, which was based on the low rate of one-thirtieth of the assessed yield of land, according to acreage and quality, but which also included a property tax, a poll tax and regular corvée or military service or scutage, see Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 16 and 72–77.

43 This portent is also recorded in the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 104/14, 3331, though without any specific prognostication.

44 The Biography of Liu Kai is in *HHS* 39/29, 1306–10. The family was of distinguished lineage, descended from Emperor Xuan of Former Han, and had been kings of Chu until the time of Wang Mang. Liu Kai himself became Grand Commandant in the time of Emperor An. Liu Mao was his youngest son, and has a supplementary biography immediately following that of his father.

[Yx8: 165]

X *HHS* 69/59, 2239 (1a), the Biography of Dou Wu;
and *HHS* 48/38, 1608 (8b–9a), the Biography of Ying Feng;
and *HHS* 66/56, 2169 (8a), the Biography of Chen Fan.

45 Honoured Lady (*guiren*) was the rank of concubine immediately below the Empress. The Lady Dou was selected into the harem in this year, and was promptly raised to that rank: *HHS* 10B, 445. Dou Wu's appointment as a Gentleman followed this success of his daughter.

46 Chosen Concubine (*cainu*) was the lowest rank of the Later Han harem system, below that of the Empress, the Honoured Ladies and the Beauties (*meiren*). See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 74.

47 The phrase "empress-mother" (*muhou*) may be taken here to refer to the position of an empress as the mother of the people in the same analogy as an emperor was regarded as the father of his people. In formal terms, however, the empress was also regarded as the mother of all the imperial children, and an empress-dowager was considered to be the mother of the successor to the throne.

48 The Biography of Zhao Feiyan is in *HS* 97B, 3988-99. (Feiyan is a soubriquet rendered as "flying swallow" in reference to her grace as a dancer).

From the position of a palace servant, the Lady Zhao was raised by Emperor Cheng to be his Empress, and her younger sister later became still more attractive to him and was appointed Brilliant Companion (*zhaoyi*), the highest rank of concubine under the Former Han system.

Under the influence of these women, particularly through the jealousy of the Brilliant Companion, Emperor Cheng murdered two of his own children by other women. His successor, Emperor Ai, grandson of Emperor Yuan and a half-nephew of Emperor Cheng, also had no surviving children.

On this celebrated case see Wilbur, *Slavery*, 424-432, and Dubs, *HFHD* II, 369-372.

49 The *Guanju* Ode is the first of *Shi jing*; Legge, *CC* IV, 1-4 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 1 at 2), describing the love of a prince for "the modest, retiring, virtuous young lady."

50 *Bohu tong* 9, 15a; Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 260, lists five types of women who should not be married: a woman of unruly family; a woman of licentious family; a woman from a family which has convicts in it; a woman suffering from an incurable disease; a woman of full age who is in mourning for the wife of her father.

These five prohibitions (*wu jin* or, more commonly, *wu buqu*) are listed also in *Da Dai li ji* 13, 6a; Wilhelm, *Buch der Sitte*, 247-248, and in *Kongzi jiyu* 6, 12b, which, however, gives the last category as a woman in mourning for her father, not for her father's wife.

The commentary of Hu Sanxing lists these categories, but ascribes the text to *Hanshi waizhuan*; the list does not appear, however, in modern editions of that work.

51 The phrase *liangjia* "good family" is generally understood as indicating people without a criminal background and not engaged in reprehensible professions such as medicine, merchant trade and handcrafts: *e.g.* the commentary of Ru Shun of the third century AD to *HS* 28B, 1644. This was a basic category for such selection as that of women into the imperial harem, troopers of the Feathered Forest regiment of guards, and members of the suite of the heir-apparent: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 63, 28 and 78, who renders the term in this context as "blameless families."

In the present text, however, the expression is surely being used more restrictively, close to the English sense of "good family": *i.e.* of noble rank or gentle birth; it is a positive statement, rather than merely indicating absence of fault. *Cf.* *Guanzi* IX.24, 12a; Rickett, *Guanzi* I, 369, where the phrase is rendered "honorable families."

In contrast, the expression *beiwei* "humble and insignificant," applied to the Tian family, does not necessarily indicate that they were of criminal or reprehensible background, outside the approved category of "blameless families." The phrase *beiwei* appears in *SJ* 6, 283; Chavannes, *MH* II, 232, as a description of the house of Zhou, and the Zhou were evidently regarded as being weak, "affable," rather than criminal. It is true that the Empress Zhao of Emperor Cheng of Han came from servant or even slave background (see note 48

above), but that accusation is not being levied specifically either by Ying Feng or by Chen Fan.

The same argument, that an emperor should choose his consort from a woman of honourable and noble family, may also be seen in the debate which resulted in the accession of the Lady Liang Na, daughter of Liang Shang and sister of Liang Ji, as Empress to Emperor Shun in 132. Hu Guang and other members of the office of the Masters of Writing urged the claims of the Lady Liang on the grounds that she was a woman of "good family."

- 52 The position of Specially Advanced gave additional precedence to a marquis, and also the right to reside at the capital rather than at his formal fief: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 109. Huaili was the capital of Youfufeng commandery, a few kilometres west of Chang'an.

ZZTJ, however, has slightly abbreviated the process of promotion. Dou Wu had remained in his home country as a private scholar until his daughter entered the harem and became an Honoured Lady, when he was made a Gentleman of the Palace, normally a probationary position. When his daughter became Empress, Dou Wu was enfeoffed and was appointed Colonel of the Elite Cavalry, a regiment of the Northern Army. It was not until the winter of the following year, Yanxi 9, that he was made Colonel of the City Gates. See *HHS* 69/59, 2239.

Colonel of the City Gates was a near-ministerial rank (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 83–84), and the appointments granted to Dou Wu are comparable to those held by earlier imperial relatives by marriage. Liang Shang in 132, for example, had been made successively Colonel of the Garrison Cavalry and then Bearer of the Gilded Mace, which was a police position of similar status to the Colonel of the City Gates (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 78–79): *HHS* 34/24, 1175.

[*Yx8: 165*]

Y *HHS* 7, 316 (13b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

- 53 *HHS* 7 says that this outbreak involved also the western side-door (*ge*) of the Hall of Virtuous Light (*Deyang dian*) in the Southern Palace, and that it spread to the Gate of the Supernatural Tiger Extending Righteousness (*Guangyi shenhu men*) of the Northern Palace. People were killed in the blaze. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 39.

HHS 104/14, 3296, the Treatise of the Five Powers, also records this event, but without the reference to the further spread of the fire. The Treatise has no particular prognostication for the portent, but the commentary of Liu Zhao quotes from the *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shansong, which says that at this time there were frequent fires, sometimes breaking out two to three times in the same place on a single day. Chen Fan and his colleagues sent in a letter of criticism drawing attention to this phenomenon, and arguing that only a reform of government could put stop to them. See also an abbreviated citation in commentary to *HHS* 7. There is an apparent reference to the memorial, though without quotation, in the Biography of Chen Fan, *HHS* 66/56, 2164.

- 54 Feng Gun, as we have seen, was in command against the rebels of Jing province (passages I and J of Yanxi 5). He had also been engaged in earlier years against rebels in the southeast, on the north-western frontier, and against the Xianbi in the northeast (*HHS* 38/28, 1281).

Li Ying had been Colonel Protector of the Wuhuan, a post which also entailed responsibility for dealing with the Xianbi (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 383–385 and

298 and 303), and he several times dealt successfully with raids from those people. From 156 to 159 he was General Who Crosses the Liao, involved in operations on the northern and north-western frontier. See *HHS* 67/57, 2191–92.

Liu You's biography, *HHS* 67/57, at 2199, has no record of his military experience. The closest related position that he is known to have held is that of Colonel Director of Retainers, which was rather a police than a military command.

Z *HHS* 66/56, 2163 (4b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

[*Yx8: 165*]

AA *HHS* 67/57, 2192–95 (7b–9b), the Biography of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

55 Commentary to *HHS* notes that it was actually in the time of Emperor Jing that this incident took place, and the reference to Emperor Wu is mistaken.

Biographies of Han Anguo are in *SJ* 108, 2857–65, and *HS* 52, 2394–2406. He was celebrated as a loyal minister of Han.

At one time, Han Anguo was in prison in his native state of Liang, when imperial officers came, had him freed, and appointed as Clerk of the Capital (*neishi*), in charge of local government (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 108). Soon afterwards, he was responsible for frustrating the treacherous plans of Yang Sheng and his associates (see note 3 above).

56 The Biography of Zhang Chang is in *HS* 76, 3216–24. He was for a long time the Governor of the Capital (*jingzhao yin*: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 87–89), and was celebrated for his excellent administration.

There was one occasion that he was accused of having put a prisoner to death in undue haste, and he was dismissed and took flight. Later, however, when there was trouble in Qi province, he was recalled to service and appointed Inspector there. See *HS* 76, 3223–25.

57 Yin Jifu is celebrated in the *Liu yue* Ode, *Shi jing* II.3.3; Legge, *CC* IV, 281–284 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 177 at 120–121), for his victory over the Xianyun northern barbarians. The *Cai qi* Ode refers to the defeat of the southern barbarians at the hands of Fan Shu, who is believed to have been a subordinate of Yin Jifu: *Shi jing* II.3.4; Legge, *CC* IV, 284–287 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 178 at 122–123). On Feng Gun, see note 54 above.

58 See note 54 above.

59 There is confusion over Li Ying's tenure of office as Colonel Director of Retainers, similar to that which surrounded his appointment or appointments as Intendant of Henan: *cf.* note 22 above.

ZZTJ here and the parallel passage in *HHS* 67/57 both say that Li Ying "again" (*fu*) became Colonel Director of Retainers; there is, however, no record that he had previously held the post. Until his first appointment as Intendant of Henan in 159 he seems to have been regularly employed in the provinces and then on the frontier (*HHS* 67/57, 2191, and note 54 above).

Moreover, we are told that Ying Feng became Colonel Director of Retainers in 162, on the nomination of Feng Gun after the campaign in Jing province (passage J of Yanxi 5 and *HHS* 48/38, 1608). It would appear that he held the office for the next several years, as it is in that capacity he is memorialising against the Lady Tian and in favour of Li Ying, Feng Gun and Liu You (passages X and AA above, also *HHS* 48/38, 1608).

One must observe, however, that Ying Feng's biography says he excused himself from office on the ground of illness when the First Faction Incident broke out in the following

year (*HHS* 48/38, 1609). The text implies that he was still Colonel Director; on the other hand we have just been told that Li Ying took up that appointment.

We may note, incidentally, that *HHS* 67/57, 2199, says that Liu You was Colonel Director some time after Yanxi 4: 161: see note 22 above; he was possibly the immediate predecessor to Ying Feng.

Finally, we refer again to the fact that Li Ying is described as being Intendant of Henan once more at the time of the First Faction Incident: see *HHS* 67/57, 2187, compared with *HHS* 67/57, 2195, and again note 22 above.

One can of course, postulate a series of different appointments, whereby for example Ying Feng yielded place to Li Ying about this time, but then returned to become Colonel Director again a few months later while Li Ying returned to his former post as Intendant of Henan. Such a game of musical chairs with official posts, however, makes very little sense, and would hardly serve to clear up every contradiction in the texts. It seems better to accept the fact that there is an element of uncertainty in some details, though the main thrust of the record is generally clear.

My own suggestion would be that Li Ying was Intendant of Henan from Yanxi 2: 159 to about Yanxi 7: 164, when he was sentenced on account of the Yang Yuanshi case. He was succeeded in that position by Deng Wanshi who, however, held office for only a few months before his disgrace and death early in Yanxi 8: 165. Later in that year, Li Ying was released, and soon afterwards took over from Ying Feng as Colonel Director of Retainers, which post he held until the outbreak of the First Faction Incident in Yanxi 9: 166. Ying Feng, for his part, had succeeded Liu You as Colonel Director late in Yanxi 5: 162 or early in Yanxi 6: 163, and he continued in that post until he was replaced by Li Ying. It is not known what position, if any, Ying Feng held in the following few months. *Cf.* Wan Sitong, 1971/4–1972/1 and Lian Shu, 1989/2–1990/2.

60 Yewang county was on Henei commandery, north of the Yellow River from Luoyang, under the jurisdiction of the Colonel Director of Retainers.

The parallel text in *HHJ* 22, 12a, describes Zhang Rang's brother with the personal name Yu as the Prefect of Yangdi, which was the capital of Yingchuan commandery, and relates the incident to the time that Li Ying was Intendant of Henan; this seems less convincing.

61 *Xunzi* 20 (28), 2a, and *Kongzi jiyu* 1, 4b–5a; Kramers, *School Sayings*, 205, are the earliest texts to describe this incident, which is not mentioned in any of the major Confucian classics. *SJ* 47, 1917; Chavannes, *MH* V, 326, says that the event took place after Confucius had been promoted from Grand Director against Crime (*da sikou*) to become a counsellor, and makes no reference to the short period of seven days before he took action.

There is some disagreement whether *shaozheng* is the surname of the man whose personal name was Mao, or whether it was his official title, "Lesser Director" (*e.g.* *Zuo zhuan*, Xiang 22, Legge, *CC* V, 494, Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 375). Classical commentaries, followed by Chavannes, take it as an official position (Kramers, *School Sayings*, 254–255), but some modern Chinese interpretations take Shaozheng Mao as a name. *SJ* 47 describes him as a great officer or grandee (*da fu*) of the state of Lu, causing disorder in the government until Confucius removed him.

The debate on the execution of Shaozheng Mao formed part of the anti-Confucius campaign in the People's Republic during 1973 and 1974. See, for example, Zhao Jibin, *Guanyu Kongzi zhu Shaozheng Mao wenti*, Beijing, 1973.

62 The text here has the phrase *xiumu* "time to rest and bathe," indicating a scheduled period of free time, or holiday. See Yang, "Schedules of Work and Rest," 19, where he discusses the phrase as "a day for rest and for washing one's hair," taken once in five days.

63 Commentary to *HHS* identifies this Dragon Gate (*longmen*) with a natural barrier on the southern course of the Yellow River near the [Tang dynasty] county of that name, now northwest of Hejin in Shanxi.

At this place, the flow of water is so great that fish cannot make their way further upstream, and indeed collect in great schools below. According to legend, any creature which does swim up the current at this point will become a dragon.

The metaphor here is that once a man had been recognised by such a distinguished person as Li Ying, his reputation and status were vastly enhanced.

The Dragon Gate described here should not be confused with the site a few kilometres outside Luoyang, celebrated for its Buddhist cave carvings dating from the fifth century through Tang and Song. The cliffs are impressive, and the cave temples are deservedly renowned, but the River Yi at this point offers no particular obstacle to a fish.

BB *HHS* 25/15, 887 (12a-b), the Biography of Liu Kuan.

64 Liu Qi, a man from Hongnong commandery, had been Minister over the Masses in the time of Emperor Shun, from 130 to 134 (*HHS* 25/15, 886; *HHS* 6, 257 and 264).

Yanxi 9: 166 AD

[17 February 166 – 6 February 167]

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *xinmao* [18 Feb], first of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.¹

An edict was issued that the Excellencies and Ministers, and the commanderies and kingdoms, should recommend candidates "Of the Utmost Filial Piety."²

B Xun Shuang, a candidate recommended by the Grand Master of Ceremonies Zhao Dian, sent in a reply, "In ancient times, when the sages established [order] between Heaven and Earth, they called it 'Ceremony'.³ Of all the ceremonies, that of marriage is the most important: the Yang body [of man] is pure and strong, and so is enabled to extend itself; the Yin body [of woman] is obedient, and so is able to accomplish transformation. If pleasure is enhanced by ceremony, then your spirit will be regulated in its activity, and you will be thus enabled to achieve the flourishing good fortune of sons and grandsons, and the limitless happiness of long life into old age.⁴

1786 "If we consider the last rulers of the Three Dynasties,⁵ they were vicious and without chastity: the Yang force was exhausted above, and the Yin force was isolated below. It was for this reason that the Duke of Zhou made the admonition: 'How few of them enjoyed a long career',⁶ and the proverb says, 'Cutting the toes off the fit the shoes; who will say that is as stupid as the man who maintains such a fatal policy?' Here is something which is really dangerous.

"I have heard that there are five or six thousand chosen concubines in the imperial harem, with another host of attendants and escorts besides. Innocent people are being exhausted with the taxation required to support these useless women: ordinary people throughout the empire are in desperate poverty while the Yin and Yang are isolated within the palace. For these reasons, the spirits of harmony are affected, and disasters and strange omens arrive one after another, with serious effect.

"It is my humble opinion that all those women who have not received the imperial favours should be sent out from the palace to be married. That would be the greatest good fortune for the state."

An imperial edict appointed Xun Shuang as a Gentleman of the Palace.⁷

[Yx9: 166]

C There was famine in Sili and in Yu province. Four or five out of every ten of the people died, so many that whole families were wiped out.⁸

D An imperial edict summoned Zhang Huan to become Grand Minister of Agriculture, and Huangfu Gui was again appointed as General Who Crosses the Liao to replace him.

Huangfu Gui considered that he had now held one high post after another, and he wanted very much to retire. He sent in several reports pleading ill health, but his requests were not granted.

About this time, the coffin and funeral cortege of one of Huangfu Gui's friends came past on a mourning journey. Huangfu Gui crossed the borders of his territory to pay his respects; and then he sent one of his clients secretly to inform the Inspector of Bing province, Hu Fang, saying that Huangfu Gui had left his military base without proper authority, and that Hu Fang should send in a report at once.

Hu Fang said, "Weiming⁹ wishes to return to his estates and relinquish his official duties, and it is for that reason he is bothering me. But I must

act on behalf of the court, and keep hold of talented men. How can I fall for this scheme?" So he took no further action.¹⁰

E In the summer, in the fourth month the Yellow River ran clear in Jiyin, Dong commandery, Jibei and Pingyuan.¹¹

1787

The Minister over the Masses Xu Xu left office. In the fifth month the Grand Master of Ceremonies Hu Guang became Minister over the Masses.

F On the day *gengwu* [of the sixth month: *i.e.* 27 Jul]¹² the Emperor in person carried out a ceremony of sacrifice to Laozi at the Palace of the Shining Dragon. A cloth of patterned wool was used on the altar, all the vessels were ornamented with gold at the mouth, and the whole was sheltered by a multi-coloured baldachin. The music for the ceremony was that used in the suburban sacrifices to Heaven.¹³

[Yx9: 166]

G When the Xianbi heard that Zhang Huan had left, they formed an alliance with the Southern Xiongnu and the Wuhuan to make a rebellion together.

In the sixth month the Southern Xiongnu, with the Wuhuan and the Xianbi, invaded the frontier by several different routes, and they ravaged and plundered nine commanderies along the border.¹⁴

In the autumn, in the seventh month the Xianbi again entered the frontier, and they persuaded the Eastern Qiang to join them in a covenant of alliance. As a result, various groups of the Shendi Qiang from Shang commandery and the Xianlian Qiang from Anding made combined attacks on Wuwei and Zhangye. All Chinese positions along the border were seriously affected.

An imperial edict re-appointed Zhang Huan as General of the Gentlemen of the Household Protector of the Xiongnu, with the salary of one of the Nine Ministers, and with command over [the troops of] the three provinces You, Bing and Liang, and also over the two forces [under the General Who] Crosses the Liao and [the Colonel Protector of the] Wuhuan. He was further given authority to examine the competence of inspectors and grand administrators.¹⁵

H Before this, when the Emperor was Marquis of Liwu,¹⁶ he had received instruction from Zhou Fu of Ganling. When he came to the throne [in 146], Zhou Fu was called up to be one of the Masters of Writing.

At this time, the Intendant of Henan Fang Zhi, also from Ganling, had a splendid reputation. The people of their country made up a song about them:

A model for the empire, Fang Bowu;

Grasping appointment from his teaching, Zhou Zhongjin.¹⁷

The clients and dependents of the two each criticised the other party, and each established a particular following. The rift gradually widened between them so that Ganling was divided between the "north" and the "south." The criticisms made by the men of faction [at the capital in later years] had their origins in this.¹⁸

[Yx9: 166]

I Zong Zi, the Grand Administrator of Runan, had made Fan Pang his Officer of [the Bureau of] Merit, and the Grand Administrator of Nanyang, Cheng Jin, made Cen Zhi his Officer of Merit.

Each of these Grand Administrators gave the fullest trust to his subordinate, approving their praise of good men and correction of the bad, and so they purified the administration of those commanderies.

J Fan Pang was a particularly strict and stubborn man, and he hated evil like a personal enemy.¹⁹ His nephew Li Song had formerly shown a bad character, but the Regular Palace Attendant Tang Heng recommended him to Zong Zi, and Zong Zi appointed Li Song as an officer of the commandery.²⁰

1788 Fan Pang, however, refused to issue the call to office. Zong Zi shifted his attack to the Accessory Clerk for Documents Zhu Ling, and had him beaten. Zhu Ling looked up at him and said, "Fan Pang is a man of rigorous honesty. Even if you flog me to death, I will not change my mind, and I shall continue to accept his lead on this matter." So Zong Zi gave up. All the common fellows of the commandery were unhappy about this.²¹

K From this, there appeared a popular ditty in the two commanderies:

The Grand Administrator of Runan is Fan Mengbo,

Zong Zi of Nanyang is no more than a cipher;

The Grand Administrator of Nanyang is Cen Gongxiao,

Cheng Jin of Hongnong needs only to sit and sing.²²

There were more than thirty thousand students at the Imperial University, with Guo Tai and Jia Biao of Yingchuan as their leaders, and they sang one another's praises with Li Ying, Chen Fan and Wang Chang. There was a saying among the students:

A model for the empire, Li Yuanli,
Unafraid of powerful enemies, Chen Zhongqu,
Ideal for the empire, Wang Shumao.²³

As a result, the people both inside [the capital] and outside were influenced by the slogans and they competed with one another in giving praise or casting blame.

From the Excellencies and the Ministers on downwards, no one ventured to oppose such judgements, and they came in a constant stream to the doors [of the student leaders].

L A certain Zhang Fan was a wealthy merchant in Wan.²⁴ He had long been in close contact with the members of the imperial harem, and he was extremely good at engraving objects of art and items of fancy. He had occasionally given them as bribes to the eunuchs, and in this way he had a splendid position and was able to use his influence arrogantly and unlawfully.

At the instigation of Cen Zhi [the Officer of the Bureau of Merit in Nanyang] and the Officer for Criminals Zhang Mu, Cheng Jin arrested Zhang Fan and his associates. There was an amnesty proclaimed,²⁵ but Cheng Jin executed Zhang Fan regardless, and he also arrested and killed more than two hundred of Zhang Fan's clansmen and followers.²⁶ After that, he reported his actions to the throne.²⁷

M The Junior Attendant of the Yellow Gates Zhao Jin of Jinyang was greedy, oppressive and lawless, and he was a major source of trouble in that county.²⁸ The Grand Administrator of Taiyuan, Liu Zhi of Pingyuan, sent an officer of his commandery, Wang Yun, to arrest him and punish him. In this case, also, the execution was carried out after an amnesty had been issued.

N Because of this, the Regular Palace Attendant Hou Lan²⁹ arranged that the widow of Zhang Fan should send in a letter with a formal complaint, and the eunuchs then slandered Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi. The Emperor was extremely angry. He summoned Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi and sent them both to jail.

O From this, the officials recommended that Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi had committed crimes worthy of public execution.

1789

P The Grand Administrator of Shanyang, Zhai Chao, had appointed Zhang Jian of that commandery as Investigator of the Eastern Division.³⁰

Hou Lan kept a house at Fangdong,³¹ and he bullied and oppressed the people there. When Hou Lan was in mourning for his mother he returned to his home, and he raised a great tomb-mound for her. Zhang Jian recommended that a memorial should be sent to the court about Hou Lan's wrong-doing, but Hou Lan had agents to intercept such messages, and the documents did not arrive.

Then Zhang Jian destroyed Hou Lan's tomb buildings and confiscated his property. He sent in a report on the whole affair, but again this was not forwarded to the capital.³²

[Yx9: 166]

Q Xu Xuan, son of the elder brother of [the eunuch] Xu Huang, was Prefect of Xiapi, and he governed with the utmost ferocity. At one time he had asked to marry the daughter of Li Song, former Grand Administrator of Runan, but he was refused. So he led his officers and soldiers to Li Song's house, kidnapped the girl, and then shot her and killed her for the fun of it.

Huang Fou of Runan, who was Chancellor of Donghai, heard about this incident. He arrested every member of Xu Xuan's household and examined them [by torture] without regard whether they were old or young. His junior officials all made strong objections, but Huang Fou replied, "Xu Xuan is a public menace. If I kill him today, even though I may be executed for it tomorrow, I would still die content." Then he found Xu Xuan guilty, sentenced him to public execution and had his corpse displayed afterwards.³³

At this, the eunuchs sent in hostile reports, and the Emperor was angry. Both Zhai Chao and Huang Fou were sentenced to have their heads shaved, to be manacled about the neck, and to be sent as convict labourers in the Enclosure of the Left.³⁴

[Yx9: 166]

R The Grand Commandant Chen Fan and the Minister of Works Liu Mao both made protest, asking pardon for Chen Jin, Liu Zhi, Zhai Chao and Huang Fou.

1790 The Emperor was not pleased at this, and other officials then criticised them in memorials. Liu Mao did not venture to raise the subject again.³⁵

Chen Fan, however, sent in another letter on his own account, "Now there are robbers and bandits outside, and these are a disease of the four limbs; there is disorder inside the government, and this is a danger to the heart. I go to bed, but I cannot sleep; I eat but my stomach is only half filled.

"I am truly concerned that your attendants [the eunuchs] become closer to you every day, and that the loyal words [of your ministers] are steadily losing influence. Inside, troubles mount up. Outside, difficulties become constantly more serious.

"Your majesty has risen from the rank of a feudal lord to inherit the supreme position. Even in an unimportant family one should take care of a myriad items of property, and sons and grandsons will be ashamed if they fail to maintain the achievement of the past. Surely this is still more true of the responsibilities of the empire, handed down by the former rulers; and yet you wish to neglect them in order to indulge your frivolous interests. Indeed this shows a lack of proper respect for your own dignity. How can you ignore the hard work of your predecessors!

"A few years ago, when the Liang family had five marquises,³⁶ they poisoned the whole empire. Heaven offered a plan to your sage intelligence, and you took them and destroyed them. All the opinion of the empire hoped now for a little peace. And yet, with the clear example so close at hand, and the warning of the overturned carriage so recent as if it were only yesterday, the new pattern of government is very much like the earlier one.

"The Junior Attendant of the Yellow Gates Zhao Jin, and that great rascal Zhang Fan and his people, all acted with cruelty and greed, and they curried favour with your attendants. The former Grand Administrator of Taiyuan Liu Zhi, and the former Grand Administrator of Nanyang Cheng Jin, arrested them and executed them. Although it may be said that the action took place after an amnesty, so the men should not have been put to death, the essential point is that these officers had hearts sincerely concerned with the elimination of evil. From your majesty's point of view, what cause is there for anger?

"And yet there are some petty fellows who put forward their arguments, to confuse your sage understanding and cause you to raise your majestic wrath, equal that of Heaven, against these two men. Surely the punishment

they have received is already excessive; how much worse will it become if [such loyal officers] are condemned more harshly, and their blood is shed.

"Again, the former Grand Administrator of Shanyang Zhai Chao, and the former Chancellor of Donghai Huang Fou, both have a heavy sense of responsibility. They hate evil like a personal enemy. If Zhai Chao confiscated Hou Lan's property wrongfully, and Huang Fou was in error to execute Xu Xuan, nevertheless in both cases a punishment has been applied, and they have not benefited from the provisions of any amnesty. For Hou Lan's wilful and arrogant behaviour, confiscation of property is really a light penalty; and for Xu Xuan's outrageous conduct, death itself is perhaps insufficient.

"In former times, the Chancellor Shentu Jia summoned Deng Tong, and the Prefect of Luoyang Dong Xuan humiliated a princess. Yet Emperor Wen accepted it, and Emperor Guangwu actually gave a reward. I have never heard that those two ministers were in any danger of execution.³⁷

"Yet now this group of eunuch attendants, a gang of evil-doers, because they are angry at the penalties inflicted upon other members of their gang, have spread wild stories to bring [these officers] into threat of serious punishment. Even these words of mine may lead to their tearful complaints, and so bring me slander and disgrace.

1791 "Your majesty should take action to remove opportunities for your eunuch attendants to be involved in administration. You should call in the officers of your secretariat and your court, to appoint and promote only those who are pure and of high moral quality, and to criticise and eliminate those who are wicked and base. Thus Heaven will be in harmony above, and Earth will be contented below. Good fortune and auspicious influences, how can they be kept away!"

The Emperor would not accept this, and the eunuchs now bore a deadly hatred for Chen Fan. Many of his recommendations for office and his memorials were turned down or rejected, and he was reprimanded by edicts issued in the Emperor's name. His clerical officers were actually punished, though Chen Fan himself was too well known and too influential, and there was nothing that his enemies could do against him directly.

[Yx9: 166]

S Xiang Kai of Pingyuan came to the palace and handed in a document which read:³⁸ "I have heard that august heaven does not speak, but rather uses signs and portents as the means of instruction.

"My humble observations have noted that the Enclosure of Supreme Subtlety is the heavenly court, the seat of the Five Emperors,³⁹ and the punishing stars of Metal [Venus] and Fire [Mars] were shining there.⁴⁰ According to divinations, this indicates misfortune for the Son of Heaven.⁴¹ And now [that Venus has] entered the constellations House and Heart, it is a sign there will be no descendants and successors.⁴²

"In the winter of the year before last [Yanxi 7] it was extremely cold, so much that birds and animals were killed, fish and tortoises came to harm, and even some of the leaves of the bamboos and cypresses by the city wall were withered and dry.⁴³

"I learnt from my teacher that 'When the cypress is withered and the bamboo is dry, in no more than two years the Son of Heaven will suffer the same fate.'

"Now, since spring and summer, there have been repeated frosts and hail, and also heavy rains and thunderstorms.⁴⁴ This is brought about when subjects flaunt their personal power and wealth, and when punishments are excessively harsh and cruel.

"Liu Zhi, Grand Administrator of Taiyuan, and Cheng Jin, Grand Administrator of Nanyang, have the ambition to eliminate evil and wickedness, and the punishments which they carried out fulfilled the hopes of the people. Yet your majesty has given ear to the slanders from your castrate minions and as a result, without paying close attention to the matter, you have ordered them arrested and interrogated. The Three Excellencies have sent in letters to ask that you show pity upon Liu Zhi and his colleagues, but no further investigation has been made, and the Excellencies themselves have been harshly reprimanded. As a result, ministers who care for the nation will now be afraid to speak out.

"I have heard it said that if innocent people are killed and worthy men are punished, misfortune will arrive within three generations. Since the beginning of your majesty's reign, there have been continual executions. The Liang, Kou, Sun and Deng families have all been destroyed, and great numbers of their associates, far too many to count, have shared their fate.⁴⁵ Li Yun sent in a letter, of the type no wise ruler can ignore; Du Zhong asked for death with a sincerity to move your sage's court, but for neither of them was there pardon or compassion, and both of them were slain.⁴⁶

1792 "Every person in the empire has seen the injustice, and since the age that Han arose, there has never been such a time as the present for rejecting good advice, executing worthy men, and using the law with such an excess of severity!

"In former times, King Wen had only one wife, but she bore him ten sons.⁴⁷ Now the women of your palace are numbered by the thousands, but I haven't heard that any of them become pregnant.⁴⁸ You should cultivate virtue and reduce punishments, and then you may obtain the full blessings of the *Zhongsì* Ode.⁴⁹

"Now it is my observation that, since the time of the Chunqiu, and in all the reigns of the emperors and kings of the past, there has been no occasion that the Yellow River has run clear. In my opinion, the Yellow River holds the position of the feudal lords. Clearness is an attribute of the *yang*; muddiness is an attribute of *yin*. When the river that should be muddy has instead turned clear, that is a sign that the *yin* wishes to become *yang*; and that the feudal lords seek to become emperor.⁵⁰

"The *Yì zhuan* of Jing Fang says, 'When the Yellow River runs clear, the empire will have peace.'⁵¹ Now, however, Heaven is displaying strange signs, earth spits forth uncanny creations, and mankind has pestilence and disease. With these three situations all together, even if we still have the Yellow River running clear, then it is like the time that a unicorn appeared in the Chunqiu period when it should not have done so. Confucius recorded that as something extraordinary [and ominous].⁵²

"I would wish that you take some time to think this over; and allow me to complete my full discussion."

The document was sent in, but nothing happened. Some ten days later, Xiang Kai sent in another: "I have heard that King Zhou of Yin loved women, and that was why Daji appeared.⁵³ The Duke of She was fond of dragons, and a real one came to his court.⁵⁴ Now your officials of the Yellow Gates and your Regular Attendants are people who have been punished by Heaven,⁵⁵ yet your majesty loves them and accepts them, and you constantly pour favours upon them. If you have still failed to obtain an heir, are you sure this has nothing to do with it?

"Again, I have heard that sacrifices have been held within the palace to Huang-Lao and the Buddha.⁵⁶ Their teachings are those of purity and emptiness, with particular emphasis on action only in accordance with the way.⁵⁷ They love life and hate killing, they eliminate desires and reject

ostentation. Your majesty, however, has not rejected lust and desire, and you apply the punishment of death far more than there is need. If you disregard their doctrines in such a fashion, how can you expect to obtain blessings from them?

"The Buddha did not sleep three nights under the [same] mulberry tree; he did not wish to remain in one place too long lest he develop feelings of affection: this is the perfection of purity.⁵⁸ With such a degree of mental concentration, one may then achieve the true Way.

1793 "Your majesty, however, has licentious girls and seductive women, the most beautiful in all the world. You delight in fine food and splendid wine, and you demand every luxury. How can you expect to emulate Huang-Lao?"

When this memorial was sent in, Xiang Kai was summoned to the Masters of Writing to explain himself.⁵⁹ He said, "In former times, there were no eunuch officials. It was only at the end of the reign of Emperor Wu, when he went often to the harem, that they were first established."⁶⁰

The Masters of Writing were under influence [from the eunuchs], and they advised that, "Xiang Kai has not put forward a proper discussion, and he disregards the models of the classical writings. He misrepresents the signs of the stars and constellations, forcing their interpretations to fit with his own ideas. He has distorted the facts to make false accusations against his superiors. We ask that the matter be handed down to the Director of the Retainers, to put this man into the prison at Luoyang and assess his crime according to law."⁶¹

The Emperor, however, considered that although Xiang Kai's words were extravagant and excessive, he had nevertheless relied in each case upon signs from heaven and other portents. For this reason he was not executed, but was sent to serve sentence as robber-guard.⁶²

T Since the time of the Yongping period [of Emperor Ming: 58–75 AD]⁶³ there were officials and common people who had practised the arts of Buddhism, but the Son of Heaven himself had never paid them attention. Emperor Huan was the first to give this teaching respect and take a personal interest in the ceremonies. Because of this, the Buddhist doctrines gradually gained influence, and it was for that reason Xiang Kai mentioned them.

[Yx9: 166]

U Cai Yan of Runan, the Prefect of Insignia and Credentials, together with the Gentleman-Consultant Liu Yu, memorialised on behalf of Cheng Jin and Liu

Zhi. Their words were quite outspoken, and they themselves were dismissed from office.

V In the end, Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi died in prison.⁶⁴ They were men of upright character and classical accomplishment, famous among the people of that time, and all the empire mourned for them.

W Cen Zhi and Zhang Mu escaped and fled into hiding.

X When Cen Zhi made his escape, all his family and friends joined to help conceal him. Only Jia Biao closed his door and refused to take him in. Some people were angry with him, but Jia Biao said, "The Zuo Chronicle talks of 'acting according to the requirements of the time, but not embarrassing those who come after you.'⁶⁵ Gongxiao caused the trouble with our ruler through his own vainglorious ambitions, and he has brought the consequences upon himself. Personally, I would never raise a weapon against him, but how can I help him to hide?" All accepted the justice of his argument.

On another occasion, when Jia Biao was Chief of Xinxi, the poor people of the county were in desperate distress, and many of them abandoned their infants. Jia Biao applied the law with the utmost rigour, applying the same penalty [against those who abandoned their children] as to murderers.⁶⁶

1794 To the south of the city there were bandits who had attacked people, and to the north there was a woman who had killed her child. When Jia Biao went out on a tour of investigation, his clerks wanted him to go to the south, but Jia Biao said angrily, "It is quite in the nature of things that bandits should harm people; but for a mother to turn against her child, that is defiance of Heaven and against the right Way." So he travelled to the north, made judgement of that crime, and punished the mother.

When the bandits south of the city heard about this, they came of their own accord to offer submission. In the space of a few years the number of people who cared for their children [and who would not have done so before] was numbered by the thousands. They said, "It is Father Jia who has given life [to these children]," and each child was given the personal name Jia.

[Yx9: 166]

Y Zhang Cheng of Henei⁶⁷ was an expert at divination by the wind. He calculated that there was going to be an amnesty, and so he told his son to kill a man. The Colonel Director of Retainers Li Ying immediately ordered [the son's] arrest, but then the amnesty came and he was allowed to escape punishment. Li Ying was still more angry and resentful, and in the end he found out the full situation and had the man killed.⁶⁸

Zhang Cheng had earlier had contact with the eunuchs on account of his magical techniques, and the Emperor had also shown interest in his divinations. The eunuchs instructed Lao Xiu, a disciple of Zhang Cheng, to send in a letter saying that, "Li Ying and others have been protecting the vagabond students of the University, they have a network of contacts throughout the provinces, and they have formed a faction. They slander and abuse the court, and they cause doubt and confusion among the customs [of the people]."

At this, the Emperor was shaking with rage. He sent orders to the commanderies and kingdoms that they should arrest all the men of faction, and he had proclamation made to all the empire that his wrath should be known and the cause of his anger understood.

Z This matter had to pass for checking through the offices of the Three Excellencies, and the Grand Commandant Chen Fan protested: "The people being investigated here are some of the most popular and celebrated men of the empire. These are loyal, patriotic ministers, with merits are worthy of pardon over ten generations. How can it be that they are arrested like this, on no more than the suspicion of wrong-doing, and with no proper evidence?" He refused to endorse the instructions.

Now the Emperor became even more angry. He had Li Ying and the others sent down to the Prison of the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates.⁶⁹

AA Their statements implicated more people: the Grand Coachman Du Mi of Yingchuan, the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk Chen Xiang, and men such as Chen Shi and Fan Pang, more than two hundred in all.⁷⁰ Some of them ran away and were not caught, so rewards were advertised, and messengers were sent out after them, one following another, to every part of the empire.

BB Chen Shi said, "If I do not go to the jail, people will feel there is no-one they can trust in." And so he went himself to the prison and asked to be taken in.

CC When Fan Pang came to the prison, the warder said, "All the prisoners here give a sacrifice to Gaoyao."⁷¹ Fan Pang said, "Gaoyao was a loyal minister in ancient times. If he knows that I am innocent, he will explain things properly to the emperor [of Heaven]. If I should be guilty of something, then what is the point of making a sacrifice?" Because of this, the other prisoners also ceased to offer sacrifice.

1795

DD Chen Fan sent in one further letter of very strong protest. The Emperor took no account of his insubordinate language, but he made the excuse that Chen Fan had summoned unworthy men to court, and so he dismissed him.⁷²

[Yx9: 166]

EE At this time, those who had been implicated in the Faction Incident and taken into prison were all the most celebrated and worthy men of the empire. Huangfu Gui, the General Who Crosses the Liao, who was himself a man of great family in the western provinces, felt ashamed not to be numbered with them. So he sent in a letter, "I once recommended the former Grand Minister of Agriculture Zhang Huan; and so I am a member of a faction. Moreover, I was once sentenced to convict service in the Enclosure of the Left, and at that time the university student Zhang Feng and his colleagues sent in a petition on my behalf; and so the Faction people have supported me. I should be punished too." The court made note of this, but took no further action.⁷³

FF Du Mi had shared in reputation with Li Ying, and the people of that time had often mentioned them as a pair, so they were put under arrest at the same time.⁷⁴

On one occasion, when Du Mi was Chancellor of Beihai, he was making his spring tour of inspection and came to Gaomi. He saw Zheng Xuan, who at that time was the Bailiff of a district, and he recognised his exceptional quality. He called Zheng Xuan to a position in his office, and then sent him on to the University. In the end he became a great scholar.⁷⁵ Later, Du Mi left office and returned to his own home, but he would always call upon the administrators and the prefects [of his local region], and often made recommendations and proposals.

Liu Sheng, a man from the same commandery as Du Mi [being Yingchuan commandery], had also come back to his native region from his

official position in Shu commandery. He kept his gates closed and his carriageway shut, and he had no contact with anyone. The Grand Administrator Wang Yu said to Du Mi, "Liu Jiling is an honest and high-minded gentleman. Many of the most senior officials have recommended him to me."

Du Mi realised that Wang Yu was seeking to get some reaction from him, and so he replied, "Liu Sheng may rank with the grandees, and you may treat him as an honoured guest; but when he knows of a thing being good, he does not support it, and when he knows that something is bad he does not speak out. To conceal one's feelings and keep to oneself, dumb as a cicada in autumn, that is criminal.

1796 "Now if there is a worthy man of honourable ambition and strong character, then I will make him known; and if there is a person of immoral and dissolute behaviour, then I shall report on him. By this, I hope to arrange that your excellency's rewards and punishment are appropriately given; and that will be of no insignificant help to your reputation!"

Wang Yu felt embarrassed, and thereafter he showed Du Mi the utmost respect.

[Yx9: 166]

GG In the ninth month the Superintendent of the Imperial Household Zhou Jing became Grand Commandant.

The Minister of Works Liu Mao left office. In the winter, in the twelfth month the Superintendent of the Imperial Household Xuan Feng of Runan became Minister of Works.

HH The Colonel of the Elite Cavalry Dou Wu became Colonel of the City Gates.

When Dou Wu came to authority, he appointed many worthy scholars, he kept himself pure and he drove out corruption, no bribes or presents were passed around, and the clothing and food for his wife and family were just sufficient and no more. The rewards and grants which he obtained from the two palaces [of the Emperor and the Empress his daughter] were all distributed among the students of the University or given as charity to the poor. As a result, everyone praised him and turned to him.

II When the Xiongnu and the Wuhuan heard that Zhang Huan was coming, they all came to surrender, two hundred thousand people altogether. Zhang

Huan executed only the ringleaders, and the remainder were all pacified and accepted. Only the Xianbi went away outside the frontier.

JJ The court was concerned that it might not be possible to keep Tanshihuai under control,⁷⁶ and so messengers were sent with seal and ribbon to enfeoff him as a king and to offer peace and alliance.⁷⁷

Tanshihuai was not willing to accept, and he raided and plundered all the more fiercely. He divided his territory into three regions. The Eastern Division ran from Youbeiping east to Liaodong, linking with the Fuyu, the Hui and the Mo,⁷⁸ and containing more than twenty subordinate groups. The Central Division extended from Youbeiping westwards to Shanggu, and contained more than ten groups. The Western Division extended west from Shanggu as far as Dunhuang and the Wusun, with more than twenty groups. Each region had a chieftain in charge of it.⁷⁹

Notes to Yanxi 9: 166

A *HHS* 7, 316 (14a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

1 *HHS* 7 has the date of this eclipse as the *xinhai* day (cyclical no. 48), but the first day of the first month was actually a *xinmao* day (cyclical no. 28). *HHS* 108/18, 3369, the Treatise of the Five Powers, has *xinmao*, and the commentary of Liu Zhao quotes a prognostication which is applicable to an eclipse taking place on a *xinmao* day (see below). It appears, therefore, that the character *hai* has been miswritten for *mao*.

The eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3294. It was not an umbral eclipse: *i.e.* it did not appear as a total or annular eclipse at any part of the earth's surface.

HHS 108/18, records that the eclipse took place in the *Yingshi* constellation, also known as the Shi lunar mansion, being a section of Western Pegasus (see note 8 to Yanxi 8). The Treatise adds that the eclipse was not seen by the observatory at the imperial capital, but was reported from the provinces.

The prognostication in the Treatise for the eclipse in the same constellation during the previous year (passage C of Yanxi 8) related the omen to the dismissal of the Empress Deng. For this occasion, however, the prognostication quotes the scholar Gu Yong of the first century BC (biography in *HS* 85, 3443–72), saying that this was a bad sign for the ruler, and then relates it to the death of Emperor Huan in the following year.

Commentary to the Treatise quotes from the *Qiantan ba*, an anonymous apocryphal work on *Chunqiu*, which says that an eclipse on a *xinmao* day foretells a subject replacing his ruler. This, of course, may refer to nothing more sinister than the natural death of the ruler, being succeeded upon the throne by an appropriate heir, who has up till that time been his subject. It could, however, be understood as a reference to political upheaval and a change of dynasty.

2 The category "Utmost Filial Piety" (*zhixiao*) was a special nomination. *HHS* 7 states that on this occasion colonels (*xiaowe*) were again required to present candidates: *cf.* note 9 to Yanxi 8.

From the record of Xun Shuang's memorial as quoted below, it appears that these nominees were required to offer a memorial to the throne. This procedure was not uncommon in cases of such special recommendations. See passage Q and note 25 to Yanxi 8, and note 6 below.

[Yx9: 166]

B *HHS* 62/52, 2051–56 (2b–6b), the Biography of Xun Shuang.

3 "Ceremony" here renders the Chinese *li*.

ZZTJ has taken extracts from Xun Shuang's memorial dealing with the size of the emperor's harem, and the lack of morality which this indicates and encourages. There is, however, a preliminary passage, at 2051–53, which urges the importance of proper mourning ceremonies, and criticises the elimination of the three-year mourning period for senior officials. See passage A and note 1 to Yanxi 2.

4 As Hu Sanxing observes in his commentary, Xun Shuang is alluding to a passage in *Zuo zhuan*, Chao 1; Legge, *CCV*, 580–581 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 35–37).

The Marquis of Jin was ill, and he asked the advice of various physicians. One of them, He from Qin, advised him that the sickness could not be cured, for it was the "chamber disease" caused by sexual relationships with women. When the marquis asked, "May one never approach a woman?" The physician He replied that intercourse with them must be regulated (*jie*), as with the music of the former kings.

5 The Three Dynasties (*san dai*), are the Xia, the Shang or Yin, and the Zhou. Jie, last ruler of Xia, and Zhou, last ruler of Shang/Yin, are both notorious in Chinese tradition for their cruelty, extravagance, and lust.

The Zhou dynasty, however, appears to have ended rather with a whimper than with a bang, and there is no comparable accusation of viciousness made against the last rulers of that line *e.g.* *SJ* 4, 160–69; Chavannes, *MH* I, 305–318). It seems most likely that the reference to the "last ruler" (*ji*) of Zhou is to King You of the eighth century BC, last ruler of Zhou to have his capital in the valley of the Wei River (*i.e.* Western Zhou). Besotted with his consort Baosi, he brought ruin upon the state with his frivolity, and the royal house of Zhou never recovered its former power: *SJ* 4, 147–49; Chavannes, *MH* I, 280–285.

6 This passage is adapted from *Shu jing* V.15, 7; Legge, *CC* III, 468, the remarks of the Duke of Zhou in the chapter "Against Luxurious Ease" (*Wu yi*); Karlgren, *Documents*, 58. The Duke of Zhou observes that the later rulers of Shang/Yin were accustomed to luxury from their birth, so they did not understand the toil and labour of the common people, and thought only of their own pleasures; as a result they neither lived nor reigned for long.

7 *HHS* 62/52, 2051, actually says that Xun Shuang was appointed to the probationary post of Gentleman of the Palace immediately after his nomination as "Of the Utmost Filial Piety"; and he then sent in the memorial. *HHS* 62/52, 2056, says that when the memorial had been lodged, he resigned his appointment and went away.

[Yx9: 166]

C *HHS* 7, 317 (14a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

8 *HHS* 7 dates the full effect of this famine to the third month. The Annals also record, however, that an imperial edict was issued on the *jiyou* day of the first month [8 Mar],

expressing concern about the state of the harvest, the number of bandits and the large number of portents and omens. In practical terms, the edict provided for an exemption or remission of taxes from badly-affected areas.

[Yx9: 166]

D *HHS* 65/55, 2136 (6a), the Biography of Huangfu Gui.

9 Weiming was the style (zi) of Huangfu Gui.

10 *HHS* 65/55 gives more detail of this incident.

Huangfu Gui's friend was Wang Min, who was Grand Administrator of Shang commandery, which lay south of the frontier territories guarded by the trans-Liao command. It would appear that Wang Min was a man from the north, and his body was being brought home.

Both Shang commandery and the frontier to the north were within the circuit of the Inspector of Bing province, and it seems from this incident that the movements of the General Who Crosses the Liao were formally restricted to the extreme northern reaches of the loop of the Yellow River; he did not have authority to move south even into the Ordos region.

One must have sympathy for Huangfu Gui in seeking to retire; he was now aged over sixty, and had been on active service for many years. On the other hand, passage G below tells us that the Xianbi, aided by the Wuhuan and the Southern Xiongnu, were about to launch a series of attacks and rebellions along the frontier, following the departure of Zhang Huan. From the point of view of the Han government, it was not the best time for Huangfu Gui to leave.

[Yx9: 166]

E *HHS* 7, 317 (14a-b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

11 This phenomenon is also recorded in *HHS* 105/15, 3311, the Treatise of the Five Powers. The same text refers to the Yellow River running clear in the summer of the previous year, Yanxi 8: this event is recorded also in *HHS* 7, but has not been taken up into *ZZTJ*.

While it is unlikely that the Yellow River actually ran clear, it is just possible that a localised heavy monsoonal rain early in the season, while the ground was too hard and dry to encourage the normal wash-off of silt, could have rendered the current briefly less opaque.

For prognostication, the Treatise quotes from the comments of Xiang Kai, in his memorial later this year (passage S below), which suggests that feudal lords may seek to become chief ruler (see note 50 below), then identifies the portent with the death of Emperor Huan and the succession of Emperor Ling, who was up to that time the Marquis of Jiedu Village (passage V of Yongkang 1).

[Yx9: 166]

F *HHS* 98/8, 3188 (8b), the Treatise on Sacrifices.

12 *HHS* 98/8 says only that the ceremony took place in the year Yanxi 9. *HHS* 7, 317, gives the date as the *gengwu* day (cyclical no. 7), but places the item in the seventh month, after the disturbances with the Xianbi and other barbarians, described in passage G below. There is, however, no *gengwu* day in the seventh month of this year, which began on a *wuzi* day (cyclical No. 25).

HHJ 22, 12a, chronicles the ceremony in the *gengwu* day of the sixth month, and Sima Guang has appropriately followed that text.

Dongguan Hanji 3, 5a–b, has the date of ceremony in the following year, Yongkang 1: 167, but this is not supported by any other text, and must be regarded as a misplacement.

13 The ceremony has been discussed by Seidel, *Divinisation de Lao tseu*, 38; de Crespigny, "Politics and Philosophy," 73; and de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest*, 29 and 82–83 note 70.

The Treatise of Sacrifices and this passage of *ZZTJ* mention only Laozi as the object of the ceremony, but *HHS* 7, 317, and *Dongguan Hanji* 3, 5a–b, both refer to the combined deity Huang–Lao, being the combination of the mythical Yellow Emperor (*huangdi*) and the sage Laozi, while *HHS* 7, 320, says that the Buddha (*foutu*) was also worshipped: this last is confirmed by the remarks of Xiang Kai (passage S below, and see also note 56).

Dongguan Hanji says that the sacrifice took the form of offering of the Three Kinds of Animals (*sansheng*), an ox, a ram and pig; this was the Great Sacrifice (*tailao*), see Bodde, *Festivals*, 56.

HHSJ 98/8, 8b, commentary quoted from *HS* 99C, 4169; Dubs, *HFHD* III, 413–414, tells how Wang Mang, in emulation of the Yellow Emperor, had constructed for himself a multi-coloured baldachin (*hua gai*), nine layers high and eighty-one Han feet tall (more than eighteen and a half metres or sixty feet): the item was thus evidently associated with that deity.

On the suburban sacrifices (*wu jiao*) which were held at five cult sites (*zhao*) about Luoyang, see Bodde, *Festivals*, 193ff. The ideal ceremonies of the Later Han period are described in the Treatise on Ritual, *HHS* 94/4, 3102, *HHS* 99/9, 3117, 3123, and 3125, and in the Treatise on Sacrifices, *HHS* 98/8, 3181–82; but cf. Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 99–103 and note 31.

[Yx9: 166]

G *HHS* 65/55, 2139 (8b), the Biography of Zhang Huan; and *HHS* 7, 317 (14b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

14 Zhang Huan's biography in *HHS* 65/55 places the emphasis for these attacks upon the Xianbi, operating from outside the frontier; the Annals in *HHS* 7 give chief place, as quoted here, to the Southern Xiongnu. I suspect that it was by this time the Xianbi who played the leading part; see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 323.

The parallel passage of *HHS* 65/55 is translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 58–59.

15 The normal title of the General of the Gentleman of the Household in this region was Emissary to the Xiongnu (*shi Xiongnu*), but that post was, as may be seen from the hierarchy arranged by Huangfu Gui in Yanxi 6 (passage G of that year), lower than the General Who Crosses the Liao.

From the rank and responsibility given Zhang Huan in this emergency, this appointment as Protector (*hu*) was in a different category, comparable and indeed even higher than that held by Huangfu Gui when he was General of the Gentlemen of the Household against the rebels of the northwest in Yanxi 4 (passage H and note 23 to that year).

[Yx9: 166]

H *HHS* 67/57, 2185–86 (2b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

In this and the following passages, Sima Guang presents a brief history of the affair of the Proscribed Faction (*dang gu*), selecting from the relevant biographies of *HHS*, and leading to the situation of Yanxi 9: 166.

The main source for Sima Guang is *HHS* 67/57, the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction, both the prologue and the individual biographies, though other information is necessarily scattered through chapters dealing with the biographies of leading individuals and the eunuch group. The method is similar to that used for Guo Tai and his associates in the chronicle for Yanxi 7 (*cf.* note 1 to that year).

Because of the complexity of the affair, and the number of individuals involved in different ways at various stages, Sima Guang had to draw upon a particularly wide selection of texts from *HHS*, and he frequently combines clauses and phrases from one section into the main text of another. For this reason, the identification of the sources of the passages given below is inevitably slightly simplistic: in each case, I have given the main source, and I have not always analysed all the lesser contributions to each individual sentence.

16 Emperor Huan, as a boy, had succeeded his father as Marquis of Liwu, a county in Zhongshan. He was brought to the throne by the Liang family at the age of fifteen *sui* (*HHS* 7, 287).

17 Bowu was the style of Fang Zhi, Zhongjin was the style of Zhou Fu.

These two seven-character lines have an internal rhyme at the fourth and seventh characters: Karlgren, *GSR* 95a and 104a; 1251f and 379a.

18 This series of events had evidently taken place in the late 140s, and was only a preliminary to the fashion of rhyming criticism and personal association which culminated in the Faction Incidents twenty years later.

[*Yx9: 166*]

I *HHS* 67/57, 2212 (20a), the Biography of Cen Zhi; and *HHS* 67/57, 2205 (15a–b), the Biography of Fan Pang; both in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

[*Yx9: 166*]

J *HHS* 67/57, 2205 (15a–b), the Biography of Fan Pang in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

19 Fan Pang had earlier made a name of himself as an investigator in Ji province (passage T of Yanxi 2), and he was a close associate of Guo Tai (passage G of Yanxi 7). Zong Zi heard of his reputation and particularly asked him to enter his service.

20 Tang Heng had died in Yanxi 7: 164 (passage S), so this incident must have taken place before that time.

21 *HHS* adds the information that these people described the men whom Fan Peng had chosen for office as "Fan's Faction" (*Fan dang*).

[*Yx9: 166*]

K *HHS* 67/57, 2186 (2b–3a), the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

22 Mengbo and Gongxiao were the styles of Fan Pang and of Cen Zhi.

The last characters of the first two seven-character lines and of the second couplet rhyme: Karlgren, *GSR* 771a and 777e; 1168a and 1028f.

23 Yuanli, Zhongju and Shumao were the styles of Li Ying, Chen Fan and Wang Chang respectively.

The third and seventh characters of each line rhyme: Karlgren, *GSR* 599e and 597d; 60p and 75a; 1095a and 1231f.

A bridging sentence in *HHS* 67/57, 2186, omitted by Sima Guang, observes that the custom of rhyming couplets, used most recently as comment upon Fan Pang and Cen Zhi, had now spread among the students of the Imperial University at the capital.

[Yx9: 166]

- L *HHS* 67/57, 2212 (20a), the Biography of Cen Zhi in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.
24 Wan was the capital of Nanyang commandery, now Nanyang in Henan.
25 There had been an amnesty in the third month of the previous year, Yanxi 8 (passage H).
26 *HHS* 67/57 attributes this energetic action to Cen Zhi, but the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 4, 3b–4a, quoted in commentary to *HHS* 67/57, 2186, and to *HHS* 30B/20B, 1077, says that it was Cheng Jin's own decision. *ZZTJ* has followed this, which is certainly more likely.

HHS 67/57, 2212, says that Cheng Jin had chosen Cen Zhi particularly for his well-known strictness; but in a matter as serious as this one must assume that the Grand Administrator had the final decision: *cf.* however, the comments of Jia Biao in passage X below.

- 27 This seems most questionable behaviour. We are told clearly that the execution was carried out after an amnesty, which should have at least reduced the penalty for the crime, whatever Zhang Fan may have been accused of. Moreover, although a Grand Administrator did have authority to administer capital punishment, it was not necessarily accepted that he should do so without prior reference to the capital, and the use of the character *hou* in this text would imply that it was expected, in such a situation, that Cheng Jin would refer to matter to higher authority before carrying out the executions.

[Yx9: 166]

- M *HHS* 66/56, 2172 (10a), the Biography of Wang Yun.
28 Jinyang was a county in Taiyuan. It lay close to the capital of that commandery, present-day Taiyuan in Shanxi.

[Yx9: 166]

- N *HHS* 67/57, 2212 (20a–b), the Biography of Cen Zhi in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.
29 We have seen that Hou Lan was dismissed after the disgrace and suicide of his brother Hou Can a year or so earlier (passage D to Yanxi 8). It would appear, however, that he had soon been reinstated.

[Yx9: 166]

- O *HHS* 66/56, 2164 (4b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

[Yx9: 166]

- P *HHS* 67/57, 2210 (18b), the Biography of Zhang Jian in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction;
and *HHS* 78/68, 2523 (12a), the Biography of Hou Lan in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.
30 An Investigator (*duyou*) acted in one region of a commandery, to check upon the administration of the subordinate counties. See de Crespigny, "Inspection and surveillance," 50, and Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 82–83.
31 Hou Lan was originally a man from Fangdong county in Shanyang.
32 *HHS* 78/68, translated by Ch'ü, *Social Structure*, 481–482, describes in considerable detail the constructions of Hou Lan, not only for his mother's tomb, but also his own mansion and pleasure grounds, extending over a great area. This text, and also *HHS* 67/57, add

that Zhang Jian sent in reports complaining of Hou Lan's oppression, and also of the wrongdoing of Hou Lan's mother when she was alive.

HHS 78/68 says that Hou Lan's mother died, and this incident took place, in Jianning 2: 169. This, however, is not likely, and I would agree with Sima Guang in setting it about this time. See note 47 to Jianning 2.

[Yx9: 166]

Q *HHS* 78/68, 2521–22 (10b–11a), the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

33 *HHS* 78/68 remarks that at this time the county of Xiapi was subject to the neighbouring commandery unit of Donghai, though it was normally the capital of Xiapi commandery (*HHS* 111/21, 3462). Otherwise it would have been quite unlawful for the administrator of one commandery unit to operate outside his own territory in this fashion.

Exposure of the corpses of wrongdoers is discussed by Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 111, as a possible expedient to impress the population. I note, however, that the only two examples cited by Hulsewé for the Later Han period are the present instance and the occasion cited in passage D of Yanxi 3, when the Chancellor of Jibei, Teng Yan, arrested and killed several dozen eunuch retainers and clients and exposed their bodies on the roadside. From these two examples, one might conclude that exposure of the bodies was rather a posthumous humiliation of the eunuch partisans than a regular item of Han law.

34 *HHS* 78/68, 2522, refers here to the Enclosure on the Right, but *HHS* 66/56, 2164, in an almost identical passage, has the Enclosure on the Left, and this is followed by *ZZTJ*. See note 76 to Yanxi 2.

[Yx9: 166]

R *HHS* 66/56, 2164–65 (4b–6b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

35 There is some confusion in the texts concerning this first memorial. *HHS* 66/56 says that it was a joint submission of Chen Fan and Liu Mao, and also the Minister over the Masses Liu Ju. *HHS* 39/29, 1310, being the Biography of Liu Mao, agrees.

Liu Ju, however, whose biography is in *HHS* 76/66, 2476–77, the Chapter on the Lenient Officials, was not one of the Three Excellencies at this time, and he was never Minister over the Masses: in Yanxi 4: 161 he was appointed Grand Commandant (passage A), and left that office in the following year (passage K of Yanxi 5). In 168, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling, he was again appointed Grand Commandant, but held the office for only a few months (passages E and W of Jianning 1). Liu Ju's biography, moreover, has no reference to the joint memorial, or to any other written by him at this time.

The Ministers over the Masses at the period now in question were Xu Xu, who was appointed in Yanxi 6: 163 (passage A) and Hu Guang, who took over from Xu Xu in the fifth month of Yanxi 9: 166 (passage E above). The biography of Hu Guang, *HHS* 44/34 at 1509, has no reference to the joint memorial. Xu Xu has no biography in *HHS*; it is possible that he signed the joint memorial with Chen Fan and Liu Mao before he left office.

HHS 104/14, 3296, the Treatise of the Five Powers, lists the series of fires at the capital in 165 (see note 10 to Yanxi 8), and the commentary to that text quotes from the *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shansong, 2a, which tells how a memorial of remonstrance was sent in on the basis of these phenomena by Chen Fan and "Liu Zhimao." The Qing commentator Hui Dong (*HHSJ* at 4a) suggests that "Liu Zhimao" is a corruption for Liu Ju and Liu Mao. In that case, it seems probable that the text quoted, which contains a number of references to various portents beside the fires, may come from the joint memorial of Chen Fan and

his colleague/s. This, however, does not solve the irreconcilable problem of the alleged appointment of Liu Ju as Minister over the Masses at the relevant time.

It does not seem possible to date this pair of memorials exactly; they could have been submitted any time from late Yanxi 8 to the middle of Yanxi 9. The affair of Zhai Chao and Huang Fou had probably arisen at least in Yanxi 8, and it would appear the matter of Zhao Jin and Liu Zhi dated back to the time of the amnesty in Yanxi 8. The final decision was not taken until the second half of Yanxi 9.

See also the *Kaoyi* commentary to this passage of *ZZTJ*, and de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest*, 57–59 note 35.

36 On the enfeoffments of the Liang family, see note 6 to Yanxi 2.

37 On the incident of Shentu Jia and Deng Tong, see note 16 to Yanxi 8.

The Biography of Dong Xuan is in *HHS* 77/67, 2489–90, the Chapter on the Stern Officials. When he was Prefect of Luoyang, the slave of a princess, sister to Emperor Guangwu, killed a man and then took refuge under the protection of his mistress. Dong Xuan, however, halted the princess' carriage in the street, compelled the man to get down, and killed him on the spot.

The princess complained to Guangwu, who intended at least to make Dong Xuan apologise to her. Dong Xuan, however, refused to accept that he was in any way at fault, and Guangwu eventually rewarded him for his uprightness.

See also *HHS* 26/16, 907, and Ch'ü, Han *Social Structure*, 373–374. Despite what Chen Fan says, it does appear that, at least in the early part of the interview, Guangwu had contemplated putting Dong Xuan to death.

[Yx9: 166]

S *HHS* 30B/20B, 1075–84 (15b–21a), the Biography of Xiang Kai.

38 The Biography of Xiang Kai, including this and the second memorial presented by him this year, has been translated by de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest*, which work includes a more detailed discussion of the astronomy and other portents dealt with by Xiang Kai.

39 The Enclosure of Supreme Subtlety (*Taiwei yuan*) is ten stars in the Western constellations Virgo and Leo which have the appearance of a circle. Within the enclosure, the Western β Leonis and four smaller stars nearby are known as the Seats of the Five Emperors (*Wu di zuo*). See Schlegel, *Uranographie*, 534 ff, *SJ* 27, 1299; Chavannes, *MH* III, 347, *JS* 11, 291–93; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 76–78 and Star Map 2, de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest*, 48–49 note 26 and figure 5.

40 In Chinese astronomy, the planet Mars, commonly known as *Yinghuo* "the Glittering One" was associated with the power of Fire and thus with the heat of summer and fierce fighting. Venus, *Taibo* "Great White" was associated with Metal, with autumn and thus with executions and sharp weapons. See Schlegel, *Uranographie*, 613 ff, and Needham, *Science and Civilisation* III, 398 ff.

41 Compare, however, *JS* 11, 292; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 77: "... the path of the moon or one of the five Planets entering the T'ai Wei [Enclosure] can be regarded as a good omen."

42 The House (*Fang*) and the Heart (*Xin*) are both lunar mansions. Fang is β , δ , π and ρ Scorpii, Xin is α , σ and τ Scorpii (Schlegel, *Uranographie*, 113 and 138, Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 96 and 97).

HHS 102/12, 3257, the Treatise of Astronomy, records that on the *jiwei* day of the intercalary seventh month of Yanxi 8 (19 Sep 165) the planet Venus "invaded" (*fan*) the

"front star" (*qian xing*) of the Heart constellation. The "front star" should refer to σ Scorpii, which lies closest to the House constellation.

On these movements, and the dating of them by Xiang Kai, see de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest*, 49–50 note 27.

43 A severe winter is recorded both in *HHS* 7, 318, and in *HHS* 104/14, 3299; both items, however, are dated to the winter of Yanxi 9, after the memorials of Xiang Kai.

The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang to this passage of *ZZTJ* observes that the date in *HHS* 7 is mistaken, and that he is following *HHS* 104/14. Sima Guang evidently had access to an edition which gave the date as Yanxi 7 in the Treatise.

See de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest*, 54–55 note 31.

44 Despite Xiang Kai's statements, there is no record of any notable frost, hail, rains or thunderstorms among the entries in the Treatise of the Five Elements of *HHS* dealing with this time. The most recent such phenomena appear to have been heavy rain in the summer of Yanxi 2: 159 (*HHS* 103/13, 3270; associated with the fall of the Liang family), and hailstorms in Yanxi 4: 161 and Yanxi 7: 165 (*HHS* 105/15, 3314; associated with the deposition of the Empress Deng). The Treatise does not list frosts, and there had been no notable thunderstorms since 149, almost twenty years earlier.

It is quite possible that some of these phenomena had occurred as Xiang Kai claimed, and that they had not, for one reason or another, been entered in the Treatise as we have it now. It is, nevertheless, a remarkable series, either of *lacunae*, or of false claims.

45 On the fall of Liang Ji and his wife Sun Shou and their families in 159, see passage L of Yanxi 2.

On the destruction of Kou Rong and the decline of his family about 164, see passage T and note 54 to Yanxi 7.

On the fall of Deng Wanshi and the other relatives of the deposed Empress Deng in 165, see passage G of Yanxi 8.

46 On Li Yun and Du Zhong, see passage FF of Yanxi 2.

47 *SJ* 35, 1563; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 152–153, tells of the ten sons of King Wen of Zhou, all born to his principal wife, Taisi. The second son was the conquering King Wu, and the fourth was the sage regent, the Duke of Zhou.

48 In fact, this is not quite fair: three daughters of Emperor Huan are listed among the princesses at *HHS* 10B, 462, the end of the chapter on imperial women. On the other hand, of course, they were no use to the succession of the throne.

49 The *Zhongsì* Ode of *Shi jing*; 1.1.5; Legge, *CC* IV, 11–12 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 5 at 4), is interpreted by commentators as praise for the virtues and fertility of Taisi (see note 47 above). The first stanza runs:

Ye locusts, winged tribes,
How harmoniously you collect together!
Right it is that your descendants
Should be multitudinous.

And the last line of the second stanza refers to descendants "in unbroken strings."

50 On this phenomenon, see passage E and note 11 above.

The Treatise of the Five Powers interprets the prognosis of feudal lords becoming emperor merely as reference to the ascension to the throne of Emperor Ling, up to then a

marquis, after the death of Emperor Huan. Xiang Kai, however, appears to imply that actual rebellion may break out. *Cf.* notes 1 and 11 above.

- 51 There are two men named Jing Fang recorded in *Han shu*, and both are described as masters of the study of *Yi jing*, the Book of Changes.

HS 88, 3600, the Chapter on Scholarship, mentions a man named Jing Fang, who had held office as Grand Palace Grandee (*taizhong dafu*) and Grand Administrator of Qi commandery, and who became a scholar of the *Yi jing* under the tutelage of Yang He. In about 66 BC Emperor Xuan was interested in the teachings of this Jing Fang, and he asked Liangqiu He, who had been Jing Fang's student, about them. Hulsewé, "The Two Early Han / *ching* Specialists called Ching Fang," 161–162, suggests that this Jing Fang the Elder was born about 140 BC and died about 80 BC.

The second man named Jing Fang, originally of the surname Li, was also a celebrated scholar of the *Yi jing*; his biography is in *HS* 75, 3160–67, and his work is discussed in *HS* 88, 3601–02, the Chapter on Scholarship. He was a student of Jiao Yanshou, but sought to establish a connection with the teachings of Meng Xi, a scholar who claimed to interpret *Yi jing* on the basis of revelation (*HS* 88, 3597). This Jing Fang the Younger was himself recognised as the founder of a somewhat unorthodox school, which related *Yi jing* to omens of good and ill fortune. As an official, he was involved in the struggle against the eunuch Shi Xian, favourite of Emperor Yuan, and he was eventually imprisoned and killed. The date of his death is 37 BC, and he is described as being 41 *sui* at that time, so he was born in 77 BC. It seems possible that this second Jing Fang changed his surname from in order to emulate the earlier master.

There was thus a Jing Fang school of *Yi jing* interpretation, and for a time in Former Han, and again at the beginning of Later Han, there was a chair at the Imperial University for the study of *Yi jing* according to that school.

A number of works on *Yi jing*, listed in *HS* 30, 1703, the Treatise of Bibliography, are ascribed to Jing Fang, though there is no definite evidence as which Jing Fang was the author. Various fragmentary works with such titles as *Jing Fang Yi zhuan* "Commentary to the Classic of Changes by Jing Fang" survive in different editions to the present day, but their authenticity is questionable and none of them contain the remark attributed to him here by Xiang Kai.

See also de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest*, 70–72 note 52 (which assumes authorship by the second Jing Fang), and Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 85, 94, 95, 100, 146 and Table I (which does not clearly distinguish between the two scholars of the same name), also Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 150 note 10.

Among present-day Chinese proverbs, "when the Yellow River runs clear" is used as the description of a time which will never come or which is infinitely far away.

- 52 The chronicle of *Chunqiu*, Ai 14; Legge, *CC* V, 833 (Couvreux, *Chronique* III, 691), records how a unicorn (*lin*) was captured in the west of Lu. According to *Kongzi jiaoyu* 4, 16b–17a, translated by Legge, *CC* V, 834, the animal was taken by a waggoner, who broke its leg before bringing it on a carriage to his master. It was then shown to Confucius, who said, "It is a *lin*. Why has it come? Why has it come?" Then he wept, and explained, "The *lin* comes [only] when there is an intelligent king. Now it has appeared when it is not the time for it to do so, and it has been injured. This is why I was so much affected."

This item is the last of the *Chunqiu*, and it is believed to be on account of the untimely appearance of the otherwise auspicious beast that Confucius halted his chronicle at this point: Legge, *CCV*, 834–835.

53 Daji was the wife of Zhou, the wicked last ruler of Shang/Yin. Her love of luxury and her pride encouraged Zhou in his misrule, and when the Yin dynasty was overthrown by King Wu of Zhou Daji was put to death. See, for example, *SJ* 3, 105 and 108; Chavannes, *MH* I, 199 and 207, also *SJ* 49, 1967.

54 *HHS* commentary quotes from the *Xin xu* of Liu Xiang, 5, 14a–b, which tells how the philosopher Zizhang went to visit Duke Ai of Lu but was received without proper courtesy. He said to the Duke, "You like scholars and gentlemen in the same way that the Duke of She liked dragons." He then told the story of how the Duke of She was extremely fond of dragon figures for decoration about his palace, but when a real dragon of the sky heard about this and came to visit the Duke, he was completely terrified.

Zizhang, of course, was criticising Duke Ai for pretending to be a patron of scholars; Xiang Kai, in the argument developed below, is emphasising the significance of sympathetic magic in attracting like to like – a man who favours eunuchs may make himself incapable of getting sons.

55 Hu Sanxing observes that the description "people punished by heaven" (*tianxing zhi ren*) refers to the fact that these are men who have had inflicted upon themselves the operation of castration (*xunfu zhi xing*), and who are thus at fault in the eyes of heaven, which only likes complete men.

56 On this ceremony, see passage F above. Xiang Kai's text here writes the name of the Buddha as *foutu*; cf. note 13 above, and observe Karlgren, *GSR* 64a and 45i, which reconstructs the sounds of the characters and as identical.

57 I understand the expression *wuwei*, literally "non-action," as indicating "no action which is not in accordance with the true Way."

58 This description of the Buddha is well-known in the Indian tradition, and it appears in recognisable form in the *Sutra in Forty-two Sections*, a work which was probably compiled in China in the late first or early second century AD.

On this, and other aspects of Xiang Kai's knowledge of early Buddhism in China, see Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China* I, 38, de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest*, 82–86 note 72, and de Crespigny, "Politics and Philosophy," 73–75.

59 On the function of the Masters of Writing as inquisitors of possibly inappropriate documents submitted to the throne, see note 13 to Yanxi 8.

60 In fact, of course, eunuchs had long been used in their essential function of guarding the harems of kings and nobles. Xiang Kai, however, as *HHS* commentary points out, is following the argument of Xiao Wangzhi, a senior Confucian scholar at the court of Emperor Yuan of Former Han, opposing the Emperor's favouritism of the eunuch Shi Xian. See *HS* 78, 3284–89, and Dubs, *HFHD* II, 294–296 and 309–310.

Xiao Wangzhi was actually concerned with eunuch influence on the office of the Palace Writers (*zhongshu*): see *HS* 78, 3284. Emperor Wu does appear to have arranged that the office was staffed by eunuchs, but as Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 49, remarks, he probably did no more than institutionalise an informal set of arrangements long established by his predecessors, who found it convenient to have eunuch scribes available to them.

Xiang Kai is stretching the point.

61 The Colonel Director of Retainers was responsible for the censorate in the territory about the capital, and the Luoyang Prison was under his jurisdiction. In this instance, the prison was used for holding the accused until his sentence was determined.

62 The punishment described as "robber-guard" (*sikou*) was equivalent to two years hard labour as a convict, one of the lightest penalties in the code of Han. See Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 130–132, 336 and 382.

[Yx9: 166]

T This appears to be a comment by Sima Guang himself.

63 The Yongping period covered all the reign of Emperor Ming.

[Yx9: 166]

U *HHS* 67/57, 2208 (17b), the Biography of Cai Yan in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

[Yx9: 166]

V *HHS* 66/56, 2165 (6a), the Biography of Chen Fan.

64 *HHS* 7, 318, dates the executions to the ninth month of Yanxi 9.

[Yx9: 166]

W *HHS* 67/57, 2212–13 (20b), the Biography of Cen Zhi in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

[Yx9: 166]

X *HHS* 67/57, 2216 (22b), the Biography of Jia Biao in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

65 *Zuo zhuan*, Yin 11; Legge, *CCV*, 33 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 60):

"His arrangement of affairs was according to his measurement of his virtue; his action proceeded on the estimate of his strength; his movements were according to the exigency of the times: – so as not to embarrass those who should follow him. He may be pronounced one who knew propriety."

66 Xinxi county was in Runan, one of the central and more populous commanderies of the empire. The county itself, however, was in the southern part of the commandery, near present-day Xinyang in Henan, close to the mountain country of the Dabie Shan. It was thus perhaps more likely to have a population troubled by banditry and bad customs.

Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 89, notes various scholars' comments on this case, with the implication that infanticide was not normally treated as murder, being punished usually by forced labour rather than by death: a pattern which is found in later Chinese codes.

[Yx9: 166]

Y *HHS* 67/57, 2187 (3b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

67 This text of *ZZTJ* has Zhang Cheng as a native of Henan commandery, but other editions have Henei, and so does *HHS* 67/57. I have therefore made the change in this translation.

68 In notes 22 and 59 to Yanxi 8, I have argued that Li Ying was Intendant of Henan for most of the period from Yanxi 2: 159 to Yanxi 7: 164, when he was dismissed on account of the Yuan Yuanqun case. Later, either in late Yanxi 8: 165 or early Yanxi 9: 166, he was appointed Colonel Director of Retainers.

HHS 67/57, 2187, describes Li Ying as Intendant of Henan at the time of the Zhang Cheng case, but Sima Guang, in his *Kaoyi* commentary to this passage, has noted that Li Ying's biography, in *HHS* 67/57, 2194–95, says that he was Colonel Director of Retainers at the time this First Faction Incident broke out. *ZZTJ* therefore changes the text of *HHS*.

There had in fact been no amnesty in this year: the two most recent were in Yanxi 6: 163 and in Yanxi 8: 165. In these circumstances, Zhang Cheng's plot must have taken place some time earlier.

It thus does appear possible to reconcile the texts on this point, if we suggest Zhang Cheng played his tricks at the time Li Ying was Intendant of Henan (say in Yanxi 7), but Li Ying at that time had no opportunity to investigate properly. One reason for this may have been that since Zhang Cheng and his son were natives of Henei, if the offence was committed in that commandery then Li Ying as Intendant of Henan would have had no jurisdiction. Later, however, when he became Colonel Director, he returned to the question, found out the full situation, and proceeded again against Zhang Cheng.

One may observe, incidentally, that if Zhang Cheng had such contacts with the eunuchs as described below, he may have been able to find out about a forthcoming amnesty through means less esoteric than divination by the wind.

[Yx9: 166]

Z
69 *HHS* 67/57, 2195 (9b), the Biography of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction. The Prison of the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates (*huangmen beisi yu*) is discussed by Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64–65, and *Lo-yang*, 52–53. It appears to have been established about 159, in the time of the eunuch influence with Emperor Huan. Most importantly, it appears to have been a prison under the direct control of the Emperor and his attendants, and was therefore not subject to any obstruction that might have been imposed by Chen Fan on behalf of the regular bureaucracy.

[Yx9: 166]

AA
70 *HHS* 67/57, 2187 (3b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction. The inclusion of the names of Du Mi, Chen Xiang and Fan Pang comes not from this text of *HHS*, but is an interpolation from their biographies, *HHS* 67/57, 2198, 2213 and 2205 respectively.

[Yx9: 166]

BB *HHS* 62/52, 2066 (13b), the Biography of Chen Shi.

[Yx9: 166]

CC *HHS* 67/57, 2205 (15b), the Biography of Fan Pang in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.
71 Gaoyao was said to have been the Minister of Crime (*zuoshi*) in the government of Emperor Shun: *Shu jing* II.1, 20; Legge, *CC* III, 44–45 (Karlgrén, *Documents*, 7).

[Yx9: 166]

DD
72 *HHS* 66/56, 2166–67 (6a–7a), the Biography of Chen Fan. As the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang points out, the memorial as recorded in *HHS* 66/56 is of doubtful authenticity: it is certainly critical and abusive, but it also refers to Li Ying and the others being variously executed or proscribed from office – and at this stage they had only been put in prison. Sima Guang suggests that it is a later forgery.

There is, moreover, another problem with Chen Fan's involvement in the debate concerning this First Faction Incident, and that is the date at which the Incident itself took place.

According to the Annals, *HHS* 7, 317–18, Chen Fan left office as Grand Commandant in the seventh month of Yanxi 9; and the arrest of Li Ying and his colleagues is not recorded until the last item for that year, which would place it in the winter, in the eleventh month.

The Biography of Chen Fan, however, has him involved, as Grand Commandant, at two points: firstly by his refusal to authorise the arrests (passage Z above), and then in his letter of protest, which is said to have brought about his dismissal. If this is correct, then Li Ying and his colleagues must have been arrested no later than the seventh month.

Certainly, we have seen that the annals for this year have some misplaced items: see note 12 above, concerning the date of the imperial sacrifice to Huang-Lao and the Buddha. Moreover, in another *Kaoyi* commentary, at *ZZTJ* 56, 1799, Sima Guang points out that the entry in *HHS* 7 has combined two items: the arrest of the alleged conspirators, and their subsequent release and proscription. Sima Guang therefore discounts that record.

There are, however, some textual questions and some historical difficulties in relating the First Faction Incident as early as the middle of the year.

The stories about Chen Fan, for example, cannot be taken as a fully accurate guide. The memorial referred to in this passage, which Sima Guang has questioned, appears in Chen Fan's biography in *HHS* 66/56, 2166, immediately preceded by a date in Yanxi 9; however, the item next before mentions the executions of Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi (passages V and R above), and though it is possible that the memorials mentioned and quoted in passage R could have been submitted in Yanxi 8 (see note 35 above), it is certain that Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi were not killed until the second half of Yanxi 9 (see, for example the memorials of Xiang Kai, which were certainly submitted in the summer of that year). So the Biography of Chen Fan is not strictly chronological, and one does have a suspicion that the whole item of the memorial supporting Li Ying is a false interpolation.

On the other hand, the story of Chen Fan refusing to authorise the arrest of Li Ying and his colleagues (passage Z) comes not from the Biography of Chen Fan, but from that of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction. The story is in some respects a curious one, and it did not, as we have seen, ultimately affect the progress of the arrests. It is possible, again, that the intention of the anecdote is just to show Chen Fan's solidarity and support for Li Ying. Moreover, immediately after this entry, *HHS* tells us that when Chen Fan had left office as Grand Commandant, people everywhere turned their hopes to Li Ying (*HHS* 67/57, 2195); this could have applied when he was already in jail, but it seems more likely that Li Ying was being looked upon as the leader of the anti-eunuch group in office after Chen Fan had gone.

On this basis, I would argue that there is no firm evidence to date the arrest of Li Ying and the others as early as the middle of Yanxi 9. (One may note that the question is only confused by the entry in *HHJ* 22, 14b, which dates the arrests to the ninth month).

Moreover, in terms of the development of the crisis between Emperor Huan and his officials, it seems a little more likely that the executions of Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi had been carried out before the eunuchs ventured to attack Li Ying. In that sense, the annals of *HHS* 7 present a more logical pattern of development.

My own preference, therefore, is to accept the date given by *HHS* 7, 318, being the twelfth month of Yanxi 9, and equivalent to 9 January–6 February 167.

See also de Crespigny, "Politics and Philosophy," 50, note 13, and "Political Protest," 12.

[Yx9: 166]

EE *HHS* 65/55, 2136 (6a), the Biography of Huangfu Gui.

73 *HHS* 65/55 says that Huangfu Gui was widely admired for this gesture; on the other hand, it does something to demonstrate the isolation of politics at the court from the officers in

command on the frontier; and may one dare to suggest that Huangfu Gui perhaps saw this as one more opportunity to obtain relief from his post on the trans-Liao command? See passage D above.

[Yx9: 166]

FF *HHS* 67/57, 2198 (11b), the Biography of Du Mi in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

74 This refers to Li Gu and Du Qiao in the time of Liang Ji, and to Li Yun and Du Zhong under the personal government of Emperor Huan: see note 69 to Yanxi 2.

75 The Biography of Zheng Xuan is in *HHS* 35/25, 1207–12.

HHS 67/57 says that he was an assistant (*zuo*) in a district when Du Mi recognised his talents. *HHS* 35/25, followed by *ZZTJ*, describes him as a Bailiff (*sefu*), the chief man of a district: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 103. It would appear, moreover, from *HHS* 35/25, 1207, that Zheng Xuan was already committed to scholarship, and although we are told he was later proscribed from office when the Faction Incident arose, it is possible that this was the only notable legacy of Du Mi's patronage.

[Yx9: 166]

GG *HHS* 7, 317–18 (14b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

[Yx9: 166]

HH *HHS* 69/59, 2239 (1a), the Biography of Dou Wu.

[Yx9: 166]

II *HHS* 65/55, 2140 (8b), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

[Yx9: 166]

JJ *HHS* 90/80, 2989–90 (8b), the Account of the Xianbi.

76 Tanshihuai, the great war-leader and chieftain of the Xianbi, is first mentioned in *ZZTJ* 53, 1733–34, being the chronicle for the year Yongshou 2: 156. The raiding of the Xianbi under Tanshihuai's leadership is regarded as having begun in that year (*HHS* 90/80, 2989).

Tanshihuai was the first leader of the Xianbi to weld that nomad people into some semblance of a coherent state, though it may be argued that his "empire" was rather the domain of a pirate king than an organised political unity. His career is discussed in de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 331–342, and also Gardiner and de Crespigny, "T'an-shih-huai."

77 The phrase *heqin* is discussed by Yü, *Trade and Expansion*, 10 and 36–39, as a Chinese policy to establish relations with non-Chinese powers, roughly on the basis of equality rather than the simple tributary relationship. In *Cambridge China* I, 386–387, Yü renders the phrase as "harmonious kinship," where the term *qin* could imply a family connection, specifically when a woman of the Han imperial household was granted as wife to the barbarian chieftain. Apart from the marriage itself, the treaty system also entailed an exchange of gifts between the two courts, which exchange was often much to the advantage of the non-Chinese ruler.

78 On these people, who inhabited Manchuria and Korea in Han times, see Gardiner, *The Early History of Korea*. There is an Account of the Eastern Barbarians in *HHS* 85–75, and see also *SGZ* 30, 841–63.

The Fuyu [Korean: *Puyo*] inhabited the region of the upper Sungari and Liao Rivers in central Manchuria; the Mo [*Maek*] and the Hui [*Ye*] appear to have inhabited the eastern part of the Korean peninsula.

- 79 On this putative empire of Tanshihuai, which was based primarily on the territory about his capital north of Dai commandery, in the area of present-day Huade in Inner Mongolia, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 334–337 (including Map 11).