

CHAPTER SEVEN

Claim to the Mandate 222-229

Introductory summary
Liu Bei's revenge
Security in the north
Expansion in the south
Parity of esteem

Introductory summary:

After the death of Cao Cao in 220, his son and successor Cao Pi proclaimed himself Emperor of Wei in replacement of Han. Liu Bei, in the west, followed suit, claiming to maintain the rightful descent of the imperial line. He also made preparations for an attack on Sun Quan to avenge Guan Yu and regain the territory which he had lost in Jing province.

Cao Pi enfeoffed Sun Quan as King of Wu. Sun Quan accepted the title and the alliance with the north so that he might be free to deal with Liu Bei's invasion.

In 222 Sun Quan's general Lu Xun defeated Liu Bei's army. Sun Quan now cut the connection with Cao Pi, and successfully defended the line of Yangzi against him. In 223 he restored the alliance with Shu-Han.

In the far south, after the death of Shi Xie in 226, Sun Quan's officer Lü Dai destroyed the Shi family and took over their territory. Sun Quan now controlled the greater part of three provinces of Han.

In 229 Sun Quan proclaimed himself Emperor of Wu.

Liu Bei's revenge:

During the two years which followed the destruction of Guan Yu and the conquest of Jing province, a central element of Sun Quan's policy was the preparation, both military and diplomatic, for dealing with the attack that would be brought by Liu Bei downstream from Yi province. There was no question that the invasion would come: the coup against Guan Yu was too easily seen as treachery to an ally, and the death of Guan Yu, Liu Bei's most senior comrade and commander, gave an element of blood-feud to the already bitter quarrel. For his own honour and, equally important, his personal prestige, Liu Bei could not accept the loss with any show of equanimity, and it was impossible to contemplate a truce or any secure peace.

In such a situation, it was essential for Sun Quan that he should not be faced with a threat from the north at the same time as he was dealing with Liu Bei, and in this matter of diplomacy he was both astute and fortunate.

The death of Guan Yu had taken place in the twelfth month of Jian'an 24, the beginning of the Western year 220. We are told that Sun Quan had the head of the defeated general sent to Cao Cao as a token of homage, while he arranged for the rest of

CHAPTER SEVEN

the corpse to be buried with all honour.¹ This somewhat contradictory proceeding can have done little to assuage the grief and anger of Liu Bei and his associates, but it produced a positive response from Cao Cao. Sun Quan was recommended as General of Elite Cavalry, the next-but-highest rank in the traditional military structure of Han, he was recognised as Governor of Jing province, and he was newly enfeoffed as Marquis of Nanchang, the capital of Yuzhang commandery.²

Cao Cao at that time was by the Mo Slope, south of Luoyang on the road to Xiangyang, where he had set up his rear base for the defence against Guan Yu. With the emergency at an end, he withdrew the troops that had been on active service, left Cao Ren to reconstitute the positions in that region, and returned to the north. He reached, however, only as far as Luoyang, and died there on 15 March 220, at the age of sixty-five.³

The death of Cao Cao, dominant figure in Chinese politics for the last twenty years, naturally brought a pause to the ambitions of the state of Wei against its rivals. He was succeeded by his eldest son Cao Pi, thirty-three years old, who had been established as Heir-Apparent to the kingdom of Wei in 217.⁴ For the most part, the succession was recognised and approved, but there had been some uncertainty earlier, whether Cao Cao's third son Cao Zhi might not be a more suitable candidate, and his second son Cao Zhang also believed that he had an interest. Neither claim was strongly pressed or widely supported at the time, and Cao Pi and his ministers were astute enough to nullify the opposition.⁵ Nevertheless, the period of transition in a warlord state, from the rule of an active man with celebrated achievements to that of his largely untried heir, introduced a period when the new chieftain would attempt to confirm his authority by ritual display rather than by political or military risk.⁶

The continued formal subservience of Sun Quan to the government of Wei, therefore, served the interests of both parties. Cao Pi gained the prestige of recognition from an outside power, and Sun Quan gained the benevolent neutrality of his most powerful potential enemy. At the time he dispatched Guan Yu's head to Cao Cao he had also returned the prisoner Zhu Guang, former Grand Administrator of Lujiang who had been captured at the storming of Huan in 214, and he sent an emissary with tribute and a mission to purchase horses. Some months later, when Cao Pi had come to power, he again sent various items of tribute. He did not, however, seek to confirm the relationship by sending any hostages, nor did he make any territorial concessions.

¹ SGZ 36/Shu 6, 942 PC note 3 quoting *Wu li*.

² SGZ 47/Wu 2, 1121. Sun Quan's former appointments under the Han government controlled by Cao Cao had been Grand Administrator of Kuaiji and General Who Exterminates the Caitiffs, titles which had been granted him at the time of his brother's death and his succession to power in 200. Though Sun Ce had been Marquis of Wu, Sun Quan had not been granted any enfeoffment until this time.

³ SGZ 1, 53; Fang, *Chronicle I*, 1 and 15.

⁴ The biography of Cao Pi, and the chronicle of his reign, is in SGZ 2. His posthumous title is Emperor Wen of Wei. After Cao Pi had taken the title of Emperor at the end of this year, Cao Cao his father was given posthumous title as Emperor Wu of Wei.

⁵ On the possibility of Cao Zhi's succession to Cao Cao, see, for example, ZZTJ 68, 2150-52; de Crespigny, *Establish Peace*, 511-514. On Cao Zhang's interest in the succession, see ZZTJ 69, 2176; Fang, *Chronicle I*, 2 and 29-20. The biographies of Cao Zhi and of Cao Zhang are in SGZ 19, 557-76, and 555-57.

⁶ ZZTJ 69, 2175-77; Fang, *Chronicle I*, 1-4 and 18-23, describes some of the events and discussions which attended the succession of Cao Pi. Among other incidents, there was a disturbance among the troops at the capital, and there was a purge of the political adherents of Cao Zhi, while Cao Zhi himself was demoted. See also SGZ 15, 481-82 and PC note 2 quoting *Wei lue*.

CLAIM TO THE MANDATE

In the tenth month of this year, on 11 December 220, Cao Pi took the final step in the establishment of his dynasty, receiving the abdication of Emperor Xian of Han and proclaiming himself first Emperor of Wei. The ceremony took place at the city of Xu, which was now, to match a prophesy, renamed Xuchang, "Xu Rising."⁷

Sun Quan was reserved on the matter, but he accepted the end of Han and he made no protest or break with the Wei. In particular, he accepted the new reign title proclaimed by Cao Pi, and he continued to send tribute gifts as required.⁸

In the summer of the following year, on 15 May 221, Liu Bei responded to Cao Pi's challenge, and had himself proclaimed Emperor at Chengdu.⁹ By this time, moreover, he had prepared his armies for the revenge attack against Sun Quan, and in the autumn he embarked on that campaign.

In military terms, this period of eighteen months, through 220 and the first half of 221, had been quiet. In the autumn of 220, Liu Bei's general in the west of present-day Hubei, Meng Da, changed sides to join the Wei. He had felt under criticism for failure to assist Guan Yu in the fatal campaign the year before, and he had quarrelled with his supervisor Liu Feng, the adoptive son of Liu Bei. Though some regarded him as a turncoat, Meng Da was given command as Grand Administrator of the new commandery of Xincheng for Wei, which claimed the whole region of present-day Hubei, and incorporated the smaller commanderies of Fangling, Shangyong and Xicheng. Soon afterwards, under Meng Da's influence, the renegade Shen Dan, who had been Grand Administrator of Shangyong first under Cao Cao and then under Liu Bei, turned back to his first allegiance. Liu Feng was driven away and returned to Chengdu. It was suggested by Zhuge Liang that Liu Feng might cause difficulty for the succession of Liu Shan, Liu Bei's own young son and heir - Liu Feng had evidently outlived his usefulness and he was ordered to commit suicide.¹⁰

This activity on his northwestern frontier did not concern Sun Quan directly, and was a fairly natural adjustment after the destruction of Guan Yu.¹¹ It did, however, ensure that Liu Bei's only means of access to Jing province was along the narrow line of the Yangzi Gorges.

Sun Quan had remained in residence in Jing province, and in 221 he established his second capital, at E city, which he renamed Wuchang. By the end of autumn, the city had

⁷ *HHS* 9, 390, *SGZ* 2, 62, *ZZTJ* 6, 2182; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 36-39, and see Leban, "Managing heaven's mandate," which discusses the various prophecies used to justify the abdication and accession. On the change of the name of Xu city to Xuchang, which took place in the following year (*SGZ* 2, 77), see also note 12 to Chapter 2, and *cf.* the name of the capital city of Wuchang established by Sun Quan, note 12 below.

⁸ Late in 221, Cao Pi made what was regarded as an excessive demand for exotic tribute items. Sun Quan sent them: *SGZ* 47/Wu 2, 1124 PC note 6 quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 59-60 and 89-90.

⁹ *SGZ* 32/Shu 2, 887-890.

¹⁰ *SGZ* 40/Shu 10, 991-94.

Liu Shan was seventeen *sui* when he succeeded his father Liu Bei in 223, so in 220 he was thirteen years old by Western reckoning. On the earlier history of Liu Bei's family, and the adoption of Liu Feng, see note 8 to Chapter 5.

Liu Bei at this time had two younger sons, Liu Yong and Liu Li, born to concubines. Both of them received royal titles: *SGZ* 32/Shu 2, 890, and *SGZ* 34/Shu 4, 907 and 908, which gives their biographies.

¹¹ *SGZ* 47/Wu 2, 1121, notes that some five thousand households came south from the counties of Yin, Zan, Zhuyang, Shandu and Zhonglu, being the northern part of Nan commandery and the southwestern part of Nanyang, along the Han River, to settle under Sun Quan's control. It does not appear, however, that Sun Quan actually gained territory, as opposed to population, from this incident. More probably, the evacuation, which was initiated by the surrender of the local Wei commander, Mei Fu, is an indication of a developing no-man's land along that frontier.

CHAPTER SEVEN

been provided with defensive walls. At the same time, a special commandery was established about the city, controlling the length of the Yangzi from the junction with the Han east to the region of the Pengli Lake - this new capital district extended across the borders of the two Han provinces controlled by Sun Quan, and gave him a central site of communications both east and west.¹²

In the latter months of 221, as Liu Bei's expedition gathered way on its approach down the Yangzi, Sun Quan's officer Zhuge Jin sent a letter urging him to turn back, and Sun Quan too made offers of peace.¹³ Several of Liu Bei's own advisers had doubts about the wisdom of the enterprise and its likely success, but no arguments would dissuade him, and certainly Sun Quan was offering no satisfaction or recompense for the past.

His more important exchange of missions was with the north. In the autumn of 221, he sent a most obsequious memorial, confirming himself as a subject of Wei, and he also sent back the general Yu Jin and other prisoners of war who had surrendered to Guan Yu in the campaign about Xiangyang. There was some debate at Cao Pi's court whether it would be possible to reject the submission of Sun Quan, which was obviously forced by the circumstances of Liu Bei's attack, and instead join with Liu Bei to eliminate Sun Quan.¹⁴ Such a campaign, however, would clearly have entailed risks, and it was argued strongly that rejection of a peaceable suppliant would be a serious political error, destroying the air of credibility and natural authority which the regime was seeking to establish. The obviously enforced abdication of Han, natural and inevitable as it might appear in terms of *Realpolitik*, had nevertheless put a strain upon the acceptance of the new regime; a second crisis of good faith might have opened up even more serious tensions.

So a return embassy was sent to Sun Quan, granting him the Nine Distinctions, and also awarding him the title King of Wu. The embassy arrived in the eleventh month, being December of 221, though we have, curiously, no exact date for the ceremony. Certainly it was a triumph for Sun Quan, but it was most important not for the formalities of rank but rather for the confirmation of political agreement with Cao Pi. Sun Quan had obtained neutrality from the north; and in exchange, by accepting this royal honour from the Wei he had confirmed his allegiance and ended any possibility that he could claim to act in future as supporter and champion of displaced Han.¹⁵

¹² SGZ 47/Wu 2, 1121.

The name of the city of Wuchang, which may be rendered as "Military Prosperity," appears thus for the first time in Chinese history. It should be noted, however, that the site of Sun Quan's Wuchang was not at the same place as its modern namesake, by the junction of the Han River with the Yangzi, where it forms part of the conurbation of Wuhan, but some eighty kilometres downstream, at the city which has been renamed Echeng.

¹³ SGZ 32/Shu 2, 890; SGZ 52/Wu 7, 1232-33.

Zhuge Jin was at this time Sun Quan's Grand Administrator of Nan commandery, with headquarters at Gonggan, which posts he had taken over after the death of Lü Meng. There was some talk that he might be planning private contact and surrender to Liu Bei, but Sun Quan denied any such possibility, and his commander Lu Xun agreed. See also Fang, *Chronicle* I, 50-52 and 74-75.

¹⁴ On this debate, see in particular the biography of Liu Ye, SGZ 14, 446 and 447 PC quoting the *Fuzi*; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 52-53 and 79-81.

Liu Ye was a man from Jiujiang commandery who had joined the service of Liu Xun and attempted to warn him against Sun Ce's trickery in 199 (Chapter 3 at note 58). He then went to Cao Cao, and held high rank and favour under Cao Pi. On this occasion, however, his advice was over-ruled.

¹⁵ Sun Ce had held the title Marquis of Wu at the time of his death. This enfeoffment, however, is the first occasion Sun Quan was associated in title with the region. He had formerly been Marquis of Nanchang, capital of Yuzhang, under the auspices of the now demised Han dynasty: note 1 above.

CLAIM TO THE MANDATE

The marquisate of Wu, of course, took its name from the county; the kingdom from that of the commandery. Hereafter, I refer on occasion to the whole state of Sun Quan by the name of Wu.

The honour of the Nine Distinctions is described in *Bohu tong* 20, xxx, translated by Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 504-509, and is discussed also in his Introduction, in the first volume of the work, at 25-29 and 37-39.

The Nine Distinctions had earlier been awarded to Wang Mang in AD 5, a few years before he took the throne for himself in AD 9, and they were granted to Cao Cao at the time of his enfeoffment as Duke of Wei in 213. The edict of award to Wang Mang is cited in *HS* 99A, 4074-75, and is translated by Dubs, *HFHD* III, 208-210. The edict of award to Cao Cao appears in *SGZ* 1, 39, which text is translated by Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 26-27.

The edict of award to Sun Quan appears in *SGZ* 47/Wu 2, 1122, and lists the Nine Distinctions, and the reason for each grant, as follows:

1 Because you have given peace and comfort to the southeast and granted government to the lands beyond the Yangzi, so the people may follow their occupations in peace and none of them go astray; therefore we grant you the Great Carriage and the War Carriage, one of each, with Two Black Stallions.

2 You have paid attention to the revenues of the state and you have encouraged farming, so the granaries and storehouses are filled to completion; therefore we grant you the Clothes and Bonnets of Honour, with Red Slippers to match.

3 You reform the people by your virtue, and ceremony and teaching are brought to effect; therefore we grant you Suspended Musical Instruments to be displayed in your palace.

4 You have propagated good customs among the people, and by your moral influence you have brought the many tribes of the Yue to submit; therefore we grant you the right to dwell behind Vermilion Doors.

5 You have made best use of your talents and good judgement, and you give appointments to the just and worthy men; therefore we grant you the right to ascend the Inner Staircase.

6 Your loyalty and bravery are displayed together, and you clear away and eliminate evil and vice; therefore we grant you One Hundred Warriors Rapid as Tigers.

7 You have shown your authority far and wide, you have displayed your power in Jing and the south, you destroy and exterminate criminals and wrong-doers, and so the caitiffs are taken; therefore we grant you the Ceremonial Axe and the Battle Axe, one of each.

8 You have given good government and peace within your territory, and your valour and good faith are shown abroad; therefore we grant you One Scarlet Bow with One Hundred Scarlet Arrows and Ten Black Bows with One Thousand Black Arrows.

9 You have taken loyalty and respect as the basis for your conduct, and generosity and diligence are your virtues; therefore we grant you One Goblet of the Black Millet Herb-flavoured Liquor, with a Jade Libation Cup to match.

Predictably, this series of virtues and achievements, with associated honours, follows the pattern of the edict of award for Cao Cao eight years earlier, and in general terms, behind the varied and flowery rhetoric, one may see some relation between the various virtues and achievements and the grant of distinction which matches it. Thus peaceful government is rewarded by the Carriages and Horses; prosperous government is rewarded by Garments of Honour; reform and ceremony by Musical Instruments; extension of moral civilisation by the Vermilion Door; the appointment of good officials by the Inner Staircase. Thereafter, the sixth, seventh and eighth Distinctions are granted for different aspects of military prowess; and, finally, personal virtue is rewarded with the Ceremonial Liquor and the Libation Cup. For some further discussion, see Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 27-29, and II, 504-509.

In theory, it would appear the Nine Distinctions could be awarded individually to a feudal lord who had established his achievements or virtues in one field or another. Again in theory, the Distinctions were particular privileges granted by an imperial ruler to his subordinate: the most obvious is the Warriors Rapid as Tigers, which was the name of a regular unit of the imperial guards of Han (*e.g.* Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 24 and 27); the point of the sixth Distinction was that a subordinate ruler was granted the right to a body-guard of that name.

Cao Cao in 213 had been awarded three hundred such warriors by the Han dynasty, but Sun Quan was given the right to only one hundred by Cao Pi. The other notable difference between the entitlements listed in the two edicts is in the third grant: Cao Cao received Suspended Musical Instruments *and* Six Rows of Dancers; Sun Quan received only the Musical Instruments.

As we have seen, however, the only other men recorded as receiving the Nine Distinctions were Wang Mang and Cao Cao. Both received them in full, and in each case the grant proved a preliminary to the seizure of full power soon afterwards. Cao Pi was certainly showing Sun Quan high honour.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Though Liu Bei had embarked on his campaign against Sun Quan in the seventh month of 221, soon after his proclamation as Emperor, it was some time before his troops were readied for the invasion. Apart from the problems of concentrating such a major expeditionary force for advance along the narrow defile of the Yangzi Gorges, his arrangements received an early set-back when Zhang Fei, his senior general and sworn brother to Liu Bei and Guan Yu, was killed by renegades who then fled to Sun Quan.¹⁶ By the winter, however, an army claimed to number forty thousand men had been brought into position and prepared for the offensive.¹⁷

Sun Quan's most westerly outpost was at Wu county, where the mountain range is cut by the great Wu Gorge on the Yangzi. Behind that, the main frontier force was at Zigui, near the present-day city of that name and just inside the last main gorge, the Xiling Xia. In anticipation of the attack, this territory had been re-organised as the commandery of Guling, and Pan Zhang, the man who had been responsible for the killing of Guan Yu, was appointed Grand Administrator and military commander of this first line of defence.¹⁸

Towards the end of 221, Liu Bei launched his first attack. Sun Quan's local commanders were defeated, and Pan Zhang was driven back. Liu Bei's advance guard occupied Zigui, and his agents made contact with the non-Chinese people of Wuling commandery, in the hill country south of the Yangzi, encouraging them to join forces against Sun Quan.

To deal with the threat, Sun Quan appointed Lu Xun as chief of operations, bearing the staff of authority, with fifty thousand troops under his command. Zhuge Jin, as general and Grand Administrator of Nan commandery based on Gong'an, appears to have been

In the same edict, besides the Nine Distinctions, and the seal, tassel and imperial edict of enfeoffment as King of Wu, Sun Quan was also given a variety of other honours. These included golden tiger tallies from the first grade to the fifth and the left side of bamboo message tallies from the first grade to the tenth. In symbol of his sovereign status in the east, Sun Quan was awarded Green Soil (*qing du*) from the eastern side of the imperial Altar of the Soil, wrapped in cloth of the *baimao* "white rushes" plant. (On this ritual in Later Han, see the *Du duan* of Cai Yong, 12a-b, discussed by Mansvelt Beck, *Treatise of Later Han*, 90-91: cf. the far more summary account presented in *HHS* 95/5, 3020-21).

In somewhat more practical, as opposed to purely symbolic and ritualistic terms, Sun Quan was granted appointment as General-in-Chief with credentials to govern Jiao province, and authority over the affairs (*ling ... shi*) of the Governor of Jing province. In the fifth month of the following year, moreover, a special edict of Cao Pi's government rearranged the provincial borders of Han in this region: the commanderies south of the Yangzi in Jing province and in Yang province, being those held by Sun Quan, were grouped under a new Jing province; the northern part of Jing province, being that controlled by Wei, was renamed Ying province, and the northern part of Yang province continued under that name. The change was nominal, and was not retained for long, but it did mean Cao Pi was formally confirming Sun Quan's authority in all the territory that he controlled. (*SGZ* 2, 80, and see note 36 below).

¹⁶ *SGZ* 36/Shu 6, 944; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 49-50 and 73-74.

¹⁷ The figures of forty thousand men for the army of Liu Bei, and fifty thousand for the defence forces under Lu Xun (see below), are probably exaggerated. We may recall, however, the discussion of Zhou Yu with Sun Quan on the eve of the Red Cliffs campaign, when Cao Cao was seriously credited with more than a hundred thousand men, and Zhou Yu asked for fifty thousand men with which to oppose him. Armies at that time could be large, though how many of the troops were effective soldiers is another question. On this occasion, I suspect the numbers of men engaged may have been as many as half those we are told of: between twenty and twenty-five thousand on either side.

¹⁸ There is a map of the campaign in *Zhongguo shi gao ditu ji*, 48. The chief accounts are in the biography/annals of Liu Bei, *SGZ* 32/Shu 2, 890, and in the biography of Lu Xun, *SGZ* 58/Wu 13, 1346-48. Much of the material is translated in Fang, *Chronicle* I, 49-124.

SGZ 32 here refers to Lu Xun as Lu Yi; Yi was Lu Xun's original personal name: *SGZ* 58, 1343.

CLAIM TO THE MANDATE

commander of reserves and lines of communications.¹⁹ Lu Xun's own headquarters were in the newly-established Yidu commandery, whose capital was at Yidao, present-day Yidu, but the main concentration point of his forces was on the northern bank of the Yangzi, between Yidao and Yiling county, further upstream by present-day Yichang. As he remarked in a report to Sun Quan,

Yiling is the vital strategic point, the key defence post on this frontier. It is easy to take it, and equally easy to lose it; and if we lose it there is no question of just one commandery; the whole of Jing province will be at risk.²⁰

For the time being Lu Xun was prepared to allow Liu Bei the region upstream about Wu and Zigui; the critical battle would come when Liu Bei sought to break out from that territory.

In the first month of spring in 222, Liu Bei arrived to take command at Zigui. His army was arranged in divisions, with an advance guard and a main body, but Liu Bei, now just over sixty years old, decided the strategy of the campaign, and gave his orders in person. In the second month, he led the greater part of his forces along the south of the Yangzi towards Yidao, while a secondary troop under the general Huang Quan advanced in parallel on the northern bank against Yiling.

At this time Lu Xun was in his late thirties. He had gained considerable experience, as we have seen, in the campaigns to develop Yang province, he had been recommended by Lü Meng as his deputy when plans were being made against Guan Yu, and he had served with distinction in that campaign.²¹ On the other hand, he had not held a command of such responsibility before, while the facts that he was man of good gentry family, was married to the daughter of Sun Ce, and was a long-time personal adviser to Sun Quan, did not necessarily guarantee his ability as a high-level commander. The generals under his orders included a number of men with far longer service in the cause of the Sun family: among them, for example, were Han Dang, who had served Sun Jian on his earliest campaigns and joined Sun Ce when he first crossed the Yangzi; and Zhu Ran, Pan Zhang and Xu Sheng, all of whom had been with Sun Quan since the earliest days. Any of these men might hold themselves at least equal to Lu Xun in experience and competence, and they were not necessarily a band of loyal brothers.²²

In this respect, Sun Quan had a definite problem among his officers. Both Lü Meng and Jiang Qin had died of illness at the time of the attack against Guan Yu in 219, and it was not easy to find a leader who had the ability to fight and the personal authority to control his subordinates. There had been similar trouble with the general Zhou Tai, a brave soldier who was given command of the defences about Ruxu after Cao Cao's attack in 216. At that time, Zhu Ran and Xu Sheng were also under his orders, but they made considerable difficulties, and it required personal intervention by Sun Quan to restore

¹⁹ *SGZ* 52/Wu 7, 1232.

²⁰ *SGZ* 58/Wu 13, 1346; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 101.

²¹ See Chapters 5 and 6.

²² The biographies of Han Dang, Pan Zhang and Xu Sheng are in *SGZ* 55/Wu 10, 1285-86, 1299-130, and 1298-99. The biography of Zhu Ran is in *SGZ* 56/Wu 11, 1305-08.

After the death of Lü Meng, Zhu Ran had been granted the Staff of Authority and set in command of the defences of Jiangling city, the capital of Nan commandery under the Han dynasty. Lu Xun's appointment, therefore, represented a slight demotion for him.

CHAPTER SEVEN

some measure of co-operation and proper discipline. Zhou Tai remained at that post some time longer, but he never took command on active service.²³

Lu Xun, therefore, had rivals and critics among his own subordinates, and it is a measure of his ability and Sun Quan's good fortune that he was able to hold his men together against an experienced and aggressive enemy.²⁴ Despite various urgings to action, Lu Xun insisted upon the defensive, and he was primarily concerned to keep his army intact and force caution upon Liu Bei. Through spring and summer, though others grew impatient, Lu Xun restricted his actions to a minimum, seeking only to prevent Liu Bei from a notable break-through, and preventing him from concentrating his forces at any point. The invader was rather shepherded than opposed outright.

With the long supply route of the Yangzi behind him, and the army of Lu Xun uncommitted in front, Liu Bei was compelled to move slowly, and he advanced his forces through a series of encampments and local defence positions along the high ground on either side of the river. By the end of summer 222, his northern force under Huang Quan had engaged the defences of Yiling, and an advanced party on the south was besieging the city of Yidao, where the garrison was commanded by Sun Huan.²⁵ Liu Bei had his headquarters at the village of Xiaoting, and he now sent troops south to maintain contact with the non-Chinese people of Wuling, granting them insignia of office and presents of gold and silk.

Lu Xun had steadily refused engagement. When his generals protested, he explained that Liu Bei had all advantage in the hills, and even on open ground he was not yet prepared to take the risk of battle - too much depended on the outcome. When his advisers urged him to rescue Sun Huan in Yidao, he argued there was yet no need, and Sun Huan was in no immediate danger. When Liu Bei attempted to entice him by sending a few thousand men to set up camp in open ground, Lu Xun suspected a trap; and when he saw the ruse was unsuccessful Liu Bei did indeed bring out the reinforcements which he had held in reserve as an ambush.

²³ The biography of Zhou Tai is in *SGZ 55/Wu 10*, 1287-88. At 1288 we are told how Zhu Ran, Xu Sheng and others were all his subordinate commanders, but none of them would accept him.

Sun Quan made a special tour of inspection to the Ruxu fortress and he called all his officers and held a great banquet. He himself brought wine before Zhou Tai, and he had him open up his robes and pointed to the marks of his old wounds, asking him how he had come by each one.

Zhou Tai replied with the story of each of those old engagements. When he has finished, Sun Quan told him to do his clothing up again, and they made merry all the rest of the night. Next morning, he sent a messenger to grant him an imperial umbrella. From that time on, Xu Sheng and the others all accepted Zhou Tai's authority.

A similar story, quoted from *Jiangbiao zhuan* by PC note 1, tells how Sun Quan spoke to Zhou Tai with the utmost affection, using his intimate style, and describing him as a most worthy minister of Wu. He awarded him a special escort, and a band of drums and horns. See also de Crespigny, *Establish Peace*, 509-510.

²⁴ On at least one occasion, Lu Xun had to confront his subordinates and challenge them to defy the authority he had been given: *SGZ 58/Wu 13*, 1347-48; Fang, *Chronicle I*, 103 and 121.

²⁵ The greater part of the biography of Sun Huan, *SGZ 51/Wu 6*, 1217, describes his engagement against Liu Bei. He was at that time twenty-five *sui*, and held the junior rank of General of the Gentleman of the Household Who Gives Tranquillity to the East.

Sun Huan was the second son of Sun He, a cousin of Sun Ce by the female line who had been adopted into the Sun surname: note 6 to Chapter 3.

SGZ 58/Wu 13, 1347, says that Lu Xun was urged to move to the rescue of Sun Huan because he was a member of the royal family, while Sun Huan also expected stronger support at the time. Later, however, he congratulated Lu Xun on his planning. See also Fang, *Chronicle I*, 102-103 and 120.

CLAIM TO THE MANDATE

It can hardly have been easy for Lu Xun to hold back when all his advisers were looking for action. The story may be no more than a cliché of the solitary hero, but there is no evidence in any other biography that Lu Xun had support in his council for this Fabian strategy. At the same time, however, Sun Quan seems to have had no lack of confidence. The conquest of Hanzhong commandery by Liu Bei in 219 had been made possible by the mistaken aggression of Cao Cao's general Xiahou Yuan, and it is likely that Sun Quan and his commander had heard something of that campaign. So it was Lu Xun's intention to wait out Liu Bei's first plan of attack, and maintain his men in readiness for the time when, as he said, Liu Bei had been standing a long time without any obvious success, when his troops were fatigued and their spirits were down, and Liu Bei had lost concentration.²⁶ Sun Quan was prepared to trust his judgement.

In the sixth month, Lu Xun turned at last to the attack. The gradual advance through the hills country had separated Liu Bei from his fleet, and his position was now extended along either side of the Yangzi, while the chain of encampments which he had established was vulnerable to attack from the flank. A first, minor, sortie by Lu Xun was unsuccessful, and may rather have been intended as a feint. Then, however, ignoring the threats which Liu Bei had sought to apply against the garrisons at Yiling and Yidao, Lu Xun struck directly at his enemy's main position near Xiaoting. The soldiers of Wu were ordered to carry each a bundle of rushes, to burn the palisades of the various camps: attack with fire, which had worked so well on the water at the Red Cliffs, here proved its worth on land.

Liu Bei was driven from his position, and retreated to higher ground in the hope of regrouping, but the damage was already done. Lu Xun's attacks isolated his divisions and rendered his army uncontrollable. Several units were surrounded and overrun, others were compelled to retreat in haste, and were caught and destroyed piecemeal.²⁷ As a measure of the speed with which Liu Bei's position collapsed, we may observe that his whole northern army under the general Huang Quan, which had been engaged against Yiling city, was completely cut off, so that Huang Quan and all his men were compelled to abandon the field and march north to surrender to the neutral Wei.²⁸ In Wuling commandery, south of the battle, the tribesmen abandoned the losing side, and Liu Bei's agent Ma Liang was killed.²⁹

Not all of Liu Bei's army was destroyed, and great numbers escaped, but only at the cost of equipment, boats and baggage, and it was little more than a disorganised rabble which regained the territory of Yi province. It is said that Liu Bei was almost been captured, but he re-established his headquarters at Bodi "White Emperor" city in Yufu

²⁶ SGZ 58/Wu 13, 1346; Fang, *Chronicle I*, 101 and 118.

²⁷ SGZ 58/Wu 13, 1347, tells of the death of two of Liu Bei's generals, together with the barbarian (*hu*) chieftain Shamoke, and the surrender of several other commanders.

The *Ji-Han fuchen zan* of Yang Xi, quoted in SGZ 45/Shu 15 at 1088-89 and 1089-90, tells of the heroic deaths of Fu Yong and Cheng Ji. There is parallel text in *Huayang guo zhi* 6, 13a, and ZZTJ 69, 2203-04; Fang, *Chronicle I*, 102-103 and 118-120.

²⁸ SGZ 43/Shu 13, 1044, the biography of Huang Quan.

Huang Quan was well-treated and rose to high favour in the state of Wei. One of his sons, Huang Yong, accompanied him; but his wife and the rest of his family remained in Shu, where his other son, Huang Chong, later died in battle against Wei: Fang, *Chronicle II*, 432-433.

²⁹ The biography of Ma Liang is in SGZ 39/Shu 9, 982-83. He was a man from the Xiangyang region, an associate of Zhuge Liang, who had been appointed to the high court office of Palace Attendant when Liu Bei claimed the imperial title.

CHAPTER SEVEN

county. The name of the county was changed to Yongan "Perpetual Peace," and Liu Bei remained there for the rest of his life.³⁰

Li Bei's loyal general Zhao Yun came up with reinforcements to hold the frontier at that point and, rather touchingly, the biography of Liu Bei claims that when Sun Quan heard Liu Bei had re-gathered his forces at Bodi, he was filled with the utmost fear, and hastily sent envoys to ask for peace.³¹ Little, indeed, could be further from the truth. There was no longer any threat from Liu Bei to Sun Quan's position in Jing province, and some of Sun Quan's more ambitious generals were urging that they should renew the attack and pursue Liu Bei the whole length of the Gorges into Yi province. Even on its own terms this would have been a dangerous venture, but the critical reason for halting the campaign at this stage was the growing threat from the north. Cao Pi was evidently losing patience with Sun Quan's diplomatic pretences, and the armies of Wu had now to prepare quickly for defence on the northern front.

Security in the north:

With the full defeat of Liu Bei in the late summer and early autumn of 222, Sun Quan had obtained all possible benefit from his formal submission to Cao Pi and the empire of Wei, and he wasted very little time in breaking that connection. It had never been popular with his officers, and even at the time of his enfeoffment as King of Wu there had been those who argued against accepting such a rank from the usurping Emperor, and who suggested that Sun Quan should take some independent title as Lord of Nine Provinces, claiming hegemony in support of Han.³² This was, as we have discussed, quite inappropriate and impractical in the circumstances, and the submission to Cao Pi was an essential preparation for dealing with Liu Bei. On the other hand, the alliance with the north was always a matter of expediency, and there seems no probability that Sun Quan intended it to last any longer than it needed.

The destruction of Liu Bei left Sun Quan with a surprisingly free hand, and it is unlikely that anyone at the time had expected such a triumph. Very probably, Cao Pi had hoped that his two major enemies would remain embroiled in the south, and he would then be able to take advantage of Liu Bei's preoccupations by making an attack upon him in the west, while at the same time he could blackmail Sun Quan with the threat of intervention upon one side or the other. The speed of events, however, appears to have taken the rivals by surprise,³³ and Sun Quan was able to repudiate the alliance within nine months of its agreement.

The break proved remarkably easy, for Sun Quan had not committed any hostages to the court of Cao Pi. His eldest son, Sun Deng, whom he had named as his Heir-Apparent to the kingdom of Wu, was born in 209, and was thus about twelve or thirteen years old

³⁰ SGZ 36/Shu 6, 950 PC note 1 quoting *Zhao Yun biezhuàn*.

³¹ SGZ 32/Shu 2, 890.

³² For example, SGZ 47/Wu 2, 1123 PC note 3 quoting *Jiangbiao zhuàn*. The phrase "Nine Provinces" in may be understood here as referring to the whole empire, the traditional nine regions of classical times, not just a majority of the administrative units under Han. The expression appears also, for example, in the title of the historical work by Sima Biao, *Jiuzhou chunqiu*.

³³ SGZ 2, 80; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 104, tells how Cao Pi heard of the manner Liu Bei had extended his encampments through the hill country, and forecast his defeat. Even if this anecdote is true, it is doubtful whether anyone foresaw such a catastrophic rout of the invaders.

CLAIM TO THE MANDATE

by Western reckoning. At the time Sun Quan was made a king, Cao Pi sought also to enfeoff Sun Deng as a marquis and appoint him a General of the Gentlemen of the Household, honours which evidently implied and required his attendance at court in the north. Sun Quan sent up a letter of apology, saying that his son was too young and delicate in health to be sent away from home, and for the time being Cao Pi did not press the matter.

The question was raised at the occasion of other embassies in the following months, but Sun Quan continued to temporise. Cao Pi appears to have believed the assurances, and he evidently considered that he could afford to wait. In the autumn of 222, however, realising that Sun Quan's critical need for alliance was passing, Cao Pi attempted to force the issue, and he sent a special embassy to the court of Wu to extract a formal covenant of agreement, and to obtain Sun Deng as hostage. Sun Quan "politely refused to receive the envoys."³⁴

This, of course, meant war, and war came very quickly. In the ninth month, Cao Pi gave orders for three armies to move south against the Yangzi. One, under Cao Zhen and Xiahou Shang, attacked Nan commandery and its capital Jiangling on the middle Yangzi, the other two were deployed along the lower Yangzi south of the Huai: Cao Ren against the fortress at Ruxu and Cao Xiu against Dongkou, or Dongpu kou, which was evidently another, lesser fortified harbour situated downstream in the neighbourhood of Sun Ce's old crossing place by Liyang city of Later Han.

Sun Quan made one further attempt to avoid open conflict, sending a letter in humble language, and suggesting that he might retire to Jiao province if that would appease Cao Pi's indignation. And he also sent a letter to Hao Zhou, who had formerly acted on his behalf in Wei, suggesting that he would be interested in a marriage alliance between Sun Deng and a lady of the Cao clan.³⁵

None of this, however, had any more than the most marginal influence in delaying the attack. Cao Pi was determined to obtain the guarantee of a hostage: "When Sun Deng comes in the morning, I shall recall my troops in the evening of that same day."

At this ultimatum, surely by no means unexpected, in the tenth month, being early November of 222, Sun Quan declared his independence of Wei. He continued to call himself King of Wu, but he now proclaimed his own reign title of Huangwu and he confirmed his preparations for defence along the Yangzi.³⁶

³⁴ SGZ 47/Wu 2, 1123 and 1125; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 107. At 1126, however, we are told that even during the conflict which followed, Sun Quan and Cao Pi continued to negotiate and exchange embassies. The full and formal breach was not made until the following year: note 41 below.

³⁵ SGZ 47/Wu 2, 1126.

Hao Zhou was an officer of Yu Jin, who had been captured by Guan Yu at the fighting about Fan city in 219, and who was returned to the north by Sun Quan in 221. He had spoken most earnestly in Sun Quan's cause at the court of Wei, and guaranteed to Cao Pi that Sun Quan would fulfil his undertakings and send hostages. He was at one stage sent on an embassy to Sun Quan, but when the agreement came to nothing, Hao Zhou's career at court was ended. He does not, however, appear to have been punished for his mistaken advice.

The biography of Hao Zhou from *Wei lue* is quoted in SGZ 47/Wu 2, 1127-29 note 3; it contains an account of his correspondence with Sun Quan.

³⁶ Establishment of the calendar was the prerogative of an independent sovereign. In the following year, Sun Quan also proclaimed a different system of calculating days and months: SGZ 47/Wu 2, 1129. On this, and on the significance of the reign-title Huangwu, see below at note 70.

In response to this declaration of independence, Cao Pi went back on the arrangement of provinces which he had declared earlier in the year, by which Sun Quan, as Governor of Jing province, had held authority in

CHAPTER SEVEN

A few weeks later, in the twelfth month, January of 223, Sun Quan completed his circular diplomatic coup by sending an envoy to Liu Bei's government of Shu-Han in Yi province. The embassy was returned, and the two states renewed the alliance which had been broken by the attack on Guan Yu a little over three years before.

In military terms, Liu Bei at that time was of negligible importance. We have been told by his biography that the armies of Wu were frightened to attack him once he had re-established himself at Bodi. On the other hand, *Wu lu* tells how Liu Bei offered at this time to bring troops to support Wu against the attack from Wei. Lu Xun replied, somewhat unkindly,

I am afraid that your army has still not recovered from the recent disaster. Now that you have sought and obtained peace, the most important thing for you do is to restore your strength. This is no occasion for you to return to all-out war.

If you fail to make proper assessment, but seek instead to collect again your scattered remnants and offer them once more at this great distance, then I fear you may not escape alive.³⁷

One must admire the diplomatic and military energy and skill which Sun Quan and Lu Xun had shown: in a little more than one year Sun Quan had acquired rank second only to an emperor, had defeated his immediate enemy, declared himself as an independent ruler, and then restored the defensive alliance which at least confirmed his former enemy's neutrality and could yet be developed further. In many respects he was now back on the path of policy which his former adviser Lu Su had recommended. In the intervening period, however, he had seized all of Jing province, humiliated Liu Bei, and out-maneuvred both Cao Cao and Cao Pi. Honesty and good faith had often been in short supply, but it was nonetheless a brilliant record against equally tough and unscrupulous opposition.

It now remained, of course, to hold the line of the Yangzi against the forces of the north, but this did not prove so difficult. The advance by the armies of Wei was no mere show of strength, but Cao Pi and his advisers realised the odds were against them, and it is said that Cao Pi spent some anxious moments when he believed that Cao Xiu, in a fit of over-confidence, might commit his army on a raid across the river. His adviser Dong Zhao assured him he need have no such worry: even if Cao Xiu was hot-headed enough to court such disaster, his wiser subordinates would be quite well aware of the dangers and would refuse to support him. Cao Pi may have been re-assured that Cao Xiu would not do anything rash, but there is nothing in the record to suggest that anyone under his command had any confidence of the most limited success.³⁸

In fact, Cao Xiu's army achieved very little. At an early stage of his attack, there was a moment when a break-through appeared possible. A number of ships of the Wu fleet, commanded by Lü Fan, were caught by a violent storm and were driven against the bank held by Wei. Numbers of men were drowned or killed or captured, and there was a short period when the southerners' defences fell into disarray. Cao Xiu's army, however, could not follow up the success quickly, and by the time they did so further ships had come up with reinforcements. Cao Xiu sent his general Cang Ba with a storming party on light

the commanderies south of the Yangzi. Ying province was abolished, and Yang province and Jing province were restored to the system of Han: *SGZ* 2, 82, and *cf.* note 15 above.

³⁷ *SGZ* 58/Wu 13, 1348 PC note 1 quoting *Wu lu*; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 110. *Cf.* note 31 above.

³⁸ *SGZ* 14, 441, the biography of Dong Zhao.

CLAIM TO THE MANDATE

boats in an attempt to establish a beach-head by taking the small fortress of Xuling. They were caught and defeated, however, and the Wei armies gained no further success.³⁹

Further upstream, at Ruxu, the defence was under the command of Zhu Huan. When the fortress held out, Cao Ren sent a naval detachment which sought to capture an island, Zhongzhou, where the defenders' wives and children were camped. The attack was defeated, and the siege force about Ruxu burnt their camp and retreated.⁴⁰

In many respects, the operations in Nan commandery appear to have been the most critical. As Cao Zhen and Xiahou Shang advanced to the south, Cao Pi moved to Wan city in Nanyang so as to be closer to that action. This, after all, was the region which had only lately come into the control of Sun Quan, the defences had already been pushed hard by Liu Bei, and despite the renewed agreement the men of Wu could not be entirely sure that he might not join against them.

The danger point was at Jiangling, capital of the commandery on the northern bank of the Yangzi, and Sun Quan's Grand Administrator there, Zhu Ran, was besieged through all the winter and spring. At one stage, there was a plot by some of the frightened defenders to open the gates and surrender to the mercy of the enemy, but it was discovered and crushed. At another time, during a period of low water, the attackers were able to seize an island in the river, join it with pontoon bridges to their camps on the northern bank, and thus cut the defenders off from support and supplies. The position, however, was too exposed for the Wei forces to maintain themselves in safety, and the Wu armies launched a counter-attack which recaptured the salient. At last, after six months, there was sickness in the invaders' camp, and they withdrew to the north. By the beginning of summer Cao Pi had returned to Luoyang.⁴¹

The attack on Nan commandery and the middle Yangzi had shown the best potential for success, but Cao Pi did not attempt any further invasion along that front in future years. Jing province may have been less well attached to Sun Quan than his home territory in the east, but there were two difficulties which must have influenced the northern strategy. Firstly, there was the possibility of intervention from Shu in the west if the invaders should prove too successful and be committed too thoroughly south of the Yangzi. Second, it does not seem that the naval strength of Wei, based upon the Han River fleet, could ever be effectively co-ordinated with operations on land.

At the time of the Red Cliffs, Cao Cao had already taken Jiangling, and he was able to advance to the east with a fleet and an army in combination. From a starting point as far north as Xiangyang, however, any fleet of Wei had to be based upon the Han River, and this could be of no assistance to land operations against Jiangling. On the other hand, if the army sought to accompany the fleet down the Han without first capturing Jiangling, their southern flank would be constantly exposed to attack. And though the Wei held an

³⁹ *SGZ* 56/Wu 11, 1311, and *SGZ* 47/Wu 2, 1126; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 133.

⁴⁰ *SGZ* 56/Wu 11, 1312-13, the biography of Zhu Huan; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 149.

We are told here that the sickness particularly affected Cao Pi's army before Jiangling. *SGZ* 2, 82, however, notes that there was a general epidemic in the late spring of 223, while *SGZ* 9, 276, and *SGZ* 2, 82, remark that Cao Ren, who had been commander of the attack against Ruxu, also died of illness at this time.

⁴¹ As a gloss to the successful defence by Zhu Ran, we may note the titles of the fiefs he was awarded. After the defeat of Liu Bei, he was made Marquis of Yong'an, that is, of the renamed county in which Liu Bei had taken refuge. After the withdrawal of Cao Pi and his forces, however, the name of the fief was exchanged to Marquis of Dangyang, being the county territory in Nan commandery north towards Xiangyang: *SGZ* 56/Wu 11, 1306. The changed title demonstrated Sun Quan's defiance of Cao Pi, and also offered a belated courtesy to the restored alliance with Liu Bei.

CHAPTER SEVEN

advanced position in the northern part of Jiangxia commandery, and might have contemplated an advance on that line, east of the Han, their communications would still have been exposed to the threat from Nan commandery in the west. The salient in Jiangxia was always a zone of defence for the Wei, not the starting point for an offensive.⁴²

The forces of the north, of course, were always at a disadvantage in river fighting, and it was extremely difficult for Cao Pi's men to match Sun Quan's in naval matters, whether by numbers or in skill. Downstream, as we shall see, Cao Pi did attempt to cope with this problem in attacks on Yang province. In Jing province, however, he was faced with the final, insuperable, difficulty of the marsh-land which extended over much of the frontier. The marshes were an obstacle to any efficient manoeuvre by army or navy, and there is considerable evidence that they also harboured disease which could be extremely damaging to warriors from the dryer lands of the north.

Both Cao Cao in 208 and Cao Pi in 223 had seen their armies affected by sickness and, though the history does not say so specifically, this may well have been a critical consideration in Cao Pi's decision to concentrate in future upon the eastern section of the frontier, south of the Huai, rather than risking his men in the ill-drained wilderness about the lower reaches of the Han.

In the fourth month of 223, Liu Bei died at Bodi, aged in his early sixties. His son Liu Shan, sixteen years old by Western reckoning, succeeded him, but the real power in the state was held by Zhuge Liang.

Sun Quan, not unreasonably, was doubtful of the stability of the new regime in the west. By the winter, however, Zhuge Liang had established his authority, and his envoy Deng Zhi, a man who came originally from Nanyang commandery, was able to persuade Sun Quan that the new government was secure. Sun Quan gave Lu Xun plenipotentiary authority to deal with Zhuge Liang and the government of Shu, and alliance against the Wei was confirmed and maintained thereafter, with embassies exchanged at intervals by either side.⁴³

In the summer of 223, Sun Quan's general He Qi attacked and eliminated an outpost of Wei in the new commandery territory of Qichun, on the southern slopes of the Dabie Shan,⁴⁴ but for the next twelve months the northern front remained quiet. In the autumn

⁴² Early in 223, as Cao Zhen's army was advancing towards Jiangling, Sun Quan had ordered the fortification of "the hills of Jiangxia," almost certainly referring to the outcrops of higher ground in the vicinity of Xiakou, at the junction of the Han with the Yangzi, present-day Wuhan: *SGZ* 47/Wu 2, 1129, and *SGZJJ* 56/Wu 2, 25b.

⁴³ *SGZ* 58/Wu 13, 1348, and *SGZ* 47/Wu 2, 1130 and 1131 PC note 4 quoting *Wu li*. It appears to have been at this time, after the death of Liu Bei and the renewed agreement with the government of Shu under the regency of Zhuge Liang, that Sun Quan made the final break with Cao Pi: *cf.* note 34 above.

⁴⁴ *SGZ* 47/Wu 2, 1130, and *SGZ* 60/Wu 15, 1380.

The Grand Administrator of Qichun was Jin Zong, a former officer of Sun Quan who had deserted and joined the Wei. It appears he was given the commandery appointment at this time, in the hill country of the Dabie Shan on the border region between Lujiang and Jiangxia, so that he could disturb the communications routes along the Yangzi and across that river to the south.

There is evidence that Qichun commandery had been established a few years earlier, evidently on the basis of the county of that name in Jiangxia commandery of Later Han, but the territory had been abandoned by Cao Cao at the time of his withdrawal in 213: *SGZ* 47/Wu 2, 1118. From this time, after the defeat of Jin Zong's infiltration, the territory was held by Wu.

SGZ 60 observes that one of the subordinate commanders in He Qi's attack on Qichun was Mi Fang, the erstwhile officer of Guan Yu who had surrendered Jiangling to Lü Meng in 219: note 68 to Chapter 6. Qichun was evidently a proving ground for renegades.

CLAIM TO THE MANDATE

of 224, however, Cao Pi embarked on a strategic program against the lower Yangzi. Using the tributary rivers of the Huai, he brought ships and men from Xuchang to Shouchun and then further southeast to Guangling, on the northern bank of the estuary opposite Jianye, present-day Nanjing.

In the past, attacks from the north had been launched further upstream, on the narrower reaches by Ruxu or Liyang. On this occasion, Cao Pi was operating in an area where the river was significantly wider, but he hoped that the ships he brought with him might be sufficient to establish a local supremacy and support an invasion force. It is possible that this was no more than a reconnaissance in strength, for the river was at its height with the autumn floods. The Wei forces, however, had evidently gained some surprise, for the defences in that area were weak. A local general, Xu Sheng, organised the preparation of dummy defence walls and turrets along the southern bank of the Yangzi from Jianye downstream to Jiangcheng, and the Wu were also able to concentrate a reasonable fleet to oppose Cao Pi. No real fighting took place, and by the end of the year Cao Pi had returned to Xuchang.⁴⁵ This, however, was only the first stage of his plans. Early in 225 Cao Pi arranged for the construction of the Canal to Smash the Caitiffs,⁴⁶ and by the end of the summer a new and larger naval force was on its way to the southeast. In mid-summer Cao Pi had moved to Qiao city, and during the autumn he travelled with the army along the water route to the Huai and then downstream into Xu province. By the early winter he was again at Guangling. His headquarters were established in the former capital of the commandery, and it was claimed that the army under his command was more than a hundred thousand.⁴⁷

This time Sun Quan's forces were ready for the attack, but far more serious from Cao Pi's point of view was the weather. The winter was harsh and early, the Yangzi was partially frozen, and the ships of Cao Pi were blocked by ridges of ice along the shore, with additional danger from small bergs breaking off and floating with the current. Looking at the unassailable barrier, Cao Pi sighed, "Alas. It is truly the will of Heaven which divides the south from the north." And he gave the order to withdraw.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ SGZ 2, 84, SGZ 47/Wu 2, 1131 and PC note 1 quoting the *Jin ji* of Gan Bao, and SGZ 55/Wu 10, 1298, the biography of Xu Sheng; also Fang, *Chronicle* I, 165-166 and 174-176.

⁴⁶ SGZ 2, 84. The course of the Canal to Smash the Caitiffs cannot now be determined, but it presumably improved the water transport and communications among the network of streams along the upper reaches of the Ying and Ru rivers in present-day southern Henan and northwestern Anhui.

⁴⁷ SGZ 2, 85, and SGZ 28, 774, mention a mutiny among the troops at Licheng, in the vicinity of present-day Lianyungang in northern Jiangsu. The rebellion was quelled, and the leader, Tang Zi, fled to Wu by sea. The incident had no notable effect upon Cao Pi's campaigns. See Fang, *Chronicle* I, 185 and 194. (Fang interprets Licheng as a military unit rather than as a commandery.) However, since we are told that the local Grand Administrator was killed, it appears that Licheng was a new commandery which had been established on the borders between the Han dynasty commanderies of Donghai and Langye).

⁴⁸ SGZ 47/Wu 2, 1132 PC note 3 quoting *Wu lu*, and SGZ 2, 84-85.

SGZ 2, 85 PC note 1 *bis* contains the text of a poem said to have been composed at this time by Cao Pi and quoted in *Wei shu*. It tells how:

I marshal my troops by the shores of the Jiang,
How that stream surges and boils!
Halberds and lances like the mountain forests,
And the rays of the sun gleam upon black armour.....

Wu lu, without such literary excursion, claims that a raiding party from Wu was able to attack Cao Pi's headquarters by night, throw the enemy into confusion, and bring back trophies and insignia.

Curiously, the main text of SGZ 47, the annals of Wu, makes no reference to this campaign. See also Fang, *Chronicle* I, 186-187 and 197-198.

CHAPTER SEVEN

There was considerable difficulty in extracting the invasion force, with its ships and boats, from the exposed position they had come to. At one stage there seemed a possibility that the vessels would be stranded in the iced-up water-courses, so that they and their escort would become a prey to the attacks of Wu when conditions eased. The local commander Jiang Ji, however, dug extra canals, and he broke the ice-jam by bringing water into retaining dams behind the ships, then breaking the dams so that the ships were swept clear by a man-made bore.⁴⁹

Cao Pi returned past Xuchang and visited Luoyang, but it is probable he intended to return to the attack in the southeast. In the summer of 226, however, Cao Pi became ill and died. He was only forty years old, he had reigned for six years since the death of his father, and he was succeeded by his son Cao Rui, later known as Emperor Ming, who was a little over twenty.⁵⁰

Before he died, Cao Pi had established a council of regency, and although this marked a notable step in the rise of power of the Sima family which later took over the throne, the operations of the government were not yet affected seriously by faction quarrels. Nonetheless, the change from a single ruler in the prime of life and political ability to a young man as yet untried, with a group of powerful subjects sharing his authority, naturally provided opportunities for enemies of the state. For the next few years, Wei was on the defensive against Wu, and also against Shu in the west.

In the autumn, Sun Quan led an attack against the Wei positions in Jiangxia commandery, and while another army under Zhuge Jin was sent further north up the Han against Xiangyang. Though loyal and competent, Zhuge Jin was not known as a fighting soldier, and his expedition was defeated by the new regent, Sima Yi.⁵¹ It was very likely intended as a feint, but it did not delay the sending of reinforcements to Jiangxia.

At the beginning of the campaign, however, Wen Ping the Grand Administrator of Jiangxia for the Wei had limited troops and was under heavy pressure from the invaders. An account in *Wei lue* tells us that he gained time by opening the gates of his capital, Shiyang on the Han River, and ordering all his people to keep quiet. He himself stayed at his official residence and made no move. When Sun Quan approached with his army, he could only suspect a trap, and so he halted and then withdrew.

Apart from this incident, Wen Ping maintained his defence for several weeks, Sun Quan could make no headway, and the invaders were compelled to retreat as reinforcements arrived from the north.⁵² Further to the east, a secondary campaign in Lujiang commandery near Xunyang was defeated and driven back by Cao Zhen.⁵³

In the winter of the following year, 227-228, Wu and Shu engaged in their first joint action. Meng Da, who had formerly changed allegiance from Shu to Wei, and who had been maintained as Grand Administrator of Xincheng, in the Han valley east of Nanyang, sought to change sides once more. Zhuge Liang, whose headquarters were now in Hanzhong commandery, encouraged him to do so, and sent a small expeditionary force in his support, while Sun Quan also despatched an army from the south. Sima Yi, however,

⁴⁹ SGZ 14, 451-52; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 187 and 199.

⁵⁰ SGZ 2, 86; SGZ 3, 91; and JS 1, 4; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 201-202 and 212-214.

⁵¹ SGZ 3, 92.

⁵² SGZ 18, 549-50, the biography of Wen Ping, and PC note 2 quoting *Wei lue*; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 215-216, and also SGZ 3, 92; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 203, which tells how the imperial agent Xun Yu was sent with a small escort to mobilise local reinforcements.

⁵³ SGZ 3, 92.

CLAIM TO THE MANDATE

reacted more swiftly than anyone had expected, and Meng Da was attacked, captured and executed before either of the allies could come to his aid.⁵⁴

For the next few years, chief military activity took place in the northwest, in the region of Hanzhong, Chang'an and the Liang province of Later Han, where Zhuge Liang sought to establish a military presence north of the Qin Ling ranges in the valley of the Wei. This strategy was of no more than marginal interest to Sun Quan, and the campaigns indeed proved indecisive, but they relieved the pressure against his frontier which had obtained before the death of Cao Pi in 226.

In the summer and autumn of 228, moreover, Sun Quan scored a considerable coup. He arranged for his Grand Administrator of Poyang, Zhou Fang, to pretend to turn renegade and invite the armies of Wei to come to his support. The northerners were deceived, and Cao Xiu with ten thousand men was sent south towards Huan city in Lujiang to make contact with Zhou Fang, while at the same time two further armies were sent, under Sima Yi against Jiangling in Nan commandery on the middle Yangzi, and under Jia Kui against the region of Ruxu to the east.

The Wu, however, with Lu Xun as commander-in-chief, concentrated their forces against Cao Xiu. They engaged him in battle near Huan city, defeated his men and put them to rout, and they followed up the pursuit towards the Jiashi pass, north of Huan across a saddle of the Dabie Mountains. There was a very good chance that Cao Xiu's entire force could be cut off and captured, but then the Wei general Jia Kui realised the danger, and he turned aside from the march against Ruxu to come to the rescue. Cao Xiu and the greater part of his men escaped, but they had been thoroughly defeated, and they left behind armour and weapons and great quantities of baggage. The plan had worked as well as could reasonably be expected, there was no comparable threat from the north for a number of years, and initiative on the Yangzi frontier had largely turned to Sun Quan.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ SGZ 3, 93 PC quoting *Wei lue*; JS 1, 5-6; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 230-232, 245-247, 249 and 262. On the dual expeditions of support for Meng Da, see JS 1 and Fang, *Chronicle* I, 231 and 247 at 15.8.

⁵⁵ SGZ 47/Wu 2, 1134, and SGZ 60/Wu 15, 1387-92, the biography of Zhou Fang; also SGZ 9, 279-80, the biography of Cao Xiu; SGZ 14, 452, the biography of Jiang Ji; SGZ 15, 483, the biography of Jia Kui; SGZ 26, 723, the biography of Man Chong; together with SGZ 56/Wu 11, 1313, the biography of Zhu Huan; SGZ 58/Wu 13, 1348-49, the biography of Lu Xun; and SGZ 60/Wu 15, 1382, the biography of Quan Zong. See also Fang, *Chronicle* I, 254-256 and 276-282.

From the number of references to this campaign, and the comments of the officers, particularly on the Wei side, one may gather that the ill-fated enterprise served as a cautionary experience to the government and to Cao Rui.

Zhou Fang, prime mover in the stratagem, was a man from Yangxian in Wu, the county where Sun Quan had first served as a magistrate in the time of Sun Ce. He had thus early acquaintance with Sun Quan, and trust must have been an important element in this risky game of deception.

Two earlier incidents may have influenced the development of this plan. About 226 and 227, when the local clan leader Peng Qi was in rebellion in the Poyang region, he invited support from the north. At that time the counsels at the court of Wei were more cautious, Peng Qi received no assistance, and he was destroyed by Zhou Fang and others: SGZ 47/Wu 2, 1131 and 1134, SGZ 60/Wu 15, 1387, and in particular SGZ 14, 458 PC note 2 quoting *Sun Zi biezhuàn*; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 223 and 233. About the same time, moreover, the commander of Sun Quan's garrison at Wuchang, Han Zong, defected to Wei. Han Zong was the son of Han Dang, who had served as a loyal officer of the Sun family since the time of Sun Jian, but Han Zong was afraid that he might be punished for his immorality and bad conduct, and so he took all his family and dependents, and his father's coffin, and fled to the north.

It seems probable that these matters, and particularly the experience with Peng Qi, inspired Sun Quan and Zhou Fang with the idea of the deception, on this occasion with circumstantial and treacherous details.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Expansion in the south:

A delicate diplomatic and military balancing act, and the fortune of Cao Pi's early death, had enabled Sun Quan to confirm his frontier along the Yangzi against the north and his possession of the newly-conquered Jing province in the west. Through the hill country, the process of conquest and colonisation continued, most notably through the agency of Quan Zong, who in 226 was appointed as general and Grand Administrator of a new commandery, Dongan, extending over the border regions south of Danyang and west of Wu and Kuaiji. Two years later, it was claimed that ten thousand people had been brought under administration, and the marcher commandery was broken up into its former component parts.⁵⁶

In the west of Jing province, the mountain people of the region known as Wuqi had long maintained their independence from the encroaching Chinese. They defied the great general Ma Yuan at the beginning of Later Han, and they had, as we have seen, operated independently in loose alliance with Liu Bei until the defeat of his invasion in 222.⁵⁷ For the next few years, however, they posed no immediate threat to Sun Quan's security, and his concerns lay rather with the government of Chinese people and the defence against Chinese enemies from the north. Unlike the region of the east, Jing province was so newly come into his hands that there was no useful occasion or profit from an attempted expansion beyond its established frontiers along the hills.

The capture and possession of Jing province, however, presented great opportunities in Jiao province to the south. There, as we have seen, the dominant position had long been occupied by Shi Xie and his clan, but Sun Quan had been able to place officers of his own, notably the Inspector Bu Zhi, who had held that post since 210, establishing his administration in the eastern part of the province by the Bay of Canton, and had maintained a relaxed trading and tributary relationship with Shi Xie in the Red River basin about present-day Hanoi.⁵⁸

In 220, Bu Zhi was recalled to the north, and with a substantial army he took part in the operations against Liu Bei's invasion. In particular, he held guard against Liu Bei's non-Chinese allies of Wuqi, and after the victory in the Yangzi Gorges Bu Zhi brought his men south to confirm the pacification of Lingling and Guiyang commanderies. After a short spell at headquarters, he was stationed at Oukou in Changsha, near present-day Hengyang in Hunan, by the junction of the Lei river with the Xiang. From that base he acted as garrison commander and military chieftain of the southern part of Jing province.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ *SGZ* 47/Wu 2, 1133 and 1134, and the biography of Quan Zong in *SGZ* 60/Wu 15, at 1382. *SGZ* 47/Wu 2, 1133 PC note 1 quoting *Wu lu*, says that the capital of Dongan commandery was at Fuchun, being the old homeland of the Sun family.

Quan Zong was a man from Qiantang whose father had joined Sun Ce when he conquered Wu commandery in 196. Quan Zong himself had attracted numbers of refugees from the north as his clients, and he had also acquired experience as a coloniser of the non-Chinese people of the hills. In 229, when Sun Quan took the imperial title, Quan Zong was married to one of his daughters, the Princess Luban: see Chapter 8 at note 113.

⁵⁷ See Chapter 7.

⁵⁸ See Chapter 6.

⁵⁹ *SGZ* 52/Wu 7, 1237. *SGZJJ* 52/Wu 7, 31a, quotes the Qing scholar Xie Zhongying, who says that the site of Oukou is now unknown. I note, however, that one of the tributaries of the Lei River in southern Hunan is now called the Ou River. It seems likely that under some circumstances the whole of the Lei River may have been described as the Ou. The site of Oukou would then have been by the junction of the present

CLAIM TO THE MANDATE

Lü Dai, Bu Zhi's successor in the south, was an experienced and trusted officer. Originally from Guangling, he had served Sun Quan in Wu commandery during the early years of his reign, he had been engaged on campaigns against the non-Chinese people south of Hangzhou Bay, and he had at one time been sent on embassy to Zhang Lu in Hanzhong commandery before the conquest by Cao Cao. In 215 he took part in Lü Meng's campaign against Liu Bei's positions in the southern part of Jing province, and he defeated a local rebellion there. He was then appointed Grand Administrator of Luling commandery, in the southern part of present-day Jiangxi, and from that position he took Bu Zhi's place as Inspector of Jiao province.⁶⁰

At the very beginning of his new appointment, Lü Dai showed his energy. First, he was able to bring about the surrender of the local chieftain Qian Bo of Gaoliang, on the sea-coast between the Bay of Canton and the Leizhou peninsula, and he recognised Qian Bo as Chief Commandant there. Then, further to the north, he attacked and subdued a number of non-Chinese groups on Yulin commandery, along the river systems of present-day Guangxi. Finally, on Sun Quan's orders, he turned north against the bandit Wang Jin, who came from the south of Guiyang commandery, and who was established in the mountain country of the Nan Ling north of Nanhai commandery. It is said that Lü Dai captured Wang Jin and more than ten thousand of his people; and both here and in the previous campaigns one can observe the process of colonisation and recruitment under the traditional guise of self-defence against "rebels" and "bandits." As reward for his achievements, Lü Dai was given the rank of a general, the Staff of Authority, and enfeoffment as marquis of a chief district.

In these early years of the 220s, Lü Dai confirmed the position of his government in Nanhai and Cangwu commanderies, and he also extended his influence over the greater part of present-day Guangdong and Guangxi, while the area of Shi Xie's control was largely restricted to Jiaozhi commandery in the Red River basin, with Jiuzhen and Rinan commanderies along the coast of present-day Vietnam.

In 226, Shi Xie died at the age of ninety *sui*, and Lü Dai was ready to remove the last vestiges of his clan's former power.⁶¹ Shi Xie's son Shi Hui was given title as General Who gives Tranquillity to Distant Lands and office as Grand Administrator of Jiuzhen, but the honours and recognition were false. The critical territory in the region was the commandery of Jiaozhi, where Shi Xie had been Grand Administrator. Sun Quan, on Lü Dai's advice, named a certain Chen Shi, colonel in his service, in Shi Xie's place, and that appointment would have removed the Shi clan from the heart of their power and left Shi Hui and his brothers isolated in the far south.

To confirm this attack, Sun Quan also declared the division of Jiao province into two: the eastern part, in present-day China, from Hepu commandery to Nanhai, was named Guang province and Lü Dai continued as inspector; the western part, in present-day

Lei River with the Xiang, near modern Hengyang. This would be a good position for the military supervision of the three southern commanderies of Jing province, Changsha, Lingling and Guiyang, and the area had been used for that purpose by Zhuge Liang in the period immediately after the victory at the Red Cliffs in 208. Zhuge Liang's base had been at Linzheng city, and I suspect Oukou was a military encampment established close by.

⁶⁰ The biography of Lü Dai is in *SGZ* 60/Wu 15, 1383-87. Ten years earlier, before Bu Zhi was appointed to Jiao province, he had been Grand Administrator of Poyang, a neighbouring commandery to Luling.

⁶¹ On the government of Shi Xie in Jiao province before the 220s, see Chapter 5. The account of the destruction of the Shi family is told by Shi Xie's biography in *SGZ* 49, at 1193, and in the biography of Lü Dai in *SGZ* 60, at 1384-85.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Vietnam, from Jiaozhi through Jiuzhen to Rinan, kept the name of Jiao province. Dai Liang, a general in Sun Quan's service, was named Inspector of this territory, with ultimate authority over Shi Hui in Jiuzhen commandery.

The clear intention was to force Shi Hui into either total subservience or outright defiance. Shi Hui chose the latter course. Taking his father's title as Grand Administrator of Jiaozhi, he set guards at the ports and at the land passes from Hepu, and he refused entry to Chen Shi and Dai Liang.

Lü Dai, however, was ready for such a move, and he came with an army and a fleet to escort the new officials to their place. Naturally enough, there was some uncertainty in the Shi camp at the thought of open warfare, there was a flurry of rebellion against Shi Hui, and Lü Dai arrived before Shi Hui had time to prepare his full defence. As Lü Dai came up, he sent Shi Kuang, son of Shi Yi and nephew of Shi Xie, who had lived in Wu as a hostage, to act as envoy and persuade his cousins to surrender. Shi Hui and his five brothers came out to receive Lü Dai in suppliants' guise, with their clothes pulled down to expose their shoulders. Ignoring their pleas and his own undertakings, Lü Dai had them executed and sent their heads to Sun Quan.

This act of treachery removed the power of the Shi clan. Shi Yi, Shi Kuang and others were allowed to live, but they were reduced to common status and deprived of all their possessions.⁶² There was some short-lived local resistance in Jiaozhi and then in Jiuzhen, put down by Lü Dai with the utmost firmness, and the power of Sun Quan was confirmed along all the southern shore.⁶³

The division of Jiao province was abolished as quickly as it had been made, and Lü Dai became once more the chief of the region, with enfeoffment as Marquis of Panyu. Further to the south, he sent embassies by sea to the various states of the peninsula, and envoys came in return, bearing tribute from Linyi on the coast of southern Vietnam, Funan in the region of Saigon/Ho Chi Minh City, and Tangming, in the area of present-day Cambodia.⁶⁴ Besides the prestige they gave the court of Sun Quan, these visits confirmed that the sea trade into southeast Asia would be peacefully maintained, so the prosperity of the Shi family at the entrepot in northern Vietnam was now continued to the advantage of Wu.

Though the destruction of the Shi clan had been a model of brutal success, and Lü Dai had extended the power of Sun Quan without challenge into the furthest territories of the south, there was one region where the opportunity for expansion had been lost. As we have observed, about 217 the local leader Yong Kai of Yizhou had sought to maintain independence from the government of Liu Bei in the northern part of Yi province, and his request for support had been passed through Shi Xie to Sun Quan's representative Bu Zhi.⁶⁵

⁶² Besides Shi Yi and Shi Kuang, we are told that Shi Yu, younger brother of Shi Xie and Shi Yi, and Shi Xin, a son of Shi Xie who had also been hostage at the court of Sun Quan, escaped the massacre. Shi Yi and Shi Kuang were later found guilty on some other charges, and were executed. Shi Xin, the putative heir to Shi Xie, died without children; his widow was granted a ration of grain and a donation of cash: *SGZ* 49/Wu 4, 1193.

⁶³ *SGZ* 47/Wu 2, 1134, notes that in 228 the name of Hepu commandery was changed to Zhuguan "Office for Pearls." The name, however, was later changed back to Hepu.

⁶⁴ On Linyi and Funan, see Chapter 1; on Tangming, see Stein, "Lin-yi," 131. The embassies of these three states are recorded in *SGZ* 60/Wu 15, 1385, though they are not precisely dated to 226. On later embassies and contacts, see Chapter 8 at note 38.

⁶⁵ See Chapter 5.

CLAIM TO THE MANDATE

After the death of Liu Bei in 223, Yong Kai made a serious attempt to establish a separatist regime involving his own commandery of Yizhou and also Yongchang, Yuexi and Zangke. He was supported by local non-Chinese people, notably the chieftain Meng Huo, but he met considerable resistance from other groups loyal to the government at Chengdu, and he was not able to gain a permanent position. In 225, Zhuge Liang attacked and conquered the south, Yong Kai was killed, and Meng Huo, after repeated defeats, was compelled to surrender.⁶⁶ Zhuge Liang established numbers of the non-Chinese chieftains as local officials, confirming their authority under his hegemony, and this region of present-day southern Sichuan, Guizhou and Yunnan remained reasonably quiet under the government of Shu for the next several years.⁶⁷

It does not appear that Yong Kai ever received significant support from the government of Sun Quan, and this must have been due both to the distance of his area of operations and also to the political interposition of Shi Xie along the route. The valley of the Red River and its tributaries does afford communication from the coast inland towards present-day Kunming, but Bu Zhi and Lü Dai were never in a position to take advantage of this means of access and Zhuge Liang was thus able to establish undisputed control of the south.

Even in this perhaps lost chance, however, there was cause for some satisfaction. The disturbances caused by Yong Kai and Meng Huo removed Zhuge Liang's attention from any involvement in the affairs of Jing province during the time of Cao Pi's attacks against Wu in the early 220s; and once that matter was settled there was no real occasion for dispute between the allies about their territorial frontiers. Lü Dai's conquest of the western part of Jiao province, therefore, gave the government of Wu an extensive and prosperous territory without any rival claimants.

In 233, after thirteen years in the south, Lü Dai was recalled to take Bu Zhi's place in the garrison at Oukou. On the one hand, as his orders noted, Jiao province was now peaceful and settled, but at the same time, though the point was unstated, the change avoided any possibility that Lü Dai might have separatist ambitions of his own. In any event, his achievements, and those of Bu Zhi, were considerable. With a minimal expenditure of military resources, they had first set up a presence in the south, and then established full authority. As a result, the kingdom of Wu now extended over three provinces of Han, and the court of Sun Quan gained profit and prestige from the trade of the southern seas.

Parity of esteem:

By the beginning of the year 229 AD, Sun Quan had thus established a coherent and powerful military and political authority in south China. In the original heart-land of his power, south of the Yangzi in Yang province, the lower course of the great river provided an impregnable line of defence, and colonisation of the country to the south was bringing

⁶⁶ This campaign of Zhuge Liang in the south is one of his celebrated feats of arms, described in his biography, *SGZ* 35/Shu 5, 921 PC note 2 quoting *Han-Jin chunqiu*, and in *Huayang guo zhi* 4, 4b-5a; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 185-186 and 194-196, while a map of the campaign appears in *Zhongguo shi gao ditu ji* I, 48. An exaggerated account occupies chapters 87-91 of *Romance*.

⁶⁷ The settlement established by Zhuge Liang is a contrast with the policy of Wu, which generally sought to impose a form of Chinese administration and colonisation, rather than rule through local chieftains.

CHAPTER SEVEN

increasing population and economic development. In central China, the southern basin of the middle Yangzi, more than half the area of Jing province in Later Han, was securely in his hands: both his rivals, on the north and on the west, had sought to wrench the territory from his grasp, but neither had been successful. And in the far south, the aggression of Lü Dai had brought all the lands and the trade of the region under his control.

Certainly, the empire of Wei in the north was far more populous and potentially more powerful. After the death of Cao Pi in 226, however, the position of the Cao family had become more tenuous, and the new emperor Cao Rui was not a man of great personal authority. Wei, moreover, had a number of external problems apart from Sun Quan: to the northeast the energetic young warlord Gongsun Yuan occupied southern Manchuria with a guarded independence;⁶⁸ northwest, the greater part of Bing and Liang provinces of Later Han, the northern territories of present-day Shanxi and Shenxi, Ningxia and the greater part of Gansu, were now beyond all but the most nominal Chinese control. Further afield, the court of Wei had received embassies from the oasis kingdoms of central Asia, and had re-established Chinese authority along the Silk Road,⁶⁹ but the line of communications along the Wei River valley and across the Yellow River to the Gansu corridor had to be defended against the armies of Shu-Han based on Hanzhong commandery to the south.

As for Shu-Han, though the propaganda of Liu Bei had sought to justify a claim to empire on the basis of a distant relationship to the imperial clan and a virtuous authority, the high profile of foreign policy could not conceal the fact that the territory of the state was no greater than the single province of Yi under Later Han. Despite the efforts of Zhuge Liang in the south, and his consistent efforts to break out north from the upper Han valley, the catastrophic defeats of Guan Yu and Liu Bei by Sun Quan's forces had not been cancelled by any great success against the lands about Chang'an.

In these circumstances, Sun Quan could contemplate his own claims to imperial splendour, for if his was not the greatest state, he was surely the second of three.

Sun Quan, moreover, had already adopted many of the rituals of independence. Admittedly, he held the title King of Wu on the basis of a grant from Cao Pi, acting as Emperor of Wei. On the other hand, he had proclaimed his own reign-title in 222, and in 223 he had also announced a calendar based upon the Qianxiang system of the late Han scholar Liu Hong, rather than upon the Sifen method which had been used by Han and was followed by Wei and Shu. From this time, even the days of the month in Wu were different to those of the other states. Traditionally, determination of the calendar was the prerogative of a sovereign, so Sun Quan had proclaimed himself peer to his two enemies, and the court of Wu was noted for its interest and competence in the calculations and science of mathematics, astronomy and the calendar.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ On events in the northeast, see Fang, *Chronicle* I, 260-261 and 289, and Gardiner, "The Kung-sun Warlords" II, 141-142 and 147-150. Gongsun Yuan, son of Gongsun Kang and grandson of Gongsun Du, had seized power after overthrowing his uncle, the incompetent Gongsun Gong, in 228.

⁶⁹ Embassies were received at the Wei court in 222, and the government of Cao Pi restored the Wu and Ji Colonels, officials responsible in Han times for the supervision of the Western Regions: *SGZ* 2, 79; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 98, and see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 110-113.

Wei lue, quoted in *SGZ* 30, 858-63, has substantially more information about the land routes to the west than does the parallel text in *HHS* 88/78. It may be argued that this reflects the first reports of the situation in the Western Regions after the restoration of contact: personal communication from Dr Gardiner.

⁷⁰ Liu Hong, who designed the *Qianxiang* "Celestial Appearances" calendar with his colleague Cai Yong, was a man from Dong commandery who later held position as Commandant of the Eastern Division of Kuaiji. He was a most competent mathematician and astronomer, he presented a memorial on lunar

CLAIM TO THE MANDATE

Already in 223 Sun Quan's senior officials had urged him to claim the imperial title. *Jiangbiao zhuan* gives some account of his refusal: on the one hand, since he had been unable to prevent the abdication of the Han Emperor and the overthrow of that imperial house, it was not entirely proper that he should not seek to step so quickly into the vacated place. At the same time he sought to keep his options open in relation to the government of Wei - it was yet too soon to commit himself firmly against the great power to the north, and he was equally concerned at the possibility of an alliance between Wei and Shu combined to destroy him.

Six years later, however, the situation was more stable and more favourable. Both rival states had junior and less impressive rulers, and Sun Quan had successfully withstood the attacks from Wei, while Shu was unprepared for another attempt against his western frontier on the Yangzi Gorges. Politically, the occasion was propitious, and in

eclipses to the court of Emperor Ling of Han in 179, and he was the actual compiler of the text of the third section of the Treatise on Pitchpipes and the Calendar, *HHS* 93/3. For his memorial on eclipses, see *HHS* 92/2, 3042-43, with commentary quoting his biography from the *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shansong. For his authorship of *HHS* 93/3, see the Discussion by Sima Biao at 3082; analysed by Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises of Later Han*, 66, the Preface by Liu Zhao to the commentary to the treatises (presented as an appendix to the Beijing edition of *HHS*), and the parallel treatise of *JS* 17, 498. On Liu Hong, see also Needham, *Science and Civilisation* III, 29, 421 *et saepe*.

On the calendrical calculations of Later Han, see the three parts of Eberhard's "Contributions to the Astronomy of the Han Period" (reprinted in *Sternkunde und Weltbild*), and Sivin, "Cosmos and Computation." The *Taichu* "Grand Beginning" calendar of Former Han was adjusted by the *Santong* "Three Sequences" system designed by Liu Xin in the time of Wang Mang and was used by Later Han until 85, when a variant of the ancient *Sifen* 四分 [Quarter Day] calendar, compiled by Bian Xin and Li Fan, was put into effect. The *Sifen* system is described in *HHS* 93/3, and is discussed in detail by Eberhard, "Contributions to the Astronomy of the Han Period III," 204-220 [191-207].

As Liu Hong was the true compiler of the third chapter of the Treatise of Pitchpipes and the Calendar, so is Cai Yong acknowledged by Sima Biao to have been the compiler of the second chapter, *HHS* 92/2 [*HHS* 93/3, 3082, the Discussion of Sima Biao, with the other references above], and his report on the calendar appears at 3038-40.

The *Qianxiang* system prepared by Liu Hong and Cai Yong is presented in *JS* 17, 504-05 ff, and is discussed by Zhu Wenxin [1934], 91-95. Eberhard, "Contributions to the Astronomy of the Han Period III," 204 [191], describes the work as "a more scientific study of the problem," and notes particularly that it sought to remove the influence of the theories of the New Text School and the influence of the apocryphal books, relying instead upon real observation and experience: see also Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises of Later Han*, 67. Sivin, "Cosmos and Computation," notes at 65 that Liu Hong was the first great astronomer to take eclipse cycles seriously, but though the *Qianxiang* calendar was theoretically better than the *Sifen* it did not greatly increase the number of confirmed predictions. Eberhard and Müller, "Contributions to the Astronomy of the San-Kuo Period," 149-150 [*Sternkunde und Weltbild*, 229-230], argue that although the calculation of the length of the year of the *Qianxiang* calendar was actually less satisfactory than the *Sifen* system, the *Qianxiang* represented a competent approach to fulfil the two requirements of a calendrical system: to agree as far as possible with observation, and to simplify calculation.

The main presentation of Eberhard and Müller's article is a translation of an essay by the third century scholar Wang Fan of Wu. At 149 [229] they remark that "The advance of mathematical science was particularly noticeable during the San-kuo period, when in the southern kingdom of Wu many mathematicians and astronomers were employed. Their astronomical work is not so fundamentally individual as that of the earlier men [of Later Han], but from a mathematical point of view it is more advanced."

In practical terms of the variance of the dating system from one state of the three to the next, one may compare the main chronology presented by Hsueh and Ou-yang, *Sino-Western Calendar*, which follows the calendar of Wei and Jin, and their supplementary Tables 1 and 2, which give a summary account of the calendars of Shu and Wu: though the overall pattern is naturally the same, there are a number of places of difference.

CHAPTER SEVEN

the spring of 229 the neighbouring territories of Wuchang and Xiakou duly reported the appearance of a yellow dragon and a phoenix.

By the end of the second century, it had been generally accepted that the colour which should succeed to the red of Han was yellow, symbol of Earth. The Yellow Turbans had proclaimed that a yellow heaven would replace the blue sky of Han, and in the cycle of the five forces it was expected that Earth would emerge from the Fire of Han. It was for this reason that the reign-title proclaimed by Cao Pi when he received the abdication of Emperor Xian of Han was Huangchu, "Yellow Beginning;" and when Sun Quan announced his independent position by setting a new calendar, he named the year 223 as the first of Huangwu, "Martial Yellow." Now the dragon and the phoenix, magical and imperial creatures of appropriate colour, provided a suitable introduction to the announcement of a new empire.

Apart from this, however, there were not a great many propitious omens to support Sun Quan's claim. His officer Chen Hua had obtained a reputation at court for the occasion that, on an embassy to Wei, he had interpreted classical text to provide an authority for an imperial ruler in the south and east, and in Wu there had been a popular jingle which went,

A carriage of yellow gold, coloured and elegant;

Open the Chang Gate, and out comes the Son of Heaven.⁷¹

However, though the classics could always be re-interpreted, and popular songs, the voice of the people, were sometimes assumed to reflect the voice of a deity, there is no further substantial evidence of portentous support for Sun Quan.

Nonetheless, on 23 June 229, Sun Quan held ceremony at the Altar of Heaven established in the southern suburb of his capital Wuchang, and proclaimed himself Emperor of Wu. He unfurled a great banner with the insignia of a yellow dragon, and he also changed the reign period to Huanglong, "Yellow Dragon."⁷²

The book *Wu lu* recorded his petition to heaven on this occasion.⁷³ In that text, he recites how Han held the government for twenty-four generations and four hundred and thirty-four years, but then its inspiration came to an end and good fortune was exhausted, so that all was lost and the state was divided and crumbled.

And so that evil minister Cao Pi snatched the sacred vessels, and Cao Pi's son Cao Rui has succeeded to his wicked work. They have destroyed the proper orders of names [between ruler and subject] and they have disrupted the system of good government.

I was born in the southeast, and I encountered these times. I succeeded to a position, and I now hold military power. It is my ambition to give peace to the world. I receive the commands of heaven, I carry out its punishments, and whatever I do, I do it for the people.

My ministers and officials and officers, and the men in authority in every city of the commanderies and provinces, all believe that the favour of Heaven is gone from the house of Han and the sacrifices of Han to Heaven are likewise ended. So the imperial position is empty, and there is no ruler to maintain these sacrifices.

⁷¹ SGZ 47/Wu 2, 1132 PC note 2 quoting *Wu shu*, and SGZ 47/ Wu 2, 1134.

⁷² SGZ 62/Wu 17, 1414, the biography of Hu Zong. Hu Zong was commissioned to compose a rhapsody for the occasion, he is known to have composed the oath of covenant between Wu and Shu-Han later that year (see note 78), and it would appear that he was recognised as poet and essayist laureate to the court of Wu. He probably also wrote Sun Quan's proclamation of claim to empire.

⁷³ SGZ 47/Wu 2, 1135-36 PC quoting *Wu lu*.

CLAIM TO THE MANDATE

Favourable signs and fortunate omens have been reported one after another, all interpretations point to me, and I am compelled to accept. Fearful of the Mandate of Heaven, I have no choice but to obey. Respectfully I have chosen this auspicious day to mount the altar, to make the burnt offering and to take the position of sovereign. If only you will accept this sacrifice and give your aid to the rulers of Wu, so the prosperity from Heaven may last forever.

Sun Quan thus based his claim upon two predications: that the imperial position had been vacated by Han and had not been filled by any worthy successor; and that his own accession was justified by the virtue of his government, in particular by his concern for the people. He specifically dismissed the claims of his rival in Wei by describing them as criminal usurpers. As to Shu, without mentioning Liu Bei, he simply states that the fortune and tradition of Han is ended, so that claim to succession was irrelevant.

From the point of view of later historians, Sun Quan's claim to the imperial title was unacceptable. With an elegant essay in *Zizhi tongjian*, Sima Guang discussed the concept of the "True Succession" (*zhengtong*) as it applied to the history of Wei and Shu. On the one hand, as he observed, Zhou, Qin, Han, Jin, Sui and Tang had each united China under their rule and had maintained succession for a number of generations. By that standard, none of the states Wei, Shu and Wu qualified for recognition as true emperors: and indeed, as at the end of the power of the Zhou kings, there was for a time no true unifying ruler.

On the other hand, as the compiler of a chronicle history, Sima Guang was required to determine some sequence of identification for the years of division. Unlike the West, China had no common and agreed point for the calculation of years, and at any one time it was essential to decide upon the reign title of one rival state or another. Sima Guang, just for that purpose, accepted the principle that Han had transmitted the throne to Wei, and Wei in turn passed it to Jin. Thereafter the succession was traced through the Southern Dynasties until Sui and Tang.

Sima Guang emphasised, however, that he made that determination simply in order to chronicle the events which took place in the various states:

... we are not honouring one and treating another with contempt, nor making distinction between orthodox and intercalary positions.

In later time, Sima Guang's approach was rejected by the Neo-Confucian philosophers, who endorsed the legitimacy of the claim of Liu Bei and his state of Shu as successors to Han. In particular, Zhu Xi based the chronicle of his abbreviated *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* on the chronology through Shu Han.⁷⁴

It is a curious chance that such an alternative is available. For Sima Guang, taking the chronology through Wei, the Chinese year which extended from Western 22 February

⁷⁴ For Sima Guang's justification of the choice of the calendar of Wei as the basis for his chronology, see *ZZTJ* 69, 2185-88; Fang, *Chronicle*, 45-49. For Zhu Xi's contrary opinion, see his preface and the *Fan li* "Rules" chapter of introduction to *Zizhi tongjian gangmu*; in that work the period 220-263 follows the calendrical system of Shu-Han, and for the period 264-280, when Shu-Han had fallen but Wu still maintained its independence, the dates are set in smaller script, to indicate Zhu Xi's disapproval of the still-divided empire; he follows a similar method for the long period of division between 420 and 589.

The fourth century scholar Xi Zuochi was apparently the first to argue that the Shu-Han dynasty should be regarded as legitimate successor, by blood relationship, to Later Han, and Shu-Han's calendar should therefore be taken as the basis for continuing chronology by reign title. (Xi Zuochi's memorial is preserved in *JS* 82, 2154-58; see also note 66 to Chapter 9.)

For further discussion of the debate on dynastic legitimacy, see *Cambridge Han*, 373-376 [Mansvelt Beck, "The Fall of Han"].

CHAPTER SEVEN

220 to 9 February 221 is described as Huangchu 1, based upon the proclamation by Cao Pi after his accession to the imperial throne on 11 December 220. For Zhu Xi and the sympathisers of Shu, the year is called Yankang 1, being the reign title proclaimed under the auspices of the puppet Han government during that year (which had begun as Jian'an 25); in the following year, on 15 May 221, Liu Bei assumed the imperial throne and proclaimed his own reign title of Zhangwu.

Forty years later, in 263, Liu Bei's son Liu Shan surrendered to Wei, but Shu-Han was not entirely conquered until the next year, which would have been counted Yanxing 2. And on 8 February 266, at the very end of the following Chinese year, Sima Yan, founding Emperor of Jin, took the throne from the house of Wei, and the entire year from 3 February 265 was retrospectively given title as the first of the Taishi period.⁷⁵ For Sima Guang, therefore, the chronology from 263 through 265 and 266 would be represented by Jingyuan 4 and Xianxi 1 of Wei, then the Taishi period of Jin. For Zhu Xi it was Yanxing 1 and 2 of Shu, and then the Taishi period of Jin.

This whole debate is now of no more than academic interest, but the academic argument has had great influence upon modern views of the three rival claimants. Upon a base of continuous chronology, scholars can debate the merits and legitimacies of Wei and Shu, but no such chronology can be established for Wu: any count of the years between 221 and 228 must make use of the system of Wei or of Shu; and the surrender of Sun Hao, last ruler of Wu, in 280, though it was celebrated in Jin by the proclamation of the new reign-title Taikang, cannot be reconciled with the establishment or fall of that dynasty.

If, however, as we must, we ignore the fatal years to come and the future debates of scholars, then the position of Sun Quan in 229 was by no means illegitimate, neither in his own terms nor in the political theory of the time. The most obvious example was the period of the Warring States at the end of Zhou, with the rise of Qin and the foundation of Han. As Sima Guang observed, it was in the Han period that

scholars began to propound the theory of mutual engendering and mutual destruction of the five Elements. Arguing that Qin had occupied an intercalated position between the elements of Wood [Zhou] and Fire [Han], they considered it as the dynasty of a hegemon, and would not accredit it as that of a true King. In this manner arose the theory of orthodox and intercalated positions [in the succession of dynasties].

Thus the Zhou dynasty was ended [in 254 BC], and the empire of Qin was not proclaimed [until 221 BC], but scholars such as Sima Qian of Former Han maintained their chronology through whichever state was appropriate, without political implications and judgement.

For Sun Quan, therefore, the years between 221 AD and 229 were simply intercalary, a period of confusion before the virtues of Wu became apparent. By these terms, it is not the foundation in 229 that embarrasses his claim to empire, but the end of his dynasty in 280. Later critics have looked upon Cao Cao and the Wei dynasty as no better than hegemons, just because, with the preponderance of power in China, they failed to reunite the empire - and how much more does this apply to Wu, which also failed and eventually fell. The view of hindsight is not always kind or fair.

Concentrating, then, upon the situation in 229, we may observe that even in those terms Sun Quan's claim presented some interesting questions on the meaning and nature of the imperial title. This was shown most dramatically by the reaction in Shu.

⁷⁵ JS 3, 50-51; Fang, *Chronicle II*, 515.

CLAIM TO THE MANDATE

As we have seen, by 223 Sun Quan had reached an understanding with the government of Shu, now controlled by Zhuge Liang on behalf of Liu Bei's son Liu Shan. There was no question that the alliance was valuable to both parties: if one of them should make an agreement of neutrality with Wei, and allow that state to concentrate upon the other, the victim of the full northern attack would be soon in desperate straits. Whether co-ordinated or not, the existence of threats from Sun Quan across the Huai or along the Han were important to the hopes of Shu, and Zhuge Liang's campaigns against the valley of the Wei were a most valuable distraction for Sun Quan.

But now the claimant imperial government in the west was faced by the pretensions of Wu. The Sun family had no possible connection with the imperial house, and Sun Quan owed his former royal title to a grant from the usurping Wei. If, in his proclamation, he claimed to rule by virtue, that was quite as disconcerting to a claim based upon legitimate descent as it was to a dynasty which had benefited from abdication. Moreover, while the empire of Wei could simply reject Sun Quan's claim as that of an upstart rebel, the government of Shu had to deal with him as an ally of great importance.

It appears that there was debate at the court of Shu. Certainly there were some prepared to say that Sun Quan's claim to parity was unjustified, that there was no advantage in the alliance, and that all agreements with him should be abandoned. Zhuge Liang, however, contrived a form of words which could satisfy both the *amour propre* of the dynasty and the *Realpolitik* of the current situation.⁷⁶ He gave examples of how Emperor Wen of Han had been prepared to treat with the Xiongnu, even in humble language, and how Liu Bei himself, despite the injuries he had suffered, eventually accepted a treaty:

In each case they were coping with emergency, thinking profoundly of the advantage in the long run; they did not act like men of the common sort.

Sun Quan, moreover, was an aggressive and energetic ruler. Though he and the forces of the north were currently at stalemate along the Yangzi frontier, should Shu maintain its planned attack against Wei, then Sun Quan in alliance would either make an attack of his own or would take advantage of the occasion to develop his strength by colonisation and recruitment in the south. In either case, he was a useful ally to hold Wei in check - without an alliance, however, he might decide to expand against the territory of Shu.

If we now take advantage of his ... friendliness toward us, our northern expedition [against the valley of the Wei] can proceed without anxiety concerning the east, and Wei will not be able to concentrate all their forces westwards against us.

In the light of this great advantage, it is not yet appropriate to emphasise Sun Quan's crimes of usurpation and rebellion.

On this basis of expediency, the government of Shu swallowed its pride, at least for the time being, and sent an envoy of ministerial rank, the Commandant of the Guards Chen Zhen, to congratulate Sun Quan on his new glory. He arrived at Wuchang in the late summer, some two months after Sun Quan's accession.⁷⁷

The simple recognition, however, was not enough. Almost certainly at the initiative of Sun Quan, the two states also adopted a formal treaty by oath and covenant, recognising one another's identity, and dividing the territory of Wei, when it should be conquered, between the two of them. The major ceremony was carried out at Wuchang by Sun Quan and Chen Zhen, who mounted an altar together and smeared their mouths with blood

⁷⁶ SGZ 35/Shu 5, 924-25 PC quoting *Han-Jin chungiu*; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 292-293 and 302-304.

⁷⁷ SGZ 39/Shu 9, 984-85, being the biography of Chen Zhen.

CHAPTER SEVEN

from slaughtered animals, and it is clear that the matter had been planned and agreed to earlier. The text of the covenant, admired by the literary men of the time, and composed by Hu Zong, a scholar-official in the service of Sun Quan, tells us that Zhuge Liang, as Chancellor of Shu, had engaged in a parallel ritual:⁷⁸

Although there is heart-felt faithfulness between Han and Wu, yet since our lands are apart and borders divide us we should have a written alliance.

The power and authority of the Chancellor Zhuge are shown far and wide. He shelters and maintains his own state and he commands the army abroad. His fidelity moves the *yin* and the *yang*, his loyalty affects Heaven and Earth.

And he renews the bonds of covenant and publishes the oath of alliance, so the lands and the peoples of the east and the west may hear about it. He has set up an altar and killed the beast of sacrifice and reported it to the gods; again he has smeared his mouth with blood and has written down the promises once more; and so he renews it for eternity.....

From this day on Han and Wu are in alliance. They join their strengths and they unite their hearts, and they attack the bandits of the Wei together. They give help to one another in time of danger and they give sympathy in times of anxiety. They share in calamities and they share in rejoicing; in good or ill they take part together, and nothing shall ever divide them.

If anyone should injure Han, then Wu will attack them. If anyone should injure Wu, then Han shall attack them. Each will keep to his own territory, and neither shall invade or attack the other.

This shall be handed down to generations to come, that it may continue forever in the manner it has begun, while every agreement that is made shall follow the pattern of this one.

As to the common enemy, Cao Rui was described as the "little fellow" who followed his father Cao Pi's path of evil and disgrace, while their predecessors, from Dong Zhuo down to Cao Cao, were no more than rebel ministers, who had plundered and seized the powers of the state:

Reaching for the limits of cruelty and the extremities of wrong, they put the four seas into turmoil and ripped the nine provinces to shreds. The empire has lost its government, the hearts of the people are bitter and angry.

..... In this present day, for the destruction of Cao Rui and the arrest of his followers, who can undertake the task unless it is Han and Wu?

And now, to attack the evil men and destroy the oppressors we should first divide up their territory and take away their lands so the hearts of the people may know to whom they shall turn.

Accordingly, as earnest of the future, it was agreed that Shu-Han should have the Later Han provinces of Bing, Liang, Ji and Yan, the northwest and the north of the empire, while Wu would take the territories of Xu, Yu, You and Qing provinces, being the south and centre of the North China plain, with southern Manchuria and Korea. The former capital territory, the province of Sili of Later Han, was divided, with the region about

⁷⁸ The text of the covenant is preserved in *SGZ* 47/Wu 2, 1134-35. The biography of Hu Zong, *SGZ* 62/Wu 17, 1414, ascribes the composition to Hu Zong, and makes particular note of its fine literary quality. See also note 72 above.

CLAIM TO THE MANDATE

Chang'an, in present-day Shenxi, going to Shu and that of Luoyang, present-day Henan, to Wu.⁷⁹

All this, of course, was theoretical, but it did establish spheres of influence for the two parties, and it confirmed that Zhuge Liang and his forces would be attacking northwards into the Wei valley, not interfering with Sun Quan's interests in the middle Yangzi and the Han, still less in the region of the Huai. In practical terms, though the fine words of the treaty covered a natural mistrust and bitterness on both sides, the recognition by Shu meant that Sun Quan could feel reasonably secure of his defences in the west, by the Yangzi Gorges, and could give major military priority to his dealings with Wei in the north and to the maintenance of control inside his own territory. For the time being, his government was secure, his status was effectively recognised by his rivals, and his empire held sway over three former provinces of Han. No small achievement for an insignificant family from the marginal city of Fuchun; it remained to be seen what could be built upon this foundation.

⁷⁹ SGZ 47/Wu 2, 1134, and SGZ 39/Shu 9, 985; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 293.