

TO ESTABLISH PEACE

CHAPTER 62

being Chapter 54 of the Chronicle of Han
[containing Part 4 of the reign of Emperor Xian]

Jian'an 1: 196 AD

[17 February 196 – 4 February 197]

1979

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *guiyou* [23 Feb] there was a great amnesty and the reign–title was changed [to Jian'an].

B Dong Cheng and Zhang Yang wanted to have the Emperor go back to Luoyang, but Yang Feng and Li Le would not agree. All the generals were now suspicious of one another.

In the second month Han Xian attacked Dong Cheng, who fell back to Yewang. Han Xian camped at Wenxi, while Hu Cai and Yang Feng went to Wuxiang. Hu Cai wanted to attack Han Xian, but the Emperor sent explicit orders to forbid him.¹

C He Yi and other leaders brought a horde of Yellow Turbans from Yingchuan and Runan to join Yuan Shu. Cao Cao attacked them and defeated them.²

D Zhang Yang sent Dong Cheng to restore the palaces at Luoyang, and the Grand Coachman Zhao Qi persuaded Liu Biao to send men to help with the construction work. The convoys of supplies arrived in a steady stream.

1980

E In the summer, in the fifth month on the day *bingyin* [15 Jun] the Emperor sent a messenger to the camps of Yang Feng, Li Le and Han Xian, asking them to escort him to Luoyang. Yang Feng and the others obeyed the edict.

In the sixth month on the day *yiwei* [14 Jul] the Emperor came to Wenxi.³

[Ja1: 196]

F Yuan Shu attacked Liu Bei to fight for Xu province. Liu Bei set his Major Zhang Fei to hold Xiapi while he himself led a force to oppose Yuan Shu at Xuyi and Huaiyin. They faced one another for a whole month without any result.

The Chancellor of Xiapi, Cao Bao, had been an officer under Tao Qian. He fell out with Zhang Fei and Zhang Fei killed him. There were riots in the city. Yuan Shu wrote to Lü Bu, urging him to attack Xiapi, and promised him help with his supplies. Lü Bu was very pleased, and he led his army east down the [Si] River by water and land.⁴ The General of the Gentlemen of the Household Xu Dan of Danyang, one of Liu Bei's officers, opened the gates and received him. Zhang Fei was defeated and fled. Lü Bu captured Liu Bei's wife and children and the families of his military and civil officers.

Liu Bei came back when he heard the news, but by the time he reached Xiapi his army had disintegrated. Gathering the remnants of his forces, he went east against Guangling. He fought with Yuan Shu, suffered further defeat, and went to camp at Haixi. Starving and desperate, his men had turned to cannibalism. His Attendant Official Mi Zhu of Donghai gave aid to the army from his own family property.⁵

Liu Bei asked to surrender to Lü Bu. Lü Bu had quarrelled again with Yuan Shu because supplies for his army had not been maintained, and he called Liu Bei and restored him to his position as Inspector of Yu province. They joined forces against Yuan Shu, and Lü Bu sent Liu Bei to camp at Xiaopei. Lü Bu named himself Governor of Xu province.⁶

Lü Bu's officer He Meng of Henei attacked Lü Bu during the night. Lü Bu fled bareheaded and unclothed to the camp of his Chief Controller Gao Shun. Gao Shun immediately led soldiers into the headquarters to attack He Meng. He Meng was defeated and fled, and when daylight came his subordinate Cao Xing cut off his head.

1981

G On the day *gengzi* [19 Jul] Yang Feng and Han Xian escorted the Emperor back to the east. Zhang Yang brought supplies for the journey.

In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *jiazi* [12 Aug] the Emperor came to Luoyang, where he took up lodgings in the mansion of the former Regular Palace Attendant Zhao Zhong.⁷ On the day *dingchou* [25 Aug] there was a great amnesty.

In the eighth month on the day *xinchou* [18 Sep] the Emperor moved into the Yang'an Apartments of the Southern Palace. Since Zhang Yang felt that it was his achievement, he had named these apartments Yang'an.⁸

Zhang Yang said to the other leaders, "Service to the Son of Heaven should be shared by everyone in the empire. Since the court has Excellencies and high officials, I shall go to ward off troubles outside." So

he went back to Yewang, while Yang Feng set his camp at Liang. Han Xian and Dong Cheng stayed together on guard.⁹

On the day *guimao* [20 Sep] the General Who Gives Tranquillity to the State Zhang Yang was made Commander-in-Chief, Yang Feng became General of Chariots and Cavalry and Han Xian was appointed General-in-Chief with authority as Colonel Director of Retainers. All held the Staff of Authority and Battleaxes.¹⁰

H At this time all the palaces and houses were burnt, and the officials had to clear away thorns to live among the walls. The provinces were dominated by fierce soldiers, and no food arrived. All were starving and in want, Gentlemen of the Masters of Writing and lower officials went out in person to gather wild grain. Some died of starvation among the walls, and others were killed by the soldiers.

[Ja1: 196]

I There was a prophecy which read, "The one to replace Han shall be 'high road'," and Yuan Shu said that the characters of his personal name and style agreed with it. Moreover, the Yuan clan came from Chen, and were descended from Shun, and yellow took the place of red, and was next in the cycle of power. So he made plans to usurp the throne and rebel against Han.¹¹

When he learnt that Sun Jian had found the Great Seal of State, he had held Sun Jian's wife hostage and took it from him.¹² Then he heard about the defeat of the Emperor near Caoyang,¹³ and he called his subordinates to discuss taking the imperial title.

At first, none dared oppose the plan, but then the Master of Records Yan Xiang came forward and said, "In earlier times the Zhou accumulated virtue and added good works from Hou Ji to King Wen. They held two-thirds of the empire but they still submitted to the Yin.¹⁴

1982 "Your family has been successful and prosperous for many generations, but is cannot compare with the splendour of the rulers of Zhou;. And though the house of Han is weak, it cannot be likened to the cruelty of Yin." Yuan Shu was silent.

Yuan Shu sent an invitation to Zhang Fan, a famous scholar who had never held office. Zhang Fan would not go, but he sent his younger brother Zhang Cheng to present his thanks. Yuan Shu said to Zhang Cheng, "I hold broad lands and a great mass of people and soldiers, I seek to achieve the

fortune of Duke Huan of Qi and the work of Emperor Gaozu.¹⁵ What do you think?"

"Success," replied Zhang Cheng, "is not a matter of power but a question of virtue. If you act with virtue to follow the wishes of the empire, then even if you had no more than the ability of a common fellow, you would find no difficulty in taking position as a hegemon king. If, however, you wish only to usurp the throne, then you will be going against the trend of our time, and people will leave you. In that case, who could hope for success?" Yuan Shu was not pleased.

[*Ja1: 196*]

J Sun Ce heard of all this, and he wrote to Yuan Shu,¹⁶ "When Cheng Tang attacked Jie, he could claim that 'The rulers of Xia have many crimes.' When King Wu raised an army against Zhou, he could claim that 'Yin has many faults'. These two masters had the power of sages, but if at that time [the established rulers] had not lost the Way of right action, they would have had no justification for taking them over.¹⁷

"As to our present Emperor, he has done no wrong to the empire. It is only that he is young and small, and is at the mercy of mighty subjects. This is different to the time of Tang and Wu.

"Furthermore, though Dong Zhuo was a villain, proud and overbearing, without restraint or limit to his ambition, even he dared not [claim the throne]. Yet all the empire joined in hatred of him. This would apply still more to someone who imitated him and acted even worse!

"I have heard our young Emperor is wise and intelligent, with a virtue which has come early to fulfilment. Though the empire has not yet received his grace, all turn their hearts to him. Just as you have five generations succeeding one another as great ministers of the Han, a splendour and favour to which none may compare, so you should express your loyalty, maintaining your honour as a subject, to repay the royal house. Then you will have the good reputation of Dan [the Duke of Zhou] and Shi [the Duke of Shao]. All the world will admire you.¹⁸

"Many people at this time follow the words of prophecies and try to match affairs to the texts of unorthodox books. Thinking only of pleasing their master, they pay no attention to reality. That is what rulers both of ancient times and the present day have always been careful to avoid. Should you not think this out properly?

"Loyal words may offend the ear, and contrary opinions may bring enmity, but if there is advantage to your honour and your wisdom, I dare not excuse myself from speaking."

1983 Hitherto, Yuan Shu had believed he controlled the forces south of the Huai, while Sun Ce [south of the Yangzi] was certain to support him. When he got this letter he was sad and downcast and became ill. He would not accept such an argument, and so Sun Ce broke off with him.

[Ja1: 196]

K Cao Cao was at Xu city,¹⁹ and he planned to receive the Emperor. Many argued that "The east of the mountains is not yet settled, Han Xian and Yang Feng rely on their good work and regard their rivals with an arrogant air. We shall not be able to deal with them quickly."

Xun Yu answered, "In earlier times, when Duke Wen of Jin received King Xiang of the Zhou, all the feudal lords admired him and followed him.²⁰ Gaozu of Han wore mourning for the Provisional Emperor and the people of the empire turned their hearts to him.²¹ The Emperor is an exile, and you were among the first to call up loyal troops. The east of the mountains has been disturbed and disordered, and that is the only reason you have had no opportunity to come to his aid.

"Now the imperial carriage has returned, but the eastern capital is overgrown and neglected. All loyal men hope to preserve the imperial house, and the people long sadly for the past. Truly, if you take this opportunity to support the Emperor and follow the expectations of the people, this will be in keeping with the will of Heaven.

"To follow the cause of justice and so make the empire submit, that is a great plan, and to support the loyal cause and so attract talented men, that is great virtue. There are rebels and traitors in all directions, but what can they do? And why should men like Han Xian or Yang Feng concern you?

"Unless you make up your mind to act promptly, however, other strong men will become ambitious, and though you may plan it again later, the opportunity will not repeat itself."

L So Cao Cao sent the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who Manifests Firmness Cao Hong to lead troops west and receive the Son of Heaven. Dong Cheng and the others, however, held the passes against him, and Cao Hong could make no progress.

M The Gentleman-Consultant Dong Zhao noted that though Yang Feng had many foot-soldiers and horsemen he possessed few supporters at court. He

wrote to him on Cao Cao's behalf, saying,²² "Knowing your reputation and admiring your fine deeds, I offer you my full and sincere friendship. You saved the Emperor from his difficulties and have returned his court to the old capital. Your achievement in his support can be matched by no other. How excellent that is!

"At this time there are masses of wicked men making trouble in China, and the four seas have no peace. The imperial throne is the most important thing, and all our work must be devoted to its protection and support.

1984 "Now is the time for all men of good will to clear the imperial way, but such a task is more than one can manage alone. Truly the heart and the belly and the four limbs depend upon each other, and if one is absent, it will surely be missed. You be master on the inside, and I shall be your ally abroad. I have supplies and you have troops, we complement each other. Live or die, let us act together."

Yang Feng received this letter and was pleased. He said to his colleagues, "The armies of Yan province are nearby at Xu city. There are soldiers and there are supplies. These are what the Emperor should rely on." They jointly recommended Cao Cao be named General Who Maintains the East in Peace, and that he succeed his father as Marquis of Bi Village.²³

[Ja1: 196]

N Han Xian boasted of his achievements and acted without restraint. Dong Cheng disliked it. He sent a secret call to Cao Cao, and Cao Cao brought his soldiers to Luoyang. When he arrived he sent in a memorial on the faults of Han Xian and Zhang Yang. Frightened of the punishment he might meet, Han Xian fled alone on horseback to Yang Feng. Because Han Xian and Zhang Yang had done good work as escort to his escape, the Emperor ordered that nothing more should be said.

O On the day *xin hai* [28 Sep] Cao Cao was given charge as Colonel Director of Retainers with control of the imperial secretariat.²⁴ He immediately had the Master of Writing Feng Shi and two other men executed as punishment for crimes. He enfeoffed the General of the Guards Dong Cheng and twelve others as full marquises as reward for their good work, and he gave posthumous title as Grand Administrator of Hongnong to the Colonel of the Archers Who Shoot at a Sound Ju Jun, in recognition of his honourable death.²⁵

P Cao Cao invited Dong Zhao to sit with him and asked, "Now I am here, what plans should I make?"

"You have raised loyal troops to punish cruelty and disorder," replied Dong Zhao, "and you have come to pay court to the Emperor and give help to the royal house. This is the work of the five hegemony. Every commander here, however, has ideas of his own and there is no way to be sure they will submit and follow you. If you stay in Luoyang, it will not be easy. The thing to do is shift the Emperor to Xu city.

1985 "On the other hand, the court has been homeless and wandering and has only lately returned to the old capital. Far and near, people have been waiting for this, and all hope they may now gain peace. If we shift the Emperor again, it will give no ease to the hearts of the people.

"In the end, however, only by extraordinary acts can you build an exceptional achievement. It is for you to decide the best policy."

"This [to move the Emperor to Xu city] has been my aim from the beginning," replied Cao Cao. "Yang Feng, however, is close by at Liang, and I have heard that he has good soldiers. Don't you think he may cause me trouble?"

"Yang Feng has no friends at court," answered Dong Zhao, "and he is your ally. He arranged your appointment as General Who Maintains the East in Peace, and also the restoration of the Bi Village marquisate. Send messengers with generous gifts to return thanks to him. That will set his mind at rest. Then say to him, 'The capital has no provisions, so I would like the Emperor to stay for a while at Luyang. Since Luyang is close to Xu city, the transport of supplies would become easier, and there will be no concern for delays or shortages.' Though Yang Feng is brave, he is not very clever. He will not suspect anything, and will accept the plan by return of courier. He presents no problem."

"Excellent!" said Cao Cao, and he sent messengers to Yang Feng.

[Ja1: 196]

Q On the day *gengshen* [7 Oct] the Emperor went out east by the Huanyuan Pass, and the capital was shifted to Xu city.

[In the ninth month] on the day *jisi* [16 Oct]²⁶ the Emperor entered Cao Cao's camp, appointed Cao Cao General-in-Chief and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Wuping.²⁷ The imperial ancestral temple and the national altars were established for the first time at Xu city.

R Sun Ce planned to take Kuaiji. White Tiger Yan and other leaders of Wu commandery were camped in various positions, each with over ten thousand men. His officers urged that he attack White Tiger Yan and his allies first, but Sun Ce said, "White Tiger and those fellows are nothing but mobs of bandits. They have no great ideas and they can certainly be taken." So he led his soldiers across the Zhe River.

S Yu Fan, Officer of the Bureau of Merit in Kuaiji, said to his Grand Administrator Wang Lang, "Sun Ce is a brilliant military commander. Better to leave now, and do not try to face him." Wang Lang did not agree, and he took soldiers to oppose Sun Ce at Guling.

Sun Ce tried several times to force a bridge-head over the river, but gained no success. Then Sun Ce's uncle [his father's younger brother] Sun Jing said to him, "Wang Lang is holding the defences of the city and it is difficult to storm them quickly. Zhadu is a few dozen li south of here. Go that way and get behind him. Then you will be attacking him where he is not prepared and breaking out where he least expects it."

1986 Sun Ce did this. That night he had a great number of fires lit to pretend there were soldiers there, and sent part of his army along the Zhadu road against the camp at Gaoqian.²⁸ Wang Lang, completely surprised, sent Zhou Xin the former Grand Administrator of Danyang with a force to oppose the attack. Sun Ce defeated them and took the heads of Zhou Xin and others.²⁹ Wang Lang ran away.

Yu Fan escorted Wang Lang back to his base camp and then across the sea to Dongye.³⁰

1987 Sun Ce followed in pursuit, attacked and completely defeated them. Then Wang Lang came to surrender.

[Ja1: 196]

T Sun Ce appointed himself Grand Administrator of Kuaiji. He maintained Yu Fan as Officer of the Bureau of Merit and treated him with all the courtesy of a friend.

Sun Ce loved hunting, but Yu Fan objected, "You enjoy going about without an escort, and your followers have no time to make suitable preparations. Your men are worried about it. A ruler who is not serious will have no authority. It was in this fashion that the White Dragon put on fish clothing and was troubled by Yu Ju,³¹ and the White Snake acted wilfully and was brought to harm by Liu Ji.³² Please think about it!"

"You are right," agreed Sun Ce, but he would not change.³³

1988

U In the ninth month the Minister over the Masses Chunyu Jia, the Grand Commandant Yang Biao and the Minister of Works Zhang Xi all left office.³⁴

V As the Emperor was moving to the east, Yang Feng had tried unsuccessfully to intercept him from Liang. In the winter, in the tenth month Cao Cao turned against him, Yang Feng fled south to Yuan Shu, and Cao Cao captured his camp at Liang.

W An imperial edict was sent to Yuan Shao, scolding him because, "Though your lands are broad and you have many soldiers, you have set up a party solely for yourself. We do not hear of you as a leader to give help to the true king, we only hear that you usurp authority and attack others."

Yuan Shao sent in a memorial, defending himself in detail against each charge.³⁵

[In the eleventh month] on the day *wuchen* [14 Dec]³⁶ Yuan Shao was appointed as Grand Commandant and enfeoffed as Marquis of Ye.

Yuan Shao was embarrassed and annoyed that he was lower in rank than Cao Cao. He remarked angrily that, "There were several occasions Cao Cao was in danger of death, and I was quick to help him and save him. Now he is making use of the Son of Heaven to give me orders." He sent in a memorial with excuses and refused the appointment. Cao Cao became worried, and asked to cede the office of General-in-Chief to Yuan Shao.

On the day *bingxu* [2 Jan 197] Cao Cao became Minister of Works with acting authority as General of Chariots and Cavalry.³⁷

[Ja1: 196]

X Cao Cao had Xun Yu appointed as Palace Attendant with responsibility as Prefect of the Masters of Writing. He asked him about scholars who could make plans, and Xun Yu recommended his cousin Xun You, Grand Administrator of Shu commandery,³⁸ and Guo Jia of Yingchuan.

Cao Cao called Xun You to be a Master of Writing, spoke with him and was delighted, saying, "Gongda is quite exceptional.³⁹ Now I can plan things with him, what difficulties will the empire offer?" He made him Master of the Army.⁴⁰

Before this, Guo Jia went to see Yuan Shao, who treated him with utmost courtesy. After a few weeks, however, he observed to Yuan Shao's counsellors Xin Ping and Guo Tu, "A man who is wise takes care to examine

his master. He will then never come to harm, and he will be able to establish a good reputation. Lord Yuan seeks to imitate the Duke of Zhou by being courteous to talented people, but that is all. He does not understand the finer points of bringing men to serve. He has many ideas but few of the essentials, he loves to make plans but never makes a decision.

1989 "You wish to work with him, to save the empire in its time of calamity and to help him secure the throne. That, however, will not be easy. I intend to make a new start and seek another master. Why don't you come too?"

"The Yuan have shown favour and generous deeds to all the world," replied his colleagues, "and many of the people turn to them. Moreover, [Yuan Shao] is very powerful now, and if we leave him, where would we go?" Guo Jia realised they would never understand, and he left without saying more.

Cao Cao summoned Guo Jia to audience and discussed affairs with him. He was pleased and said, "This is certainly a man who can help me achieve the empire." As Guo Jia went out he too was pleased and said, "This is the master for me." Cao Cao recommended him as Libationer to the Minister of Works.⁴¹

Y Cao Cao appointed Man Chong of Shanyang as Prefect of Xu. Some retainers of Cao Cao's cousin Cao Hong had repeatedly disobeyed the law in that territory, and Man Chong arrested them and punished them. Cao Hong wrote to threaten Man Chong but he paid no attention. Cao Hong told Cao Cao and Cao Cao summoned the officers of Xu county. Man Chong knew he would want to pardon the retainers, so he executed them at once. Cao Cao was pleased and said, "Here is real attention to duty?"

[Ja1: 196]

Z Kong Rong, Grand Administrator of Beihai,⁴² was a man of haughty bearing, with ambition to settle the disorders of the time. He was, however, erratic and vague in his ideas and ineffectual in his actions. Highflown talk about the pure teachings were all the vogue in his official circle, while the words and style of writings were so refined and elegant that they could be read aloud with pleasure. In discussion of affairs and examination of facts, however, they were quite impracticable.⁴³

His influence spread wide like a net, but the meshes were extremely loose. For a short time he could get people to follow him, but they never

stayed for long. In appointing men to office he loved the unusual and chose the strange, so many of his subordinates were quick and frivolous, with slight ability.

1990 He respected and honoured the famous scholar Zheng Xuan, treated him with the courtesy owed by a son or grandson, and changed the name of his village to "Village of Lord Zheng."⁴⁴ On the other hand, while fine scholars such as Zuo Chengzu and Liu Yixun were invited to sit with him, that was all, for he would never discuss matters of government with them. He still said, nonetheless, "These are famous men and people look up to them. I must not lose them."

The Yellow Turbans came to plunder, and Kong Rong fought and was defeated. He fled to take refuge in Duchang.⁴⁵

At this time [the territories of] Yuan Shao and Cao Cao and Gongsun Zan formed a continuous line. Kong Rong's forces were weak and he had few supplies, he occupied an isolated corner and he had no communication with any of them. Zuo Chengzu urged Kong Rong to trust himself to some more powerful state, but Kong Rong would not hear of it, and he killed him. Liu Yixun left him.

Yuan Tan, Inspector of Qing province, attacked Kong Rong. They fought from the spring to the summer.⁴⁶ The fighting men that remained to him were only a few hundred, and arrows filled the air, but Kong Rong reclined on an arm-rest to study, and he talked and laughed unconcerned. As the city fell to a night assault, he made his escape to the eastern hills,⁴⁷ but his wife and children were captured by Yuan Tan.

Cao Cao, who had old acquaintance with Kong Rong, invited him to take appointment as Court Architect.

AA When Yuan Tan first arrived in Qing province, his territory west of the Yellow River extended no further than Pingyuan. He pushed north against Tian Kai, and in the east he defeated Kong Rong. He was respected and honoured far and wide.⁴⁸

After this, however, he began to trust bad men and give them office. He had excessive ambition and extravagant faults, and so his reputation declined.

[Ja1: 196]

BB Ever since the Zhongping period the empire had been divided and disordered. People left their work as farmers, armies rose up against one

another, and all were short of provisions and grain. None could be sure of supplies from one year to the next. When men were starving they plundered, and when they had eaten they threw the rest aside. The people were broken like tiles and scattered, and countless numbers died of natural causes, without enemy action.

Yuan Shao was north of the Yellow River, and the men of his army ate mulberries, Yuan Shu was by the Yangzi and the Huai, and his soldiers took clams and mussels. Many turned to cannibalism, and all the country was lonely and desolate.

The Inspector of the Guards of the Feathered Forest Zao Zhi asked that military agricultural colonies be set up. Cao Cao did this. He appointed Zao Zhi Chief Commandant of Agricultural Colonies, and made the Chief Commandant of Cavalry Ren Jun General of the Gentlemen of the Household in Charge of Agriculture. He brought people to the colonies about Xu city, and they produced a million bushels of grain. Then provinces and commanderies set up farming offices one after another, and the granaries were filled. Cao Cao could campaign in any direction and have no trouble with his supplies, and so he was able to conquer all his rivals.

1991 The prosperity of the army and the state began with Zao Zhi and was accomplished by Ren Jun.⁴⁹

CC Yuan Shu was afraid Lü Bu would become a threat to him, so he sought a marriage alliance through his son. Lü Bu agreed.

Yuan Shu sent his officer Ji Ling to lead thirty thousand horse and foot against Liu Bei, and Liu Bei asked help from Lü Bu. Lü Bu's officers said to him, "You always wanted to kill Liu Bei. Now you can leave the job to Yuan Shu."

"No," replied Lü Bu. "If Yuan Shu defeats Liu Bei, then he will join with all the leaders of Mount Tai in the north and I shall be surrounded.⁵⁰ I must help Liu Bei." He brought more than a thousand infantry and cavalry by forced marches to the relief.

When Ji Ling and the others heard Lü Bu had come, they all gathered their troops and halted. Lü Bu camped southwest of Pei city, and sent one of his orderlies to invite Ji Ling and the others. Ji Ling and his fellows returned the invitation, and Lü Bu went to them, and they drank and ate with Liu Bei.

Then Lü Bu said to Ji Ling and his party, "Xuande [Liu Bei]⁵¹ is my younger brother. He is in trouble with you, and so I have come to help him. I am not the sort of person who seeks to sow discord. I truly enjoy being a peace-maker."

Then Lü Bu ordered a captain to set up a halberd at the gate of the camp. He bent his bow, looked around and said, "You will all see me shoot at the small spike on that halberd. If I hit it both sides draw back your men. If I miss, then you can stay to settle your quarrel." Lü Bu fired a single shot, and hit square on the spike of the halberd.

Ji Ling and the others were amazed. "General," they said, "you have the authority of Heaven." Next day they met to drink again, and afterwards each side withdrew.

[*Ja1: 196*]

DD Liu Bei collected troops, and gained over ten thousand men. Lü Bu was concerned at this and he in turn now led soldiers against Liu Bei. Liu Bei was defeated and fled to Cao Cao.

Cao Cao received him generously, and appointed him Governor of Yu province. Some, however, said that, "Liu Bei is ambitious. Unless you make plans to deal with him right away, he will certainly cause trouble later."

Cao Cao asked Guo Jia about this. Guo Jia said, "There is truth in that. On the other hand, you have called up loyal soldiers to rid the people of oppression. You act with honesty and you rely on good faith to attract brave and able men. As yet, I fear you have not quite achieved that work.

1992 "Now Liu Bei has a hero's reputation. If he comes to us in time of need and then we kill him, it will give us a bad name for injuring a worthy man. Should we behave like that, the wise scholars and officials will become uncertain and will regret their choice of a master. Who then will remain with you to settle the empire? Even though you may have removed the threat of one man, you would disappoint the hopes of people everywhere. This is a critical decision, and you must think it over carefully."⁵²

"You have a point!" laughed Cao Cao. He added to Liu Bei's soldiers, gave him provisions, and sent him east to Pei to collect his scattered troops and make plans against Lü Bu.

EE When Liu Bei was in Yu province before [as Inspector in 194], he had recommended Yuan Huan of Chen commandery as Abundant Talent.⁵³ Yuan Huan was now held by Lü Bu, and Lü Bu wanted to have him write a

letter to insult and abuse Liu Bei. Yuan Huan refused. Twice and three times Lü Bu threatened him, but Yuan Huan would still not agree.

Lü Bu, furious, brandished a sword before Yuan Huan, "If you obey my commands you live, if you refuse you die."

Unperturbed, Yuan Huan laughed and replied, "I have heard it said that only a man of virtue can give disgrace to another, I have heard nothing about common abuse. If Liu Bei is a gentleman he will not be shamed by what you say. If he is a mean fellow, he will simply return your insults. So the disgrace will lie with you, not with him. Besides, I used to serve General Liu and now I serve you. If I leave here one day and then later I curse you, would that be right?" Lü Bu, ashamed, gave up the idea.

[Ja1: 196]

FF Zhang Ji led troops from inside the passes into the borders of Jing province and attacked Rang city.⁵⁴ He was hit by a flying arrow and died. The officers of Jing province all offered congratulations, but Liu Biao replied, "Zhang Ji came because he was in want and we, as host, lacked courtesy. A 'shepherd' of his people cannot wish to fight them. This shepherd deserves condolences, not congratulations."⁵⁵

He sent some of his men to invite Zhang Ji's army in. When the soldiers heard of this, all were glad and turned their hearts to him. Zhang Ji's younger clansman the General Who Establishes Loyalty Zhang Xiu took over command and came to camp at Wan.⁵⁶

GG Before this, after the Emperor had left Chang'an, the General Who Proclaims Majesty Jia Xu gave up his seal and tassel and went to stay with Duan Wei at Huayin.⁵⁷

Jia Xu had made a name for himself in the past and had been popular with Duan Wei's army, so Duan Wei received him extremely well. Secretly, however, Jia Xu planned to join Zhang Xiu. Someone said, "Duan Wei treats you generously, why should you leave?"

"Duan Wei is a suspicious man," replied Jia Xu, "and anxious about what I am going to do. Though he does behave generously to me, if I presume on that too long he will make plans to harm me. If I go now he will certainly be pleased, and since he will hope I may negotiate a good alliance for him outside he will treat my wife and children kindly.

1993 "Zhang Xiu, on the other hand, has no-one to make plans for him, and he will be pleased to have me. So both my family and I will be safe." Then

Jia Xu went, Zhang Xiu treated him with the courtesy owed by a son or grandson, and Duan Wei did indeed look after his family very well.

HH Jia Xu encouraged Zhang Xiu to join Liu Biao, and Zhang Xiu did this. Jia Xu went to call upon Liu Biao, and Liu Biao treated him as an honoured guest. Jia Xu observed, however, "For times of peace, Liu Biao has abilities worthy to rank with the three Excellencies, but he has not realised how things change. He leaves many matters uncertain and few decided. He will gain no real achievement."

II Liu Biao loved the people and cared for scholars. He maintained his government with ease and had no trouble in his territory. Of the scholars from the west of the passes, from Yan province and from Yu, those that came to him were numbered by the thousands.

Liu Biao set up schools to teach the classics, and he ordered the former Gentleman of the Court Music Du Kui of Henan to compose ceremonial music. When the orchestra was ready Liu Biao wished to hold audience to hear it. Du Kui, however, observed, "You do not have the title Son of Heaven. To assemble such an orchestra and have it play in court, is that proper behaviour?" Liu Biao abandoned the idea.⁵⁸

[Ja1: 196]

JJ Ni Heng of Pingyuan was known as a fine debater while he was still young, but he was a proud, arrogant man. Kong Rong recommended him to Cao Cao.⁵⁹ Then Ni Heng abused Cao Cao, and Cao Cao was angry and said to Kong Rong, "Ni Heng is a fool, and I should kill him like a small bird or a rat. I believe, however, though it is quite undeserved, that this fellow has gained some reputation. If I kill him, people everywhere will say I lack tolerance."

So he sent Ni Heng to Liu Biao, who received him as an honoured guest. Ni Heng was full of praise for Liu Biao, but he made fun of his attendants and disparaged them. So the courtiers slandered him to Liu Biao.

Knowing how Ni Heng had behaved in the past, they told Liu Biao that, "Ni Heng praises your humanity, saying the Lord of the West could not surpass it,⁶⁰ but he believes you cannot make decisions, and for this reason you will ultimately fail." Though Ni Heng had not actually said this, it was an accurate criticism of Liu Biao.

Liu Biao was angry, and because Huang Zu, Grand Administrator of Jiangxia, had a quick temper, he sent Ni Heng to him. Huang Zu also

treated Ni Heng well, but Ni Heng later insulted Huang Zu in public and Huang Zu killed him.⁶¹

NOTES to Jian'an 1: 196

A *HHS* 9, 379 (7a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

[*Ja1: 196*]

B *HHJ* 29, 1a.

1 The Emperor was at Anyi, capital of Hedong commandery (passage AA of Xingping 2 above), and Wenxi county was a little to the northeast.

Yewang county was in Henei commandery, a hundred and fifty kilometres to the east, north across the Yellow River from Luoyang. Zhang Yang had his base camp there (passage CC of Xingping 2).

ZZTJ commentary notes that the Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 119/19, 3390, refers to a settlement called Wuju in Goushi county of Henan, and evidently identifies this place with the district called Wuxiang. Goushi, however, was southeast of Luoyang, even further than Yewang and, in context, this is impossibly far away. We must assume Wuxiang was somewhere in the vicinity of Anyi.

[*Ja1: 196*]

C *SGZ* 1, 13 (33b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

2 *SGZ* 1 observes that this group of Yellow Turbans had been allied with Yuan Shu before, and had operated in association with his general Sun Jian. In this campaign, Cao Cao killed several of their leaders, and the others surrendered.

[*Ja1: 196*]

D *HHS* 64/54, 2124 (17a), the Biography of Zhao Qi.

[*Ja1: 196*]

E *HHJ* 29, 1a.

3 Wenxi lay northeast of Anyi (note 1 above), so it might appear the imperial cortege was moving in the wrong direction. *HHJ* 29, however, explains that the party went by a round-about route to avoid raiding parties of the Xiongnu.

[*Ja1: 196*]

F *HHS* 75/65, 2447 (11b–12a), the Biography of Lü Bu;

SGZ 7, 223 (6a), the Biography of Lü Bu;

SGZ 7, 223–24 (7a–b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;

SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 873 (6a–b), the Biography of Liu Bei;

SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 874 (6b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;

SGZ 38 (Shu 8), 969 (10b), the Biography of Mi Zhu.

4 The details of this incident are confused. The main text of *SGZ* 32 says simply that Cao Bao rebelled and called in Lü Bu, while *Hanmo yingxiong ji*, as quoted in PC to *SGZ* 32, says that Zhang Fei intended to kill Cao Bao, but he took refuge in his encampment and called in Lü Bu. The extract from *Hanmo yingxiong ji* in PC to *SGZ* 7, however, quotes a letter written to Lü Bu by Xu Dan, offering to act as his agent within, and saying that Zhang Fei

had already killed Cao Bao. It was through Xu Dan that Lü Bu defeated Zhang Fei and captured Xiapi city.

Lü Bu had joined Liu Bei two years earlier (passages O and P of Xingping 2), and was presumably stationed in the northwest of Xiapi commandery, near the border with Yan province from which he had been driven by Cao Cao. His line of approach to the city of Xiapi thus followed the course of the Si River.

HHS 75/65 and another extract from *Hanmo yingxiong ji* quoted in PC to *SGZ* 7 contain the text of a letter written by Yuan Shu to Lü Bu about this time. It is certainly friendly, promising supplies and listing the achievements of Lü Bu on behalf of Yuan Shu, but it appears to refer to Lü Bu's attack on Liu Bei as having taken place, and so cannot have been an encouragement to that action.

5 Based on Xiapi city, Liu Bei had been defending the line of the Huai against Yuan Shu approaching from Yang province in the southwest. Zhang Fei's brutality and Lü Bu's change of sides, however, removed the heart of Liu Bei's position, and after an unsuccessful attempt to move south into Guangyang he was driven into the isolated county of Haixi in Donghai commandery, on the coast north of the mouth of the Huai River.

Mi Zhu had been locally appointed by Tao Qian in Xu province, and after Tao Qian died he transferred allegiance to Liu Bei: passage Z of Xingping 1. His biography says he not only supplied the army at this time, but gave his younger sister to Liu Bei as replacement for the wife he had lost in the fall of Xiapi.

6 *SGZ* 7 has Lü Bu's claimed title only as Inspector, but *HHS* 75/65 has Governor, and this is more likely. Liu Bei had held the title as Governor of Xu province since his succession to Tao Qian in 194. For a short time earlier, he had been named Inspector of Yu province in Tao Qian's service, also stationed at Pei county (or Xiaopei): passage B of Xingping 1. So his position was back to where it had been once before, and it is hard to believe he was pleased.

[Ja1: 196]

G *HHS* 9, 379 (7a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;

HHS 72/62, 2341–42 (16a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;

SGZ 8, 251 (24b–25a), the Biography of Zhang Yang.

7 Zhao Zhong, a leading eunuch under Emperors Huan and Ling, had been killed in the disorders of 189: passage S of Zhongping 6. His biography is in *HHS* 78/68.

8 These apartments were evidently a small group of buildings which had been brought to some semblance of repair among the ruins of the old palace complex. It is impossible to say what they had been known as before.

9 Liang county in Henan was by present-day Linru, on the southern approaches to Luoyang. Yewang guarded the capital from the northeast across the Yellow River.

10 Battleaxes (*yue*), like the Staff of Authority in civil circumstances, gave the right to carry out judgement and execution under military law without prior reference to the throne.

[Ja1: 196]

H *HHS* 9, 379 (7a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

[Ja1: 196]

I *HHS* 75/65, 2439–40 (7a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shu;

SGZ 6, 210 (76a) PC quoting *Dian lue*.

11 *SJ* 36, 1575; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 169, says that the descendants of the legendary Emperor Shun had been enfeoffed with the state of Chen at the beginning of the Zhou dynasty; the Yuan family claimed descent from a grandee of the state of Chen named Yuan Taotu: commentary to *HHS* 75/65, 2440.

In the theory of the Five Powers (*wuxing*), fire was said to produce earth, and so the red of fire should eventually give way to the yellow of earth. The colour adopted by the Han dynasty was red, and it was generally agreed that it would be succeeded by a political entity associated with yellow: see, for example, *Cambridge China* I, 360 [Mansvelt Beck, "Fall of Han"]. The colour associated with Emperor Shun was yellow; but the Yellow Turbans had also adopted it, and twenty years later the successor states Wei and Wu also took yellow as their insignia.

The style Gonglu of Yuan Shu means a public road, and hence can be related to the prophetic phrase *tugao*. As *ZZTJ* commentary observes, however, the character Wei, name of the state later founded by Cao Cao, has the meaning 'high' and fits as well. On this prophecy, see also Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 211, and de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 174 note.

12 See passage D of Chuping 2 above.

13 In the previous year: passage X of Xingping 2.

14 Hou Ji "Prince Millet" was the title of the Minister of Agriculture under the legendary Emperors Yao and Shun. His personal name was Qi, and he was granted the fief of Tai: he could therefore be described as a prince. The kings of Zhou claimed descent from him: *SJ* 4, 111–12; Chavannes, *MHI*, 209–211 (Nienhauser, *CSRI*, 55).

Lun yu VIII.20; Legge *CC* I, 215 (Lau, *Analects*, 75): "King Wen possessed two of the three parts of the empire, and with those he served the dynasty of Yin. The virtue of the house of Zhou may be said to have reached the highest point indeed."

15 According to tradition, in the seventh century BC Duke Huan of Qi was the most powerful vassal of the weakened dynasty of Zhou. As hegemon of the other feudal lords, he brought them to serve the royal house.

Emperor Gao (commonly known as Gaozu) was the founder of Former Han, from the ruins of the empire of Qin at the end of the third century BC.

[*Ja1: 196*]

J *HHS* 75/65, 2440–41 (7b–8a), the Biography of Yuan Shu;

HHJ 29, 7a–8a;

SGZ 46 (Wu 1), 1105–06 (24b–26b) PC quoting *Wu lu*.

16 The fullest version of this letter, listing nine points against Yuan Shu's ambitions, is given by *Wu lu*, which adds that Zhang Hong composed it for Sun Ce. *HHJ*, however, ascribes the work to Zhang Zhao, and Pei Songzhi, in a note at the end of the *Wu lu* quotation, observes that *Dian lue* also credits it to Zhang Zhao. Pei Songzhi, however, argues that Zhang Hong was the better scholar, and such a piece was surely written by him.

17 According to tradition, Jie was the last ruler of Xia, notorious for his wickedness, and rightfully overthrown by Tang, named "the Successful" (Cheng), who thus founded the Shang dynasty, later renamed Yin.

Similarly, the wicked King Zhou of Shang/Yin was properly destroyed by the warrior King Wu of Zhou, son of Wen: *cf.* note 14 above.

ZZTJ commentary quotes as examples of this tradition the *Tang shi* "The Speech of Tang" chapter of *Shu jing*; Legge, CC III, 173–175 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 101–103), and the annals of the house of Zhou in *SJ* 4, 120–124; Chavannes, *MH* I, 227 (Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 60–61).

- 18 Dan and Shi were the personal names of the Duke of Zhou and of the Duke of Shao. The Duke of Zhou was the full brother, and the Duke of Shao a half-brother by a concubine, of King Wu of Zhou. After the death of King Wu, the two dukes shared in the regency for his young son King Cheng.

[*Ja1: 196*]

- K *HHS* 70/60, 2284 (17a–b), the Biography of Xun Yu;
SGZ 10, 310 (7b–8a), the Biography of Xun Yu.

- 19 Xu county was in Yingchuan commandery. The city is now Xuchang in Henan; the name was changed at the end of Later Han: see, for example, Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 117, and de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* II, 473–475.

- 20 We are told that in 636 BC King Xiang of Zhou was forced from his capital at Luoyang by a revolt and took refuge at the court of Duke Wen of Jin. In the following year Duke Wen escorted him back and restored him to his throne: *SJ* 39, 1662–63; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 294–298.

- 21 In the title of the Provisional Emperor, rather than its usual meaning of "righteous" *yi* in this context is better understood as "temporary."

This was the title granted to Xin, a descendant of the royal house of the state of Chu, who was set upon the throne of that restored state in 208 BC as a figurehead for the rebellion against the empire of Qin. In 206 Xiang Yü proclaimed him as Provisional Emperor, but murdered him soon afterwards. See *SJ* 7, 300, 315 and 320; Chavannes, *MH* II, 257, 284 and 293 (Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 183, 194 and 197).

In the following year, when the future Emperor Gao of Han learnt of this, he proclaimed mourning for three days, then announced his campaign against Xiang Yu as vengeance on the assassin: *SJ* 8, 370; Chavannes, *MH* II, 364, Watson, *RGH* I, 96–97 [who describes the unhappy ruler as the "Righteous Emperor"], and *HS* 1A, 34; Dubs, *HFHDI*, 75–77.

[*Ja1: 196*]

- L *SGZ* 1, 13 (33a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

[*Ja1: 196*]

- M *SGZ* 14, 437 (15b–16a), the Biography of Dong Zhao.

- 22 Dong Zhao was at this time with the Emperor. He had served Yuan Shao, and later spent some time with Zhang Yang, where he had advised in favour of Cao Cao before: passage II of Chuping 3. It does not appear from his biography, however, that he had hitherto had any direct contact with Cao Cao.

- 23 The eunuch Cao Teng was made Marquis of Fei [or Bi] Village in 147, and the fief passed to his adopted son Cao Song, father of Cao Cao and now deceased.

On the change in pronunciation of the place-name from ancient Bi to present-day Fei, see note 22 to Chuping 4.

[*Ja1: 196*]

- N *HHS* 72/62, 2342 (16a–b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.

[*Ja1: 196*]

- O *HHS* 9, 380 (7a–b), the Annals of Emperor Huan;

HHJ 29, 2a–b.

24 *HHS* 9, reflecting the interests of the Han annalists, says that Cao Cao took these titles for himself (*z*).

25 See passage X of Xingping 2.

[*Ja1: 196*]

P *SGZ* 14, 437–38 (16a–b), the Biography of Dong Zhao.

[*Ja1: 196*]

Q *HHS* 9, 380 (7b), the Annals of Emperor Xian;
SGZ 1, 13 (35a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

26 *HHS* annals, followed by *ZZTJ*, has the day *jisi* before referring to the ninth month. The ninth month, however, began on a *guihai* day (cyclical number 60), and this *jisi* day (cyclical number 6) must have fallen in that month.

27 Wuping county was in Chen state in Yu province, near present-day Luyi in Henan.

[*Ja1: 196*]

R *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1104 (22a), the Biography of Sun Ce.

[*Ja1: 196*]

S *SGZ* 13, 407 (26a), the Biography of Wang Lang;
SGZ 51 (Wu 6), 1205 (1a–2a), the Biography of Sun Jing.

[*Ja1: 196*]

28 Neither Guling nor Zhadu were county cities, but both were fortified settlements by crossings of the Zhe River, which here flows northeast to the estuary. Guling was evidently close to the mouth of the river, about present-day Hangzhou; Zhadu was some distance upstream. In commentary to *SGZ* 51, Pei Songzhi notes that there was a Gaoqian Bridge in this region.

This region was the home territory of the Sun clan, which came from Fuchun on the Zhe River, now Fuyang in Zhejiang: *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1093. Sun Ce, however, had spent most of his life north of the Yangzi, and would not have known the land so well as his elder relatives.

[*Ja1: 196*]

29 The Zhou family of Kuaiji had evidently been of some importance. Apart from Zhou Xin's position in Danyang, from where he had been driven out by Sun Ce's uncle Wu Jing two years before, he and his brothers earlier served Yuan Shao in the north against Sun Ce's father Sun Jian in the service of Yuan Shu: passages X of Chuping 2 and BB of Xingping 1, also de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 130–131 and 154.

[*Ja1: 196*]

30 The county of Dongye, and its neighbour Houguan, lay at the mouth of the Min River by present-day Fuzhou in Fujian. Outposts of empire, they were normally reached only by sea, and they probably served as communications points and a place for gathering toll on the local and passing trade. See Bielenstein, "Chinese Colonisation of Fukien," 121–122, and de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 43–44: the reference to the two places in the Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 112/22, 3488, is seriously corrupt, and must be interpreted with the aid of the commentary in *HHSJ* 112/22, 47a–b.

[*Ja1: 196*]

T *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1104 (23a), the Biography of Sun Ce;
SGZ 57 (Wu 12), 1317–18 (2b–3b), the Biography of Yu Fan.

- 31 According to an anecdote told in *Shuo yuan*, compiled by Liu Xiang in the first century BC, 9, 23b–24a, Yu Ju was a fisherman of the state of Song in Chunqiu times. The White Dragon came down to the water in the form of a fish, and Yu Ju shot him in the eye with an arrow. The dragon asked vengeance of the ruler of Heaven, but was told it was only natural for men to attack fish, and if he had kept his true shape he would have come to no harm. *Cf. SJ* 128, 3229 ff.
- 32 Liu Ji was the name of Emperor Gao of Former Han, who later took the personal name Bang. *HS* 1A, 7, Dubs, *HFHD* I, 34–36 tells how the future emperor was crossing a marsh one night when he was drunk, and he killed a magic serpent, son of the White God, which had blocked his path. When he took command in the civil war in 209 BC he made his standards and pennons red "because the serpent he had killed was the son of the White God and the killer was the son of the Red God." *HS* 1A, 10; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 41.
- 33 *Cf.* passage N to Jian'an 5.

[Ja1: 196]

U *HHS* 9, 380 (7b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

- 34 The reference to Chunyu Jia here is mistaken. In passage X of Xingping 1, *ZZTJ* has mentioned his leaving office as Minister over the Masses and being replaced by Zhao Wen. Following *HHJ* 27, 15b, *ZZTJ* gives the date as the twelfth month; the annals of *HHS* 9, 377, have it in the ninth month. No source, however, supports this entry for Jian'an 1, and it appears to be an incorrect repetition from the *HHS* entry two years earlier.

[Ja1: 196]

V *SGZ* 1, 14 (36a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

[Ja1: 196]

W *HHS* 74/64A, 2384–88 (8b–11b), the Biography of Yuan Shao; *SGZ* 6, 195 (49a), PC quoting *Xiandi chungju*, *HHJ* 29, 3a.

35 The text of Yuan Shao's letter is given by his biography in *HHS* 74/64A.

36 This date comes from *HHJ* 29, which gives the *bingxu* day in the tenth month: the tenth month is mentioned in passage V above, so *ZZTJ* omits the indication here.

The eleventh month of this year, however, began on a *renxu* day (cyclical number 59), so both the *wuchen* day (cyclical number 5) mentioned here, and the *bingxu* day (cyclical number 23) referred to below, were in that month.

37 As commentary to *HHS* 74/64A observes, the General-in-Chief was formerly inferior to the Three Excellencies, and the Grand Commandant was highest of the Excellencies. During Later Han, however, because of its association with the imperial family and particularly with the relatives by marriage and the regency, the post of General-in-Chief had become more important.

Cao Cao's appointment as "acting in the affairs" (*xing... shi*) of the General of Chariots and Cavalry" now placed him specifically below Yuan Shao as full General-in-Chief, while his new substantive post as Minister of Works, third of the Three Excellencies, was also inferior to Yuan Shao's status as Grand Commandant. See, for example, the Treatise of Officials, *HHS* 114/24, 3563 and 3557–60.

In some contrast to this account, and to passage J of Jian'an 2 below, the annals of *HHS* 9, 380, say that Yuan Shao made himself (*zi wei*) General-in-Chief in the third month of the following year: *cf.* note 24 above, where a similar term is applied to Cao Cao.

We are not told, however, that Yuan Shao actually accepted this appointment as Grand Commandant. According to *HHS* 62/52, 2068, Yuan Shao attempted to cede the post to Chen Ji, but Chen Ji refused. The office of Grand Commandant under Han is not mentioned again in the histories. It is possible Yuan Shao kept the position formally until his death or, at least, no-one else ventured to take it. Cao Cao himself remained Minister of Works until he introduced a reorganisation of these senior positions in 208: passage I of Jian'an 13.

[Ja1: 196]

X *HHS* 70/60, 2284–85 (17b–18a), the Biography of Xun Yu;
SGZ 10, 310–11 (12b), the Biography of Xun Yu;
SGZ 10, 322 (29b), the Biography of Xun You;
SGZ 14, 431 (8b–9a), the Biography of Guo Jia.

38 In the Xun clan, Xun Yu was a cousin in the same generation as Xun You's father: *SGZ* 10, 321 PC quoting "Account of the Xun Family" (*Xunshi jiazhuan*).

Formerly at Chang'an, Xun You had sought and been granted office in Shu. He did not, however, take up that appointment, but went to refuge in Jing province.

39 Gongda was the style of Xun You.

40 Master of the Army was evidently a post on the general staff. *Cf.* note 49 to Xingping 1, and see also note 41 below.

41 As *ZZTJ* commentary observes, Guo Jia's post is given by *SGZ* 14 as Libationer to the Army of the Minister of Works. The titles Libationer to the Army and Master of the Army are described by *JS* 24, 724, as officers assisting in military organisation, perhaps with responsibility for discipline as well as advisers.

[Ja1: 196]

Y *SGZ* 26, 721 (1b), the Biography of Man Chong.

[Ja1: 196]

Z *HHS* 70/60, 2263–64 (5a–6a), the Biography of Kong Rong;
SGZ 12, 370–71 (6a–8b) PC quoting the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao;
SGZ 12, 371–72 (8b–9b) PC quoting the *Jiuzhou chunqiu* of Sima Biao.

42 Kong Rong is described here as Grand Administrator, but the kingdom of Beihai had been granted as a fief to a nephew of the founding Emperor Guangwu, and the line was maintained by descendants throughout Later Han until 206: *HHS* 14/4, 556–58, *HHS* 9, 384. Kong Rong should therefore have been described as a Chancellor: he is given that title by *HHS* and by *Xu Han shu*.

Though both works are ascribed to Sima Biao, there is a marked contrast between the treatment of Kong Rong in *Xu Han shu* and in *Jiuzhou chunqiu*. *Xu Han shu* emphasises the moral quality of his government in Beihai, including the re-establishment of schools and provision for proper burial. *Jiuzhou chunqiu*, on the other hand, decries his affectation and his superficial approach to the needs of the time. Both texts influenced Fan Ye's treatment of the biography of Kong Rong in *HHS* 70/60. Sima Guang places chief emphasis on the unfavourable points.

43 This is presumably a reference to the *qingtan* school of "Pure Conversation" popular among learned men of the late second century, and developed in the third century by experts of the *Xuan xue* "School of the Mysteries." See, for example, *Cambridge China* I, 828 [Demiéville, "Philosophy and Religion"], also passage Q and notes 7 and 39 to Chuping 1.

- 44 The Village of Lord Zheng may still be found in the present-day county of Anqiu in Shandong.
- 45 Duchang county in Beihai was near present-day Changyi in Shandong, by the northern coast at the base of the Shandong peninsula.
- 46 Yuan Tan, the son of Yuan Shao, was acting in his father's service, but held title as Inspector of Qing province by the imperial court under Cao Cao: *SGZ* 6, *Ja1: 196* PC quoting *Jiuzhou chungiu*. The various sources mention that Kong Rong too, despite his lack of success against the Yellow Turbans and the limited territory he actually controlled, had been recommended as Inspector of Qing province by Liu Biao.
- 47 These eastern hills were the ridges of the Mount Tai massif.

[*Ja1: 196*]

AA *SGZ* 6, *Ja1: 196* (51b) PC quoting *Jiuzhou chungiu*.

- 48 Tian Kai had been named Inspector of Qing province by Gongsun Zan: passages Y of Chuping 2 and C of Chuping 4. So there were at this time three men claiming the title: Tian Kai, Yuan Tan and Kong Rong (note 46 above).

Pingyuan commandery straddled the estuary of the Yellow River in present-day eastern Hebei and northern Shandong. Tian Kai was seeking to control it from the north, and Kong Rong in Beihai occupied the middle of the Shandong peninsula some distance to the east.

[*Ja1: 196*]

BB *SGZ* 1, 14 (36b–37a) PC quoting *Wei shu*; *SGZ* 16, 489 (1b–2a), the Biography of Ren Jun.

- 49 Agricultural colonies (*tuntian*) had been recognised since Former Han, when the technique was used to control marginal or non-Han territory in the north and northwest. In particular, during the first century BC, the general Zhao Chongguo set up colonies in the valley of the Xining River in present-day Gansu and Qinghai: see, for example, de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 63–64, and Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 139–141 and 236–237.

Such settlements were essentially self-supporting in both food and defence, and this concept of the soldier-farmer was an important element in the northern expansion and frontier defence of the Han empire. There are indications, moreover, that the technique had been used at earlier stages of the civil war: there was, for example, a Colonel in Charge of Agriculture under Tao Qian in Xu province in 194: passage Z and note 45 to Xingping 1.

Cao Cao and his advisers, however, extended the principle widely and effectively to the resettlement of the regions of central China devastated by civil war, first in the region about Xu city, then through much of the rest of his territory. Cao Cao's program provided the peasants with seed grain and sometimes also with farming equipment; concentrating upon sharing the yield rather than taxing the land, it removed the need for survey and assessment; and by placing the peasants under direct control of government the system eliminated the corrupting influence of the great private landholders.

See also *JS* 26, 782; Yang, "Economic History," 158, Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 319, and de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 314–316.

[*Ja1: 196*]

CC *HHS* 75/65, 2447–48 (12a), the Biography of Lü Bu; *SGZ* 7, 222–23 (8a–b), the Biography of Lü Bu.

50 There were several groups of bandits in the region of Mount Tai. Among their leaders were Zang Ba, Sun Guan, Wu Dun and Yin Li. See, for example, passages N of Jian'an 2 and I of Jian'an 3.

51 Xuande was the style of Liu Bei.

[Ja1: 196]

DD *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 874 (7b), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 14, 433 (10a–b) PC quoting *Wei shu*.

52 Pei Songzhi's commentary also contains a substantial extract from the *Fuzi* book which, as Pei Songzhi himself observes, has a completely different account of Guo Jia's advice. According to that version, Guo Jia argued that Cao Cao could not trust Liu Bei, and recommended against giving him an independent command.

[Ja1: 196]

EE *SGZ* 11, 333 (2a), the Biography of Yuan Huan.

53 Abundant Talent was a title of nomination for office which could be made by the head of a province or by certain senior ministers at the capital. While Filially Pious and Incorrupt candidates presented by commandery administrations were normally required to undergo a period of probation, men of Abundant Talent were immediately granted substantive office. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 136–137, and de Crespigny, "Recruitment," 69–71.

[Ja1: 196]

FF *HHS* 74/64B, 2421 (9a), the Biography of Liu Biao.

54 Rang was a county in Nanyang, now Dengxian in Henan. Zhang Ji had been one of the leaders who came to power at Chang'an after the death of Dong Zhuo and who held the Emperor hostage. He was attacking Liu Biao's northern territory from the direction of Hongnong in the northwest.

55 This is a play upon the literal meaning, "shepherd," for the official title *mu* which I render as "Governor." See, for example, *Mengzi* 1A, 6.6; Legge *CC* II, 137 (Lau, *Mencius*, 54).

56 Wan, chief county of Nanyang under Han, is present-day Nanyang in Henan. Zhang Xiu commanded the northern defences of Liu Biao's territory.

[Ja1: 196]

GG *SGZ* 10, 327–29 (37a–38a), the Biography of Jia Xu.

57 Jia Xu was the man who advised Li Jue, Guo Si and Zhang Ji how they might seize power after the assassination of Dong Zhuo by Lü Bu and Wang Yun: passage Q of Chuping 3. He first refused high appointment (passage AA of Chuping 3), but later appears as General Who Proclaims Righteousness in association with Li Jue (passage R of Xingping 2). *HHS* and *SGZ* have no record of his title as General Who Proclaims Majesty, and it appears *ZZTJ* has miswritten *wei* for *yi*.

Duan Wei, also a former officer of Dong Zhuo, and from the same commandery as Jia Xu, had been established peacefully in Huayin for several years: *SGZ* 10, 328 PC note 6.

[Ja1: 196]

HH *SGZ* 10, 329 (38a), the Biography of Jia Xu;
SGZ 10, 330 (38a) PC quoting Fuzi.

[Ja1: 196]

II *HHS* 74/64B, 2421 (9b), the Biography of Liu Biao;
SGZ 29, 806 (11b), the Biography of Du Kui.

58 *ZZTJ* commentary quotes the Later Han scholar Cai Yong, who says that the music of the Han court was organised in four categories: for offerings at the suburban altars and imperial tombs; for sacrifices at the altars of Soil and Grain and other rituals; for imperial banquets; and for military purposes. The statement is presumably a fragment of Cai Yong's Treatise of Music, perhaps never completed and in any case largely destroyed in the disturbances between 190 and 195.

The title Gentleman of Court Music does not appear in *Hou Han shu*, but information on the arrangement and administration of the Office of Music is limited and inadequate: see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 21, 164 note 75, and Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 41–52. Du Kui later advised Cao Cao and became Prefect Grand Musician under Cao Pi.

[Ja1: 196]

JJ *HHS* 80/70B, 2652 (15a–b) and 2656–57 (17b–18b), the Biography of Ni Heng; *SGZ* 10, 311 (8b–10b), PC quoting *Pingyuan Ni Heng zhuan*; *SGZ* 10, 312 (12a), PC quoting *Wenshi zhuan*; *SGZ* 10, 312 (12a), PC quoting *Fuzi*.

59 The surname of this celebrated critic appears in two variant forms, and the transcription is often given as Mi. On pronunciation, I follow *ZZTJ* commentary to this passage. See also de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 196 note and 561.

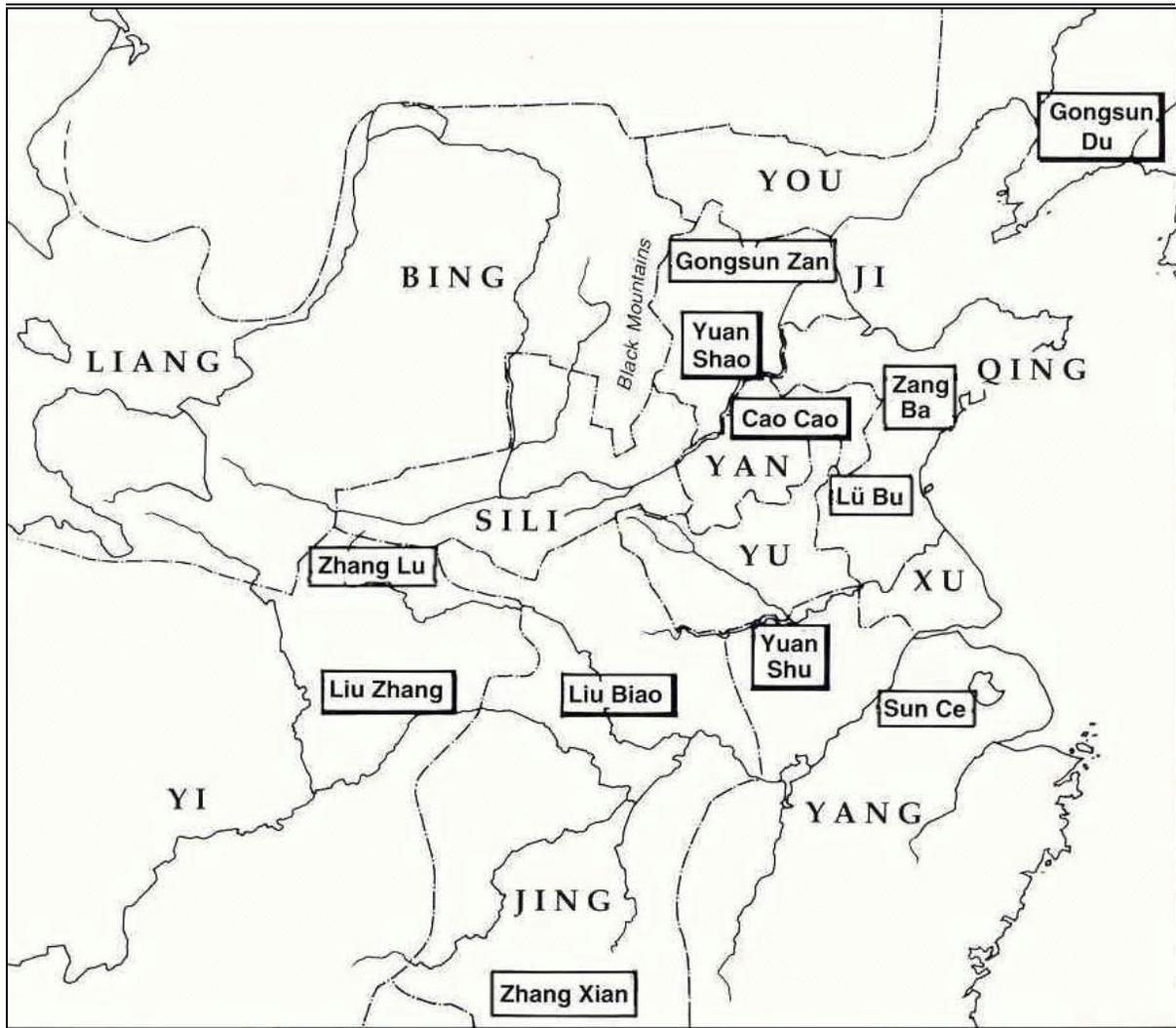
On the association of Kong Rong with Ni Heng, see also passage R of Jian'an 13.

60 "Lord of the West" was a title held by King Wen of Zhou (*e.g.* note 14 above). See Chavannes, *MHI*, 201–203 and 217 (Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 50–51 and 57–59).

61 *ZZTJ* commentary observes that when Cao Cao was angry with Ni Heng, he sent him to Liu Biao, believing Liu Biao to be reasonably tolerant. When Liu Biao had enough of him, he sent him on to Huang Zu, a much more brutal man. So Liu Biao showed himself small-minded, and could be held responsible for Ni Heng's death.

On the other hand, the biography of Ni Heng, *Pingyuan Ni Heng zhuan*, cited above, says that Ni Heng went to join Huang Zu because of his friendship for Huang Zu's son, Huang She. Ni Heng was eccentric and celebrated enough to collect a host of anecdotes about himself, many fictional, and several contradictory.

Map 11: Warlords 197



Jian'an 2: 197 AD

[5 February 197 – 25 January 198]

1994

A In the spring, in the first month, Cao Cao attacked Zhang Xiu. As his army reached the Yu River, Zhang Xiu came with all his forces to surrender.¹

Cao Cao, however, took the widow of Zhang Ji for his concubine and Zhang Xiu was very angry.² Cao Cao also gave gold to one of Zhang Xiu's best fighting men, Hu Cheer, and when Zhang Xiu heard about that he became suspicious and anxious. He made a sudden attack on Cao Cao's army. Cao Cao's eldest son Ang was killed, and Cao Cao was hit by a flying arrow.³ He was defeated and fled.

B The Colonel Dian Wei fought against Zhang Xiu. Almost all the men about him were killed or wounded, and he himself was hit a score of times. Zhang Xiu's men came to capture him, but Dian Wei grasped two and killed them both. Then, with an angry glare and a great curse, he died.

C Cao Cao collected his scattered troops and went back to Wuyin.⁴ Zhang Xiu led cavalry in pursuit, but Cao Cao attacked and defeated him. Zhang Xiu returned to Rang and again took service with Liu Biao.⁵

D Cao Cao's forces were at this time in utter confusion. The Colonel Who Pacifies the Caitiffs Yu Jin of Taishan was the only officer to keep his men together and make an orderly retreat. On the way he came across some Qingzhou troops engaged in looting.⁶ Yu Jin told off their crimes and attacked them. The Qingzhou soldiers ran away and went to Cao Cao.

When Yu Jin arrived, he prepared his camp for defence before he went to call upon Cao Cao. Someone told him, "The Qingzhou troops have already made a complaint against you. You should go to our master at once to explain yourself."

"The enemy are close behind us," replied Yu Jin, "and their pursuit will be here in no time. How can we deal with them if we make no preparations? And our lord is too intelligent to listen to slander and false accusation."

He made sure the moat was cut deep, and only when the camp was completely ready did he go to Cao Cao to present a full report. Cao Cao was pleased and said to him, "In the misfortune at the Yu River, even I was helpless and confused. But you kept control in the confusion, you have punished cruel robbers, and you have strengthened our defences. You have consistently maintained honour and good conduct. Could any of the most

famous generals in the past have done better?" Recalling Yu Jin's good work, at this time and before, he enfeoffed him as Marquis of Yishou Village.

Then Cao Cao led his soldiers back to Xu city.

[Ja2: 197]

E Yuan Shao wrote to Cao Cao, and his words were proud and contemptuous. Cao Cao said to Xun Yu and Guo Jia, "Now I intend to punish such disloyal fellows, but I am still not strong enough. What can I do?"⁷ They replied,⁸ "You know well that Liu [Emperor Gao of Han] was no match for the power of Xiang [Yu]. In wisdom alone was the Founder of Han superior to Xiang Yu; and though Xiang Yu was strong he was taken in the end.

1995 "There are ten points where Yuan Shao is weak and you are his superior, so though Yuan Shao may be powerful he will never gain success:

"Yuan Shao esteems great ceremony and has fine manners; you show consideration and act naturally: this is superior moral conduct.

"Yuan Shao acts as a rebel; you serve and obey the Emperor and so command the empire: this is superior sense of honour.

"Since the time of Emperors Huan and Ling the government has declined through excessive indulgence. Yuan Shao, weak-willed and excessively lenient, does not maintain firm rule. You, however, keep hold on your people, so that everyone, high or low, knows the rules: this is superior government.

"Outwardly Yuan Shao acts generously, but privately he is jealous. He uses men but he is suspicious of them, and he appoints only the sons and children of his own or his wife's families. Outwardly you are easy and simple, but inside you are clever and shrewd. You use men and trust them. It is only their ability that matters and you pay no attention to relationship: this is the superiority of a liberal mind.

"Yuan Shao has many plans but makes few decisions, he lets things slip and acts too late. When you make a plan you take action quickly and you can always cope with a changing situation: this is superior strategy.

"Yuan Shao uses fine discussions and ceremony to attract men of good repute, and many scholars who love words and ornamental show will turn to him. You treat men in straight-forward fashion, and you have no use for empty finery. So scholars with loyal hearts, who can see things clearly and are sincere, all want to serve you: this is superior virtue.

"If Yuan Shao sees a man who is hungry or cold, he pities him and it shows on his face, but he deals only with things he can see. You sometimes

neglect small things before your eyes, but when it comes to great matters concerning the people of all the empire, then you extend your grace and your providence is beyond anyone's expectation. You cannot see everything, but your consideration is always thorough and complete: this is superior human feeling.

"Yuan Shao's officers struggle for influence, with accusations, confusion and uncertainty. You treat subordinates fairly and you pay no attention to rumour or slander: this is superior understanding.

"No-one knows what Yuan Shao really wants. You, however, bring forward with ceremony those who do right, and you use the law to correct those who do wrong: this is superiority in civil administration.

"Yuan Shao, fascinated by empty show, cannot appreciate the essentials of war, but you can defeat a host of men with a few and you use soldiers like a spirit. The people of the army trust you and the masses of the enemy fear you: this is superior military skill."

"How can I be worthy of all this?" laughed Cao Cao.

[Ja2: 197]

Guo Jia said, "Yuan Shao will go north to attack Gongsun Zan. You can take advantage of his absence and go east to take Lü Bu. If Yuan Shao should take the offensive [against us] and Lü Bu gives him help, that would present a considerable danger."

"Unless you deal with Lü Bu first," advised Xun Yu, "it will not be easy to make plans for the north of the River."

1996 "Yes," said Cao Cao, "but what concerns me is that Yuan Shao may invade the lands within the passes and make trouble there. If he stirs up the Qiang and other barbarians in the west, and urges on Shu and Han in the south, then I shall be facing five-sixths of the empire with only Yan province and Yu. What can I do about that?"⁹

"The leaders inside the passes," replied Xun Yu, "are numbered by the score. No-one can bring them together. Han Sui and Ma Teng are the only strong ones, and if they see there is fighting east of the mountains they will certainly collect their forces to protect themselves. Treat them with favour and authority, and send messengers to offer alliance. Though it may not last very long, it will be enough to keep them quiet while you deal with the east.

"The Palace Attendant and Supervisor of the Masters of Writing Zhong Yao is clever and a fine strategist. Trust him with the west, and you will have nothing to worry about."

F So Cao Cao recommended Zhong Yao as Palace Attendant with concurrent appointment as Colonel Director of Retainers, bearing the Staff of Authority to command all the armies within the passes. He was given particular instructions [to act on his own initiative] unimpeded by rules and procedures. When Zhong Yao arrived at Chang'an he sent letters to Ma Teng, Han Sui and the others to explain things to them. Both Ma Teng and Han Sui sent their sons to attend the Emperor.

G Yuan Shu took title as Emperor at Shouchun, calling his new dynasty the House of Zhong.¹⁰ He styled the Grand Administrator of Jiujiang as the Intendant of Huainan,¹¹ he appointed his own Excellencies and senior officials, and he held state sacrifice and worship to Heaven and Earth.

H The Chancellor of Pei, Chen Gui, son of a younger brother of Chen Qiu, had been a companion of Yuan Shu when he was young.¹² Yuan Shu sent a letter to summon Chen Gui, took his son as hostage, and was confident of his support. Chen Gui, however, replied, "General Cao is restoring law and order, and will disperse and pacify cruelty and evil. In my opinion you should assist him, and think only how to help the house of Han. Instead you have secretly been planning rebellion. This will be a disaster for you, yet you want me to flatter you to serve my own interests. Though death may come I cannot behave that way."

I Yuan Shu wanted to make Jin Shang, former Inspector of Yan province, his Grand Commandant, but Jin Shang would not accept. He tried to run away and Yuan Shu killed him.¹³

[Ja2: 197]

J In the third month the Court Architect Kong Rong was sent with the Staff of Authority to appoint Yuan Shao as General-in-Chief, with government over the four provinces Ji, Qing, You and Bing.¹⁴

K In the summer, in the fifth month there were locusts.¹⁵

L Yuan Shu sent Han Yin as envoy to Lü Bu, explaining his imperial claim and asking for the marriage alliance. Lü Bu agreed to send his daughter back with him.

1997 Chen Gui was afraid that Xu and Yang [provinces, Lü Bu and Yuan Shu] would join together and make unending trouble. He went to Lü Bu and said, "Lord Cao has received the Son of Heaven and is supporting the government of the state. You should join with him to preserve the empire. But instead you are making marriage alliance with Yuan Shu. You will surely get a reputation for disloyalty, and your position will be less secure than a pile of eggs."

Then Lü Bu remembered with resentment how Yuan Shu had failed to receive him before [in 192, after he fled Chang'an].¹⁶ Though his daughter was already on the road, he sent to bring her back and cancelled the engagement. He bound Han Yin and sent him to the court at Xu city. Han Yin was executed and his head exposed in the market-place.

Chen Gui wanted to send his son Deng to Cao Cao, but Lü Bu refused permission. Then an edict appointed Lü Bu General of the Left, and Cao Cao also sent a letter in his own hand, full of encouragement and praise. Lü Bu, delighted, immediately sent Chen Deng with a memorial of thanks for the favour, and also a reply to Cao Cao's letter.

Chen Deng saw Cao Cao. He described Lü Bu's bravery and lack of forethought, how he acted erratically in alliances, and how Cao Cao should plan to take him early. "Lü Bu is like a wild wolf-cub," observed Cao Cao, "and it will certainly be difficult to keep him under control for long. No-one but you can appreciate his true nature."

He raised Chen Gui's salary to Fully Two Thousand *shi*,¹⁷ and appointed Chen Deng as Grand Administrator of Guang-ling. As Chen Deng was leaving, Cao Cao took him by the hand and said, "This way, I am trusting the affairs of the east to you." He ordered him to gather forces of his own and to act as an ally from the inside.

Before this, Lü Bu, through Chen Deng, had asked to be made Governor of Xu province,¹⁸ but the request was denied. When Chen Deng came back, Lü Bu was angry. He took up a halberd and chopped the table, saying, "Your father persuaded me to join Cao Cao and to break off the marriage with Gonglu [Yuan Shu]. Now my request has not been answered but you and your father both look important. You have betrayed me."

Chen Deng, quite unperturbed, replied in dignified fashion, "When I saw Lord Cao, I said that keeping you was like caring for a tiger: it should be given plenty of meat, or it will bite its master. The Duke replied, 'That is not the way. It is like keeping an eagle: if he is hungry he can be used, but

when he is well-fed he will fly away.' Those were his exact words." Lü Bu was mollified.

[Ja2: 197]

Yuan Shu had his senior commanders Zhang Xun and Qiao Rui join forces with Han Xian and Yang Feng.¹⁹ With tens of thousands of horsemen and foot-soldiers they advanced swiftly on Xiapi and attacked Lü Bu in seven separate columns. With three thousand infantry and four hundred horse, Lü Bu was afraid he could not deal with them. He said to Chen Gui, "This is your work, to bring on Yuan Shu's army. What shall I do now?"

1998 "Han Xian and Yang Feng have only recently joined Yuan Shu," replied Chen Gui. "They have not had time to prepare their plans, so they will not work well together. My son Chen Deng has watched them, and he says they are like chickens that cannot settle on the same perch. We can separate them."

M Lü Bu followed Chen Gui's advice, and he wrote to Han Xian and Yang Feng, "You two gentlemen rescued the Emperor, and I killed Dong Zhuo with my own hand. Each of us made his reputation [through these achievements]. Why do you join in rebellion with Yuan Shu? Far better if we unite our forces, defeat Yuan Shu, and remove harm from the state." He promised them the loot from Yuan Shu's army.

Han Xian and Yang Feng were very pleased, changed their plans and joined Lü Bu.

Lü Bu led his army to a hundred paces from Zhang Xun's camp, then the troops of Han Xian and Yang Feng shouted together and turned on their allies. Zhang Xun and his forces were defeated and fled. Lü Bu's soldiers chased and attacked them and took the heads of ten of his officers. Almost all his soldiers were killed, wounded or drowned in the river.

N Then Lü Bu combined forces with Han Xian and Yang Feng, and they all headed for Shouchun. They advanced by land and water as far as Zhongli and they plundered as they passed. They turned back north of the Huai, leaving a letter in insult to Yuan Shu. Yuan Shu came himself with five thousand cavalry to show his arms at the Huai, but Lü Bu's cavalry were north of the river, and they laughed and jeered at them and then went back.²⁰

Zang Ba, bandit leader of Mount Tai,²¹ attacked and defeated the Chancellor of Langye, Xiao Jian, at Ju.²² He captured Xiao Jian's treasure

and provisions, and promised to present them to Lü Bu. When he failed to do so, however, Lü Bu went to ask for the goods himself.²³

His commander Gao Shun objected, "Your authority and reputation are known and respected everywhere. How can you ask for something and fail to obtain it? Yet you are going in person to beg for a present. If for some reason you are not successful, you will surely lose face." Lü Bu would not agree.

When he arrived at Ju, however, Zang Ba and the others did not understand why Lü Bu was coming against them. They defended their positions and forced him away, so Lü Bu returned empty-handed.

Gao Shun was a man of honour, with an air of authority and few words. He had only seven hundred under his command, but his orders were clear and whenever his men fought they were always successful. They were known as the Shock Troops.²⁴

Later Lü Bu became less favourable to him, and because Wei Xu was a close relation he took Gao Shun's men and gave them to Wei Xu. Whenever there was a battle, however, he returned the command to Gao Shun. Gao Shun had still no feeling of resentment.

1999 Lü Bu was a man who made decisions hastily, and his actions were seldom consistent. Gao Shun would often remonstrate with him, saying, "When you start something, you never think of the details. Whenever there is a choice between the way to success or the possibility of failure, you always make the wrong decision!" Lü Bu appreciated his loyalty, but he could not follow his advice.

[Ja2: 197]

O Cao Cao sent the Gentleman-Consultant Wang Pu with an imperial message to appoint Sun Ce as Chief Commandant of Cavalry, granting him succession to the marquisate of Wucheng,²⁵ and giving him command as Grand Administrator of Kuaiji. He was ordered to join Lü Bu and the Grand Administrator of Wu commandery Chen Yu in operations against Yuan Shu.²⁶ Sun Ce wanted title as general to enhance his position, so Wang Pu took authority to grant him provisional appointment as General Who Glorifies Han.²⁷

Sun Ce made his preparations and marched to Qiantang. Chen Yu, however, planned a surprise attack on Sun Ce, and he was in secret contact with Zu Lang, White Tiger Yan and others, to have them act as his allies

behind the lines.²⁸ Sun Ce found out about this, and he sent his officers Lü Fan and Xu Yi to attack Chen Yu at Haixi.²⁹ Chen Yu was defeated, and he fled alone on horseback to Yuan Shao.³⁰

P Before this, Liu Chong, King of Chen, was a brave man and expert with a crossbow.³¹ When the Yellow Turbans rebelled [in 184] Liu Chong took command of his own forces. The people of the kingdom were afraid of him and did not dare to rebel. The Chancellor of the kingdom, Luo Jun of Kuaiji, had also shown authority and gained favour in the past.

At that time the kings and marquises no longer received their revenues.³² They were often robbed, some could eat only once every other day, and some even died in the ditches. Only the kingdom of Chen was wealthy and strong, and over a hundred thousand people of neighbouring commanderies came there. When the soldiers of the provinces and commanderies rose up, Liu Chong led his troops to camp at Yangxia, and he took the title General-in-Chief Who Supports Han.³³

Yuan Shu asked provisions from Chen, but Luo Jun refused. Yuan Shu, furious, sent retainers to kill Liu Chong and Luo Jun by treachery. So the state of Chen was destroyed.

2000

Q In the autumn, in the ninth month the Minister of Works Cao Cao went east to attack Yuan Shu. When Yuan Shu heard he was coming, he abandoned his army and fled, leaving his officers Qiao Rui and others to face Cao Cao at Qiyang [miswritten for Qi or Ku?]. Cao Cao attacked, defeated and beheaded them all. Yuan Shu fled across the Huai.³⁴

There was drought at this time, the harvest was spoilt, and the gentry and the people were cold and hungry. So Yuan Shu's power steadily declined.

[Ja2: 197]

R Cao Cao summoned He Kui of Chen state to appointment as one of his Senior Clerks,³⁵ and asked him about Yuan Shu.

"If a man seeks the support of Heaven," replied He Kui, "he must follow Heaven's will. If he wishes to receive the assistance of men, he must be worthy of their trust. Yuan Shu is neither obedient to Heaven nor faithful to his men. So when he looked for aid, where could he find it?"

"When a state loses its worthy men," responded Cao Cao, "it will be destroyed. Yuan Shu never gave you any official position, and it is only appropriate that he should fall."

Cao Cao was a strict man, and his officials were sometimes beaten. He Kui always kept poison by him, swearing he would rather die than suffer such disgrace, but it never came to that point.

S Xu Chu of Pei state was braver and stronger than other men. He had collected several thousand young people and members of his clan, and had made strong defences and heavy walls to keep out bandits. All the people between the Huai and the Ru, and those in Chen and Liang, respected and feared him.³⁶

When Cao Cao came to this region, Xu Chu brought his forces to Cao Cao. "Here," said Cao Cao, "is my Fan Kuai!"³⁷ He immediately appointed Xu Chu as his Chief Commandant and guard at night, while all his retainers were made Tiger Warriors.³⁸

T The former Grand Commandant Yang Biao was a relative by marriage of Yuan Shu. Cao Cao disapproved of this. He made false accusation that Yang Biao was planning to supplant the Emperor, and he recommended that he should be arrested, sent to prison and impeached for treason.³⁹

The Court Architect Kong Rong heard of this. Not even taking time to put on court dress, he went to Cao Cao and said, "The Yang family has shown virtue over four generations, and is respected within all the four seas.⁴⁰ The Book of Zhou says, 'Fathers and sons, elder and younger brothers, their crimes do not affect one another.' How can you blame Lord Yang for the crimes of Yuan?"⁴¹

2001 "This is the Emperor's idea," replied Cao Cao.

"Had King Cheng killed the Duke of Shao," responded Kong Rong, "could the Duke of Zhou claim not to have known?"⁴²

Then Cao Cao ordered Man Chong the Prefect of Xu to investigate Yang Biao.⁴³ Kong Rong and the Prefect of the Masters of Writing Xun Yu both said to Man Chong, "Just take down what he says. Do not examine him by flogging."

Man Chong made no reply, but carried out the investigation in full accordance with the law. After several days he asked to see Cao Cao and said, "Yang Biao has been examined and makes no change in his statement.

This man is known within all the four seas. If you punish him without good evidence of his guilt, you will certainly lose many people's affections. In my humble opinion, you should reconsider the matter." That same day, Cao Cao pardoned Yang Biao and released him.

When Xun Yu and Kong Rong first heard that Man Chong had examined Yang Biao with flogging, they were both angry. When this brought about the release, however, they became even more friendly towards him.⁴⁴

Yang Biao realised the house of Han was weak and in decline, and the government was now in Cao Cao's hands. He pretended to be suffering from cramps, and for more than ten years he did not walk. So he avoided further trouble.

[Ja2: 197]

U When Ma Midi's body was brought back to the capital,⁴⁵ the court assembled and wished to grant him additional honours. Kong Rong, however, observed that, "Ma Midi had high position [as Grand Tutor] even above the excellencies, and he bore the tasselled Staff of Authority on an imperial mission. Yet he went out of his way to curry favour with wicked ministers, and he permitted such people to control him. He was a great officer of the imperial house, and how can we accept the excuse that he was forced to act as he did?

"The Emperor may mourn his former servant and have pity upon him, and he may not wish to inflict posthumous punishment upon him. He cannot, however, grant additional honours." The court accepted this argument.

V The body of Jin Shang was brought to the capital. An imperial edict ordered that all officials should attend sacrifices of mourning. Jin Shang's son Wei was appointed a Gentleman of the Palace.⁴⁶

W In the winter, in the eleventh month Cao Cao made another attack on Zhang Xiu. He stormed Huiyang, taking prisoner Liu Biao's officer Deng Ji, and he attacked and captured Wuyin.⁴⁷

X Han Xian and Yang Feng were in Xiapi and plundered across Xu and Yang provinces. Their army was short of supplies, so they asked leave to go into Jing province. Lü Bu refused.

Yang Feng knew that Liu Bei had been an enemy of Lü Bu, and he entered into secret negotiations with Liu Bei for a joint attack. Liu Bei pretended to agree.

Yang Feng led his army to Pei, and Liu Bei invited him into the city. Halfway through the welcome banquet, however, Yang Feng was arrested, bound hand and foot, and beheaded.

Without Yang Feng, Han Xian was isolated. Accompanied by a few score horsemen, he sought to go back to Bing province, but he was killed by Zhang Xuan the Prefect of Shuqiu.⁴⁸

2002 Hu Cai and Li Le had stayed in Hedong. Hu Cai was killed in a feud and Li Le died of illness. Guo Si was killed by his own follower Wu Xi.⁴⁹

[Ja2: 197]

Y Du Xi, Zhao Yan and Po Qin, men of Yingchuan, had fled the troubles and come to Jing province. Liu Biao treated all three as his guests.

Po Qin received particular favour, but Du Xi said to him, "When I agreed to accompany you, we sought only to survive and wait for better times. Surely you do not believe Governor Liu is the ruler to end the troubles? So how can you advise your elders to accept his leadership? If you continue to try impressing him with your abilities, you can no longer be my companion, and I shall break off our relationship."

Po Qin readily agreed, "I respectfully request your guidance."

Later, when Cao Cao brought the Emperor to Xu city, Zhao Yan said to Po Qin, "The General Who Maintains the East in Peace, Cao Cao, can certainly save the empire. I know where I am going." He went back to Cao Cao, and Cao Cao appointed him as Chief of Langling.⁵⁰

Z Li Tong of Jiangxia was Chief Commandant of Yang'an. When his wife's paternal uncle disobeyed the law Zhao Yan arrested him and sentenced him to death. At this time the final appeal on execution lay with the Governor or Administrator.⁵¹ Li Tong's wife and children wept and begged for his life, but Li Tong replied, "We are giving all our strength to support Lord Cao. It would be wrong for me to put private interest before public duty." He praised Zhao Yan for his upright conduct maintaining the law, and became friends with him.

NOTES to Jian'an 2: 197

A SGZ8, 262 (41b), the Biography of Zhang Xiu;

SGZ 8, 263 (42a) PC quoting *Fuzi*;
SGZ 1, 14 (37b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

1 Zhang Xiu was camped at Wan city, present-day Nanyang in Henan, defending the northern borders of Liu Biao's territory: passage FF of Jian'an 1. The Yu River flows south and passes the city on the east. From his base at Xu city, Cao Cao was approaching from the northeast.

2 Zhang Xiu, a younger relative, had succeeded Zhang Ji in command of his men after Zhang Ji was killed the year before.

According to *HHJ* 29, 4b, Zhang Ji's widow was one of the celebrated beauties of her time.

3 According to *Wei shu* and [*Wei-Jin*] *shiyu*, quoted in *SGZ* 1, 15 PC, Cao Cao was wounded in the back on the right-hand side and his horse was lamed. Cao Ang gave his own mount to his father, and was killed as Cao Cao escaped. *SGZ* 1 says one of Cao Cao's nephews also died; *HHJ* 29 indicates that it was another son of Cao Cao.

[Ja2: 197]

B *SGZ* 18, 545 (17a–b), the Biography of Dian Wei.

[Ja2: 197]

C *SGZ* 1, 14 (38a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

4 Wuyin county, near present-day Sheqi, was east of Wan city.

5 Rang city was southwest of Wan.

[Ja2: 197]

D *SGZ* 17, 522 (8b–9a), the Biography of Yu Jin.

6 The Qingzhou troops were former Yellow Turbans, persuaded by Cao Cao to join his service in 192. They maintained themselves as a separate unit of his forces. See passage GG and note 59 to Chuping 3.

[Ja2: 197]

E *SGZ* 10, 313–14 (14a–b), the Biography of Xun Yu;
SGZ 14, 432 (9a–10a) PC quoting *Fuzi*.

7 As *SGZ* 10, observes, though Cao Cao had established the imperial court under his control in Xu city, he still faced enemies on every side: Yuan Shao in the north, Lü Bu in the east, Liu Biao in the south, and the various warlords of Liang province in the northwest. His defeat by Zhang Xiu, moreover, was evidently serious enough to raise questions about his real military strength and the morale of his followers. So Yuan Shao felt confident of his position, and showed it.

8 *Fuzi* ascribes this speech to Guo Jia. *SGZ* 10, however, has a similar speech by Xun Yu, speaking with his colleague Zhong Yao.

9 Cao Cao's concern is that Yuan Shao might extend his power across the north, through present-day Shanxi, to make contact with the various Chinese and non-Chinese groups of the Wei valley. From there, he could spread his influence also south of the Qinling to make alliance with Liu Zhang in Yi province, present-day Sichuan.

[Ja2: 197]

F *SGZ* 13, 392–93 (3b), the Biography of Zhong Yao.

[Ja2: 197]

G *HHS* 75/65, 2442 (8a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shu.

- 10 Zhong is explained by the commentators as the name of the imperial state established by Yuan Shu, comparable to the name Han for that of the Liu family, or the name Cheng, taken by the warlord Gongsun Shu in the region of present-day Sichuan at the beginning of Later Han (*e.g.* *HHS* 13/3, 535).

Commentary to *HHS* 75/65 says that the name was sometimes written Chong. It seems most probable, however, that the style chosen by Yuan Shu was Zhong, which has the meaning of "younger" and hence implied a courteous succession from Han; the later state of Shu-Han, founded by Liu Bei in the west, was sometimes described by later historians (though not by Liu Bei and his followers) as Ji-Han. The character *chong*, on the other hand, would indicate a young ruler still in his minority. That would not have been very flattering to Yuan Shu's pretensions, and it may have been a deliberate corruption by his enemies.

The founder of Han took the name of his state from the kingdom with which he had been enfeoffed after the fall of Qin, and Gongsun Shu evidently took his dynastic name from his capital, Chengdu. It does not appear, however, that Yuan Shu had any association with a place called Zhong or Chong.

- 11 Under the Han dynasty, Intendant (*yin*; Bielenstein and Dubs: "Governor") was the title given to the head of the commandery containing an imperial capital: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 88. Yuan Shu's headquarters were at Shouchun, chief city of Jiujiang, so the name of the commandery was changed and the Grand Administrator was given a new title.

[Ja2: 197]

H *SGZ* 6, 209 (75a-b), the Biography of Yuan Shu.

- 12 Chen Qiu, whose biography is in *HHS* 56/46, was a leading opponent of the eunuchs in the time of Emperor Ling. He was killed by them in 179: de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling I*, 162-163.

[Ja2: 197]

I *SGZ* 7, 223 (7a), PC quoting *Dian lue*.

- 13 Jin Shang had received imperial appointment as Inspector of Yan in 192, but was driven away by Cao Cao and took refuge with Yuan Shu: passage N of Chuping 3.

[Ja2: 197]

J *HHS* 74/64A, 2389 (11b), the Biography of Yuan Shao; with commentary quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

- 14 For the earlier negotiations on this appointment, see passage W of Jian'an 1. The date is taken from *HHS* 9, 380: *cf.* note 37 of Jian'an 1

HHS 74/64A says that Yuan Shao was also awarded at this time the Staff of Authority, Bows and Arrows, Battleaxes and one hundred guards Rapid as Tigers, being items of the Nine Distinctions: on these, see commentary to *HHS* 74/64A, at 2390, Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 27-29, and II, 504-509, de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 415-417 note, and passage C of Jian'an 18.

[Ja2: 197]

K *HHS* 9, 380 (7b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

- 15 This plague of locusts is also mentioned, but without further comment, in the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 105/15, 3320.

[Ja2: 197]

L *SGZ* 7, 224-25 (8b-10b), the Biography of Lü Bu.

- 16 See passage BB of Chuping 3.

- 17 As head of a commandery administration in the Han system, Chen Gui's regular rank had been expressed in terms of the nominal salary of Two Thousand *shi*. Fully Two Thousand *shi* was a grade higher, comparable to that of a Minister in the central government.
- 18 After his defeat of Liu Bei in the previous year, Lü Bu had given himself the title of Governor of Xu province. He now expected it to be confirmed.
- 19 Han Xian and Yang Feng had been two of the generals holding the Emperor, but had been driven from Luoyang by Cao Cao in the previous year: passage N of Jian'an 1. Han Xian, we may observe, came from Xihe commandery, and Yang Feng was also from the northwest. They and their men were now a long way from home.

[Ja2: 197]

M *SGZ* 7, 226 (10b) PC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*.

[Ja2: 197]

- N *SGZ* 7, 226 (10b–11b) PC quoting *Hanmo yingxiong ji*:
HHS 75/65, 2448–50 (12a–13b), the Biography of Lü Bu.
- 20 Zhongli county was in Jiujiang, close to the borders of Xu province. The city lay near present-day Fengyang in Anhui, on the banks of the Huai River at that time about eighty kilometres from Shouchun.

Lü Bu and his new allies, after their victory at Xiapi, came south along the waterways of the Si River and other streams, then turned west and advanced up the Huai in a display of strength. So Lü Bu confirmed his control of Xu province, and Yuan Shu now held no effective control of any territory north of the Huai.

- 21 According to his biography in *SGZ* 18, 536–37, Zang Ba came originally from Taishan commandery, but he quarrelled with the administration and fled to Donghai. By this time he was chief of the bandits in the region, with his base at Kaiyang, chief county of Langye under Later Han, about present-day Linyi in Shandong. The phrase Taishan in the text refers therefore to the hill country of the Mount Tai massif, not just to Zang Ba's native commandery.
- 22 Xiao Jian's capital at Ju county was in central Langye, about the present-day city of the same name in Shandong.

Xiao Jian should probably be described formally as a Grand Administrator, not a Chancellor. According to *HHS* 9, 374 and 384, and *HHS* 42/32, 1452, Liu Rong the King of Langye died in 193, and the state was ended. Later, in 206, because of a personal relationship of the family with Cao Cao, the kingdom was re-established and Liu Rong's son Liu Xi was put upon the throne. (In 216 Liu Xi was killed for suspected treachery, and the state was finally abolished.)

There was thus no king of Langye between 193 and 206, and the territory should have reverted to commandery status, headed by a Grand Administrator.

- 23 Langye was in Xu province. The fuller text of [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji* says that Lü Bu had earlier written to Xiao Jian demanding support and allegiance, which Xiao Jian had been reluctant to give. As chief of the province, Lü Bu felt entitled to any funds which were available.
- 24 Shock Troops (*xianchen* or *xianzhen ying*) describes a force which breaks into the enemy's formation and fights there completely surrounded, quite cut off. The Forlorn Hope of early modern warfare was a similar technique.

[Ja2: 197]

O SGZ 46/Wu 1, 1107 (26b–28a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan* and *Shanyang gong zaiji*.
25 Wucheng county was in Wu commandery, near present-day Huzhou in Zhejiang. Sun Ce's father, Sun Jian, had been enfeoffed there in 187: SGZ 46, 1095.

SGZ 46, 1101 PC note 2 quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen, says that Sun Ce ceded his rights in the marquisate of Wucheng to his youngest brother Sun Kuang. It was not, at that time, a matter of major importance.

26 Chen Yu had been appointed by Yuan Shu as Inspector of Yang province about 192, but then rebelled against him and was driven away to Xiapi, where he had evidently remained until this time. See passage B of Chuping 4.

27 Wang Pu's appointment of Sun Ce as a general is qualified by the term *jia*, implying a temporary or provisional establishment.

In the same fashion as Lü Bu, who failed in his claim to be Governor of Xu province (passage L above), Sun Ce must have been disappointed by the mission of Wang Pu. The Han court under Cao Cao did him no more than confirm him in the commandery he already held, with succession to a marquisate he was already entitled to and for which he had little use. Sun Ce had been named as a general by Yuan Shu (passage II of Xingping 2), and the rank of Chief Commandant of Cavalry was substantially inferior, while it could also have presented him with formal difficulties in commanding military operations or raising troops outside the borders of Kuaiji. So the title which he compelled Wang Pu to grant him had two important advantages: it restored his former military rank, and it gave open recognition to his acceptance as a loyal servant of Han.

Furthermore, though the appointment of Chen Yu as Grand Administrator of Wu commandery was described as a temporary arrangement, it paid no attention to the fact that Sun Ce's close associate, Zhu Zhi, had been acting as Grand Administrator since his expulsion of Xu Gong more than a year earlier (passage QQ and note 72 of Xingping 2). If Wu commandery could be separated from Sun Ce's control, he would have lost half his base and be critically weakened.

In fact, as we see below, Cao Cao's nominee Chen Yu made no attempt to co-operate with Sun Ce, but stirred up trouble against him from afar.

28 It is likely there was a plan to wait until Sun Ce had committed his army to an attack across the Yangzi against Yuan Shu, then arrange a rising which to seize Wu commandery and cut his links with Kuaiji. This would have destroyed him.

29 Haixi county in Guangling commandery lay well north of the Huai, about present-day Guannan in Jiangsu.

30 Chen Yu had thus been an officer of Yuan Shu (passage MM of Chuping 3), then an agent of Cao Cao against Yuan Shu and also surreptitiously against Sun Ce, and finally went to serve Yuan Shao. He is not heard of again.

[Ja2: 197]

P HHS 50/40, 1669–70 (3a), the Account of the Kingdom of Chen.

31 The kingdom of Chen had been granted to Liu Xian, a son of Emperor Ming of Later Han. Liu Chong was a great-grandson of Liu Xian.

32 Each king or marquis was awarded a specific territory as his fief, with formal right to the tax revenues from that state. In practice, however, the money had long been paid in the form of a pension (*zulu*) from the central government, not necessarily based upon the official income from the territory concerned. With the breakdown of the imperial system,

these funds had ceased, and the nominal feudal rulers, particularly the kings of the imperial Liu family, were left to their own devices and to such authority as they might summon locally.

- 33 Yangxia county was in the north of Chen, near present-day Taikang in Henan. At that time, 190, the troops opposed to Dong Zhuo were drawn up in an arc east of Luoyang. Liu Chong's force at Yangxia was close to that line, though he evidently held himself somewhat aloof from the allied counsels. *Cf.* passage A of Chuping 1.

[Ja2: 197]

Q *HHS* 75/65, 2442 (8b), the Biography of Yuan Shu;
SGZ 1, 15 (38b–39a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

- 34 *HHS* 75/65, followed by *ZZTJ*, has the name of this place as Qiyang, but *ZZTJ* commentary observes that county was in Jiangxia commandery on the Yangzi, by present-day Qichun in Hubei. Accounts of the campaign in Yuan Shu's biographies in *HHS* 75/65 and *SGZ* 6 (which does not mention this place-name) are clear that Qiao Rui made his fatal stand north of the Huai. Hu Sanxing thus identifies this place as Qi county in Pei, near present-day Suzhou in Anhui.

The biographies of Cao Cao's generals Yue Jin and Yu Jin, however, in *SGZ* 17, 521 and 522, tell how each was with him at some notable feats of arms, including the capture of Qiao Rui in Ku. Ku county was in Chen, at present-day Luyi in Henan, on the direct line of advance from Xu city to Yuan Shu's base at Shouchun. Qi, on the other hand, is northeast of Shouchun. I believe, therefore, that both Qiyang and Qi are wrong, and the place of Yuan Shu's forward defence was Ku city. [The biography of He Kui at *SGZ* 12, 378, in the text before passage R below, refers to Yuan Shu and Qiao Rui besieging Qiyang: this surely refers to Qi county in Pei, but the occasion is different.]

The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that the biography of Lü Bu in *HHS* 75/65, describing his victory at Xiapi a few months earlier over Yuan Shu's forces, then commanded by Zhang Xun and Qiao Rui (passage M above) says that he captured Qiao Rui at that time: had that been the case, Qiao Rui should not have been available to command Yuan Shu's army now. Sima Guang, however, observes that the parallel text in the biography of Lü Bu in *SGZ* 7 has no reference to the capture of Qiao Rui, and he has therefore ignored it.

[Ja2: 197]

R *SGZ* 12, 379 (12a–b), the Biography of He Kui.

- 35 The offices (*fu*) of the Three Excellencies included a number of Senior and Junior Clerks (*yuan* and *shu*): note 67 to Zhongping 6. He Kui was thus recruited to Cao Cao's personal staff.

[Ja2: 197]

S *SGZ* 18, 542 (14a–b), the Biography of Xu Chu.

- 36 The junction of the Huai and Ru rivers was in Runan commandery, the border of present-day Anhui with south-eastern Henan. Pei, Chen and Liang lay some distance to the north. From his biography, which tells how he dealt with bandits in Runan, it appears that Xu Zhu's defence position was on the Ying River in the east of that commandery, about Taihe and Fuyang in present-day western Anhui.

- 37 There are biographies of Fan Kuai, one of the great generals of the founding Emperor Gao of Han, in *SJ* 95 and *HS* 41.

38 The Tiger Warriors (*hushì*) were evidently Cao Cao's personal body-guard, the name being adapted from the Rapid as Tigers (*huben*), the imperial guard unit of Han: *e.g.* Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 27–28, and *cf.* note 14 above.

[Ja2: 197]

T *HHS* 54/44, 1788 (20a–b), the Biography of Yang Biao;
SGZ 26, 721 (1b), the Biography of Man Chong.

39 The phrase "Great Refractoriness" (*dani*), here rendered just as "treason," is discussed by Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 156–158 ff. At 156, Hulsewé remarks that

mostly we find [this and similar terms]... added to qualify a crime which is fully mentioned, though sometimes we find the terms by themselves. They give the impression of being not so much indications of well-defined transgressions, but rather of categories.

Yang Biao's accusers categorise his crime as "great refractoriness" in order to have him punished more severely.

40 Yang Biao's great-grandfather Yang Zhen, his grandfather Yang Bing, his father Yang Ci and Yang Biao himself had all held the office of Grand Commandant, highest in the bureaucracy. Their biographies are in *HHS* 54/44.

41 This quotation comes by a roundabout route. *Zuo zhuan*, Chao 20; Legge *CC* V, 682 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 315), says, "In the Announcement to the Prince of Kang [the *Kang gao* Chapter of the Book of Zhou], it is said, 'The crimes of the father or son, the younger or elder brother, do not reach beyond the individual's self.'"

In notes to the translation, however, both Legge and Couvreur observe that the words quoted are not in the present text of *Shu jing* V.9. Only one section of that chapter refers to family relationships, discussing "cases in which severe punishment may be inflicted without hesitation – the case of the unfilial and the unbrotherly:" V.9.16; Legge, *CC* III, 392 (also Couvreur, *Annales*, 230, and Karlgren, *Documents*, 42).

So the speech by Kong Rong quotes *Zuo zhuan*, which claims to paraphrase a teaching of *Shu jing*, but those characters do not appear in the present text of that classic.

The traditional Confucian attitude towards the involvement of relatives was uncertain. *Shu jing* III.2A.5, the *Gan shi* Chapter "The Speech at Gan;" Legge, *CC* III, 155 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 91, and Karlgren, *Documents*, 18), says, "You who obey my orders shall be rewarded before my ancestors; and you who disobey my orders shall be put to death before the spirits of the land; and I will also put your children to death." Mencius, more humane, describes the golden age of King Wen of Zhou as a time when "the wives and children of criminals were not involved in their guilt: *Mengzi* IB.5.3; Legge, *CC* II, 162 (Lau, *Mencius*, 65).

In Han dynasty practice, people were certainly involved in the crimes of their relatives, and often shared their punishments. See passage AA of Jian'an 19.

42 The Duke of Zhou, younger brother of the founding King Wu of Zhou, was regent for the son and heir King Cheng. The Duke of Shao, half-brother to King Wu and the Duke of Zhou, was associated in the government. See note 18 to Jian'an 1.

43 Xu city was now the capital of the empire, so the local prefect had particular responsibility for the imperial justice: see also passage Y of Jian'an 1.

44 Man Chong had shown Yang Biao no special consideration, but applied the full legal examination, evidently including torture. When he spoke to Cao Cao in Yang Biao's favour, therefore, Cao Cao was willing to accept his argument for mercy.

[Ja2: 197]

U *HHS* 70/60, 2264 (6a–7a), the Biography of Kong Rong.

45 On Ma Midi's harassment and death at the hands of Yuan Shu, see passage AA of Xingping 1. His coffin had evidently been kept at Shouchun and, now that Yuan Shu had fled, it came into the possession of Cao Cao.

[Ja2: 197]

V *SGZ* 7, 223 (7a), PC quoting *Dian lue*.

46 Jin Shang had been killed by Yuan Shu for refusing to take office with him: passage I above. Gentleman of the Palace was a probationary appointment for a future official: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 27.

[Ja2: 197]

W *SGZ* 1, 15 (39a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

47 Huyang county in Nanyang commandery was west of Xinye in present-day Henan, on a line of approach between Zhang Xiu's base at Rang and Liu Biao's head-quarters at Xiangyang. Wuyin county was further north near present-day Sheqi, west of Nanyang in Henan.

[Ja2: 197]

X *HHS* 72/62, 2342 (16b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;
with commentary quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*,
SGZ 6, 187 (3b–34b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;
with PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

48 Shuqiu county was in Pei commandery, south of present-day Fengxian in Anhui, a little over a hundred kilometres northwest of Xiapi: so Han Xian did not get very far on his homeward journey. *ZZTJ* describes Zhang Xian as Prefect of Shuqiu, but *Yingxiong ji* describes him merely as chief of a local band (*tunshuai*).

49 Guo Si had been one of Dong Zhuo's officers who seized power at Chang'an and held the Emperor there. Hu Cai and Li Le, with Han Xian, were bandit leaders who had been involved in the Emperor's escape back to the east: see passages X to AA of Xingping 2. On the fate of Li Jue, Guo Si's partner and rival, see passage C of Jian'an 3.

[Ja2: 197]

Y *SGZ* 23, 664–65 (14a–15b), the Biography of Du Xi;
SGZ 23, 668 (18a), the Biography of Zhao Yan.

50 Langling county was in Runan commandery, near present-day Jueshan in Henan, on the frontier with Liu Biao's territory in Jing province.

According to *SGZ* 23, 665, the three men went first south into Changsha, away from Liu Biao's court. Later, after Cao Cao brought the Emperor to Xu, they returned to the north. Du Xi was then appointed Chief of Xi'e in Nanyang commandery, north of present-day Nanyang, on the frontier with Liu Biao.

[Ja2: 197]

Z *SGZ* 18, 535 (3b), the Biography of Li Tong.

51 *SGZ* 18 says that Cao Cao had separated two counties, evidently Langling and Yang'an, to form a marcher territory against Liu Biao, and put Li Tong in charge as Chief Commandant. As head of such a local military government, Li Tong had the powers of a Grand

Administrator, in similar fashion to the Chief Commandant of a Dependent State (*shuguo*) on the frontiers of the Han empire in the past: *e.g.* *HHS* 118/28, 3621, discussed by de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 448; also Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 109 and 189–190 notes 138–142, and Yen Keng-wang, *Regional and Local Administration IA*, 160 and 164–165.

[Ja2: 197]

Jian'an 3: 198 AD

[26 January 198 – 13 February 199]

- A In the spring, in the first month, Cao Cao returned to Xu city.
- B In the third month Cao Cao was going once more to attack Zhang Xiu when Xun You said, "Zhang Xiu and Liu Biao are allies, but Zhang Xiu has no established base for his army. The time will come when he will ask Liu Biao for provisions and Liu Biao will not be able to supply him. They will begin to fall out.

"The best idea is to hold your army back and wait for this, then find a way to catch Zhang Xiu by himself. If you act too quickly, you will force them to help one another." Cao Cao rejected this advice, and he besieged Zhang Xiu at Rang.

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- C In the summer, in the fourth month the Supervisor of Inter-nuncios Pei Mou was sent with imperial orders for all the leaders within the passes, Duan Wei and the others, to punish Li Jue. They killed him and destroyed his family.¹ Duan Wei was appointed General Who Gives Tranquillity to the South and enfeoffed as Marquis of Min District.²
- D In recent years, each time Yuan Shao had received an edict from the Emperor, he was worried that it would cause him trouble. He now sought, therefore, to bring the Emperor to stay by him. He sent a messenger to Cao Cao, suggesting that since Xu city lay in marsh country and Luoyang was in ruins, the capital should move to Juancheng in order to be closer to supplies. Cao Cao refused.³
- Tian Feng said to Yuan Shao, "Now that the idea of shifting the capital has not worked out, you must make early plans against Xu city and prepare to receive the Emperor yourself. You could then claim that all your actions were in response to imperial orders, and so you would command the four seas. That is the perfect arrangement. If you do not follow this program,

you will eventually be taken over by someone else, and it will be too late for regrets." Yuan Shao would not accept this.

[Ja2: 197]

E At this time some deserters from Yuan Shao came to Cao Cao and reported that Tian Feng had urged him to attack Xu city. Cao Cao broke off the siege of Rang and went back, and Zhang Xiu led his forces after him.

In the fifth month Liu Biao sent soldiers to help Zhang Xiu. They camped at Anzhong and guarded the passes to block the enemy's retreat.⁴ Cao Cao wrote to Xun Yu, "When I come to Anzhong I am sure to defeat Zhang Xiu."

They arrived at Anzhong, and Cao Cao's army had enemies in front and rear. During the night Cao Cao dug entrenchments in the pass and then feigned retreat. As the armies of Liu Biao and Zhang Xiu came full force in pursuit, Cao Cao loosed his soldiers from ambush, attacked on both sides with horse and foot and completely defeated them.

Some time later Xun Yu asked Cao Cao, "That time you knew the enemy would be defeated: how could you tell?"

"They cut my army's line of retreat," replied Cao Cao. "In doing so, they gave me a 'death place'. Then I knew I must win."⁵

F As Zhang Xiu chased after Cao Cao, Jia Xu stopped him and said, "You must not go after him. If you chase him you will surely be defeated." Zhang Xiu would not listen, but sent his men forward, and they were thoroughly beaten.

As they returned, however, Jia Xu was on the city wall and he said to Zhang Xiu, "Turn back after him at once. If you fight this time you are sure to win." Zhang Xiu thanked him, but observed, "I did not use your advice earlier, and this is the result. Now I am defeated, how can I go in chase again?"

2004 "War has its changes," replied Jia Xu. "Follow him quickly." Zhang Xiu had always respected what Jia Xu said, so he collected his scattered soldiers and went again in pursuit. He joined battle and he was indeed successful.⁶

When he came back he asked Jia Xu, "I pursued a retreating army with good soldiers and you said I would suffer a loss. I attacked a victorious army with defeated men and you said I would win. Both times you were right. How did you do it?"

"Quite easily," answered Jia Xu. "You are good at using troops, but no match for Lord Cao. Since Lord Cao's army had only just begun its

withdrawal, he was sure to command the rear-guard. That is why I knew you would be defeated.

"Lord Cao had come to attack you, nothing had gone wrong with his plans and he was still at full strength. When he suddenly drew back, therefore, it could only be for some reason of his state. In that case, once he had defeated you he would hurry on to Xu city with light-armed troops, leaving his officers to hold the rear. His officers are brave, but they are not as good as you, so despite the fact that you were using beaten men you could fight and be sure to win." Zhang Xiu was full of admiration.

[Ja2: 197]

G Lü Bu renewed the alliance with Yuan Shu and sent his General of the Gentlemen of the Household Gao Shun and the Grand Administrator of Beidi, Zhang Liao of Yanmen, to attack Liu Bei. Cao Cao sent his general Xiahou Dun to help Liu Bei, but he was defeated by Gao Shun's forces.

In the autumn, in the ninth month Gao Shun and his associates captured Pei city and took Liu Bei's wife and children. Liu Bei fled alone.

H Cao Cao wanted to go himself to attack Lü Bu, but his officers said, "Liu Biao and Zhang Xiu are behind you. If you leave to attack Lü Bu they will certainly become dangerous."

Xun You said, "Liu Biao and Zhang Xiu have lately been defeated, and they will not dare make a move. Lü Bu is brave and fierce, and he has now allied himself again with Yuan Shu. If he is allowed to operate at will between the Huai and Si rivers the fighting men there will certainly join him. Before his rebellion gets under way, and before his army is fully organised, this is the time to attack him. If you go at once you can defeat him." "Excellent!" said Cao Cao.

I As he was marching, the leaders of Taishan, Zang Ba, Sun Guan, Wu Dun, Yin Li, Chang Xi and others all joined Lü Bu.⁷

J Cao Cao met Liu Bei at Liang and went forward to Pengcheng. Chen Gong said to Lü Bu, "Attack them at once. With fresh soldiers to deal with tired ones you cannot fail."

"Better wait until he comes further forward," considered Lü Bu, "then drive him into the Si River."

[Ja2: 197]

K In the winter, in the tenth month Cao Cao stormed Pengcheng. Chen Deng, Grand Administrator of Guangling, led the troops of his commandery as

advance guard for Cao Cao, and came to Xiapi. Lü Bu led out his forces several times against Cao Cao, but he was heavily defeated in one battle after another. He went back to hold the city [of Xiapi] and did not dare come out again.

2005 Cao Cao sent a letter to Lü Bu, pointing the situation out to him. Lü Bu was frightened and wanted to surrender. Chen Gong said, "Cao Cao has come a long way and he cannot remain indefinitely. If you take infantry and cavalry and make camp outside, I shall take command of the rest of the army and hold fast inside the city. If he turns against you, I will lead soldiers to attack his rear. If he only attacks the city, then you can give help from outside. Within a few weeks Cao Cao's supplies will be exhausted. Attack him then and you can defeat him."

Lü Bu approved this, and he planned to have Chen Gong and Gao Shun hold the city while he led cavalry to cut Cao Cao's lines of supply. His wife, however, said to him, "Chen Gong and Gao Shun have quarrelled in the past. Once you have gone they will certainly disagree about how to defend the city. If anything goes wrong how can you manage alone? Furthermore, Cao Cao treated Gongtai [Chen Gong]⁸ like his own son, but he still left him and came back to us. You have treated Gongtai no more generously than Cao Cao, yet you intend to leave him the whole city, abandoning your wife and children, and go off alone with your army. If there is a sudden change, how would I be your wife any more?"

So Lü Bu gave up the idea, and he secretly sent his secretaries Xu Si and Wang Kai to ask help from Yuan Shu. Yuan Shu said, "Lü Bu refused me his daughter. It is right and natural that he should be defeated. Why do you come again?"

Xu Si and Wang Kai replied, "If Your Excellency does not help Lü Bu now you will be bringing ruin upon yourself. When Lü Bu is defeated you too will be destroyed." So Yuan Shu mobilised troops to give Lü Bu moral support.

Lü Bu was afraid Yuan Shu would not send help because his daughter had failed to arrive. Wrapping the girl in silk and tying her to his horse, he took her out of the city by night. They met with Cao Cao's guards, who shot arrows at them. He could not get through, and so came back to the city.

L Zhang Yang, Grand Administrator of Henei, had long been a friend of Lü Bu and wanted to come to his relief. He could not manage this but he brought out his men to make a diversion in his support at Dongshi.⁹

In the eleventh month Zhang Yang's officer Yang Chou killed Zhang Yang and went over to Cao Cao.¹⁰ Sui Gu, a detachment commander, killed Yang Chou in his turn and led the army north to join Yuan Shao.¹¹

Zhang Yang was a gentle and peaceful man who did not enforce punishments. Even when some of his men planned to revolt, each time it was discovered he wept for the plotters, pardoned them quickly and asked no more about it. So he came to misfortune.

[Ja2: 197]

M Cao Cao dug a moat around Xiapi, but after some time his men were exhausted and he was thinking of retreat.

2006 Xun You and Guo Jia said, "Lü Bu is brave, but he has no sense of planning. He has fought you several times and has always been driven back. He must be down-hearted. Armies take their leaders as their guide: if the leader is discouraged then the army loses heart. Chen Gong is wise, but he is slow. If you attack quickly, before Lü Bu recovers his spirit and Chen Gong can decide upon a plan, then Lü Bu can be taken."

Then they brought the Yi and Si rivers to flood the city.

N After a few weeks Lü Bu was in great trouble. He called from the wall to one of Cao Cao's men, "If you do not force me to desperation, I shall surrender to your excellent master."

Chen Gong said, "That rebel bandit Cao Cao, how can you call him 'excellent master'? If you surrender to him you will be like an egg thrown at a stone. Do you expect to survive?"

O Lü Bu's officer Hou Cheng lost his best horse, but then got it back it again. His fellow-officers gave a party to congratulate him.¹² They shared out wine and meat, and Hou Cheng went to offer a first share to Lü Bu. Lü Bu, however, said angrily, "I have forbidden wine, but now you brew it. You are using it to get people into plots against me!" Hou Cheng was upset and frightened.

In the twelfth month on the day *guiyou* [7 Nov 199] Hou Cheng, Song Xian, Wei Xu and other officers kidnapped Chen Gong and Gao Shun and led their forces to surrender.¹³ Lü Bu and his followers climbed the White Gate Tower¹⁴ and the enemy soldiers were close around them. Lü Bu told his attendants to cut off his head and send it to Cao Cao. They could not bear to do it, so he went down and surrendered.

P Lü Bu saw Cao Cao and said, "This is the day that the empire is settled."

"Why do you say that?" asked Cao Cao.

"I was the only man to be a danger to Your Excellency," explained Lü Bu, "and now I have submitted to you. Put me in charge of cavalry while you command the infantry, and the empire will present no difficulties." Turning to Liu Bei he said, "Xuande,¹⁵ you are the guest in a high place and I am captive. These ropes are tight. Will you not speak one word for me?"

2007 Cao Cao laughed and said, "If I bind a tiger I must bind him tightly," but he gave orders to loose Lü Bu's bonds.

"You should not do that," said Liu Bei. "Do you not recall how Lü Bu treated Ding Jianyang [Ding Yuan] and the Grand Master Dong [Zhuo]?"¹⁶ Cao Cao nodded in agreement. Lü Bu glared at Liu Bei. "Big-ears," he said, "you're a crook!"¹⁷

[Ja2: 197]

Cao Cao said to Chen Gong, "Gongtai, you always claimed to know more than others, and now you end like this!" Chen Gong pointed to Lü Bu and said, "That fellow refused to do as I said, and so it has come to this. If my advice had been followed we should probably not have been taken."

"What of your aged mother?" enquired Cao Cao. "I have heard," replied Chen Gong, "that a man who rules the empire by his feelings as a dutiful son will not harm another man's family. Whether my mother lives or not, that rests with you, not with me."

"What of your wife and children?" asked Cao Cao. "I have heard," replied Chen Gong, "that a man who gives gentle government to the empire will not cut off another man's sacrifices [by killing his heir]. Whether my family lives or not, that rests with you, not with me."

Cao Cao said no more. Chen Gong asked to be taken to execution, and he left without a backward glance. Cao Cao wept for him.

Chen Gong, Lü Bu and Gao Shun were all killed by strang-ling, and their heads were sent for display in the market-place at Xu city. Cao Cao called in Chen Gong's mother and looked after her to the end of her life. He arranged marriage for Chen Gong's daughter and cared for his family. He treated them in all respects even more generously than before.

Q The former Prefect of the Masters of Writing Chen Ji and his son Chen Qun had both been with Lü Bu's army. Cao Cao treated them with courtesy and used them in office.

R Zhang Liao brought his forces to surrender and was made General of the Gentlemen of the Household.

S Zang Ba went into hiding, Cao Cao raised a search and found him, then sent him to call Wu Dun, Yin Li, Sun Guan and the others, and they all came to Cao Cao and surrendered. Cao Cao divided Langye and Donghai to form Chengyang, Licheng and Changlu commanderies, and he appointed Zang Ba and his fellows as administrators and chancellors.¹⁸

[Ja2: 197]

2008 Before this, when Cao Cao was in Yan province, he had given appointments to Xu Xi and Mao Hui, but when the province rebelled they both turned against him. Then Yan province was settled, and Xu Xi and Mao Hui fled to Zang Ba.

Cao Cao sent Liu Bei to Zang Ba with orders to send the heads of the two men, but Zang Ba replied, "The reason I have made a position for myself is because I do not do behave like that. Having received the grace of life from our lord, I dare not oppose his commands, yet a ruler of royal power can be appealed to for justice. I ask you to speak on their behalf."

Liu Bei told Cao Cao what Zang Ba had said. Cao Cao sighed in admiration and replied to Zang Ba, "This is the behaviour of ancient days, and you maintain it still. Such is my will." He gave both Xu Xi and Mao Hui administrative appointments.

T In recognition of his good work, Chen Deng was promoted General Who Calms the Waves.

U Liu Biao and Yuan Shao were in close alliance. The Attendant Official at Headquarters Deng Xi protested to Liu Biao, but Liu Biao replied, "Inside I do not neglect the tribute to the throne and outside I do not turn my back on the lord of our covenant. Everyone can see this is right. Why do you question it?"¹⁹ Deng Xi claimed to be ill, and went away.

V Zhang Xian, Grand Administrator of Changsha, a stubborn man, had been treated discourteously by Liu Biao. Huan Jie of Changsha suggested that he raise the three commanderies of Changsha, Lingling and Guiyang against Liu Biao and send a messenger to Cao Cao. Zhang Xian did so.

W Sun Ce sent his Colonel of Upright Counsel Zhang Hong to take tribute to the court of the produce from his territory. Cao Cao wanted Sun Ce as an

ally, so he recommended him as General Who Exterminates Rebels and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Wu. He sent his younger brother's daughter to marry Sun Ce's younger brother Kuang and took Sun Ben's daughter for his son Cao Zhang. He sent a special invitation to Sun Ce's younger brothers Quan and Yi to come to court, and he made Zhang Hong an Attendant Imperial Clerk.²⁰

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X Yuan Shu had made Zhou Yu Chief of Juchao and appointed Lu Su of Linhuai as Chief of Dongcheng.²¹ Zhou Yu and Lu Su both realised Yuan Shu would never succeed, so they left their posts and crossed the Yangzi to follow Sun Ce. Sun Ce made Zhou Yu General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who Establishes Awe, and Lu Su took the occasion to go with his family and stay at Qua.

Y Cao Cao recommended Wang Lang be summoned to court, and Sun Ce allowed him to return. Cao Cao appointed him Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant and Adviser to the Army of the Minister of Works.²²

[Ja2: 197]

Z Yuan Shu sent secret messengers to give seals to the clan leaders of Danyang, Zu Lang and others, that they should rouse the Shanyue and join in attack on Sun Ce.²³

When Liu Yao fled to Yuzhang, Taishi Ci hid among the Wuhu hills and styled himself Grand Administrator of Danyang. Sun Ce had already settled the area east of Xuancheng, and only the six counties west of Jing had not yet submitted. Taishi Ci therefore brought his forces forward to Jing, and he was joined by great numbers of the Shanyue.²⁴

Then Sun Ce led an attack on Zu Lang at Lingyang and captured him.²⁵ Sun Ce said to Zu Lang, "You attacked me once in the past, and chopped the saddle of my horse.²⁶ Now I am recruiting an army and building a state. I disregard old enmities and take only those who are able and can be of service. With all the empire it is the same, not just you. Have no fear." Zu Lang kowtowed and made his peace, and they broke his fetters and had him act as Chief of Police at the Gate.²⁷

Then Sun Ce attacked Taishi Ci at Yongli, and captured him.²⁸ He unloosed his bonds and took his hand and said, "Do you remember that time at Shenting?²⁹ If you had caught me then, what would have happened?"

"I cannot imagine," replied Taishi Ci.

Sun Ce gave a great laugh and said, "I will share all my plans with you. I have heard you are brave and loyal, one of the wise men of the empire, but you have not yet found the right man to follow.

2010 "I am your close friend. You may be sure you have now found what you were looking for." He immediately appointed him Commander at the Gate.

As they rode back, Zu Lang and Taishi Ci were together in the van of the army, and everyone noticed the honour that was paid them.

[Ja2: 197]

AA Just at this time Liu Yao died in Yuzhang. His followers, numbering more than ten thousand, wanted to take the Grand Administrator of Yuzhang, Hua Xin, as their leader. Hua Xin considered, "To take advantage of such opportunity and seize command, that is not the conduct of a loyal servant." The people held him for several months but in the end they let him go and they still had no-one to lead them.

Sun Ce ordered Taishi Ci to go and settle them, and said to him, "Governor Liu always resented the fact that I attacked Lujiang on Yuan Shu's behalf. My late father had several thousand soldiers and they were all under Gonglu's [Yuan Shu's] command. It was my ambition to establish a position of my own, but how could I avoid joining Gonglu if I was to ask for those soldiers?30 Later, when Yuan failed to respect the proper conduct of a minister, I objected but he refused to listen. By any code of honour, such great reason compelled me to leave him. That is the whole story of my joining Gonglu and my breaking with him.

"I regret very much that I never had opportunity to explain [these matters to Liu Yao] while he was still alive. Now that his children are in Yuzhang, you go and see to them. Tell of my feelings to his followers, and any that wish to do so may come back with you. Those that do not want to come, make them feel at peace for the time being. And at the same time, find out how well Hua Ziyu [Hua Xin]31 is managing. How many soldiers will you need? Take as many as you like."

"My offences have been unpardonable," replied Taishi Ci, "and you measure with [the great dukes] Huan [of Qi] and Wen [of Jin]. I would give my life to repay your kindness. Now that the fighting has stopped on both sides, I shall not need many men. Thirty or forty will be enough."

Everyone said, "Taishi Ci is sure to go off north and never come back."

"If Ziyi [Taishi Ci]³² deserts me," replied Sun Ce, "whom can he turn to?" He held a farewell ceremony at the Chang Gate,³³ and as they said goodbye he took Taishi Ci by the arm and asked him, "When can you get back?"

"No more than sixty days," replied Taishi Ci.

When Taishi Ci had left, people still argued it had been a bad idea to send him. "Be silent," ordered Sun Ce. "I have thought it out carefully. Taishi Ziyi is brave and has fierce courage, and he is not a turn-coat. His heart is loyal and honest, and he does not give his word lightly. Once he has entrusted himself to a real friend, he will not go back on the promise while he lives. There is no reason to worry."

Taishi Ci really did come back in the time he had said, and he reported to Sun Ce, "Hua Ziyu is a man of virtue, but he has no plans beyond his own territory. He keeps things going and nothing more.

2011 "Tong Zhi of Danyang has seized Luling for himself, and the leaders of the Poyang people have set up their own clan groups, saying 'We have established our own commandery governments at Haihun and Shangliao, and we take no orders from anyone.' Ziyu just looks on and does nothing."³⁴

Sun Ce clapped his hands and laughed aloud, and it was then that he decided to take over Yuzhang.

[Ja2: 197]

BB Yuan Shao had attacked Gongsun Zan for several years but had not been able to defeat him. He wrote a letter to Gongsun Zan suggesting that they end their quarrel and make peace.³⁵ Gongsun Zan did not reply, but increased his preparations for defence. He said to his Chief Clerk Guan Jing of Taiyuan, "Everywhere in the empire men are fighting like tigers. It is obvious no-one can maintain a siege against me for a whole year. So what can Yuan Benchu do?"³⁶

CC Yuan Shao now brought a great army against Gongsun Zan. Before this, the commander of one of Gongsun Zan's outlying forts had been besieged by enemies, but Gongsun Zan sent no relief. He said, "If I send aid to one, then my officers will always expect support and will be less committed to fight" When Yuan Shao came to attack, the various camps on Gongsun Zan's southern borders realised they were too weak to defend themselves against him, and they knew there was no chance of relief. Some surrendered,

others ran away, and Yuan Shao's army came straight to the gates [of Yi fortress].

DD Gongsun Zan sent his son Gongsun Xu to ask help from the leaders of the Black Mountain bandits. He planned to lead fast cavalry out west towards the hills, then join the Black Mountain forces in an attack on Ji province across Yuan Shao's rear.³⁷

Guan Jing, however, advised against this plan, "Your troops are on the point of collapse, and the only reason they still hold on is that they are concerned for their families and they rely upon you as their leader. If you can withstand a long siege, Yuan Shao may be forced to retreat. If you leave them and go out, however, there will be no strong guard and the fortress at Yi will fall immediately." So Gongsun Zan gave up the idea. As Yuan Shao pressed his attacks steadily tighter, Gongsun Zan's forces were each day more restricted.

NOTES to Jian'an 3: 198

A SGZ 1, 15 (39b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

[Ja3: 198]

B SGZ 10, 322–23 (29b), the Biography of Xun You.

[Ja3: 198]

C HHS 72/62, 2342–43 (16b–17a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.

1 The shorter, parallel passage in SGZ 6, 187, places the death of Li Jue in Jian'an 2, the same time as his other colleagues were eliminated: passage X of Jian'an 2. The annals of HHS 9, 380, however, confirm the date of Jian'an 3. HHJ 29, 5b, has all the deaths in the spring of this year.

Dian lue, quoted in commentary to HHS 72/62, and [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*, quoted by SGZ 6 PC, both say that Li Jue's head was sent to Xu city, where an imperial edict ordered that it be put on display.

2 Min district was near present-day Wenxiang in Henan.

[Ja3: 198]

D HHS 74/64A, 2390 (11b–12a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

3 Juancheng was in Jiyang commandery near Juancheng in present-day Shandong, just south of the Yellow River. The county was controlled by Cao Cao, but it was well north of Xu city. Although it might indeed have been more central and convenient for supplies, it was very close to Yuan Shao's territory, and would have been vulnerable to his influence or a sudden attack.

[Ja3: 198]

E SGZ 1, 15–16 (39b–40b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
with PC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

4 Anzhong county was in Nanyang commandery, south of present-day Nanyang in Henan, and east of Rang city. This was the road along which Cao Cao had to withdraw his forces.

5 "Death place" (*sid*): where a retreating army's road is cut off, the soldiers must fight for their lives, and through desperation are more likely to win.

ZZTJ commentary quotes *Sunzi bingfa* 7, 38a; Ames, *Sun-tzu*, 132 (Griffith, *Art of War*, 109): "do not obstruct an enemy returning home." See also 11, 37a–38a; Ames, 160 (Griffith, 133):

On terrain from which there is no way out, I would show my troops my resolve to fight to the death.

Thus the psychology of the soldier is:

Resist when surrounded,

Fight when you have to,

And obey orders explicitly when in danger.

The theory of the "death place" is discussed in several other passages of *Sunzi bingfa*, and Hu Sanxing also quotes commentary by Chen Hao of Tang to 11, 15b, who speaks of "creating" a death place in order to [conquer and] live.

Another occasion the policy was put into practice is told in the biography of the great general Han Xin, *SJ* 92, 2616–17; Watson, *RGH* I, 216–217. Compare also passage F and note 10 of Jian'an 9.

[Ja3: 198]

F *SGZ* 10, 329 (38a–b), the Biography of Jia Xu.

6 *ZZTJ* commentary suggests this was only a minor success compared to the earlier defeat at Anzhong.

[Ja3: 198]

G *HHS* 75/65, 2450 (13b–14a), the Biography of Lü Bu;

SGZ 7, 226 (11b), the Biography of Lü Bu;

SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 874 (7b), the Biography of Liu Bei;

SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 875 (7b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

[Ja3: 198]

H *SGZ* 10, 323 (30a) PC quoting *Wei shu*.

[Ja3: 198]

I *SGZ* 18, 537 (6a), the Biography of Zang Ba.

7 On these groups, based about Mount Tai in present-day Shandong, see passage N and note 21 of Jian'an 2. The term *tunshuai* "leaders of camps" may indicate local people or refugees in self-defence units as much as bandits.

[Ja3: 198]

J *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 875 (7b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;

SGZ 7, 227 (12a) PC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

[Ja3: 198]

K *SGZ* 1, 16 (14b), the Biography of Cao Cao;

SGZ 7, 230 (16b) PC quoting *Xianxian xingzhuang*;

SGZ 7, 226 (11b–12a), the Biography of Lü Bu;

SGZ 7, 227 (12a–b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;

HHS 75/65, 2450 (14a), the Biography of Lü Bu.

8 Gongtai was the style of Chen Gong.

[Ja3: 198]

- L SGZ 8, 251 (25a), the Biography of Zhang Yang;
with PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.
- 9 Zhang Yang had his base at Yewang county (e.g. passage G of Jian'an 1), so he was a considerable distance from the conflict between Cao Cao and Lü Bu. *ZZTJ* commentary suggests that this Dongshi "Eastern Market" village lay within the borders of Yewang county.
- 10 The date is given by *HHS* 9, 380. These annals describe Zhang Yang, not just as Grand Administrator of Henei, but as Commander-in-Chief, the title he had been given when he controlled the Emperor at Luoyang: passage G of Jian'an 1.
- 11 Sui Gu, a former leader among the Black Mountain bandits, was an old enemy of Cao Cao: e.g. de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 192, and passage F of Chuping 3.

[Ja3: 198]

- M SGZ 1, 16 (40b–41a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 10, 313 (30a), the Biography of Xun You.

[Ja3: 198]

- N SGZ 7, 227 (12a) PC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

[Ja3: 198]

- O *HHS* 75/65, 2451 (14a–b), the Biography of Lü Bu;
SGZ 7, 227 (13a), the Biography of Lü Bu;
SGZ 7, 228 (13a–b) PC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*.
- 12 *HHS* 75/65 says that Hou Cheng, a cavalry officer, had sent one of his retainers out to pasture the animal, but the man attempted to escape and join Liu Bei. Hou Cheng chased him, caught him, and brought back the animal. *Jiuzhou chunqiu* says that it was a herd of fifteen horses which were stolen, not just one. Hou Cheng had thus some reason to expect congratulations.
- 13 The date is given by the annals of *HHS* 9, 381.
- 14 According to *SJZ* 25, 20b, the White Gate (*Bomen*) was the main southern gate of the city of Xiapi. Commentary to *HHS* 75/65 quotes from the *Song Wu beizheng ji* describing the northern expedition of Liu Yu, future Emperor Wu of Song: the campaign began in 409, and the narrative was compiled by Dai Zuo, a member of Liu Yu's staff [see Yao Chenzong, *Suishu jingji zhi kaozheng* 21, in *ESWSBB* IV, 5406]. The extract says that Xiapi had three lines of defence: the main wall, which contained the White Gate, had a circuit of four *li*, about two kilometres.

[Ja3: 198]

- P *HHS* 75/65, 2451–52 (14B–15A), the Biography of Lü Bu;
SGZ 7, 227 (13b–14b), the Biography of Lü Bu;
SGZ 7, 228 (15a–b) PC quoting *Dian lue*.
- 15 Xuande was the style of Liu Bei.
- 16 On the death of Ding Yuan, whose style was Jianyang, see passage X of Zhongping 6. On the title of Dong Zhuo as Grand Master (*taishu*), see passage C of Chuping 2, and on his assassination by Lü Bu, passage I of Chuping 3.
- 17 On the physiognomy of Liu Bei, including his large ears, see passage Z and note 54 of Chuping 2.

[Ja3: 198]

Q *HHS* 62/52, 2068 (15b), the Biography of Chen Ji;
SGZ 22, 633 (5b–6a), the Biography of Chen Qun.

[*Ja3*: 198]

R *SGZ* 17, 517 (1b), the Biography of Zhang Liao.

[*Ja3*: 198]

S *SGZ* 18, 527 (6a–b), the Biography of Zang Ba.

18 Zang Ba and his colleagues were leaders of bandits from the region of Mount Tai: passages N of Jian'an 2 and I above.

Chengyang was the name of a kingdom under Former Han, absorbed into Langye at the beginning of Later Han; its capital had been at Ju, now Juxian in Shandong. Licheng and Changlu were counties in Donghai: Licheng was near the coast, by present-day Qingkou in Jiangsu; Changlu was in the west, by present-day Tengxian in Shandong.

Besides the five commandery units of reduced Langye and Donghai, restored Chengyang, and the new Licheng and Changlu, it appears there were two other territories entrusted to Zang Ba and his colleagues:

SGZ 18 mentions the establishment of Dongguan commandery instead of Changlu; Dongguan county was in Langye, by present-day Yishui in Shandong;

SGZ 18 also states that Sun Guan became Grand Administrator of Beihai, immediately north of Langye in Qing province (as discussed in note 42 to Jian'an 1, however, Beihai was a kingdom and should have been headed by a chancellor; Langye, on the other hand, was a commandery and not a kingdom: note 22 to Jian'an 2).

Cao Cao thus confirmed the local authority of these leaders by giving them official titles to govern a series of small territories, stretching in an arc across the coastal plain from the south of the Shandong peninsula. *SGZ* 18 adds that he gave Zang Ba responsibility for Qing and Xu provinces, thus holding authority over his colleagues and the whole eastern flank of Cao Cao's territory.

This area was at present marginal to Cao Cao's major ambitions in central China, while the recognition and alliance with the former bandits kept the region quiet and reasonably secure.

[*Ja3*: 198]

T *SGZ* 7, 229 (15b), the Biography of Chen Deng.

[*Ja3*: 198]

U *SGZ* 6, 211–12 (82b–83a), the Biography of Liu Biao;
with PC quoting *Han–Jin chungiu*.

19 Liu Biao sent aid to the Emperor at Luoyang in *Ja3*: 198 (passage D of Jian'an 1) and, despite Cao Cao's attacks on Nanyang commandery, he had not rejected the authority of the court in Xu city.

Yuan Shao became head of the alliance against Dong Zhuo in 190 (passage A of Chuping 1). Liu Biao, however, received his appointment to Jing province from an edict issued by the imperial government under the control of Dong Zhuo (passage O of Chuping 1), so his argument here was disingenuous.

[*Ja3*: 198]

V *SGZ* 6, 211 (83a–b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;
SGZ 22, 631 (1b–2a), the Biography of Huan Jie.

[*Ja3*: 198]

W *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1104 (26b–31a), the Biography of Sun Ce;
 SGZ 46 (Wu 1), 1108 (28b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;
 SGZ 53 (Wu 8), 1243 (2a), the Biography of Zhang Hong.

20 The main texts of *SGZ* 46 and *SGZ* 53 indicate that the embassy of Zhang Hong and the marriage alliance took place in Jian'an 4, the following year. The date of Sun Ce's tribute mission in Jian'an 3 is taken from *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

 Cao Cao obviously planned to hold Sun Quan and Sun Yi as hostages, but neither of them accepted the invitation. Zhang Hong, however, did remain in the north and took office in the imperial censorate under the government controlled by Cao Cao. Though he remained loyal to the Sun family, his position was personally difficult: de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 220–223.

[Ja3: 198]

X *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), 1260 (3a), the Biography of Zhou Yu;
 SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1267 (14a), the Biography of Lu Su.

21 Lu Su's biography says that he came from Dongcheng county in Linhuai commandery. Under Later Han, Xiapi commandery had been known as Linhuai until 72 AD: see the Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 111/21, 3461. The old name evidently came back into use about this time.

 By appointing Lu Su as head of his native county, Yuan Shu was disregarding the Han rule of "avoidance," which required that a man should not hold magistral office within his own province, let alone his own commandery or county. See, for example, Yen Keng-wang, "Appointment for Local Administration."

[Ja3: 198]

Y *SGZ* 13, 407 (27b), the Biography of Wang Lang.

22 Wang Lang was the former Grand Administrator of Kuaiji who had been defeated and captured by Sun Ce two years earlier: passage S of Jian'an 1.

 Cao Cao at this time held the title of Minister of Works, and the post of Adviser to his Army appears frequently in his command from this time. Mentioned in the Treatise of Officials of *JS* 24, 740, it was probably a position on the general staff. For a possible earlier appearance, see de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 198, and II, 571.

[Ja3: 198]

Z *SGZ* 51 (Wu 6), 1212 (9b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;
 SGZ 49 (Wu 4), 1188 (9b–10b), the Biography of Taishi Ci;
 SGZ 56 (Wu 11), 1310 (10a), the Biography of Lü Fan.

23 Yue was a common term describing the non-Chinese peoples of the southern and south-eastern seaboard. They are here identified by the prefix Shan as inhabiting the hills. The Shanyue may be distinguished from Shanmin, a phrase also used at this time, but which appears to have referred rather to refugee or renegade Chinese in this region, and also from the Man, a term less often used in these texts, but which traditionally describes the non-Chinese peoples of the inland south of the Yangzi.

24 Wuhu county in Danyang was near present-day Wuhu, on the Yangzi River in Anhui. South of Wuhu was Xuancheng county, about present-day Nanling in Anhui, and Jing county was west of Jingxian, further south again.

Wuhu hills must describe the lower reaches of the Huang Shan massif, and the border of Sun Ce's territory at this time was about the line of the Qingyi Jiang, which joins the Yangzi by Wuhu.

25 Lingyang county in Danyang was about present-day Taiping in Anhui. Sun Ce, based on the Yangzi, has by-passed Taishi Ci to attack Zu Lang in the hills to the west.

26 For this earlier incident, see passage BB of Xingping 1.

27 The prefix "at the Gate" (*menxia*) could be added to the titles of certain posts at the central offices of a commandery or county. Here, both Zu Lang and Taishi Ci (below) were trusted with command of guards at Sun Ce's headquarters.

28 Yongli was in Jing county, near present-day Jing in Anhui.

29 See passage GG of Xingping 2.

[Ja3: 198]

AA *SGZ* 13, 402 (18a) PC quoting Wei lue.
SGZ 49 (Wu 4), 1188–90 (10b–11b), the Biography of Taishi Ci;
with PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

30 See passage BB of Xingping 1.

31 Ziyu was the style of Hua Xin.

32 Ziyi was the style of Taishi Ci.

33 The Chang Gate was the northern gate on the western wall of the city of Wu. There is still a Chang Gate in present-day Suzhou.

34 Under Later Han, Poyang county in Yuzhang was about Jingdezhen in Jiangxi, east of the marshland which is the present Poyang Lake. Haihun lay west of marshes, about present-day Yongxiu in Jiangxi. *SJZ* 39, 17a–b, says that the Liao River, which flowed past Haihun, was in that area known as Shangliao.

The capital of Yuzhang was at Nanchang, present-day Nanchang in Jiangxi. Separated from the Yangzi by the two groups of rebels, Hua Xin controlled only the southern part of the commandery, chiefly the basin of the Gan River.

[Ja3: 198]

BB *SGZ* 8, 244–46 (13a–14b), the Biography of Gongsun Zan;
with PC quoting *Han–Jin chungiu*.

35 The text of the letter is given in the extract of *Han–Jin chungiu*.

36 Benchu was the style of Yuan Shao. Gongsun Zan had taken refuge in his great fortress complex of Yi city, by present-day Xiong in Hebei, since 195: passage SS of Xingping 2.

[Ja3: 198]

CC *SGZ* 8, 245 (12a) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

[Ja3: 198]

DD *HHS* 73/63, 2364 (8b–9a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan;
SGZ 8, 244 (15a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan.

37 The hills referred to are the Taihang Shan, whose rising ground commences some seventy-five kilometres west of Xiongxiang city. The base area of the Black Mountain bandits had been in the eastern part of the Taihang ranges, and their chief surviving leader, Zhang Yan, was in Changshan: de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 193, II, 568 note 14, and passage J of Chuping 4.

Map 12: Yang Province 195–200

