

TO ESTABLISH PEACE

CHAPTER 67

being Chapter 59 of the Chronicle of Han
[containing Part 9 of the reign of Emperor Xian]

Jian'an 19: 214 AD

[29 January 214 – 16 February 215]

2125

A In the spring Ma Chao asked Zhang Lu for soldiers so that he could go north and recapture Liang province, and Zhang Lu sent him off to besiege Qi Mountain.

Jiang Xu told Xiahou Yuan of the emergency, but Xiahou Yuan's officers recommended he wait for orders from Cao Cao. "The Duke is now at Ye city," observed Xiahou Yuan, "and it is four thousand *li* there and back.¹ Jiang Xu and his people will be destroyed before any report can reach him. That is no way to bring help when it is needed."

So he marched, sending Zhang He as advance guard with five thousand horse and foot. Ma Chao was defeated and fled.

Han Sui was at Xianqin. Xiahou Yuan planned a surprise attack to capture him, but Han Sui fled. Xiahou Yuan chased after him towards Lueyang city.² He was thirty *li* behind Han Sui,³ and his officers wanted to maintain the pursuit, but then someone suggested they should attack the Di barbarians of Xingguo.⁴

2126 "Han Sui's troops are well-trained and Xingguo has strong walls," judged Xiahou Yuan. "Whichever we attack, we shall gain no swift success. Much better deal with the Qiang at Changli.⁵ Many of them have joined Han Sui's army, but they will certainly come back to help their families. If Han Sui lets them go to look after their families, he will be left without support; but if he accompanies them to relieve Changli, our government troops can meet him in the field, and then we are sure to take him."

Leaving some officers to guard the baggage, therefore, Xiahou Yuan led light-armed troops to Changli. They attacked the camp of the Shao[dang] Qiang, and Han Sui did send help.⁶

When the officers saw the size of Han Sui's army, they wanted to build a stockade and moat to fight on the defensive. Xiahou Yuan, however, said, "We have marched and counter-marched a thousand *li*. If we now start building and digging, our soldiers will be exhausted and useless. Though

the bandits come in great numbers, they can easily be deal with." He beat the drums, and Han Sui's army was completely defeated.

Then Xiahou Yuan went forward to besiege Xingguo. King Qianwan of the Di fled to Ma Chao, and the remainder of his forces surrendered. Xiahou Yuan turned again to attack Gaoping and the Chuge [group of the Xiongnu]. He destroyed both of them.⁷

B In the third month an edict established Duke Cao of WEI above all the kings.⁸ His insignia was changed to a seal of gold, with a red ribbon, and a Cap for Long Journeys.⁹

C In the summer, in the fourth month, there was a drought.
In the fifth month there were great rains.¹⁰

D Before this, Duke Cao of WEI had appointed Zhu Guang as Grand Administrator of Lujiang, to camp at Huan and set out a great area of paddy fields. Lü Meng said to Sun Quan, "The fields at Huan are rich and fine. Once they are brought under cultivation, our enemy's military strength is sure to increase. We must destroy them quickly."¹¹

In the intercalary fourth month Sun Quan led an attack on Huan city. His officers wanted to build earth mounds and construct machines for an assault, but Lü Meng said, "If we make engines and earthworks, it will be days before they are ready. The city will be prepared, a relief force will arrive, and we shall have gained nothing. Furthermore, the rain and floods have helped us move in, but if we stay too long the water will go down and the return journey will be difficult. In my humble opinion the whole affair can become dangerous.

"Look at this city now: it cannot be very secure. If we attack fiercely on all sides at once, we can take it by storm. Then we can go back while the water is still high. This is the way to certain success."

2127 Sun Quan approved, and Lü Meng recommended Gan Ning take command of the assault force. With a grapnel-rope of silk in his hands, Gan Ning climbed the walls and was first into the city.¹² Beating the drum himself, Lü Meng followed close with well-trained troops. The soldiers all leaped to the fray. They advanced to the attack just at day-break, and by breakfast they had taken the city. They captured Zhu Guang and several score thousand men and women. When Zhang Liao reached Jiashi he heard the city had fallen, and he turned back.¹³

Sun Quan appointed Lü Meng as Grand Administrator of Lujiang. He went back to camp at Xunyang.¹⁴

[Ja 19: 214]

E Zhuge Liang left Guan Yu to hold Jing province, and with Zhang Fei and Zhao Yun he led troops upstream to seize Badong. When they reached Jiangzhou they defeated and captured Yan Yan, Grand Administrator of Ba commandery.¹⁵

Zhang Fei shouted at Yan Yan "When a great army comes, why do you not surrender? How dare you fight against us?"

"Ill-mannered fellow," replied Yan Yan. "You have invaded our province, but our province has only generals who take heads, not generals who surrender."

Zhang Fei, furious, ordered his attendants to lead Yan Yan out and cut off his head. With no change to his expression Yan Yan observed "Beheading is beheading. Why make such a fuss about it?" Zhang Fei recognised his courage, set him free, and kept him as a guest.

Zhao Yun was sent off along the Outer River to settle Jiangyang and Jianwei,¹⁶ while Zhang Fei took Baxi and Deyang.¹⁷

F Liu Bei besieged Luo city for more than a year. Pang Tong was hit by a stray arrow and died.¹⁸

Fa Zheng sent a written message to Liu Zhang. He set out the situation, and went on to say, "Since the General of the Left [Liu Bei] raised troops he has always thought well of you. He is truly not a man of mean nature. I believe we can arrange an acceptable transfer of power which would still protect your noble house." Liu Zhang made no reply.¹⁹

Luo city fell,²⁰ and Liu Bei went on to besiege Chengdu. Zhuge Liang, Zhang Fei and Zhao Yun brought in their troops to join him.²¹

2128

G Ma Chao realised Zhang Lu would not support him in his plans [to recapture Liang province].²² Yang Ang and other officers of Zhang Lu were jealous of him, and he was discouraged.

Liu Bei sent Li Hui, an Investigator of Jianning, to talk with Ma Chao.²³ So Ma Chao fled from Wudu to the territory of the Di barbarians, then wrote in private to Liu Bei, asking to surrender to him. Liu Bei sent men to call him, and secretly supplied him with soldiers. When Ma Chao arrived, he was ordered to lead his army to camp north of Chengdu. The people in the city were surprised and shaken.

H Liu Bei besieged the city for several weeks, and then he sent his Gentleman of the General Staff Jian Yong of Zhuo commandery to go in and talk with Liu Zhang.²⁴ At this time there were still thirty thousand trained soldiers inside the city, with sufficient grain and cloth to last a year. All his followers were prepared for a fight to the death, but Liu Zhang said, "Father and son, my family has been in this province over twenty years; yet we have shown the people neither grace nor virtue. Now they have suffered three years of war, and their bodies are scattered in the wilderness. All this has happened because of me. How can I be easy in my mind?" So he opened the gates and rode out in a carriage with Jian Yong to surrender. His attendants wept.

Liu Bei moved Liu Zhang to Gong'an, restored all his treasure, and allowed him to wear the seal and tassel of General Who Inspires Awe.²⁵

[*Ja 19: 214*]

I When Liu Bei entered Chengdu he held a banquet for his troops. He took the gold and silver of the cities of SHU and distributed it among his officers as rewards, but he returned the grain and the cloth to their owners.²⁶

Then Liu Bei took over as Governor of Yi province. He appointed Zhuge Liang, hitherto General of the Gentlemen of the Household Master of the Army, as General Master of the Army. The Grand Administrator of Yizhou, Dong He of Nan commandery, became General of the Gentlemen of the Household Manager of the Army, and shared responsibility for the office of the General of the Left.²⁷

The Lieutenant-General Ma Chao became General Who Pacifies the West and the Colonel Consultant of the Army Fa Zheng became Grand Administrator of Shu commandery and General Who Manifests Firmness. The Major-General Huang Zhong of Nanyang became General Who Exterminates Caitiffs, and the Gentleman of the General Staff Mi Zhu became General Who Gives Tranquillity to Han.²⁸

2129 Jian Yong became General Who Shines in Virtue, Sun Qian of Beihai became General Who Supports Loyalty, and Huang Quan, Chief of Guanghan, became a Lieutenant-General.²⁹ Xu Jing of Runan became Chief Clerk to the General of the Left.³⁰ Pang Xi became a Major, Li Yan became Grand Administrator of Jianwei and Fei Guan Grand Administrator of Ba commandery.³¹ Yi Ji of Shanyang became Gentleman of the General Staff,³² Liu Ba of Lingling became Senior Clerk in the Department of the

West and Peng Yang of Guanghan was Attendant Official at Headquarters for Yi province.³³

J Before this, when Dong He held office in commanderies, he was honest and temperate, honourable and upright, loved and trusted by Chinese and barbarians.³⁴ He was respected throughout SHU as an upright official, so Liu Bei chose him.

K When Liu Bei left Xinye to escape to the south of the Yangzi,³⁵ the great majority of officials from Jing province had followed him like clouds. Only Liu Ba went north to Duke Cao of WEI, Cao Cao appointed him as a Senior Clerk, and sent him to manage the takeover of Changsha, Lingling and Guiyang. Then Liu Bei seized those three commanderies, Liu Ba's work was undone, and he planned to go back to the capital district by way of Jiao province. Zhuge Liang was at this time in Linzheng, and he wrote to call him, but Liu Ba refused to come, and Liu Bei was extremely annoyed. From Jiaozhi, Liu Ba went to SHU to join Liu Zhang.³⁶

When Liu Zhang invited Liu Bei, Liu Ba objected, "Liu Bei is an ambitious man. If he comes he will certainly cause harm." When he did arrive, Liu Ba protested again, "If you send Liu Bei to attack Zhang Lu, you will be releasing a tiger into the mountains and forests." Liu Zhang would not listen. Liu Ba closed his gates and excused himself on grounds of ill health.

When Liu Bei attacked Chengdu he gave orders to his army, "Anyone who harms Liu Ba will be executed with all his family." So he captured him, and was very pleased.

[Ja 19: 214]

L All the commanderies and counties saw how the wind was blowing and made their peace with Liu Bei. Only Huang Quan closed his city [of Guanghan] and held firm. He would not submit until Liu Zhang surrendered.³⁷

M Dong He, Huang Quan, Li Yan and others who had originally been given posts by Liu Zhang; Wu Yi, Fei Guan and others who were related to Liu Zhang by marriage;³⁸ Peng Yang who had been sent to convict service by Liu Zhang; and Liu Ba who had an old enmity [against Liu Bei]: all were given honourable positions by Liu Bei and were ready to serve him. Men of

ambition vied with one another to join his government, and the people of Yi province were fully content.³⁹

2130

N Before this, Liu Zhang had appointed Xu Jing Grand Administrator of Shu commandery. Just before Chengdu surrendered, Xu Jing was planning to cross the wall and join the besiegers.⁴⁰ For this reason, Liu Bei thought little of Xu Jing and was reluctant to give him any position.

Fa Zheng said, "Many men gain an empty reputation without true worth, and Xu Jing is one of them. But now your lordship is beginning to build a government, and you cannot go house to house through the empire to explain yourself. You must show this man some respect or many of the people will be surprised and disappointed." So Liu Bei treated Xu Jing with courtesy and gave him office.

O When Chengdu was under siege, Liu Bei promised his troops, "If we are successful, I have no plans for anything there may be in the treasury." When they captured the city, all his men discarded their weapons to go to the storehouses, and they fought one another for plunder. Money was short for the army and Liu Bei was extremely anxious about it.⁴¹

"This is easy," said Liu Ba. "All you have to do is coin *Zhibo* money, hold down prices, and order your officers to set up official monopolies." Liu Bei did so, and in a few months the treasury was full.⁴²

P At this time advisers wanted to share the famous estates about Chengdu among Liu Bei's officers, but Zhao Yun argued, "Because the Xiongnu were not destroyed, Huo Qubing had no use for a house.⁴³ The enemies of the state are now greater than the Xiongnu and there is still no sign of peace. Soon, when the empire is settled, each man will be able to go back to his native place and plough his own soil, and that is the way things should be.

"The people of Yi province have just suffered warfare. You must return them their fields and houses, and order them to live in peace and renew their occupations. Later, you can get labour-service and taxes from them, and you will gain their affection, but you should not rob them now to give presents to your own favourites." Liu Bei accepted this.

[Ja 19: 214]

Q As Liu Bei attacked Liu Zhang, he had left the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Huo Jun of Nan commandery to hold Jiameng city. Zhang Lu sent Yang Ang to pretend to Huo Jun that he was coming to help guard the

city. "You may have my head," replied Huo Jun, "but you cannot have the city." So Yang Ang went back.⁴⁴

2131 Later, Liu Zhang's officers Fu Jin and Xiang Cun and others led some ten thousand men up from the Lang River to attack Huo Jun, and they besieged him for almost a year.

Huo Jun had only a few hundred soldiers in the city. He waited for a occasion when the besiegers were off their guard and chose his best men to make a sortie. They completely defeated the enemy and cut off Xiang Cun's head.

When Liu Bei settled SHU, he divided Guanghan to form Zitong commandery, and appointed Huo Jun as the Grand Administrator.⁴⁵

R Fa Zheng was in charge of the capital domain [Shu commandery], and also counsellor at court. Favour shown him slight as a single meal, hatred as little as a doubtful look, he repaid everything, and he killed several people without approval to do so. Someone said to Zhuge Liang, "Fa Zheng is too aggressive. You should tell our lord to restrain him."

"When his lordship was at Gong'an," replied Zhuge Liang, "in the north he faced the strength of Cao Cao, in the east he shrank from the oppression of Sun Quan, while near at home he feared the Lady Sun would cause trouble in his own house.⁴⁶ Through the aid Fa Xiaozhi⁴⁷ brought him he was able to soar and fly high, so that nothing can hold him back. How can he now restrict and confine Xiaozhi, denying him the few things he asks?"

S Zhuge Liang was assistant to Liu Bei in the government of SHU. His rule was stern, and many of the people resented it. Fa Zheng said to Zhuge Liang, "In former times, when Gaozu entered the passes, he reduced the number of the laws to just three sections, and the people of Qin recognised his virtue.⁴⁸ Now you take advantage of your power, and you possess all the province. This is the first time you have governed this state, and you have yet to show any favour or kindness.

"Right dealings between host and guest, moreover, require the visitor to give way.⁴⁹ I ask that you reduce punishments and ease the restrictions. This way you would soothe the people."⁵⁰

"You understand half the matter," replied Zhuge Liang, "but not the whole.

"Qin acted against the true Way. Government was cruel and the people were angry, so when one common fellow gave a single cry their empire was

crumbled earth.⁵¹ Gaozu came after this, and he could afford to be generous.

2132 "Liu Zhang, however, was dull and weak, and since the time of Liu Yan one generation after another has shown generosity. Seeking to curry favour with their subjects, they limited the effect of the law. As a result, the virtue of government has not been displayed, and the majestic punishments fail to command respect. The people of SHU territory have been acting as they please, and the code of behaviour between ruler and subject has steadily declined.

"Now, therefore, if we favour them with positions, then even the highest ranks will be held in disrepute, and if we show them grace, our greatest kindness will be held in contempt. Here is potential for the government to fall apart.

"What I am doing now is demonstrating our authority by use of the law. When people have seen its full rigour they will have proper appreciation of our grace and leniency. And then, when I grade them by the degrees of nobility, they will recognise the value of such honours. When honour and grace are both established, and high and low properly ordered, this is the core of good government."⁵²

[*Ja 19: 214*]

T Liu Bei appointed Jiang Wan of Lingling as Chief of Guangdu.⁵³ When he went on a tour of inspection, however, he found all the administration in disorder, while Jiang Wan himself was dead drunk.

Liu Bei, furious, was going to execute him, but Zhuge Liang pleaded on his behalf, "Though Jiang Wan is not a petty administrator, he is a true servant of the state. He pays little attention to superficial matters, but his government keeps the people at peace. I beg your lordship to think again."

Liu Bei always respected Zhuge Liang. He therefore applied no punishment, though he did dismiss Jiang Wan instantly from his post.

U In the autumn, in the seventh month Duke Cao of WEI attacked Sun Quan. He left his younger son Cao Zhi, Marquis of Linzi, to hold Ye.⁵⁴

V Cao Cao chose good men as aides for all his sons, and he appointed Xing Yong as Assistant of the Household to Cao Zhi.⁵⁵ Xing Yong was punctilious on matters of ceremony, he let nothing slip by him, and he never allowed Cao Zhi any latitude. As a result, the two did not get on.

The Cadet Liu Zhen wrote beautiful essays,⁵⁶ and Cao Zhi far preferred him. Liu Zhen, however, wrote to admonish him: "By choosing the spring flowers of your Retainer, Marquis, you neglect the autumn fruits of your Assistant. I fear that my humble writings will bring slander upon you and a heavy penalty. I am truly concerned about it."

W Xun You, Prefect of the Masters of Writing of WEI, died. Xun You was very quiet, but he was wise and prudent. He had always followed Duke Cao of WEI on his campaigns, and made plans with him in his tent, but no-one, not even his sons and nephews, ever knew what he proposed.

2133 Cao Cao once remarked, "When Xun Wenruo [Xun Yu] recommended a worthy project, he would follow through till it was adopted and carried through. When Xun Gongda [Xun You] disapproved of a bad policy, he would not stop until it was abandoned." He also said, "The two prefects Xun grew ever more reliable in their judgement of men. For as long as I live I shall never forget them."⁵⁷

[Ja 19: 214]

X Before this, Song Jian of Fuhan had taken advantage of the disorder in Liang province to name himself King of the Sources of the River Who Will Pacify Han, proclaiming new reign-titles and appointing the hundred officials. His rebellion had lasted more than thirty years.⁵⁸

In the winter, in the tenth month Duke Cao of WEI sent Xiahou Yuan from Xingguo to attack Song Jian. They besieged and captured Fuhan, and cut off Song Jian's head.⁵⁹

Xiahou Yuan also sent a detachment under Zhang He across the Yellow River into Xiaohuangzhong, and the Qiang tribesmen west of the River all surrendered. The lands west of Long Mountain were pacified.⁶⁰

Y Since the day the Emperor set his capital at Xu [in 196], he held his position and no more. His attendants and guards were all men of the Cao family. At one time, the Gentleman-Consultant Zhao Yan had been advising the Emperor on current affairs and policies, but Duke Cao of WEI disapproved of this and killed him.⁶¹

Some time later, Cao Cao had occasion to call upon the Emperor in his palace. Unable to bear the anxiety, the Emperor said to him, "If you can assist me, that would be generous. If you cannot, have pity and do not oppress me." Cao Cao turned pale, appeared momentarily embarrassed, then asked permission to leave. According to the old system, if one of the

Three Excellencies had command of troops, when they came to audience Guards Rapid As Tigers were ordered to hold naked swords against his side. As Cao Cao came out and rejoined his own people the sweat was pouring down his back. From this time he went no more to audience.⁶²

A daughter of Dong Cheng had been made an Honoured Lady, and when Cao Cao executed Dong Cheng [in 200],⁶³ he asked for the woman, to kill her. Because she was pregnant, the Emperor had interceded several times with Cao Cao on her behalf, without success. As a result, the Empress Fu herself became afraid. She wrote to her father Wan, accusing Cao Cao of oppression and cruelty, and ordering him to make secret plans against him. Fu Wan had not dared to act, but the story was now discovered and Cao Cao was furious.⁶⁴

2134 In the eleventh month Cao Cao sent the Imperial Counsellor Chi Lü with authority to receive the seal and tassel of the Empress.⁶⁵ The Prefect of the Masters of Writing Hua Xin accompanied him, and they led soldiers into the palace to arrest her. The Empress closed the doors and hid among the walls, but Hua Xin broke down the doors, destroyed the walls and led the Empress out.⁶⁶

The Emperor was still in the outer court receiving Chi Lü in audience when the Empress, with her hair dishevelled, barefoot and weeping, went past and said farewell, "Could you not save me this once?"

"Even I do not know when my turn will come!" replied the Emperor. He turned to Chi Lü, "Under heaven, my lord Chi, how can this be?"

They took the Empress down to the harem jail and she pined away.⁶⁷ The two imperial children born to her were both poisoned, and over a hundred of her brothers, cousins and clansfolk also died.⁶⁸

Z In the twelfth month Duke Cao of WEI arrived at Mengjin.⁶⁹

[*Ja 19: 214*]

AA Cao Cao appointed the Gentleman of the Masters of Writing Gao Rou to be Senior Clerk in the Department of Justice.⁷⁰ According to the old laws, if the army was on campaign and a soldier deserted, his wife and children were examined with torture. Desertions, however, continued, and Cao Cao wanted to make the punishment heavier, while implicating also the father, mother and brothers of any deserter.⁷¹

Gao Rou, however, argued, "Deserters must certainly be punished. But I have heard that they very often regret their action, and I suggest that in

future we let their wives and children go free. For one thing, this would encourage them to return to their units.

"If we keep the same rule as before, it removes any expectation they may be pardoned, but if you increase the penalty I fear that when soldiers see one of their comrades desert they will be afraid the executions may soon affect them too; and they will all run away. Even if you wish to kill, they will no longer be there. Heavier punishments will not end desertions; instead, they make the problem worse!"

"Right!" agreed Cao Cao. So he stopped, and did not kill.⁷²

NOTES to Jian'an 19: 214

- A *SGZ* 9, 271 (7a–8a), the Biography of Xiahou Yuan;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 946 (12a) PC quoting *Dian lue*.
- 1 Commentary to the Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 113/23, 3517, and *HHS* 110/20, 3431, gives the official distance from Hanyang commandery to Luoyang as two thousand *li*, with Ye city, capital of Wei commandery, a further seven hundred *li* northwest of Luoyang. In fact the first distance appears exaggerated; the total distance from this area of present-day southern Gansu to Ye city was about one thousand kilometres, so at the approximation of two *li* to the kilometre, four thousand *li* for the return journey was a fair figure.
- 2 Xianqin and Lueyang counties in Hanyang commandery lay north of the Wei River. Xianqin was near Qin'an in Gansu, and Lueyang was immediately east of Xianqin.
- 3 *SGZ* 9 here has twenty rather than thirty *li*.
- 4 On Xingguo see note 25 to Jian'an 18.
- 5 The Changli River is identified as the Wating River, which joins the Wei River from the north near present-day Tianshui: *SJZ* 17, 6a.
- 6 The Shaodang tribe of the Qiang had been notable for its rebellions during Later Han: *e.g.* de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 78–86, 118–121, and 165.
- 7 Gaoping county was in Anding commandery, by present-day Guyuan in Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region. On the Chuge, or Xiuchuge, a troublesome group of the Xiongnu, see note 18 to Chuping 4. Xiahou Yuan had now extended his and Cao Cao's authority almost two hundred kilometres north of the Wei.

[Ja 19: 214]

- B *SGZ* 1, 43 (103b), the Biography of Cao Cao.
- 8 *SGZ* 1 records that in the first month of this year Cao Cao undertook for the first time the ceremony of ploughing the sacred field (*geng jitian*), privilege of an independent ruler.
- 9 *HHS* 120/30, 3666, the Treatise of Carriages and Robes, describes the Cap for Long Journeys (*yuanyou guan*) and identifies it as one of the insignia of a king under Han. A simpler model of the imperial Cap Which Reaches Heaven (*tongtian guan*), the Cap for Long Journeys was a bonnet nine *cun* inches high [about 20 cm] with a broad panel at the front and a band with ribbons about the head.

The Treatise at 3674 says that the colour of the ribbon of a king was red, while the commentary of Liu Zhao quotes the fourth/fifth century scholar Xu Guang, who says that royal seals were gold.

So Cao Cao's new insignia were not out of the ordinary for his exceptional rank. Mansvelt Beck, however, in *Treatises*, 226–268, observes that the system recorded in Treatise of Carriages and Robes bears little necessary relation to actual custom and practice. The Treatise, indeed, may be based upon Cao Cao's precedent, rather than Cao Cao's choice upon the formulae of Han.

[Ja 19: 214]

C *HHS* 9, 387 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

10 Predictably, while the Annals in *HHS* 9 have no reference to the royal honours awarded Cao Cao, this drought and rain are not mentioned in *SGZ* 1. There is no reference to the rain at the relevant place in the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 105/15, 3312, nor to drought in *HHS* 103/13, 3280. Commentary to the latter passage, however, quotes *Xiandi qijuzhu*, which does report drought in the fourth month and, as Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 148–148, points out, the list of portents compiled by Sima Biao does not reflect all those recorded as significant by the offices of Han.

[Ja 19: 214]

D *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), 1276 (24b–25b), the Biography of Lü Meng;
SGZ 55 (Wu 10), 1294 (15a), the Biography of Gan Ning.

11 Cao Cao had largely withdrawn from the region of Lujiang in the previous year, and Huan city was the only major position he maintained: passage B of Jian'an 18. We do not know whether Zhu Guang was appointed at that time or earlier, but he was evidently attempting at least to confirm border control in this region.

The biography of Lü Meng in *SGZ* 54, 1275, tells how, a year or so earlier, Cao Cao made a similar attempt to have one of his officers establish himself about Huan city and press southwards into Qichun. Lü Meng, however, as Prefect of Xunyang (note 14 below), drove him away.

12 The character *lian* describes a piece of silk used as a rope for climbing.

13 The place-name Jiashi appears in *SGZ* 54 as Jiakou. Jiashi was evidently a pass across a ridge of the Dabie Shan north of Huan city, and Jiakou was the mouth of the pass. *ZZTJ* commentary says that the pass lay west of the Song city of Dongcheng: it was probably on the Huan [or Wan] River, below Tianzhu Mountain in Anhui.

Many years later, in 228, an army commanded by the WEI general Cao Xiu was heavily defeated and almost destroyed by Wu troops under Lu Xun: *e.g.* *SGZ* 14, 452 (34b); de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 440. The place thus became the effective border between the two rival states.

14 Lü Meng had been appointed Prefect of Xunyang in 209: passage H of Jian'an 14; see also note 11 above. Xunyang county was in Lujiang commandery of Later Han, north of the Yangzi by present-day Guangji in Hubei.

It would appear now, after two failed attempts by Cao Cao to establish and maintain a position at Huan city, that the site was for the time being abandoned. So Lü Meng, now nominally Grand Administrator, held control only over the southernmost county of the Han commandery, but he was responsible for defence of the frontier across the no-man's land

which extended to the valley of the Huai, with Hefei as an outpost of WEI in Jiujiang commandery.

[Ja 19: 214]

- E SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 882 (22b), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 35 (Shu 5), 916 (9b), the Biography of Zhuge Liang;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 943 (7a–b), the Biography of Zhang Fei;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 949 (16a), the Biography of Zhao Yun.
- 15 Yan Yan had protested at Liu Zhang's invitation to Liu Bei: passage O of Jian'an 16.
Badong commandery had been divided from the territory of Later Han Ba commandery, and occupied the region of the Yangzi valley upstream from the Gorges. Truncated Ba commandery, based upon Jiangzhou, present-day Chongqing, controlled the lower reaches of the Jialing Jiang and the valley of the Yangzi about the junction with that stream. See de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 364–366, Wu Zengjin, *Sanguo junxian biao*, 2920–2922, and note 12 of Jian'an 18.
- 16 Jianwei commandery under Later Han extended either side of the Yangzi above the junction with the Jialing at present-day Chongqing, and northwards towards Chengdu. Its capital was at Wuyang, by present-day Pengshan on the Min River, some fifty kilometres south of Chengdu.
Jiangyang county was by present-day Luzhou in Sichuan, on the junction with the Tuo Jiang, then known as the Luo or Yu. The county, formerly subordinate to Jianwei, had about this time been established as the centre of a new commandery controlling the lower valley of the Luo/Yu and the related reach of the Yangzi; the rump of Jianwei covered a stretch of the Luo/Yu, and, more substantially, the valley of the Min River below Chengdu.
ZZTJ commentary explains the term Outer River [or Rivers] (*wai shui*) as referring to the Min and Tuo complexes. These rivers, like the Fu and its tributary the Zidong, rise in the present-day Min Shan massif about the Longmen range and Maoni peak in the northwest of Sichuan and flow south to join the Yangzi. Viewed from Chengdu, the Fu and Zidong, closer to the heartland, were "Inner" (*nei*), while the Min and Tuo were "Outer." See also note 12 to Jian'an 18.
The reinforcements from Jing province, therefore, under the overall command of Zhuge Liang, had advanced up the Yangzi and taken Jiangzhou. From there Zhao Yun was sent southwest up the main stream, first against Jiangyang and then, turning north, against Jianwei, to approach Liu Zhang's position at Chengdu from the south. The original text of SGZ 36, 949, does not mention Jianwei commandery specifically, but it does say that Zhao Yun joined up again with Zhuge Liang at Chengdu. He must have travelled through that territory, and Sima Guang makes the interpolation.
- 17 Baxi commandery at this time, with its capital at Langzhong, controlled the valleys of the Jialing Jiang and its tributary the Ba: passage N of Jian'an 17, and *cf.* note 15 above. Deyang county, near present-day Suining in Sichuan, was in the south of Guanghan commandery, on the Fu River northwest of the junction with the Jialing at Dianjiang, present-day Hechuan.
Neither Deyang nor Baxi are mentioned in the biography of Zhang Fei at SGZ 36, 943, where we are told only that he was successful everywhere he fought. SGZ 35, 916, says only that Zhuge Liang and his colleagues divided their forces to settle the various commanderies and counties, then joined the siege of Chengdu.

SGZ 41 (Shu 11), 1011, however, tells how Zhang Yi fought Zhang Fei unsuccessfully at Deyang, then retreated to join Liu Zhang at Chengdu. Sima Guang has taken up this reference, but Deyang and Baxi may be presented out of order. Most probably Zhang Fei accompanied Zhuge Liang as far as Deyang, where he commanded the assault on Zhang Yi's position. Then, leaving Zhuge Liang with the main force to move forward and join Liu Bei at Chengdu, Zhang Fei took a separate expedition up the Jialing Jiang to deal with Baxi commandery.

[Ja 19: 214]

- F SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 882 (22b–23a), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 956 (7b), the Biography of Pang Tong;
SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 959–10 (10b–13a), the Biography of Fa Zheng.
- 18 The biography of Pang Tong says he was leader of an assault force when he was killed, and describes how Liu Bei and Zhuge Liang mourned and honoured him.
- 19 The text of this long and eloquent letter is preserved in Fa Zheng's biography. We are not in fact told whether Liu Zhang replied, but Sima Guang evidently assumes that silence here means contempt.
- 20 SGZ 32, 882, says the city fell in the summer of this year.
- 21 This statement is adapted from the relevant biographies, cited in passage E above.

[Ja 19: 214]

- G SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 946 (11b–12a), the Biography of Ma Chao;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 946 (12a) PC quoting *Dian lue*.
- 22 On Zhang Lu's previous support, and his more recent disillusionment with Ma Chao, see passages H to K of Jian'an 18.
- 23 An Investigator was a commandery official sent out from the headquarters to supervise subordinate counties: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 97 and de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 50. *ZZTJ* commentary observes that in 225 the Han commandery of Yizhou was divided, and a part was renamed as Jianning: SGZ 33 (Shu 3), 894. It is suggested that Jianning is an anachronistic reference to Yizhou commandery.

[Ja 19: 214]

- H SGZ 31 (Shu 1), 869–70 (13a–b), the Biography of Liu Zhang;
SGZ 38 (Shu 8), 971 (12a), the Biography of Jian Yong.
- 24 Jian Yong, from the same commandery as Liu Bei, was an old and trusted follower. SGZ 38, 971, tells us that Liu Zhang had become friends with him when Liu Bei first came into Yi province. That was why he was chosen for the embassy.
- 25 Liu Zhang had been awarded the title General Who Inspires Awe by Cao Cao in 208, shortly before the Red Cliffs: SGZ 31, 868.

[Ja 19: 214]

- I SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 882 (22b–23a), the Biography of Liu Bei;
SGZ 35 (Shu 5), 916 (9b), the Biography of Zhuge Liang;
SGZ 39 (Shu 9), 979 (1b), the Biography of Dong He;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 946 (12b), the Biography of Ma Chao;
SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 960 (14a), the Biography of Fa Zheng;
SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 948 (14a), the Biography of Huang Zhong;
SGZ 38 (Shu 8), 969 (11a), the Biography of Mi Zhu;
SGZ 38 (Shu 8), 971 (12a), the Biography of Jian Yong;

SGZ 38 (Shu 8), 970 (12a), the Biography of Sun Qian;
SGZ 43 (Shu 13), 1043 (1b), the Biography of Huang Quan;
SGZ 38 (Shu 8), 966 (7a), the Biography of Xu Jing;
SGZ 40 (Shu 10), 998 (11b), the Biography of Li Yan;
SGZ 38 (Shu 8), 971 (12b), the Biography of Yi Ji;
SGZ 39 (Shu 9), 981 (4a), the Biography of Liu Ba;
SGZ 40 (Shu 10), 995 (7a), the Biography of Peng Yang.

26 Though Chengdu was the capital of Shu commandery, it appears the name refers here to the whole region which Liu Bei had now acquired from Liu Zhang. In these circumstances, in the same fashion as I treat the territory of WEI held by Cao Cao by contrast to the commandery unit of that name (note 9 to Jian'an 18), I now identify references in the text to the area held by Liu Bei as "SHU;" where appropriate, the commandery is indicated as "Shu."

There are contradictions in the accounts of Liu Bei's behaviour after his capture of Chengdu. The preceding passage H says that he restored Liu Zhang's treasure to him, but here we are told that he distributed the bullion of Shu as booty to his chief assistants, and *ZZTJ* commentary suggests this included both public and private property. Passage O below describes looting of the official treasury. One suspects Liu Bei had not decided whether he was an inheritor of Han or simply a leader of brigands.

27 *ZZTJ* here follows the text of *SGZ* 39, 979, which says that Dong He "shared" (*bing*) in the authority (*shu*) over the office of the General of the Left with Zhuge Liang. *SGZ* 35, 916, however, refers to Zhuge Liang as being in sole charge, responsible for government at Chengdu and for maintenance of supplies whenever Liu Bei was away. It seems most likely that Dong He's position was that of an associate or deputy, secondary to that of Zhuge Liang.

The text of *SGZ* 39, 979, actually describes the office controlled by Dong He as that of the General of the Left and the Commander-in-Chief. Liu Bei at this time held only the title of General of the Left. He had been recognised as Acting Commander-in-Chief by Liu Zhang when he first came to Yi province (passage O of Jian'an 16) but might not have used it so soon after overthrowing his sponsor. Liu Bei took the full title of Commander-in-Chief in 219 (*SGZ* 32, 886), and it is probable that the reference to the office of the Commander-in-Chief at this point in Dong He's biography refers in fact to the later time.

On Dong He's earlier career, see passage J and note 34 below.

28 Huang Zhong was a former officer of Liu Biao who joined Liu Bei when he took over the southern commanderies of Jing province after the battle of the Red Cliffs: passage VV of Jian'an 13. Mi Zhu was one of the local officers who invited Liu Bei into Xu province in 194 (passage Z of Xingping 1), and in 196, when Lü Bu took Xiapi and captured Liu Bei's family (passage F of Jian'an 1), Mi Zhu gave his own sister to him, and also supplied servants and treasure for his army: *SGZ* 38 (Shu 8), 969, and note 5 to Jian'an 1.

29 Jian Yong, from Liu Bei's own Zhuo commandery, and Sun Qian were both long-time followers of Liu Bei. On Huang Quan, see passage L below.

30 Xu Jing, a distinguished scholar, had led a difficult and peripatetic life. He was for a time with Dong Zhuo, then escaped to the east, took refuge in the far south, and was recruited from there by Liu Zhang. See also passage N below.

31 Pang Xi, formerly from Henan but now a local leader in Baxi, is mentioned as a Major in the formal announcement to Emperor Xian at the time Liu Bei took title as King of Hanzhong in 219: *SGZ* 32, 884, and passage J of Jian'an 24. He had been an erratic supporter of Liu Zhang and his family: passages Y of Xingping 1, UU of Jian'an 5 and G of Jian'an 6

Li Yan and Fei Guan had been sent by Liu Zhang to command troops against Liu Bei, but surrendered to him instead: passage F of Jian'an 18.

32 Yi Ji had been an officer of Liu Biao in Jing province, and later joined Liu Bei.

33 Peng Yang had held minor office under Liu Zhang's government, but was then slandered and sentenced to exile as a convict (*tuli*) with his head shaven and an iron collar about his neck (*kunqian*): see Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 129 and 130. When Liu Bei came to the west, Peng Yang approached Pang Tong as a patron, and was thus admitted to Liu Bei's counsel.

On Liu Ba, see passage K below.

[Ja 19: 214]

J *SGZ* 39 (Shu 9), 979 (1a–b), the Biography of Dong He.

34 This passage presents a summary of Dong He's biography. He was registered as a man from Nan commandery, but his family came originally from Ba, and he migrated back to the west during the time of troubles at the end of Han. He held county positions in Shu commandery under Liu Zhang, including appointment as Prefect of Chengdu, and he reformed the people by his honest and exemplary conduct. He was transferred to the Dependent State of Badong and then to be Grand Administrator of Yizhou.

[Ja 19: 214]

K *SGZ* 39 (Shu 9), 981 (3a–b), the Biography of Liu Ba;
SGZ 39 (Shu 9), 981–82 (4a) PC quoting *Lingling xianxian zhuan*.

35 This was in 208, after the death of Liu Biao, when Cao Cao invaded Jing province: passage U of Jian'an 13.

36 The city of Linzheng was established as a county about this time. It was on the junction of the Zheng and Lei rivers with the Xiang at present-day Hengyang in Hunan.

Rejecting the invitations of Zhuge Liang and Liu Bei, Liu Ba fled south across the Nan Ling range to the region of present-day Guangdong. From there he evidently intended to take ship along the coast back to the north, but then went instead northwest into Yi province, present-day Sichuan.

[Ja 19: 214]

L *SGZ* 43 (Shu 13), 1043 (1b), the Biography of Huang Quan.

37 Huang Quan had been one of the advisers of Liu Zhang warning against his invitation to Liu Bei: passage L of Jian'an 16.

[Ja 19: 214]

M *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 882–83 (24a), the Biography of Liu Bei.

38 On Fei Guan, cousin and son-in-law of Liu Zhang, see note 16 to Jian'an 18.

Wu Yi was elder brother of the Lady Wu, who had married Liu Zhang's brother Liu Mao. Liu Mao had died some years earlier, and the Lady Wu later became the wife and Empress of Liu Bei: *SGZ* 34 (Shu 4), 906.

39 The list of appointed officials not only indicates Liu Bei's broad generosity and appeal, but also provides a census of the origins of his chief supporters, ranging from his home country in Zhuo commandery of northeast China, through Runan in the south of the North China Plain, to Jing province and now his new allies in this territory of the west.

[Ja 19: 214]

N SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 959–60 (13a–b), the Biography of Fa Zheng.

40 The city of Chengdu, headquarters of Liu Zhang, was also the capital of Shu commandery. Xu Jing held therefore a most trusted position.

SGZ 37, 959, adds that Xu Jing's plan to desert was found out, and it was only because he was himself on the point of surrendering that Liu Zhang did not have Xu Jing executed.

[Ja 19: 214]

O SGZ 39 (Shu 9), 982 (4b) PC quoting *Lingling xianxian zhuan*.

41 Liu Bei had told his troops he had no plans to deal with the contents of Liu Zhang's official treasury, hinting that his men could take what they wanted. The hope of plunder did indeed inspire his army, and as soon as they entered Chengdu his troops accepted the implied invitation to loot.

42 The phrase *zhibo* may be understood as "Value One Hundred," and the new money, whose face was inscribed with those characters, was officially worth a hundred of the established *Wushu* coins of Han. Its weight as specie, however, bore no relation to that.

The new minting allowed Liu Bei to pay his men by an artificial and over-valued currency. To control the consequent inflation, Liu Ba's plan provided for price controls on all basic goods, enforced by official markets. In the short term, such a policy could be made to work, and it did counter the situation Liu Bei had created by his reckless generosity with official goods and valuables.

A comparable policy of coinage with artificially high denomination had been used by Dong Zhuo: passage U of Chuping 1, and on other occasions during Han. See *Cambridge China I*, 586–587 [Nishijima, "Economic and Social History of Former Han"], and Swann, *Food and Money*, 266–270.

[Ja 19: 214]

P SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 950 (16a) PC quoting *Zhao Yun biezhu*.

43 Huo Qubing was a leading Chinese general of the reign of Emperor Wu at the end of the second century BC, celebrated for his great victory over the Xiongnu in 119 BC. His biography in *SJ* 111, 2939; Watson, *RGH* II, 178, paralleled by *HS* 55, 2488, records how in that year he was offered a residence by the emperor as a reward for his good work, but refused the gift, saying, "The Xiongnu are not yet destroyed. This is no time to think about houses!"

[Ja 19: 214]

Q SGZ 41 (Shu 11), 1007 (1a–b), the Biography of Huo Jun.

44 Yang Ang was one of Zhang Lu's leading military commanders: passage H of Jian'an 18. Zhang Lu evidently hoped to take advantage of the quarrel between Liu Bei and Liu Zhang to extend his territory further south into Yi province.

45 Zitong county was at present-day Zitong, on a tributary of the Fu River. The territory of the commandery, which may have been established already in the time of Liu Zhang, would have covered the northern part of Guanghan commandery of Han. See also note 12 to Jian'an 18.

[Ja 19: 214]

R SGZ 37 (Shu 7), 960 (14a), the Biography of Fa Zheng.

46 This refers to Liu Bei's situation in 209, after the Red Cliffs campaign: e.g. passage H of Jian'an 14. On the forceful Lady Sun, see passage I of Jian'an 14.

47 Xiaozhi was the style of Fa Zheng.

[Ja 19: 214]

S SGZ 35 (Shu 5), 917 (10b–11a) PC: comment by Pei Songzhi himself.

48 This statement appears in *SJ* 8, 362; Chavannes *MH* II, 353, and *HS* 1A, 23; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 58, and also in *HS* 23, 1096; Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 333. At 368–372 note 143 Hulsewé discusses the text in detail, with its later manifestations and interpretations.

According to *HS* 23, the three sections provided simply that those who killed would be put to death, while those who injured or robbed others would be punished in accordance with the seriousness of the crime. In comparison with the excesses, vexations and cruelty of the laws of the former state and empire of Qin, this was regarded as lenient.

49 Fa Zheng is arguing that Liu Bei and Zhuge Liang are new to the province. They should therefore show more respect for local customs and tradition, not enforce alien and arbitrary laws against the people.

50 Here again is contradiction between two passages: immediately above, Zhuge Liang has defended the arbitrary conduct of Fa Zheng; now Pei Songzhi presents an anecdote where Fa Zheng seeks to persuade Zhuge Liang to act more leniently.

51 The tyranny of Qin was a cliché of later Chinese political thought. The "common fellow" referred to here by Zhuge Liang is surely Chen She, first leader of rebellion, whose biography is in *SJ* 48. See, for example, *Cambridge China* I, 83 [Bodde, "State and Empire of Ch'in."

52 On the twenty orders of noble ranks (*jue*) under the Han dynasty, of which the highest was a full marquis, see Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank," Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 214–218, and *Cambridge China* I, 485–486 [Loewe, "Structure and Practice of Government"].

Grant of these ranks was the major system of reward available to government. The lowest could be distributed by a general edict to a broad section of the population, but those of the ninth level and above required specific grants to an individual.

The ranks gave a number of privileges within society, but their most practical value was that they could be used on occasion to reduce liability for taxation, state service, or even punishment for a crime.

Zhuce Liang's policy, therefore, is to enforce the laws harshly at first. When the people have seen how fierce they can be, they will recognise and appreciate any special show of leniency by the government, and they will be glad to have the protection provided by noble ranks. So the government makes itself feared by rigid application of a strict penal code, then gains support and popularity by individual gestures of generosity.

[Ja 19: 214]

T SGZ 44 (Shu 14), 1057 (1a–b), the Biography of Jiang Wan.

53 Guangdu county in Shu commandery was a short distance south of Chengdu.

[Ja 19: 214]

U SGZ 1, 43 (104a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 19, 557 (6a), the Biography of Cao Zhi.

54 Cao Zhi was the third son of Cao Cao by his chief wife the Lady Bian: *SGZ* 20, 579. One of the finest poets of his time, he was greatly admired for his talents.

Born in 192, Cao Zhi was now twenty-three years old by Chinese reckoning. His appointment to formal command in Ye while Cao Cao was absent on campaign matched that of his elder full brother Cao Pi three years before (passage C of Jian'an 16) and Cao

Cao himself encouraged him to regard it as an opportunity to demonstrate his ability (*SGZ* 19, 557). From this there developed a rivalry between the two young men for succession to their father's power.

Linzi was a county in Qi commandery, present-day Linzi in Shandong. Cao Zhi had first been enfeoffed as a marquis in 211, and transferred to this new fief in the present year.

[*Ja* 19: 214]

V *SGZ* 12, 383 (25b), the Biography of Xing Yong;

SGZ 21, 599 (10a), the sub-biography of Liu Zhen,

[cited also in commentary to the Biography of Liu Liang, *HHS* 80/70B, 2640 (8a).

55 Xing Yong, a gentleman of Hejian commandery, followed Tian Chou into the northern wilderness, but joined Cao Cao when he took over Ji province: passage C of Jian'an 12.

Assistant of the Household was the senior position on the personal staff of a full marquis: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 108.

56 Liu Zhen was the grandson of a celebrated scholar, Liu Liang.

Retainer [Bielenstein: Cadet] was a junior member of the personal staff of a marquis.

[*Ja* 19: 214]

W *SGZ* 10, 324–25 (32a–b), the Biography of Xun You;

SGZ 10, 325 (33a) PC quoting *Fuzi*;

SGZ 10, 318 (21b) PC quoting *Xun Yu piezhuan*.

57 Wenruo was the style of Xun Yu; Gongda that of his cousin Xun You. Xun You died as Prefect of the Masters of Writing in WEI; Xun Yu acted as Prefect of the Masters of Writing of Han: passage X of Jian'an 1 and note 104 to Jian'an 13.

[*Ja* 19: 214]

X *SGZ* 1, 44 (105a), the Biography of Cao Cao;

SGZ 9, 271 (8b), the Biography of Xiahou Yuan;

HHS 72/62, 2343 (17b–18a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.

58 Song Jian established his isolated, independent state at the time of the Liangzhou rebellion in 184. Fuhan county was in Longxi commandery of Later Han, by present-day Linxia in Gansu, south of the main stream of the Yellow River. Song Jian took his title from that situation, on the upper reaches of the River as known to China. See also de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 161 and 496 note 45.

59 On Xingguo, see passage A above. On the destruction of Song Jian's kingdom, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 165 and 499 note 60.

60 *SGZ* 9, 271, says that Zhang He also captured the county of Heguan, further up the Yellow River about present-day Guide in Qinghai. From there he crossed the River and the hill country to the north, and entered the valley of the Xining River or Huang Shui, which flows from the high ground by the Koko Nor eastwards to join the Yellow River above present-day Lanzhou.

During Han, this western part of Jincheng commandery was commonly known as Huangzhong. (The prefix xiao "Lesser" appears only in this text of *SGZ* 9, and does not seem to have any particular significance.)

The phrase "west of the River" (hexi) refers generally to the whole region of the Xining valley and the hill country surrounding it to the north and the south, being north and west of the main stream of the Yellow River. The term could also refer further to the commanderies of Wuwei, Zhangye, Jiuquan and Dunhuang, which lay along the present-

day Gansu panhandle, and *SGZ* 1, 44, says indeed that Liang province as a whole was pacified. In fact, however, these further territories had long been isolated from China by the effects of the Liangzhou rebellion.

Furthermore, though it is true that the lands west of Long Mountain were now quiet, with no rival to the authority of Cao Cao's forces, there was also no effective occupation of the region. The counties of Fuhan and Heguan were not restored, while at the beginning of the following year Cao Cao abolished all the commanderies of the Ordos region: *SGZ* 1, 45; de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 352. Only in 222 did the government of Cao Cao's son and successor Cao Pi establish control of Wuwei and the other northwestern commanderies and restore connection with central Asia: e.g. *SGZ* 2, 79, also de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 165–167, with notes at 498–500.

[Ja 19: 214]

Y *HHS* 10B, 453–54 (12a–13a), the Biography of the Empress Fu;
SGZ 1, 44 (105a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 1, 44 (105b–106a) PC quoting *Cao Man zhuan*.

61 On the Emperor's entry to Xu city under Cao Cao's protection, see passage Q of Jian'an 1. The death of Zhao Yan is mentioned in a proclamation of Yuan Shao in 200, so it must have taken place before that time: *HHS* 74/64A, 2396.

62 The Guards Rapid as Tigers were imperial body-guards. The ostentatious precaution of naked swords was because of the exceptional combined authority of an Excellency, leader in civil administration, with practical military command. Cao Cao, of course, was in precisely that powerful situation.

On the other hand, no matter what the traditions of Han, it seems strange that Cao Cao should allow himself to be placed in such a dangerous and humiliating position before his puppet ruler. One must doubt the truth of the story.

63 See passages AA of Jian'an 4 and A of Jian'an 5.

64 On Fu Wan, see also note 20 to Jian'an 17.

65 The month is given by *SGZ* 1 and *HHS* 9, 388. *HHS* 9 dates the incident precisely to the *dingmao* day, 8 January 215.

On Chi Lü, see note 23 to Jian'an 13.

66 Hua Xin was the former Grand Administrator of Yuzhang who was captured by Sun Ce and then sent to Cao Cao by Sun Quan: passages T of Jian'an 4 and RR of Jian'an 5. He replaced Xun Yu as Prefect of the Masters of Writing of Han after Xun Yu's death in 212: *SGZ* 13, 403. His biography in *SGZ* 13 contains no reference to this brutality against the Empress Fu.

67 "To pine away" (*yi you si*) can be a euphemism for enforced suicide.

68 *HHS* 10B, 454, says that the Empress's mother and some other relatives were not killed but were sent into exile in Zhuo commandery.

[Ja 19: 214]

Z *SGZ* 1, 44 (106a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

69 Cao Cao had left Ye in the autumn to campaign against Sun Quan south of the Yangzi: passage U above. There had since, however, been several distractions.

Cao Cao was probably at Xu city for the interview with the Emperor described by passage V above, and he there arranged for the arrest and execution of the Empress Fu. Now, following the success of Xiahou Yuan's campaign in the far west, he turned in that

direction to attack Zhang Lu: passages X above and B of Jian'an 20. Mengjin, the city by the Meng Crossing of the Yellow River north of Luoyang, was on the road.

[Ja 19: 214]

AA *SGZ* 24, 683–84 (11a–b), the Biography of Gao Rou.

70 As *ZZTJ* commentary observes, there had been no Department of Justice in the offices of the Three Excellencies under the system of Later Han. *SGZ* 1, 44, quotes two ordinances of Cao Cao, dated to this twelfth month, which justify the new structure by the need to provide policy advice to the executive, and more particularly by the need for good officials to oversee the operation of military law. The matter of desertions, which Gao Rou discusses immediately below, was obviously an appropriate question to refer to this new office.

71 On the general principle of implication of relatives in Han tradition, see, for example, Hulsewé, *RHL* 1, 112ff.

Though *ZZTJ* presents this as a theoretical debate about policy, *SGZ* 24 explains that the question arose from a specific case. A group of bandsmen (*guchui*) had deserted the garrison at Hefei, and one of them, whose name was Song Jin, had a mother, a wife and two younger brothers, all of whom were liable for the death penalty under the new arrangements.

72 In fact *SGZ* 24 says only that Cao Cao did not kill Song Jin's mother and younger brothers. We are not told the fate of Song Jin's wife, but must assume she suffered the full rigour of the law.

SGZ 24 does add, however, that as a result of Gao Rou's argument on this matter, great numbers of people were saved from the death penalty.

Jian'an 20: 215 AD

[17 February 215 – 5 February 216]

2135

A In the spring, in the first month, on the day *jiazi* [6 Mar] the Honoured Lady Cao [Jie] was established as Empress. She was the daughter of Duke Cao of WEI.¹

B In the third month Duke Cao of WEI took command of the campaign against Zhang Lu. He planned to advance through Wudu into the territory of the Di barbarians, but the Di people had blocked the roads. Zhang He, Zhu Ling and others were sent to attack and defeat them.

In the summer, in the fourth month Cao Cao came from Chencang through the San Pass and reached Hechi.² Doumao, King of the Di, with an following over ten thousand men, relied on the difficulties of the terrain and refused to submit. In the fifth month [Cao Cao's forces] attacked the barbarians and slaughtered them.

The leaders in Xiping and Jincheng, Qu Yan, Jiang Shi and others, cut off Han Sui's head and sent it to Cao Cao.³

C Before this, when Liu Bei was still in Jing province, Zhou Yu, Gan Ning and others had often urged Sun Quan to take over SHU.⁴ Sun Quan sent messengers to Liu Bei to say, "Liu Zhang is not a fighting man, and he cannot hold his position for long. If Cao Cao takes SHU, then Jing province will be in danger. I want to attack Liu Zhang first, and when I have dealt with him I shall go on to Zhang Lu. Once the south is united, then even if there were ten of Cao Cao we would have nothing to worry about."⁵

"The people of Yi province are prosperous," replied Liu Bei, "and their territory is difficult to approach. Liu Zhang is weak, but he is well able to hold his place. To lead an army into the open country of Shu commandery and Hanzhong, with lines of communication over ten thousand *li*, then conquer the whole province all without a reverse, this is something Sun Wu and Wu Qi would have found difficult.⁶

"Since Cao Cao was unsuccessful at the Red Cliffs, your advisers argue that his power is in decline and he can no longer hold any ambition the for more distant regions. But Cao Cao still holds two-thirds of the empire, and he plans to water his horses at the ocean shore and review his troops in Wu and Kuaiji. Why should he be willing just to keep what he has and wait for old age?

"Furthermore, if allies attack one another without good reason, they are giving Cao Cao a lever and letting the enemy take advantage from their quarrel. This is not a far-sighted plan.

2136 "Besides, Liu Zhang and I belong to the same clan, and we hope to use the authority and inspiration of our ancestors to revive the house of Han. If Liu Zhang has offended you, then I very much regret it. I would not presume to become involved in this matter, but I do ask you to be lenient."

Sun Quan would not agree, and he sent Sun Yu with a fleet to Xiakou. Liu Bei refused to let the army pass, saying to Sun Yu, "If you insist on taking SHU, then I go with dishevelled hair to the mountains. I cannot lose faith before the empire."

He stationed Guan Yu at Jiangling, Zhang Fei at Zigui and Zhuge Liang in Nan commandery, while he himself stayed at Chanling. Sun Quan had no choice but to call Sun Yu back.⁷

Later, when Liu Bei went west to attack Liu Zhang, Sun Quan said, "Cunning slave, that he should dare a trick like this!"

Liu Bei left Guan Yu to hold Jiangling, and Lu Su had borders touching Guan Yu's territory. Guan Yu was constantly on guard against treachery, but Lu Su always acted in the most friendly fashion.

[Ja20:215]

D Now that Liu Bei had taken Yi province, Sun Quan sent Zhuge Jin, his Major Attached to Headquarters,⁸ to ask Liu Bei to hand back the commanderies of Jing. Liu Bei, however, would not agree, explaining that, "I am just making plans for Liang province. When that territory is settled, I shall return you the whole of Jing province."

"This is borrowing and not paying back," said Sun Quan.⁹ "He just wants to gain time with empty excuses." He appointed officials for the three commanderies of Changsha, Lingling and Guiyang, but Guan Yu drove them away. Sun Quan was extremely angry, and he sent Lü Meng with twenty thousand soldiers to seize the three commanderies.

Lü Meng sent letters to Changsha, Lingling and Guiyang, and all who saw how things were going came to submit. Only the Grand Administrator of Lingling, He Pu, held to his city and would not surrender.¹⁰

Liu Bei heard of the situation. He came himself from SHU to Gong'an, and he sent Guan Yu to fight for the three commanderies. Sun Quan came forward to Lukou and took general command of his forces. Lu Su was sent with ten thousand men to camp at Yiyang and face Guan Yu, while a letter was dispatched post-haste to Lü Meng that he should leave Lingling and come back quickly to help Lu Su.¹¹

2137 When Lü Meng received the letter, he kept it secret. That night he called his officers and told them his plans: at dawn he would attack Lingling. Then he turned to a former client of He Pu, Deng Xuanzhi from Nanyang, and said to him, "He Zitai has heard tales of loyalty and honour,¹² and he hopes to emulate them. He does not realise, however, the situation he is dealing with.

"Now the General of the Left [Liu Bei] is besieged in Hanzhong by Xiahou Yuan, Guan Yu is in Nan commandery and our lord [Sun Quan] is close upon him. In both places [Hanzhong and Nan commandery] their fortunes hang in the balance, and even to survive requires more energy than they can afford. How can they possibly find extra resources to deal with this part of the world?¹³

"I have reckoned my forces and made careful plans for attack. The city will fall in less than a day. When the city is destroyed and He Pu is dead, what use is that to anyone? And isn't it sad that his mother, now approaching the age of a hundred years, may be done to death at the same time?"

"I do not believe his people have heard anything from outside. They thought they would be relieved, but now they have come to this. You go and see him, and tell him what will happen."

Deng Xuanzhi saw He Pu and presented all Lü Meng's arguments. He Pu was afraid, so he came out to surrender. Lü Meng welcomed him and took his hand and they went down into a boat together. When they finished their conference, Lü Meng took out the letter and showed it to him, clapping his hands and roaring with laughter. When He Pu saw the letter and realised Liu Bei was at Gong'an and Guan Yu at Yiyang, he was so angry and ashamed he wished the ground would swallow him.

Lü Meng left Sun He [*i.e.* Sun Jiao?] to take charge of affairs at Lingling,¹⁴ and that same day he led his army back to Yiyang.

[Ja20:215]

E Lu Su wanted to talk with Guan Yu. His officers suspected a trick, and advised him not to go, but Lu Su said, "At times like these, men should be prepared to face one another. Liu Bei owes a great deal to our state, rights and wrongs are not yet decided, and how could Guan Yu reject our good will?"

So he invited Guan Yu to a meeting. Each side halted their troops, the generals came forward a hundred paces and met alone, armed only with swords.

Lu Su criticised the refusal to hand back the three commanderies. Guan Yu replied, "In the campaign at Wulin the General of the Left fought himself in the ranks, destroying the powerful and defeating the enemy.¹⁵ Why should he give such toil for nothing, and receive not a single clod of earth? Yet you come and want to take his territory."

"Quite untrue," replied Lu Su. "When I first met Yuzhou [Liu Bei] at the Chang Slope, his forces were no more than a colonel's command, he was at the end of his resources and he was desperately worried. His hopes were down, his power was weak, and he was planning to creep off and go far away. He had completely lost heart.¹⁶

"My master had pity for Yuzhou, that he had no place to rest. He was generous with land and fighting men, and gave [Liu Bei] everything he needed to protect himself and to relieve his danger.

2138 "But now Yuzhou is acting selfishly. He glosses over facts, he offends virtue and he disregards good conduct. He has already put his hand on the western province, and now he wants to take Jing territory as well. Even the most ordinary fellow would be ashamed, still more so a ruler who should arrange and order men and affairs!" Guan Yu had no reply.

F About this time news came that Duke Cao of WEI was moving against Hanzhong.¹⁷ Liu Bei was afraid he might lose Yi province, so he sent messengers to ask Sun Quan for peace. Sun Quan sent Zhuge Jin in an embassy of reply, and they renewed their covenant of goodwill. Jing province was divided, with the Xiang River as the border: Changsha, Jiangxia, and Guiyang to the east were under Sun Quan, while Nan commandery, Lingling and Wuling to the west remained with Liu Bei.¹⁸

G Though Zhuge Jin was frequently sent on embassies to SHU, he spoke with his younger brother Liang only in public assemblies, and he never sought a private meeting.¹⁹

[Ja20:215]

H In the autumn, in the seventh month Duke Cao of WEI came to Yangping. Zhang Lu was prepared to surrender Hanzhong but his younger brother Wei would not agree. He led several ten thousand men to guard the pass, and he built almost ten // of fortifications across the mountains.²⁰

Cao Cao had relied on reports from Attendant Officials of Liang province and from men surrendered in Wudu, who told him that "It is easy to attack Zhang Lu. The mountain ridges north and south of Yangping are a long way apart, and the pass is indefensible." Cao Cao believed them, but when he got there the place was quite different to the way they had said. "When other people discuss plans," he sighed, "they seldom see things the way one does oneself."

He attacked the camps in the Yangping hills, but the slopes were steep and difficult to climb and they failed to take them on the first assault. Many of the soldiers were killed or wounded, and the supplies for the army were exhausted. Cao Cao's plans were spoilt, and all he had left to do was draw back his men, leave a defence line behind him, and retreat. He sent his General-in-Chief Xiahou Dun and the General Xu Chu to call the soldiers from the hills.

2139 But the advance guard got lost in the dark, and they came by mistake upon one of Zhang Wei's pickets. In the confusion, the defenders scattered and fled. The Palace Attendant Xin Pi, with the Master of Records Liu Ye and others at the rear of these troops reported back to Xiahou Dun and Xu Chu that, "Our government troops have taken the chief camps of the enemy, and the rebels are running away." The generals could not believe it.

Xiahou Dun, however, went up to look for himself, then he came back and told Cao Cao, so they sent soldiers forward to attack Zhang Wei. Zhang Wei and his officers fled during the night.

When Zhang Lu heard that Yangping had fallen, he wanted to surrender. Yan Pu, however, advised him, "If you go now, under pressure, there will be no great credit for it. The best thing to do is join [the barbarian leaders] Duhu and Fuhu.²¹ Oppose Cao Cao together, then send tribute. He will be all the more pleased when you do submit." So they fled through the southern hills into the lands of Ba.²²

2140 Zhang Lu's attendants were going to burn all the stores of treasure and grain, but Zhang Lu said, "It is my real intention to hand over government to central authority, but I have not yet been able to arrange it. I am fleeing now to escape sharp weapons, but I have no wish to make trouble. Treasure and granaries are the property of the state." So he sealed up the stores and went away. When Cao Cao entered Nanzheng he was extremely pleased. Realising Zhang Lu meant well, he sent messengers to put his mind at ease.

I Sima Yi, Master of Records to the Chancellor, said to Cao Cao, "Liu Bei has captured Liu Zhang by deceit and force, and the people of SHU are not yet attached to him. Now that he is fighting far away in Jiangling,²³ this is too good a chance to miss. You have conquered Hanzhong, and Yi province is trembling. Send your soldiers against them, and their position will disintegrate. The sage does not oppose the time, and he cannot let such opportunity slip." "A man who cannot be satisfied," remarked Cao Cao, "will get Long and look to Shu."²⁴

J Liu Ye argued,²⁵ "Liu Bei is a hero among men and has the generosity of a ruler, but he has come a little late. He has only held SHU for a few days, and the people do not yet trust him. Now that you have destroyed Hanzhong, everyone in SHU will be shaken and frightened and their power will fall of its own accord. With your spiritual wisdom, taking advantage of their weakness to destroy them, there is nothing you cannot manage.

"If, on the other hand, you hesitate even a short time, then his Chancellor Zhuge Liang knows how to bring a state to good order, while his military commanders Guan Yu and Zhang Fei have courage excelling all others. Soon the people of SHU will be settled, and they will hold the passes and guard the important positions. We would never be able to attack them. Unless we take them now, they will surely cause trouble later." Cao Cao would not agree.

They stayed seven days, and the men from SHU that surrendered reported that, "During a single day in SHU there are scores of alarms, and though the officers on guard behead the troublemakers they cannot set the people at peace." Cao Cao asked Liu Ye, "Can we still attack them?" but Liu Ye replied, "They are already settling down again. You cannot attack." So the army went back.

[Ja20:215]

K Xiahou Yuan was appointed General Chief Protector, with command over Zhang He, Xu Huang and others to hold Hanzhong,²⁶ while the Chief Clerk to the Chancellor Du Xi became Chief Commandant of Attendant Cavalry, responsible for administration. Du Xi gave peace and encouragement, and more than eighty thousand of the people were glad to migrate to Luoyang and Ye.²⁷

2141

L In the eighth month Sun Quan led a hundred thousand men to besiege Hefei.²⁸ Zhang Liao, Li Dian and Yu Jin had a total combined force of some seven thousand men stationed at that city.

When Duke Cao of WEI went to attack Zhang Lu, he sent an envelope of instructions to Xue Ti, Protector of the Army at Hefei, marked on the outside, "Should enemies approach, open this." As Sun Quan came near, they opened the envelope and read, "If Sun Quan comes, Generals Zhang and Li go out to fight, General Yue keeps guard, the Protector of the Army does not fight."²⁹

The officers considered their men too few to match the enemy, and they were very doubtful about such a plan. Zhang Liao said, "Our lord is on campaign far away, and by the time help comes the enemy will surely have destroyed us. This letter is to remind us that if we attack them before they have surrounded the city, we shall reduce their early strength and raise the morale of our own troops. Then we can hold out." Yu Jin and the others made no reply.

Zhang Liao became angry and said, "Victory or defeat depend on this one battle. If you are all so hesitant, I shall settle it alone."

Li Dian, formerly an enemy of Zhang Liao, now supported him with enthusiasm, "This is a great affair of state. When I see you planning like this, how can I maintain a personal grudge and neglect the public good? I beg to follow you in the sortie."

Zhang Liao called for volunteers and obtained eight hundred soldiers. He killed oxen and held a feast at night.

Next day, wearing armour and carrying a two-point lance, Zhang Liao was first to break the enemy lines. He killed several dozen men, took off the heads of two high officers, and gave a great shout to make known his name. He crossed the rampart and came to Sun Quan's standard. Sun Quan, very startled, could not think what to do, but ran to a high mound and defended himself with a long lance.

Zhang Liao called on him to come down and fight, but Sun Quan dared not move. Then he looked again and, seeing how few troops Zhang Liao had with him, he surrounded him with several rings of men. Zhang Liao attacked fiercely, broke the encirclement and made his escape with a few score soldiers still following his standard. The remainder of his men cried out, however, "Does our general abandon us?" So Zhang Liao returned to the fight, charged the ring and brought out the rest of his company.

All Sun Quan's men and horses were scattered and none dared face Zhang Liao. They fought from morning to midday, and the men from WU lost heart.³⁰ They went back to reorganise their defences, and so the hearts of the [WEI] forces were set at ease.

Sun Quan stayed at Hefei for more than ten days, but the city resisted all assaults and he was finally obliged to retreat.

M As the army was on the march, Sun Quan and his officers were halted north of the Xiaoyao Crossing.³¹ Zhang Liao was watching, and when he saw them he led horse and foot in a swift attack. Gan Ning, Lü Meng and others fought strongly to hold the enemy off. Ling Tong led Companions to help Sun Quan break out from the circle,³² and then returned to fight Zhang Liao. All about him were killed and he himself was wounded. When he judged that Sun Quan must have escaped he made his way back.

2142 Sun Quan rode a swift horse to the bridge of the crossing, but the southern end had broken down, and there was a gap over ten feet wide. The Inspector of Companions Gu Li was following him. He told Sun Quan to

grasp the saddle and reins, while he used a whip to urge on the horse from behind, and so they managed to get across. He Qi led three thousand men to the southern bank to meet Sun Quan, and he thus made his escape.

Sun Quan gave a feast aboard one of his warships. He Qi got down from his mat and wept and said, "Your honour is a ruler of men. You should always be heavily guarded. In today's affair, when you almost came to misfortune, your servants were fearful as if Heaven and Earth were falling. We beg you to take this as warning for a lifetime." Sun Quan came forward and wiped his tears for him, saying, "I am grateful and ashamed. Caution is now engraved on my heart, not just written on a girdle."³³

[Ja20:215]

N In the ninth month the leaders of the Zong people [and of seven clans] of Ba, Fuhu, Duhu and Ren Yue, brought their forces to join Cao Cao. Then Cao Cao divided Ba commandery, appointing Fuhu as Grand Administrator of Badong, Duhu as Grand Administrator of Baxi, while Ren Yue became Grand Administrator of [the rump] Ba commandery. All were enfeoffed as marquises.³⁴

In the winter, in the tenth month there were for the first time appointed Marquises of Title, as a reward for military service.³⁵

O In the eleventh month Zhang Lu came with his family and followers to surrender. Duke Cao of WEI welcomed him and appointed him General Who Maintains the South in Peace, treating him with the courtesy of a guest. He enfeoffed him as Marquis of Langzhong with an appanage of ten thousand households,³⁶ and he also awarded marquises to Zhang Lu's five sons, to Yan Pu and some others.

P Xi Zuochi discusses it:³⁷

Yan Pu advised Zhang Lu not to take the title of king,³⁸ and Cao Cao remembered this and enfeoffed him. What man of the future will not be inspired to follow the right Way?

2143 Dam the source, and the furthest end of the stream will cease to flow: surely this is the meaning of it!³⁹

If, on the other hand, the ruler fails to appreciate this, praising only men of physical bravery,⁴⁰ and reserving great

fiefs and rich rewards for his men of war, then people will find advantage in disorder, they will learn to compete in fighting and killing, and they will rely on military might and trust to strength. In such a case, shields and weapons will never be put away.

When Lord Cao enfeoffed Yan Pu, we may say that he showed true understanding of the bases for rewards and punishments.⁴¹

- Q Cheng Yin, Hou Xuan and Pang De all came with Zhang Lu to surrender.⁴² Duke Cao of WEI restored Cheng Yin and Hou Xuan to official rank, and appointed Pang De as General Who Supports Righteousness.

[Ja20:215]

- R When Zhang Lu fled to the territory of Ba, Huang Quan said to Liu Bei, "Once we lose Hanzhong, the Three Ba will be in danger, and this would cut off the rump and back of SHU."⁴³ So Liu Bei appointed Huang Quan as Protector of the Army, to take command of all the forces there and receive Zhang Lu.

Zhang Lu had already surrendered, but Huang Quan attacked Fuhu, Duhu and Ren Yue and destroyed them.⁴⁴

- S Duke Cao of WEI sent Zhang He to take command of operations in the region of the Three Ba, and he intended to shift their people into Hanzhong.

Zhang He brought his army forward to Dangqu,⁴⁵ and Liu Bei sent Zhang Fei, as Grand Administrator of Baxi, to face him. After almost two months Zhang Fei caught Zhang He with a surprise attack and completely defeated him. Zhang He retreated to Nanzheng, and Liu Bei went back to Chengdu.

[Ja20:215]

- T Cao Cao collected five thousand men who had formerly served Han Sui, Ma Chao and the other generals [of the northwest], and he put them under the command of Yin Shu, as General Who Pacifies Disorder. The Grand Administrator of [You]fufeng, Zhao Yan, was made Protector of the Army Within the Passes and ordered to raise twelve hundred soldiers to help in the defence of Hanzhong.⁴⁶

Yin Shu was in command of the transfer, but the men were unhappy when the order was given to move. Zhao Yan escorted them as far as the Yegu Pass,⁴⁷ but as soon as he went back, and even before they had reached their camp, Yin Shu's troops mutinied.

Zhao Yan had with him some hundred and fifty footsoldiers and horsemen, all of them relatives or fellow-townsmen of the mutineers. When these heard the news they too became agitated: they put on armour and took up weapons, and they would not calm down. Zhao Yan tactfully explained the situation to them, consoled them and encouraged them. All then responded to him and cried, "For life or death we shall follow the Protector. We would not dare be disloyal." They went forward to the rebel camps.

2144 When a count was made it was found that eight hundred of the mutineers had scattered in the countryside, but Zhao Yan issued orders to "Take only the ringleaders for punishment. Ask nothing of the others." Those who had been captured by the commandery and county administrations were sent back, and all the rest came to give themselves up.

Zhao Yan sent in a secret report, urging that "Someone must go to [Cao Cao's] headquarters and ask for experienced and reliable troops to garrison the lands within the passes." Duke Cao of WEI sent General Liu Zhu with two thousand men, and he ordered that no further transfers be made until these forces had arrived.

When this became known, the whole camp was disturbed, and nothing anyone could say would calm the men. So Zhao Yan announced, "We shall choose a thousand good-natured fellows from amongst the newly-joined troops to remain on guard within the passes. The rest will be shifted east."

The officers submitted lists of names of all those in camp. Zhao Yan looked through them and immediately made his selection. Those chosen to stay were quite content, and the ones told off to go did not dare object. Zhao Yan sent them all off down the road on the same day. The thousand men due to remain behind were ordered to escort those who were leaving and keep them in order.

Then Liu Zhu's reinforcements arrived from the east and Zhao Yan was at last able to enforce his orders again. So he shifted the remaining thousand as well, they caught up with the rest and all travelled together. Altogether he transferred more than twenty thousand people.⁴⁸

NOTES to Jian'an 20: 215

A *HHS* 9, 388 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

1 Cao Jie was the second of three daughters of Cao Cao who had entered the imperial harem two years earlier: passage F of Jian'an 18, *HHS* 10B, 455, and *SGZ* 1, 45.

[Ja20:215]

B SGZ 1, 45 (107b–108a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

2 Chencang in Youfufeng was on the Wei River by present-day Baoqi in Shenxi, and the San Pass through the Qin Ling range lay to the southwest. Hechi county in Wudu was by present-day Huixian in Gansu.

The most direct route from the valley of the Wei into Hanzhong was the Baoye Road, which led south from Mei county in Youfufeng up the Ye tributary of the Wei and across the watershed into the valley of the Bao, a northern tributary of the Han: de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 14 and map 2 at 92. This, however, was easy to defend, so Cao Cao made an oblique approach along the old Lianyun "Linked Cloud" Road into Wudu, following the line of the modern Baoqi–Chengdu railway to the upper reaches of the Han, then turning east at the Yangping Pass: passage H below.

3 Xiping commandery had been established about the turn of the century in the upper Xining valley, from the far western part of Jincheng commandery: note 15 to Jian'an 10.

Qu Yan and his family were the leading clan of Xiping. Nothing more is known of Jiang Shi, presumably a local warlord in the rump region of Jincheng. *Dian lue*, quoted in SGZ 1, 45 PC, says Han Sui was over seventy when he was killed.

[Ja20:215]

C SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1271–72 (19b), the Biography of Lu Su;
SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 880 (19b) PC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

4 For Gan Ning's proposal, made at the time he joined Sun Quan in 208, see passage C of Jian'an 13. For Zhou Yu's, presented shortly before his death in 210, see passage F of Jian'an 15.

5 By the general phrase "the south" Sun Quan here indicates, in the east, the lands south of the Yangzi and, in the west, the territory south of the Qin Ling divide. According to *Xiandi chunqiu*, Sun Quan was proposing this enterprise to Liu Bei as a joint venture, not, the way ZZTJ interprets it here, as a campaign he would run on his own.

6 The biographies of Sun Wu and Wu Qi, great generals of the Warring States period, are in *SJ* 65. Sun Wu is credited as author of the book *Sunzi bingfa* "The Art of War," and a similar work is ascribed to Wu Qi.

7 In de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 308–309 note, I suggest this campaign of Sun Yu was never in fact attempted. In practice, once Liu Bei had indicated that he would not accept the idea of an attack against Liu Zhang, his strategic position on the Yangzi made an advance to the west by Sun Quan's forces quite impossible.

In these circumstances, rather than force a confrontation, it seems probable that Sun Quan and Sun Yu never made the attempt. I argue that the humiliating back-down and retreat, as described here and embroidered (with an appearance by the late Zhou Yu, who suffers his final, fatal frustration at the hands of Zhuge Liang), in *Sanguo [zhi] yanji* 57, is quite fictitious.

[Ja20:215]

D SGZ 47 (Wu 2), 1119 (9b–10a), the Biography of Sun Quan;
SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1276–77 (25b–27a), the Biography of Lü Meng.

8 The title held at this time by Zhuge Jin is given by his biography, SGZ 52 (Wu 7), 1231.

9 *Mengzi*, 7A.30; Legge, *CC* II, 466 (Lau, *Mencius*, 188): "If a man borrows something and keeps it long enough, how can one be sure it will not indeed become his?"

On the initial "lending" of territory in Jing province to Liu Bei, see passage G of Jian'an 15.

10 The capital of Lingling commandery was at Quanling, present-day Lingling in Hunan by the junction of the Xiao River with the Xiang.

11 The military position at this stage was that the main forces of Liu Bei at Gong'an and Sun Quan at Lukou, about 150 kilometres apart, opposed one another across the marshlands of the middle Yangzi. Lü Meng was in the far south of the province: he had taken the territory of Changsha and Guiyang, but was now threatened by Guan Yu, moving against him from the north. Lu Su had been sent to Yiyang, present-day Yiyang in Hunan, in an attempt to hold off Guan Yu's move to the south, but his ten thousand men were evidently not enough to maintain that position for long, and he urgently needed the support of Lü Meng, still engaged with He Pu in Lingling.

12 Zitai was the style of He Pu.

13 This is, of course, quite false. Passage F below refers to a potential threat from Cao Cao's forces in the north of Yi province, but Xiahou Yuan at that time was not in action, and Liu Bei was actually in position against Sun Quan in Jing province.

14 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that Sun He had died many years before: passage Q of Jian'an 9. Sima Guang suggests that it may have been another person of the same name. The punctuated edition of *SGZ* at 1507, however, following a suggestion of the scholar Zhu Bangheng, gives the name as Sun Jiao. Sun Jiao, whose biography is in *SGZ* 51 (Wu 6), was a younger brother of Sun Yu, held military command in this region, and was an associate of Lü Meng.

[Ja20:215]

E *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), 1272 (20a–b) PC quoting *Wu shu*.

15 Wulin is another name for the region of the Red Cliffs. Strictly speaking, Wulin, on the northwest bank of the Yangzi, was the site of Cao Cao's camp, while the forces of Sun Quan and Liu Bei had been on the southeast, below the Red Cliffs themselves. See, for example, de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 267, and *Zhongguo shi gao ditu ji* 1, 47.

16 See passage GG of Jian'an 13.

[Ja20:215]

F *SGZ* 47 (Wu 2), 1119–20 (10a), the Biography of Sun Quan.

17 *Kaoyi* commentary observes that the biography of Liu Bei, *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 883, says Liu Bei heard Cao Cao had already taken Hanzhong. As Sima Guang points out, however, Cao Cao's attack on Hanzhong took place in the seventh month (passage H below), and Sun Quan made his unsuccessful attack on Hefei, evidently designed to take advantage of Cao Cao's commitment in the west, in the eighth month (passage L below). For the truce to be agreed upon, and for Liu Bei and Sun Quan to have withdrawn their forces west and east respectively, the news of Cao Cao's invasion, not its successful outcome, must have been critical.

18 On the details of this settlement, by which Sun Quan gained Guiyang and the major part of Changsha, but handed back Lingling commandery so recently seized by Lü Meng, see de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 375–376.

[Ja20:215]

G *SGZ* 52 (Wu 7), 1231–32 (23a), the Biography of Zhuge Jin.

19 On the separation of the two brothers, see passage GG of Jian'an 13.

[Ja20:215]

H SGZ 1, 45 (109a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
SGZ 8, 264–65 (46a–47b), the Biography of Zhang Lu;
SGZ 8, 265 (46a–47a) PC quoting a memorial of Dong Zhao
from *Wei mingchen zou*.

20 SJZ 27, 2a, describes the Yangping Pass on the Jin River, a tributary of the upper Mian [or Han]. The modern Yangpingguan is in the extreme southwest of Shenxi, south of the railroad junction at Lueyang where the north–south line from Baoqi in Shenxi to Chengdu in Sichuan meets the branch eastwards to present–day Hanzhong in Shenxi. The Baoqi–Chengdu railway follows the line of the old Lianyun "Linked Cloud" Road of Han: de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 14.

For a move from the north into Hanzhong, the direct route would be along the Baoye Road south from Mei county on the Wei River, but this could be easily defended. The alternative followed the Lianyun Road, along the line of the modern railway, then turned east in the area of present–day Lueyang to approach Hanzhong commandery from the northwest. See note 2 above.

In the present instance, Cao Cao has crossed the Qin Ling divide south through the San Pass into Wudu commandery. On reaching the area of present–day Lueyang he could either follow the line of the present–day motor–road leading to the upper valley of the Mian/Han River, or he could go further south and then turn east to follow the modern railway. From the reference to Yangping, he followed the latter route, which provides an easier approach. It appears that the name Yangping at this time referred not just to the pass but to the whole of the valley east of present–day Lueyang, to which the modern pass is the southern gateway.

On a later campaign, Liu Bei will advance from the south, upstream along the headwaters of the Jianling, also through the junction at Yangping: *e.g.* passage F of Jian'an 23.

SJZ refers to fortifications at Yangping identified with Zhang Lu; these were presumably the constructions of Zhang Wei.

According to SGZ 1, Zhang Lu sent his brother to oppose Cao Cao. The statement that Zhang Lu was prepared to surrender, while Zhang Wei was the hot–head, follows SGZ 8.

21 Duhu was a leader of the Zong people: note 69 to Jian'an 5. Fuhu was chief of the seven clans of the Banshun people in the Ba region, present–day northern Sichuan; the pronunciation of his name is given by ZZZJ commentary.

There is an Account of the Banshun People in HHS 86/76, 2842–43, the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians. They rebelled for a time in the early 180s (de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 163, 165, 172–173), and during the time of trouble between Zhang Lu and Liu Zhang they had evidently established some independence from Chinese authority.

22 The phrase Bazhong refers to the mountainous region of Ba commandery of Later Han, south of Hanzhong on the upper waters of the Jianling River and its tributaries.

[Ja20:215]

I JS 1, 2, the Biography of Sima Yi.

23 This argument was evidently presented while Liu Bei was still engaged with Sun Quan and his forces in Jing province, before he had the chance to extricate himself and return: passage F above.

24 Long here refers to Long Mountain in present-day Shenxi, Shu to the region of Sichuan. Similar words were used, in a comparable situation, by the founding Emperor Guangwu of Later Han to his advisers: *HHS* 17/7, 660. They may have become a proverb, and were again apposite here.

[Ja20:215]

J *SGZ* 14, 445 (25a), the Biography of Liu Ye;
SGZ 14, 445–46 (25b) PC quoting *Fuzi*.

25 On Liu Ye's earlier experience as a supporter and adviser to Liu Xun in Lujiang, see passage T of Jian'an 4. After Liu Xun had been defeated by Sun Ce, Liu Ye joined Cao Cao's staff, and he was at this time also a Master of Records.

[Ja20:215]

K *SGZ* 9, 272 (9a), the Biography of Xiahou Yuan;
SGZ 23, 666 (16b), the Biography of Du Xi.

26 Xiahou Yuan had earlier been Protector of the Army Who Subdues the West, dealing with Liang province: passage B of Jian'an 16. His new appointment, dated by *SGZ* 9 to the following year, made him commander-in-chief of the newly-captured territory. Here, as in passage L below, the title Protector indicates an area command.

27 On the frontiers between warlords, population was at least as valuable as land. Here, as military defence is established, civilian farming families are encouraged to go back into the heart of Cao Cao's state, to cultivate ground left vacant by the past ravages of war and out-migration.

[Ja20:215]

L *SGZ* 17, 518–19 (3a–4a), the Biography of Zhang Liao;
SGZ 18, 534 (2b), the Biography of Li Dian.

28 The month is given in *SGZ* 1, 45. Sun Quan is attempting to take advantage of Cao Cao's engagement in the far west.

29 This order and the subsequent campaign are discussed by Griffith, *Art of War*, 93–94.

30 From this point in the translation, the name WU in capital letters refers to the state ruled by Sun Quan, as opposed to the commandery of that name. *Cf.* notes 9 to Jian'an 18 and 26 to Jian'an 19.

[Ja20:215]

M *SGZ* 47 (Wu 2), 1120 (10a–b), the Biography of Sun Quan;
SGZ 47 (Wu 2), 1120 (10b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;
SGZ 55 (Wu 10), 1296–97 (18a), the Biography of Ling Tong;
SGZ 60 (Wu 15), 1380 (5b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

31 The name of the crossing is given by *SGZ* 55 (Wu 10), 1195, the biography of Gan Ning. *SJZ* 32, 11a, says that it was on the Shi River, southeast of Hefei.

SGZ 55 says also that Sun Quan's army was affected by sickness, which may explain its unimpressive performance on this campaign.

32 Companions (*qinjin*) were personal bodyguards for a commander.

33 *Lun yu* XV.5/6; Legge, *CC* I, 296 (Lau, *Analects*, 151), describes how the disciple Zizhang noted Confucius's teachings on the end of his sash.

[Ja20:215]

N SGZ 1, 46 (110b–111b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

34 On Fuhu and Duhu, leaders of non-Chinese people, see note 21 above. The reference to the additional leader is taken by *ZZTJ* from Huayang guo zhi 2, 4a, though that text has the name as Yuan Yue. The form Ren Yue is a variant. See also passage Q and note 44 below.

The division of Ba commandery by Cao Cao at his time did no more than recognise the reorganisations carried out years earlier by Liu Yan and Liu Zhang: notes 12 to Jian'an 18 and 15 to Jian'an 19. The appointments were essentially gestures to confirm the surrenders of the local leaders and to establish a claim over territory where Cao Cao could not yet exercise real authority.

35 This represents an amendment to the system of noble ranks of Han, on which see note 52 to Jian'an 19.

SGZ 1, supplemented by *Wei shu* quoted in PC, explains that the new system retained the two highest titles of Han, those of full Marquis (*hou*) and Marquis of the Imperial Domain (*guannei hou*). Below these Cao Cao inserted three new grades:

Marquis of Title (*minghao hou*)

Marquis Within the Passes (*guanzhong hou*)

External Marquis of the Imperial Domain (*guannei wai hou*).

Below these five marquisates was the title Quintuple Grandee (*wu dafu*), formerly the ninth rank of Han.

During Han, general bestowals of honours had not been uncommon, and a man in the right position could accumulate as many as eight ranks through such promotions. Above that, however, Quintuple Grandee and beyond required specific personal award.

The effect of Cao Cao's reform, therefore, was to eliminate eight of the upper ranks of the Han system, those between Quintuple Grandee and Marquis of the Imperial Domain, and replace them by the three new grades of marquisate. The eight lower grades were continued – there were five general awards during the reigns of Cao Cao's son Cao Pi and his successors – but the twelve higher grades of Han were now reduced to six, five of them described as marquisates.

In early times, the award of noble ranks was based upon prowess in battle: *e.g.* *Cambridge China* 1, 37 [Bodde, "Ch'in"], and the character *ji* continued in use as a numerator for both severed enemy heads and for grades in rank. During Han, however, though awards were made for military achievement, general grants were frequently proclaimed at time of celebration, and individual ones were commonly given for civil service. Cao Cao's reform, though not so bloodthirsty as the pre-Han period, specifically related award of the new marquisates to military prowess.

In a note added to the quotation from *Wei shu*, Pei Songzhi comments that the principle of "empty fiefs" (*xu feng*), without identifiable territory, evidently began from this reform of Cao Cao. Empty fiefs, or "marquisates of title," had been used by Emperor Guangwu in the years of civil war at the beginning of Later Han, but full marquisates under Han were normally identified with some place, a county, district or village, and this system continued under WEI. From the early years of Han, however, even full marquises held no authority in their nominal fief, which was administered by government officials as a regular unit of local administration, with a notional revenue paid to the holder of the title as a

pension. A Marquis of the Imperial Domain during Han did not normally have a named fief, and he certainly did not have one during WEI, while the Marquises of Title and other grades were likewise known only by their rank.

See also Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank," and *Cambridge China* I, 485–486 [Loewe, "Structure and Practice of Government"].

[Ja20:215]

O SGZ 1, 46 (113a), the Biography of Cao Cao;

SGZ 8, 265 (47b–48a), the Biography of Zhang Lu.

36 Langzhong, at the present-day city of the same name in Sichuan, was not in Cao Cao's or Zhang Lu's control, so the title was an empty one, such as Pei Songzhi describes (see note 35 above).

[Ja20:215]

P SGZ 8, 265 (48a) PC quoting Xi Zuochi, probably his *Han–Jin chungiu*.

37 On Xi Zuochi, see note 44 to Jian'an 13.

38 See passage I of Jian'an 6.

39 That is, the effect of one action reaches far into the distance and the future.

40 ZZTJ commentary notes that the phrase "the achievement of those who have suffered burns" comes from *HS* 68, 1958.

After the fall of the great Huo clan in 66 BC (see, for example, Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 136–139), Emperor Xuan gave rewards to those who had supported him in the emergency.

One of his courtiers presented a parable of the master of a house, who was warned about the way he stored his firewood near a fierce-burning stove, but paid no attention. Later his house did catch on fire, and neighbours came to help him put it out. When he gave a feast to reward those who had assisted him, he gave pride of place to those with the most burns, but he was rebuked for failing to recognise those who had warned him earlier.

The Emperor accordingly rewarded the scholar Xu Fu, who had spoken several times against the dangerous power of the Huo family.

41 As Xi Zuochi observes, all Yan Pu's service had been in a civil capacity, giving political advice to his master Zhang Lu. In rewarding him so highly, Cao Cao is not limiting himself to the policy of restricting enfeoffments simply to those of military prowess: *cf.* passage M and note 35 above.

While quoting these approving words of Xi Zuochi, Pei Songzhi himself, in the same passage of commentary, remarks that the grant of fiefs to all Zhang Lu's five sons appears excessive.

[Ja20:215]

Q SGZ 8, 266 (49a) PC quoting *Wei lue*;

SGZ 18, 545 (18b), the Biography of Pang De.

42 Cheng Yin and Hou Xuan had been leaders of bandit groups in Liang province defeated by Cao Cao in 211: passages B and G of Jian'an 16. They had then fled to join Zhang Lu.

Pang De had been an officer under Ma Chao: passage G of Jian'an 7. He accompanied his leader to join Zhang Lu after the further defeat in 213: passage J of Jian'an 18. In the following year, however, when Ma Chao went to join Liu Bei (passage G of Jian'an 19) Pang De remained behind.

[Ja20:215]

R SGZ 43 (Shu 13), 1043 (1b–2a), the Biography of Huang Quan.

43 The Three Ba are the new commanderies into which the Han commandery of Ba has been divided: *e.g.* note 34 above. This was the eastern part of Yi province, directly south of Hanzhong commandery now occupied by Cao Cao's forces.

44 As in passage M above, the identity of the third leader is evidently based upon the text of Huayang guo zhi 6, 8a–b, although that text has the name Yuan Yue rather than Ren Yue: *cf.* note 34 above.

[Ja20:215]

S SGZ 36 (Shu 6), 943 (7b–8a), the Biography of Zhang Fei.

45 Dangqu county in Ba commandery was northeast of present-day Quxian in Sichuan, at the junction of the Ba and Hou rivers. Zhang He had evidently crossed the watershed from the region of Nanzheng, capital of Hanzhong commandery, and was advancing down the Ba River past Hanchang, present-day Bazhong.

46 During Han, this commandery on the west of Chang'an had been named Youfufeng, and the title of the administrator was the same: *e.g.* HHS 117/27; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 87–88. The title is rendered as "Western Sustainer." About this time the prefix *you* was beginning to be omitted, and the official in charge was referred to as a regular Grand Administrator.

[Ja20:215]

T SGZ 23, 668–69 (19b–21a), the Biography of Zhao Yan.

47 The Yegu Pass, south of present-day Mei in Shenxi, was the northern entry point to the Baoye Road, the main route through the Qinling ranges from the valley of the Wei to the region of Hanzhong.

48 This complex manoeuvring with reluctant troops must have been typical of many such incidents in territories which had been recently taken over by one warlord or another.

Han Sui, Ma Chao and the other "generals" of Liang province had based their power on the groups of rebels and mutineers which had controlled the northwest since the time of the rebellion in 184. Their power was broken by Cao Cao in 211 (passage G of Jian'an 16), and Xiahou Yuan and his colleagues had largely completed mopping-up operations over the last few months. The problem remained, however, what to do with the captured troops.

The original plan was for twelve hundred men to be recruited by Zhao Yan and sent south to the Hanzhong frontier under the command of Yin Shu. These men, however, mutinied, and their comrades who had remained with Zhao Yan also became restless.

By rhetoric and promises, Zhao Yan was able to restore a short-term peace, and at the same time he called in reinforcements from Cao Cao's headquarters. When the soldiers heard the new group was arriving, however, they again became restless, and Zhao Yan resorted to a new ruse, "divide and rule," creating an out-group and an in-group, and sending one off under guard of the other.

In the end, when Liu Zhu's troops arrived, the disturbance was brought fully under control, so Zhao Yan was able to abandon his pretence at favouritism, and he sent all the men away together.

One thing, however, had become clear: these newly-gained soldiers from the northwest were quite unsuitable for operations in the sensitive territory of the Hanzhong frontier. The end result of the exercise was that all the men were resettled in the east, out

of the immediate frontier region. There they could be held in check by Cao Cao's established command, and they were no doubt divided and integrated into other units.

Furthermore, after the unsuccessful experiment with the first group of twelve hundred, Zhao Yan and his superiors abandoned any idea of sending such people to the south. Instead they transferred more men, with their wives and families, a total of twenty thousand people, to the east.

Though Yin Shu, commander of the troops which mutinied on their way to Hanzhong, is not mentioned again in this episode, he evidently came to no harm, for he is named as one of the commanders against Guan Yu in Jing province four years later: passage DD of Jian'an 24.

Jian'an 21: 216 AD

6 February 216 – 26 January 217

A In the spring, in the second month Duke Cao of WEI returned to Ye.¹

In the summer, in the fifth month Duke Cao of WEI was advanced in fief to become King.²

B Before this, the Commandant of the Capital Cui Yan had recommended Yang Xun of Julu to Cao Cao, who treated him courteously and gave him office.³ When Cao Cao became King, Yang Xun published a eulogy of his achievements and virtue. Some people despised him for a time-server and a hypocrite and said that Cui Yan had made a mistake in recommending him.

2145 Cui Yan obtained the manuscript of Yang Xun's memorial, read it through, and then wrote to him, "I have examined your memorial and it is excellent. It is just a matter of time, time! Soon there will be changes."

All Cui Yan meant to say was that those who criticised [Yang Xun] were carping and unreasonable. But there were men who had been on bad terms with him in the past, and someone reported that "Cui Yan is arrogant and speaks treason. He does not intend to stay loyal."⁴

Cao Cao was angry. He arrested Cui Yan and put him in prison, his head was shaven and he was sentenced to forced labour. Those who had informed against him now reported again, "Even as a convict, Cui Yan curls up his beard and glares at anyone who visits him. He appears resentful."⁵ So Cui Yan was granted death.

C The Supervisor of the Masters of Writing Mao Jie believed Cui Yan had been unjustly punished, and he was most upset.⁶ Again, it was reported that Mao Jie was resentful and had spoken treason. Cao Cao had him arrested him and put in prison.

D The Palace Attendants Huan Jie and He Xia both tried to explain what was happening, but Cao Cao refused to listen. Huan Jie asked that the case be re-opened, but the King said, "My informants claim not only that Mao Jie criticised me, but that he expressed sympathy for Cui Yen. He rejects the grace and loyalty between master and servant, and he holds unreasonable resentment for the fate of a dead friend. I do not believe I can tolerate such behaviour."

"If what they say is true," replied He Xia, "then Mao Jie's fault is indeed serious, an offence to the sight of Heaven and Earth. I would never bend the truth to save Mao Jie, for that would betray the ruling principles.⁷

"On the other hand, Mao Jie has received honour and favour for many years, he has been upright and loyal, and everyone has been held him in respect. Surprising he should act like this now. Of course it is always difficult to determine a man's true character, but that is all the more reason to examine each case fully, hearing both sides to determine the facts.

"At present, in your wisdom and generosity, you cannot bear to hand him over to judgement, but this way there is no means to decide whether he is innocent or guilty."

"The reason I make no investigation" explained Cao Cao, "is that I wish to protect both Mao Jie and his accusers."

"If Mao Jie has indeed spoken against his lord," answered He Xia, "then his body should be exposed in the market-place or at court.⁸ If he has not abused you, then those who have informed against him made false accusations of a great minister and sought to deceive their master. I cannot feel at ease unless there is a proper investigation."

In the end, Cao Cao never made a full enquiry. Mao Jie was dismissed, and he died at his own home.

[Ja21: 216]

E At this time the Senior Clerk in the Department of the West, Ding Yi of Pei state, was in Cao Cao's favour. He had been involved in the arrest of Mao Jie, so all the ministers were afraid of him and watched him with caution.

2146 The Supervisor of the Masters of Writing He Kui and the Junior Clerk in the Department of the East, Xu Yi of Dongguan,⁹ were the only ones who would not acknowledge Ding Yi's authority. Then Ding Yi spoke against Xu Yi, and Xu Yi left the court to become Grand Administrator of Wei commandery. It was only through intercession from Huan Jie that he escaped serious punishment.¹⁰

The Master of Writing Fu Xuan¹¹ said to He Kui, "Ding Yi has already brought harm to Mao Jie. You should show him a little more respect."

"A man who acts dishonourably," replied He Kui, "damages only himself. How can he injure others? Besides, a vicious and deceitful heart, if it stands in a brilliant court, will it last for long?"

F On one occasion Cui Yan's younger cousin Cui Lin discussed the scholars of Ji province with Chen Qun,¹² and he praised Cui Yan as the best.

Chen Qun, however, thought little of Cui Yan, because despite his wisdom he could not save himself. "A great man stands firm against misfortune," exclaimed Cui Lin. "How can one respect people like you?"

G In the fifth month, on the day *jihai*, first of the month [3 Jun], there was an eclipse of the sun.¹³

H Three chieftains of the Wuhuan in Dai commandery all styled themselves Shanyu.¹⁴ Relying upon their strength, they acted arrogantly and wilfully: the Grand Administrator could not keep them under control.

King Cao of WEI appointed Pei Qian, Junior Clerk in the Department of Granaries under the Chancellor, as a new Grand Administrator. He offered him good soldiers, but Pei Qian said, "The Shanyu know they have been acting badly. If I go with an army they will certainly become frightened and will close the border against us. If I take only a small escort they will not be concerned. We must show some strategy." So he travelled to the commandery in a single carriage, and the Shanyu were surprised and pleased. Pei Qian treated them with grace and authority, and the Shanyu respected and submitted.

[Ja21: 216]

I For a long time now, the Southern Xiongnu had been settled within the borders.¹⁵ They were much the same as the registered inhabitants, but they sent no tribute or tax. Many people were afraid their numbers were becoming too great and that it would become increasingly difficult to keep them under control; some protection should be made against them.

2147 In the autumn, in the seventh month the Southern Shanyu Huchuquan came to attend the court of WEI. King Cao kept him at Ye and had the Worthy King of the West Qubei look after the state. Each year the Shanyu was allotted floss-silk, silken cloth, cash and grain like a marquis, and his sons and grandsons inherited the title. The people were separated into five divisions, each with one of their nobles as chief, and a Han Chinese was appointed as Major to keep them under control.¹⁶

J In the eighth month the Grand Judge of WEI Zhong Yao became Chancellor of State.¹⁷

In the winter, in the tenth month King Cao of WEI led his army against Sun Quan. In the eleventh month they arrived at Qiao.

NOTES to Jian'an 21: 216

- A *SGZ* 1, 47 (113b–115a), the Biography of Cao Cao.
1 Cao Cao had been in Hanzhong commandery in the west, on the campaign against Zhang Lu.
2 *SGZ* 1, 48 PC, preserves the text of the edict.

SGZ 1 records also that in the third month of this year Cao Cao personally engaged in the ceremony of ploughing the sacred field, privilege of an independent ruler. He had performed the ceremony for the first time two years earlier, just before his enfeoffment as Duke of Wei: note 8 to Jian'an 19.

[Ja21: 216]

- B *SGZ* 12, 369 (4b–5a), the Biography of Cui Yan.
3 Under Qin and early Han, the Commandant of the Capital was a high official of the imperial court, but from the time of Emperor Wu of Former Han the title was changed to Bearer of the Golden Mace. Under Later Han a Commandant of the Capital was the chief of military administration in a kingdom, equivalent to a Commandant in a regular commandery: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 78 and 106–107.

According to his biography in *SGZ* 12, Cui Yan had been appointed as a Master of Writing to the ducal state of WEI (passage M of Jian'an 18 above), but was later made Commandant of the Capital in recognition of his honest advice when Cao Cao was considering the rival claims of Cao Pi and Cao Zhi to be named as his successor (passages E to M of Jian'an 22 below: that debate was evidently maintained over a number of years.) Cui Yan's position at the court of WEI, therefore, until this fatal incident, was rather that of a trusted adviser than a military official.

On the role of Cui Yan as adviser to Cao Cao on the recruitment of worthy officials, see passage K of Jian'an 13. *SGZ* 12 describes Yang Xun as a man of limited ability but honourable conduct.

- 4 Though used here innocently by Cui Yan, the word "changes" *bian* can refer to rebellion or a coup.
5 To have the hair cut off and the beard shaved was part of the convict prison sentence of four years hard labour: Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 129, and note 43 to Jian'an 18. Cui Yan had evidently suffered only the shaving of the head; his biography, *SGZ* 12 at 369, reports that he had a most distinguished beard, four Chinese feet, almost one metre, long. [And according to *Shishuo xinyu* 14; Mather, 304, Cui Yan was a man of such impressive demeanour that on one occasion Cao Cao, feeling his own stature was insufficiently prepossessing, had Cui Yan take his place to receive an envoy from the Xiongnu.]

[Ja21: 216]

- C *SGZ* 12, 376 (15b), the Biography of Mao Jie.
6 Mao Jie had been a close associate of Cui Yan in the recommendation of officials to Cao Cao: passage K of Jian'an 13.

[Ja21: 216]

- D *SGZ* 12, 377 (17a), the Biography of Mao Jie;
SGZ 23, 656–57 (2b–3a), the Biography of He Xia.
- 7 *Mengzi* IIB.2.4; Legge *CC* II, 212 (Lau, *Mencius*, 86):
Within the family, there is the relation of father and son; outside, there is the relation of prince and minister. Between father and son the ruling principle is kindness. Between prince and minister the ruling principle is respect.
- 8 *ZZTJ* commentary here quotes commentary by Ying Shao of Later Han to *Lun yu* XIV.38/36 [Legge *CC* I, 289 (Lau, *Analects*, 143)], where he says that officials of high rank who are sentenced to death should have their corpse displayed at court, while the remains of lesser men were exposed in the market-place, the ground of common execution. Cf. Hulswé, *RHL* I, 110–112, and Couvreur, *Mémoires* I, 238.

[Ja21: 216]

- E *SGZ* 12, 377 (17b–18a), the Biography of Xu Yi;
SGZ 22, 632 (3a), the Biography of Huan Jie;
SGZ 12, 381 (23a–b) PC quoting *Wei shu*.
- 9 Dongguan county, at present-day Yishui in Shandong, was in Langye commandery of Later Han, but became the basis of a commandery during the Three Kingdoms period: *JS* 15, 452.
- 10 *SGZ* 1, 36, describes how, when Cao Cao set his residence at Ye in the beginning of 212, he reorganised the local government of the region, so that Wei commandery was enlarged by the addition of counties from the neighbouring areas of Henei, Dong commandery, Julu, Guangping and Zhao. It was from Wei commandery, of course, that Cao Cao's later ducal and royal state took its name.
- The city of Ye was the capital of Wei commandery and also that of Cao Cao's state at this time. Xu Yi's appointment, therefore, though formally not part of the central government at court, was yet sensitive and important.
- 11 This Fu Xuan must be distinguished from Fu Xuan (217–276) author of the book *Fuzi*. Fu Xuan was a man of Jing province who took service with Cao Cao in 208; the family of Fu Xuan came from Beidi commandery in the northwest. See Paper, *The Fu-tzu*, 71, and *HHS* 74/64B, 2424 with commentary quoting *Fuzi*.

[Ja21: 216]

- F *SGZ* 12, 370 (6a) PC quoting *Wei lue*.
- 12 *Wei lue* dates this conversation to the reign of Emperor Ming, being Cao Pi's son Cao Rui who came to the throne in 226. Chen Qun was then a senior statesman, one of four regents controlling the state of WEI, so Cui Lin was commenting very boldly.

[Ja21: 216]

- G *HHS* 9, 388 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.
- 13 *HHS* 108/18, 3372, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this event, but has no further information. The eclipse, Oppolzer 3408, mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 220, affected the west of Mongolia.

The Treatise offers no prognostication, but Commentary to the Treatise quotes from the anonymous apocryphal work *Qiantan ba*, which says that an eclipse on a *jihai* day indicates mean men have charge of affairs, while worthy gentlemen are prevented from acting.

[Ja21: 216]

- H *SGZ* 23, 672 (23b), the Biography of Pei Qian.

- 14 *ZZTJ* commentary gives the names of two of these leaders as Pulu and Wuchendi. Passage J of Jian'an 12 tells how the Wuhuan leader Pufulu surrendered to Cao Cao after the victory at White Wolf Mountain in 207. It seems likely this is the same man under a slightly different name.

Similarly, Wuchendi is probably a variant for the chieftain Nengchendi: note 10 to Jian'an 12.

[Ja21: 216]

- I *HHS* 89/79, 2965 (19b), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu;
HHS 9, 388 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;
SGZ 1, 47 (117a), the Biography of Cao Cao;
JS 97, 2548, the Account of the Northern Peoples.
- 15 On the settlement of the Southern Xiongnu by Emperor Guangwu of Later Han after their separation and exile from the north in the middle of the first century AD, see, for example, de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 230–242, and Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 118–122. The region they occupied extended from Beidi commandery in the west across the Ordos region to Dai commandery in the east.
- 16 On the arrangement of the Xiongnu by Cao Cao at this time, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 353–354, Uchida, "Five Tribes," and Boodberg, "Two Notes," 292. The Northern Division (*bei bu*) covered the north of present-day Shanxi and Shenxi, while the Left, Centre, Right and Southern Divisions were spread along the valley of the Fen River in Shanxi. The capital of the puppet Xiongnu state, and presumably also the headquarters of the Chinese Major, were at Pingyang on the Fen, south of present-day Linfen.

[Ja21: 216]

- J *SGZ* 1, 47–49 (117b), the Biography of Cao Cao.
- 17 On the establishment of Zhong Yao as Grand Judge, and other officers of Cao Cao's ducal, later royal, state of WEI, see passage M of Jian'an 18. By this new appointment, Cao Cao confirmed the status of his personal administration, so that the government of the empire under his control is carried out more and more by Cao Cao as King of WEI, and less and less by Cao Cao in his capacity as Chancellor of Han.

Wei shu, quoted by *SGZ* 1, 49 PC notes 4 and 1, indicates that at this time Cao Cao also set up the two offices of Upholder of Ceremonies (*fengchang*) and of Director of the [Royal] Clan, and the following year he added the ministry of the Commandant of the Guards. Upholder of Ceremonies was an alternative name for the Grand Master of Ceremonies (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 17), and these new establishments filled the complement for ministries of a royal state under the Later Han system. *Cf.* passage M and note 36 of Jian'an 18.

Map 22: Operations about Hanzhong 215-220



