Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling

Being the Chronicle of Later Han for the years 157 to 189 AD as recorded in Chapters 54 to 59 of the *Zizhi tongjian* of *Sima Guang*

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VOLUME TWO: NOTES

Emperor Huan
and
Emperor Ling

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NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

Notes to Yongshou 3: 157 AD

A *HHS* 7, 302 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

1 The first day of this month was *guiwei* 癸未 (cyclical no. 20), and there was no day *jiwei* 己未 (cyclical no. 56).

It seems most likely that the character *ji* has been mis-written for *yi* 乙: the *yiwei* day (cyclical no. 32), was the thirteenth day of the first month of Yongshou 3, equivalent to 9 February 157 by the Julian reckoning.

2 On the significance of the amnesty (赦 *she*) and its function in Han China, see Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 225-250, and the more recent general work of McKnight, *Quality of Mercy*, 12-36.

Although it is clear the proclamation gave some general remission of punishment throughout the empire, the effect of any one amnesty is generally impossible to determine with precision. As Hulsewé has remarked, at 244-245:

> Of course we should not forget that we are dealing with historical works, not collections of documents, and that when the historian notes that on a certain date there was an amnesty, he actually summarises in very few words a complete edict of a form and content which may have been current knowledge among the historian's contemporaries and which it therefore was unnecessary to quote literally.

Hulsewé considers the possibility of distinguishing between "great amnesties" (大赦 *dashe*) and simple amnesties, but comes to the conclusion, in agreement with the late Qing scholar Shen Jiaben 沈家本 that there was probably no definite pattern which was invariably followed (*RHL* I, 247). McKnight, *Quality of Mercy*, 31, suggests that ordinary amnesties did not prevent prosecution for prior crimes, whereas great amnesties did. Sima Guang, however, evidently considered the distinction unimportant: *HHS* Annals have this occasion as a great amnesty, but *ZZTJ* describes it as a simple amnesty.

In earlier years, amnesties had been relatively uncommon, but in this period they become almost an annual event, and their value was very possibly debased by this frequency.

B *HHS* 86/76, 2839 (8b), the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

3 *HHS* notes that the family of the unfortunate Ni Shi was awarded 600,000 cash, and two of his sons were appointed Gentlemen, being probationary offices at the capital which gave expectation of later substantive appointment as officials.

4 *HHS* adds that Wei Lang killed two thousand of the rebels, but the ringleaders escaped. They maintained themselves and their band in Rinan commandery, where they continued to cause trouble and increased again in strength. See passage I of Yanxi 3.

C *HHS* 7, 302 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

5 *HHS* 108/18, 3368, the Treatise of the Five Powers, lists this eclipse, noting that it was not observed at the capital, but was reported from the provinces.

The eclipse is identified as no. 3274 in von Oppolzer, *Canon der Finsternisse.*

The Treatise notes further that the eclipse took place in the Qixing 七星 constellation, also known as the Xing 星 lunar mansion, being seven stars in the Western constellation Hydra (Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 104 and Star Map 7). This was the same position as an earlier eclipse, observed in the reign of Emperor He on 23 July 92 (*HHS* 108/18, 3362), Oppolzer 3114.

The Treatise implies that the eclipse of 92 foreshadowed the fall of the Dou family of the Empress-Dowager, who had held power over the government of Emperor He, and the interpretation of the present eclipse has it as a sign of the death of the Empress Liang and the destruction of Liang Ji.

D *HHS* 7, 303 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Huan;
cf. HHS 105/15, 3319 (8a), the Treatise of the Five Powers.

E *HHS* 57/47, 1845-48 (5a-7a), the Biography of Liu Tao.

6 The Four Offices (四府 *si fu*) were clerical bureaux of the central government.

During most of Later Han, there were only three offices, one under each of the Three Excellencies, being the Grand Commandant, the Minister over the Masses and the Minister of Works. There was, however, provision for the senior member of the consort clan to be given comparable authority. This privilege had been granted to Liang Shang at the time of his

appointment as General-in-Chief in 135, and it was continued under his son and successor Liang Ji.

See also Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 124 and 11-17.

7 Liu Tao, despite his low position at this time, had already shown himself to be an energetic critic of the government. He had presented a memorial two years earlier suggesting that Emperor Huan was himself responsible for the problems of the state simply through his isolation from the affairs of the world, and putting forward a list of worthy men for official appointment. As he himself had predicted, his proposals were ignored. See *HHS* 57/47, 1843-45, and *ZZTJ* 53, 1731-32, discussed and summarised by Loewe, "Conduct of Government", 312-313.

8 The characters 杼軸空 echo lines from the second stanza of the *Da dong* 大東 Ode, *Shi jing* II.5.9, rendered by Legge, *CC* IV, 353, as

In the states of the east, large and small,
The looms are empty.

See also Karlgren, *Odes*, 203 at 154.

The poem is traditionally interpreted as a complaint against the exactions of government.

9 The phrase *nan jin* 南金 appears in the eighth stanza of the *Pan shui* 泮水 Ode, *Shi jing* IV.2.3, as one of the tribute items from the peoples of the Huai to the rulers of Lu 魯; Legge, *CC* IV, 620, also Karlgren, *Odes*, 299 at 257.

The *Yu gong* 禹貢 "The Tribute of Yu" Chapter of *Shu jing* III.1A, 44 and 52, refers to "three categories of metal" (金三品 *jin sanpin*) as tribute items from Yang 揚 and Jing 荊 provinces, on the Huai and lower Yangzi and the middle Yangzi respectively. Legge, *CC* III, 110 and 115, renders the phrase as "gold, silver and copper" and his note at 110 cites the comment of the Grand Historian to *SJ* 30, 1442, being the Balance of Commerce treatise; Chavannes, *MH* III, 603, which notes that in ancient times there were three categories of metal, the yellow (gold), white (silver) and red (copper): *cf.* also the *Suoyin* commentary to that passage, and Karlgren, *Documents*, 14 and 15, who renders the phrase as "bronze of three (colours=) qualities".

10 The text here reads *He yu* 和玉. The reference is to the well-known story of Bian He 卞和, who sought to present a piece of jade to the ruler of the ancient state of Chu 楚. On each of

the first two occasions that he offered it, he was accused of false pretences, and suffered the amputation of a foot as punishment. At last, on his third devoted attempt, the stone was properly examined, and was discovered to be indeed superb jade. See *SJ* 83, 2471.

11 The commentary of Hu Sanxing here identifies the character *huang* 皇 as referring to the mythical Emperor of Heaven (天皇氏 *tianhuang shi*), first ruler of the universe.

Fuxi 伏羲, first of the Sovereigns (帝 *di*), who followed the emperors of heaven, was said to have devised the eight trigrams which form the basis of the *Yi jing*.

The enumeration of these mythological rulers is complex and contradictory: see Tjan Tjoe Som, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 232-233, and 307-309 notes 206-218.

12 Tang was the founder of the Shang 商 dynasty, attributed to the eighteenth century BC.

Yu was founder of the Xia 夏 dynasty, which preceded Shang. He was celebrated for his conquest of the floodwaters which had ravaged the Chinese world, and the *Yu gong* 禹貢 "The Tribute of Yu" chapter of *Shu jing* purports to record the work of the hero and the offerings which were brought to him from the various regions (*e.g.* note 9 above).

13 The phrase used here is *xiao qiang* 肅牆, which is found in *Lun yu* XVI.1.13; Legge, *CC* 1, 309. The commentary to that passage by the Han scholar Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 of the second century AD, quoted here by Hu Sanxing, interprets *xiao* as *su* 肅 "reverent" and *qiang* as meaning a screen, though modern translators interpret *qiang* by the more usual rendering of a wall (*e.g.* Lau, *Confucian Analects*, 139). The expression thus refers to the ruler, screened within his court or guarded by the walls of his palace.

14 As commentary to *HHS* 57/47 points out, this expression comes from the "Rhapsody on the Owl" 鵩賦 by Jia Yi 賈誼 of the second century BC (*SJ* 84, 2499; Watson, *Chinese Rhyme-Prose*, 27).

15 *Liezi* 4, 7b; Graham, *Lieh-tzu*, 90, tells how the legendary Emperor Yao 堯 , after ruling the empire for fifty years, sought to determine what the people thought of his rule. His courtiers and official guests could not tell him, so he

wandered in disguise along the roads. Then he heard a boy singing,

You raised us up, we multitudes,
All observe your standards,
Unknowing, unremembering,
We obey the laws of God.

Yao, content that his work was done, abdicated in favour of Shun 舜, his chosen successor.

Hanshi waizhuan 9, 2a-b; Hightower, *Han shih wai chuan*, 291-293, tells how when Confucius was travelling he met a man weeping by the roadside. Stopping his carriage, he asked him the source of his grief. The man replied that he had made three great mistakes: he had neglected his parents to serve his political ambitions, and now his parents were dead; his service to his ruler had been unsuccessful; and he had now lost his friends and had no-one to whom he could turn. A similar story is told in *Kongzi jiayu* 2, 6b-7a; Kramers, *School Sayings*, 235-236, and *Shuo yuan* 10, 17b-18b.

16 The term "Three Luminaries" (三光 *san guang*) traditionally refers to the sun, the moon and the stars.

Commentaries to *HHS* and to *ZZTJ* likewise identify the "divisions and currents" (分流 *fen liu*) with such ominous events as landslides in the mountains or rivers running dry.

17 The commentary of the Qing scholar Hui Dong 惠棟, quoted in *HHSJJ*, notes that the phrase 鳥鈔 *niao chao* is evidently related to *Zhou li* 7 (30), 32a; Biot, *Rites* II, 210-211, describing the killing of birds of ill omen, where the character appearing here as *niao* "birds" is written as 烏 *wu* "crows", and the commentary of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 of the second century AD explains that "crows and kites take pleasure in snatching and stealing."

F *HHS* 7, 303 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

18 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 21, 11a, has the death of Yin Song, and the promotion of Han Yan mentioned below, as taking place in the sixth month. Sima Guang preferred to follow *HHS* Annals.

19 For the pronunciation of the character 忼, normally rendered as *yin* in modern standard Chinese, I follow the commentary of Hu Sanxing to this passage and that of Li Xian to *HHS* 7, 301.

Notes to Yanxi 1: 158 AD

A *HHS* 7, 303 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

1 *HHS* 108/18, 3368, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this eclipse, and notes that it took place in the Liu 柳 lunar mansion, being part of the Western constellation Hydra (Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 103-104 and Star Map 7). The eclipse is Oppolzer 3276. It is mapped in Stephenson and Houlden at 212a.

The Treatise observes that the Liu constellation was identified with the region of the capital: it thus implies, though it does not state explicitly, that the omen could be related to the overthrow of the Liang family in the following year (passage L of Yanxi 2). *Cf.* however, passage B and note 2 below.

B *HHS* 34/24, 1185 (15b), the Biography of Liang Ji.

2 The commentary of Liu Zhao to the record of the eclipse in the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 108/18, 3368, quotes from the Additional Biography (別傳 *biezhuan*) of Liang Ji, which writes the personal name of Chen Shou as 援 Yuan, and has a rather more detailed account.

Xu Huang apparently complained that the astronomy office had failed to give proper emphasis to the eclipse and to other portents, including the movement of the planet Jupiter (太歲 *taisui*). At his instigation, Chen Shou/Yuan was summoned and questioned, and it was under this pressure that his advice implicated Liang Ji.

C *HHS* 7, 303 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Huan;
cf. also *HHS* 105/15, 3319 (8b), the Treatise of the Five Powers.

D *HHS* 7, 303 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

3 The form of the ceremony of praying for rain (請雨 *qing yu*, or 雩 *yu*), is described in *HHS* 95/5, 3117, the Treatise of Ceremonial. It could be carried out at provincial, commandery or even more local level, but the great ceremony mentioned here must indicate a function at court.

HHS 103/13, 3280, the Treatise of the Five Powers, remarks that there was a drought in the sixth month of this year. The commentary of Liu Zhao to that passage refers to a memorial

of Chen Fan which relates floods and droughts to the problems of the imperial harem. For the fuller version of that memorial, see *HHS* 66/56, 2161, the Biography of Chen Fan.

4 On the hunt of Han times, see Bodde, *Festivals*, 381-386, who transcribes the phrase 校獵 as *jiaolie*. At 383 he discusses various interpretations and expresses preference for the rendering "competitive hunt". Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 82, transcribes it as *xiaolie* and takes the alternative interpretation of "hunting within an enclosure".

In a difficult passage, Mencius accepts that Confucius himself took part in competitive hunts held in Lu; the activity may have been associated with the offering of sacrifices. See *Mengzi* 5B, 4.5; Legge, *CC* II, 381-382 (Lau, *Mencius*, 154).

Hughes, *Vignettes*, 33, 71, 101-103 and 147-148, summarises and compares the poetic accounts of the imperial hunt in Former and Later Han from the rhapsodies on the capitals of Han by Ban Gu and Zhang Heng. The texts of these works are translated in full by Knechtges, *Wen xuan* I, 93-309; see in particular his pages 135-141, 157-163, 213-227 and 285-291.

5 On the hunting parks of Han, see Schafer, "Hunting Parks and Animal Enclosures", and also Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 80-83.

The Guangcheng Park (Schafer: "Broadly Protected Park"; Bielenstein: "Park of Extending Achievement") was southeast of the capital Luoyang, near present-day Linru 臨汝 in Henan.

Shanglin ("Supreme Forest") had been the name of the great hunting park established by the First Emperor of Qin and restored by Emperor Wu of Former Han. It extended westwards from Changan, along the south of the Wei River (and west of present-day Xi'an in Shanxi). That was the place celebrated in the *Shanglin fu* of Sima Xiangru, and by other writers. See, for example, Watson, *Chinese Rhyme-Prose*, 37-51, and Hervouet, *Chapitre 117 de Che-ki*, 57-142.

The rulers of Later Han, however, had established another Shanglin Park in the vicinity of Luoyang: the "Rhapsody on the Two Capitals" by Ban Gu refers to the establishment of a hunting park, on a notably more modest scale, close to the new capital (*HHS* 40B/30B, 1363; Schafer, "Hunting Parks and Animal Enclosures", 331, Knechtges, *Wen xuan* I, 157 and Hughes, *Vignettes*, 52). Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 81-82, discusses the parks, quoting the story of the Grand Physician Pi Xun , who was taken ill on his way back to Luoyang from the

Shanglin Park, which was evidently near the capital (*Dongguan Hanji* 8, 2a).

The commentary of Hu Sanxing to the present passage says that the Shanglin Park of Later Han lay west of the capital, and *Zhongguo gujin diming dacidian*, 42/4, states that it was east of present-day Luoyang, which would mean it was very close to the ancient city.

Bielenstein notes the possibility that the Shanglin Park of Former Han, in the region of Changan, was also maintained under the same name during Later Han (*Lo-yang*, 118 note 376). There seems no question that this is so, for there are a number of references to a Shanglin Park during Later Han that can be shown to refer to the one near Changan. For example:
in the winter of 124, Emperor An visited the western capital, Changan, and on that occasion he went to the Shanglin Park (*HHS* 5, 240);
in 182, Emperor Ling engaged in a competitive hunt at the Shanglin Park, and then held another hunting party (巡守 *xunshou*) at Guangcheng (*HHS* 8, 347); for this occasion the chronicle tells us that he travelled through the Hangu Pass. Since the Hangu Pass, now in the area of present-day Lingbao in Henan, was on the road between Changan and Luoyang, it appears that Emperor Ling must have moved between those two capital districts.

On the present occasion, however, it seems most likely that Emperor Huan visited the Shanglin Park by Luoyang.

E *HHS* 89/79, 2963 (18a), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

F *HHS* 51/41, 1692-1693 (8a-9b), the Biography of Chen Gui.

6 Though *ZZTJ* sets the appointment of Chen Gui at this time, during the disturbances of the later 150s, the present passage seems to fit rather badly with the problems of rebellion which were apparently settled by Zhang Huan (see passage H below).

The dating of the appointments of General Who Crosses the Liao during this period is a little uncertain. My own interpretation, however, would set Chen Gui's tenure of office some few years earlier, in the late 140s or early 150s, at a time when a series of rebellions of the northern tribes had been temporarily settled, and the Chinese were embarking on another attempt at reform and reconstruction: de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 314, also the discussion of Zhu Yidun, 1832/1, in commentary to the tables for Later Han constructed

by Xiong Fang of the Song dynasty, but *cf.* Qian Dazhao, 1895/1. See further, note 20 below.

7 The phrase *san chen* 三辰 refers to the sun, the moon and the stars, in similar fashion to *san guang* (note 16 to Yongshou 3).

8 The expression *ying yang* 鷹揚 comes from the eighth stanza of the *Da ming* 大明 Ode, *Shi jing* III.I.3, rendered by Legge, *CC* IV, 436, as "like an eagle on the wing", being a description of the minister Shangfu 尚父 (*i.e.* Lü Shang 呂尚) who assisted King Wu of Zhou 周武王 in the defeat of the Shang 商 (or Yin殷) empire. See also Karlgren, *Odes*, 236 at 188.

9 According to tradition, the grandfather of King Wen of Zhou, whose personal name was Tanfu 亶父 , was known by the title of "Ancient Duke" (古公 *Gugong*) and was posthumously honoured as "Grand King" (太王 *Tai wang*) In the face of attacks from the northern barbarians, he abandoned his territory of Bin 邠 and settled again at the foot of Mount Qi 岐山, south across the Liang 梁 mountains. He did this primarily in order to spare his people the miseries of war in defence of his fief.

See, for example, *Mengzi* IB, 15.2; Legge, *CC* II, 176 (Lau, *Mencius*, 72), where we are told that

> the people of [Bin] said, "He is a benevolent man. We must not lose him". Those who followed him looked like crowds hastening to market.

See also Chavannes, *MH* I, 213-215 and 222, translating and discussing *SJ* 4, 113-114.

"Lord of the West" (西伯 *Xibo*) was the title held by King Wen of Zhou under the Shang/Yin dynasty. (Traditions differ whether he was granted the title of king during his life-time or whether it was awarded posthumously, after his son King Wu had conquered Shang/Yin and established the rule of the Zhou house over all the empire: see Chavannes, *MH* I, 217-221, translating and discussing *SJ* 4, 116-119, particularly his note 3 to page 221.)

Earlier in this memorial, recorded in *HHS* 51/41, 1693, but not included in *ZZTJ*, Chen Gui refers to the ideal feelings of a ruler for his subject in terms of the *Wu yi* 無逸 Chapter "Avoiding Luxurious Ease" of *Shu jing* V.15, 10; Legge, *CC* III, 469, also Karlgren, *Documents*, 58, which tells how King Wen was mild and humble, cherished and protected the poor and weak, and showed kindness to the widower and the widow.

The commentary of Hu Sanxing also quotes from the *Diwang shiji* 帝王世紀 of Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 of the third century AD, which tells the story of the withdrawal from Bin by the Ancient Duke, and also describes the manner in which the common people were attracted to King Wen because of his benevolence.

10 The expression used here is *wu shuliang* 無銖兩 . The commentary of Hu Sanxing notes that a *shu* was one twenty-fourth of a *liang* "ounce", which latter weight was a little more than fifteen grams.

11 Zhu Liang was a man from Changsha commandery. During the reign of Emperor Shun, in 137, he was Inspector of Bing province, and was transferred from there to put down a rebellion of the non-Chinese peoples of Jiaozhi and Jiuzhen commanderies; he was appointed Grand Administrator of Jiuzhen (*HHS* 86/76, 2838). By the following year the rebellion had been crushed (*HHS* 6, 268).

Zhu Liang also appears in the position of Prefect of Luoyang about 134, when he was involved in a controversy with the former Grand Commandant Pang Can 龐參 . He appears to have acted harshly, but he was popular with the people (*HHS* 51/41, 1691). There are no other references to him in *HHS.*

Since Zhu Liang had been Inspector of Bing Province, with rank expressed by the nominal salary of 600 *shi*, and was then promoted to be Grand Administrator of Jiuzhen (rank/salary of 2000 *shi*), it is unlikely that he was again appointed as an inspector in the northern frontier region. It seems most probable that Chen Gui is referring to Zhu Liang's term in Bing province, and the text has been miswritten as Liang province.

If this is correct, then Zhu Liang was an inspector in the north between about 134 and 137; and the reference to his achievements by Chen Gui is indirect evidence to support the suggestion that Chen Gui's appointment and memorial should be dated earlier than *ZZTJ* has them here (see note 7 above).

12 The General of the Gentlemen of the Household Emissary to the Xiongnu was the Chinese resident at the court of the Southern Shanyu, responsible for supervising his government (*HHS* 89/79, 2944-2945, *HHS* 118/28, 3626, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 238-239).

The Colonel Protector of the Wuhuan was responsible for relations with the Wuhuan and Xianbi people of the north and northeast; the Colonel Protector of the Qiang was responsible

for dealings with the Qiang people of the northwest (*HHS* 118/28, 3626, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 383 and 82 ff).

G *HHS* 89/79, 2963 (18a), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

13 Though the Account of the Southern Xiongnu, as quoted here, describes the appointment of Zhang Huan as General of the Gentlemen of the Household of the North (北 *bei zhonglangjiang*), both his biography (*HHS* 65/55, 2139) and the Annals (*HHS* 7, 304) give him the regular title of General of the Gentlemen of the Household Emissary to the Xiongnu (see note 12 above). This seems the more probable.

The text of *HHS* 89/79 is confusing and in some respects misleading at this part of the chronicle. See notes 16 and 17 below.

H *HHS* 65/55, 2139 (8a), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

14 The site of Chikeng 赤阬 (literally "Red Hollow") cannot be identified. It was evidently quite close to the fortress at Manbo.

15 The Chuge, also known as the Xiuchuge, were a clan group of the Xiongnu. This is their first citation in the history of the time, but they later rose to considerable importance in the frontier region. See passage D of Xiping 3 and note 6, also de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 346-347 and 351-352.

On the various forms of the name of this people, and its pronunciation, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 529-531 note 3.

16 It may be pointed out that this whole extract from the Biography of Zhang Huan in *HHS* 65/55 is set immediately before the reference to the attacks of the Xianbi in Yanxi 1 (*cf.* passage E above).

I *HHS* 89/79, 2963-64 (18a-b), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

17 Once again, this incident appears to be misplaced.

The Biography of Zhang Huan, in *HHS* 65/55, 2139, refers to a rebellion by the Shanyu of the Southern Xiongnu only in the ninth year of Yanxi, being 166.

At this earlier period, about the first year of Yanxi, *HHS* 65/55 says that the troubles were caused by the Xianbi, some Wuhuan, and the rebel Chuge or Xiuchuge group of the Xiongnu.

Moreover, in dealing with these disturbances of the first year of Yanxi, we are told specifically that Zhang Huan was able to obtain the assistance of the Southern Shanyu.

I have therefore argued that the chronicle of the Account of the Southern Xiongnu in *HHS* 89/79 has miswritten 元年 *yuannian* "first year" for 九年 *jiunian* "ninth year" (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 531-532 note 6).

If this is correct, then the proposal to depose the Shanyu should be dated to Yanxi 9: 166, when Zhang Huan was again in command in the north, dealing with a different pattern of rebellion (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 323-324 and 329, and *cf. ZZTJ* 55, 1787 and 1796 below).

In his *Kaoyi* commentary to this passage, Sima Guang notes that the chronicle of *HHJ* 22, 19b, sets this incident in the fourth month of Yuankang 1: 167. This year would be perfectly possible, on the basis that the rebellion of the Southern Shanyu took place in Yanxi 9: 166, that it was settled by Zhang Huan, and after the settlement, in the following year, Zhang Huan decided to propose the dismissal of the Shanyu. Unfortunately, however, Sima Guang decided to follow the Account of the Xiongnu from *HHS* 89/79.

Among the Xiongnu, the Luli King of the Left, a member of the royal family, was the second in succession to the Shanyu. *HHJ* 22 gives the personal name of Zhang Huan's nominee as Dugan

18 The name of the Shanyu is given by *HHS* 89/79, 2963 and 2964, as Jucheer 居車兕 ; *ZZTJ* has mistakenly omitted the first character.

The Shanyu Jucheer had come to the throne in 147, the same year as Emperor Huan. By tradition, a ruler was supposed to be lenient at the beginning of his reign, and this consideration was naturally extended to a vassal who had shared the time of his accession.

J *HHS* 51/41, 1694 (9b), the Biography of Chen Gui.

19 This clause is adapted from the Biography of Chong Gao in *HHS* 56/46, 1828. See passage K immediately below.

HHS, however, does not say that Chen Gui was succeeded directly by Chong Gao. The Biography of Chong Gao states that he was appointed at a time when disturbances of the Xiongnu

were troubling Bing and Liang provinces. See further, note 20 below.

K *HHS* 56/46, 1828 (11a), the Biography of Chong Gao.

20 Again, it appears that the *ZZTJ* chronicle is mistaken in its dating for the term of office of Chong Gao.

Firstly, the Biography of Chong Gao states that after his term as Grand Minister of Agriculture he was appointed Minister over the Masses, one of the Three Excellencies, in Yanxi 4: 161; and this is confirmed by the Annals, *HHS* 7, 308, where the promotion is dated in the second month of that year. From the context of the biography, it seems clear that Chong Gao's series of appointments, first as General Who Crosses the Liao, then Grand Minister of Agriculture, then Minister over the Masses, all took place in the early years of the Yanxi period.

Secondly, however, *HHS* 67/57, 2191-2192, being the Biography of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction, says that Li Ying was appointed General who Crosses the Liao in Yongshou 2: 156 and that in Yanxi 2: 159 he was transferred from that post to become Intendant of Henan.

It therefore seems clear that Chong Gao succeeded Li Ying as General Who Crosses the Liao in Yanxi 2; not, as *ZZTJ* has it here, in Yanxi 1. Moreover, the appointment of Chen Gui should be dated earlier than Yongshou 2, and it is most improbable that he was the direct predecessor of Chong Gao (*cf.* passage J and see note 7 above).

Notes to Yanxi 2: 159 AD

A *HHS* 7, 304 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

1 The traditional Confucian requirement of "three-year mourning" (三年喪 *sannian sang*) called for the maintenance of mourning for two complete years after the burial of the deceased parent or ruler: that is, it was mourning "into the third year", and a ceremony at the twenty-fifth month after the burial marked the end of the mourning period. See, for example, *Li ji* 35.3; Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies* II, 581, and the commentary of Yan Shigu to *HHS* 4, 133-34 note 16; *HSBZ* 4, 20a-b; Chavannes, *MH* II, 490 note 1.

The three-year mourning period had been the ancient rule until the time of Emperor Wen of Former Han. When he died in 157 BC, his testamentary edict ordered that the court mourning period should be limited to a period of thirty-six days after the burial, and public mourning should be even further restricted (*SJ* 10, 433-34; Chavannes, *MH* II, 487-90, *HS* 4, 132; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 268-270). From this time on, for most of the Han dynasty, official mourning followed the limited period set by Emperor Wen (Dubs, *HFHD* I, note 3 to 270).

In 116, when the Empress-Dowager Deng controlled the government of Emperor An, the Minister over the Masses Liu Kai 劉愷 argued that this set a bad example to the common people, and that the old, full custom should be restored (*HHS* 39/29, 1307, abbreviated in *ZZTJ* 50, 1597). As a result, an edict provided that in future all the highest officials (大臣 *da chen*: presumably indicating the Excellencies and Ministers), officials with rank/salary of two thousand *shi* (which included grand administrators and chancellors of commanderies and kingdoms) and inspectors of provinces would be permitted to follow the tradition of three-year mourning.

In 121, however, after Emperor An had taken over government following the death of the Empress-Dowager Deng, the Prefect of the Masters of Writing Zhu Feng 祝諷 (whose surname is also given as Dai祋) and the Master of Writing Meng Bu 孟布 recommended that the permission for extended mourning should be withdrawn. After some debate, and despite an eloquent memorial from another Master of Writing, Chen Zhong 陳忠, the Emperor followed their advice (*HHS* 46/36, 1560-61, also *HHJ* 17, 3b-4b, summarised in *ZZTJ* 50, 1618-19).

Again, in 154, permission for the extended mourning was granted once more to inspectors and to two-thousand-*shi*

officials: perhaps referring here only to grand administrators and chancellors, and not to officials of that rank at the capital (*HHS* 7, 299, cited in *ZZTJ* 53, 1730). The withdrawal of the privilege, described in this passage, represents the cancellation of this second attempt to restore the ancient customs.

Curiously, we are told by *HHS* 7, 302, that in 156 the same right, or requirement, or mourning was extended to the eunuchs of the palace, and there is no record of the withdrawal of that provision. For a time, at least, it appears that Confucian officials were not permitted to carry out these important filial obligations, but eunuchs could.

The arguments in the debates on this question were generally based upon precedent and the example of good morality. One has the suspicion, however, that the full mourning privilege for senior officials had serious effect upon the efficiency of administration, and it was perhaps for this reason the orders were withdrawn in each case a few years after they were brought into effect. On the varying policy, see Loewe, "Conduct of Government", 300-301.

Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 619-622, records the theories of Han New Text Confucianism concerning the requirements of mourning. In this and other such cases, however, the theories were not matched by the actual practices of the Han government.

At the same time, there was strong feeling in philosophical circles that the mourning rituals should be maintained and enforced. In 166, for example, Xun Shuang, a man of celebrated family who had been recommended by special nomination as a candidate "Of the Utmost Filial Piety" (至孝 *zhixiao*), presented a memorial expressing bitter criticism of the reduced mourning obligations, and then declined the appointment (*HHS* 62/52, 2051-56, cited by Chen, "Thought in Later Han", 802-803). Again, at the end of Han, the scholar Xu Gan argued for the restoration of the three-year mourning period as a means to restore public morality. (See, for example, the fragmentary chapter of his *Zhong lun* 中論 "Discourse on the Mean", entitled *Fu sannian sang* 複三年喪 "Reinstitute the Three-Year Mourning Period", with chapter title attested by the *Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要 of Wu Jing 吳兢 (670-749) [Shanghai 1978, at 206], and text evidently preserved in *Qunshu zhiyao* 群書治要 compiled by Wei Zheng 魏徵 (540-643) [*SBCK*] 46, 22b-24a.) The debate in this latter part of the second century may be seen as one aspect of the general emphasis on family loyalty and

responsibility, and particularly on the teaching of the Classic of Filial Piety, *Xiao jing*.

For a general discussion of Han mourning practice, see Yang Shuda, *Handai hun sang lisu kao*, and on periods of mourning, see especially his 267-268.

2 *HHS* 103/13, 3270, the Treatise of the Five Powers, notes that there was continual rain for more than fifty days. Predictably, the Treatise relates the rain to the fall of Liang Ji in the eighth month of this year.

B *HHS* 10B, 444 (6a-b), the Biography of the Empress Liang.

C *HHS* 7, 304 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

3 The phrase *liugong* 六宮 (literally, "the six palaces") here refers to the women of the imperial harem. The commentator Hu Sanxing quotes at some length from the commentaries to *Zhou li* 2 (7), 24b; Biot, *Rites* I, 141 ff, by Zheng Zhong 鄭衆 of the first century AD and Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 of the second century AD. According to one interpretation, *liugong* was a term for the empress herself, as head of the females of the palace, but it was also used for the six ranks of concubines.

4 The Biography of the Empress Liang, *HHS* 10B, 444, notes that she had been on the throne for thirteen years (actually a little more than twelve years by Western count), since her marriage to Emperor Huan in 147, just after his accession. She was probably about thirty years old when she died; her biography suggests that she suffered from grief and resentment at being neglected by the Emperor.

5 Commentary to *HHS* 10B, 443, quotes from the *Shi fa* 諡法 "Systems for Posthumous Titles", a work ascribed to the Zhou period, which explains *yi* 懿 as referring to the late Empress' gentleness and sage-like qualities, and *xian* 獻 to her intelligence and wisdom.

It was customary in Han for empresses and concubines, and some other favoured persons, to be buried in the vicinity of the tomb of their emperor. The Yiling 懿陵 tomb of his Empress Liang was therefore presumably in the area of the funerary park and tomb being prepared for Emperor Huan, some twenty kilometres southeast of Luoyang (commentary to *HHS* 8, 328).

D *HHS* 34/24, 1185 (15a), the Biography of Liang Ji.

6 The commentary of Hu Sanxing lists seven enfeoffments as marquis, beginning with Liang Ji's grandfather Liang Yong 雍, to whose fief Liang Ji succeeded, as well as receiving an additional one of his own, and noting that Liang Ji's son Yin 胤, Yin's son Tao 桃, two of Liang Ji's younger brothers, Buyi 不疑 and Meng 蒙, and Buyi's son Ma 馬, were also granted fiefs. Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 475 note 346, however, lists another five marquises, from earlier generations of the family.

The three empresses were the Honoured Lady Liang of Emperor Zhang, who was the natural mother of Emperor He, and who was given posthumous title as empress in 97 (*HHS* 4, 184, and *HHS* 10A, 416-17), and the two sisters of Liang Ji, being Liang Na who was Empress to Emperor Shun and then Empress-Dowager to Emperor Huan (*HHS* 10B, 438-40), and Liang Nüying who was Empress to Emperor Huan (*HHS* 10B, 443-44).

It is difficult to identify the six women who became honoured ladies. We may observe that all three empresses listed above held that rank before their final promotion (and the mother of Emperor He, of course, died with the rank of honoured lady). Moreover, a sister of the mother of Emperor He entered the harem of Emperor Zhang at the same time, and appears to have become an honoured lady (*HHS* 10A, 416), and an aunt of the future Empress Liang of Emperor Shun was selected with her into the imperial harem, and also became an honoured lady (*HHS* 10B, 438-39). See also Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 475 note 438.

The two generals-in-chief were Liang Shang 商, who had been appointed to that office in 135 (*HHS* 6, 264, and the Biography of Liang Shang in *HHS* 34/24, 1175), and Liang Ji himself, who succeeded to Liang Shang's position in 141 (*HHS* 6, 271, and *HHS* 34/24, 1179).

As in the case of the honoured ladies discussed above, it is not possible to make a full list of the other men and women who received favours or married into the imperial family. For example, the list of princesses (公主 *gongzhu*), at the end of the chapter of the biographies of empresses, *HHS* 10B, 458-62, mentions the marriage of only one princess to a member of the Liang family: a daughter of Emperor Guangwu, she married Liang Song 松, a son of the powerful Liang Tong 統, founder of the fortunes of the family at the beginning of Later Han (*HHS* 34/24, 1170); there are, however, several other princesses of the imperial Liu house for whom no marriages are recorded.

E *HHS* 34/24, 1183 (13b), the Biography of Liang Ji; with extract from *HHS* 34/24, 1181 (12a).

F *HHS* 34/24, 1183-84 (13b-14b), the Biography of Liang Ji.

7 The Liang family came from Wan, which was the capital of Nanyang commandery, and the home country of Emperor Guangwu, founder of Later Han. The city of Wan, after Luoyang, was one of the greatest in the empire. See, for example, Knechtges, *Wen xuan* I, 311-336, translating the "Southern Capital Rhapsody" (南京賦 *Nanjing fu*) by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 of the second century AD.

8 Such a sentiment is not uncommon, but the commentary of Hu Sanxing points out that the passage here is close to the words of the counsellor Cai Ze 蔡澤 of the state of Yan 燕 of the Warring States period at the end of Zhou, recorded in his biography in *SJ* 79, 2419. See also note 10 below.

9 The expression *xuan che* 縣車 (also written 懸) "to hang up the carriage", or, as Tjan renders it in *White Tiger Discussions* II, 480, "to hang up the harness", refers to an officer's retirement from the service of the state. To some extent it may have been a literal description: *HS* 71, 3048, tells how Xie Guangde 薛廣德 of Former Han, who had served the founding Emperor Gaozu, hung up the "comfortable carriage" (安車 *anche*: see note 44 below) which he had been granted, and passed it on for the use of his sons (see also the commentary of Yan Shigu to this passage, which observes the action as a sign of honourable retirement).

Besides the reference in *Bohu tong* 4, 15b translated by Tjan as above (where it is associated with retirement at the age of seventy), the expression was also used in texts of and relating to the second and third centuries: for example *HS* 73, 3105, where the phrase appears and is explained by the commentary of Ying Shao as retirement on account of age, and *HHS* 62/52, 2067, the Biography of Chen Shi, and *HHS* 67/57, 2211, the Biography of Zhang Jian, both referring to deliberate retirement from political affairs.

The phrase *gao zhen* 高枕 "a high pillow" appears frequently in texts of this time as the description of a life of ease, comfort and security. It has the same significance today.

10 The commentary of Hu Sanxing attributes a quotation in similar terms to Fan Ju 范雎 , a celebrated debater of the

state of Wei 魏 during the period of the Warring States. See *SJ* 79, 2411; and *cf.* note 8 above. It appears that Yuan Zhu was citing the works of the two sophists, whose biographies occupy the same chapter of *Shi ji*, in tandem.

11 The commentary of Hu Sanxing identifies this "office of the capital" (中都官 *zhongdu guan*) with the Bureau for the Officials at the Capital" (都官曹 *duguan cao*) under the Colonel Director of Retainers. The Colonel was chief officer of the censorate for the capital province, and the Bureau had censorial authority within Luoyang. See *HHS* 117/27, 3614, with commentary note 5 quoting Cai Zhi, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 85.

G *HHS* 19/9, 714 (9b), the Biography of Geng Bao.

12 The Lady Geng had been the senior concubine of Liu Qing 慶, King of Qinghe 清河, who died in 107 (*HHS* 5, 205). The son of Liu Qing, Liu Hu 祜, the future Emperor An, was brought to the throne by the Empress-Dowager Deng 鄧 in 106, though the Empress-Dowager continued to control the government until her death in 121.

After the death of the Empress-Dowager, however, the Emperor's father Liu Qing was given posthumous title as an emperor, and his tomb was named Ganling 甘陵 "Mound of Contentment". The natural mother of Emperor An, the Lady Zuo 左, concubine of Liu Qing, was given title as Empress, and the Lady Geng was made Greatly Honoured Lady of the Gan[ling] Funerary Park (甘園大貴人 *Ganyuan da guiren*).

The Geng were one of the great families of Later Han: Geng Yan 耿 had been one of the chief supporters of Emperor Guangwu, and his relatives in later generations had frequently married into the imperial clan. The elder brother of the Lady Geng, Geng Bao 寶, played a leading role in the politics of the court at the end of the reign of Emperor An, but was later disgraced and committed suicide; the family was restored to some favour after the accession of Emperor Shun in 125. His son, Geng Cheng, had been made a marquis after he married an imperial princess (*HHS* 19/9, 714.)

H *HHS* 80A/70A, 2619-22 (13a-15b), the Biography of Cui Qi in the Chapter on Literary Men.

13 The text of the "Admonitions to the Consort Clan" (外戚箴 *Waiqi zhen*) is preserved in Cui Qi's biography, *HHS* 80A/70A,

2619-22. The "Rhapsody on the White Crane" (白鶴賦 *Baigu fu*) has not survived. The Biography of Cui Qi tells us that he wrote the rhapsody to emphasise the warnings given in the "Admonitions".

14 On the legendary minister Guan Zhong, who served Duke Huan of the state of Qi 齊桓公 in the seventh century BC, see for example *SJ* 32, 1486 ff; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 48-49 ff. and Rickett, *Guanzi* I, particularly 8-14.

On the minister Xiao He of the founding Emperor Gaozu of Han, see *SJ* 53; Watson, *RGH* I, 125-133.

15 The reference to a deer being confused with a horse concerns the story of the treacherous eunuch Zhao Gao 趙高, Chancellor to the weakling Second Emperor of Qin at the end of the third century BC.

Zhao Gao was planning a coup d'état, but wanted to discover which officials were still loyal to the Emperor. So he had a deer brought to the court, and announced it as a horse. The Emperor corrected him, but Zhao Gao insisted, and he asked the opinion of each of the officials: those who supported him on this ridiculous point could be assumed to support him on all else; those who disagreed with him were soon afterwards eliminated. See *SJ* 6, 273; Chavannes, *MH* II, 211.

The commentary of Hu Sanxing also observes that black (玄 *xuan*) and yellow (黃 *huang*) are the colours attributed to Heaven and Earth; to change them implies the overturning of the natural order of the universe.

16 The last two sentences of the text of *ZZTJ* do not follow closely the text of *HHS*.

According to the Biography of Cui Qi, he was later appointed to a county office, but he was concerned that there would be trouble made for him and he left the post. So Liang Ji sent a retainer to kill him, but the man admired Cui Qi and warned him instead. It was only then that Cui Qi actually ran away, and was caught and killed.

The abbreviated version of *ZZTJ* seems to present Cui Qi in a rather less impressive light than the fuller account in *HHS*.

I *HHS* 34/24, 1185-86 (15a-b), the Biography of Liang Ji.

17 See passage B of Yanxi 1.

18 The Empress Deng was the wife of Emperor He. After the death of her husband in 106, the Lady Deng acted as regent Empress-Dowager and controlled the government of the short-lived infant Emperor Shang (106). She then chose Emperor An for the throne and continued to hold effective power for most of his reign (106-125) until her own death in 121. Her biography is in *HHS* 10A, 418-30.

Hexi 和熹 Empress was the posthumous title of the Lady Deng. The character *he* comes from the posthumous title of her husband. Commentary to *HHS* 10A, 418, quotes the citation by the second century scholar Cai Yong of the *Shi fa* "Systems for Posthumous Titles" (see also note 5 above), which explains the character *xi* as referring to her achievement in giving peace to the people.

The biography of the young woman who became Empress to Emperor Huan is in *HHS* 10B, 444-45. That text gives her personal name as Mengnü 孟女 ; there is no way to tell whether Meng or Mengnü is the correct form.

19 I have here used the variant transcription *Gi* for the personal name of the Lady Meng's step-father, written紀 , as a means to distinguish him from the General-in-Chief Liang Ji冀 . In Archaic and Ancient Chinese, the final and tonal values of the characters were different: Karlgren, *GSR* 953*i* and 603*a*.

20 It is possible that Liang Gi's original surname was indeed Liang (we do not know the surname of Sun Shou's mother), but we may observe that some members of Sun Shou's family had changed their surname to Liang, in order to share in the prosperity of that great clan (*HHS* 34/24, 1181).

21 Despite the remarriage of her mother, it appears the Lady Meng had continued to hold the Deng surname of her natural father.

J *HHS* 78/68, 2520 (9b-10a), the Biography of Shan Chao and his colleagues in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

22 Junior Attendant of the Yellow Gates (小黃門 *xiao huangmen*) was a regular eunuch post, so-called from the colour of the doors to the private apartments of the imperial palace. The additional character *shi* 史 presumably indicates that Tang Heng (and Zuo Guan introduced below) had particular secretarial duties with the Emperor. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 57 and 65.

23 Liang Buyi, younger brother of Liang Ji, was Intendant of Henan, and then Superintendent of the Imperial Household, retired into private life in 152. He had since died.

HHS 78/68 quotes Tang Heng as explaining further, that Shan Chao and Zuo Guan had called upon Liang Buyi at the time he was Intendant of Henan. They had shown some lack of respect to him, and Liang Buyi then arrested their brothers and held them in jail until the two eunuchs returned and apologised. See Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 477.

It would be a little surprising if such an old quarrel, with a man who was now dead, was the only reason that Shan Chao and Zuo Guan disliked the Liang clan. This was, however, a very private conversation, and the record is not necessarily reliable or complete.

24 The spilling of blood was regarded as essential to a solemn oath or covenant 盟 *meng*, in contrast to a simpler agreement. See, for example, *Li ji* 1B.12; Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies* I, 92:

"Une convention faite entre les princes s'appelle pacte confirmé par le serment; si l'on immole une victime, elle s'appelle pacte solennel et sacré."

See also Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 477 note 361.

25 The Front Hall (前殿 *Qian dian*), also known as the Main Hall (正殿 *Zheng dian*) was the chief audience hall of the Southern Palace: see Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 24-25.

Other compounds within the Northern or Southern Palaces also had "front halls", but on this occasion a specific building is described.

K *HHJ* 21, 16a.

L *HHS* 34/24, 1186 (15b-16a), the Biography of Liang Ji.

26 The Masters of Writing was the office of the imperial secretariat, one of whose chief functions was to prepare the formal drafts of imperial edicts and other orders. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 55-57, and note 28 below.

27 The Staff of Authority (節 *jie*) was a bamboo eight Han feet (尺 *chi*) tall (about 185 cm), with three yaks' tails fastened to the top as tassels (*HHS* 1A, 10, commentary quoting the *Han guan yi* of Ying Shao of the second century AD). In theory, at least, it gave the bearer plenipotentiary powers to act on

behalf of the emperor, taking his own initiative and reporting only afterwards. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 50.

28 The office of the Masters of Writing was headed by a Prefect (令 *ling*), whose deputy was the Supervisor (僕射 *puye*). Under Later Han, the work of the office was divided among six bureaux (曹 *cao*), each headed by a Master of Writing (尚書 *shangshu*), assisted by six Gentlemen-in-Attendance (侍郎 *shilang*) and three Foreman Clerks (令史 *lingshi*). Besides the Gentlemen-in-Attendance, there were also more junior, probationary and apprentice officials, being the Acting Gentlemen of the Palace of the Masters of Writing (守尚書郎中 *shou shangshu langzhong*) and the Gentlemen of the Masters of Writing (尚書郎 *shangshu lang*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 56-57.

At this time, on the direct orders of Emperor Huan and under the supervision of the Prefect, Yin Xun, it appears that the drafting of documents was carried out personally by the Masters of Writing and their immediate assistants, while the Gentlemen and the Acting Gentlemen performed basic security duty.

29 Besides the office of the Masters of Writing, who prepared official documents, there was also an office of Insignia and Credentials, under a Prefect (符節令 *fujie ling*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 58. It seems that this was also taken over by Emperor Huan and his allies to ensure that Liang Ji could not issue rival authorities. Moreover, as we observe immediately below, orders were issued that all authorities, and particularly those held by the Liang group, should now be surrendered.

30 The phrase 左右廄騶 is interpreted by the commentators as describing the grooms of the two Stables for Fine Horses (駿廄 *jun jiu*) of the Left and of the Right (*HHS* 115/25, 3582, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 37).

The Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers (虎賁 *huben zhonglang*) and the Gentlemen of the Household of the Feathered Forest (羽林 *yulin*) were units of the palace guards. They were possibly military cadets. See *HHS* 115/25, 3575-76; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 27-28; and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 47 .

HHS 115/25, 3579, refers to the Captains at the Capital of the Left and the Right (左右都侯 *zuoyou duhou*), who commanded men at arms (劍戟士 *jianji shi*: rendered more

literally by Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 33, as "Warriors with Swords and Lances"), who had patrol duties within the palace, and also held powers of arrest over any of the residents, even including the heir apparent.

31 The essential insignia of office under the Han was the seal (印 *yin*) and the coloured ribbon (綬 *shou*) by which it was attached to the bearer's belt. The seal of the General-in-Chief was made of gold, and the ribbon was purple (紫 *zi*). See *HHS* 114/24, 3563, with commentary quoting Cai Zhi of the second century; also *HHS* 120/30, 3674.

32 In the local administration of Han, counties (縣 *xian*) were subdivided into districts (鄉 *xiang*), and the district which contained the county capital was known as the chief district(都鄉 *duxiang*).

Up to this time, Liang Ji's enfeoffments had been as marquis at county level, so this new title represented a significant reduction in rank. Moreover, the value of Liang Ji's pension had been based on the income from the tax of 30,000 households, far above a normal stipend (*HHS* 34/24, 1179). We are not told the value of the new fief, but it was surely very small.

Finally, we may observe that the county of Bijing was the southernmost territory of the empire, being in the south of Rinan commandery, somewhere near present-day Hué in Vietnam (*e.g. HHSJJ* 113B/23B, 30a.) It had formerly been used as a place of exile for the families of unsuccessful politicians, notably the consort Yan 閻 clan, which had attempted to control the government after the death of Emperor An but had been overthrown by the eunuch-led coup which put Emperor Shun upon the throne in 125 (*e.g. HHS* 10B, 437). In this respect, the analogy with the position of the Liang family was very close.

Under the system of Han, the holder of the fief of a marquis was required to live at his fief territory unless he was given special permission to remain at the capital (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 108-109). So Liang Ji was being sent into exile, and the grant of a derisory fief was designed as no more than an extra turn of the screw.

33 *HHS* 34/24, 1186, and *HHS* 7, 304-305, list the following members of the Liang group who had held high office and who were now arrested and executed:

Liang Yin胤, son of Liang Ji, who had been Intendant of Henan;

Liang Shu 淑, a cousin, who had held the ministerial post of Commandant of the Guards;
Liang Rang 讓, uncle of Liang Ji, who had been Colonel of the Garrison Cavalry (屯騎 *tunji*);
Liang Zhong 忠 and Liang Ji 戟, two more cousins, who had been colonels of the Elite Cavalry (越騎 *yueji*) and the Chang River 長水 regiments.

The Commandant of the Guards was responsible for the security of the imperial palace (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 31), and the men at arms under the Captains at the Capital were formally under his orders (see note 30 above).

The Garrison Cavalry, Elite Cavalry and Chang River regiments were three of the five which composed the Northern Army (北軍 *bei jun*), a regular force of professional soldiers (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 117-118, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 45-46).

The Intendant of Henan had regular administrative and also police powers in the commandery about Luoyang, including the capital itself (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy,* 88-89).

Under the general authority of Liang Ji, therefore, the Liang clan seemed to have acquired a dominating position in the military command and civil government of the immediate vicinity of the capital. The control, however, was more apparent than real, and it is interesting to observe how rapidly their position collapsed when opposed by a resolute emperor, with effective allies inside the palace, access to the imperial secretariat, and only a small band of armed men.

For other descriptions of this coup of 159, see Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 93-95, and Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 476-477.

M *HHS* 7, 305 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Huan;
with commentary quoting *Dongguan Hanji* 3, 4b;
and *HHS* 44/34, 1509 (10b), the Biography of Hu Guang;
and *HHS* 61/51, 2036 (17a), the Biography of Huang Qiong.

34 Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 41 and 95, argues that this official "Hostel of Prolonged Life" (長壽亭 *changshou ting*) lay on an avenue (街 *jie*) of that name in the city, but there is no more precise indication where it was situated.

Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 95, suggests that the three ministers were charged with having sat out the coup at the hostel. My own interpretation of the character *zhi* 止 in this context is that the ministers were held under temporary arrest at the hostel, and that the charge against them, of failing to support the throne, was general, based upon their previous

subservience to Liang Ji, not upon their immediate conduct at the time of the coup itself. In support of this interpretation, I observe that *Dongguan Hanji* 3,4b, and the biography of Hu Guang, *HHS* 44/34, 1509, says that he and his colleagues were found guilty of failing to protect the imperial government: 坐不衛宮.

35 The main text of *HHS* 7 says that Hu Guang was only dismissed, while the other two were sent to prison, but *HHS* 44/34 and *Dongguan Hanji* both state that all Three Excellencies were arrested and sentenced to death remitted by one degree.

Hu Guang had been made marquis of a district as reward for his assistance with the accession of Emperor Huan under the Liang hegemony in 146 (*HHS* 44/34, 1509). No enfeoffments are recorded for the other two, but it is possible that they had been made marquises in connection with their promotion to the highest offices of the civil service, and they would also have been the recipients of grants of lower noble ranks awarded generally or possibly specifically during their lifetime: on this, see Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank".

Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 129, discusses the punishment of "the death penalty remitted by one degree", and suggests that this sentence was the same, or had the same effect as, the penalty of shaving the head and applying an iron collar (城旦 *chengdan*), being the heaviest form of hard labour, which began in any case with a bastinado and was aggravated by an iron collar and leg chains.

It seems likely, however, that these three senior officials may have escaped the full rigour of this penalty, possibly by commutation of their noble ranks. Hu Guang, for example, although his biography in *HHS* 44/34 does not mention it, was evidently restored to some office within a very short time: at the beginning of Emperor Huan's period of personal rule, he was joining in recommendations, as Supervisor of the Masters of Writing, for worthy scholars to be appointed to office at court (*HHS* 53/43, 1746). A few years later, he was again appointed to be one of the Three Excellencies.

N *HHS* 34/24, 1186-87 (16a-b), the Biography of Liang Ji.

36 Among those affected by this proscription was the northern commander Zhang Huan (passages G and H of Yanxi 1), who was regarded as a "former subordinate" (故吏 *gu li*) of Liang Ji (passage G of Yanxi 6).

O *HHS* 7, 305 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

P *HHS* 10B, 444 (6b), the Biography of the Empress Deng.

37 The expression *zhi* 知 "realised" does not seem appropriate to this situation. One must assume that Emperor Huan was capable of discovering the original surname of his Empress: at the least, he could have found it out from her mother-in-law the Lady Xuan, with whom he was in some contact; we are told, moreover, that he had been a friend since childhood of the Empress' cousin Deng Wanshi (see passage RR below).

HHS 10B, 444, gives rather more detail. It is said that Emperor Huan disliked the Liang surname (an understandable position, in the circumstances), and he therefore ordered that the Lady Meng's surname be changed to Pu 蒲. Two years later, however, in Yanxi 4: 161, the senior ministers memorialised that since the Empress was really the daughter of Deng Xiang, her original surname should be restored. This was done.

The Empress-Dowager Pu of Former Han was the mother of Emperor Wen. She has biographies in *SJ* 49, 1970-72; Chavannes, *MH* VI, 32-38, and *HS* 97A, 3941-42. She had been a concubine of Emperor Gaozu, and was honoured as Empress-Dowager after her son had been brought to the throne in 180 BC: *HS* 4, 110; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 231.

The Empress-Dowager Pu is described as a worthy woman, who gave good advice in appropriate circumstances. Perhaps the point which appealed most to Emperor Huan, however, is that we are told, although she was loyal to her family and gave them generous presents, only one member of her clan received enfeoffment as a marquis. This is in some contrast to the Liang clan, and to the time of the Empress-Dowager Deng in the time of Emperor An.

Moreover, from the point of view of the Emperor himself, the modesty of the Empress Pu presented a most satisfactory contrast to the ambition and arrogance of the Empress Lü, the formal wife of Emperor Gaozu, who dominated the reign of her son Emperor Hui and eventually usurped all power for herself: see, for example, Dubs, *HFHD* I, 167-210.

The re-naming of the Lady Meng, now Empress, was most likely designed not only to remove the memory of the Liang family, but also to warn her relatives of the Deng family that their positions were held only on sufferance, and they should not become too ambitious or greedy.

Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 95, says that the name of the whole Liang clan was changed to Pu, and understands the character

with the significance of "mean = of low quality". It is possible to interpret the text of *HHS* 10B, 444, in this way, but there is no reference to such a change in the Biography of Liang Ji at *HHS* 34/24, 1187. It seems more probable that it was the surname of the new Empress that was changed, and that it was intended as analogy with the past rather than insult to the present.

HHJ 31,170a, and *HHS* 104/14, 3295, both give the surname of the new Empress as Bo 亳. The two alternative characters were at that time homonyms: Karlgren, *GSR* 771*p* and 773*a*, says that they could be interchanged.

Q *HHS* 78/68, 2520 (10a), the Chapter on the Eunuchs; and *HHS* 7, 305 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

38 The commentary to *HHS* 7 lists the enfeoffments of Yin Xun and his colleagues: they were in fact marquisates of chief districts, districts and chief villages (*i.e.* the chief place of a district: see note 32 above); none were as low as simple *ting* villages.

R *HHS* 7, 306 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

39 *HHS* 61/51, 2036, the Biography of Huang Qiong, says that he was also enfeoffed as marquis of a district after the destruction of Liang Ji.

S *HHS* 61/51, 2036 (17b), the Biography of Huang Qiong.

T *HHS* 67/57, 2203-04 (14b-15a), the Biography of Fan Pang from the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

40 Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 14, renders the term *qingzhao shi* 清詔使 as "Messenger with a Pure Edict", and explains the office as referring to a staff member from the offices of one of the Three Excellencies, dispatched to the provinces on a special errand.

The Biography of Fan Pang tells us that Fan Pang had been recommended as a Filially Pious and Incorrupt candidate by his commandery, and had then been approved by the Superintendent of the Imperial Household, apparently at the highest level for all four categories considered (on this, see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 135-136). It is quite possible that he was then recruited to the staff of one of the Three Excellencies, though

we are not told which (*HHS* 67/57, 2203 and commentary note 2 on 2204).

The only other reference to a commission of *qingzhao shi* in *Hou Han shu* is in the Biography of Diwu Zhong in *HHS* 41/31, 1403. Diwu Zhong was a clerical officer under the Minister over the Masses when he was sent as *qingzhao shi*, also to Ji province, during the Yongshou period (155-157).

Commentary to *HHS* 41/31 also quotes the *Fengsu tongyi* of the contemporary scholar Ying Shao, which tells of a similar commission, to investigate Jing province, entrusted to a member of the Grand Commandant's staff.

It would appear that the position of *qingzhao shi* was more investigatory than Bielenstein's translation of "Messenger" gives it credit for. *HHS* 67/57 observes that Ji province had been suffering famine and banditry, and Fan Pang was given a commission of investigation and adjudication (案察 *ancha*) rather than just sent as a messenger. *HHS* 41/31 says that Diwu Zhong's powers of investigation were very considerable, with authority to report upon the conduct of the Inspector, of the grand administrators, and of all officers below them, and the reaction of these officials was just as fearful as that reported for the visitation of Fan Pang.

On the other hand, it would seem that Fan Pang and Diwu Zhong were both investigating similar problems in the same place at about the same time (it is not possible to decide who was sent to Ji province first) so at least one of them had only limited long-term success.

41 The commentary of Hu Sanxing here quotes a passage from the *Han guan yi* of Ying Shao, explaining the expression *ju yaoyan* 舉謠言 as referring to the collection of sayings from among the people by members of the staff of the offices of the Three Excellencies, this being a means to judge the quality of the administration of senior officials.

Han guan yi also describes a ceremony when the various clerks gathered together to hear declaimed the comments upon each provincial and commandery administration: when comments were favourable, they were greeted with cheers, when they were not good, they received a condemnatory silence. This was evidently the Day of Assembly (會日 *hui ri*) referred to by Fan Pang below.

42 On this term, see note **41** above.

U *HHS* 53/43, 1746-47 (6a-b), the Biography of Xu Zhi.

43 As the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes, the first sentence of this passage is based upon *HHJ* 22, 172a, where, however, the recommendation by Chen Fan is dated in Yanxi 5: 162. The date of Yanxi 2, as in *HHS* 53/43, appears more likely.

On the other hand, *HHS* 53/43 says that Hu Guang, as Supervisor of the Masters of Writing, took part with Chen Fan in this recommendation. Hu Guang, as we have seen in passage M above, had been dismissed in disgrace a short time earlier for his past subservience to the Liang clan, and Sima Guang evidently finds it hard to believe he could have been so quickly restored even to a lesser office.

As I suggest in note 35 above, however, it is possible that Hu Guang's dismissal was made rather for form's sake than as a serious punishment, and it may be that he had in fact been restored to the government.

44 There is a description of the splendidly decorated ceremonial carriages, including the Comfortable Carriage (安車 *an che*), in *HHS* 119/29, 3644, the Treatise on Carriages and Raiment. The Comfortable Carriage appears to have been a large four-wheeled cart, fitted with seats, and covered with a canopy and curtains.

45 The Officer of the Bureau of Merit (功曹 *gong cao*) was one of the senior locally-appointed officers of a commandery. He was primarily responsible for making recommendations for office, both local appointments and recommendations to the capital of Filially Pious and Incorrupt candidates (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 85-86 and 96).

46 The text here refers to a *ta* 榻, being a couch or bed, and the term is explained by the commentary as a couch for sitting on (坐榻 *zuo ta*). It was obviously light, and was perhaps an early example of what was later known as the "barbarian bed" (胡牀 *huchuang*), probably the fore-runner of the chair in China. See Fitzgerald, *Barbarian Beds*, particularly at 9 and 20-21.

47 "Knowing the Way" was a special nomination called for by specific imperial order. The commentary of Hu Sanxing suggests that the nomination of Xu Zhi took place in 121, during the reign of Emperor An (*HHS* 5, 233). No more recent call for such nominations appears in the annals, and it seems probable that this is correct.

From the fact that Xu Zhi was offered a very senior post, as a grand administrator, it appears that the nomination was of a different category to the regular "Filially Pious and Incorrupt" or even "Flourishing Talent" candidacies.

48 The *dou*斗, a measure of capacity, was the equivalent of a little less than two litres. See, for example, Loewe, "Measurement of Grain".

49 The *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 3, 2b, also records this custom of Xu Zhi; see also Mather, *New Account*, 2-3. Passage B of Yanxi 7 records the occasion that Xu Zhu attended the funeral of Huang Qiong and paid his respects in this manner.

V *HHS* 53/43, 1749-50 (8a-9a), the Biography of Jiang Gong.

50 Commentary to *HHS* 53/43 explains the phrase 徵君 *zhengjun* as reference to the fact that Jiang Gong had at some time received an invitation to the imperial court.

W *HHS* 45/35, 1525 (7a-b), the Biography of Yuan Hong.

X *HHJ* 22, 3b.

Y *HHS* 53/43, 1748 (8a), the Biography of Li Tan; with commentary quoting the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng.

Z *HHS* 53/43, 1741 (2a-b), an anecdote of Wei Huan.

51 The county marquisate of Anyang was in the commandery of Runan, near present-day Zhengyang 正陽 in southeastern Henan. The modern city of the same name, in northeastern Henan, was not a county-level administration during Later Han.

The story of Wei Huan is not presented by Fan Ye as a formal biography, but rather as a part of his introductory remarks to this chapter *HHS* 53/43, which deals with worthy men unwilling to take office under an imperfect government.

AA *HHS* 7, 305 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

BB *HHS* 10B, 444-45 (6b), the Biography of the Empress Deng.

52 Xuan had been made Lady of Changan 長安君 immediately after her daughter became Empress

Deng Yin 鄧演, elder brother of the Empress, had been enfeoffed as Marquis of Nandun 南頓 soon after his sister entered the palace and received the Emperor's favour. Then he died, and succession to the fief was granted to his eldest son Kang 康. Then Kang was enfeoffed again as Marquis of Biyang 泚陽 and given a vast donation.

Deng Bing was also enfeoffed as Marquis of Yuyang 淯陽, but *ZZTJ* has omitted to mention here two other enfeoffments: a middle brother, Deng Tong 統, became Marquis of Kunyang after the death of the Lady Xuan; and a cousin, Deng Hui 會, became Marquis of Anyang, evidently in putative succession to the late Deng Xiang. Deng Hui also became General of the Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers.

HHS 10B, 444-45, dates the enfeoffments and awards to Yanxi 4, after the surname of the Empress had been recognised as Deng, and this certainly seems more logical (see passage P and note 37 above). *HHJ* 21, 170a, however, chronicles the enfeoffments in Yanxi 2, and Sima Guang evidently preferred to follow that tighter schedule.

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

53 Marquis Within the Imperial Domain, (關內侯 *guannei hou*: Bielenstein renders the title more literally as "Marquis Within the Passes"), the nineteenth of the twenty orders of aristocratic rank, was next below that of a full marquis, which was itself the highest that could be obtained by a commoner under the Han dynasty.

In theory, it might have appeared that a Marquis Within the Imperial Domain should have had no specific territory as his fief, since the region of the Land Within the Passes (*guannei*: being the ancient heartland of Qin 秦 in the region of the valley of the Wei in present-day Shenxi) had been the domain of the emperor under Former Han, and the tradition of the past implied that no subject could hold a fief in that inner territory See, for example, the *Yu gong* 禹貢 "The Tribute of Yu" Chapter of *Shu jing* III.1B,.18 and 19; Legge, *CC* III, 142-144, also Karlgren, *Documents*, 18.

Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank", 152-154, however, observes that there were a number of occasions that a Marquis of the Imperial Domain was granted an estate. Such estates could be of varying value, and held in one region of the empire or another. It is likely that they were not so advantageous as those awarded to a full marquis, and it seems possible that in many instances only a pension was awarded. There are some

instances of succession of the title from father to son, but it appears that the rank was normally not hereditary.

54 Gaoxiang was evidently the name of a district (*xiang*); it is not known where the place was.

DD *HHS* 78/68, 2520 (10a), the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

EE This passage appears to have been compiled by Sima Guang from a variety of texts.

FF *HHS* 57/47, 1851-52 (9b-11a), the Biography of Li Yun.

55 The commentary of Hu Sanxing explains this as an allusion to the undertaking given by Emperor Gaozu, founder of Former Han, that enfeoffments would be given only to those who had shown merit in the service of the state. See note 79 below.

56 This, of course, is a reference of the military commanders such as Zhang Huan, Huangfu Gui and Duan Jiong, who were defending the frontiers of the empire against the barbarian Qiang, Xiongnu and Xianbi. Although such men were sometimes enfeoffed as a reward for their services, they certainly received no favours comparable to those granted the Emperor's associates at court.

57 This text is related to a passage in the apocryphal text, *Chunqiu yundou shu* 春秋運斗樞, "Pivot of the Celestial Rotation of the Spring and Autumn [Annals]" which was circulated at this time. It is quoted more extensively in the commentary of Hu Sanxing, but the work as a whole is now lost.

58 The phrase *chiyi* 尺一 refers to the imperial edicts drafted onto the standard size wooden strip documents of one foot in length, about 23 cm. See *HHS* 57/47, 1853 commentary note 7 quoting the *Hanguan yi* of Ying Shao, also Loewe, *Records of Han Administration* I, 11 and 28, and *HHS* 66/56, 2162 with commentary.

59 The Prison of the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates appears to have been a new establishment at this time. It was evidently associated with the private apartments of the palace, and was closely under the control of the Emperor, and of the eunuchs (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64-65).

The name of the guards involved in the arrest is given here as *shangshu duhu jianjishi* 尚書都護劍戟士: Warriors with Swords and Lances of the Chief Protector of the Masters of Writing. The commentary of Hu Sanxing notes the suggestion that the phrase *duhu* "Chief Protector" should be interpreted as 都侯*duhou*, referring to the Captains of the Capital who were responsible for security within the palace: see note 30 above and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 33. These guards had, as we have seen, formed part of the force which went to arrest Liang Ji at the time of the coup. It is possible that there was a special detachment allotted to the protection of the office of the Masters of Writing, and this small force, responsive to his personal command, was used again by Emperor Huan on a lesser occasion.

60 Imperial Clerks were officers of the censorate, and often used as agents of the emperor: de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance", 67-74.

The Commandant of Justice was the minister responsible for legal judgement and administration: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 38-39.

61 The Senior Clerk (掾 *yuan*) in the Bureau for All Purposes (五官曹 *wuguan cao*) was the locally-appointed officer of a commandery responsible for supervision of all matters of administration: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 96-97.

62 *SJ* 96, 2577, and *HS* 42, 2095, being biographies of Zhou Chang 周昌 a counsellor of Emperor Gaozu of Han, tells of an occasion that he interrupted the Emperor when he was engaged with his favourite concubine. He compared Gaozu to the legendary vicious last rulers Jie 桀 of the Xia dynasty and Zhou 紂 of Shang/Yin. Gaozu was kind enough to take the matter as a joke.

63 *HS* 67, 2915, the Biography of Zhu Yun, tells how he launched a most arrogant attack on the scholar Zhang Yu 張禹, the former teacher of Emperor Cheng who had been appointed Chancellor. The Emperor was furious, and determined to have him executed, but was persuaded to show tolerance.

The phrase "neck and waist execution" (腰領 *yao ling*), may be taken to refer to the regular form of execution by chopping off the head and to the more exceptional method of cutting in two at the waist, which was normally applied to cases of

extreme cases of sacrilege or treason. See Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 110-111.

64 On this legendary account of the wicked last ruler of Shang/Yin, Zhou Xin 紂辛 (or simply Zhou, as in note 62 above), who had the heart torn out of his critic Bi Gan 比干, to find out whether there was something exceptional about the heart of a sage, see for example *SJ* 3, 108; Chavannes, *MH* I, 206.

At one point, Zhu Yun (note 63 above) had also compared himself to Bi Gan.

65 The Biography of Yang Bing, in *HHS* 54/44, 1771, which contains a brief account of this incident, dates it to the third year of Yanxi, and certainly *HHS* 7, 307, records the death of Li Yun in Yanxi 3.

It is possible that the affair began in Yanxi 2 but was not resolved until the following year.

66 "Great Iniquity" (大不敬 *da bujing*) appears as a term of category for certain most serious crimes and wrongful actions. Any person found to have behaved in such a way was liable to the heaviest penalties. See Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 156-158 and ff (who renders the term as "nefas"), where *bujing* is noted, however, as generally a slightly less serious category than "impiety" (不道 *budao* or無道 *wudao*).

67 The Garden of the Shining Dragon was a pleasure ground constructed by Emperor Huan in the area of the Northern Palace of Luoyang. It had been in existence earlier, but Emperor Huan was evidently particularly pleased and interested in the place, and seems to have remodelled and rebuilt it. See *HHS* 7, 320, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 38, where it is rendered as "Garden of the Sleek Dragon".

GG This passage appears to have been compiled by Sima Guang from related texts.

HH *HHS* 61/51, 2036-38 (17b-19b), the Biography of Huang Qiong.

68 *ZZTJ* agrees with *HHJ* 21, 171a-b, in dating this memorial to Yanxi 2, but *HHS* 61/51 gives a more detailed chronology, which is supported by the annals of *HHS* 7. According to the Biography of Huang Qiong, he claimed to be ill and at death's

door (不起 *bu qi*) at the time he was Grand Commandant in Yanxi 2 or Yanxi 3.

It was only in Yanxi 4, however, that he left office, and that was apparently on account of the banditry affecting the empire. In the same year, he was once more appointed as one of the Three Excellencies, this time as Minister of Works, only to be dismissed again within a few months, this time on account of earthquakes.

The memorial in question here was actually presented in Yanxi 7: 164, when Huang Qiong was still in retirement. He was again seriously ill at that time, and he died later in that year at the age of 79 *sui*.

So it would seem that both *ZZTJ* and *HHJ* are anachronistic on this matter: though the events are quite appropriately linked, Huang Qiong was able to spend some more years in office before he gave full expression to his indignation.

69 The Biography of Li Gu is in *HHS* 63/53, 2073-89, and that of Du Qiao is in *HHS* 63/53, 2091-94.

Li Gu was a man of high official family, who was Grand Commandant and shared in the government with Liang Ji during the brief reign of Emperor Chong, son and successor to Emperor Shun. After the death of the infant ruler in 145, Li Gu urged Liang Ji to establish a mature member of the imperial clan, the King of Qinghe 清河, Liu Suan 蒜. Liang Ji would not agree, and the following year, when the new young Emperor Zhi was also dead, Liang Ji again forced the enthronement of the fifteen-year-old Emperor Huan in spite of Li Gu's protests and the claims of Liu Suan.

In 147 there was an abortive attempt to replace Emperor Huan by Liu Suan. Liu Suan was then compelled to commit suicide and his supporters were executed. Soon afterwards, Liang Ji managed to have Li Gu convicted of being involved in the plot, and after some delays he too was executed.

Du Qiao had also held the position of Grand Commandant, for a few months in 147. He was then dismissed for the support of Li Gu and his opposition to Liang Ji and the eunuchs, and he was later executed with Li Gu. See also *HHS* 6, 275-*HHS* 7, 291 and *ZZTJ* 53, 1700-13.

It was a curious coincidence, of some political embarrassment for Emperor Huan, that the two irritating junior officials whom he had executed, Li Yun and Du Chong, should have had the same surnames as the senior officials who suffered under Liang Ji. Li Gu, however, came from Hanzhong commandery and Li Yun from Ganling, while Du Qiao was a man

from Henei and Du Chong came from Hongnong; none of them, therefore, were closely related.

70 From other editions of *ZZTJ*, and in accordance with the text of *HHS* 61/51, 2038, it appears that the characters 粉墨雜糅 "causing the vermilion and purple of nobility to be mixed with other hues" should be included at this point.

Vermilion (朱 *zhu*) and purple (紫 *zi*) were the colours of nobility; the black gloss (粉墨 *fen mo*) implies a false veneer and the assorted (雜糅 *zanui*) hues are the ordinary colours of common fellows.

71 In ancient China the *gui* 珪, a baton of jade, and the *bi* 璧, a disc of jade, were symbols of noble rank and authority.

II *HHS* 7, 306 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

72 There was no *renyin* day (cyclical no. 50) in the tenth month of this year, which ended on a *bingshen* day (cyclical no. 33). The parallel text in *HHS* 7, however, has earlier chronicled the beginning of the eleventh month: this should be interpolated into *ZZTJ*.

JJ *HHS* 7, 306 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Huan;
and *HHS* 78/68, 2521 (10a-b), the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

73 The post of General of Chariots and Cavalry ranked second only to that of the General-in-Chief in the military ranks of the empire. Like the office of General-in-Chief, however, which had remained vacant since the overthrow of Liang Ji, the position of General of Chariots and Cavalry was rather one of formal command than of practical military service (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 122-124), and it was commonly reserved for a member of the family of the imperial relatives by marriage. The appointment of Shan Chao, a eunuch, was exceptional, and was made as a sign of special favour at the time of his approaching death.

As the commentary of Hu Sanxing observes, in 132 the title General of Chariots and Cavalry had been given posthumously by Emperor Shun to the eunuch Sun Cheng 孫程 (*HHS* 78/68, 2517). Sun Cheng had been the leader of the eunuch group which overthrew the Yan clan and placed Emperor Shun upon the throne in 125. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 91-93, and Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 464-470.

KK *HHS* 7, 306 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

LL *HHS* 65/55, 2146 (12b-13a), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

74 Luoting was a frontier post of the empire, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River above present-day Lanzhou in Gansu; see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 127.

MM *HHS* 66/56, 2161 (2b), the Biography of Chen Fan; and *HHS* 54/44, 1771 (9a), the Biography of Yang Bing.

75 *HHS* 54/44 dates this re-appointment to the winter of Yanxi 3 (160-161), after the conclusion of the Li Yun incident.

NN *HHS* 41/31, 1404 (7a), the Biography of Diwu Zhong.

OO *HHS* 54/44, 1771 (9b), the Biography of Yang Bing.

76 The Enclosure of the Left (左校 *zuoxiao*), which was in the charge of a Prefect (令 *ling*), was an organisation for convict labour under the Court Architect.

Besides regular convicts, the unit could also be used, as in this instance, as a place of hard labour for regular officials who had incurred disgrace. They were possibly treated more leniently than the regular prisoners. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 81-82, Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 52, and Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 132, who renders the term as "Colonelcy of the Left".

PP *HHS* 41/31, 1404-05 (7a-9a), the Biography of Diwu Zhong.

QQ *HHS* 41/31, 1402 (6a), the Biography of Diwu Lun.

77 Diwu Lun was an official of the beginning of Later Han. In the time of Emperor Guangwu he was a local administrator in several regions and was responsible for inculcating Confucian principles among restless people. He became Minister of Works under Emperor Ming.

RR *HHS* 66/56, 2161-62 (2b-3b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

78 In Chinese astrology, there are twenty-eight lunar mansions (宿 *xiu*) or zodiacal constellations, and each of them can be related to a traditional fief territory of the empire. There is implication that the number of fiefs should be limited

accordingly, while the feudal lords themselves should act as the screen and support of the ruler.

79 The most celebrated undertaking by Emperor Gaozu in this regard was the oath to his supporters that no kings should be created in the empire unless they were of his imperial Liu family. This is mentioned specifically in *SJ* 9, 401; Chavannes, *MH* II, 414, at the time the Empress-Dowager Lü was seeking to appoint kings from her own family, and it was referred to again when the Lü family were overthrown after the death of the Empress-Dowager in 180 BC (*HS* 3, 100; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 201).

Yan Shigu, in commentary to that passage of *HS* 3, identifies the oath with two clauses:

No kings who are not members of the Liu family;

No marquises who have not achieved good work.

This latter principle is then followed in the analysis of Sima Qian, in his introductions to *SJ* 18 (at 877-78) and *SJ* 19 (at 977), being the tables of "meritorious subjects enfeoffed as marquises" under Emperor Gaozu and simply "marquises" of the reigns from Emperor Hui to Emperor Jing. Sima Qian points out that numbers of the latter held their titles as grace from the throne, in memory of their forefathers' rank and achievement, not through personal merit. See Chavannes, *MH* III,120-126 and 146-148.

80 This seems a little unfair of Chen Fan. Deng Zun 鄧遵, a cousin of the regent Empress-Dowager Deng in the time of Emperor An, had served as General Who Crosses the Liao on important campaigns against the Qiang, Xiongnu and Xianbi: de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 109-111, 288-289 and 298-299. At the end of the great rebellion of the Qiang, in 118, Deng Zun was enfeoffed as Marquis of Wuyang, and although it might be said that he had gained from the relationship with the Empress-Dowager, his achievements were considerable.

After the death of the Empress-Dowager in 121, however, when Emperor An destroyed the power of the Deng family, Deng Zun and others of his relatives were compelled to commit suicide (*e.g. HHS* 16/6, 617); his marquisate of Wuyang was presumably abolished at that time.

Emperor Huan now sought to revive the marquisate in favour of Deng Zun's son. Admittedly, he was showing favouritism. On the other hand, the fall of Deng Zun had come about through imperial hostility, so Emperor Huan could be regarded as restoring the balance after the over-reaction of his

predecessor Emperor An. In any event, the achievements of Deng Zun were not so "minor" (微 *wei*) as Chen Fan asserted.

From passage SS below, it appears that Deng Wanshi owed his fief as much to personal friendship with the Emperor as to his relationship with the new Empress.

81 *ZZTJ* here has the character 紹 ; from the parallel text in *HHS* 66/56, it should read 絕 .

The commentaries do not inform us, and it does not seem possible to ascertain, which ancestor of Huang Jun had held enfeoffment as a marquis. Evidently, the main line of descent and inheritance had died out, and the Emperor was planning to revive the fief on Huang Jun's behalf.

82 The marquisate of Nan "Southern" District (南鄉 Nanxiang) would not have had the rank or the value of a county enfeoffment, so Deng Wanshi had not succeeded to the full status of his father.

SS *HHS* 48/38, 1618-19 (15b-17a), the Biography of Yuan Yan.

83 A Palace Attendant was a close personal adviser and companion of the emperor: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59-60.

The chronology of the career of Yuan Yan is difficult to relate to the course of the politics in which he was apparently engaged at court. There are a number of clues, but they are frequently contradictory.

According to his biography, Yuan Yan was a scholar, renowned for his moral qualities and influence in his home district, who was appointed Erudit at the Imperial University. We are told that he was then recommended by the Grand Commandant Yang Bing and others as Capable and Good, Sincere and Upright (賢良方正 *xianliang fangzheng*), this being a special nomination which gave entry to the senior ranks at court.

Yang Bing, however, was Grand Commandant only between the winter of Yanxi 5: 162-163 (*HHS* 7, 311) and his death in office in the summer of Yanxi 8: 165 (*HHS* 7, 314). Two calls are recorded for the nomination of Capable and Good, Sincere and Upright during the reign of Emperor Huan, but only the first of these, in the first month of Yanxi 8, took place when Yang Bing was in office (*HHS* 7, 314); the other was in Yongkang 1: 167 (*HHS* 7, 319).

From this evidence, Yuan Yan came to significant rank only in Yanxi 8.

On the other hand, the Emperor's friend Deng Wanshi, whom Yuan Yan is recorded as criticising in the passage below, was evidently enfeoffed not much later than Yanxi 4, and may have received the grant as early as Yanxi 2 (see passage RR above); and he was in any case out of favour and dead by the latter part of Yanxi 8. It is hard to see how Yuan Yan could have held the several posts ascribed to him, and gained the confidence of the Emperor, as he appears to have done, in the time available.

There is other evidence, some of which will be discussed in the notes following, but none of it conclusive. In its small way, this is typical of the problems which Sima Guang, compiling a chronicle history, encountered when attempting to interpolate material from individual biographies based primarily upon anecdotes and worthy admonitions.

84 On Zhu Yun, see note 63 above: his example was raised in the memorial of Chen Fan at the time of the Li Yun incident.

HS 67, 2915, says that when Zhu Yun was being led away from the audience hall after his intemperate speech, he grasped some railings of a balustrade and held on so firmly that they broke. Emperor Huan is evidently showing that he is now more tolerant than when he was dealing with Li Yun.

One may observe again that there is something of a problem in the timing or wording of this discussion: it would appear to have taken place after the death of Li Yun, but Chen Fan is referred to by Yuan Yan as Prefect of the Masters of Writing; he had, however, been transferred from that post to become Grand Herald some time before the matter of Li Yun arose (passage FF above and *HHS* 66/56, 2161).

85 The Imperial Throne (帝坐 *Di zuo*) is the chief star of Western Hercules. In Chinese astronomy it lies within the Heavenly Market Enclosure (天市垣 *Tianshi yuan*), and its brightness or weakness was regarded as an omen for the ruler (*JS* 11, 295; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 84).

The Treatise of Astronomy records only one comet (客星 *ke xing*) during this period of the reign of Emperor Huan: that was in Yanxi 4, but it does not appear to have been close to the area of the Imperial Throne star (*HHS* 102/12, 3256). The list, however, is not necessarily complete.

86 The enfeoffment of Deng Wanshi had also been criticised by Chen Fan: see passage RR and note 80 above.

HHS 10B, 445, refers to Deng Wanshi as a paternal uncle (從父 *zongfu*) of the new Empress Deng, and he was evidently involved with her fate.

Apart from this intriguing passing reference by Yuan Yan, there are no further details of the early relations between the future Emperor Huan, who came to the throne in 146 at the age of fifteen *sui* (*HHS* 7, 287), and his boyhood friend Deng Wanshi.

87 The commentary of Hu Sanxing explains the characters 對博 *dui bo* as referring to the playing of *bo*, also known as *bose* 博塞 or *boyi* 博弈, a board game popular in Han times (see, for example, the two articles by Yang Lien-sheng, "A Note on the So-called TLV Mirrors and the Game *Liu-po*", and "An Additional Note on the Ancient Game *Liu-po*". Use of the character *dui* presumably reflects the fact that the game was played face to face.

Notes to Yanxi 3: 160 AD

A *HHS* 7, 306 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

B *HHS* 63/53, 2089-90 (12b-13b), the Biography of Li Xie.

1 On Li Gu, see note 69 to Yanxi 2.

2 Li He, father of Li Gu, had been Minister over the Masses on two occasions in the middle 120s, at the end of the reign of Emperor An and at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shun. His biography is in *HHS* 82A/72A, 2717-18.

The use of the term "Grand Excellency" (太公 *taigong*) by Wenji as a reference to her grandfather appears as both a mark of family respect and as a sign of his position among the Three Excellencies of the imperial bureaucracy.

3 The foot (尺 *chi*) measure of this time was about 23 cm, or 9.25 inches English measure. Six *chi* feet would therefore have been the equivalent of 138 cm, or four feet seven inches. Expected normal height for men of that time appears to have been about seven *chi* feet, being some 162 cm, or five feet four inches English measure: see Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 18.

Wenji's words therefore indicate that Li Xie was not yet fully grown to manhood.

4 Hanzhong commandery was on the upper reaches of the Han River, the major tributary of the Yangzi from the northwest. Xu province extended over the region of the lower Huai, north of the Yangzi in the east of the empire.

C *HHS* 78/68, 2520 (10b), the Biographies of the Eunuchs; and *HHS* 7, 306 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

5 Bielenstein, *Lo-yang,* 78-80, discusses the Eastern Garden. It was the manufacturing office for coffins and other funerary items of the emperor, his relatives, and honoured officials.

Following the commentary of Hu Sanxing I identify the phrase *yuju* 玉具 with the jade suit or shroud now well-known from the discovery of the tombs of the King of Zhongshan 中山, Liu Sheng 劉勝 (who died in 113 BC) and his wife Dou Wan 竇綰, found at Mancheng 滿城, Hebei, in 1968.

6 In this verse, of four lines each with three characters, the final characters of the second and fourth lines rhyme: *zuo* 坐

and *duo* 墮 (Karlgren, *GSR* 12 and 11). Each of the four eunuchs is referred to in the text by his surname only: the personal name has been interpolated into the translation.

The description of Xu Huang as a sleeping tiger is explained as an indication that no-one dared to ruffle him.

HHS 78/68, 2521, has the last line as *Tang liang duo* 唐兩墮 instead of *Tang yu duo* 唐雨墮 . The last characters are interchangeable, but the use of the character *liang* would give the meaning that "Tang [Heng] gives unjust measures". Commentary to *HHS* notes that the various editions are undecided which reading is correct.

D *HHS* 78/68, 2522-23 (11a-b); the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

E *HHS* 64/54, 2122-23 (15b-16a): the Biography of Zhao Qi.

7 Tang Heng died in Yanxi 7: 164, the same year as Xu Huang. In the following year, the two survivors of the five eunuch allies of Emperor Huan, Zuo Guan and Ju Yuan, were impeached and punished, and the power of their party was for the time broken (passages D to F of Yanxi 8). In the third month of Yanxi 8, just after these events, an amnesty was issued: this was presumably the one referred to here (*HHS* 7, 314).

Zhao Qi was the author of the *Mengzi zhangju* 孟子章句 "The Book of Mencius Arranged by Chapters and Sentences", being a commentary to the classic of the Confucian school. His compilation is often referred to as "the old commentary" (古注 *guzhu*). In the preface to that work, Zhao Qi refers to his flight and escape from the hostility of the eunuchs. See Legge, *CC* II, 4-7.

F *HHS* 65/55, 2146 (13a); the Biography of Duan Jiong.

8 The text in *HHS* 65/55, gives the date only as being in the spring, but *HHS* 76, 306, identifies the intercalary month.

9 Jishi Mountain is identified as the peak of the Amne Machin range, in present-day Qinghai, on the upper waters of the Yellow River. On this campaign, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 128, and Young, *Three Generals*, 66-67.

G *HHS* 7, 307 (10a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

10 The landslide is also recorded in *HHS* 106/16, 3334, the Treatise of the Five Powers. The Treatise ascribes this

ominous portent to the favours shown the eunuchs by Emperor Huan.

HHS 7, 307, also refers to a report of "sweet dew" (甘露 *gan lu*) in Shang commandery in the previous month. This, however, as a favourable portent, is not included in the treatises; and it is also not picked up by Sima Guang.

H *HHS* 86/76, 2833-34 (4a-b); the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

11 *HHS* 86/76 in fact says that the barbarians of Changsha had been in rebellion since Yongshou 3: 157, and about this time the barbarians of Lingling also became active. One version of the text of *ZZTJ* suggests that the character *yu* 與 should be inserted here, indicating that the Changsha and Lingling groups were operating together.

HHS 7, 303, in the chronicle for Yongshou 3, mentions the rebellion of Changsha in exactly the same terms as in this passage of *ZZTJ*, and it is quoted by *ZZTJ* at passage F of Yongshou 3.

Four pages later, *HHS* 7, 307, notes that in the autumn of Yanxi 3 the Changsha barbarians were plundering the commandery; that citation, however, has no mention of invaders from Lingling.

There was evidently a disturbance in this region which had lasted some years, and which now flared up. *HHS* 86/76 remarks that the Changsha rebels numbered more than ten thousand, and that they were attacking government officers; they were then joined by the rebels from Lingling and later by rebels from Wuling commandery.

On the further course of the rebellion, see passages C to I of Yanxi 5. On the text history of the rebellion, see also note 13 to Yanxi 5.

I *HHS* 86/76, 2839 (8b); the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

12 These were remains of the band which had rebelled in Jiuzhen in 157: passage B of Yongshou 3.

13 The dating in the eleventh month comes from the parallel passage in *HHS* 7, 307.

J *HHS* 7, 307 (10a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

14 The inclusion of the name of the Lianyu tribe follows the parallel passage in the Biography of Duan Jiong, *HHS* 65/55, 2147.

On the pronunciation of the character 吾, normally read as *wu* but here as *yu*, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 476 note 2.

15 *HHS* 7, 307, gives the appointment of Zong Zi as being in the twelfth month. For some reason this citation has been omitted from the present text of *ZZTJ*.

K *HHS* 65/55, 2132 (3a); the Biography of Huangfu Gui.

16 *HHS* 7, quoted in passage J above, implies that Zong Zi had settled the rebellion himself.

The text of Huangfu Gui's biography, however, immediately before the present passage, says that Zong Zi had not been able to bring about the submission of all the rebels, and Huangfu Gui was sent to complete the work of pacification.

Notes to Yanxi 4: 161 AD

A *HHS* 7, 308 (10a-b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

1 The Hall of Excellent Virtue is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 25. It appears to have been an audience hall.

The "C-Office" (丙署 *Bingshu*) was staffed by eunuchs, responsible for maintenance of part of the palace (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64).

2 This outbreak of illness is listed also in *HHS* 107/17, 3351, the Treatise of the Five Powers. It is the first so recorded since the spring of 151, ten years earlier. The next such epidemic was in 173: passage A of Xiping 2.

Commentary by Liu Zhao to the Treatise quotes from the *Taigong liutao* 太公六韜 "The Six Concealments of the Grand Excellency", a work attributed to the legendary minister Lü Shang (see note 9 to Yanxi 1), which states that such a pestilence is brought about through the impositions of heavy taxation by the ruler in order to construct great palaces and pleasure grounds.

3 The Arsenal (武庫 *wuku*) is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 57. It evidently lay just inside the Upper East Gate of the city.

The three fires mentioned in this passage, and those in passage D below, are referred to also in *HHS* 104/14, 3295, the Treatise of the Five Powers. The Treatise relates the incidents to the award of unjustified enfeoffments to members of the family of the new Empress Deng, and to the execution of Li Yun (passage FF of Yanxi 2).

B *HHS* 76/66, 2476 (12b-13a), the Chapter on the Lenient Officials.

C *HHS* 42/32, 1444 (16a), the Chapter on the Fiefs of the Sons of Emperor Guangwu;
and *HHS* 7, 308 (10b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

4 Liu Shang 劉尚 was a son of Liu Cang 蒼, a son of Emperor Guangwu.

Liu Cang had been enfeoffed as King of Dongping 東平 in 41. When Liu Cang died in 83, he was given the posthumous title Xiao 孝 "Filial", and he was succeeded as King of Dongping by his son Liu Zhong 忠: *HHS* 42/32, 1433-42.

In 84, however, Liu Shang, another son of Liu Cang, was enfeoffed as King of Rencheng, with territory of three counties

taken from part of the fief of Dongping. That line died out in 151, and the state of Rencheng was abolished: *HHS* 42/32, 1443-44. The appointment of Liu Bo thus restored the fief.

The main lineage of the kings of Dongping continued in that place until the abdication of Han to the power of Wei in 220, when they were demoted to become marquises.

The first King of Hejian was a son of Emperor Zhang, and was enfeoffed as King of Hejian in 90. He died in 131 and was given the posthumous title "Filial": *HHS* 4, 170, *HHS* 6, 258, and *HHS* 55/45, 1808.

This Filial King of Hejian may have had the personal name Gong恭, though he is generally referred to as Liu Kai開. On this question see, for example, Qian Dazhao, 1854/2: Qian notes that a descendant of the Filial King of Hejian had the personal name of Kai (*HHS* 55/45, 1810: this Liu Kai had inherited the kingdom of Jinan 濟南 during the last years of Han; when Han abdicated in favour of the Wei, the fief was reduced to that of a marquis). Since a descendant should not have taken the same personal name as his ancestor, Qian Dazhao therefore accepts the variant reading of Gong which appears in *HHS* 42/32, 1444.

The father of Emperor Huan, Liu Yi翼, was a son of Liu Gong/Kai: he had at one time been King of Pingyuan平原, but he was later demoted and eventually re-enfeoffed as Marquis of Liwu蠡吾. Other sons of Liu Gong/Kai were enfeoffed as marquises of villages in 132 (*HHS* 55/45, 1808-09). Liu Bo, Marquis of Canhu ting 參戶亭 [or perhaps Sanhu ting: "Three Household Village"], was thus an uncle of Emperor Huan.

D *HHS* 7, 308-09 (10b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

5 The Heart (心 *Xin*) constellation, one of the twenty-eight lunar mansions, is comprised by α Scorpii and the two other central stars of Western Scorpio.

This comet is described and discussed in *HHS* 102/12, 3256, the Treatise of Astronomy. The Treatise relates the portent to the death of the Empress Deng four years later.

6 Yuanling 原陵 "Mound of Beginning", the tomb of Emperor Guangwu, discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 83, was situated some six kilometres southeast of the capital. The funerary park was surrounded by a wall, and the Gate of Prolonged Life (長壽門 *Changshou men*) was probably the main entrance.

7 The parallel passage in *HHS* 105/15, 3314, the Treatise of the Five Powers, says that the hailstones were big as chickens' eggs. The Treatise ascribes this portent to the excessive number of executions carried out by Emperor Huan and to the favours he was showing to men of poor quality (小人 *xiaoren*).

8 *HHS* 106/16, 3331, the Treatise of the Five Powers, notes this series of events. The Treatise ascribes the portent, and another earthquake in the following year, to the general political change and upheaval at the capital, including the overthrow of Liang Ji, the appointment and subsequent dismissal of the Empress Deng.

9 *HHS* 106/16, 3334, the Treatise of the Five Powers, notes these events. The Treatise makes no specific comment, though it has ascribed the avalanche in Hanzhong in the previous year to the imperial favour shown to the eunuchs (note 10 to Yanxi 3).

10 The parallel text in *HHS* 86/76, 2857, adds that Shan Yu killed 1400 of the enemy, and the remainder scattered in flight.

11 This activity appears to have been preliminary to the major attacks described in passage F below. The Three Adjuncts, however, is a term for the three commanderies about Changan, capital of Former Han: Jingzhao, Youfufeng and Zuopingyi; so the disturbance was affecting the lower Wei valley.

12 The ceremonies for seeking rain are described in *HHS* 95/5, 3117, the Treatise of Ceremonial. They could evidently be arranged for local or national significance, and varied according to whether the problem was a simple shortage of rain or a serious drought. See also note 4 to Yanxi 1.

In the present case, the problem appears to have been only a local shortage of rain, and one must assume that the rain and hail reported for the capital district in the previous month had been sudden and of limited value for the crops.

HHS 103/13, 3280, which would have been the appropriate place in the Treatise of the Five Powers, contains no reference to a drought in this year.

13 Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 141, discusses the sale of offices, a measure first applied at the time of the Qiang emergency in 109 (*HHS* 5, 212).

On the noble rank of Marquis Within the Imperial Domain, the highest below that of a full marquis, see note 53 to Yanxi 2. Though it was not necessarily associated with a specific county or lesser fief territory, it seems most probable that the honour, at least on this occasion, included a state pension.

Quintuple Grandee (五大夫 *wu dafu*) was the ninth noble rank. This, and the other noble ranks, gave also the possibility of redemption from full legal punishments. On noble ranks in Han, see Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank", and Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 214-218.

The Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers and the Gentlemen of the Household of the Feathered Forest were two corps of the bodyguards of the emperor under the Superintendent of the Imperial Household: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 28. The other corps of gentlemen were cadet civilian officials on formal probation, and I have suggested that the Feathered Forest regiment, at least, may have had a similar role for military officer cadets (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 47).

The Cavalrymen Dressed in Red (緹騎 *tiqi*) were troopers under the command of the Bearer of the Gilded Mace, chief of the police about the capital (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 79).

The term *yingshi* 營士 "Warrior in the Encampments" is interpreted by Bielenstein as a reference to soldiers in the encampments of the regiments of the Northern Army, the central strategic reserve of the empire, and its elite fighting force (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 117-118; de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 45-46).

These latter two categories of appointment seem somewhat surprising as the object of a sale of offices and ranks: neither the position of a cavalryman nor that of a warrior appear to have offered high rank or notable opportunity for promotion. If compulsory purchase extended to such low positions, this would seem to represent an attempt to extract money from ordinary people of the middle classes. There may have been some advantage to the purchaser; perhaps, as for the corps of gentleman, a form of cadetship was involved, which could lead to higher and substantive commissions, or at least there was opportunity for informal, but nonetheless useful and influential contacts and possibilities for the future.

The expression *zhanmai* 占賣 in this context presents some difficulty and uncertainty. However, in a personal communication, based upon wide reading in *Shi ji*, *Han shu* and *Hou Han shu*, Dr Mansvelt Beck of Leiden has suggested that the character *zhan* should be understood as indicating either an

estimate or a listing. So *zhanmai* appears to describe a process by which those who wanted the positions inscribed their names on some official roll, with indication of the amount they were prepared to pay for the honour or privilege.

On the later development of purchases of offices and noble ranks under Emperor Ling, see passage M and note 48 to Guanghe 1.

E *HHS* 76/66, 2478 (13b-14a), the Chapter on the Lenient Officials.

14 Shanyin was the capital of Kuaiji commandery in Later Han, and the site is now Shaoxing 紹興 in Zhejiang. Ruye describes part of the hill country south of the city.

F *HHS* 65/55, 2147 (13b), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

15 For this incident, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 129.

16 The Auxiliary of Loyal Barbarians from Huangzhong (湟中義從胡 *Huangzhong yicong hu*), or the Loyal Auxiliary, was a force recruited for the most part from the Little Yuezhi 小月氏 people of the region about the Huang River 湟水 (or Xining River 西寧河) in present-day Qinghai. See *HHS* 87/77, 2899, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 86.

17 On the Enclosure of the Left, being a convict labour force at the capital, see note 76 to Yanxi 2.

G *HHS* 87/77, 2897-98 (22a-b), the Account of the Qiang.

H *HHS* 65/55, 2132-33 (3b-4a), the Biography of Huangfu Gui.

18 The text of this memorial is also translated, with some variants, by Young, *Three Generals*, 27-28.

19 Bin and Qi are ancient names for places in the northwest. Bin was the name of the state of the Ancient Duke of the house of Zhou, which he abandoned in the face of barbarian pressure, and then settled at the foot of Mount Qi (note 9 to Yanxi 1).

The ancient site of Bin is identified as being west of present-day Xunyi 栒邑 in Shenxi. Mount Qi lies northwest of the county city of Qishan 岐山 in Shenxi. Both sites were in the territory of the Three Adjunct commanderies about Changan during the Han period.

Huangfu Gui was actually a man of Anding commandery, further to the northwest, in the area of present-day Gansu; his father had been Chief Commandant in Youfufeng (*HHS* 65/55, 2129).

20 *HHS* 65/55, 2129-30, tells how in 141, at the time of the second great Qiang rebellion, Huangfu Gui protested at the conduct of the campaign by the Han general Ma Xian 馬賢, and later, after Ma Xian was killed, he sent in a memorial offering his services; which were not at that time accepted. See Young, *Three Generals*, 23-24, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 322.

21 Huangfu Gui had held only the official post of Grand Administrator in Taishan, to which he had been appointed the year before (passage K of Yanxi 3). Before that, after a short time at the capital, when he had incurred the enmity of Liang Ji by his out-spoken criticism, he had lived as a scholar in retirement. Here, however, he is referring not so much to his brief term of office, but to his long consideration of the problems of government.

Niaoshu 鳥鼠 is a mountain near present-day Weiyuan 渭源 in Gansu, on the upper Wei river. Dongdai 東岱 is a reference to Mount Tai 泰山, in present-day Shandong province. Huangfu Gui is saying that the problems with the western people, the Qiang, and with the eastern rebels such as Shusun Wuji, are the same.

22 Sun Wu was a celebrated general of the state of Wu 吳 during the Warring States period: his biography is in *SJ* 65, 2161-65. The work entitled *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法 is ascribed to him, and has been translated by Griffith, *Sun Tzu: The Art of War.*

Wu Qi was a celebrated general of the state of Wei 魏 during the Warring States period: his biography is in *SJ* 65, 2165- 68. A work entitled *Wuzi* 吳子 is ascribed to him.

23 This appointment and achievement of Huangfu Gui is mentioned also in *HHS* 7, 309, and *HHS* 87/77, 2898, though neither of those sources mentions his overall command of troops in the west.

Generals of the Gentlemen of the Household were normally officials in charge of one of the contingents of formal guards about the palace (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 24), and there was also a General of the Gentleman of the Household Emissary to

the Xiongnu, who was the resident at the court of the Southern Shanyu (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 238-239, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 112). This present appointment, however, was evidently for active campaign.

A similar position had been given to the military commander Ren Shang 任尚 against the rebel Qiang in 115 (*HHS* 87/77, 2889-90, and de Crespigny, Northern Frontier, 108), and the same system was used again a few years later, when Du Shang was given command against rebels in Jing province (passage R and note 31 to Yanxi 8).

24 Despite the reported success of Huangfu Gui, it will be observed that there was further rebellion in the next and following years. See, for example, passage B of Yanxi 5.

Notes to Yanxi 5: 162 AD

A *HHS* 7, 309 (10b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

1 A fire in this office had also been reported in the first month of the preceding year (passage A to Yanxi 4).

This, and the fires mentioned in passages C and E below, are listed also in *HHS* 104/14, 3295-96, the Treatise of the Five Powers, which gives, however, no particular interpretation.

B *HHS* 65/55, 2133 (4a-b), the Biography of Huangfu Gui.

2 This passage is translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 29-30.

3 Guo Hong, it may be noted, was the man who had been responsible for the false accusation which brought about the dismissal of Duan Jiong in the previous year (passage F of Yanxi 4, and also note 22 below).

C *HHS* 7, 309-10 (10b-11a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

4 Both *HHS* 7 and *HHS* 104/14, 3295 give the dates of these fires as occurring in the fourth month. Modern calculations, however, indicate that the fourth month of Yanxi 5 had no day *yichou* (cyclical no. 2) nor a day *wuchen* (cyclical no. 5): the month began on a *guiwei* day (cyclical no. 20) and the last day was *renzi* (cyclical no. 49).

Similarly, though the earthquake referred to in passage D below is satisfactorily dated to the *yihai* day (being cyclical no. 12), the fifth month of Yanxi 5 ended on a *xinsi* day (cyclical no. 18), and thus should not have contained a *jiashen* day (cyclical no. 21).

Given the consistent series of false dates, it seems likely that the identifications of the months have been misplaced.

I have therefore suggested Western dates for the days *yichou* and *wuchen* as if they were in the fifth month, and for the day *jiashen* as if it was in the sixth month.

5 The Gongling 恭陵 tomb of Emperor An lay northwest of Luoyang. Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 84, renders the name as "Mound of Respectfulness".

6 The offices of the guards Rapid as Tigers, and of the other corps of the Gentlemen of the Household, were in the southern suburbs of Luoyang, in the vicinity of the Imperial University: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 72.

7 Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 84 and 118-119 note 389, considers the argument that this tomb should in fact be described as Gengling 庚陵 "The Geng Mound", rather than Kangling 康陵 "The Mound of Ease". The tomb complex lay southeast of Luoyang.

D *HHS* 38/28, 1285 (8b), the Biography of Du Shang.

8 There is a parallel text to this item in *HHS* 7, 310, and another account in *HHS* 86/76, 2834. See also passages E, F, G and H below.

These bandits of Changsha and Lingling were evidently the same group as those who have been mentioned earlier, in Yongshou 3 (passage F) and Yanxi 3 (passage H): see also note 11 to Yanxi 3.

Changsha and Lingling commanderies were in Jing province, north of the Nan Ling divide, as was also Guiyang commandery. Nanhai and Cangwu commanderies were in Jiao or Jiaozhi province to the south.

The disturbance in this region, which had first been reported five years earlier, and which had become more serious in Yanxi 3, now expanded very considerably, and the government could no longer leave the situation to the resources of the local administration.

The Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk was a surveillance official, effectively the head of the censorate at the capital. There were, however, occasions when such officers were appointed to the command of troops in the field. See de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance", 73-74, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 99 and 482 note 37.

On this occasion, it appears that Sheng Xiu may have been appointed in the first instance because the disturbance extended across provincial borders; an official of his rank would have the authority to raise troops and carry out operations without concern for the niceties of local administration.

Similar appointments, of court officials to hold military command against provincial disorders, may be seen at this time in the cases of Zhang Bing, who is described in passage B above as Imperial Clerk Commanding the Army (督軍御史 *dujun yushi*) in Liang province, and Ma Mu in passage F below, who was Internuncio (謁者 *yezhe*) in command of the Inspector of Jing province. Such arrangements had been useful

in previous times of trouble, but they had a poor record this year.

E *HHS* 7, 310 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

9 Neither *HHS* nor *ZZTJ* show any reference for the beginning of the sixth month of this year, but this *jiashen* day, cyclical no. 21, was most probably the third day of that month, which began on a *renwu* day, cyclical no. 19.

10 The Door of Continuing Excellence (承善闥 *Chengshan ta*) has not been further identified.

11 Ai county was in present-day Jiangxi, close to the borders of present-day Hunan. Yiyang county was in present-day Hunan province, west of the Xiang River. These people had therefore extended their activities a considerable distance from their base. *HHS* 38/28, 1285, says that the number of this group at the beginning was only six hundred men. They had been called up for military service, but had not been paid, and so they mutinied. They may, therefore, have already been stationed in the region of Changsha. We can observe, moreover, that Yiyang county had been a centre of rebellion among the barbarians of Changsha a few years before (passage F of Yongshou 3).

F *HHS* 38/28, 1285 (8b), the Biography of Du Shang.

G *HHS* 7, 310-11 (11a-b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

12 *HHS* 7 adds that the rebels of Lingling also attacked Changsha.

H *HHS* 86/76, 2834 (4b), the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

13 The texts and chronology at this point are somewhat confused, to some extent because of the frequent and repeated rebellions by the non-Chinese people of the region.

HHS 7, 307, records that the non-Chinese people of Wuling commandery attacked Jiangling in the winter of Yanxi 3, and says that they were attacked and defeated by the General of Chariots and Cavalry Feng Gun, while Du Shang, the Inspector of Jing province, pacified Changsha. However, *HHS* 7, 311, records another rising by the Wuling people in the winter of Yanxi 5, and says again, though in slightly different terms, that they were put down by Feng Gun.

Sima Guang, in his *Kaoyi* commentary to *ZZTJ* 54, 1763, notes that the first entry is a mistaken and misplaced copy of the second.

The history is confused further, however, by the wording of *HHS* 86/76, 2833-34, which also implies that the rebellion of the Wuling people took place in the winter of Yanxi 3, immediately following the rising of the Changsha and Lingling barbarians in that year; and that it was on this occasion the Grand Administrator of Nan commandery, Li Su, made his cowardly flight.

HHS 38/28, 1285, however, dates the appointment of Du Shang as Inspector of Jing province to deal with the widespread rebellion firmly in Yanxi 5; and *HHS* 38/28, 1281, also describes the affair, including the flight of Li Su, as taking place in Yanxi 5. *HHS* 7, 311, moreover, tells of the execution of Li Su for his cowardice in the winter of Yanxi 5.

It would seem, then, that the trouble with the non-Chinese people in this region had begun in Yongshou 3: 157, that it expanded considerably in Yanxi 3: 160, and then reached its peak, with notable Chinese defeats and the requirement of a major army from the capital, in Yanxi 5: 162.

Finally, one may note that any historian must find it difficult to sort out the repeated disturbances among different groups of non-Chinese peoples, identified only vaguely by reference to the (often ill-defined) commandery territory which they are described as inhabiting. Thus it is said here that the barbarians of Lingling "also rebelled"; but we have noticed in passage D that barbarians from Lingling were already up in arms. The two statements presumably refer to two different groups, both described simply as "barbarians from Lingling".

14 On the death penalty diminished by one degree, see note 35 to Yanxi 2.

15 The position of a Gentleman was that of a cadet on probation for the executive ranks of the government service. This was normally obtained by recommendation as "Filially Pious and Incorrupt" from the man's local commandery; in this case, however, one member of Hu Shuang's family was granted exemption from such formality.

A similar award had been granted to the family of the deceased loyal official Ni Shi some years earlier: note 3 to Yongshou 3.

I *HHS* 38/28, 1285 (8b), the Biography of Du Shang; also *HHS* 7, 311 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Huan; also *HHS* 38/28, 1281 (5b), the Biography of Feng Gun.

J *HHS* 38/28, 1283 (6b-7a), the Biography of Feng Gun.

16 The text of *ZZTJ* and *HHS* at this point is somewhat abbreviated, and the thrust of the debate is clearer in the parallel passage of *HHJ* 22, 4a-b, which quotes more extensively from the memorial of Zhu Mu.

Feng Gun, of course, was nominating a high eunuch official to look after the supplies in order that, should any prove to be missing, the responsibility would fall upon the eunuchs and not upon himself. Zhu Mu is arguing that if Feng Gun was a truly honest official he would never even think of the possibility that he might need to defend himself in this way.

There is a biography of Zhu Mu in *HHS* 43/33, 1461-74. See also passage I and note 11 to Yanxi 6.

17 There is a biography of Ying Feng, father of the celebrated scholar Ying Shao, in *HHS* 48/38, 1606-09. As Grand Administrator of Wuling in 153, he had settled a rebellion of non-Chinese people there.

18 A Gentleman of the Household in Attendance (從事中郎 *congshi zhonglang*) was one of two second-level officers on the staff of a general (*HHS* 114/24, 3564; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 124).

19 On the use of the phrase *haigu* 骸骨 (literally, "my bones [which need to be buried soon]") as a term for retirement or resignation from service, see for example the Annals of Xiang Yu, *SJ* 7, 325; Chavannes, *MH* II, 303, and Watson, *RGH* I, 64.

K *HHS* 7, 311 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

L *HHS* 65/55, 2133-34 (4b-5b), the Biography of Huangfu Gui.

20 This passage is also translated, with some variants, by Young, *Three Generals*, 30-33.

21 Huangfu Gui is saying, politely, that his conduct has been faultless.

22 In passage B above, we have been told that Sun Jun and Li Xi had held office in Anding Commandery and that Zhang Bing was an officer in command of the army (and see note 8 above). Guo Hong had been the Inspector of Liang province and Zhao Xi was Grand Administrator of Hanyang.

From Huangfu Gui's description here, it appears that he began his campaign by attacking and settling the non-Chinese people of Anding, and then turned south to deal with the region of the upper Wei valley, including Hanyang.

23 A black (黑 *hei*) seal-ribbon was part of the insignia of officials of the middle range, with rank/salary of 1000 and 600 *shi* (*HHS* 120/30, 3675).

When a senior was disgraced, his former subordinates and clients might be proscribed from holding office. See, for example, Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 135-140. In the present case, we are not told specifically that such penalty had been applied, but one may imagine that association with the convicted men would have been embarrassing and damaging to their juniors' careers.

24 The expression 無擔石 *wu danshi* describes a household without a single measure of grain.

25 The Lady Wang Zhaojun 王昭君 was given in marriage to the Huhanxie 呼韓邪 Shanyu of the Xiongnu in 33 BC, to seal his alliance with Han. See, for example, de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 189 and 510 note 31.

In the time of Emperor Wu, at the end of the second century BC, the Han court sent the Lady Xi細, a daughter of the King of Jiangdu 江都, to be wife to the ruler of the Wusun烏孫 people, who inhabited the region of the Ili River in central Asia. See Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 216, and *HS* 96B, 3904.

Though Huangfu Gui does not appear to refer to the incident, he could have cited an even higher authority. In *SJ* 110, 2895; Watson, *RGH* II, 166, we are told that Emperor Gaozu sent a princess of the imperial Liu family to marry the great Shanyu Modun 冒頓.

26 Huangfu Gui's argument here is that bribery with money is surely no worse than handing over Chinese ladies of the imperial court and family. In dealing with barbarians, there are good precedents for a policy of generous conciliation.

27 The commentary of Hu Sanxing identifies these five defeats as follows:
in 108 the General of Chariots and Cavalry Deng Zhi 鄧騭 was defeated by rebel Qiang west of Ji 冀 in Hanyang commandery (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 95-96);
later in the same year the general Ren Shang 任尚 was also defeated by the Qiang at Pingxiang 平襄 in Hanyang commandery (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 96);
in 115 a Chinese army led by Sima Jun 司馬鈞 was defeated by the Qiang near Dingxi 丁奚 city in the north of Beidi commandery (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 108);
in 141 the general Ma Xian 馬賢 was defeated and killed by rebel Qiang in Beidi commandery (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 120);
in 144 the Colonel Protector of the Qiang Zhao Chong 趙沖 was killed fighting rebel Qiang (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 121).

28 These repeated visits were evidently designed to encourage Huangfu Gui to pass the men some money in order that they might report more enthusiastically on his behalf.

29 It seems probable that this refers to the amnesty of the third month of the following year (passage A to Yanxi 6).

Notes to Yanxi 6: 163 AD

A *HHS* 7, 311-312 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

1 On the Kangling/Gengling tomb of Emperor Shang, see note 7 to Yanxi 5.

The parallel passage in *HHS* 104/14, 3296, the Treatise of the Five Powers, gives no specific prognostication for this event.

2 The Pingling 平陵 "Mound of Pacification", tomb of Emperor Zhao of Former Han (reigned 86-74 BC), was northwest of Changan, on the northern bank of the Wei River, in the neigbourhood of the Maoling 茂陵 "Mound of Abundance" tomb of Emperor Wu (*Sanfu huangtu* 6, 52).

HHS 104/14, 3296, gives no specific prognostication for this event.

3 *ZZTJ* here has the personal name of the Grand Administrator as Ju 舉. Other editions, however, have it as Feng 奉, and both *HHS* and *HHSJJ* agree.

B *HHS* 38/28, 1283 (7a), the Biography of Feng Gun.

C *HHS* 7, 312 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

4 On the "competitive hunt", see note 4 to Yanxi 1. On the sites of the parks, see note 5 to Yanxi 1.

It seems clear that the Shanglin Park which the Emperor visited on this occasion was the one dating from Former Han, in the neighbourhood of Changan.

D *HHS* 66/56, 2162-63 (3b-4a), the Biography of Chen Fan.

5 The relevant passage of the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 103/13, has no reference to ominous exceptionally heavy rain in this year.

E *HHS* 7, 312 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

6 This is a comment added by Sima Guang. The Biography of Zhou Rong is in *HHS* 45/35, 1536-37.

F *HHS* 45/35, 1538 (16b), the Biography of Zhou Jing;
and *HHS* 54/44, 1772 (10a-b), the Biography of Yang Bing.

7 The investigation proposed here would have concerned most of the officials and military officers of the capital district. The Colonel Director of Retainers was inspector of the seven commanderies in Sili province, about Luoyang and Changan; the ministers had authority over the clerks in their offices; the Colonel of the City Gates controlled the guards at the gates of the walls of Luoyang; the five regiments here refers to the Northern Army, and the Captain of the Centre of the Northern Army was an inspectorial official, of comparatively low rank, but with powers of investigation and impeachment.

8 *HHS* 54/44 notes also that the Grand Administrator of Liaodong commandery and the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Emissary to the Xiongnu were among those impeached by Yang Bing in this purge of officials outside the capital.

The phrase *mushou* 牧守 "governors and administrators" must be taken as a general reference to inspectors and grand administrators. The position of *mu* "Governor" or "Shepherd" did not exist in the provinces at that time. See de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance", 67, Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 90-91, and passage B of Zhongping 5: 188.

G *HHS* 65/55, 2135 (5b), the Biography of Huangfu Gui; and *HHS* 65/55, 2139 (8a-b), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

9 These passages from *HHS* 65/55 have been translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 33 and 47-48.

The Biography of Zhang Huan tells us that his administration of Wuwei commandery had been noted for humane reforms of barbaric local customs, and the people, in gratitude, erected shrines in his honour.

We may note that all three generals appear to have suffered unjust punishment at various stages of their careers: Zhang Huan was dismissed for his past connection with Liang Ji (passage G of Yanxi 6); Duan Jiong had been sentenced to convict labour because of a false report by an official later shown to be incompetent (passage F of Yanxi 4 and passage B of Yanxi 5); and Huangfu Gui, in the previous year, had been convicted as a result of private slanders and eunuch interference (passage L of Yanxi 5). One must admire the sense of public duty held by these men, that they continued to serve after such treatment; Huangfu Gui, at least, could have afforded to remain in retirement on his estates.

H *HHS* 65/55, 2147 (13b), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

10 This passage has been translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 68-69.

Duan Jiong had been sentenced to convict labour two years earlier (passage F of Yanxi 4), and the appeals of the officers and people from the west had been in some part responsible for his release. He was then appointed to a series of posts at the capital, and later transferred to be Inspector of Bing province. It was from that position that he was re-appointed Colonel Protector of the Qiang.

Duan Jiong's biography also tells us that when the government learnt of Guo Hong's wrong-doings, the Emperor summoned Duan Jiong to enquire further about his ill treatment. Duan Jiong, however, made no further complaint, and would only apologise for his personal errors of judgement. He was widely admired for his sense of honour.

I *HHS* 43/33, 1472 (11b-12a), the Biography of Zhu Mu.

11 Zhu Mu was a scholar-official, of strongly Confucian persuasion, from an old-established family. Some years earlier, in 153, as Inspector of Ji province, he had made a name for himself as a resolute opponent of eunuch associates. His activities in this line came to a climax when he broke open the tomb and desecrated the body of the father of the eunuch Zhao Zhong 趙忠, who had been given special imperial permission for a burial with ritual ornaments including the jade shroud (玉匣 *yuxia*: see note 5 to Yanxi 3). For this, Zhu Mu was sentenced to convict service and then lived in retirement. He had lately been recalled to office.

12 On this change, see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 63. During Former Han, the position of Regular Palace Attendant had been a supernumerary position, awarded to full men who held other substantive appointments. The post itself had no formal associated duties. In Later Han, it became the highest position which could be held by eunuchs, and in rank/salary was close to ministerial status. There were still no formal duties or powers associated with the post, but the holders were effectively the leaders of the eunuchs and had great influence within the palace and the government.

13 In fact, it would seem that the importance of the Regular Palace Attendants had already begun to increase rather earlier, in the time of Emperor He (89-106), when their permitted

numbers were raised from four to ten; it was possibly also at this time that their rank/salary, which had been fixed by Emperor Ming at One Thousand *shi*, was raised to Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi* (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 63).

Zhu Mu, however, is evidently relating the influence of the eunuchs to the time of the regency of the Empress Deng of Emperor He who, after the death of her husband, controlled the government of Emperor Shang and then that of Emperor An until her death. For a regular emperor, eunuchs were useful as messengers who could enter the harem when the ruler was engaged there, and they gained and maintained great influence through this. For the regent Empress-Dowager, however, as a woman, eunuch intermediaries were essential for her dealings with the full men of the regular administration; it would have been quite improper for her to meet them directly.

14 Commentary to *HHS* 43/44 explains the character 璫 *dang* (literally, "gong") as an ear-ring, also the badge of a eunuch.

The commentary also interprets the phrase *changbo* 常伯, which I have rendered here as "formal positions of close attendance", as a reference to the official position of Palace Attendant (侍中 *shizhong*), a high court position, held by a full man, with the right and responsibility to give guidance and advice to the emperor (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59-60).

15 *HS* 19A, 739, lists the supernumerary titles of the Former Han system, of which the first two are the Palace Attendant and the Regular Attendant, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 50 and 26, discusses the status of these appointments in Former Han.

The Palace Attendants and Regular Palace Attendants and the Gentlemen in Attendance of the Yellow Gates (黃門郎 *huangmen lang*) were all full men. There is, however, no specific evidence to support the statement of Zhu Mu that the first two posts were only held by one man at a time. It is possible that this was so, but *HS* 19A, at the end of the list of supernumerary posts, says only that the total number of people holding such positions could be in the scores.

As to responsibility for the affairs of the imperial secretariat (省尚書事 *xing shangshu shi*, where the first character is identified by *HHS* commentary as meaning *lan* 覽 "to read"), there is no evidence to show that this position was directly associated with the position of Palace Attendant or Regular Attendant during Former Han. There may, perhaps, have been some general entitlement for a person with such high supernumerary rank to interest himself in the work of the

office of the Masters of Writing, but the only formal position of importance in this regard during Former Han was that of the Intendant of the Masters of Writing (領 *ling shangshu shi*).

Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 153-154, has discussed the office (or status) of Intendant of the Masters of Writing, a position which was granted irregularly from 87 BC, and he has identified the offices with which it was associated. The most common of these was the Commander-in-Chief (大司馬 *da sima*), which title Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 151, identifies with the regency after 87 BC.

HS 19A, however, does note that while the Palace Attendant and the Regular Palace Attendant had the right to enter the inner apartments of the palace, two other high-ranking supernumerary positions, the Bureau Heads of the Left and of the Right (左右曹 *zuoyou cao*) were authorised to deal with matters of the imperial secretariat (受 *shou shangshu shi*). The commentary of the Qing scholar Shen Qinhan 沈欽韓 , cited in *HSBZ* 19A, 24b, suggests that these Bureau Heads may have been connected to the intendancy of the Masters of Writing (and see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 26).

In general terms, therefore, though the evidence we have does not support every detail of Zhu Mu's statements, the thrust of his argument, that these high-ranking supernumerary officials were probably limited in number, reserved for full men, and had special access to the emperor and to the secretariat, appears correct.

16 On the Empress-Dowager Deng, who controlled the imperial government from 106 to 121, see note 13 above and also note 17 to Yanxi 2.

17 *HHS* 43/33 adds that after Zhu Mu's death, at the age of 64 *sui*, a joint petition from the highest officials was presented, extolling his personal virtues and his loyalty. An imperial edict was then issued, praising Zhu Mu and awarding him posthumous appointment as Grand Administrator of Yizhou commandery.

Notes to Yanxi 7: 164 AD

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

1 There is a good deal of confusion between the texts for this passage. *HHJ* 22 says that Huang Qiong died in office as Grand Commandant, but the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHS* 8, 308-09, has mentioned his leaving that office in the third month of Yanxi 4, three years earlier, that he was appointed Minister of Works in the sixth month of that year, leaving that office in the ninth month (passages A and D of Yanxi 4); and *HHS* 61/51, 2037-38, tells us that he died without holding further appointment. The office of Grand Commandant during this period had been held by Liu Ju and then by Yang Bing (passage A of Yanxi 4 and passage K of Yanxi 5). Sima Guang therefore preferred to follow the *HHS* text.

There is also difficulty with the date of Huang Qiong's death. *HHS* 61/51 says only that he died in Yanxi 7, and gives no indication of the month. *HHJ* 22 says that he died in the second month, but gives no indication of the day. And there was in fact no *bingxu* day (cyclical no. 23) in the second month of Yanxi 7: that month began on a *ranyin* day (cyclical no. 8): see also Xu Shaozhen, 2030a. There seems no way to tell where the reference to the day *bingxu*, as cited in *ZZTJ*, came from.

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

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

in his regular role of collator, editor, and occasional commentator.

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

B *HHJ* 22, 2a-b;
and *cf.HHS* 53/43, 1747 (7a-b), the Biography of Xu Zhi.

2 The texts do not agree on the numbers attending this funeral. *HHJ* says that all scholars came from far and near; *HHS* 53/43 adds that those who assembled numbered "several tens". It seems possible that the character *qian* 千 "thousands" in the text of *ZZTJ* should read *shi* 十 "tens".

3 We have been told earlier (passage U of Yanxi 2) about this courteous custom of Xu Zhi, whose style was Ruzi 孺子.

Commentary to *Shishuo xinyu* A, la; Mather, *New Account*, 3-4, quotes from the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 3, 2b, with the same description. Mather, however, indicates that Xu Zhi performed the offering of chicken and wine-soaked silk only on this occasion in honour of Huang Qiong, while the Chinese texts imply that he did this on a number of occasions, and it just happened to be at Huang Qiong's funeral that he was identified and accosted.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7 The commentary of Hu Sanxing explains the phrase 三牲之養 *sansheng zhi yang* with reference to *Xiao jing* 10, being the action of providing three different kinds of meat to one's parents each day.

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

E *HHJ* 23, 9b-10a.

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

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

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

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

Liangfu, also written梁父 , was a territory south of Mount Tai in present-day Shandong.

Lüshi chunqiu 21, 6b-7b, Wilhelm, *Frühlung und Herbst*, 378,refers to Duangan Mu as a worthy man. *SJ* 44, 1839, with the *zhengyi* commentary of Zhang Shoujie of Tang quoting the *Gaoshi zhuan* 高士傳 by Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 of the third century AD, describes how Duangan Mu studied and practiced virtue and was honoured by the Marquis Wen of Wei 魏文侯 as a sage and worthy; Chavannes, *MH* V, 141-143.

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

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

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

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

The Master said, 'The man who is fond of daring and is dissatisfied with poverty, will proceed to insubordination.

So will the man who is not virtuous, when you carry your dislike of him to an extreme.'

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

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

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

When Jiezi Tui decided to go into permanent hiding, his mother argued with him, but was persuaded by his sense of honour and then accompanied him.

14 Commentary to *HHS* relates this description to that of Hui of Liuxia 柳下惠, described in *Lun yu* XVIII.2 and XVIII.8; Legge, *CC* I, 331-332 and 336-337, and *Lun yu* XV.13; Legge, *CC* I, 298-299 and notes (Lau, *Confucian Analects*, 149, 151 and 134 [as XV.14]). Hui of Liuxia was the posthumous name given to Zhanhuo Qin 展獲禽, a worthy officer of the state of Lu 魯 in the Chunqiu period.

Mencius tells how Hui of Liuxia

...had a saying, "You are you, and I am I. Although you stand by my side with breast and arms bare, or with your body naked, how can you defile me?" Therefore, self-possessed, he companied with men indifferently, at the same time not losing himself.

In the following passage, however, Mencius criticises Hui of Liuxia as "wanting in self-respect". See *Mengzi* IIA, 9.2 and 3; Legge, *CC* II, 207-208 (Lau, *Mencius*, 84), also *Mengzi* VB, 1.3; Legge, *CC* II, 207-208 (Lau, *Mencius*, 150).

15 Commentary to *HHS* here cites *Li ji* 38.16; Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies* II, 610, in praise of the scholar

who accepts no court appointments, but remains in retirement to cultivate his learning and his personal conduct.

H *HHS* 68/58, 2225 (1b), the Biography of Guo Tai; and *HHJ* 23, 12b.

16 The recommendation "Knowing the Way" was a special nomination called for by imperial order, and appears to have given the possibility of swift appointment to high office. See note 47 to Yanxi 2.

There is no reference in the annals to any order for such a nomination during this period.

17 *ZZTJ* follows *HHS* in rendering the given name of this man as Chong 沖; *HHJ* 23, 12b, and also 8b, has Zhong 仲.

18 *HHJ* 23, 13a, mentions that Guo Tai had an interest in astrology and the portents of the apocryphal texts of the New Text school of Confucianism.

19 Commentary to *HHS* (at 2226 note 1) observes the parallel with the comment ascribed to Ru Shukuan 汝叔寬 of the state of Jin 晉, recorded in *Zuo zhuan*, Ding 1; Legge, *CC* V, 745 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 487). Commentary explains the character *zhi* 支 as *zhi* 持 "to hold, maintain, support."

I *HHJ* 22, 2b-3a; and *HHS* 53/43, 1747 (7b), the Biography of Xu Zhi.

J *HHS* 68/58, 2230 (5a), the Biography of Guo Tai; and *HHJ* 23, 11a-b.

20 *HHS* and *HHJ* say that the wife of Huang Yun was a woman of the Xiahou 夏侯 clan. The Xiahou clan of Qiao 譙 county in Pei 沛 rose to great prominence under the successor state of Wei 魏 founded by Cao Cao 曹操 at the end of Han.

K *HHS* 68/58, 2232-33 (6a-b), the Biography of Fu Rong.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

28 *HHS* gives more details of the relationship: Fu Rong came from the same commandery as Qiu Xiang, and after they had met he was impressed by the manner in which Qiu Xiang held himself aloof from the social and political gatherings of the students of the University. He then introduced Qiu Xiang to Guo Tai.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

37 Attendant in Charge of Conveyances was not a regular title, but had obviously been set up for the occasion of this procession.

Hu Teng was a locally-appointed official on the staff of the Inspector of Jing province, whose circuit included Nanyang and Jiangxia commanderies, on the Emperor's route to Yunmeng.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As reward for Kou Xun's support, he and other members of his family were enfeoffed as marquises. One of his granddaughters married Deng Zhi 鄧騭, elder brother of the regent Empress Dowager Deng in the time of Emperor An at the

beginning of the second century AD. The Kou family was thus one of the powerful and wealthy groups at the imperial capital (*HHS* 16/6, 626-27).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

being the officials who had reported against him in the first place.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

At 214, Hulsewé lists the edicts of redemption recorded for this period: there appear to have been none issued between 149 and 168. There had, however, been amnesties in 160 (passage A

of Yanxi 3), 161 (passage D of Yanxi 4) and 163 (passage A of Yanxi 6), and there was another in 165 (passage H of Yanxi 8); some opportunity for redemption may have been included in those edicts. See also note 2 to Yongshou 3.

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

52 *Zhou li* 9 (36), 22b-23a; Biot, *Rites* II, 347-348, describes the audience of a ruler. On his left are nine bunches of thorns which mark the places of the ministers and grandees; on his right are another nine bunches of thorns which mark the places of the great feudatories; in front of the ruler are three *huai* trees (槐: *sophora japonica*) which mark the places of the three excellencies (三公 *san gong*).

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

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

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

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

53 Shensheng 申生 was the eldest son of Duke Xian of Jin 晋獻公 and the elder brother of Chonger 重耳, who later became Duke Wen 文 of Jin.

Duke Xian took the Lady Li 驪 as his principal wife. Lady Li ordered Shensheng to offer sacrifice to his own dead mother,

and Shensheng sent some of the sacrifical foods to his father. Then Lady Li put poison into them and accused Shensheng of seeking to kill his father.

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

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

As he remarks, however, the affair was obviously spread over some years, and *HHS* 16/6 says that it took place during the Yanxi period. Moreover, Xiang Kai in his memorials of 166, and Dou Wu in 167, both refer to the destruction of Kou Rong with the implication that Emperor Huan was personally responsible: see passages S of Yanxi 9 and G of Yongkang 1 (though the extract of the memorial in the latter passage does not include that particular sentence from *HHS* 69/59).

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

Notes to Yanxi 8: 165 AD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 Yang Sheng was a counsellor of Liu Wu 劉武, King of Liang 梁, second brother of Emperor Jing of Former Han. He encouraged Liu Wu to seek to be made heir-apparent, and assassins were sent against ministers of Han who opposed the

project. Yang Sheng and his colleagues were found out and compelled to commit suicide. See *SJ* 58, 2085, *SJ* 108, 2859-60, *HS* 47, 2208-10, *HS* 52, 2396-97.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Shi Bi's biography, which is followed by *ZZTJ*, says that he gave his comments when he was Captain of the Centre of the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C *HHS* 7, 314 (12a-b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

8 *HHS* 108/18, 3369, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records that the eclipse took place in the Yingshi 營室 constellation, also known as the Shi 室 lunar mansion, being a part of Western Pegasus about the two chief stars of that

constellation (Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 99 and Star Map 5). The eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3291.

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

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

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

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

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

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

11 The main edition of *ZZTJ* here describes Hou Can as the elder brother (兄 *xiong*) of Hou Lan, but another version has the character *di* 弟 "younger brother". Yang Bing's memorial, below, and the text of *HHS* 54/44 confirm that *di* is the correct reading.

12 *Zuo zhuan*, Wen 18; Legge, *CC* V, 281 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 546-547), tells how Duke Yi of Qi 齊懿公 , before he came to power, had a dispute about some land with a man of the Bing 邴surname, but got the worst of it. Later, after his accession, his opponent was dead, but the duke then had his grave opened up and desecrated the corpse by cutting off its feet. He nevertheless employed Bing Chu鄒 , the son of his late enemy, as his charioteer.

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

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

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

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

14 It seems most probable that the Masters of Writing are referring to the principle from the beginning of Former Han, when it appears that the Chancellor (丞相 *chengxiang*) was responsible for general administration, and the Imperial Counsellor (御史大夫 *yushi dafu*: Bielenstein: "Grandee Secretary") was charged with the overview of the imperial officials themselves. See de Crespigny, "Inspection and

Surveillance", 43, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 9. The situation, however, had developed considerably since that time, and it would seem that in general terms the Masters of Writing were relying on a very vague precedent.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Goodrich, "An Empress of the Later Han" II, 201-202 note 27, has a considerable discussion of the name of this institution, which was sometimes known as *Bo shi* 薄室, and which was perhaps originally associated with the processing of silk and

in particular with its drying in the sun (see the commentary of Ying Shao and Yan Shigu to *HS* 8, 236 note 3 at 237). It seems possible, as Goodrich suggests, that the concept of heat may have been associated with punishment and exorcism, rather than simply of drying silk, as Yan Shigu explains.

During Later Han, three deposed empresses died in the Drying House: the Empress Yin 陰 of Emperor He (*HHS* 10A, 417); the Empress Deng of Emperor Huan, on the present occasion, and the Empress Song of Emperor Ling (passage G of Guanghe 1 below, and see also Goodrich *op. cit.*). Each of the three were imprisoned and they soon afterwards "died of grief" (以憂死 *yi you si*). It may well be, as Bielenstein suggests, that the phrase is a euphemism for suicide or even an enforced death.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

28 Commentary to *HHS* notes that this is an echo of a text from the apocryphal work *Xiaojing yuanshen qi* 孝經援神契 "Divination Assisted by the Spirits from the Classic of Filial Piety [?]"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the Wuhuan auxiliaries, recruited from the non-Chinese people of the northeast, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 387- 389. On the encampment at Liyang, a base and training ground for the regular army, situated just north of the Yellow River in Wei commandery, near present-day Xunxian 濬縣 in Henan, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 50 and 253, also Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 118-119. Du Shang was therefore commanding a major army, drawn from widespread regions of the empire, and he was given a military title commensurate with that responsibility.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The *Yu gong* 禹貢 "The Tribute of Yu" Chapter of *Shu jing* III.1B, 8 and 9; Legge, *CC* III, 142-144 and notes following, describes the "imperial domain" (甸服 *dian fu*) as the region five hundred *li* about the capital, and the "domain of the nobles"

(侯服 *hou fu*) as the five hundred *li* beyond. See also Karlgren, *Documents*, 18.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HHS commentary to this passage states that the levy was ten cash to the *mu* 畝. The commentary of Hu Sanxing observes that the statement is based upon the rate of the levy of 185, and he argues that the rate on the two occasions need not have been the same; the important thing was the precedent

that was set. It may well be, however, that the rate on the second occasion was adopted from the first.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

47 The phrase "empress-mother" (母后 *muhou*) may be taken here to refer to the position of an empress as the mother of the

people in the same analogy as an emperor was regarded as the father of his people. In formal terms, however, the empress was also regarded as the mother of all the imperial children, and the empress-dowager was considered the mother of the successor to the throne.

48 The Biography of Zhao Feiyan 趙飛燕 is in *HS* 97B, 3988-99. *Feiyan* "flying swallow" was a soubriquet referring to her grace as a dancer.

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

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

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

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

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

These five prohibitions (五禁 *wu jin* or, more commonly, 五不娶 *wu buqu*) are listed also in *Da Dai li ji* 13, 6a; Wilhelm, *Buch der Sitte*, 247-248, and in *Kongzi jiayu* 6, 12b, which, however, gives the last category as a woman in mourning for her father, not for her father's wife.

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

51 The phrase 良家 *liangjia* "good family" is generally understood as indicating people without a criminal background and not engaged in reprehensible professions such as medicine, merchant trade and handcrafts: *e.g.* the commentary of Ru Shun

如淳 of the third century AD to *HS* 28B, 1644. This was a basic category for such selection as that of women into the imperial harem, troopers of the Feathered Forest regiment of guards, and members of the suite of the heir-apparent: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 63, 28 and 78, who renders the term in this context as "blameless families".

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

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

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

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

ZZTJ, however, has slightly abbreviated the process of promotion. Dou Wu had remained in his home country as a private scholar until his daughter entered the harem and became an Honoured Lady, when he was made a Gentleman of the Palace, normally a probationary position. When his daughter became Empress, Dou Wu was enfeoffed and was appointed Colonel of the Elite Cavalry (越騎 *yueji*), a regiment of the Northern Army. It was not until the winter of the following

year, Yanxi 9, that he was made Colonel of the City Gates. See *HHS* 69/59, 2239.

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

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

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

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

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

Li Ying had been Colonel Protector of the Wuhuan, a post which also entailed responsibility for dealing with the Xianbi (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 383-385 and 298 and 303), and he several times dealt successfully with raids from those people. From 156 to 159 he was General Who Crosses the Liao,

involved in operations on the north and northwestern frontier. See *HHS* 67/57, 2191-92.

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

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

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

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

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

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

56 The Biography of Zhang Chang is in *HS* 76, 3216-24. He was for a long time the Governor of the Capital (京兆尹 *jingzhao yin:* Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 87-89), and was celebrated for his excellent administration.

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

57 Yin Jifu 尹吉甫 is celebrated in the *Liu yue* 六月 Ode, *Shi jing* II.3.3; Legge, *CC* IV, 281-284 (Karlgren, Odes, 177 at 120-121), for his victory over the Xianyun 玁狁 northern barbarians. The *Cai qi* 采芑 Ode refers to the defeat of the southern barbarians at the hands of Fan Shu 方叔, who is believed to have been a subordinate of Yin Jifu: *Shi jing* II.3.4; Legge, *CC* IV, 284-287 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 178 at 122-123). On Feng Gun, see note 54 above.

58 See note 54 above.

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

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

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

One must note, however, that Ying Feng's biography says he excused himself from office on the ground of illness when the First Faction Incident broke out in the following year (*HHS* 48/38, 1609). The text implies that he was still Colonel Director; on the other hand we have just been told that Li Ying took up that appointment.

We may observe, incidentally, that *HHS* 67/57, 2199, says that Liu You was Colonel Director some time after Yanxi 4: 161 (see note 22 above). He may have been the immediate predecessor to Ying Feng.

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

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

My own suggestion would be that Li Ying was Intendant of Henan from Yanxi 2: 159 to about Yanxi 7: 164, when he was sentenced on account of the Yang Yuanshi case. He was

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

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

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

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

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

The debate on the execution of Shaozheng Mao formed part of the anti-Confucius campaign in the People's Republic during 1973 and 1974. See, for example, Zhao Jibin 趙紀彬, *Guanyu Kongzi zhu Shaozheng Mao wenti* 關於孔子誅少正卯問題, Beijing, 1973.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes to Yanxi 9: 166 AD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

From the record of Xun Shuang's memorial as quoted below, it appears that nominees on this occasion were required to offer a memorial to the throne. This procedure was not

uncommon in cases of such special recommendations. See passage Q and note 25 to Yanxi 8, and note 6 below.

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

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

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

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

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

5 The Three Dynasties (三代 *san dai*), are the Xia 夏, the Shang 商 or Yin 殷, and the Zhou 周. Jie 桀, last ruler of Xia, and Zhou 紂, last ruler of Shang/Yin, are both notorious in Chinese tradition for their cruelty, extravagance, and lust.

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

6 This passage is adapted from *Shu jing* V.15, 7; Legge, *CC* III, 468, the remarks of the Duke of Zhou in the chapter "Against Luxurious Ease" (無逸 *wu yi*); Karlgren, *Documents*, 58. The Duke of Zhou observes that the later rulers of Shang/Yin were

accustomed to luxury from their birth, so they did not understand the toil and labour of the common people, and thought only of their own pleasures; as a result they neither lived nor reigned for long.

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

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

8 *HHS* 7 dates the full effect of this famine to the third month. The Annals also record, however, that an imperial edict was issued on the *jiyou* day of the first month [8 Mar], expressing concern about the state of the harvest, the number of bandits and the large number of portents and omens. In practical terms, the edict provided for an exemption or remission of taxes from badly-affected areas.

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

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

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

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

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

One must have sympathy for Huangfu Gui in seeking to retire; he was now aged over sixty, and had been on active service for many years. On the other hand, passage G below tells us that the Xianbi, aided by the Wuhuan and the Southern Xiongnu, were about to launch a series of attacks and rebellions along the frontier, following the departure of Zhang Huan. From the point

of view of the Han government, it was not the best time for Huangfu Gui to leave.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Treatise of Sacrifices and this passage of *ZZTJ* mention only Laozi as the object of the ceremony, but *HHS* 7, 317, and *Dongguan Hanji* 3, 5a-b, both refer to the combined deity

Huang-Lao 黃老 , being the combination of the mythical Yellow Emperor (黃帝 *huangdi*) and the sage Laozi 老子 , while *HHS* 7, 320, says that the Buddha (浮圖 *foutu*) was also worshipped: this last is confirmed by the remarks of Xiang Kai (passage S below, and see also note 56).

Dongguan Hanji says that the sacrifice took the form of offering of the Three Kinds of Animals (三牲 *sansheng*), an ox, a ram and pig; this was the Great Sacrifice (太牢 *tailao*), see Bodde, *Festivals*, 56.

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

On the suburban sacrifices (五郊 *wu jiao*) which were held at five cult sites (兆 *zhao*) about Luoyang, see Bodde, *Festivals*, 193ff. The ideal ceremonies of the Later Han period are described in the Treatise on Ritual, *HHS* 94/4, 3102, *HHS* 99/9, 3117, 3123, and 3125, and in the Treatise on Sacrifices, *HHS* 98/8, 3181-82; but *cf.* Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises of Later Han*, 111-115 and 336 note 31.

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

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

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

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

From the rank and responsibility given Zhang Huan in this emergency, this appointment as Protector (護 *hu*) was in a different category, comparable and indeed even higher than that held by Huangfu Gui when he was general of the Gentlemen

of the Household against the rebels of the northwest in Yanxi 4 (passage H and note 23 to that year).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

L *HHS* 67/57, 2212 (20a), the Biography of Cen Zhi in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

24 Wan was the capital of Nanyang commandery, now Nanyang in Henan.

25 There had been an amnesty in the third month of the previous year, Yanxi 8 (passage H).

26 *HHS* 67/57 attributes this energetic action to Cen Zhi, but the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 4, 3b-4a, quoted in commentary to

HHS 67/57, 2186, and to *HHS* 30B/20B, 1077, says that it was Cheng Jin's own decision. *ZZTJ* has followed this, which is certainly more likely.

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

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

M *HHS* 66/56, 2172 (10a), the Biography of Wang Yun.

28 Jinyang was a county in Taiyuan. It lay close to the capital of that commandery, present-day Taiyuan in Shanxi.

N *HHS* 67/57, 2212 (20a-b), the Biography of Cen Zhi in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

29 We have seen that Hou Lan was dismissed after the disgrace and suicide of his brother Hou Can a year or so earlier (passage D to Yanxi 8). It would appear, however, that he had quite soon been reinstated.

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

P *HHS* 67/57, 2210 (18b), the Biography of Zhang Jian in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction;
and *HHS* 78/68, 2523 (12a), the Biography of Hou Lan in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

30 An Investigator (督郵 *duyou*) acted in one region of a commandery, to check upon the administration of the subordinate counties. See de Crespigny, "Inspection and surveillance", 50, and Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 82-83.

31 Hou Lan was originally a man from Fangdong county in Shanyang.

32 *HHS* 78/68, translated by Ch'ü, *Social Structure*, 481-482, describes in considerable detail the constructions of Hou Lan, not only for his mother's tomb, but also his own mansion and pleasure grounds, extending over a great area. This text, and also *HHS* 67/57, add that Zhang Jian sent in reports complaining of Hou Lan's oppression, and also of the wrongdoing of Hou Lan's mother when she was alive.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ju 劉矩. *HHS* 39/29, 1310, being the Biography of Liu Mao, agrees.

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

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

HHS 104/14, 3296, the Treatise of the Five Powers, lists the series of fires at the capital in 165 (see note 10 to Yanxi 8), and the commentary to that text quotes from the *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shansong, 2a, which tells how a memorial of remonstrance was sent in on the basis of these phenomena by Chen Fan and "Liu Zhimao" 劉智茂 . The Qing commentator Hui Dong (*HHSJJ* at 4a) suggests that "Liu Zhimao" is a corruption for Liu Ju and Liu Mao. In that case, it seems probable that the text quoted, which contains a number of references to various portents beside the fires, may come from the joint memorial of Chen Fan and his colleague/s. This, however, does not solve the irreconcilable problem of the alleged appointment of Liu Ju as Minister over the Masses at the relevant time.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

39 The Enclosure of Supreme Subtlety (太微垣 *Taiwei yuan*) is ten stars in the western constellations Virgo and Leo which have the appearance of a circle. Within the enclosure, the Western β Leonis and four smaller stars nearby are known as the Seats of the Five Emperors (五帝座 *Wu di zuo*). See Schlegel, *Uranographie*, 534 ff, *SJ* 27, 1299; Chavannes, *MH* III, 347, *JS* 11, 291-93; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 76-78 and Star Map 2, de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest*, 48-49 note 26 and figure 5.

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

41 Compare, however, *JS* 11, 292; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 77:

"... the path of the moon or one of the five Planets entering the T'ai Wei (Enclosure) can be regarded as a good omen."

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

HHS 102/12, 3257, the Treatise of Astronomy, records that on the *jiwei* day of the intercalary seventh month of Yanxi 8 (19 Sep 165) the planet Venus "invaded" (犯 *fan*) the "front star" (前星 *qian xing*) of the Heart constellation. The "front star" should refer to σScorpii, which lies closest to the House constellation.

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

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

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

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

44 Despite Xiang Kai's statements, there is no record of any notable frost, hail, rains or thunderstorms among the entries in the Treatise of the Five Elements of *HHS* dealing with this time. The most recent such phenomena appear to have been heavy rain in the summer of Yanxi 2: 159 (*HHS* 103/13, 3270; associated with the fall of the Liang family), and hailstorms in Yanxi 4: 161 and Yanxi 7: 165 (*HHS* 105/15, 3314; associated with the deposition of the Empress Deng). The Treatise does not list frosts, and there had been no notable thunderstorms since Jianhe 3: 149, almost twenty years earlier.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

49 The *Zhongsi* 螽斯 Ode of *Shi jing*; I.1.5; Legge, *CC* IV, 11-12 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 5 at 4), is interpreted by commentators as praise for the virtues and fertility of Taisi (see note 47 above). The first stanza runs:

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

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

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

The Treatise of the Five Powers interprets prognosis of feudal lords becoming emperor merely as reference to the ascension to the throne of Emperor Ling, up to then a marquis, after the death of Emperor Huan. Xiang Kai, however, appears to imply that actual rebellion may break out. *Cf.* notes 1 and 11 above.

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

HS 88, 3600, the Chapter on Scholarship, mentions a man named Jing Fang, who had held office as Grand Palace Grandee (太中大夫 *taizhong dafu*) and Grand Administrator of Qi commandery, and who became a scholar of the *Yi jing* under the tutelage of Yang He 楊河. In about 66 BC Emperor Xuan was interested in the teachings of this Jing Fang, and he asked Liangqiu He 梁丘賀, who had been Jing Fang's student,

about them. Hulsewé, "The Two Early Han *I ching* Specialists called Ching Fang", 161-162, suggests that this Jing Fang the Elder was born about 140 BC and died about 80 BC.

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

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

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

See also de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest*, 70-72 note 52 (which assumes authorship by the second Jing Fang), and Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 85, 94, 95, 100, 146 and Table I (which does not clearly distinguish between the two scholars of the same name), also Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises of Later Han*, 344 note 10.

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

52 The chronicle of *Chunqiu*, Ai 14; Legge, *CC* V, 833 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 691), records how a unicorn (麟 *lin*) was captured in the west of Lu. According to *Kongzi jiayu* 4, 16b-

17a, translated by Legge, *CC* V, 834, the animal was taken by a waggoner, who broke its leg before bringing it on a carriage to his master. It was then shown to Confucius, who said, "It is a *lin*. Why has it come? Why has it come?" Then he wept, and explained, "The *lin* comes [only] when there is an intelligent king. Now it has appeared when it is not the time for it to do so, and it has been injured. This is why I was so much affected."

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

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

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

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

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

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

reconstructs the sounds of the characters 屠 and 圖 as identical.

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

58 This description of the Buddha is well-known in the Indian tradition, and it appears in recognisable form in the *Sutra in forty-two Sections* 四十二章經, a work which was probably compiled in China in the late first or early second century AD.

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

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

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

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

Xiang Kai, here, is stretching the point.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Z *HHS* 67/57, 2195 (9b), the Biography of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

69 The Prison of the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates (黃門北寺獄 *huangmen beisi yu*) is discussed by Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64-65, and *Lo-yang*, 52-53. It appears to have been established about 159, in the time of the eunuch influence with Emperor Huan. Most importantly, it appears to have been a prison under the direct control of the Emperor and his attendants, and was therefore not subject to any obstruction

that might have been imposed by Chen Fan on behalf of the regular bureaucracy.

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

70 The inclusion of the names of Du Mi, Chen Xiang and Fan Pang comes not from this text of *HHS* , but is an interpolation from their biographies, *HHS* 67/57, 2198, 2213 and 2205 respectively.

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

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

71 Gaoyao 皋陶 was said to have been the Minister of Crime (*作士 zuoshi*) in the government of Emperor Shun 舜 : *Shu jing* II.I, 20; Legge, *CC* III, 44-45 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 7).

DD *HHS* 66/56, 2166-67 (6a-7a), the Biography of Chen Fan.

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

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

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

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

Certainly, we have seen that the annals for this year have some misplaced items: see note 12 above, concerning the date of the imperial sacrifice to Huang-Lao and the Buddha.

Moreover, in another *Kaoyi* commentary, at *ZZTJ* 56, 1799, Sima Guang points out that the entry in *HHS* 7 has combined two items: the arrest of the alleged conspirators, and their subsequent release and proscription. Sima Guang therefore discounts that record.

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

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

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

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

Moreover, in terms of the development of the crisis between Emperor Huan and his officials, it seems a little more likely that the executions of Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi had been carried

out before the eunuchs ventured to attack Li Ying. In that sense, the annals of *HHS* 7 present a more logical pattern of development.

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

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

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

73 *HHS* 65/55 says that Huangfu Gui was widely admired for this gesture; on the other hand, it does something to demonstrate the isolation of politics at the court from the officers in command on the frontier; and may one dare to suggest that Huangfu Gui perhaps saw this as one more opportunity to obtain relief from his post on the trans-Liao command? See passage D above.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes to Yongkang 1: 167 AD

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

1 Duoxu and Yunyang were counties in Zuopingyi, one of the Three Adjunct commanderies. They lay some fifty kilometres north of the former capital, Changan.

For the pronunciation of the place-name 祋栩, which would appear as Duiyu in modern standard Chinese, I follow the commentary of Yan Shigu to *HS* 28A, 1545-46.

On the pronunciation of the second character of the clan-name 先零, I follow the commentary of the third century scholar Meng Kang 孟康 to *HS* 28B, 1611: see also de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 471 note 14.

B *HHS* 65/55, 2148 (14a), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

2 Luanjue was a county in Wuwei commandery, near the present-day city of Wuwei, in the Gansu Corridor north and west of the main stream of the Yellow River.

For the pronunciation of the place-name 鷵鳥, where the second character would appear as *niao* in modern standard Chinese, see the commentary to *HHS* 65/55.

C *HHS* 7, 319 (15a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

3 The Fuyu people inhabited the region north of present-day Shenyang, to the east of the Liao River in Manchuria. See note 78 to Yanxi 9.

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

4 The two camps of the Tiger-Tooth Chief Commandant near Changan and the garrison at Yong appear to have been maintained under Later Han as defence positions to guard the former capital, and as training camps for recruits: de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 50.

E *HHS* 7, 319 (15a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

5 *HHS* 108/18, 3369, the Treatise of the Five Powers, lists this eclipse, noting that it took place in the Yugui 輿鬼 constellation, also known as the *Gui* 鬼 lunar mansion, being the central part of Western Cancer (Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*,

103 and Star Map 7). The eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3298. It is mapped in Stephenson and Houlden at 212b.

The Treatise records the prognostication that this eclipse, taking place on a *renzi* day, foretold the flooding which took place in the following eighth month (see passage Q below). On the other hand, the commentary of Liu Zhao quotes from *Qiantan ba*, which says that an eclipse on a *renzi* day indicates that the females of the harem are acting unrestrained, and that a woman plans to harm the ruler.

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

6 Jia Biao was a man from Yingchuan commandery, which lay southeast of Luoyang.

G *HHS* 69/59, 2239-40 (1b-2b), the Biography of Dou Wu.

7 Western Capital 西京 refers to Former Han, when the capital of the empire was at Changan. The text in *HHS* identifies the reference specifically to the usurpation of power by Wang Mang at the end of that dynasty.

8 On Zhao Gao, the treacherous eunuch minister of the weakling Second Emperor of Qin, see note 15 to Yanxi 2.

9 Hou Ji后稷 was the minister of agriculture under Emperor Shun: see, for example, the *Shun dian* 舜典"The Canon of Shun" Chapter of *Shu jing*, II.1, 17 and 18; Legge, *CC* III, 43-44. The man's personal name was Xie契; his title, sometimes rendered as "Prince Millet", refers to his status as Prince of Tai邰, combined with his responsibility for the grain which was the major staple of ancient China; *cf.* Karlgren, *Documents*, 7.

Xie 卨, more commonly written 契, was the name of the Minister over the Masses (司徒 *situ*: Legge: "Minister of Instruction") under Emperor Shun: see the *Shun dian* "The Canon of Shun" Chapter of *Shu jing*, II.1,19: Legge, *CC* III, 44., also Karlgren, *Documents*, 7

Yi Yin 伊尹 was the chief minister of Tang湯, founder of the Shang 商 dynasty. See, for example, the *Yi xun* 伊訓 "The Instructions of Yi" Chapter of *Shu jing*, IV.4.1; Legge *C C* III, 191, and *Mengzi* VA, 6.5 and 7.6, and VB, 1.2; Legge, *CC* II, 361-363 and 370 (Lau, *Mencius*, 145-146 and 149-150).

Lü Shang 呂尚, known also by the title *Taigong* "Great Duke" of Qi 齊 太公 was minister to Kings Wen 文 and Wu

武, founders of the Zhou 周 dynasty. See *SJ* 32, 1477-81; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 34-40.

10 Variant editions of *ZZTJ* suggest that the character *shen*神 in the text here should read *ren*人. This would agree with the reading of *HHS*, and the translation follows that emendation.

11 The expression *taike* 臺閣 "terrace and doors" evidently refers to the office of the Masters of Writing, the imperial secretariat. The office was sometimes described as the "Inner Terrace" (中臺 *zhong tai* or 內 *nei tai*): see, for example, the commentary of Li Xian to *HHS* 74A/64A, at 2396 note 2, quoting *Jin shu*; de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance", 68 note 65, and Ch'en, "*San-t'ai*".

The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHS* also lists Chen Fan as Prefect of the Masters of Writing and Hu Guang as Supervisor of the Masters of Writing. At this time, however, they did not hold those positions, and Sima Guang therefore omitted them from the list. Chen Fan had been dismissed from office in the previous year for his support of the men accused of Faction (passage DD of Yanxi 9); he had been Prefect of the Masters of Writing in 159 (passage U of Yanxi 2). Hu Guang was at that time Minister over the Masses (passage E of Yanxi 9); he had been Supervisor of the Masters of Writing about 130 (*HHS* 44/34, 1505).

It is hard to imagine why such a gross anachronism should have appeared. Several of the men praised by Dou Wu appear later in opposition to the eunuchs, and an early historian may have wished to emphasise Dou Wu's support for leading scholars. On the other hand, Hu Guang was not closely associated with, nor even particularly sympathetic to, the anti-eunuch cause.

12 The phrase *taotie* 饕餮 normally describes the formalised face that appears as a pattern of decoration on ancient bronzes and other traditional items. Here, however, Dou Wu is referring to the passage in *Zuo zhuan*, Wen 18; Legge, *CC* V, 283 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 555-556), which tells how

> [The officer Jinyun 縉雲] in the time of [Huangdi = the Yellow Emperor 黃帝] had a descendant who was devoid of ability and virtue. He was greedy of eating and drinking, craving for money and property. Ever gratifying his lusts, and making a grand display, he was insatiable, rapacious in his exactions, and accumulating stores of wealth. He had no idea of calculating where he should stop, and made no exceptions

in favour of the orphan and the widow, felt no compassion for the poor and the exhausted. All the people under heaven likened him to the three other wicked ones (who have been described immediately before), and called him Glutton [Taotie].

13 The Auspicious Grain (嘉禾 *jia he*) is variously described: as a plant with stem five feet long and thirty-five ears, each with two grains; as having three roots, one stalk and nine ears; as piercing the mulberry tree as it grows, and having an ear large enough to fill a carriage box. See Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 341 note 360, discussing *Bohu tong* 5, 3b and other sources.

The character *zhi* 芝 is used in present-day China as a generic term for the mushroom and other fungi (Stewart, *Materia Medica: Vegetable Kingdom*, 271). The *Zhi* Plant, however, is defined in the classics as the plant of long life, which usually comes out in the sixth month, but may vary its colour according to the season. It is said to grow when the ruler shows kindness and reverence to the aged. See Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 336 note 333, discussing *Bohu tong* 5, 2b, and other sources.

The Annals of *HHS* 7, 319, records that the Auspicious Grain, and also a fall of Sweet Dew (甘露 *gan lu*) was reported by Wei commandery in the eighth month of this year. There is no reference, however, to the *Zhi* Plant, which had last been recorded in the time of Emperor Ming of Later Han, in 74 AD, when one sprouted in the imperial palace (*HHS* 2, 121).

14 On the appearance of the yellow dragon, also recorded in the eighth month, see passage P below.

15 From the fact that the portents referred to by Dou Wu are dated in the eighth month, it seems clear that his memorial should have been presented in the latter part of the autumn. Passage K below, however, states that the amnesty for the release of the men accused of faction took place in the summer: on this question, see note 21 below.

Dou Wu, it may be observed, is following the same line as that put forward by Xiang Kai in his memorials of the previous year (passage S and note 52 to Yanxi 9): even a so-called "good" omen, if it appears at an inappropriate time, can be a sign of misfortune. This, of course, is a circular and highly subjective argument, and provides the *reductio ad absurdum* to all political criticism based upon portents.

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

16 The Biography of Huo Xun is in *HHS* 48/38, 1615-17. We are told that he was enfeoffed for his loyalty to the throne at the time of the hegemony of Liang Ji, and he later held various ministerial posts.

There is no mention of the memorial in favour of the men accused of faction in Huo Xun's biography, but in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction, though no text is given, Huo Xun's appeal is mentioned ahead of that from Dou Wu.

I *HHS* 67/57, 2205-06 (15b-16a), the Biography of Fan Pang in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

17 The commentary of Li Xian (note 3 at *HHS* 67/57, 2206) explains the phrase *sanmu* 三木 as describing wooden fetters about the neck, the. wrists and the ankles. The phrase *nangtou* 囊頭 indicates that the head was covered in some way.

18 *Lun yu* XVI.11; Legge, *CC* I, 314 (Lau, *Confucian Analects*, 141):

> Confucius said, "Contemplating good, *and pursuing it*, as if they could not reach it; contemplating evil, *and shrinking from it*, as they would from thrusting the hand into boiling water: - I have seen such men, as I have heard their words."

19 According to legend, Boyi 伯夷 and Shuqi 叔齊 were the eldest and the youngest sons of the king of Guzhu 孤竹. Their father intended to grant the succession to Shuqi, but Shuqi refused to take precedence over his elder brother, and Boyi in his turn would not disobey his father's wishes. They therefore left the state to the second brother, and went into exile.

Hearing how well the Lord of the West 西伯 (later King Wen of Zhou 周文王) cared for the elderly, the two brothers went to his court, but they disapproved of the plans of his son, King Wu, to attack Shang, and they withdrew to Shouyang Mountain 首陽山, where they survived for a time on wild plants but eventually starved to death.

There is an account of the two brothers in *SJ* 61, 2123-28, and a record of the praise given them by Confucius in *Lun yu* V.23 and VII.14.2; Legge, *CC* I, 181 and 199 (Lau, *Confucian Analects*, 80 and 88 [as VII.15]), but for Mencius' opinion, see *Mengzi* IIA, 2.22; Legge, *CC* II, 193-194 (Lau, *Mencius*, 79). For a recent discussion of the perhaps less flattering reality

behind the legend, see Vervoorn, "Boyi and Shuqi: Worthy Men of Old?"

There were and are several mountains named Shouyang. Vervoorn suggests that the one associated with Boyi and Shuqi was in the northeast of China, near their ascribed home country of Guzhu. There was, however, a peak of that name just northwest of Luoyang, among the hills surrounding the city. For the purposes of Fan Pang's rhetoric, that would have done very well.

J *HHS* 7, 319 (15a): commentary of Li Xian to the Annals of Emperor Huan.

20 Li Xian gives no indication which earlier source he obtained this information from: it does not, however, appear an unlikely development.

K *HHS* 7, 319 (15a), the Annals of Emperor Huan;
and *HHS* 67/57, 2187 (3b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

21 It is from this time that the character *gu* 錮 "proscribed" becomes associated with the character *dang* 黨 "faction" or "party": hence the compound *dang gu* used as the common description of this anti-eunuch movement among the scholar-officials.

The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that the names of those who were proscribed were written down in the offices of the Three Excellencies (三府 *san fu*: not, as both *HHS* 7, 318, and *HHS* 67/57, 2187, have it, 王 *wang fu*).

If the release of the men accused of faction indeed took place in the sixth month, then the dating of Dou Wu's memorial, from passage G above, is all the more curious - as we have seen in note 15, Dou Wu's letter as quoted refers to portents which were reported only in the eighth month of this year. It seems certain that at least a part of the document ascribed to Dou Wu is false; and it may be that none of it was genuine, and the whole story of Dou Wu's intervention was invented later.

L *HHS* 67/57, 2206 (16a-b), the Biography of Fan Bang in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

22 *Zuo zhuan*, Xiang 21; Legge, *CC* V, 490-491 (Couvreur, *Chronique* II, 366-367), tells how Yangshe Xi 羊舌肸, whose style was Shuxiang 叔向, was imprisoned by the ruler of Jin 晉.

The ruler's favourite offered to intercede for him, but he refused, saying that only the high minister Qi Xi 祁奚 could act. Qi Xi did indeed travel to the capital and spoke for Shuxiang, and Shuxiang was released. Qi Xi then went home without seeing Shuxiang, who for his part likewise sent no word of thanks but simply went to court.

The point made is that it is moral duty, not personal relationship, that should govern official relations.

M *HHS* 64/54, 2110 (8a-b), the Biography of Shi Bi.

23 Attendant Officials (從事 *congshi*) were locally-appointed officers under the Inspector of a province, and some were sent on tour to one area of the province or another, to supervise the administration of the commanderies and kingdoms on the spot. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 92.

24 The *HHS* text, omitted by *ZZTJ*, reports that the Attendant Official remarked specifically that the neighbouring territory of Ganling 甘陵 had been an early centre of scholarly rivalry and factionalism (see passage H of Yanxi 9). It was all the more remarkable, then, that no sign of such activity had spread across the border into Pingyuan. For this reason, Shi Bi had a lot of explaining to do, and he accordingly emphasised the almost mystical importance of the established frontiers between the administrative units of the empire.

However, though Shi Bi is primarily concerned with the political debate, he is referring here to a basic tenet of Han cosmology: that individual regions of the empire have inherently distinctive customs. This theory of the relationship between the places where men live and their character is expressed most thoroughly in the introduction to the Treatise of Geography (地理志 *dili zhi*) of *HS* 28A, and the parallel text of *SJ* 129, 3261-70, translated by Swann, *Food and Money*, 437-448.

The term rendered here as "custom" (風俗 *fengsu*), moreover, also held important moral significance for philosophy of the Han, referring in general terms to the nature of the state under proper administration. For example, Nylan, "A Note on 'Custom" in the Han Dynasty", discussing the *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 of the contemporary scholar Ying Shao 應劭.

N This passage has been collated by Sima Guang from a number of different texts.

O *HHS* 38/28, 1287 (11a), the Biography of Yang Xuan, younger brother of Yang Qiao.

25 From *HHS* 38/28, it appears that the family was one of ancient distinction, originally of Hedong in central China, which had moved southeast to Kuaiji commandery when an ancestor was awarded a marquisate in that region for his support of Emperor Guangwu at the beginning of Later Han.

P *HHS* 107/17, 3344 (2b-3a), the Treatise of the Five Powers.

26 The Treatise goes on to say that the false report was accepted by the office of recorders and incorporated into the imperial annals (and it indeed appears in *HHS* 7, 319). The Treatise further explains that because this report of what should have been a good omen proved to be false, the omen was in fact a bad one.

The prognostication is associated with the bad government of the time. Moreover, the Treatise goes on to say that there were numbers of favourable omens falsely reported at this time: "all of this kind." See also Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises of Later Han*, 172.

Q *HHS* 7, 319 (15a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

27 The text of *ZZTJ* has two errors here, which may be checked against the text of *HHS* and have been noted by other editors; the amendments have been followed by this translation:
the character 月 *yue* "month" has been miswritten for the character 州 *zhou* "province";
the last clause reads 勃海滋 instead of 勃海海滋: one of the characters *hai* 海 has been omitted.

R *HHS* 65/55, 2140 (9a), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

28 Zhang Huan had been appointed commander-in-chief of operations in the three provinces of You, Bing and Liang during the autumn of the previous year (passage G of Yanxi 9).

S *HHS* 72/62, 2319 (1a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

T *HHS* 7, 320 (15b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

29 On the demotion of Liu Kui, the brother of Emperor Huan, some two years earlier, see passage B of Yanxi 8.

Liu Kui had formerly been King of Bohai. When he was made King of Yingtao, his fief was reduced to a single county unit. It seems most probable that the restoration of his former title entailed also the restoration of the royal fief to the same size and value as it had been before.

Though *ZZTJ* does not mention the fact, *HHS* Annals gives the day of this rehabilitation as *renshen*, being equivalent to 20 January 168, and five days before the death of Emperor Huan (see immediately below. It is possible that Emperor Huan's forgiveness of his brother came at the time he was already mortally ill. It was, however, not possible to arrange that Liu Kai should succeed to the imperial throne.

30 The Hall of Virtuous Light is described by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 35, as the major audience building of the Northern Palace. Emperor Huan evidently breathed his last in some publicity, though it seems more probable that this was in fact the place where his body was brought after his death.

The funerary rites of an emperor of Han, generally based upon the traditional prescriptions of *Li ji*, *Yi li* and similar texts, are described in *HHS* 96/6, the Treatise on Ceremonial. Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises of Later Han*, 84-86, has rightly criticised the detailed account of the ceremony as presented there by Sima Biao, but it does appear that the body was prepared and placed in its coffin, and there was a period of lying in state, at least overnight, all of which was carried out in the presence of the full court.

31 The constitutional position of an empress-dowager of Han in these circumstances was now well established, and had been confirmed by quite recent examples, notably those of the Empress-Dowager Deng at the time of the death of Emperor He in 106, and that of the Empress-Dowager Liang, sister of Liang Ji, after the death of Emperor Shun in 144.

In accordance with this tradition, if the new succeeding emperor was a minor, the empress-dowager held the regency; and if no heir-apparent had been named, the empress-dowager had the right to decide upon the succession by choosing a member of the imperial clan. The Empress-Dowager Dou thus now held great power.

U *HHS* 10B, 445-46 (7a-b), the Biography of the Empress Dou of Emperor Huan.

32 *HHS* 10B gives more detail. Firstly, the Lady Tian Sheng was regularly accompanied by eight other favourites: it seems possible that Emperor Huan sought to obtain some benefit (as well as pleasure) from association with the magical number of nine.

Secondly, we are told that in the last days of his life the Emperor promoted Tian Sheng and her colleagues all to be Honoured Ladies. This, however, did nothing to help them when he died without an heir and they came under the power of the vengeful Empress-Dowager.

V *HHS* 69/59, 2241 (2b), the Biography of Dou Wu; and *HHS* 8, 327-28 (1a-b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

33 An Attendant Imperial Clerk was an officer of the censorate, and could be regarded as a trusted officer of the ruler. In this case, as Liu Shu came from Hejian he was in a position to know and to say something of the quality of possible candidates from that region.

For the pronunciation of the personal name, I follow the commentary of Hu Sanxing. The character sometimes appears, as here, in the form 儵, but the editions of *HHS* and *HHSJJ* both have the character 儻.

34 There is an account of Liu Gong, Filial King of Hejian, and his descendants, in *HHS* 55/45, 1808-09. He was a son of Emperor Zhang by a concubine. On his personal name, commonly but apparently mistakenly given as Kai, see note 3 to Yanxi 4.

Liu Gong/Kai had a large number of sons. One of them, Liu Yi 翼, had been especially distinguished by the Empress-Dowager Deng, who dominated the court of Emperor An. In 120, shortly before her death, the Empress-Dowager had summoned the sons of the kings of Jibei and of Hejian to the capital. (It was believed that she was dissatisfied with the performance of Emperor An, and she may even have considered replacing him: *e.g. HHS* 16, 616.) She was apparently most impressed with Liu Yi, and had him made King of Pingyuan, where the royal line had lately died out. In the following year, however, when the Empress-Dowager died, Emperor An obtained full power and Liu Yi was subject to suspicion of treason. He was reduced in rank to become the marquis of a chief district. Ten years later, in 130, at the request of Liu Yi's father, the county of Liwu 蠡吾 was separated from the kingdom of Hejian to provide him with a better fief.

Liu Yi was the father of Emperor Huan. In 132, thirteen other sons of Liu Gong/Kai were enfeoffed as marquises of villages, and it seems probable that Liu Shu 淑, grandfather of Liu Hong the future Emperor Ling, was one of those sons. Liu Shu's son, Liu Chang 萇, father of the future Emperor, evidently died as a comparatively young man.

Since Emperor Huan had been chosen for the throne from this lineage, it was not unreasonable that his successor should also come from that branch of the imperial family. On the other hand, Emperor Huan's father Liu Yi was a little different to the others, and there must have been a considerable number of other male descendants of Liu Gong/Kai available for selection. It is difficult to appreciate how anyone could claim to recognise transcendent virtue in a boy eleven years old by Western reckoning (see note 37 below). More probably, Liu Hong was chosen for his youth and potential malleability as much as for his allegedly splendid character.

35 The phrase 定策禁中 is the same as that used to describe the manner of selection of Emperor Huan, and of his short-lived predecessor Emperor Zhi, in the time of the Liang hegemony (*HHS* 7 287 and *HHS* 6, 276), and also of Emperor An, who had been placed upon the throne by the Empress-Dowager Deng in 106 (*HHS* 5, 203).

It was at this time that an empress-dowager had absolute authority to consult and decide as she pleased. (note 31 above).

36 Imperial Household Grandee was the highest rank of imperial adviser, without specific duties: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 25 and 29.

37 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that there is some confusion about the age at which Liu Hong, Emperor Ling ascended the throne.

HHS 8, 328, says that Liu Hong was aged twelve *sui* when he ascended the throne in the first month of the new year Jianning 1.

HHS 8, 357, says that Emperor Ling was thirty-four *sui* when he died in 189.

Sima Guang then observes that *HHJ* 22, 21a, states that Liu Hong was aged twelve *sui* in the twelfth month of Yongkang 1, at the time he was chosen for the throne.

Again, we are told that in Jianning 2, a year after his accession to the throne, when the men of faction were

attacked for the second time, Liu Hong was aged fourteen *sui* (passage P of Jianning 2).
Finally, *HHS* 8 says that Emperor Ling was thirty-four *sui* when he died in Zhongping 6: 189.

From all this, Sima Guang concludes that Yuan Hong and *HHJ* are reliable. Liu Hong was born in Yongshou 2, generally equivalent to 156 AD. He was twelve *sui* when he was chosen for the succession at the end of Yongkang 1, and he would have been formally aged thirteen *sui* at the beginning of the following year, when he actually ascended the throne.

(The analysis is slightly confused by the fact that the present edition of *ZZTJ* cites Sima Guang as quoting *HHS* 8, 328, as giving Liu Hong's age at the time of accession as thirteen: the present text says that he was twelve, and this is, as Sima Guang observes, mistaken. It seems that the wording of the *Kaoyi* commentary has been altered to fit the correct interpretation: this means that Sima Guang's comments, as now recorded, make no sense.)

Notes to Jianning 1: 168 AD

A *HHS* 8, 328 (1b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that *HHJ* 22, 11b, says Dou Wu was appointed General-in-Chief in Yanxi 9: 166, though he had been offered and had declined the honour several dozen times. Sima Guang, however, accepts the statement of *HHS* 8, and discounts the anecdote in *HHJ* (which was probably invented simply to show off Dou Wu's fine character).

2 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that the Annals record Chen Fan's appointment as Grand Tutor after Emperor Ling had been placed upon the throne, but Chen Fan's own biography, in *HHS* 66/56, 2164, quotes an edict of the Empress-Dowager appointing Chen Fan, which is attributed to the period before the accession of the young Emperor.

Immediately after this, the biography quotes the letter sent by Chen Fan to the office of the Masters of Writing (passage B below), which refers specifically to the fact that the new Emperor has not yet been enthroned. At the same time, since Chen Fan had been dismissed from office eighteen months earlier (passage DD of Yanxi 9), it seems unlikely that he would have been in an appropriate position to issue remonstrances until he had been given some senior appointment.

A Grand Tutor was named for each new emperor, as a formal guide to his conduct. His status was above the Three Excellencies, and it was usually a life-time position; after the death of a Grand Tutor, a replacement was not normally appointed. In the Later Han period, the Grand Tutor was a senior statesman, and he could hold political power in the new government. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 5-7.

It was perhaps a little curious to appoint Chen Fan as Grand Tutor even before his formal pupil had been placed upon the throne, but the Empress-Dowager and Dou Wu were evidently anxious to have him involved in the government as early as possible.

"Control of the imperial secretariat" (錄尚書事 *lu shangshu shi*) permitted an official to give instructions to the office of the Masters of Writing; which meant effective authority over the content of edicts and other documents issued on behalf of the Emperor.

Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 153-155, discusses the appointment (under the translated title of "Intendant of the

Masters of Writing"). Established in Former Han as 領 *ling shangshu shi* (see also note 15 to Yanxi 6), it was revived for Later Han in 75 AD, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Zhang, who came to the throne at the age of nineteen *sui* (*HHS* 3, 129), and was the first of the line of youthful emperors in the restored dynasty. The position was associated with the General-in-Chief, the Grand Tutor or one of the Three Excellencies, and gave direct power in the whole government, suitable to a situation of regency, when the Emperor was not in a position to control the administration himself.

The prefatory character *can* 參 "shared in" (also understood specifically as "shared among three") is sometimes associated with the phrase *lu shangshu shi* in texts of this time. In fact, with the exception of the period of Liang Ji's dominance, specifically from 147 to his fall in 159, all appointments of *lu shangshu shi* were shared by two or more senior officials. On this occasion, there were three officials involved: Dou Wu the General-in-Chief, Chen Fan the Grand Tutor and Hu Guang the Minister over the Masses, but the expression *can*, when it appears, does not always indicate a triumvirate.

B *HHS* 66/56 (7a-b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

3 As the commentary of Hu Sanxing observes, the first part of this sentence echoes phrases from the *Gu feng* 谷風 and *Xiao bi* 小旻 Odes, *Shi jing* I.3.10 and IV.1 [iii].4; Legge *CC* IV, 56 and 600 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 35 at 22 and 289 at 249-250). The last clause is a direct quotation from the *Bei shan* 北山 Ode, *Shi jing* II.6.1; Legge, *CC* IV, 361, and Karlgren, *Odes*, 205 at 157-158.

C *HHS* 8, 328 (1b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

4 The Xia Gate was the westernmost of the northern wall of the city of Luoyang. There was a police and guard station there, with lodgings for official purposes. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 43.

The Hostel at the Xia Gate had also been used for the accommodation of Emperor Huan in the days before he was brought to the throne in 146 (*HHS* 7, 287).

5 The royal dark-covered chariot (王青蓋車 *wang qinggai che*) is described by *HHS* 129/19, 3647, as a carriage appropriate to the Heir-Apparent or other imperial son. It was presumably so named because of its cloth roof covering.

This type of carriage had been used at the time of the accession of Emperor Huan in 146, and also for Emperor An in 106 (*HHS* 7, 287, and *HHS* 5, 203).

6 The Xuanling 宣陵 tomb "Mound of Comprehension" lay southeast of Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 84-85.

7 A temple name (廟號 *miao hao*) was traditionally awarded to an emperor of superior quality and achievements, giving the right to a special chapel in the Imperial Ancestral Temple (宗廟 *zong miao*): see Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 55, and Dubs, *HFHD* I, 249-250 note 5. Rulers of the common sort were recorded only by their posthumous dynastic names (*shi*), such as "Huan", which may be understood as "martial": see for example the work *Shi fa* 謚法, quoted in the commentary of Li Xian to *HHS* 7, 287.

The temple names of the two first emperors, Gaozu and Guangwu, contained the character *zu* "Founder": thus "Eminent Founder" (太祖 *taizu*: and see the Introductory Note to the List of Emperors of Han) and "Epochal Founder" (世祖 *shizu*). Later rulers had the suffix *zong* 宗 "Exemplar": Emperor Huan's temple name "Weizong" 威宗 may be rendered as "Exemplar of Authority."

Though canonical tradition required that there should be only seven past rulers honoured by the title Founder or Exemplar, during the course of the Later Han dynasty, it had become common for all rulers of any significant length of reign to receive the honour of such a temple name. Several years later, however, in 190, the scholar Cai Yong 蔡邕 urged the dictator Dong Zhuo 董卓 to deprive Emperors He, An, Shun and Huan of their undeserved distinction, and this was done: see *HHS* 9, 370, and *HHJ* 26, 7a-8b.

On the system of ancestral temples and sacrifices of Later Han, and the reforms brought about by Cai Yong, see Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises of Later Han*, 117-120.

D *HHS* 65/55,. 2148-49 (14a-15a), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

8 The campaigns of Duan Jiong against the Western Qiang, who occupied the frontier region west of the Yellow River, chiefly in Jincheng commandery and western Longxi, have been described earlier: *e.g.* passages LL of Yanxi 2 and T of Yanxi 8.

The account of this campaign of Duan Jiong, as recorded in his biography, has been translated by Young, *Three Generals*,

71-77, and is discussed by de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 134-140.

9 See, for example, passage H of Yanxi 1, also passages G.and II of Yanxi 9.

On Zhang Huan's position as General of the Gentlemen of the Household Protector of the Xiongnu, see passage G and note 15 to Yanxi 9.

10 Hitherto, Duan Jiong has operated against the Western Qiang, troubling the frontier. Now, however, he is being asked to turn his attention to the Eastern Qiang people, who live within Chinese territory to the east of the Yellow River.

11 The term *luo* 落 "groups" is understood here as indication of the basic household unit of nomadic people. See note 36 to Yanxi 8.

12 Yan 燕, Qi 齊, Qin 秦 and Zhao 趙 were the rival kingdoms in the north during the Warring States period of the fourth and third centuries BC. Qi was in the region of Shandong and the North China Plain, Yan was based about present-day Beijing, Zhao controlled northern Shanxi and Qin occupied present-day Shaanxi. Duan Jiong's argument is that the Qiang are in no way so well matched against Han as those states were against each other, nor are they capable of maintaining a defence on fixed lines: the country is open, and the imperial armies will have no difficulty in reaching the enemy.

13 Xihe and Shang commanderies occupied the region of the Ordos within the northern loop of the Yellow River. Their administrative head-quarters, however, had been shifted to the south at the time of the First Qiang Rebellion of 107-118; they were then restored, but were again withdrawn in 140, as a result of further trouble with the Qiang and the Xiongnu. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 311.

Anding and Beidi commanderies, which lay between the Wei valley and the Yellow River, had been under similar pressure, and their capitals were also withdrawn to the south in 141.

14 The Yongchu 永初 period was the first of the reign of Emperor An. The First Qiang Rebellion broke out in 107, and was not finally crushed until 118. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 90-114.

The major Qiang and Xiongnu disturbances which caused the second withdrawal of the northern commanderies, discussed above, had broken out in Yonghe 5: 140, during the reign of Emperor Shun. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 119-122.

15 On this first campaign against the Eastern Qiang, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 136-137 and Map 4 at 138. Fengyi Mountain is near Guyuan in present-day southern Ningxia.

E *HHS* 8, 328 (2a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

16 The intercalary month of this year began on a *wushen* day, cyclical no. 43, and thus could not have contained a *jiawu* 甲午 day, cyclical no. 41. It seems possible that the characters *jiawu* have been miswritten for *jiazi* 甲子, cyclical no. 1: the *jiazi* day of that month would have been equivalent to 11 May.

17 These retrospective imperial ranks and posthumous titles are a courtesy comparable to that granted to the ancestors of Emperor Huan: *HHS* 7, 288.

The prefix *xiao* = 孝 "Filial" is common to all emperors of Han except the two founders. The title Ren 仁 given to Emperor Ling's father had not been used in the dynasty before. Yuan 元, however, was the dynastic title of a noted ruler of Former Han, who reigned 48-33 BC.

The Lady Dong, widow of Liu Zhang and natural mother of the new Emperor, was still alive, and it would naturally have been embarrassing for the party at court to give her imperial rank. She was therefore given title only as Honoured Lady. Moreover, the tomb of Liu Chang, which was presumably near his fief in Hejian, was now given the name Shenling 慎陵: "Mound of Circumspection" (*HHS* 10B, 446, being the biography of the Lady Dong). The title of the Lady Dong thus implied that she should take up residence by the tomb of her late husband, and it does not seem that she accompanied her son to the capital at this time. See further, passages B and C of Jianning 2.

A similar system had been used by the Empress-Dowager Deng, after the death of Emperor He in 106, when she arranged that the palace concubines should reside by her late husband's tomb: see *HHS* 10A, 421, and the same procedure had been followed for the Lady Yan 匽, the mother of Emperor Huan, at the time of his selection for the throne in 146, when she was appointed Honoured Lady of the Funerary Park of Amplitude (博園 *Bo yuan*), a title also derived from the renamed tomb of her late husband; she was given the title of Empress-

Dowager later, after the death of the Empress-Dowager Liang in 150: *HHS* 10B, 441-42.

18 The fourth month of this year began on a *renshen* day, cyclical no. 9, and thus could not have contained a *wuchen* day, cyclical no. 5.

19 The Palace of Prolonged Joy was the name given to the residence of the Empress-Dowager Dou. As Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 38-39, remarks, the name was applied to the apartments within the imperial palace area where the Empress-Dowager was living: the apartments had a substantive name, but this was over-ridden for the period that the Empress-dowager had her residence there. See also notes 70 and 72 below.

20 This eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3300, and it is mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 213a.

The eclipse is recorded in *HHS* 108/18, 3369, the Treatise of the Five Powers, but the Treatise does not record the constellation in which the eclipse was observed, not does it offer any prognostication. The commentary of Liu Zhao, however, quotes from *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, which says that an eclipse on a *dingwei* day indicates the ruler will die.

21 These floods are not mentioned at the relevant place in the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 105/15, 3312.

F *HHS* 69/59, 2241 (2b), the Biography of Dou Wu;
and *HHS* 78/68, 2524 (12b), the Biography of Cao Jie in the Chapter on the Eunuchs;
and *HHJ* 23, 1b.

22 Weiyang, north of the Wei River near Changan, had been the site of ceremonies to the five gods 帝 *di* during Former Han (*e.g.* Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 169-170 and 188), but there was no county of that name listed either in the Treatise of Geography of *Han shu*, nor in the Treatise of Administrative Geography of *Hou Han shu.* Hu Sanxing suggests that some county was renamed Weiyang was then granted as a fief to Dou Ji.

If this was done, the name may have been chosen to reflect the *Weiyang* Ode of *Shijing* I.11.9; Legge, *CC* IV, 203 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 134 at 87), written in honour of a maternal uncle (舅氏 *jiushi*), and attributed to Duke Kang of Qin 秦康公 (then only prince in waiting) recalling the brother of his mother,

Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公, whom he had escorted back to take power in his home state after years of exile. It would thus have represented a particular compliment to Dou Ji.

Hu was a county in Youfufeng, south of the Wei River and southwest of Changan. The fief of Xixiang 西鄉 "West District" was probably not of county rank. It would seem, therefore, that the Dou family were somewhat more restrained in their self-promotion than the Liang had been: though we are not told the value of the pensions associated with the fiefs, and this was, after all, only the beginning of their time in power. See also the comments of Lu Zhi in passage G and the criticism of Wang Fu in passage K (at 1811) below.

Besides these enfeoffments, *HHS* 69/59 remarks that members of the Dou family were also allocated important supernumerary and military posts about the capital. Dou Ji was made Palace Attendant (侍中 *shizhong*: see note 83 to Yanxi 2 and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59-60), Dou Shao became Colonel of the Footsoldiers, one of the five regiments of the Northern Army stationed at the capital, and Dou Jing was also made a Palace Attendant and Inspector of the Horse of the Right of the Feathered Forest, giving command of a force of the household guards.

G *HHS* 64/54, 2113-14 (10a-11b), the Biography of Lu Zhi.

23 Dan 旦 was the given name of the sage Duke of Zhou 周公, son of King Wen 文 and younger brother of King Wu of Zhou 周武王, and loyal guardian of his young nephew King Cheng 成. Shi 奭 was the given name of the Duke of Shao 召公, son of King Wen by a concubine, who served as a high minister in association with the Duke of Zhou. The biography of the Duke of Zhou is in *SJ* 33, 1515-22; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 88-99, and the biography of the Duke of Shao is in *SJ* 34, 1549-50; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 133-135. See also Legge, *CC* III, 352 note 3, and 420.

24 *HHS* 64/54 has a sentence at the beginning of this paragraph which *ZZTJ* has omitted. Lu Zhi cites the principles of the *Chunqiu*, which provide that

> When the queen has no son, another, the eldest son of the king, should be selected. Where years are equal, the choice must fall upon the most virtuous. Where virtue is equal, the choice must be decided by [divination using] the tortoise-shell. (*Zuo zhuan*, Chao 26; Legge, *CC* V, 718, and Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 415-416.)

Lu Zhi was thus protesting not only the rewards which Dou Wu was granting himself, but the very basis of the selection of Emperor Ling for the throne: it was not a matter of asking advice of who was most virtuous, it should have simply been a matter of checking the genealogy of the imperial clan to find the most senior representative; if there was any question of qualifications, then the decision should be taken by divination. The process should have been purely mechanical, and there was no place for significant intervention by the Empress-Dowager and her family.

25 This was equivalent to 188 cm, or six feet two inches English measure. Expected normal height for men of that time appears to have been about seven *chi* 尺 feet, being some 162 cm or five feet four inches English measure. See note 3 to Yanxi 3.

H *HHS* 66/56, 2168-69 (7b-8a), the Biography of Chen Fan.

26 *Lun yu* IV.5; Legge, *CC* I, 166 (Lau, *Analects*, 72):
The Master said, "Riches and honours are what men desire. If it cannot be obtained in the proper way, they should not be held."

27 From the fourth stanza of the *Juegong* 角弓 Ode of *Shi jing* II.7.9; Legge *CC* IV, 405 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 223 at 177):
One gets a place, and shows no humility -
Till they all come to ruin.

I *HHS* 65/55, 2149-50 (15b-17b), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

28 The Qiao Gate was the name of a pass through the line of the old Great Wall of the state of Qin 秦, south of the Ordos, near present-day Yulin 榆林 in Shaanxi. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 137 and 31, also Map 4 at 138.
This passage is a continuation of D above. The second stage of the campaign is discussed by de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 137-140, and the parallel text in the Biography of Duan Jiong is translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 74-77.

29 Lingwu Valley was probably in the hill country south of present-day Yinchuan 銀川 in Ningxia (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 138 Map 4 and 490 note 15). Duan Jiong had thus driven his enemies westwards across the southern fringe of the Ordos.

30 From Lingwu Valley, the campaign had moved south towards the Wei. Jingyang county was in Anding commandery, and Hanyang commandery lay to the south and west, in the valley of the Wei.

31 The modern editors of *ZZTJ* insert quotation marks at two places here, implying that Duan Jiong is citing directly from passages in Zhang Huan's document. The parallel text in the modern edition of *HHS*, however, does not agree, and there is no specific indicator of direct speech.

32 This evidently reflects the position indicated by the introduction to the Account of the Western Qiang, *HHS* 87/77, 2869, which describes them as harsh and cruel, wild and rebellious, "animated by the spirit (氣 *qi*) of Metal which pervades the western lands."

33 Zhang Huan's argument, rebutted by Duan Jiong in the next paragraph, is that the dishonourable conduct of breaking the peace with the Qiang when they were formally submitted to Han will bring down calamities from heaven.

34 Rong 戎 was the name given to the non-Chinese people of the west in classical times: *e.g.* the *Yu gong* 禹貢 chapter of *Shu jing* III.1, 83; Legge *CC* III, 127 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 17). Di 狄 was the name which described the non-Chinese people of the north: *e.g.* the *Zhonghui zhi gao* 仲虺之誥 "The Announcement of Zhonghui" Chapter of *Shu jing*, IV.2, 7; Legge, *CC* III, 181.

35 From the *Yi xun* 伊訓 "The Instructions of Yi" Chapter of *Shu jing*, IV.4, 2; Legge, *CC* III, 194: "...great Heaven sent down calamities, employing the agency of our *ruler*, who had received its favouring appointment."

36 *Zuo zhuan*, Xi 19; Legge, *CC* V, 177 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 322-333), describes how the state of Wey 衛 was considering an attack upon the rival state of Xing 邢. At this time there was a drought. The ruler of Wey was advised by one of his officers:

> Formerly there was a scarcity in [Zhou]; but after the conquest of [Shang/]Yin there ensued an abundant year. Now [Xing] acts without any regard to principle, and there is no leader among the princes. May not Heaven be wishing to employ [Wey] to punish [Xing]?

The ruler followed his advice, and rain came as soon as the army set out on the march.

37 The text here has the character 宮 *gong*, but the modern editors of *HHS* 65/55 prefer the emendation 官 *guan*. I have followed this, understanding *guan* "office" as referring to frontier posts, military agricultural colonies, and other government installations.

If the character *gong* is accepted, then the phrase could be rendered "the cities and towns of the old dynasty": *i.e.* of Former Han.

The region "west of the Qiao Gate and east of Luochuan" must refer to the territory south of the Ordos, where Duan Jiong has just completed the second stage of his campaign.

38 Zhao Chongguo was the general of Former Han who conquered the Qiang about the region of the Xining River in 61-60 BC. He established military colonies (屯田 *tuntian*), and he also compelled the migration of numbers of the tribesmen eastwards within the borders of the empire. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 65. Lianju 令居 was the major military base of that region, northwest of present-day Lanzhou (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 11 and 450-451 note 18, with discussion of its site and the pronunciation of its name).

At the beginning of Later Han, in the period 33-37 AD, the general Ma Yuan had been responsible for the re-establishment and settlement of the frontier in the northwest. As part of that program, he forced the migration of a number of the Xianlian tribespeople, who had been troubling the territory west of the Yellow River, into the region of the Wei valley, where they might be better kept under imperial control and supervision. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 73-75.

Both this memorial of Duan Jiong, and the Discussion (論 *lun*) at the end of the Account of the Qiang, *HHS* 87/77, 2901, criticise bitterly this aspect of the policy of Zhao Chongguo and Ma Yuan. Though the dangers were indeed very great, and the end result was extremely serious for the empire, it seems clear that both texts are mistaken as to which tribes were moved by the commanders concerned: in fact, Zhao Chongguo transferred people of the Han 罕 and Qian 幵 groups, and Ma Yuan was the person who brought the Xianlian to the east. As to the name Jiandang 煎當 , it seems that this represents a mistaken transposition of the characters for the name of the Dangjian people; and these were still Western Qiang, who had been defeated and pacified by Duan Jiong only a year or so

before: *e.g.* passage B to Yongkang 1. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 475 note 44.

39 *Zuo zhuan*, Yin 6; Legge *CC* V, 21 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 39):
The Head of a State or of a clan looks upon evil relations as a husbandman looks upon weeds or grass, which must be removed. He cuts down, kills them, collects them, and heaps them up, extirpating their roots that they may not be able to grow; and then the good grain stretches itself out.

40 *Huainan zi* 15, 16a:
...a state may not be governed from outside [its borders]; an army in the field may not be directed from within [the capital].

J *HHS* 8, 329 (2a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

41 According to the Biography of Wang Chang, *HHS* 56/46, 1826, Wang Chang left office on account of a large number of portents from water. This presumably refers to the floods about the capital in the sixth month (passage E above).

K *HHS* 66/56, 2169-70 (8a-b), the Biography of Chen Fan; and *HHS* 69/59, 2241-44 (3a-4b), the Biography of Dou Wu.

42 Sima Guang here summarises a passage from *HHS* 66/56, which tells how Emperor Huan had intended to make the Lady Tian Sheng his Empress in succession to the Lady Deng Mengnü. Chen Fan, however, objected strongly, particularly on account of the poor family background of the Lady Tian, and he urged the claims of the well-born Lady Dou. Emperor Huan was compelled to accept. *Cf.* also passage U of Yongkang 1.

43 Li Ying became Privy Treasurer of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, responsible for the residence of the Empress-Dowager (*HHS* 67/57, 2196, and see note 19 above). Du Mi became Grand Coachman, a ministerial position (*HHS* 67/57, 2198). Liu Yu became a Palace Attendant (*HHS* 57/47, 1857).
The position held by Yin Xun under the new regime is not certain. According to *HHS* 69/59, 2241, the biography of Dou Wu cited here, and also *HHS* 57/47, 1857-58, which has a biography of Yin Xun supplementary to that of Liu Yu, Yin Xun was appointed Prefect of the Masters of Writing. According to the biography of Yin Xun in *HHS* 67/57, 2208, however, about this time he was Court Architect and then Grand Minister for

Agriculture. Yin Xun had been Prefect of the Masters of Writing (passage L to Yanxi 2). It may be that the texts have mistakenly attributed Yin Xun's appointment in 159 to that which he held in 168; but it is also very possible that Dou Wu deliberately appointed him to the post of Prefect of the Masters of Writing because of his former experience in that position.

44 The expression "Great Peace" (太平 *taiping*) could denote any form of good government. It had, for example been used as a title by Emperor Ai of Former Han in 5 BC, at a time when he sought to restore the power and virtue of his dynasty: *HS* 11, 340; Dubs, *HFHD* III, 30.

The phrase had also given its title to a work presented to court two years earlier by Xiang Kai at the time of his memorials (passage S of Yanxi 9, but see particularly *HHS* 30B/20B, 1084, a paragraph not included in *ZZTJ* but translated and discussed in de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest*, 31-32): in later times the concept of Great Peace became closely associated with religious or rebel doctrines, notably those of Zhang Jue, leader of the Yellow Turban rebellion in 184 (passage D of Guanghe 6).

45 *ZZTJ* and *HHS* here have the character 推 *tui* "to push", but variant editions have the reading 椎 *chui* 'to beat". Chen Fan had been sitting talking with Dou Wu, but when this decision was made he stood up forcefully as a sign of his approval and his resolution.

46 The events of this time at the capital, including the attempted coup of Dou Wu and Chen Fan against the eunuchs, have been discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 95-98, and Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 484-490, translating from the biography of Dou Wu.

47 This eclipse of 23 June has been mentioned in passage E above.

48 Shi Xian, Prefect of the Palace Writers, was a trusted and favoured eunuch of Emperor Yuan of Former Han. He was opposed by the scholar official Xiao Wangzhi, who recommended that eunuchs should be dismissed from power. Shi Xian and his fellows accused Xiao Wangzhi of forming a clique; Xiao Wangzhi was dismissed and in 46 BC he was driven to commit suicide. See Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 430-433 and note 175.

49 This may have been literally true: passage K of Yanxi 9 records that the students of the Imperial University were in the habit of chanting slogans in favour of the leaders of the anti-eunuch party - there were very likely mass demonstrations at the time.

50 *ZZTJ* text here has the phrase 諸尚書 "all the officials of the office of the Masters of Writing". *HHS* 66/56, however, includes the character 女 *nü* before the characters 尚書, thus indicating the harem apartments and the eunuchs who served there.

51 This is thinly-concealed reference to rebellion or at least a coup-d'état: 變 *bian* "change" and 亂 *luan* "disorder" are both synonymous with the fall of a government, and the phrase 社稷 *sheji* indicates the national altars of the soil and of grain, and thus the state itself.

52 *Taibo* 太白 "Great White" describes the Western planet Venus, which in Chinese astrology is regarded as a fierce, harsh star., identified with the power of Metal. Its "encroachment" (犯 *fan*: *i.e.* apparent movement to the near vicinity) upon a constellation is a sign of warning.

The House (房 *Fang*) constellation, one of the lunar mansions, is the stars β, δ, π and ρ of Western Scorpio: ρ Scorpii, the lowest star of that group (*i.e.* the one closest to the horizon for an observer in the Northern Hemisphere) is called the Commanding General (上將 *shangjiang*): *JS* 11, 300; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 96, and Star Map 3.

The Supreme Subtlety Enclosure (太微垣 *Taiwei yuan*) is ten stars in Western Virgo and Leo which have the appearance of a circle. In astrology, it represents the court of the emperor: *JS* 11, 291-92; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 76-77, and Star Map 2.

These movements of the planet are described in *HHS* 102/12, 3258, the Treatise of Astronomy: the prognostication, predictably, identifies them as symbolising a threat to Dou Wu and Chen Fan.

There is, however, some confusion over the date and nature of the phenomenon.

In context, *ZZTJ* states that the movement of Venus in the House group and Supreme Subtlety Enclosure took place in the eighth month: that month has been identified in passage J above. The Treatise of Astronomy, however, says that Venus was in the western part of the sky and entered the Enclosure in

the sixth month, encroaching upon the major star on the south of the western side (σ Leonis). This star, however, is also known as the Commanding General: *JS* 11, 292; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 76-77 (curiously, another star in the Enclosure, being α Coma Berenices, the northernmost star of the eastern wall, is also known as the Commanding General).

HHS 69/59, 2243, moreover, contains a memorial submitted by Dou Wu's supporter Liu Yu to the Empress-Dowager, following the movement of the planet Venus from the west in the eighth month. Liu Yu, an expert on astrology, reported that Venus had moved to the "Left-outside Horse" (左驂 *Zuocan*) star of the House constellation: in this, he is using another system of nomenclature for the four stars, identifying them with a quadriga (*JS* 11, 300; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 96). Liu Yu noted that this was the Commanding General star (*i.e.* of the House constellation). Liu Yu then observed that Venus had entered the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure. He described the combination of movements as a warning to the general and the minister, and urged that swift action should be taken. (In my interpretation of the text of his memorial describing astronomical movements, I do not entirely agree with the punctuation of the modern edition of *HHS*.)

It seems, therefore, that Venus had begun its movement from the west in the sixth month and, following along the ecliptic, had first approached the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure (XII Right Ascension), moving particularly close to σ Leonis, the Commanding General star. Its apparent movement then continued west along the ecliptic until in the eighth month it reached the House constellation (XVI R.A.), where it impinged upon ρ Scorpii, the Commanding General star of that constellation.

It may be observed at this point that Sima Guang does not pay a great deal of attention to the planetary portents listed in the Treatise of Astronomy of *HHS* 102/12, being the chapter concerned with events during the reigns of Emperors Huan and Ling.

In particular, from the fourth year of Yanxi: 161, Sima Biao recorded a number of signs and provided prognostications for them. From that authority, however, Sima Guang has selected only the comet of 161 (passage D of Yanxi 4); the only other references in *ZZTJ* to signs in the heavens, such as the movements of Venus in 167, are based primarily upon the memorials of Xiang Kai - and Sima Biao does not report by any means all of those which Xiang Kai adduced: compare, for example, passage S of Yanxi 9 and the text of *HHS* 30B/20B, as

translated in de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest*. Again, in the present instance, the movements of Venus are noted by Sima Guang not so much because of the records in the Treatise, but because they were cited in the memorial of Liu Yu. Sima Guang, it appears, had reservations in using the material of Sima Biao's astrology.

53 *ZZTJ* here punctuates the phrase 占書 *zhan shu* as the title of a specific book. *HHS* 69/59, 2243, however, has the phrase 其占 *qi zhan* "its prognostication is...", and does not have the character *shu*.

54 The Palace of Prolonged Joy was the residence of the Empress-Dowager (note 19 above). Zheng Sa was evidently a senior clerical officer attached to her retinue.

This Prison of the Northern Office 北寺獄 *beisi yu* is surely the same institution as the Prison of the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates (黃門 *huangmen beisi yu*) used for the detention of those arrested at the time of the First Faction Incident (note 69 to Yanxi 9).

55 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHS* 8, 329, has the date miswritten as the *dinghai* 丁亥 day, cyclical no. 24. The ninth month of this year, however, began on an *yisi* day, cyclical no. 42. *HHJ* 23, 3a, has the date as the *xinhai* 辛亥 day, and it is evident that *HHS* has miswritten *ding* for *xin*.

We see immediately below, however, that Dou Wu's threat was discovered and the eunuchs' counter-attack was planned at night. Since *HHJ* makes it clear that the actual activities of the coup by the eunuchs against Dou Wu took place on the *xinhai* day, the night it was planned must have been the night before, being that of 24-25 October. The preliminary moves, involving the replacement of Wei Biao as Prefect of the Yellow Gates by Dou Wu's nominee Shan Bing, and the subsequent arrest of Zheng Li, must have taken place the day before, being the *gengxu* day, equivalent to 24 October.

56 The phrase used is 大逆 *dani*, literally "Great Refractoriness." On the use of this and other pejorative terms in Han, see Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 156-197.

57 It will be recalled that Emperor Huan and his eunuch allies had sworn in similar fashion to destroy Liang Ji in 159 (passage J and note 24 to Yanxi 2).

58 This was the chief hall of the Northern Palace, and the same building in which Emperor Huan had been laid in state (note 30 to Yongkang 1).

59 There is some uncertainty about the significance of the expression *bajian yongyue* 拔劍踊躍. The first two characters mean "to draw a sword", and the second pair refer to dancing, leaping or skipping. It may be that Cao Jie presented the whole thing to the young ruler as a game, or, in contrast, that the boy was given a sword to encourage his interest in the importance of the affair, allowing him to demonstrate his valour and authority. Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 488, says that he jumped [as he went] to the Hall of Virtuous Light, but Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 96, interprets the text as indicating that Cao Jie not only gave his emperor a sword, but showed him how to skip about as in a fencing practice.

Indeed it does seem possible that the young man was exercising himself with feint passes and sidesteps at the same time as he and his eunuch guides hastened through the courts and corridors to their meeting place.

60 Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 33, discusses the system of passes which was used in the imperial palace. Persons who lived within the palace compound were issued with iron tallies for each gate they were permitted to use, keeping one half of the tally themselves while the other was held by the guard at the gate. Visitors on special errands were issued with wooden tallies. Senior officials could be announced by attendants.

Once the passes were withdrawn, then, everyone in the palace was restricted to the immediate area they happened to be in at the time.

61 The Covered Way (複道 *fudao*) was an elevated passage-way which linked the Northern Palace and the Southern Palace, passing above the intervening area of the city of Luoyang. It gave direct access between the two imperial compounds, permitting the emperor and his attendants to move from one to the other without a procession through the streets. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 22.

As Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 97, observes, all the activity of the eunuchs had so far taken place within the Northern Palace. It appears that they now gave orders for the seizure of control in the Southern Palace and also, to ensure against any problem from that direction, they ordered that the Covered Way should

be cut, perhaps merely by an enhanced guard, but very likely by the physical destruction of part of its span.

Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 57-58, also observes that the Palace Internuncios (中謁者 *zhong yezhe*) who were sent to take up the guard positions were very probably eunuchs, indicating that Later Han reinstituted the system of Former Han which used this group of messengers for communication between the regular government and the imperial private apartments (*cf. Bureaucracy*, 49).

62 The Northern Army was the elite professional fighting force of the empire, normally stationed at the capital but available for military action in any region. As General-in-Chief, Dou Wu held formal command of the Northern Army, and his nephew Dou Shao, as Colonel of Footsoldiers, commanded one of the five regiments. The other regiments were those of the Garrison Cavalry, the Elite Cavalry, the Chang River and the Archers Who Shoot at a Sound. Each of them had an establishment of some eight hundred officers and men, with a total strength of about three and a half thousand. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 117-118 and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 45-46.

The Capital Hostel (都亭 *duting*), is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 42. It was evidently the most important of the thirty-two official hostels in the city and the suburbs. It served as an occasional lodging house for officials, and also for the emperor, but its regular function was as a police station for local law and order. From this and other occasions where we are told troops were assembled at the Capital Hostel, there must have been an open area by the hostel which could be used as a parade ground or assembly point for troops.

Though Bielenstein says that the exact site of the Capital Hostel is not known, Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 489 note 404, observes that since Dou Wu was drawing up his troops here, and was soon afterwards confronted by the forces controlled by the eunuchs, who assembled outside the Vermilion Bird Gate, it seems likely the Capital Hostel was in that vicinity. Since the Vermilion Bird Gate was the main gate in the south wall of the Northern Palace (Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 33-34, it is possible that the Capital Hostel, and the open space associated with it, lay almost immediately to the south, either facing the Vermilion Bird Gate directly, or on the main avenue which ran north-south through the walled city. [Bielenstein, at 42-43, also mentions the custom by which, when the emperor returned from a tour of inspection or a hunt, he stopped briefly at the Capital Hostel in order that the Three Excellencies and the Nine

Ministers could formally identify him before he re-entered the palace. Again, this suggests that the Capital Hostel lay close to the palace.]

63 The Gate of Continuing Brightness lay inside the Northern Palace, but it is not possible to identify its location more precisely, nor that of the Gate of the Masters of Writing: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 34.

As Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 97-98, observes, Chen Fan was attempting to gain access to the office of the imperial secretariat, to use his authority there to halt the stream of edicts issued by his eunuch opponents.

L *HHS* 65/55, 2140 (9a), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

64 Zhang Huan had just lately completed the pacification of the three northern provinces (passage R to Yongkang 1).

M *HHS* 69/59, 2244 (5a), the Biography of Dou Wu.

65 Needham, *Science and Civilisation* III, 319-322, and Needham, Wang and Price, *Heavenly Clockwork*, 85-94, discuss the water-clock, or clepsydra, of the Han period. The official system used two tanks for inflow, one for night and the other for the daytime, with the rate of flow checked and adjusted at dusk and at dawn.

66 The forces under the command of Zhang Huan were thus being recruited from the Northern Army, in rivalry to Dou Wu. The Rapid Tiger and Feather Forest troops were regiments of the palace guards, less well trained than those of the Northern Army. *HHS* 69/59, 2244, says that among the thousand men or so that Wang Fu had collected there were not only Rapid Tiger and Feathered Forest soldiers, but also Grooms of the Stables for Fine Horses and Warriors with Swords and Lances under the Captains at the Capital. It was evidently something of a scratch force, comparable to that which had been used by Emperor Huan and his eunuch allies at the time of the coup against Liang Ji in 159: see note 30 to Yanxi 2.

The Vermilion Bird Gate was the main entrance to the Northern Palace, set in the southern wall of that compound. It was the tallest in the city of Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 33-34. The description of it here as a Lateral Gate (掖門 *ye men*), however, is confusing, for it would appear, as Bielenstein suggests at 34, that in the Northern Palace there

were only two Lateral Gates, of the Left and the Right, which gave access to the harem apartments and were presumably established within the palace: at this time, however, it seems clear that the forces led by Wang Fu were coming out from the palace to confront those of Dou Wu based on the Capital Hostel. I suspect the text of *HHS* 69/59 may have been corrupted.

67 The Qing commentator Hui Dong 惠棟 explains the phrase *shi shi* 食時 "the time for eating" as the double-hour *si* 巳, approximately 9 to 11 am.

68 *HHS* 69/59, 2241-42; Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 485, says that Liu Yu and Feng Shu had been given their appointments as Dou Wu's agents at the time of his plans to move against the eunuchs (on Liu Yu's appointment see passage K at 1808 above). Later, concerned at the inauspicious movements of Venus, Liu Yu had advised swift action. Feng Shu, as commander of one of the regiments of the Northern Army, had evidently been expected to provide support for Dou Wu and Dou Shao.

N Compiled by Sima Guang from *HHS* 67/57, 2190 and 2201, as in note 69 below.

69 Liu Shu's biography is in *HHS* 67/57, 2190, the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction. He was sent to prison and killed himself there. See also passage N and note 41 to Jianning 2.

[The Liu Shu 劉淑 mentioned here must be distinguished from the Liu Shu 劉儵 who advised Dou Wu and the Empress-Dowager on the virtues of the future Emperor Ling (passage V of Yongkang 1). That Liu Shu, however, also died at this time: *HHS* 56/46, 1834. He should also, of course, be distinguished from the Liu Shu 劉淑, of identical name, who was the grandfather, now dead, of Liu Hong, the new Emperor (passage V of Yongkang 1).]

Wei Lang, with others, had been praised by Dou Wu in his memorial to Emperor Huan the year before (passage G of Yongkang 1). His biography is in *HHS* 67/57, 2200-01, the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction. He was a talented scholar and also an aggressive man: early in his career he was exiled from his home for fighting in a vendetta with naked weapons in the precincts of the county offices, and he served also as an energetic Chief Commandant of Jiuzhen commandery in the regions of present-day Vietnam. Emperor Huan admired him, but he was later implicated in the First Faction Incident with Li Ying and his colleagues. Since that time, he had remained out

of office, but the favour of Dou Wu now served to condemn him. He took refuge at Niuzhu 牛渚 mountain by the Yangzi near present-day Nanjing, and there committed suicide.

O *HHS* 10B, 446 (7b), the Biography of the Empress Dou.

70 *HHS* 10B, and parallel texts in *HHS* 69/59, 2244, and *HHJ* 23, 4a, all say that the Empress-Dowager was transferred to the Cloud Terrace (雲臺 *yun tai*), which was a group of buildings on a raised platform: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 26-27. She was held there in house arrest.

71 *HHS* 10B specifies the place of exile as Bijing county in Rinan commandery, the southernmost of the empire, about present-day Hué in Vietnam. This had also been designated as the place of exile for Liang Ji after his fall in 159 (passage L of Yanxi 2).

P *HHJ* 23, 4a.

Q *HHS* 67/57, 2203 (14b), the Biography of Ba Su in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

R *HHS* 78/68, 2524 (12b), the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

72 The Palace of Prolonged Joy, as we have observed, was the name given to the residential apartments of the Empress-Dowager (note 19 above). The Empress-Dowager Dou had just been moved to the Cloud Terrace buildings of the Southern Palace (note 70 above), and so the Cloud Terrace buildings could now be described as the Palace of Perpetual Joy. Cao Jie, as Commandant of the Guard of that Palace, was thus responsible for her safety; or rather, in present circumstances, for her imprisonment.

73 For his part in the enthronement of Emperor Ling, Cao Jie had already been made Marquis of Changan District (passage F above). According to *HHS* 78/68, 2524, his pension at that time came from the tax revenue of six hundred households. His new marquisate increased the revenue by the receipts from another three thousand households, while Zhu Yu's fief was given an income from 1500 households, the other five marquises each received 300 households, and the marquisates of the imperial domain had a combined annual pension of two thousand *hu*斛, some 40,000 litres. We have not been given comparable figures for the value of the fiefs awarded to Dou Wu and his associates

earlier in the year, but it would appear that the eunuchs placed a higher value on their services.

Among this group of eunuch nobility, however, the name of Wang Fu is absent. He had been a long-time supporter and close associate of Cao Jie, and he played a vital role in the coup against Dou Wu and Chen Fan, but for the time being he appears to have been content simply with maintenance of his former rank as a Regular Palace Attendant, combined with the newly-acquired position as Prefect of the Yellow Gates which gave him close association with the Emperor and formal control over all the eunuchs in his service: see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64. He later received enfeoffment as reward for uncovering the alleged plot of Liu Kui, brother of the late Emperor Huan, and bringing about that unfortunate prince's demise (passage J of Xiping 1).

S *HHS* 69/59, 2244 (5a), the Biography of Dou Wu.

T *HHS* 66/56, 2171 (9a-b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

U *HHS* 69/59, 2244-45 (5a-b), the Biography of Dou Wu.

V *HHS* 65/55, 2140 (9a), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

W *HHS* 8, 329 (2a-b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

74 This eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3301, and it is mapped by Stephenson and Houlden, 213b.

The eclipse is recorded in *HHS* 108/18, 3369, the Treatise of the Five Powers, .but the Treatise does not record the constellation in which the eclipse was observed, not does it offer any prognostication. The commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 108/18, 3361, however, discussing an eclipse in 70 AD, quotes from *Qiantan ba*, which says that an eclipse on a *jiachen* day foretells a period of rain and floods.

X *HHS* 88/78, 2927 (22b-23a), the Account of the Western Regions.

75 Shule was a city-state near present-day Kashgar which had lately been tributary to Han. *HHS* 88/78 provides further information: the King of Shule, who was an agent of China, was on a hunting expedition when he was shot and killed by Hede, who established an independent government. On the further history, see passage F of Jianning 3.

On the identification of Shule and its description in the time of Former Han, see Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 141-142.

Y *HHS* 90/80, 2984 (4a), the Account of the Wuhuan.

76 On *luo* "household" groups, see note 36 to Yanxi 8. On the rise of these local chieftains in the northeast of the empire, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 396 and 549 note 79, where it is suggested that the phrase transcribed as *Hanlu* may have been a rendering of a Wuhuan title equivalent to Shanyu or Khan.

Notes to Jianning 2: 169 AD

A *HHS* 8, 330 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 The first day of this month was a *jiachen* day, cyclical number 41, and there was no *dingchou* day, cyclical number 14. There is evidently a mis-writing.

HHS 8 describes this as a "great" amnesty, but Sima Guang has it simply as an amnesty. *Cf.* note 2 to Yongshou 3.

B *HHS* 10B, 446 (7b), the Biography of the Empress-Dowager Dong.

C *HHS* 8, 330 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

2 The grant of the title as Xiaoren Empress now matched the Lady Dong with her deceased husband, the father of Emperor Ling. For her former position and treatment, see passage E and note 17 to Jianning 1.

HHS 10B, 446, says that the Lady Dong took up residence in the Apartments of Excellent Virtue of the Southern Palace, and these were then named on her account as Palace of Perpetual Joy (永樂 Yongle): see Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 39 and compare note 19 to Jianning 1. The name of "Perpetual Joy" had been used formerly, in similar circumstances, for the residence of the Lady Yan匽, the mother of Emperor Huan: *HHS* 10B, 442.

D *HHS* 10B, 446 (8a), the Biography of the Empress-Dowager Dong;
and *HHJ* 23, 5a.

3 The positions of Bearer of the Gilded Mace and General of the Gentlemen of the Household were frequently used for members of the family of imperial relatives by marriage. Liang Ji and his father Liang Shang, for example, had each been at some time Bearer of the Gilded Mace, and Liang Ji was also General of the Gentleman of the Household Rapid as Tigers (*HHS* 34/24, 1175 and 1178); Dou Shao, nephew of Dou Wu, had been General of the Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers (*HHS* 69/59. 2239)

E *HHJ* 23, 5a-b.

4 *HHS* 8, 330, the Annals of Emperor Ling, has no reference to the appearance of the snake. We are told, however, of the wind, rain and hail, and of the request for sealed memorials.

The wind, rain and hail are also recorded in *HHS* 106/16, 3335, the Treatise of the Five Powers, where it is specified that the trees uprooted by the storm included those along avenues leading to the various suburban cult sites: see Bodde, *Festivals*, 200. Bodde remarks that this misfortune could be, and no doubt was, interpreted as a sign of the loss of heaven's favour for the dynasty. This is not, however, stated explicitly by the Treatise.

As the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes, however, there is some confusion about the dating of the phenomenon of the snake.

Sima Biao, in *HHS* 107/15, 3345, the Treatise of the Five Powers, has recorded the appearance of a snake above [on?] the imperial throne for the *jiawu* day of the fourth month of Xiping 1, being 20 May 172: the prognostication for the omen refers in general terms to the power held by the eunuchs and the weakness of the imperial house. Similarly, *HHS* 54/44, 1776, the Biography of Yang Ci, tells how Yang Ci sent in a memorial on the occasion (passage H below), but dates the appearance of the snake to Xiping 1.

HHS 65/55, however, the Biography of Zhang Huan, cited in passage F below, and *HHS* 57/47, the Biography of Xie Bi, cited in passage G below, both date the snake portent to the summer of Jianning 2.

It would appear that we are dealing with a single apparition, which is dated either to this year, 169, or three years later, to 172. The memorials of Zhang Huan and Xie Bi refer particularly to the harshness with which Dou Wu and Chen Fan were regarded, and to the ill treatment of the Empress-Dowager Dou, the criticism was more topical in 169 than it was in 172. On the other hand, the Empress-Dowager died in 172, and there was a good deal of controversy about the treatment she had received and the question of whether she was entitled to be buried in the tomb of Emperor Huan her former husband (passages D to F of Xiping 1). In 172, however, it appears that Zhang Huan was under increasing political pressure for his opposition to the eunuchs, and he was perhaps less likely to have written in such terms (passage H of Xiping 1).

On the weight of the evidence,, Sima Guang has accepted the date of *HHJ* 23 for the strange appearance of the snake, being the occasion for the memorial of Yang Ci as well as those of Zhang Huan and Xie Bi. See also, however, note 23 below.

ZZTJ, however, like the Treatise in *HHS* 107/15 and the Biography of Yang Ci in *HHS* 54/44, describes the snake as appearing on or above the imperial throne (御坐上 *yuzuo shang*). *HHJ* 23 and the Biography of Zhang Huan in *HHS* 65/55 say that it appeared by the railings of the dais.

F *HHS* 65/55, 2140-41 (9a-b), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

5 Commentary to *HHS*, followed by that to *ZZTJ*, quotes a story from the *Shangshu dazhuan* 尚書大傳, "The Great Commentary to the Book of Documents", 4, 3a. (This work, ascribed to the scholar Fu Sheng 伏勝 of the third and second centuries BC, survives only in fragments.) When the Duke of Zhou 周公 died, his nephew King Cheng 成王 intended to bury him at Luoyang (here described as Chengzhou 成周), the future capital. Heaven, however, sent a great storm of wind, rain and hail, uprooting trees and terrifying the people. King Cheng then changed the burial site to Bi 畢, the site of the tomb of King Wen 文王: by this means the king showed that he regarded the late duke as a mentor rather than a subject.

A similar, rather more elaborate, version of the story appears in *SJ* 33, 1522; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 99-100.

6 The Empress-Dowager Dou was held under house arrest in the Southern Palace (passage O of Jianning 1). Zhang Huan is reminding the Emperor that he owes a duty to the lady as his titular "dynastic" mother, and also for arranging his accession.

As commentaries to *HHS* and *ZZTJ* observe, Zhang Huan's expression 顧復之報 echoes the fourth stanza of the *Lu e* 蓼莪 Ode, *Shi jing* II.5.8; Legge, *CC* IV, 352 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 202 at 153):

O my father, who begat me!
O my mother who nourished me!.....
Ye looked after me, ye never left me [顧我復我],
Out and in ye bore me in your arms.

7 Li Ying was well known as an opponent of the eunuchs.

On Wang Chang as an associate of Li Ying and a protégé of Chen Fan, see passage U of Yanxi 8 and passage K of Yanxi 9. On his oppression of powerful families, see passage V of Yanxi 8. He had been associated with the Dou family as Commandant of the Guard of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, and then served for a short time as Minister of Works during the time of the Dou hegemony in the previous year (passages E and J of Jianning 1).

HHS 65/55 says that Zhang Huan had been transferred from Grand Minister of Agriculture to another ministerial post as Grand Master of Ceremonies.

G *HHS* 57/47, 1858 (14b-16a), the Biography of Xie Bi.

8 From the seventh stanza of the *Sigan* 斯干 Ode of *Shi jing* II.4.5; Legge, *CC* IV, 306 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 189 at 131).

The commentary of Hu Sanxing cites this text as coming from the *Wuyang* 無羊 Ode, which comes immediately after the *Sigan* Ode; this is a mistake.

9 Such a statement is ascribed to the *Kang gao* 康誥 "The Announcement to the Prince of Kang" Chapter of *Shu jing* at two places in *Zuo zhuan*, being Xi 33; Legge, *CC* V, 226 and Chao 20; Legge, *CC* V, 682 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 436, and *Chronique* III, 315). It does not, however, appear in the present text of *Shu jing*. The closest citation may be at *Shu jing* V.9, 16; Legge, *CC* III, 392 ((Karlgren, *Documents*, 42), but that passage is really dealing with fathers and sons and brothers who fail to show proper family respect.

10 The Biography of the Empress Dou of Emperor Zhang, who, as Empress-Dowager, formally controlled the government in the early years of the reign of Emperor He, is in *HHS* 10A, 415-16, and that of her brother Dou Xian is in *HHS* 23/13, 813-21.

In 92 Emperor He arranged a coup which destroyed the Dou family, compelling Dou Xian and his brothers to commit suicide. The Empress-Dowager Dou, however, continued to be treated with respect. When she died in 97, moreover, it was revealed to Emperor He that she had been responsible for the death of his natural mother, the Honoured Lady Liang; Emperor He was advised by his senior officials that he should strip her of her title and bury her in a tomb apart from her husband the late Emperor Zhang. Emperor He, however, issued an edict rejecting this proposal, referring to the requirements of ritual and the great obligations (大義 *da yi*), and the Lady Dou was buried with her husband under full funerary state: *HHS* 10A, 416.

11 The modern edition of *ZZTJ* punctuates this expression as a quotation from *Li* [*ji*], but *HHS* 57/47 does not agree. Such a statement is found in the *Gongyang* commentary to *Chunqiu*, Zheng 1, but not in *Li ji* itself. It may best be interpreted as a general statement of principle.

12 Youyu 有虞 was a name borne by Emperor Shun舜, Yu being apparently his dynastic title (Legge, *CC* III, 29-31 note).

In the *Yao dian* 堯典 "The Canon of Yao" Chapter of *Shu jing*, I.3, 12; Legge, *CC* III, 26 ((Karlgren, *Documents*, 4), it is recorded that the Emperor Yao enquired about the character of Shun, and was told that his father, step-mother and half-brother were all of poor moral quality, but that because of his filial piety Shun had been able to live in harmony with them, and to lead them gradually to reform, so that they no longer acted wrongly.

The phrase *zhengzheng* 烝烝 used here by Xie Bi, which appears in *Shu jing* in the alternate form 烝烝 , is interpreted by Chinese commentators as indicating high moral quality based upon filial piety (see, for example, *HHS* commentary, which, however, ascribes the reference mistakenly to the *Shun dian* 舜典 "The Canon of Shun" Chapter of *Shu jing*).

13 The *Kaifeng* 凱風 Ode of *Shi jing*, I.3.7, is rendered by Legge, *CC* IV, 50-51, and by Karlgren, *Odes*, 32 at 20. It refers to seven sons concerned about the toil and pain suffered by their mother, and their own inability to bring her ease.

14 From *Yi jing*, hexagram *Shi*師, sixth line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 36:

The Great prince issues commands,
Founds states, vests families with fiefs.
Inferior people should not be employed.

15 On the enfeoffment of the members of the eunuch party after the overthrow of Dou Wu and Chen Fan, see passage R of Jianning 1.

The expression *Amu* 阿母 here indicates the wet-nurse (乳母 *rumu*) of Emperor Ling, the Lady Zhao Rao. On her influential position at court, see passage K of Jianning 1. Though there is no record of her title, it appears that she too had received a fief.

16 Xie Bi here presents an elegant reference to the *Huang niao*黃鳥 Ode of *Shu jing*, I.9.6; Legge, *CC* IV, 198-200 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 131 at 84). This "Yellow Bird" Ode tells how at the funeral of Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公 his senior officers were compelled to follow him to the grave. It expresses sorrow at

their fate, and it is generally interpreted as a criticism of an ancient barbaric custom.

The last lines of each stanza are rendered by Legge as

Could he have been redeemed,
We should have given a hundred lives for him.

Xie Bi is saying that Chen Fan, like the unfortunate ministers of Qin, was not redeemed and is now dead; but the government, through proscription, is nonetheless requiring the hundred [official] lives of his innocent associates.

17 The phrase "four excellencies" indicates the normal Three Excellencies, being Grand Commandant Wenren Xi, Minister over the Masses Liu Chong, and Minister of Works Xu Xu, plus the Grand Tutor Hu Guang: see note 2 to Jianning 1.

18 From *Yi jing*, hexagram *Ding* 鼎, fourth line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 209:

The legs of the cauldron are broken.
The prince's meal is spilled
And his person is soiled.
Misfortune.

The commentary of Li Xian identifies the cauldron (*ding*) as refering to the senior ministers.

The term *zhikou* 致寇, "encouraging rebels", also reflects *Yi jing*, hexagram *Jie* 解, third line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 167:

If a man carries a burden on his back
And nonetheless rides in a carriage,
He thereby encourages robbers to draw near.
Perseverence leads to humiliation.

This is explained by Wilhelm as referring to

a man who has come out of needy circumstances into comfort and freedom from want. If now, in the manner of an upstart, he tries to take his ease in comforatable surroundings that do not suit his nature, he thereby attracts robbers. And if he goes on thus, he is sure to bring disgrace upon himself.

Read in this fashion, the reference becomes very pointed against the new Emperor Ling.

H *HHS* 54/44, 1776 (12b-13b), the Biography of Yang Ci.

19 The *Hong fan* 洪範 "The Great Plan" Chapter of *Shu jing* V.4, 9 to 16; Legge, *CC* III, 328-333 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 30),

discusses how the sovereign (皇 *huang*) may establish (建 *jian*) perfection (極 *ji*).

20 *Cf.* passage G and note 8 above, where this same quotation is used by Xie Bi. Xie Bi, however, used it to refer to the need to be more lenient to the Empress-Dowager Dou; Yang Ci, below, has it as a reference to the dangers of the harem.

21 From *Yi jing*, hexagram *Qian* 乾; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 5:

The movement of Heaven is full of power,
Thus the superior man makes himself strong and untiring.

22 The *Shiyue zhi jiao* 十月之交 Ode of *Shi jing* II.4.9; Legge, *CC* IV, 320-325 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 193 at 138-140), represents a criticism of the government of the Zhou dynasty under King You 幽 of the eighth century BC.

In the first line of the fourth stanza there is reference to 皇父卿士 : "Huangfu the president" (or "prime minister") and in the last line to 豔妻 "the beautiful wife". Tradition interprets Huangfu (written in the alternative form 皇甫 in this memorial of Yang Ci) as being a favourite of the King, and the beautiful wife is his consort Baosi 褒姒 : both were regarded as responsible for the errors of his administration.

The first line of the fifth stanza reads: 抑此皇父 ; rendered by Legge simply as "This Huangfu", with the character *yi* 抑 understood as no more than an introductory particle. Yang Ci, however, echoing that line, advises that Emperor Ling should 抑皇甫之權 ; using the alternative reading of *yi* as the verb "to repress, restrain".

23 Note 4 above discusses the dating of the snake omen which is said to have inspired this memorial of Yang Ci, as well as those of Zhang Huan and Xie Bi cited in passages F and G above.

However, if the three memorials were all written at the same time, it is a little surprising that Zhang Huan and Xie Bi should have concentrated such attention upon the misfortunes of the Empress-Dowager, the Dou family and Chen Fan, while Yang Ci's memorial, more fully preserved in *HHS* 54/44, does not mention that topic but rather criticises the Emperor's favouritism for the eunuchs and his interest in his harem.

From that point of view, the memorial of Yang Ci fits rather better with a date of 172: on the one hand, the matter of the Empress-Dowager had largely ended with her death and burial the year before, while criticism of the Emperor for his interest in his harem seems more likely to have been

warranted in 172, when he was aged 17 *sui*, than in 169, when he was 14 *sui*, only twelve or thirteen by Western reckoning.

All three memorials, however, concern themselves with a snake portent, and Sima Guang has assumed, quite reasonably, that such a phenomenon occurred only once at this time. It may be, however, that there were in fact two: one in 169, as recorded by *HHJ*, and inspiring the memorials of Zhang Huan and Xie Bi; and one similar incident in 172, recorded in the Treatise and giving occasion for the memorial of Yang Ci.

I *HHS* 8, 330 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

24 In *HHS* 8, Wenren Xi's departure from office is described by the character *ba* 罷, and that of Xu Xu by the character *mian* 免. Sima Guang's text appears to use the characters without distinction. and *bamian* is now a commonly used compound. The two characters may be interpreted as interchangable.

It will be recalled that both these men, with the Grand Tutor Hu Guang, had been criticised in the memorial of Xie Bi (passage G and note 17 above).

J From the *Fengsu tong* [*yi*] of Ying Shao, cited by the commentary of the Qing scholar Hui Dong 惠棟 to *HHSJJ* 8, [330] 2b.

25 *HHS* 103/13, 3282, the Treatise of the Five Powers, lists a number of officials as close associates of the eunuch faction in the last years of the reign of Emperor Huan. The list includes Liu Ao, described as Privy Treasurer of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, the residence of the Empress-Dowager Dou (passage E and note 19 to Jianning 1): he must have taken up that post after the death of Emperor Huan.

K *HHS* 65/55, 2152-53 (17a-18b), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

26 The account of this campaign in *HHS* 65/55 has been translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 78-80, and it is discussed in de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 140-141 and Map 4 at 138.

27 The military ranks of Duan Jiong's officers Tian Yan and Xia Yu have been given earlier in *HHS* 65/55, at 2150, describing the campaign of the summer of 168 which is summarised in passage I of Jianning 1.

The significance of the prefix *jia* 假 to the title of Major (司馬 *sima*) held by Xia Yu is not entirely clear. Bielenstein,

for example in *Bureaucracy*, 121, understands it as "Acting", comparable to the expression *xing* 行; while the Treatise of Officials in *HHS* 114/24, 3564, describes it as "Assistant" (副貳 *fuer*).

It would be my suggestion, however, that the term *jia* could be used to indicate an exceptional (and hence indeed short-term) appointment. The term "brevet", which was used in the British Army before the Second World War to indicate appointment above an officer's substantive position, may thus be an appropriate rendering.

28 The character here rendered as "barrier" is *zha* 柵, which commonly refers to a fence or lattice work, and could here indicate a simple palisade. The thickness of the work, however, being some seven and a half feet and over 2.3 metres, indicates that it took the form of an abatis: a mass of felled trees, normally with the branches pointing towards the enemy. This would be probably have been both faster to construct and easier to defend than a single palisade.

Xi county in Hanyang commandery was on the south of the Wei River, while Fanting Mountain, the site of the recent defeat of the Qiang, is identified with a peak of the Liupan range north of the river on the border between present-day Gansu and Shenxi. The site of Shehu/Shoot Tiger Valley, however, has been a matter of some controversy.

In *Northern Frontier*, 491 note 18, I have argued that the valley probably lay south of the Wei: I have suggested that the abatis was intended to prevent the Qiang seeking further refuge in the mountain country of the Qin Ling, and if it had been to the north of the river such a barricade, even if it was more than twelve miles or twenty kilometres long, would not have blocked off a sufficient number of possible escape routes.

This interpretation requires the earlier statement, that the Qiang fled east from Fanting Mountain, be disregarded: but since Xi county certainly lay essentially southwest of Fanting Mountain, it is hard to see how the statement can be correct. If the Qiang had gone east, not only would they not have been anywhere near Xi county, but they would also have been running closer to the main centres of Chinese power and to Duan Jiong's own base. (It would be possible to suggest that the Qiang in fact fled east and that Duan Jiong then set the abatis to the "west", behind them; but the text and the commentary of *HHS* 65/55 both define the character *xi* 西 as the name of the county, and that emendation seems less likely.)

29 It appears to have been quite common for troops on a march when secrecy was required to have gags put in their mouths in order to avoid the possibility of anyone breaking silence by accident or foolishness.

30 Curiously, though the text of *ZZTJ* has many of the same characters as the source in *HHS*, the end result of the description is rather different.

HHS 65/55, 2153; Young, *Three Generals*, 79-80, says that the Qiang sent men to block the tracks between Tian Yan's forces and the river below them, and so cut them off from their water supply. Duan Jiong then attacked along the river, and when the Qiang were driven back from their sortie they were exposed to attack from Tian Yan and from Zhang Kai. *ZZTJ*, however, omits all reference to these preliminaries, and implies that Duan Jiong came immediately with his main force to join Zhang Kai.

As a result of this attack, it appears that the Qiang were defeated on the heights, and Duan Jiong's forces thus broke into Shehu Valley. They then rolled up the defences from the centre, taking the guardposts which had been set up at the expected entrance passes from the rear: rather than a natural fortress, the valley became a well-enclosed killing ground.

31 Duan Jiong had been credited with the pacification of the Western Qiang, on the frontier past the Yellow River, after his campaigns two years earlier (passage B of Yongkang 1).

32 *HHS* 65/55 specifies these animals, here described by the general term of *chu* 畜, as including cattle, horses, sheep, donkeys, mules and camels.

In a more accurate accounting, *HHS* gives the figure of 427,500 head of animals, and 38,600 heads of the enemy; one is impressed with the attention to detail of the early records, but Sima Guang was content with a rounder number.

33 The original budget for the operation, proposed to Emperor Huan and confirmed to the regency government, had called for expenditure of 5,400 million cash (passage D and also passage I of Jianning 1). Duan Jiong had also undertaken to complete the program in two and a half years ("three winters and two summers"): from the time of the original proposal to Emperor Huan in the latter half of 167 to the final massacre at Shehu Valley, just two years had elapsed.

34 The fief awarded Duan Jiong after his victory in the west had been the marquisate of a Chief District, with a revenue based upon the taxation of five hundred households. Xinfeng was a full county, in Jingzhao, east of Changan, and the value of the new fief was twenty times that of the old.

L Comment written by Sima Guang.

35 From the first part of the *Tai shi* 泰誓 "Great Declaration" Chapter of *Shu jing*, V.1A, 3; Legge, *CC* III, 283-284.

This is the first chapter of the Zhou 周 section of the classic, and records the speech attributed to the future King Wu of Zhou, describing the wickedness of the government of King Zhou 紂 of Shang/Yin, and the justice of his campaign of conquest against that state.

36 Sima Guang here lists the traditional four groups of non-Chinese peoples: the Man 蠻 of the south, the Yi 夷 of the east, the Rong 戎 of the west and the Di 狄 of the north: *e.g. Zuo zhuan*, Cheng 2; Legge, *CC* V, 343 and 349 (Couvreur, *Chronique* II, 33).

37 Sima Guang evidently refers here to the general uncertainty and discontent among the Chinese people of the northwest (here described as *huaxia* 華夏), which culminated in the great rebellion of Liang province in 184: passage DD of Zhongping 1, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 146-162.

M *HHS* 8, 330 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

38 The people known as Shanyue 山越 inhabited the hill country south of the Yangzi, in the region of present-day Zhejiang and southern Anhui and Jiangsu. The designation *yue* came from their position in the south and east, as in the kingdom of that name in the Chunqiu period, and the later states contemporary with Former Han, Minyue 閩越 and Dongyue 東越, in the region of present-day southern Zhejiang and Fujian province, and Nanyue 南越, which controlled Guangdong and the far south through most of the second century BC. See, for example, *SJ* 41, 1739; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 418-448, *HS* 95, 2859--63 and 2847-59. It appears that the term could be used as a general description of non-Chinese people inhabiting the southeastern and southern seaboard.

The capital of Danyang commandery in Later Han was at Wanling 宛陵, present-day Xuancheng 宣城 in Anhui.

During the last years of Han, and notably at the beginning of the third century AD, there are increasingly frequent reports of disturbances from the Shanyue and of campaigns against them by Chinese forces. It seems most probable that this reflected a response by the hills people against developing pressure of Chinese immigration into this region of the lower Yangzi.

N *HHS* 67/57, 2195-96 (10a-b), the Biography of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction;
and *HHS* 67/57, 2187 (4a-b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

39 On this First Faction Incident, see passages Y to FF of Yanxi 9, and passages J and K of Yongkang 1.

40 The interpolation is taken from *HHS* 67/57, 2187.
The compound expression *biaobang* 標榜 appears to have indicated a list displayed on placards. In the categories given below, my translations render the following special terms in the original: "lord" = *jun*君 ; "hero" = *jun*俊 ; "exemplar" = *gu* 顧; "guide" = *ji* 及 ; "treasurer" = *chu* 廚 . The characters transcribed *jun* are pronounced in different tones in Modern Standard Chinese, and would have been sounded differently in Later Han times: see Karlgren, *GSR* 459*a* and 468*t*.

41 The biography of Liu Shu 淑 is in *HHS* 67/57, 2190. He was a man from Hejian, the same commandery as Emperor Ling's family. He must, of course, be distinguished from the grandfather of the Emperor, whose personal name was identical (passages V of Yongkang 1 and E of Jianning 1); and also from Liu Shu 儵 , also a man from Hejian, who had advised on the choice of the Emperor and then brought him to Luoyang (passage V of Yongkang 1). The Liu Shu praised as a "lord" made his reputation as a scholar of the classics, with skill interpreting portents. He became a Palace Attendant and General of the Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers, and in the time of the Dou regency he urged the elimination of the eunuchs. After the fall of Dou Wu and Chen Fan he was compelled to commit suicide (passage N of Jianning 1).

42 The personal name of Xun Yi regularly appears as Yu 昱 in *HHS* and in *HHJ* 23, 7b. *HHS* 8, 330, however, refers to him as Xun Yi, and Sima Guang evidently preferred to follow that reading. His biography is in *HHS* 62/52, 2050. A man from a great family of Yingchuan, he had been a firm opponent of the eunuchs and their

biography is in *HHS* 62/52, 2050. A man from a great family of Yingchuan, he had been a firm opponent of the eunuchs and their clients when he was local administrator in Pei kingdom and in Guangling, and he was later associated with Dou Wu's plans for a coup against them.

The biography of Du Mi is in *HHS* 67/57, 2197-98. A man from Yingchuan, he had been implicated in the First Faction Incident (passages AA and FF of Yanxi 9), but he was restored to office during the Dou regency (passage K of Jianning 1).

The biography of Wang Chang is in *HHS* 56/46, 1823-26. A man from Shanyang, he had earlier been praised by the students of the Imperial University for his firm, even cruel, control of powerful groups in Nanyang commandery (passages V of Yanxi 8 and K of Yanxi 9). He was Minister of Works for a time during the Dou regency (passages E and J of Jianning 1). He died at home during the course of this year, Jianning 2.

The biography of Liu You is in *HHS* 67/57, 2199-2200. A man from Zhongshan, he had a wide official career in the provinces and at the capital, at one time impeaching a nephew of Liang Ji. In 165, as Grand Minister of Agriculture, he sent in a proposal for the confiscation of eunuch properties, but was imprisoned for his pains (passages L, Z and AA of Yanxi 8). He was appointed Intendant of Henan by the Dou group when they were preparing to move against the eunuchs (passage K of Jianning 1 at 1809) but was dismissed after the coup and died at home early in Jianning 2.

The biography of Wei Lang is in *HHS* 67/57, 2200-01. A man of family from Kuaiji, he had at one time been Grand Administrator in the southern commandery of Jiuzhen (passage B of Yongshou 3), and later become a Master of Writing at the capital. He was compelled to commit suicide after the overthrow of Dou Wu and Chen Fan (passage N of Jianning 1).

The biography of Zhao Dian is in *HHS* 27/17, 948-49. A man from Shu commandery, he was the son of a former Grand Commandant and successor to his fief as a marquis. He held several ministerial posts, and was celebrated for his sense of honour and direct admonitions. He was Privy Treasurer of the Palace of Prolonged Joy and then Commander of the Guard during the Dou regency, and was recommended for the post of Grand Tutor. About this time, however, he died. (Curiously, despite this information being available, the introduction to the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction, *HHS* 67/57, at 2190, says that all that is known about him is his name.)

Zhu Yu, a man from Pei kingdom, had been made Colonel Director of Retainers under the Dou regency at the time of the

43 The biography of Guo Tai is in *HHS* 68/58, 2225-27. A man from Taiyuan, he became a leader of the students at the capital, celebrated for his skill at judging character (passages B to L of Yanxi 7). He died in the spring of Jianning 2, at the age of forty-two *sui*.

The biography of Fan Pang is in *HHS* 67/57, 2203-08. A man from Runan, he made his reputation as an opponent of powerful families in the provinces (passage T of Yanxi 2). He was involved in the First Faction Incident as an opponent of the eunuchs (passage CC of Yanxi 9). Thereafter he remained in retirement (passage L of Yongkang 1).

Yin Xun was a man from a long-established official family of Henan. He was Prefect of the Masters of Writing at the time of Emperor Huan's coup against Liang Ji in 159, and was enfeoffed for his assistance at that time (passages L and Q of Yanxi 2). As Grand Administrator of Runan, he spoke in favour of Fan Pang and other men of the commandery involved in the First Faction Incident. He was a close associate of Dou Wu against the eunuchs, and was killed at the time of the coup: (passage K of Jianning 1). There is a biography of Yin Xun in *HHS* 67/57, 2208, and another is provided as supplement to that of Liu Yu in *HHS* 57/47, 1857-58. The authority of the main biography, however, appears questionable on some points: firstly, it describes Yin Xun as Grand Minister for Agriculture in the time of the Dou regency, where other sources, perhaps more convincingly, have him as Prefect of the Masters of Writing (note 43 to Jianning 1); secondly, it says that Yin Xun was sent to prison and committed suicide after the failure of the coup against the eunuchs, while the biography of Dou Wu, again more circumstantially, says that he was killed by the eunuch Wang Fu during the course of that operation (passage K of Jianning 1, citing *HHS* 69/59, 2243).

The biography of Ba Su is in *HHS* 67/57, 2203. A man from Bohai, he had twice held held positions as magistrate of a county, but on each occasion resigned because of his disapproval of the character of his superiors. He later took junior office at the capital, and he was involved in the planning of the coup by Dou Wu and Chen Fan against the eunuchs. After that failed, he shared the penalty of the leading conspirators (passage Q of Jianning 1). His biography adds that the Inspector Jia Zong 賈琮 was so impressed with his conduct that he erected a stele in his honour.

The biography of Zong Ci is in *HHS* 67/57, 2202-03. He was frequently recommended for office without accepting, and on

the one occasion that he became a local magistrate in Henei, he resigned in protest at the corruption of the Grand Administrator. He later accepted an invitation to take up a post at the capital, but died on the road. He had a high reputation for his sense of honour among the scholars and gentry of Nanyang.

The biography of Xia Fu is in *HHS* 67/57, 2201-02. He had a local reputation for scholarship and for independence from great families and the eunuchs.

The biography of Cai Yan is in *HHS* 67/57, 2208-09. He had a reputation as a scholar, and as a good influence in his community. During the 150s he became Inspector of Ji province and opposed unlawful pressures from the eunuchs and from Liang Ji. Later, in 166 during Emperor Huan's government, he was dismissed for arguing on behalf of Cheng Jin, the Grand Administrator of Nanyang accused by the eunuchs (passage U of Yanxi 9). He was appointed again to court by the Dou regency, but died of illness soon afterwards.

The biography of Yang Zhi is in *HHS* 67/57, 2209. He was a man of old official family, who had first held office but then been proscribed after the fall of Li Gu in 147 (see notes 69 to Yanxi 2 and 1 to Yanxi 3). Later, he was Inspector of Ji province and then Prefect of the Masters of Writing. He refused association with the eunuchs' supporters, and later, as Intendant of Henan, he made enemies for his strict treatment of the powerful families. Dismissed from office at the time of the First Faction Incident in 166-167, he died at home.

44 The biography of Zhang Jian is in *HHS* 67/57, 2210-11. A man from Shanyang, he came to prominence as a local Investigator for his attack on the property of the eunuch Hou Lan (passage P of Yanxi 9).

Zhai Chao was the Grand Administrator of Shanyang who appointed Zhang Jian and then supported him against Hou Lan. He had been dismissed and sent to convict service in 166 (passages P, Q and R of Yanxi 9).

The biography of Cen Zhi is in *HHS* 67/57, 2212-13. A man from Nanyang, he had studied at Luoyang and was well-known among the leadings scholars and officials there. He came to prominence as Officer of Merit in his own commandery for his strict and honest judgement of character (passages I and K of Yanxi 9). After the arrest of Cheng Jin, the Grand Administrator who had appointed and supported him, he fled into hiding (passage W of Yanxi 9).

The biography of Yuan Kang is in *HHS* 67/57, 2214. A man from Bohai, he was praised, with others on this list, by Dou Wu in his memorial of 167 (passage G to Yongkang 1). He was at that time a Gentleman of the Masters of Writing. Earlier, as Prefect of Yingyin 颍阴 , the home territory of the celebrated Xun 荀 family, he changed the name of their village to recognise their talents: *HHS* 62/52, 2050. (His surname is sometimes, mistakenly, written as Fan范). Then, as Grand Administrator of Taishan, he supported and co-operated in the attacks of Zhai Chao and Zhang Jian against the clients of the eunuch Hou Lan; for this he was dismissed, imprisoned and then exiled to the far south. He returned, however, and eventually died at home.

There is a biography of Liu Biao in *HHS* 74B/64B, 2419-25, and another in *SGZ* 6, 210-213. An associate of Zhang Jian, he traced his descent to the imperial house. Some thirty years later, during the civil wars at the end of Han, he became the effectively independent Governor of Jing province.

The biography of Chen Xiang is in *HHS* 67/57, 2213. A man of good family, he had, as Attendant Imperial Clerk, sought to impeach Liang Ji for abuse of power. Later he was Grand Administrator of Dingxiang commandery, close to the northern frontier, and then Inspector of Yang province, where he had two grand administrators of the eunuch party sent to prison for wrongdoing. He became Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, the head of the censorate, but was implicated in the First Faction Incident (passage AA to Yanxi 9). After a period of detention and torture in the Northern Prison of the Yellow Gates, he was allowed free, and died at home.

The biography of Kong Yu is in *HHS* 67/57, 2213. Many members of his family had held official posts since the time of Former Han, and he himself had inherited a marquisate. He was recommended several times for office but refused to accept. Then he was implicated in the First Faction Incident and proscribed, but became Prefect of Luoyang during the Dou regency. He left office on account of mourning for his teacher, and then died at home.

The biography of Tan Fu is in *HHS* 67/57, 2215. He was a man of poor family who refused all offers of official appointment and established himself as a teacher, with hundreds of students from all parts of the empire. Eventually, in the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling, he accepted appointment as a local magistrate in Liang state, but left office again because he disapproved of the Grand

Administrator. He led a most frugal life, and died at home aged eighty *sui.*

45 The biography of Du Shang is in *HHS* 38/28, 1284-87. A man of poor family, he had served as Inspector of Jing province against rebels there from 162 to 165, but he was disgraced for making a false report (passage I of Yanxi 5, passage N of Yanxi 7 and passage R of Yanxi 8). He later became Grand Administrator of Liaodong and defeated the Xianbi in that region. He died at the age of fifty *sui* in 166.

The biography of Zhang Miao is in *SGZ* 7, 221-29. As a young man, he took pleasure in acting as a private redresser of wrong. In the civil war at the end of Han, he was first an associate of Cao Cao, but later turned against him to join the rival warlord Lü Bu and was killed on campaign.

The biography of Liu Ru is in *HHS* 67/57, 2215. He was admired by Guo Tai, and wrote to detailed criticism to Emperor Huan, which was, however, not accepted. He became Chancellor of Rencheng, and was then brought to the capital by the Dou regency. Then, however, he was implicated in the coup and died in prison.

Humu Ban became Bearer of the Gilded Mace about 190. At the beginning of the civil war he was sent by Dong Zhuo to negotiate with the rebels led by Yuan Shao, but was killed by them.

Apart from these, *HHS* 67/57, 2190, notes that Wang Xiao was Inspector of Ji province, Qin Zhou was Chancellor of Pei kingdom, Fan Xiang was a Gentleman of the Palace, and Wang Zhang held the ministerial post of Privy Treasurer.

46 Although it is only at this stage of the chronicle that we are told about the compilation of such a list of worthy men, it seems most probable that this particular collection was put together in the time of the Dou regency, during the first part of 168, or possibly as early as 166. It will be observed that a number of the men named died during 168, either through natural causes or as an immediate consequence of the success of the eunuchs against Dou Wu and Chen Fan; while the "Treasurer" Du Shang, as we have seen above, died in 166.

On the other hand, the men named in this particular list were probably living at the time: though Zhai Chao, the former Grand Administrator of Shanyang and his protégé Zhang Jian are included, and also Cen Zhi, who played a similar role to Zhang Jian in Nanyang, Cen Zhi's Grand Administrator Cheng Jin is not mentioned, for he had been executed in 166.

It seems certain, moreover, that there were a number of such lists in circulation, and that categories in them were based primarily on the number eight. It is a tradition which can be found in earlier texts and in other circumstances in Later Han.

The list given here is the only one whose record has survived in detail, but there must have been variant opinions among different compilers and, as we shall see below, there was certainly at least one more restricted list, of Zhang Jian and his comrades from Shanyang. See note 49 below and also de Crespigny, "Political Protest", 26-27.

O *HHJ* 23, 7a.

P *HHS* 67/57, 2188 (4b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction; and *HHS* 67/57, 2210 (18b), the Biography of Zhang Jian in that Chapter;
and *HHJ* 23, 7a.

47 Hou Lan also came from Shanyang. Zhang Jian, as locally-appointed Investigator in the commandery, had confiscated land in that area from Hou Lan, and had also destroyed the tomb he had set up for his mother (passage P of Yanxi 9).

The biography of Hou Lan, in *HHS* 78/68, 2523, ascribes the incident of Zhang Jian's destruction of the tomb to this year, Jianning 2. Zhang Jian's own biography, however, dates his appointment to Yanxi 8, and we may note that his patron the Grand Administrator Zhao Chao had been dismissed by Yanxi 9 (passages Q and R of Yanxi 9, and also *HHS* 66/56, 2164). It would seem that at this time Zhang Jian was at the capital, and Hou Lan's hatred was inspired by the memory of what had occurred rather than by its immediacy.

48 *HHS* 67/57, 2188, says that Zhu Bing was a man from the same district as Zhang Jian, but at 2210 it is indicated that he came from the same district as Hou Lan, and this is the interpretation followed by Sima Guang.

In fact, since the accusation relates to men from the same district as Zhang Jian, it is rather more likely that Zhu Bing also came from that district, and his accusation was to some extent inspired by Zhang Jian's rejection of him.

49 *HHS* 67/57, 2188, actually lists the names and ranks of these men from Shanyang commandery: there were eight "heroes", eight "exemplars" and eight "guides", and we are told that they

had their names inscribed on a stele as memorial of their association.

Of these men, only Liu Biao appears in the list which is cited in passage N above. The other man from Shanyang on that main list, Tan Fu, did not come from the same county and district as Liu Biao and Zhang Jian, though a certain Tan Bin 檀彬, perhaps a distant clansman of Tan Fu, is listed as one of the "heroes". Otherwise, the members of this group do not appear to have become particularly distinguished politically. It was, in fact, probably little more than a local fraternity.

It may be observed also that evidence of other lists containing the name of Liu Biao have been preserved by different sources:
the biography of Liu Biao in *HHS* 74B/64B, 2419, refers to him as an "exemplar", presumably echoing this Shanyang list;
the biography of Liu Biao in *SGZ* 6, 210, however, refers to him as a "hero";
the commentary of Pei Songzhi to that reference in *SGZ* quotes first from the *Han ji* 漢紀 of Zhang Fan 張璠 of the third century, which gives the list of "exemplars" from the Shanyang group, including Liu Biao;
but Pei Songzhi then also quotes the anonymous *Hanmo mingshi lu* 漢末名士錄, which contains another list of "associates" (友*you*), being basically the eight "guides" of the main list, but with the name of Fan Pang replacing that of Zhai Chao. This may be a corruption of the main list, but it may also represent a version which omitted the more senior Grand Administrator Zhao Chao and included Fan Pang with his junior colleagues.

50 The Annals of Emperor Ling, *HHS* 8, 330, give a more precise date, being the *dinghai* day of the tenth month, equivalent to 25 November.

51 *HHS* 8, 330, ascribes this initiative solely to Hou Lan. It is *HHS* 67/57, 2188 which now gives the leading role to Cao Jie.

The Grand Prolonger of Autumn was the official in charge of the residence of the Empress: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 69-70. At this time, however, there was no Empress yet established. It seems likely that the title of Cao Jie has been miswritten here. Cao Jie had been appointed Commandant of the Guard of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, in charge of the residence of the Empress-Dowager Dou, after the success of the eunuchs' coup in the previous year (passage R of Jianning 1), and it appears that he still held that post or a similar one (passage HH below

refers to him as Grand Coachman of the Palace of Prolonged Joy).

Cao Jie did become Grand Prolonger of Autumn (*HHS* 78/68, 2524-25), but that was probably after the establishment of Emperor Ling's Empress Song, which took place in 171 (passage A of Jianning 4).

52 While the records of Li Ying and the others have been discussed above, the appearance of Yu Fang at this point is a little surprising.

There is a short biography of Yu Fang, attached to that of his great-grandfather Yu Yan 延 in *HHS* 33/23, 1154. A man from Chenliu, Yu Fang had been a student of the Grand Commandant Yang Zhen 楊震, who fell victim of the intrigues at the court of Emperor An in 124 (*HHS* 5, 238 and *HHS* 54/44, 1766-67) After the accession of Emperor Shun in the following year, Yu Fang argued for a posthumous rehabilitation of Yang Zhen. Later, during the reign of Emperor Shun and the early years of Emperor Huan, Yu Fang became a protégé of the eunuch Cao Teng 曹騰 (*HHS* 78/68, 2519).

At the time of the overthrow of Liang Ji in 159, Yu Fang was a member of the Masters of Writing and he was one of the men rewarded with enfeoffment by Emperor Huan for his assistance in the coup (passage Q to Yanxi 2); this enfeoffment was cancelled in 165, at the time of the disgrace of Emperor Huan's eunuchs (passage F to Yanxi 8). Yu Fang was Minister of Works for a few months in 160 and 161 (passages G of Yanxi 3 and D of Yanxi 4). Since that period of prominence, however, almost ten years earlier, he is not mentioned as a protagonist in the controversies of the time. His biography, however, says that he was a fierce opponent of the eunuchs, and it was for this reason he was named among the men of Faction.

It would appear that Yu Fang was at this time sixty or seventy years old.

53 "To form a clique" here renders the expression 鉤黨 *gou dang*.

54 "Outside the law" renders the expression 不軌 *bugui*; "the nation", here as elsewhere, renders the expression 社稷 *sheji*.

The commentator Hu Sanxing remarks with sadness that although Emperor Ling asked these questions he was grossly deceived and kept ignorant of the true situation. He compares him to Emperor Yuan of Former Han, who also accepted blindly the advice of his eunuchs Shi Xian 石顯 and others, and

whose failure in this regard is seen as one of the factors which brought about the decline and fall of that government: *e.g.* Dubs, *HFHD* II, 294-297.

Q *HHS* 67/57, 2197 (10b-11a), the Biography of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

55 As Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 50-52, remarks, there were at least two prisons at Luoyang, one under the Commandant of Justice and the other administered by the local Prefect of Luoyang. It is not specified which prison Li Ying went to, but it seems more likely that he attended to that of the Commandant of Justice, for a minister would have been responsible for the broader, more political, offences.

56 It was evidently the custom that a young man might become formally the student (門生 *mensheng*) or, as here, pupil (門徒 *mentu*) of a senior scholar or official. In doing so, he appears to have been required to write his name on a tablet.

R *HHS* 67/57, 2207 (16b-17a), the Biography of Fan Pang in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

57 As observed by Hu Sanxing's commentary and in the text below, Zhongbo 仲博 was the style (字 *zi*) of a younger brother of Fan Pang. Fan Pang's own style was Mengbo 孟博.

58 The Yellow Springs (黃泉 *huangquan*) is the traditional place of the dead, comparable to the Western Classical underworld, the kingdom of Hades. See *Zuo zhuan*, Yin 1; Legge, *CC* V, 6 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 8).

59 Longshu county was in Lujiang commandery. In 58 AD it was awarded as a fief to Xu Chang 許昌, cousin of Liu Ying 劉英, who was the son of Emperor Guangwu by a concubine and had been made King of Chu 楚 (*HHS* 42/32, 1428). The marquisate evidently continued for some generations.

As with kingdoms and commanderies, the title Chancellor (相 *xiang*) was given as courtesy to the official who governed a county marquisate. In all other respects, the position was the same as that of a Prefect or Chief: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 108.

60 Commentaries explain the reference to Li and Du as indicating Li Ying and Du Mi, colleagues of Fan Pang in the Proscribed

Faction. Earlier, however, there had also been upright and respected protestors with the same combination of surnames: Li Gu and Du Qiao at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Huan, and Li Yun and Du Zhong in 159. See, for example, passage FF and note 69 to Yanxi 2.

S *HHS* 8, 330-31 (3a), the Annals of Emperor Ling; and *HHS* 67/57, 2188 (5a), the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

61 At this point in the text of *HHS* 8 we are told also that the proscription was extended to "the five degrees of kinship" (五屬 *wu shu*), which would have involved relatives as distant in the male lineage as third cousins. It seems probable, however, that this is an anachronism.

Where punishment was extended to relatives, it appears normally to have applied only to those within the third degree of kinship, not the fifth: see, for example, Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 138.

At passage B of Xiping 5: 176, moreover, we are told specifically that the proscription was at that time extended to five degrees of kinship; in 179 it was reduced again to three degrees (passage J of Guanghe 2).

I suspect, therefore, that when the proscription was first applied at this time in 172 it had effect only upon the three closest degrees of relationship, that it was extended four years later, but that a reference to this extension has crept into the text of *HHS* 8; there is no reference to it at this time in any other parallel text, such as *HHS* 67/57. Sima Guang therefore probably made a deliberate omission - or perhaps his text of *HHS* did not contain that set of characters.

On the various degrees of relationship, see notes 6 to Xiping 5 and 41 to Guanghe 2.

T *HHJ* 23, 8b, and interpolation by Sima Guang.

62 From the fifth stanza of the *Zhan ang* 瞻卬 Ode of *Shi jing*, III.3.10; Legge, *CC* IV, 563 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 264 at 236-238). The whole of the ode is a complaint against misery and oppression caused by the influence of women and eunuchs upon the government.

63 From the third stanza of the *Zheng yue* 正月 Ode of *Shi jing*, II.4.8; Legge, *CC* IV, 316 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 192 at 135). This ode is also a lamentation on the misfortunes of the kingdom dominated by eunuchs and a royal favourite.

Crows (or ravens) were said to perch upon the house of a man who was wealthy and fortunate. The implication of the verses is that the royal house is no longer prosperous, and one must wait to see where the favour of Heaven and the affections of the people will turn.

64 I cannot find a parallel and original for this last paragraph, and it seems to have been interpolated by Sima Guang. In his *Kaoyi* commentary, he notes that the remarks of Guo Tai are attributed by his biography in *HHS* 68/58, 2226, as occasioned by the fall of Chen Fan and Dou Wu in 168. Sima Guang preferred to follow *HHJ*, which refers to the arrests and proscription of 169.

HHS 68/58, however, says that Guo Tai died at home, aged forty-two *sui*, in the first Chinese month of Jianning 2, more than six months before the proscription. Having accepted that Guo Tai was in fact alive at the time, Sima Guang then evidently found it necessary to explain why he was not attacked with the other scholars and officials.

U *HHS* 67/57, 2210 (18b-19a), the Biography of Zhang Jian in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

65 The commentary of Hu Sanxing argues that the name of Waihuang 外黃 county, which was in Chenliu commandery, has been miswritten for that of Huang 黃 county, which was the capital of Donglai.

66 Li Du here addresses Mao Qin by the honorific *mingting* 明廷 "Excellent Court", evidently a reference to his position as Prefect.

67 Qu Yuan 蘧瑗, an official of the state of Wey 衛 whose style was Boyu 伯玉, was host on two occasions to Confucius: *SJ* 47, 1920 and 1926; Chavannes, *MH* V, 334 and 353. He is also referred to in favourable terms by *Lun yu* XIV.26 and XV.6; Legge, *CC* I, 285-286 and 296.

The present reference does not seem to fit with any of these, and one must assume it is based upon some apocryphal account which is now lost. it was evidently used, however, as a catch-phrase in Han times: see *HHSJJ* 67/57, 19a, and 56/46, 8b.

68 Zhang Jian had originally taken refuge with Li Du in Huang county, which was on the northern coast of the Shandong

peninsula. From there he returned west to Beihai, at the base of the peninsula, and then travelled to Yuyang commandery, north of present-day Tianjin and east of Beijing. From there he escaped over the frontier into the region of present-day Chengde, an area inhabited by the Wuhuan and Xianbi peoples.

V *HHS* 70/60, 2262 (4a-b), the Biography of Kong Rong.

69 Kong Bao and his younger brother Kong Rong claimed descent in the twentieth generation from the sage Confucius.

W *HHS* 67/57, 2211 (19a), the Biography of Zhang Jian in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

70 On this, see passage F of Zhongping 1.

71 The biography of Zhang Jian has additional detail.

After his return from exile, he was offered many appointments at the capital, but he refused all of them. Some time after 196, however, he was called from retirement to take up the ministerial post of Commandant of the Guards, at the time when Emperor Xian, successor to Emperor Ling, had come under the control of the warlord Cao Cao (see, for example, *HHS* 9, 380, and de Crespigny, *Last of the Han*, 151). Zhang Jian could not avoid the appointment, but he refused to take any active role. He died at the city of Xu 許, where Cao Cao had established his capital.

X *HHS* 67/57, 2202 (13b-14a), the Biography of Xia Fu in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

72 Linlu was a county in Henei commandery, now in the hill country of the Taihang Shan by Linxian 林縣 in Henan. The Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 109/19, 3395, notes that iron was produced there.

Y *HHS* 62/52, 2066 (14a), the Biography of Chen Shi.

73 Chen Shi had been involved and gone to prison at the time of the First Faction Incident in 166-167 (passage BB of Yanxi 9). His biography in *HHS* 62/52 places the incident of his attendance at the funeral after his release from that period of imprisonment. He had served for a short time at the capital as a clerical officer under the government of Dou Wu and Chen Fan.

Z *HHS* 67/57, 2217 (23a), the Biography of He Yong in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

74 The biography of Yuan Shao, in *HHS* 74A/64A, 2373, indicates that Yuan Shao was at this time living in Luoyang. He came from a distinguished official family of Runan, and he was acquiring a reputation as a young-tough-about-town. It seems that he provided the information about conditions within the capital so that He Yong could plan appropriately for his Scarlet Pimpernel operations.

AA *HHS* 45/35, 1523 (6a), the account of Yuan Wei supplementary to the Biography of Yuan An.

75 The commentary of Hu Sanxing suggests that the personal name, 術, which here follows the essential meaning, found in *Li ji*, of "a road", or "a way", should have been pronounced as *sui*. This may indeed be correct (the pronunciation of Hu Sanxing's own personal name is itself the result of a special reading in *Lun yu* I.4: *e.g.* Legge, *CC* I, 139). The most common and accepted transcription, however, even for the character as it appears in *Li ji*, is *shu* (*e.g.* Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies* II, 807; Karlgren, *GSR* 497*d*), and I follow it.

76 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 24, 1b, gives the personal name of this eunuch as Lang 朗, but that he has chosen to follow *HHS* 45/35.

The Regular Palace Attendant Yuan She was the neighbour of the Lady Xuan, mother of the Empress Deng of Emperor Huan, who gave the alarm at the time of the assassination attempt by Liang Ji just before the coup of 159 (passage I of Yanxi 2).

77 Yuan An 袁安, whose biography is in *HHS* 45/35, 1517-22, was a man from Runan. During the reign of Emperor Zhang he became Minister of Works in 86 and then Minister over the Masses in 87 (*HHS* 3, 156). He died in that office in 92, during the reign of Emperor He (*HHS* 4, 173). He was an opponent of the pretensions of the imperial consort Dou clan, and in particular of the aggressive policy of Dou Xian 竇憲 against the Northern Xiongnu.

From that time, members of the Yuan family were distinguished as scholars and officials. Yuan An's son Yuan Chang 敞 was Minister of Works for a little more than a year under the government of the Empress-Dowager Deng during the reign of Emperor An, but was disgraced and committed suicide

in 117 (*HHS* 5, 224 and 226, and *HHS* 45/35, 1524). Yuan An's grandson Yuan Tang held position among the Three Excellencies from the time of the accession of Emperor Huan under the aegis of the Liang family in 146 (*HHS* 6, 282) until he left the office of Grand Commandant in 153 (*HHS* 298).

BB *HHS* 74A/64A, 2373 (1b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

CC *HHS* 75/65, 2438 (6a), the Biography of Yuan Shu.

78 The term *xia* 俠, which I express here as "gallant", but which is by no means easy to translate, is discussed in Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, particularly 185-195, and also in Liu, *The Chinese Knight-Errant*.

In general terms, *xia*, or *youxia* 遊俠 refers to this patronage and to the gathering of clients, retainers or other dependents, outside the formal structures and conventions of government, and frequently accompanied by intimidatory or even violent conduct; which was often justified in terms of a superior, idealistic or simply aristocratic morality. Ch'ü observes (at 189) that "most of the *yu-hsia* were people of humble origin", but this is a judgement based upon the whole period of Han. At this time, it would seem that leaders in the capital, such as Yuan Shao and Yuan Shu, were generally of wealthy and privileged background, and the various acts of unlawful violence in the provinces were also often instigated by men of property: see, for example, passages L to Q of Yanxi 9.

DD *HHS* 45/35, 1525-26 (7a-8a), the Biography of Yuan Hong.

79 Yuan Hong was a grandson of Yuan Peng 彭. Yuan Peng was the elder brother of Yuan Tang. Yuan Peng was thus the uncle of Yuan Feng and of Yuan Wei. Yuan Hong was therefore a first cousin once removed to Yuan Feng.

80 The biography of Yuan Hong in *HHS* 45/35 explains that he had deliberately chosen a life of humble obscurity, that he lived in poor circumstances, and he rejected offers of official appointment.

81 The Que 郤 clan, whose surname is also transcribed as Xi, was one of the great families of the state of Jin 晉 in the sixth century BC. Que Qi 錡 [whose personal name may also be transcribed as Yi], Que Chou 犫 and Que Zhi 至 held high

official rank, and Que Zhi, in particular, had gained a great victory over the rival state of Chu 楚 at the battle of Yanling 鄢陵. They were, however, put to death by Duke Li 厲 of Jin because were seen as a threat to his authority and they had made enemies of his personal favourites. See *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan*, Cheng 17; Legge, *CC* V, 403 and 404-405 (Couvreur, *Chronique* II, 159-163), and *SJ* 39, 1680-81; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 324-326.

82 *HHS* 45/35 adds an anecdote, telling how in the time of the Yellow Turban uprising of 184, Yuan Hong was so respected by the rebels for his love of and scholarship in the classics that they agreed not to attack his property: as a result, the people of the region came to take refuge with him, and they all escaped the general massacre.

EE *HHS* 53/43, 1752 (10b-11a), the Biography of Shentu Pan.

83 From *Mengzi* IIIB, 9.9; Legge, *CC* II, 282: "...sage sovereigns cease to arise, and the princes of the States give the reins to their lusts. Unemployed scholars indulge in unreasonable discussions..." (*cf.* Lau, *Mencius*, 114).

84 This refers to the manner in which it is recorded that King Zhao of Yan 燕昭王, received the scholar Zou Yan 鄒衍 [whose surname is also written 騶]: *SJ* 74, 2345, and see also *SJ* 34, 1558; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 144-145.

85 A reference, of course, to the celebrated persecution by the First Emperor of Qin: see, for example, *SJ* 6, 254-55 and 258; Chavannes, *MH* II, 169-174 and 178-182.

86 Tang 碭 was a county in Liang 梁 kingdom, near the borders of present-day Anhui, Shandong and Henan provinces. There is a mountain of the same name close by. The Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 110/20, 3426, notes that patterned stone was quarried from the mountain. Liang kingdom was next to Chenliu commandery, Shentu Pan's home country.

The biography of Shentu Pan in the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 3, 4a, says that he constructed his hut using the trunk and branches of a large mulberry tree as upright and beams, filled in with brambles and grasses.

FF Comment written by Sima Guang himself.

87 *Cf. Yi jing*, hexagram *Kun* 坤, fourth line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 14:

A tied-up sack. No blame, no praise.

The commentary explains that this refers to a dangerous time, when any man of quality should keep himself away from public affairs. Otherwise, he will attract overwhelming hostility from powerful enemies, or he will be compelled to to accept unjustified celebrity for his complaisance in a false situation.

88 Other editions have the alternative reading 踐 for the character 跣 which appears in the text. I follow them.

89 As the commentary of Hu Sanxing points out, Sima Guang is here using the same words of praise as are applied to Zhong Shanfu 仲山甫, the minister who assisted King Xuan of Zhou 周宣王 in the early eighth century BC: see the fourth stanza of the *Zheng min* 烝民 Ode of *Shi jing*; Legge, *CC* IV, 543 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 260 at 229):

Intelligent is he and wise,
Protecting his own person;
Never idle, day or night,
In the service of the One Man.

Considering that Zhong Shanfu was praised as an active and energetic servant of the state, while Guo Tai is described specifically as avoiding direct discussion of any matters of state (*e.g.* passage T above), Sima Guang's allusion must have been restricted to the first two lines.

90 *Cf. Yi jing*, hexagram *Yu* 豫, second line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 73:

Firm as a rock. Not a whole day.
Perseverence brings good fortune.

The commentary explains that this describes how a superior man perceives the first traces of difficulties and discord and takes immediate action, not delaying even a single day.

GG *HHS* 8, 331 (3a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

91 This eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3303. It is recorded in *HHS* 108/18, 3369, the Treatise of the Five Powers. There, however, the day is recorded as *wuxu*, and a *wuxu* day was in fact the last day of the tenth month of this year. The Annals, followed by Sima Guang, must be mistaken.

The Treatise records that the eclipse was reported from Youfufeng, in present-day Shenxi; it was evidently not

observed at that capital. The Treatise does not record in what constellation the eclipse was observed, not does it offer any prognostication.

The commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 108/18, 3362, however, discussing the eclipse of 23 July 92 AD, during the reign of Emperor He, quotes from *Qiantan ba*, the anonymous apocryphal work on the *Chunqiu*, which says that an eclipse on a *wuxu* day foretells the death of a ruler, and the whole nation will be in mourning, and Liu Zhao also quotes from the book of prognostication by Jing Fang of Former Han (see note 51 to Yanxi 9), which relates such an eclipse specifically to the destruction of the imperial consort clan. Soon afterwards, Emperor He destroyed the power of the Dou family of his Empress-Dowager: *e.g. HHS* 4, 173, and see also note 5 to Yongshou 3.

92 *HHS* 111/21, 3448, lists Fugou county in Chenliu. It is unusual for the county, rather than the commandery, of origin of an Excellency to be given: in this case, Sima Guang has taken the information from the commentary to *HHS* 8, which also tells us that the style of Guo Xi was Gongfang 公房 .

HH *HHS* 78/68, 2524 (13a), the Biography of Cao Jie in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

93 *HHS* 8, 331, the Annals of Emperor Ling, mentions this incident and describes Cao Jie as Grand Coachman of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, and Sima Guang has followed that. *HHS* 78/68, 2524, however, a little earlier in the biography of Cao Jie, says that he had been appointed Commandant of the Guard of the palace in the previous year (passage R of Jianning 1).

94 This exercise reflects the honours paid to the eunuch Shan Chao, assistant to Emperor Huan in the coup against Liang Ji of 159. When he became ill later in that year, he was appointed General of Chariots and Cavalry; he died early in 160 (passages JJ of Yanxi 2 and C of Yanxi 3).

95 On the status of Specially Advanced see note 52 to Yanxi 8.

The established rank/salary of a Regular Palace Attendant was Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi*: *HHS* 116/26, 3593. This higher level of emolument gave Cao Jie the status equal to that of one of the Nine Ministers.

11 *HHS* 85/75, 2815 (8a), the Account of Gaogouli in the Chapter on the Eastern Barbarians.

96 Gaogouli, a name which is also transcribed as Gaojuli, which also appears in the shorter form of Gouli, and which is known by the Korean pronunciation of Koguryo, later became one of the great states of the Korean peninsula. Its history during the Han period is discussed by Gardiner, *Early History of Korea*, 29-32. King Bogu [Korean: Paekko] appears to have come to the throne as a minor about 130 AD, and reigned for some sixty years.

HHS 85/75, 2814, describes the Gouli people as being originally a branch of the Mo 秣. It seems likely that they had been incorporated into the confederacy of Tanshihuai (passage JJ of Yanxi 9), and it is thus possible that they had been involved in the raiding ascribed to the Xianbi, the Hui and the Mo at the end of the previous year (passage W of Jianning 1).

Notes to Jianning 3: 170 AD

A *HHS* 8, 331 (3b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 This eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3304. It is recorded in *HHS* 108/18, 3369, the Treatise of the Five Powers. The Treatise records that the eclipse was reported by the Chancellor of Liang kingdom, in the south of the North China plain; it was evidently not observed at that capital.

The Treatise does not record the constellation in which the eclipse was observed, not does it offer any prognostication. The commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 108/18, 3358, however, discussing an eclipse in 30 AD, quotes from the *Qiantan ba*, which says an eclipse on a *bingyin* day foretells a period of drought.

B *HHS* 65/55, 2153 (18a), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

2 *HHS* 65/55, 2153; Young, *Three Generals*, 81, gives a brief description of the triumphal procession. His army numbered some fifty thousand Chinese and auxiliaries, there was a group of the celebrated "blood-sweating" horses from Ferghana in central Asia (on which see, for example, Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 132-134 note 332), and more than ten thousand prisoners. They were met west of Changan by the Grand Herald bearing the Staff of Authority, and escorted thence to Luoyang.

C *HHS* 8, 331 (3b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

D *HHS* 8, 332 (3b), the Annals of Emperor Ling,
and *HHS* 10B, 446 (8a), the Biography of the Empress-Dowager Dong.

3 The Empress-Dowager Dong, natural mother of Emperor Ling, had been given lodging in apartments named the Palace of Perpetual Joy. Dong Chong was the elder brother of the Empress-Dowager and thus an uncle of the Emperor (passages B, C and D of Jianning 2).

E *HHS* 86/76, 2839 (8b), the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

4 The Later Han commandery of Yulin occupied the western and northern part of present-day Guangxi, being the basin of the

West River and its major tributaries. The capital of the commandery was at Bushan 布山, by present-day Guiping 桂平 (*HHSJJ* 113B/23B, 25a-26a, and *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* II, 63-64).

The Wuhu barbarians apparently gained their name from (or perhaps gave it to) a mountain now in Hengxian 橫縣 in Guangxi, and their territory was officially under the control of the commandery of Yü-lin. *HHS* 86/76, 2834, tells us that the Wuhu people were also referred to as the Danren 啖人, and that they practised cannibalism. Their main centre at this time appears to have been the hill country west of the Bay of Canton, extending along the coast past the Leizhou peninsula to the region of the Gulf of Tongking: this being the area of Later Han Hepu and Jiaozhi commanderies (*e.g. HHS* 8, 340 and 345). The new territory brought under the control of the imperial government would thus have been related rather to Hepu commandery than to Yulin. It seems possible that the influence of Gu Yong had extended south across the West River and beyond his formal borders.

JS 15, 464, the Treatise of Geography, says that Emperor Huan established a commandery called Gaoxing 高興 in this region, and under Emperor Ling the name was changed to Gaoliang 高涼. The Qing scholar Shen Qinhan 沈欽韓, in commentary to *HHSJJ* 86/76, 8b, suggests that the seven counties referred to here formed the territory of this new commandery. There is, of course, a slight anachronism involved, since this massive surrender is dated to the time of Emperor Ling, and there thus appears no good cause for a full commandery to have been established any earlier. Most interpretations place the commandery of Gaoliang in the third century AD as controlling the sea coast between the Bay of Canton and the Leizhou peninsula (*e.g. Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* III, 31-32).

If a new commandery of Gaoxing/Gaoliang was indeed established at this time, it is not certain that it continued to function for long. Neither name is mentioned in *HHS*, and we observe that there was evidently a considerable rebellion of the Wuhu people in 178 (*e.g. HHS* 8, 340 and 345, also passages A of Guanghe 1 and B of Guanghe 4). Quite possibly the territory was abandoned, or resubordinated to Hepu and the other neighbouring and longer-established commanderies. It does appear to have been re-established under the government of the southern state of Wu 吳 about 220: see, for example, Wu and Yang, *Sanguo junxian biao fu kaozheng*, 147c.

F *HHS* 88/78, 2927 (23a), the Chapter on the Western Regions.

5 The disturbance in Shule is referred to in passage X of Jianning 1: during the year 168 an uncle of the Chinese-allied ruler had deposed and killed his nephew and taken the throne for himself.

It appears that the Inspector of Liang province was taking the initiative in this attempt to restore Chinese authority, though the bulk of the forces involved were drawn from the Chinese-controlled states of central Asia: the troops from Dunhuang commandery were certainly Chinese, presumably from the local garrison; the others would have been levied from the various states, possibly with a stiffening of Chinese officers.

The Wu and Ji Colonel was the chief commander in the Western Regions since the abolition of the position of Protector-General in 107, and he was also responsible for general political supervision: Yü, *Trade and Expansion*, 142-144, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 110 and 112-113..

At various times, there could be two positions: a Wu Colonel and a Ji Colonel, but it seems clear that in this instance there was only one. The title itself was based upon the fact that *wu* and *ji* were the fifth and sixth of the Ten Celestial Stems, and as such have a cosmological meaning, indicating their position in the centre, with influence generally, in the Western Regions. During Former Han such officers had been responsible for the establishment and maintenance of agricultural colonies for Chinese settlers: see, for example, Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 79; the Chinese presence in central Asia at this time, however, was not nearly so energetic.

The Chief Clerk of the Western Regions had earlier been a leading assistant to the Protector-General. With the disestablishment of that office, it appears that the Chief Clerk was maintained, most likely primarily concerned with civil matters, in some fashion as an assistant or junior associate to the Wu and Ji Colonel. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 113.

Yanqi was situated in the region of present-day Karashahr: Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 178 and 177 note 588. Qiuci is usually identified with present-day Kucha: Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 163. Nearer and Further Jushi were in the region of present-day Turfan: Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 183-184. The auxiliaries were thus drawn from the region about present-day Urumqi and the northeastern part of the Tarim basin, and would then have advanced along the Northern Silk Road against Shule, near present-day Kashgar. It seems most probable that the

headquarters of the Chinese commanders at this time were also in the region of Turfan.

G *HHS* 78/68, 2534 (18b-19a), the Biography of Zhang Rang in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

6 This anecdote is translated by Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 494.

Ch'ü identifies the phrase *cang tou* 蒼頭 (literally, "dark-green heads), as a reference to slaves, particularly male slaves with special skills or particular responsibilities in the government or, as here, in a great household. See his note 160 on page 366, citing both contemporary records and modern Japanese scholars.

It seems that the expression "dark-green heads" distinguished slaves from free people, who were "black heads" (*li min* 黎民 or *qian shou* 黔首), and they were in some circumstances actually required to wear a dark green cloth on the head.

Notes to Jianning 4: 171 AD

A *HHS* 8, 332 (3b-4a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 The phrase used here, *jia yuanfu* 加元服, was a term adopted by the Han dynasty to refer to the ceremony of coming of age. A literal translation, taking the character *yuan* as representing the character 玄 *xuan*, would be "to put on a black robe".

There are traditional descriptions of this ceremony in *Yi li* 1: Couvreur, *Cérémonial*, 1-24, and in *Li ji* 9 and 10; Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies*, 602-605 and 690. A reconstruction of the ceremony as it was performed for rulers of Later Han appears in *HHS* 94/4, 3105, the Treatise on Ceremonial: it apparently entailed the young emperor receiving four different kinds of cap, followed by a formal presentation at the Temple of the Eminent Founder. Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 98-99, however, analysing the transmission and content of this text, concludes that it represents a complicated ritual, devised on the basis of ancient authorities by the scholar Cao Bao 曹褒 (biography in *HHS* 35/25, 1201-05). This full ceremonial was used only on the occasions of the capping of Emperors He and Shun in 91 and 129. Procedures for the other rulers were certainly different and simpler.

According to tradition, and also to the theories of the *Bohu tong*; Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 613, a man should be capped when he is twenty *sui*. During Later Han, however, though several emperors went through this ceremony after their ascent to the throne, all of them were substantially younger than the prescribed age: Emperor He was capped at thirteen *sui* (*HHS* 4, 171), Emperor An at sixteen (*HHS* 5, 213), Emperor Shun at fifteen (*HHS* 6, 256) and Emperor Huan at seventeen (*HHS* 7, 292).

Emperor Ling was at this time sixteen *sui* (note 37 to Yongkang 1), which was obviously an acceptable age for the rulers of Later Han. The ceremony was very likely related to the establishment of the Empress Song later in this year (see below), though it may be observed that Emperor Huan had actually had his Empress Liang established in 147, the year before he took the cap of manhood (*HHS* 7, 291 and 292): this, however, was presumably a matter of decision and priority for the hegemon Liang Ji.

The Treatise of Ceremonial, *HHS* 94/4, 3105, says that the auspicious days for the ceremony were a *jiazi* or *bingzi* day in the first month. All the emperors appear to have followed this

rule except Emperor An, whose ceremony took place on a *gengzi* day: he appears to have conformed to an earlier principle, which required only that a suitable day be divined for (*e.g. Yi li* 1; Couvreur, *Cérémonial*, 1-3, and commentary to *HHS* 5, 212).

The Annals in *HHS* 8 also record that donations were given at this time to the various officials, and that an amnesty was issued for all subjects of the empire, excluding only the men of Faction.

2 This earthquake is also recorded in *HHS* 106/16, 3331, the Treatise of the Five Powers, where the prognostication is associated with the dominant position in the government held by the eunuchs Cao Jie and Wang Fu. We are not told what areas of the empire were affected.

3 This eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3306. It is recorded in *HHS* 108/18, 3359, the Treatise of the Five Powers, but the Treatise does not record the constellation in which the eclipse was observed, not does it offer any prognostication.

The commentary of Liu Zhao, however, quotes from the *Qiantan ba*, which says that an eclipse on a *xinyou* day indicates that a woman is plotting against the ruler, and the commentary also states that the official Gu Yong 谷永, evidently the same man as had lately arranged the submission of the Wuhu people during the previous year (passage E of Jianning 3), sent in a memorial criticising Emperor Ling for behaving towards his inferiors without proper reserve.

4 This renewed outbreak of disease is recorded also in *HHS* 107/17, 3351, the Treatise of the Five Powers. It is probably connected to the earlier epidemic recorded in 161 (passage A of Yanxi 4), and it will be followed by similar occurrences throughout the reign of Emperor Ling.

5 The short history of the Empress Song has been translated and discussed by Goodrich, "An Empress of the Later Han". In Part I of that article, Goodrich particularly translates and describes the ceremony of installation, as recorded by the contemporary scholar-official Cai Zhi 蔡質, and preserved in the commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 95/5, 3121-22, the Treatise on Ceremonial.

As Goodrich discusses in his note 9 of that article, there is a good deal of uncertainty about the exact date of the ceremony. All sources are agreed that it took place in the seventh month: *HHS* 8, followed by Sima Guang, has the *guichou* day (cyclical

no. 50), and so does *HHJ* 23, 15b. The record of Cai Zhi, however, has the *yiwei* day (cyclical no. 32). In fact, all calculations indicate that the seventh month began on a *jiwei* day (cyclical no. 56): so there should have been neither a *guichou* day nor an *yiwei* day in that month.

Moreover, as Goodrich observes, the account of the ceremony says that a leading role was played by the Grand Commandant Wenren Xi; but Wenren Xi had left that office in the third month of that year (see above). Goodrich raises the possibility that the character *qi* 七 "seven" has been miswritten for *er* 二 "two", and that the ceremony actually took place in the second month of that year: the second month did contain both a *guichou* and an *yiwei* day. On the other hand, the agreement of the texts and the manner in which the event is listed in chronological order within *HHS* 8 and *HHJ* 23 casts some doubt on such a textual amendment.

6 The biography of the Empress Song, in *HHS* 10B, 448-49, is translated and discussed by Goodrich in Part II of his article "An Empress of the Later Han".

The family of the Lady Song came from Youfufeng commandery, and we are told that she was great-granddaughter of a paternal uncle of the Honoured Lady Song of Emperor Zhang of Later Han: her family had thus some precedent in the upper ranks of the harem, though it was certainly rather a distant relationship, and there is no record of any male members of her clan distinguishing themselves in the imperial service.

The Lady Song had been brought into the harem in the previous year as a result of the regular annual selection procedure (*HHS* 10A, 448), and she was at that time made an Honoured Lady. Her biography says that it was only after her establishment as Empress that her father Song Feng was given the position as Bearer of the Gilded Mace. This position had been granted to Dong Zhong, maternal uncle of Emperor Ling, in 169 (passage D of Jianning 2), and it appears to have been used quite frequently as a courtesy position for male relatives of consort families (note 3 to Jianning 2).

Song Feng was also enfeoffed as Marquis of the District of Buqi 不其鄉. It is notable that, while he received appointment and enfeoffment comparable to those awarded to members of consort families, neither was of particularly high rank, and the Song family itself, while of acceptable lineage, did not have great prestige. Naturally enough, the eunuch officials of Emperor Ling were reluctant to encourage the

development of political power in the hands of another clan of the relatives by marriage.

7 Since the end of Jianning 2, after the overthrow of Dou Wu, there had now been multiple changes in the the membership of the Three Excellencies: nine dismissals or resignations and eleven new appointments, involving a total of ten men. The longest period of continuous office had been held by Xu Xun, Minister over the Masses for twenty-two months from Jianning 2.6 to Jianning 4.3, and only one other man, Liu Ao as Minister of Works from Jianning 2.6 to Jianning 3.7, had held the same post for more than a year. Two men, Liu Chong in Jianning 2.6, and Qiao Xuan in Jianning 4.3, had been transferred to higher position within the triumvirate and each had thus held Excellency rank for just over a year, while besides Xu Xu, who was now appointed Minister of Works after having formerly been Minister over the Masses, Wenren Xi had twice held the position of Grand Commandant.

There are, of course, individual explanations for some of the changes of appointment, but it is clear that there was a serious lack of continuity among these most senior, and traditionally most respected, positions at the head of the imperial civil service. It does not seem impossible that the eunuchs were to some degree involved in these frequent changes, for they would certainly have hindered the development of an authoritative party of opposition to their dominance of the court.

For the most part, the men themselves were not particularly distinguished: the majority of them appear in the history only on account of their appointment among the Excellencies, though they were often men of good official and gentry lineage. Liu Ao was known as an associate of the eunuchs (passage J of Jianning 2), but Li Xian firmly opposed them in the dispute about the burial of the Empress-Dowager Dou in the following year (passage E of Xiping 1). Only two of the ten, however, could be described as had having notable careers before their appointment to the highest rank: Liu Chong, a member of the imperial clan who had held been Minister of Works in the time of Dou Wu and Chen Fan, was known as a scholar and has a biography as a lenient official in *HHS* 76/66, 2477-79, while Qiao Xuan, who has a biography in *HHS* 51/41, 1695-97, came from an old-established official family and himself had a distinguished and varied official career. It would not be fair, therefore, to claim that all these senior officials were chosen merely for their family prestige and their personal

complaisance with the eunuch-dominated court; yet taken as a group, and given the circumstances of the political situation, they were unlikely to present a united and coherent centre of opposition.

The one exception to this pattern of frequent changes at the top of the bureaucratic hierarchy is the Grand Tutor Hu Guang. He had been appointed immediately after the destruction of the Dou clan in 168, with concomitant authority over the affairs of the imperial secretariat (passage W of Jianning 1), and he held that position until his death in 172 (passage B to Xiping 1).

B *HHS* 10B, 446 (7b), the Biography of the Empress-Dowager Dou.

C *HHS* 8, 333 (4a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

Notes to Xiping 1: 172 AD

A Commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 94/4, 3103-04, the Treatise of Sacrifices, quoting from the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng.

1 The date given by the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng for this incident, at 8, 13a-b, and in the citation of Liu Zhao, is the fifth year of Jianning. The present year did in fact begin as Jianning 5; the new reign period of Xiping was proclaimed in the fifth month (passage C below).

The ceremony of Ascending the Tomb (上陵 *shang ling*), is discussed in *HHS* 94/4, 3104. It had been instituted by Emperor Ming in 58, the year after his accession, and was a very full and formal court occasion, attended by the officials, nobility and representatives of foreign countries.

2 Cai Yong (133-192) was a most celebrated scholar, who took a particular interest in ritual and ceremonial.

This incident is discussed in Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises of Later Han*, 83. *ZZTJ* here has taken only an extract of the passage from Xie Cheng's *Hou Han shu*. In the fuller version, as cited by Liu Zhao, Cai Yong goes on to explain to his colleagues that the "true meaning' of the ceremony was to inform the former emperors of the welfare of the state, and to have the Son of Heaven serve the dead as he would have served the living.

As a result of Sima Guang's abbreviations, two statements ascribed to Cai Yong have been conflated. The first part of Cai Yong's remarks are said by Xie Cheng/Liu Zhao to have been uttered at the time of the ceremony, but the last sentence of the translation is said to have been addressed to Hu Guang soon afterwards.

Hu Guang, at that time Grand Tutor (passage W of Jianning 1 and passage B below), was a notable scholar who was the patron and teacher of Cai Yong, and we are told that he encouraged Cai Yong to record the ceremony he had witnessed. Cai Yong indeed composed a manuscript of a treatises on sacrifices, which may have been the basis for a great part of the extant material available today though, as Mansvelt Beck remarks, "We must conclude that not a single line survives that can safely be attributed to Cai Yong's treatise..." (*Treatises of Later Han*, 108-110 at 110).

B *HHS* 44/34, 1510 (10b-11b), the Biography of Hu Guang.

3 Hu Guang had thus been born in 91 AD.

4 Hu Guang had held office under Emperors An and Shun, the two child emperors Chong and Zhi, Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling. He first came to office at the capital in the latter years of the reign of Emperor An, about 122 (*HHS* 44/34, 1505), and he first held office among the Excellencies in 142, towards the end of the reign of Emperor Shun, when he was appointed Minister over the Masses (*HHS* 6, 272).

Besides the regular posts of Grand Commandant, Minister over the Masses and Minister of Works, Hu Guang had also, as we have seen, been made Grand Tutor to Emperor Ling; hence the reference to four positions as an Excellency.

5 Chen Fan, who had died in the coup of 168 when Dou Wu was overthrown, had at that time held the position of Grand Tutor. He was thus a colleague of Hu Guang who was then the Minister over the Masses (passage A of Jianning 1).

Li Xian had been appointed Grand Commandant in the previous year (passage A of Jianning 4).

6 Boshi 伯始 was the style of Hu Guang. He was himself the author of four books on Han ceremonial, being *Hanguan jiegu* 漢官解詁 "Explanatory Notes to *Han Offices*" (*Hanguan* itself is identified by Mansvelt Beck with the *Xiaoxue Hanguan pian* 小學漢官篇 "Han Offices Explained for Beginning Students" compiled by Wang Long 王隆 of the first century), *Boguan zhen* 百官箴 "Admonitions to the Hundred Officials", *Han zhidu* 漢制度 "Han Regulations", and *Han jiuyi* 漢舊儀 "Old Ceremonial of Han": on these, see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 2-3, and Mansvelt Beck *Treatises of Later Han*, 95.

C *HHS* 8, 333 (4a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

7 The text of *HHS* 8 contains the notation of summer, and also the name of the reign period. *ZZTJ* has omitted them.

8 The Palace of Prolonged Joy was the title of the residence of the Empress-Dowager Dou, who was still being kept in honoured imprisonment in the Cloud Terrace apartments of the Southern Palace (passages O and R and notes 70 and 72 to Jianning 1). The Grand Coachman was the second-ranking officer in charge of those apartments: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 72-73.

D *HHS* 10B, 446 (7a), the Biography of the Empress Dou of Emperor Huan.

9 Those members of the Dou family of the Empress-Dowager who had not been killed at the time of the coup in 168 had been sent into exile in Bijing county in Rinan commandery in the far south of the empire (passage O and note 71 to Jianning 1). The wife or concubine of Dou Wu, mother of his daughter the Empress-Dowager, was evidently among that number.

10 It was seven years since the Empress-Dowager Dou had come to the throne in 165 as the formal wife of Emperor Huan. She was probably about twenty years old at the time of her death.

E *HHS* 56/46, 1832-33 (13b-14b), the Biography of Chen Qiu.

11 Since she was the last full wife of Emperor Huan, it would be expected that the body of the late Empress-Dowager Dou would be buried in his tomb. According to prescribed ritual, moreover, a deceased widow should be honoured in the ancestral temple with the same ceremony as her late husband, while her spirit tablet shared the same precedence. The eunuchs, having failed to reduce the ceremonial of the Lady Dou's funeral, were now seeking to downgrade her posthumous status.

The only Honoured Lady Feng referred to in *Hou Han shu* was a member of the harem of Emperor He at the beginning of the second century. After the death of the Emperor in 105, and the accession of the Empress-Dowager Deng to the government of the empire, the Empress-Dowager awarded the Lady Feng special honours, and referred to her as a comrade in the harem (*HHS* 10A, 421). One would rather expect, however, that the Honoured Lady Feng referred to here was one of the concubines in the very large harem of Emperor Huan.

Emperor Huan had had three empresses, the ladies Liang, Deng and Dou, but his favourite companions at the time of his death were the Lady Tian Sheng and her eight associates, all of whom had been made Honoured Ladies. Tian Sheng was killed by the Empress-Dowager Dou immediately after the death of Emperor Huan (passage U and note 32 to Yongkang 1), but it is possible that the Honoured Lady Feng had been one of the other eight, who survived the immediate jealous revenge, and died some time later.

The Qing commentator Hui Dong 惠棟, in commentary to *HHSJJ* 56/46, 14a, notes that the *Lieyi zhuan* 列異傳

"Chronicle of Strange Events" ascribed to Cao Pi 曹丕, Emperor Wen 文 of the state of Wei 魏 of the Three Kingdoms period in the third century, (at 116) has a story of how the Honoured Lady Feng of Emperor Huan died, and then in the time of Emperor Ling her tomb was broken open by robbers, but although seventy years had passed her body and features were still well preserved. This would seem to confirm that Emperor Huan had an Honoured Lady of the Feng surname, but the gap of seventy years to the time of Emperor Ling is, of course, inappropriate, and would actually suggest that it was the Honoured Lady Feng of Emperor He who suffered the desecration in such good order.

12 The character 椒 *jiao*, now commonly interpreted as pepper, in fact at this time should be understood as describing the fagara plant, or Chinese pepper, genus *Xanthoxylon*, of which various species are native to western and northwestern China. The true black pepper is known as 胡椒 *hujiao*.

In Han times, fagara was used as a commonly available and substantially less expensive substitute for pepper. See, for example, Schafer, *Golden Peaches*, 149-150, Stuart, *Materia Medica; Vegetable Kingdom*, 462-464 and 334 (Stuart renders *Xanthoxylon* in the variant form *Zanthoxylum*), and Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China*, 66-67. See also the commentary of Hu Sanxing to this passage of *ZZTJ*.

Besides its use as a condiment, different varieties of fagara are used for assorted medical purposes. In the present context Li Xian was evidently providing himself with an overdose.

13 The Fragrant Chambers (椒房 *Jiao fang*) is a term for the apartments of the Empress. On the term *jiao*, describing the fagara plant, see note 12 above.

During Former Han, the empress's apartments in the Weiyang 未央 palace at Changan were ornamented with plasters of fragrant spices, and the nomenclature, probably also the custom, was continued by Later Han at Luoyang. See *HS* 97A, 3958 commentary note 4 quoting Yan Shigu, *HHS* 41/31, 1401 commentary note 7, and *HHS* 63/53, 2075 commentary note 2 *bis*.

It is probable that this plaster was chosen not only for the smell and the value as insulation, but also to provide sympathetic magic: like the true pepper, the fagara plant produces a multitude of seeds.

14 In the context of Chen Qiu's remarks, the phrase *buzao* 不造 refers to the death of Emperor Huan. The phrase *buxing* 不幸 "unhappily" below describes the Empress' own death.

15 As the commentary of Li Xian remarks, we are told in *HHS* 65/55, 2153, the biography of Duan Jiong, that some time after that general's triumphal return from the campaigns against the Qiang about 170 (passage B and note 2 to Jianning 3), he had been appointed Intendant of Henan. Then, however, the tomb of the Honoured Lady Feng was broken into and robbed. Duan Jiong was held formally responsible and was demoted to the courtier's position of Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant.

16 The phrase used here is *hunling* 魂靈 . According to beliefs current in the Han period, the *hun* was one of two elements of the soul of a human being. The *po* 魄 enabled the actions of the body, giving it movement and strength, while the *hun* directed activity, and incorporated the intellectual and spiritual qualities.

It was believed that after death the *po* remained with the body, while the *hun* undertook the dangerous journey to the next world. Initial sacrifices were designed to persuade the *hun* to return and restore the corpse to life; later, after these entreaties had failed, the mourners would offer assistance to the *hun* on its dangerous journey.

On these concepts, see Loewe, *Ideas of Life and Death*, 26, and *Ways to Paradise*, 9-12. The splendid poems *Zhao hun* 招魂 "Summons to the Soul" and *Dazhao* 大招 "The Great Summons" in the *Chu ci* 楚辭 collection, reflect this principle; Hawkes, *Songs of the South*, 101-104.

On the other hand, it was also established belief that when a person died a violent death, the *hun* soul could still remain about the mortal world in the form of an apparition. See, for example, *Zuo zhuan*, Zhao 7; Legge, *CC* V, 618 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 140-142).

If the *hun* soul of the unfortunate Lady Feng could be disturbed and defiled by the robbery of her tomb, it would thus seem that the event had taken place soon after her interment. Furthermore, if the proposal that the Lady Feng should be granted position in the ancestral temple beside that of the late Emperor Huan was being made at this time, it would seem that her death had also been fairly recent - otherwise her position ought to have been fixed earlier. The Lady Feng, therefore, appears to have died and been buried shortly before the

Empress-Dowager, and the desecration of her tomb was a recent scandal.

17 On the death and burial of the Empress Liang of Emperor Huan in 159, see passages C and O of Yanxi 2.

Since Emperor Huan was still alive at the time of the Lady Liang's death, and it was quite possible, as indeed happened, that there would be additional empresses after her, the formal question of burial in the same tomb was thus less critical. On the other hand, after the overthrow of Liang Ji, Emperor Huan did reduce the rank of the tomb of his former Empress to be that of an Honoured Lady, and he certainly made no arrangements to share her posthumous accommodation.

18 The biography of the Empress Wei of Emperor Wu is in *HS* 67A, 3949-50, and that of the Lady Li, which includes a rhapsody written in her honour by the emperor himself, is in *HS* 67A, 3951-56.

On the trouble at Changan in 91 BC, when the Empress Wei and the Heir-Apparent both took part in active insurrection against the aging Emperor Wu, see *HS* 6, 208-09; Dubs, *HFHD* II, 114-115, and Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 37-45. As a result of that incident, the Empress Wei was summarily dismissed and committed suicide, while her son the Heir-Apparent also killed himself soon afterwards.

The Lady Li had died several years earlier, probably about 100 BC, but she had been greatly favoured by Emperor Wu and her burial was accompanied by the ceremonial of an empress. The Emperor, who died in 87, did not name another consort after the fall of the Lady Wei. It was thus not unnatural that he should have given his former favourite some further posthumous honour, and after his death she was given the further full title of empress. See also Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 53-54.

19 The Honoured Lady Liang of Emperor Zhang was the mother of Emperor He, but in 79, soon after giving birth to him, she was brought to disgrace and death through the intrigues of Emperor Zhang's Empress Dou. Emperor He came to the throne in 88, under the regency of the Lady Dou and her family, but in 92 he destroyed the power of the Dou family. The Empress-Dowager Dou died in 97, and at that time Emperor He was advised of the misfortunes which she had brought upon the Lady Liang. The Emperor gave his mother the posthumous title of Gonghuai 恭懷 "Respectful and Remembered" Empress.

There was a proposal that the Lady Dou should not be buried in the same tomb as Emperor Zhang, but Emperor He refused to listen to it, expressing himself in much the same terms as Chen Qiu and Li Xian in this current debate of 172. The Lady Dou was buried with Emperor Zhang at Jingling 敬陵 "Mound of Reverence", southeast of Luoyang. See *HHS* 10A, 416, and Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, the Restoration of the Han dynasty, and Later Han," 281-282.

The Empress Yan of Emperor An took that position in 115, and her family obtained important positions at court as a result of her elevation. Emperor An's only son, Liu Bao劉保, was born in 115 to a concubine the Lady Li. The Empress Yan had the Lady Li poisoned soon afterwards, and in 124 the Yan group persuaded Emperor An to dismiss Liu Bao from the position of Heir-Apparent. In the following year, Emperor An died, the Yan clan put an infant on the throne, but when that child died a coup by a group of eunuchs overthrew their power and established Liu Bao, who became Emperor Shun. See Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, the Restoration of the Han dynasty, and Later Han," 284-285, also Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 91-93.

When the Empress Yan died in 126, she was given the posthumous title Si 恩 "Thoughtful" and she was buried in the same tomb as Emperor An, at Gongling 恭陵 "Mound of Respectfulness", northwest of Luoyang. At the same time, the new Emperor's mother that Lady Li was given the posthumous title of Gongmin 恭愍 "Respectful and Pitiful" Empress, she was buried at Gongbeiling 恭北陵 , obviously in the immediate vicinity of Emperor An's tomb, and her tablet was placed in the ancestral temple. See *HHS* 10B, 437-38. These proceedings are very similar to those which were followed in the time of Emperor He.

20 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 23, 17b-19a, has a different account of the debate, giving a rather larger role to Li Xian, but describing him only as Intendant of Henan, whereas it seems clear that he was at that time indeed the Grand Commandant.

F *HHS* 8, 333 (4b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

21 The Xuanling 宣陵 "Mound of Comprehension" was the tomb of Emperor Huan, southeast of Luoyang.

G *HHS* 78/68, 2525 (13a), the Biography of Cao Jie in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

22 The Gate of the Vermilion Bird was the southern entrance to the Northern Palace at Luoyang: the Vermilion Bird was the sign of the south in Han cosmology. The tower of the gate 闕 *jue* was one of the highest buildings in Luoyang, and is said to have been visible over forty *li*, (more than ten miles and just under eighteen kilometres). See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 33-34.

23 The phrase *shilu* 尸祿, literally "to receive salary as a corpse", refers to an ancient funerary custom, the *shiwei* 尸位 or *shili* 尸利, by which, when sacrifices were offered to the deceased, a virgin boy or girl impersonated the dead person, sitting motionless to receive the respects paid by the descendents. From this there came the analogy of a ruler or official who held position without taking proper action. See, for example, the *Wuzi zhi ge* 五子之歌 "The Songs of the Five Sons" Chapter of *Shu jing* III.1, 1; Legge, *CC* III, 156-157, and his note; *Li ji* 29.38; Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies* II, 504; and the commentary of Yan Shigu to *HS* 72, 3089 note 10.

24 According to his biography in *HHS* 65/55, 2153, Duan Jiong had returned to the capital about 170, after his victorious campaigns against the Xianlian tribes of the Eastern Qiang, and had then held office successively as Palace Attendant, Bearer of the Gilded Mace and Intendant of Henan. He was dismissed from that last position because of the desecration of the tomb of the Honoured Lady Feng, and had been appointed to the less important office of Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant (note 15 above).

There is no other record of Duan Jiong holding the position of Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, which was the chief of the censorial offices (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 58-59, which renders the title as Palace Assistant Secretary, and de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance", 68-72). It seems possible that there is a miswriting of the text at this point, and that he was actually appointed, as his biography states, direct to Colonel Director of Retainers from the position of Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant - he thus exchanged places with Liu Meng.

25 The phrase *yusheng* 游生 "journeying scholars" is interpreted as referring to students of the university who had come to lodge in Luoyang during their period of studies. There is no

statement that they were executed; one may assume that they suffered some physical punishment and a period of detention, but were then simply sent home, and very likely proscribed from office.

H *HHS* 65/55, 2141-42 (9b-10a), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

26 Zhang Huan had been appointed Grand Minister of Agriculture after his assistance to the eunuchs in the coup against Dou Wu in 168 (passage V of Jianning 1). He was later transferred to become Grand Master of Ceremonies, but he became unpopular for his outspoken support of Li Ying and his colleagues and his opposition to the eunuchs (passage F of Jianning 2). It may be noted that Liu Meng, who has just been replaced by Duan Jiong as Colonel Director of Retainers, had been associated with Zhang Huan in support of Li Ying.

27 The four characters *dangzui jingu* 黨罪禁錮 are presented here without any punctuation break, but I follow *HHS* 65/55, 2141; Young, *Three Generals*, 53.

28 For the particular debate when Zhang Huan protested Duan Jiong's policy of extermination, see passage I of Jianning 1. There are also a number of other occasions when it may be observed that his attitude and that of Duan Jiong were completely different.

29 Zhang Huan had been a native of the border commandery of Dunhuang, but was granted the privilege of shifting his residence to the inner commandery of Hongnong, between Luoyang and Changan, as reward for his success in dealing with the non-Chinese rebellions of the north (passage R of Yongkang 1).

30 The text of this letter is at *HHS* 65/55, 2142; Young, *Three Generals*, 53-54.

I *HHS* 31/21, 1107-09 (12b-13b), the Biography of Su Buwei.

31 The Su family of Hongnong was one of long distinction, with ancestors who had served as military commanders against the Xiongnu during Former Han. The family had continued to hold official rank under Later Han, though by the time of Su Qian and Su Buwei they were perhaps rather of local than of national significance.

The story of this vendetta is given in considerably more detail by the parallel text of *HHS* 31/21, and I supplement the *ZZTJ* account in the notes which follow. (Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 311, has a reference to the affair, but does not, unfortunately, expand upon the matter; it would seem a noteworthy example of feuding among powerful clans in the latter years of Han.)

According to *HHS* 31/21, 1107, Li Gao was an associate of the eunuch Ju Yuan, and he had been Prefect of Meiyang 美陽 county in Hongnong. As a result of his contacts with Ju Yuan, he was able to exploit the people without suffering any proper investigation or punishment, and he accumulated considerable stores of treasure. Then Su Qian was appointed Investigator (督郵 *duyou*), a local appointment under the commandery office, with censorial powers over the various counties (see, for example, Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 97, and de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance", 50). Su Qian seized Li Gao's ill-gotten property and had him dismissed and sent to labour service. Since Ju Yuan was disgraced in 165 (passage E of Yanxi 8), the origins of the feud must be dated before that time.

Later, Su Qian became the Grand Administrator of Jincheng commandery in Liang province, but for some reason he resigned and quit that post. Under the Han system, an official who left his post without proper imperial order, was not permitted to visit Luoyang without special authority. Su Qian, however, did make a private visit to the capital, and Li Gao took the opportunity to have him arrested and flogged. He died in prison under this treatment, but Li Gao still carried out punishment on his corpse.

32 *HHS* 31/21 says that at this time Su Buwei was eighteen *sui* and had just been recommended for the imperial service. He did not take up the appointment, but removed his father's body to temporary resting in their home country, and in the preliminary ceremonial he swore an oath to heaven to avenge Su Qian as the ancient statesman Wu Yun 伍員 (more commonly known by his style as Wu Zixu 子胥) had avenged his own father. after his murder by the king of Chu 楚 (see, for example, *SJ* 66, 2172-76, which tells how the father of Wu Zixu was killed by King Ping 平 of Chu, and so Wu Zixu went to the rival state of Wu 吳 and eventually led an army of conquest against Chu, opened up the tomb of King Ping, and flogged the corpse in vengeance).

As a first move, Su Buwei sent his mother for security to the isolated region of Wudu commandery in the west. He

changed his name, expended the family money to raise followers, and sought to make an open attack on Li Gao but without success.

33 *HHS* 31/21 says that Su Buwei and some of his relatives gained access to the storehouse of the Enclosure of the Right (which supervised convict services: see note 76 to Yanxi 2 and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 82), and from there they dug night after night for more than a month to break into the residence of the ministry of the Grand Minister of Agriculture.

Just at the time that Su Buwei got in, however, Li Gao had gone to the lavatory, and only the concubine and the child were there. Su Buwei killed both of them, left a note to show who the visitor had been, and went away.

34 *HHS* 31/21 says that with Li Gao alerted to the threat, Su Buwei now rode day and night to Wei commandery, where he desecrated the grave and the corpse of Li Gao's father. He took the head first as an offering to display at the tomb of his own father Su Qian, and then hung it up in the market-place with a notice reading to identify it.

Li Gao recovered the item and said nothing about it, but he resigned his appointment and went back to his home country where he repaired and restored the grave.

35 *HHS* 31/21, 1108-09, says that there was some criticism of Su Buwei's conduct, avenging his father's ills by desecrating another man's corpse. The arbiter Guo Tai, however (on whom see passages B to L of Yanxi 7), argued that Su Buwei had even out-stripped the achievement of Wu Zixu, for Wu Zixu had carried out his vengeance with the aid of the army of Wu, while Su Buwei had acted alone, and in successful defiance of the power of a great minister of state.

If we are to accept this interesting authority on the appropriate behaviour for filial piety among the scholars and gentlemen of Later Han, then it would seem that the vengeance of Su Buwei must have been completed by about 169, for Guo Tai died in the spring of that year: see his biography in *HHS* 68/58, 2227.

HHS 31/21, 1109, goes on to say that Su Buwei was invited to join the staff of Chen Fan when he was Grand Tutor: *i.e.* during 168. Su Buwei, however, declined the invitation, but he did accept local appointment as Senior Clerk of the Bureau for All Purposes in his own commandery of Hongnong.

36 Zhang Huan had evidently made contact with the Su family during his time in Hongnong. Despite the implications, however, it is not necessary to believe that Duan Jiong held any immediate hostility to Su Buwei. Certainly we are told that he invited him with courtesy (禮 *li*). It may well have been the refusal which stirred Duan Jiong to reconsider the case and take action against Su Buwei. As a resident of Hongnong commandery, Su Buwei was within Duan Jiong's jurisdiction as Colonel Director of Retainers, and Duan Jiong evidently felt his authority was sufficient to over-ride the previous amnesty.

J *HHS* 55/45, 1798 (1b), the Biography of Liu Kui.

37 On the dismissal and subsequent reinstatement of Liu Kui, younger brother of Emperor Huan, passages B of Yanxi 8 and T of Yongkang 1. *HHS* 8, 320 dates the restoration of Liu Kui to his former fief in Bohai on the day *renshen*, equivalent to 20 January 168, and five days before the death of Emperor Huan. *HHS* 55/45 refers to the testamentary edict (遺詔 *yizhao*), delivered as the emperor was dying, and it may well be indeed that Emperor Huan relented when he realised that his illness would prove fatal.

38 On the accusation *dani wudao* 大逆無道, or *budao* 不道, which served primarily as the enhancement of a substantive fault into the realm of treason or crimes against the natural order, see Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 156-197.

39 Bohai kingdom was in Ji province, and the Inspector there was evidently given authority to investigate even the kings who held fiefs in his region.

40 The Chancellor of a kingdom was the head of the administration in the same fashion as a Grand Administrator governed a commandery. The Tutor was an official appointed to supervise the personal activities of the king. His role was normally quite a formal one. The lower-ranking officials of a kingdom were the same as those of a commandery See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 107.

K *SGZ* 46/Wu 1, 1093, the Biography of Sun Jian;
and *HHS* 8, 334 (4b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

41 Xu Chang was only one of a number of unorthodox teachers at this time, and his rebellion was not, in itself of great

importance. It has, however, some significance as a forerunner and example of the troubles that would come some ten years later with the Yellow Turbans of Zhang Jue (Zhongping 1: 184), and also as the occasion that the future general Sun Jian obtained an opportunity to distinguish himself. There is, predictably, some disagreement about the name and style of such a minor figure, operating in one of the further regions from the capital.

SGZ 46/Wu 1, says that Xu Chang 許昌 proclaimed himself "Emperor of the Brightness of Yang" 陽明皇帝, and he was assisted by his son Xu Shao 韶. The *Lingdi ji* 靈帝紀 of Liu Ai 劉艾, quoted in commentary note 2 to that text, adds that Xu Chang named his father as King of Yue 越王, while *HHS* 8 says that Xu Sheng 生 of Kuaiji named himself King of Yue.

Dongguan Hanji 3, 5b, names the rebels as Xu Zhao 昭, who called himself General-in-Chief, and his father Sheng, who was named King of Yue. *HHS* 58/48, 1884, the biography of Zang Hong 洪, son of Zang Min, and *HHS* 102/12, 3258, the Treatise of Astronomy, both agree.

By changing the character Zhao 昭 to Shao 韶, Chen Shou, author of *SGZ*, avoided the tabu on the personal name of Sima Zhao 司馬昭 (211-265), posthumously entitled Emperor Wen of Jin 晉文帝 (see *JS* 2, 32 and 44), so the apparent disagreement between those two characters is not incompatible.

Nevertheless, where *HHS* and *Dongguan Hanji* refer to the rebels as Xu Sheng and his son Shao/Zhao, *SGZ* and *Lingdi ji* say that the rebels were Xu Chang, his son Shao/Zhao, and Xu Chang's father (unnamed, but presumably Xu Sheng). Sima Guang has here combined the differing accounts, but his *Kaoyi* commentary does not discuss the matter.

There is, however, one particular reason for suggesting that Xu Chang was the name of one of the rebel leaders. According to the apocryphal book *Chunqiu zuozhu qi* 春秋佐助期 "Helpful Forecasts from the Spring and Autumn Annals", which was in circulation during Later Han, the dynasty was to lose its dominion because of/by means of *xu chang*: 漢以許昌失天下 *Han yi xu chang shi tianxia*.

Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 117, matches this prophecy with the change of the name of the capital of Cao Pi 曹丕, first Emperor of Wei 魏, from Xu to Xuchang in 221, soon after he had compelled the abdication of Liu Xie, Emperor Xian of Han, in his favour (*SGZ* 2, 77). *SGZ* 2, 64 PC quotes from a long memorial which was presented at that time by the Assistant Grand Clerk Xu Zhi 許芝, discussing the prophecies

which foretold the succession of Wei to Han, and including a reference to the passage from *Chunqiu zuozhu qi*, which he duly interprets in relation to the city of Xu/Xuchang (now Xuchang in Henan). On the political background of this memorial, see Leban, "Managing Heaven's Mandate", particularly at 328.

It is very possible, however, that the heretic rebel of the Xu surname, operating in Kuaiji fifty years earlier, may have taken the personal name Chang because he expected to fulfil the prophecy on his own account - or he may have devised the prophecy to match his own name.

One may offer here an addition to the detailed analysis provided by Leban, in his article cited above. Immediately after Xu Zhi cited the prophecy *Han yi xu chang shi tianxia* (which Leban interprets as "Han by Hsü rising will lose the world": reading *chang* in the meaning "rising"), he went on to quote a saying attributed to the former Prefect of Boma Li Yun, that "In Hsü a rising aura was seen at 'High-on-the-road'(塗高 *tu gao*)". Leban observes that "High-on-the-road" refers to a common prophecy, which had also been cited by Yuan Shu during the course of the civil war which followed the death of Emperor Ling in 189. Leban, however, does not make any comment on Li Yun, who was an interesting person in this context.

The story of Li Yun has been told in passage FF of Yanxi 2. His execution by Emperor Huan did a great deal of damage to that ruler's relationship with the scholar-officials of the bureaucracy, and Li Yun was remembered as a hero.

The biography of Li Yun, in *HHS* 57/47, 1851-54, quotes at length from the fatal memorial. Li Yun did make references to a number of portents, he cited apocryphal texts, and he discussed the possibility of the fall of Han after a cycle of three hundred and sixty-four years, but the text of the memorial does not mention Xu or the phrase *xuchang*. It may be, of course, that the quotation is incomplete, but there is also no evidence that Li Yun himself ever visited the city of Xu, so he was hardly in a position to report about it or its putative aura.

If Li Yun had spoken as Xu Zhi claimed, that would mean the association of *xuchang* with the fall of Han could be dated some ten years before the time of the rebel Xu Chang. It seems most probable, however, that Li Yun, some sixty years after his death, had become identified as a worthy man who made helpful predictions: to cite him as an authority supported the case that Xu Zhi was concerned to make, but the attribution was probably spurious, and tells us nothing about the origin of the prophecy.

L *HHS* 8, 334 (4b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

42 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 24, 1a, dates this change of offices three years later, in Xiping 4, but he has followed the text of *HHS*.

M *HHS* 89/79, 2964 (18b), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

43 The Shanyu Jucheer had been threatened with dismissal after the rebellion of 166 (passage I of Yanxi 1; on the dating of that rebellion see note 17 to Yanxi 1). He had, however, been allowed to keep his puppet rule until his death.

The son and successor to Jucheer is known only by his dynastic style. His personal name has not been recorded.

Notes to Xiping 2: 173 AD

A *HHS* 8, 334-35 (4b-5a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 This outbreak is recorded in *HHS* 107/17, 3351, the Treatise of the Five Powers. It is the first such epidemic during the reign of Emperor Ling, but there were several more in following years.

2 This earthquake is listed in *HHS* 106/16, 3331, the Treatise of the Five Powers. The area of the incident is not specified, nor is there any prognostication attached. A previous earthquake, however, in Jianning 4: 171, is interpreted as indicating excessive power in the hands of eunuchs.

Besides this earthquake, *HHS* 8 also mentions flooding by the sea in Donglai and Beihai, both being on the northern coast of the Shandong peninsula. It seems likely that this was associated with the earthquake. *HHS* 105/15, 3312, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this, and notes that people and property were swept away and destroyed.

HHS 105/15, 3317, the Treatise of the Five Powers, cited also in commentary to *HHS* 8, tells how two great fish came from the sea, each of them eight or nine *zhang* 丈 long (thus eighty or ninety *chi* 尺 feet = 2.3 metres, hence the fish measured some twenty metres), and two *zhang* high (about four and a half metres). These creatures were perhaps beached whales. This phenomenon is associated by Sima Biao with the death of the kings of Zhongshan and Rencheng in the following year (passages A and D of Xiping 3). Liu Zhao, however, quotes in his commentary from the *Yi zhuan* of Jing Fang (on which, see note 51 to Yanxi 9), which says that when great fish come out from the sea this indicates that wicked men are gaining advancement and the worthy become estranged. This, says Liu Zhao, fits excellently with the situation in the time of Emperor Ling, and how could such an important phenomenon as the appearance of the two great fish be related merely to the two kings?

3 The statement of the relationship comes from the Annals of Emperor Ling in the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao, quoted in *SGZ* 6/Wei 6, 179 note 6. Tang Heng was one of the five eunuchs who had assisted Emperor Huan to overthrow Liang Ji in 159 (passages J and Q of Yanxi 2). He had been disgraced in 165 (passage E of Yanxi 8), but if it is true that Tang Zhen was his

younger brother then it is clear the family influence had been maintained or restored.

The commentator Hui Dong 惠棟 of the Qing dynasty, however, at *HHSJJ* 8, 5a, observes that there is a genealogical list which gives Tang Zhen quite a distinguished lineage from a certain Tang Lin 唐林 who held office as Prefect of the Masters of Writing in the time of Wang Mang. If both these sources are correct, then the eunuch Tang Heng was the scion of a respectable family.

More probably, one of the relationships is falsely described. It is not really possible to judge which, though Sima Guang obviously accepted the eunuch connection.

4 This eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3312. It is recorded in *HHS* 108/18, 3370, the Treatise of the Five Powers.

The Treatise notes that the eclipse took place in the Xu 虛 lunar mansion, being b Aquarius and a Equuleius (Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 99 and Star Map 4). The Treatise relates this eclipse to the excessive power of the eunuchs Cao Jie, Wang Fu and their colleagues.

Notes to Xiping 3: 174 AD

A *HHS* 8, 335 (5a-b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 Liu Chang, granted the posthumous title of Mu 穆 "Reverent", was a descendant of Liu Yan 焉, a son of Emperor Guangwu, who had been first enfeoffed with the kingdom of Zhongshan in 54: *HHS* 42/32, 1449.

As the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes, the lists of successors to Liu Yan in *HHS* 42/32, 1450, records that Liu Chang was in fact succeeded by his son Liu Jie 鄭, and it was only after the death of Liu Jie without an heir that the kingdom was abolished. There is no statement of when Liu Jie died, nor any effective way to reconcile the two contradictory accounts.

2 Xiaoren 孝仁 was the posthumous imperial dynastic title which had been awarded to Liu Chang 萇, the deceased father of Emperor Ling, who had in his lifetime been the Marquis of Jiedu Village (passage E of Jianning 1).

B *SGZ* 46/Wu 1, 1093, the Biography of Sun Jian.

3 This represents the first appearance in this chronicle of Sun Jian, father of Sun Quan 權 the future ruler of the state of Wu 吳 in the Three Kingdoms period which followed the fall of Han. On the rebellion of Xu Sheng (or Xu Chang) see passage K and note 41 to Xiping 1.

Major (司馬 *sima*) was not a regular appointment in the provinces or commanderies. This commission of Sun Jian was evidently made for the period of emergency.

C *HHS* 8, 336 (5a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

4 One edition of *ZZTJ*, evidently following the text of *SGZ*, adds that Sun Jian followed Zang Min and Chen Yin in their attack against Xu Sheng.

5 The statement that the kingdom was abolished for lack of heirs comes from *HHS* 42/32, 1444. The kingdom of Rencheng had originally been established by Emperor Zhang in 84 as the fief of Liu Shang 尚, grandson of Emperor Guangwu and son of the King of Dongping, Liu Cang 蒼. That line died out in 151, but in 161 Liu Bo, son of Liu Gong/Kai the late King of Hejian and thus an uncle of Emperor Huan, was enfeoffed with a restored kingdom of Rencheng in order that he might maintain the

sacrifices of the previous ruler. See passage C and note 4 to Yanxi 4, also note 8 to Xiping 4.

D *HHS* 8, 336 (5b), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *HHS* 90/80, 2990 (8b-9a), the Account of the Xianbi.

6 On the Chuge, also known as the Xiuchuge, group of the Xiongnu, who were rising to increasing prominence at this time, see note 17 to Yanxi 1 and also de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 529-531 note 3.

HHS 90/80 at this point has the characters 休著屠各, which is surely a miswriting. Sima Guang has used the shorter form 屠各, which is acceptable, but the extended variant 休屠各 is also commonly found.

7 The Colonel Protector of the Wuhuan was responsible not only for relations with that people, but also for dealings with the Xianbi. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 291.

E *HHS* 8, 336 (5b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

8 The Palace of Perpetual Joy was the residence of the Empress-Dowager Dong, mother of Emperor Ling, who had come to the capital in 169 (passages B and C and note 2 to Jianning 2). The Privy Treasurer of that palace was the head of the Empress-Dowager's household staff, with rank and salary comparable to that of a minister (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 72).

Notes to Xiping 4: 175 AD

A *HHS* 8, 336 (5b), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *HHS* 79A/69A, 2547 (2b), the Chapter on the Confucian Scholars.

1 The Imperial University (太學 *taixue*) is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 68-71, who renders it as the Academy. The complex lay about a kilometre outside the southern wall of the city of Luoyang, on the eastern side of the main north-south axis. Fragments of the Stone Classics (石經 *shi jing*) have been found at that site. Bielenstein. *Lo-yang*, 70, has a detailed discussion of the preparation and erection of the stele.

HHS 79A/69A, 2547, observes that from the beginning of the reign of Emperor Huan orthodox scholarship had become more and more trifling and futile, while after the outbreak of the Faction and Proscription incidents many of the best scholars were scattered abroad and still more pointless and divisive controversies arose. In the course of these debates, there were some Erudits of the University who were even prepared to bribe the custodians of the Orchid Terrace, the palace library where government documents and the canonical books were kept, so that they would change the established text of the classics in order to fit their own theories. See Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 149 and 164, Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 30, and also *HHS* 78/68, 2533, which tells how the eunuch Li Xun 李巡 reported on this to the Emperor. Cai Yong and other scholar officials also sent in a memorial, and the edict was issued for the engraving of a definitive text on stone. See also the biography of Cai Yong at *HHS* 60B/50B, 1990.

It should be recognised, therefore, that while the engraving of the Stone Classics was certainly a notable achievement of scholarship and calligraphy, its inspiration and necessity was a sign of moral bankruptcy in the official tradition of scholarship.

The Five Classics were the canonical works of the New Text school, which had maintained its dominance of orthodox Confucianism throughout Later Han. *Bohu tong* 8, 19b-20a; Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 608-609, being the formal statement of the Later Han New Text School, defines the canon, however, in two contradictory lists. The first has *Yue jing*, the Classic of Music, with *Yi jing*, *Shu jing*, *Shi jing* and *Li ji*; the second replaces *Yue jing* with *Chunqiu*. Despite the reference to

Yue jing, it does appear that work was not a regular part of the canon: *e.g.* Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 139-140.

The *Luoyang ji* 洛陽記 of Lu Ji 陸機 of the third century, quoted in commentary to the biography of Cai Yong in *HHS* 60B/50B, 1990, describes the arrangement of the stele but lists the classics as *Lun yu*, *Yi jing*, *Li ji*, *Shu jing* and *Chunqiu* with the Gongyang commentary. It is remarkable that the classic of poetry, *Shi jing*, does not appear to have been copied, being replaced by *Lun yu*. One explanation may be that the five texts which were recorded were the more vulnerable to forgery by enterprising scholars: all are in prose, and all are closely associated with the words and direct teachings of Confucius and his immediate followers; *Shi jing*, on the other hand, as a work of poetry was perhaps more widely and thoroughly known, and was rather a general work suitable for broad interpretation than a specifically didactic collection of material. (The main text of *HHS* 60B/50B, 1990, and of *HHS* 79A/69A, 2547, both say that Six Classics were engraved, but the Qing commentator Hang Shijun 杭世駿 argues that six must be a miswriting for five; Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 116 note 328 agrees, and the statement of the *Luoyang ji* indeed seems very clear.)

We are told that the work of collation and engraving, begun as a result of this edict in 175, was not completed until 183 (*SJZS* 16, 52a-b). Cai Yong was assisted by a number of other respected scholars, including Ma Midi 馬日磾, who was associated with the original memorial and whose name appeared on one of the tablets. The agreed text was written on the stones in cinnabar, then carved by engravers, and the stele were set up in an enclosure and protected by a tiled roof. The recognised classics were in two lines of an L running north-south and east-west, with three stele bearing the text of *Lun yu* set east-west at the foot of the L. Each of the stones is said to have been some two and a half metres high and one metre across.

On all this information, see the discussion in Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 70. Besides the texts already mentioned, he cites also the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 1b, and a letter from a certain Zhu Zhaoshi 朱超石 of the Jin period to his brother, of which fragments have been preserved: *e.g. HHS* 79A/69A, 2547-48 commentary note 7.

The tablets were seriously damaged in the troubles of Luoyang at the end of Han and in subsequent generations. Already in the third century *Luoyang ji* records that half of the

stele were in a state of ruin. Fragments, however, written in the Clerical script, still survive.

Of the three scripts which are said to have been used for the work, the so-called Old Style (古文 *guwen*) was based upon a pre-Qin model used for the classics which were unearthed from the ruins of a building said to have been the home of Confucius in Lu: see, for example, Legge, *CC* I, 12-13. The Seal form probably refers to the so-called Small Seal (小篆 *xiao zhuan*) style said to have been devised by the celebrated Li Si 李斯, minister of the First Emperor of Qin, and being the formal script imposed at the time of unification. The Clerical script (隸 *li*) is the plainer form, written with a brush, which is the regular classical character used today. In fact, however, the only authority for the use of three different scripts is *HHS* 79A/69A, here followed by *ZZTJ*, and from the pieces still extant, it appears that the Clerical script was in fact the only one used. We are told, moreover, by *SJZS* 16, 52b, and other sources, that the Three Kingdoms state of Wei 魏 carved another set of the classics during the Zhengshi 正始 period, that is between 240 and 248, and these inscriptions were carried out in the three forms of script. Various commentators have suggested that the sources and texts have become confused on this matter, and it seems indeed very likely. See, in particular, Pelliot, "Les classiques gravés sur pierre sous les Wei en 240-248".

Such fragments of the Later Han work as survive are recognised as early masterpieces of Chinese calligraphy in the Clerical style. See, for example, Chen, *Chinese Calligraphers*, 38-40 and Figure 12. On the other hand, though they are generally accepted as being based upon the brushwork of Cai Yong, his involvement in the whole work and in the final production cannot be taken for granted. As Liu Rulin observes, in his *Han-Jin xueshu biannian* 5, 153, Cai Yong was banished to the north in 178 (passage E of Guanghe 1). In the following year he benefited from a general amnesty and received permission to return to his home in Chenliu, but was again driven away to the south, and he remained in that second exile until he was compelled to return by the orders of the usurper Dong Zhuo in 189. Altogether, he had been away from the capital for twelve years (*HHS* 60B/50B, 2003). So although Cai Yong was surely involved with the Stone Classics project during the first three years of the project, he may have been responsible for some of the calligraphy, and he was possibly consulted later from a safe distance, the greater part of the writing must have been done without him.

2 At this point in the present edition of *ZZTJ*, the commentary on the Stone Classics extends over more than two pages. The main text being translated therefore resumes on page 1836.

B *HHS* 60B/50B, 1990-91 (8b-9b), the Biography of Cai Yong.

3 There are a few problems on the Law of the Three Relationships (三互法 *sanhu fa*) as described and discussed here, the only place in *Hou Han shu*, or indeed any other text of which I am aware, that it is mentioned.

The provisions of the law are explained by commentary to *HHS* 60B/50B in essentially the same fashion as the main text. The commentary, however, also gives an example from the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 4, 1b, telling how Shi Bi, whose fuller biography is in *HHS* 64/54, 2108-12, and who was a man from Chenliu commandery in Yan province, was at one time appointed as Grand Administrator of Shanyang commandery in that province. His wife, however, was a woman of the Xie family of Juye county in that commandery. As a result, Shi Bi could not hold the position, but was transferred to equivalent rank as Chancellor of Pingyuan in Qing province. This case must have arisen about 166 (passage B and note 6 to Yanxi 8, and passage M of Yongkang 1).

On the basis of this example, two provisions of the law are apparent. Firstly, it was generally permissible for an official to hold office as a Grand Administrator or Chancellor inside his native province. Secondly, however, he could not hold office as Grand Administrator or Chancellor over a commandery which contained his own native county or that of his wife's family. The function of the Law of Three Relationships was to extend the restrictions to cover not only the native place of the man himself but also those of his wife's family (and, though not stated here, but as I argue below, over that of his mother's family as well).

The term "Three Relationships" may be considered as an echo of the phrase "Three Clans" (三族 *san zu*), which is discussed by Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 113-116, in the context of the awful penalty of Extermination of Relatives. There is, as Hulsewé observes, disagreement between traditional scholars, crystallised by the third century commentators Ru Shun 如淳 and Zhang Yan 張晏 in their discussion of *HS* 1B, 67, at note 2. Ru Shun says that the Three Clans are those of the father (including, of course, the culprit himself), of the mother, and of the wife. Zhang Yan understands the phrase as referring not

so much to these three lineages, but to the three generations, being that of the culprit's father and mother, that of the culprit, extending sideways to his brothers and his wife, and that of the culprit's children. As Hulsewé remarks, Zhang Yan's system assumes that the mother and the wife have entered the clan through marriage, and therefore the number three must refer to generations rather than to lineages.

Hulsewé lists the different analyses and explanations by the various scholars, and observes that modern Chinese scholars have tended to support Zhang Yan (though I observe that the Qing commentator Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 adds a supplementary note to *HS* 1B, 67, supporting Ru Shun's interpretation). Hulsewé then goes on to discuss occasions in Han history that relatives of a culprit have been punished; from these examples he comes to the conclusion that the terms *zu* and *san zu* were virtually identical in Han times, and that they largely followed Zhang Yan's interpretation, involving the extended family one generation above and below the culprit, subject of course, to age, status and the availability of the intended victim.

Hulsewé, however, does recognise cases where Ru Shun's interpretation may be applicable, and it would certainly appear that the term *san hu*, discussed here, lends itself most appropriately to that explanation: *i.e.* that restrictions were placed upon an official holding government or supervision over territory which was his own native region, or that of his mother's clan, or that of his wife's family. On the different system of the Five Degrees of Kinship (五屬 *wu shu*), which was based primarily upon the male lineage, see note 6 to Xiping 5.

There is still one point of possible confusion in the text, being the expression 監臨 *jianlin*, which I have rendered as "[neither man should be permitted to] act as supervisor [in the other's home territory]". The character *jian* has the general meaning of "to supervise" or "to inspect", and in that sense can be an official title (*e.g.* Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 209). Partly, presumably, for that reason, and partly also on account of the consistent references to the two provinces 州 *zhou*, the commentary of Hu Sanxing appears to understand the whole discussion as relating to the question of appointment of Inspectors (*cishi*), and this interpretation is specifically followed by the *Baihua* translation at 1459.

On the other hand, it seems more probable that Cai Yong's complaint would have been addressed to a significantly wider problem than just that of two positions of Inspectors not being filled. The example of Shi Bi, moreover, shows that the Law of

Three Relationships applied to Grand Administrators and Chancellors, and in his memorial Cai Yong gives contradictory precedents of a Chancellor of Liang and a Grand Administrator of Kuaiji. There does not seem any reason to believe that the restrictions of the Law of the Three Relationships applied only to Inspectors, and every reason to assume that Cai Yong was concerned about a crippling impediment to the appointment of senior local government officials throughout the two provinces.

On the general policy of restriction of officials from serving in their native territories, see Yen Keng-wang, *Regional and Local Administration* II, 345-350.

4 *HHSJJ* observes that in the encyclopedias *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 348, and *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 60, there are versions of this memorial of Cai Yong which differ considerably in text from that which is quoted in *Hou Han shu*.

5 There are a number of traditional references to the warlike spirit of the people of these regions, and to the production of horses in the territory of the north. See, for example, *Zuo zhuan*, Chao 4; Legge, *CC* V, 596 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 75).

6 The biography of Han Anguo is in *HS* 52, 2394-2407. Born in Liang kingdom, he had a varied early career, at one time serving as the locally-appointed Palace Grandee (中大夫 *zhong dafu*), in which capacity he was instrumental in preventing the king from joining the rebellion of the Seven States against the government of Emperor Jing in 154 BC. Later he became an officer at the imperial court. He was in prison for some fault, but then the position of Clerk of the Capital (內史 *neishi*) in Liang fell vacant, and an imperial messenger was sent to give him the appointment. The Clerk of the Capital under Former Han ranked at 2000 *shi* and was an associate of the Chancellor (相 *hsiang*): see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 105-106. Han Anguo later held some of the most senior positions in the imperial government.

The biography of Zhu Maichen is in *HS* 64A, 2791-94. Born about 165, he was an impoverished scholar of Wu county, which in Former Han was under Kuaiji commandery. He later came to the court, and impressed Emperor Wu with his knowledge. He was given official positions and about 123 he received appointment as Grand Administrator of Kuaiji in order to carry out military operations against the local non-Chinese people. See Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 276-277.

C Comment written by Sima Guang.

7 From *Zuo zhuan*, Zhao 6; Legge, *CC* V, 609-610 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 116-119). The expression occurs in a letter written by the minister of the state of Jin 晉, Yangshe Xi 羊舌肸, whose style was Shuxiang 叔向, to the minister Gongsun Qiao 公孫僑 of Zheng 鄭, whose style was Zichan 子產, criticising him for setting out the crimes and punishments of the state on a set of bronze tripods.

D *HHS* 8, 336-37 (5b-6a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

8 This represents a second restoration of the kingdom of Rencheng, which had been disestablished for reason of failure of the male line in the previous year (passage C and note 5 of Xiping 3).

ZZTJ here follows the original text of *HHS* 8 in describing Liu Tuo as the grandson of Liu Jian. The commentary of the Qing scholar Qian Dazhao 錢大昭, however, says that *HHS* 42/32, 1444, describes Liu Tuo as the son of Liu Jian. Subject to textual amendment, it does indeed do so, and the Peking edition has amended *HHS* 8 accordingly.

Commentary to *HHS* 8 states that Liu Jian was a younger brother of the late Emperor Huan. This, however, does not seem correct: Emperor Huan was the son of Liu Yi 翼, a son of Liu Gong/Kai, who had been made King of Pingyuan by the Empress-Dowager Deng but was later demoted and eventually became Marquis of Liwu 蠡吾 in the time of Emperor Shun (*HHS* 55/45, 1808 and 1809, also *HHS* 7, 287, and particularly note 34 to Yongkang 1). Liu Jian, on the other hand, was the son of Liu Zheng, who had inherited the title of his father Liu Gong/Kai as King of Hejian (*HHS* 55/45, 1808). Liu Jian, therefore, who died in 151 (*HHS* 7, 297), had been a cousin, not a brother, of the late Emperor Huan.

9 *HHS* 105/15, 3312, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this flooding, but states that only three commanderies or kingdoms were involved.

The Treatise adds, however, that the floods did considerable damage to the autumn harvest, and *HHS* 8, 337, records that in the autumn orders were given that taxes should be halved in those commanderies and kingdoms which had encountered disasters, and that in regions where the loss was over forty

percent the tax should be remitted entirely. These additional items are not copied into *ZZTJ*.

10 Yanling 延陵 "Mound of Extension" was the tomb of Emperor Cheng of Former Han northwest of Changan on the northern bank of the Wei River.

This fire is also recorded in *HHS* 104/14, 3296, the Treatise of the Five Forces. The Treatise gives no further comment, but *HHS* 8 says that an imperial envoy was sent to offer special sacrifices at the tomb.

11 This plague is also recorded in *HHS* 106/16, 3336, the Treatise of the Five Forces. The Treatise associates the misfortune with the dominance of the eunuchs and the persecution of the men of Faction.

The remission of taxes recorded by *HHS* 8, 337, and mentioned in note 9 above must also have been intended to alleviate the effects of this disaster in the west as well as the flooding to the east.

E *HHS* 88/78, 2915 (7b), the Account of the State of Jumi in the Chapter on the Western Regions.

12 The Account of Yutian is at *HHS* 88/78, 2915-16, immediately following the account of Jumi, and Yutian is discussed in Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 96-97 and note 147; Yutian has long been identified with the region of present-day Khotan.

The name of the state of Jumi is written as 扜彌 Wumi in *Shi ji* and in *Han shu*, but Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 94-96 note 138, conclude that the *Hou Han shu* version, followed here by *ZZTJ*, is correct. The territory was evidently on a tributary of the Tarim River, downstream of Yutian, and is identified with ruins in the vicinity of present-day Karadong on a dried-up arm of the Keriya River.

According to *HHS* 88/78, the population of Jumi at the time of Later Han was some 7,250 individuals, while that of Yutian was 83,000. Yutian and Shanshan 鄯善, in the vicinity of present-day Cherchen, were the two great states along the southern route around the Tarim basin.

13 The Wu and Ji Colonel and the Chief Clerk of the Western Regions were the Han officials responsible for imperial control in central Asia (note 5 to Jianning 3).

On the expression *shizi* 侍子 "Attending Prince" as reference to the son of the king of a non-Chinese state sent to the court of Han as hostage and warrant for his good conduct towards the imperial government, see Yang, "Hostages in Chinese History", 45.

The expedition against Shule in Jianning 3: 170 had been recruited from the states about Turfan and present-day Urumqi, and it would seem that Chinese imperial authority was at this time based in that region. Given the previous lack of success against Shule, and the obvious local power of Yutian, it is doubtful how successful the Chinese restoration of Jumi can have been. There is no further record of the state in *Hou Han shu.*

Notes to Xiping 5: 176 AD

A *HHS* 8, 337-38 (6a-b), the Annals of Emperor Ling

1 There is some difficulty with the date of this amnesty. The first day of the fourth month of this year was *renchen* (cyclical no. 29), and the last was *gengshen* (cyclical no. 57). So there was no day *guihai* (cyclical no. 60).

It does not seem possible to suggest any amendment to the text which is better than another.

2 On the great ceremony of sacrifice for rain, see note 4 to Yanxi 1. *HHS* 103/13, 3280, the Treatise of the Five Powers, remarks that there was a drought in the summer of this year. The commentary of Liu Zhao to that passage quotes from the inscription by Cai Yong for the stele in honour of the legendary worthies Boyi and Shuqi (on whom, see note 19 to Yongkang 1).

In that text, Cai Yong tells how there was a great drought throughout the empire. A certain scholar of Pingyang 平陽 county in Hedong commandery, Su Teng 蘇騰, dreamt that he was climbing the Shouyang hills, just northwest of Luoyang, which were, according to some traditions, the last resting place of Boyi and Shuqi. There, on the road, he met a marvellous horseman messenger. When he woke up, he recalled the dream, and he reported the vision to the throne. As a result, the emperor sent specially appointed officers from the capital and from the local government to climb the mountain and offer prayers, and he sent an invocation written in his own hand. Soon afterwards, the clouds gathered and a good rain fell.

B *HHS* 67/57, 2189 (5a), the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction; and *HHJ* 24, 1b.

3 It is the text of this letter which is recorded by *HHS* 24. Otherwise *ZZTJ* has essentially followed the account of the incident in *HHS*67/57.

4 The expression used here is 大逆 *dani*, "Great Refractoriness"; see Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 156, and note 56 to Jianning 1.

5 Yongchang commandery, of which Cao Luan was the Grand Administrator, was in Yi province, in the furthest southwest of the empire, about the area of Dali Lake in present-day Yunnan.

For this reason it was the provincial authorities of Yi who were ordered to make the arrest.

Huaili was the capital of Youfufeng commandery; the city lay west of present-day Xi'an on the northern bank of the Wei River. The prison there was thus under the control of the Colonel Director of Retainers.

According to *HHS* 8, 338, which has a note of this incident, Cao Luan actually suffered public execution.

6 The five degrees of kinship (五屬 *wu shu*) are explained by commentary to *HHS* 67/57 as being defined by the intensity of mourning affected for a deceased relative, in terms of the clothing worn and of the length of time that the ritual was maintained. Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 312-313, translates a part of the present passage from *HHS*, and in his exhaustive note 274 on pages 313-317 he discusses the extent of these provisions and the relatives who would be affected.

The five grades which appear to have operated during Han were as follows:

1 *zhancui* 斬衰 "unhemmed coarse garment", with mourning for a nominal three years; actually only "into the third year" or twenty-five months (see also note 1 to Yanxi 2); in general terms this applied to the father, the son, and the wife for her husband;

2 *zicui* 齊衰 "hemmed coarse garment", with varying mourning periods of three years, one year and three months; applying to the mother, the wife, brothers and nephews in the male lineage, paternal grandparents and great-grandparents, and the eldest grandson by a principal wife;

3 *dagong* 大功, requiring garments of fine hempen cloth with mourning period of nine months; applying to first cousins of the male line, grandsons other than the eldest by the principal wife;

4 *xiaogong* 小功, requiring garments of finer hempen cloth with mourning period of five months; applying to the paternal grandfather's brothers and their children, brothers' grandsons, father's brothers' grandsons and grandfather's brothers' grandsons (*i.e.* great-uncles, first cousins once removed and second cousins);

5 *sima* 緦麻, requiring garments of the finest hempen cloth with mourning period of three months; applying to great-grandsons and notably to the paternal great-grandfather's brothers and their descendants, being clansmen descended from the same common ancestor four generations removed.

The list above, and the more detailed description given by Ch'ü, is concerned with the male lineage, and though there is provision for the *zicui* ceremonial, the mourning of the second grade, to recognise the death of a mother or a wife, there is no account taken of any other members of the clans of relatives by marriage. In this, one may observe the contrast with the Three Relationships (三互 *san hu*) discussed in note 3 to Xiping 4.

Even restricted to the male lineages, however, it may be imagined that this level of interdiction was very wide spread, and it could affect people with minimal connection to, and quite possibly no contact with or knowledge of, the original man of Faction.

The normal Han practice was to involve relatives only to the third degree of kinship, and it appears that this was the first occasion the proscription had been extended to five degrees. *HHS* 8, 330, says that the five degrees were effective from the beginning of this particular proscription in 169. That statement, however, is not followed by Sima Guang, and I have argued that it is an error, a misplaced reference to the present incident. See note 61 to Jianning 2, but *cf.* Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 139.

C *HHS* 8, 338 (6b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

7 There was no *bingxu* day (cyclical no. 23) in the eleventh month of this year; a *bingxu* day was the second-last of the tenth month, and I have taken that as the most likely correct reading: the notation for the eleventh month would thus be mistaken.

Notes to Xiping 6: 177 AD

A *HHS* 8, 339 (6b), the Annals of Emperor Ling

1 *HHS* 103/13, 3280, the Treatise of the Five Powers, lists the drought without further comment.

HHS 105/15, 3319, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records the plague of locusts. The accompanying prognostication relates the omen to the ill-fated expedition against the Xianbi later in this year (passage E below). We are not told which were the provinces affected, but it seems most likely that they were the region of the Yellow River basin and the North China Plain, the territories north of the Huai River.

B *HHS* 77/67, 2498 (7b), the Biography of Yang Qiu in the Chapter on the Stern Officials.

2 Yang Qiu was a man of old official family, and himself a very tough customer. When he was young, he became skilled in the handling of weapons and horsemanship. There was one occasion that a local official in the commandery insulted Yang Qiu's mother, and Yang Qiu gathered a few score like-minded fellows to himself, killed the official and slaughtered his family. As a result of this enterprise he became celebrated, and he was recommended for office in the imperial service. He held a number of positions at the capital and in the provinces, and he was noted for his abilities and also for his brutality. It appears that his appointment to Jiujiang and his suppression of the disturbances there had taken place one or two years earlier, and the transfer to Pingyuan was his next immediate post. The Jiujiang troubles are not mentioned elsewhere in the history.

The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that there is some difficulty in relating this stage in the career of Yang Qiu with the appointment of members of the Three Excellencies: according to *HHS* 77/67, it was the Minister of Works Zhang Hao who sent in the report on the harsh officials, and he did so in response to the unfortunate omen of he drought. As Sima Guang observes, however, Zhang Hao only became Grand Commandant in the following year (passage C of Guanghe 1), and there is no record that he was ever Minister of Works. Moreover, there was no drought recorded in this period other than the one in Xiping 5 and the one just cited above. Quite sensibly, Sima Guang has amended the text to refer merely to

the Three Excellencies in general, and not to any named individual.

C *HHS* 8, 339 (6b-7a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

3 The phrase *san bian* 三邊 is interpreted by commentary to *HHS* 8 as indicating the northern, eastern and western frontiers. I suspect, in fact, that it may rather be a term for the three border provinces of You, Bing and Liang.

4 Mound of Comprehension was the name of the tomb of Emperor Huan (passage C and note 6 to Jianning 1). However, no such title as Filial Sons (孝子 *xiaozi*) has formerly appeared in association with this or any other tomb.

Members of the Suite of the Heir-Apparent were supposed to be thirteen in number, and to be selected from among men of "blameless family" (良家 *liang jia*: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 78, citing *Han guan*). In effect, the positions were those of cadet officials on probation, comparable to that of the Gentlemen of the Palace (郎中 *langzhong*) and other court appointments: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 24 and 140.

We may observe, however, that there was at this time no Heir-Apparent: Liu Bian, the elder son of Emperor Ling, had been born of the Empress He in 176, but we are specifically told that Emperor Ling died without having named him or any other son as Heir-Apparent (*e.g. HHS* 69/59, 2247). It appears that these positions could be maintained at this time without any such formal justification, and it seems clear that the number appointed was far in excess of the normal expectation of thirteen.

Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 203 note 70, discusses this group of appointments. He suggests the accusations of mean and merchant background may have been only the slander of enemies, but he also makes the very plausible suggestion that this development represented another form of sale of offices.

D *HHS* 60B/50B, 1991-98 (9b-13b), the Biography of Cai Yong.

5 Fuxi was one of the founding rulers of the Chinese world, said to have been responsible, among other achievements, for the development of writing. See, for example, Chavannes, *MH* I, 1-9, translating and discussing the *Sanhuang benji* 三皇本紀 of Sima Zhen 司馬貞 of Tang, which is frequently found as an appendix to the *Shi ji* of Sima Qian.

6 The phrase *chiyi* 尺一 refers to the imperial edicts drafted on "documents one foot long" (note 58 to Yanxi 2).

Bird seal (鳥篆 *niaozhuan*) was one of the eight formally recognised styles of calligraphy, ornate and highly decorative, and frequently incorporating the character *niao* itself as a part of the design. See Chen, *Chinese Calligraphers*, 22.

On the School of the Gate of the Vast Capital and its syllabus, see passage B and note 18 to Guanghe 1.

7 It seems most probable, as Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 28, implies, that the so-called "village gossip" (閭里小事 *lüli xiaoshi*) was actually a study of local customs and other matters of folklore and popular culture. *Cf.* the Treatise of Bibliography, *HS* 30, 1745, being the comments of Ban Gu on the catalogue of *xiaoshuo* 小說 in the imperial library of Former Han.

8 The text which follows is a summary and extract of a major document of seven parts which is preserved *in extenso* by *HHS* 60B/50B, 1993-98.

9 On the ceremony of Welcoming the Ethers of the Seasons (迎時氣 *ying shiqi*), which took place at appropriate times of the year at the Five Suburban Altars (五郊 *wu jiao*) situated at the Cult Sites (兆 *chao*), about Luoyang, see Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China*, 192-196, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 76-77.

In accordance with the theories of the Five Powers, matching seasons, directions, colours and other aspects of the cosmos, the ceremony of welcoming spring was held at the altar in the east on the first day of that season, the ceremony for summer was held at the site in the south, that for autumn was in the west and the ceremony for winter was held in the north. There was also the Suburban Altar of the Centre, which was in fact southwest of the city: sacrifices were offered there eighteen days before the first day of autumn, thus representing the middle of the year.

Though there was naturally provision for the emperor to take the lead in these ceremonies, it appears that they could be regularly carried out by officials of the court: Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China*, 194ff, and Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises of Later Han*, 114.

10 On the system of the Imperial Ancestral Temples during Later Han, see Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 117-118, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 54-56.

The Temple of the Eminent Founder (高廟 *Gao miao*) at Luoyang, dedicated to Emperor Gaozu, founder of Former Han, was established by Emperor Guangwu in 26 AD. It is likely that Guangwu intended this to become the shrine of the rulers of his own restored house of Han, but after Guangwu's death his son, Emperor Ming, established a new ancestral Temple of the Epochal Founder (世祖廟 *Shizu miao*) for Guangwu's spirit tablet and then, at his own death, ordered that his tablet should be placed there also. This custom was followed for all the emperors of Later Han who had reigned as adults. It is not known in which part of Luoyang the two temples were situated, but they were evidently close beside one another within the confines of the city.

Besides the ceremonies at the Imperial Ancestral Temples, the rituals of the clan also called for sacrifices at the various imperial tombs. As Mansvelt Beck observes, the program was surely burdensome by the time of Emperor Ling, and it appears that some effort had been made to simplify and abridge matters (*HHS* 99/9, 3197).

11 The Hall of the Circular Moat (辟雍 *biyong*) is described by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 66-68. It was situated in the vicinity of the Imperial University, outside the southern wall of the city of Luoyang. It was surrounded by water, bridged on four sides, and evidently either open at the sides or provided with only a low wall, for spectators outside the moat could see the ceremonies carried out within.

The Hall was inaugurated by Emperor Ming in 59, with the Spiritual Terrace (靈臺 *ling tai*) and the Bright Hall (明堂 *ming tang*). Thereafter the Hall was used regularly for the Great Archery Ceremony (大射禮 *da sheli*), which was performed twice annually, in the third month and in the ninth month (Bodde, *Festivals*, 365-366; Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 67) and also for the ceremony of Entertaining the Aged (養老 *yang lao*), held in the tenth month. On this ceremony, see Bodde, *Festivals*, 364-372, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 67.

12 The phrase "those in authority" (有司 *yousi*) indicates the senior ministers of state, particularly the Three Excellencies, and the use of it here implies that the control of the ceremonies, though formally a matter for the emperor's personal interest and activity, was at this time very largely a matter of delegation.

The mourning period for a subordinate state (蕃國 *fan guo*), *i.e.* a kingdom of a cadet branch of the imperial house,

may be taken to refer to the deaths of the kings of Zhongshan and Rencheng three years earlier: page 1833 at passages B and D of Xiping 3. The birth of a child within the imperial palace surely refers to the birth of Liu Bian, eldest son of Emperor Ling, who was born of the Empress He in Xiping 5: 176.

13 Apart from the generally portentous phenomena, droughts, floods and plagues, which have been recorded for this and previous years, we may observe in particular that in 169 there had been wind, rain and hail which uprooted trees along the avenues leading to the Cult Sites, and there were two further occasions that officials proceeding to the eastern suburb and again to the western suburb had been met by storms so violent that the ceremonial canopies were blown away and a new procession had to be formed. See Bodde, *Festivals*, 200, citing *HHS* 106/16, 3335.

14 Commentary to *HHS* 60A/50A here quotes from the early Han work *Shangshu dazhuan* 尚書大傳 "The Great Commentary to the Book of Documents" (on which see note 5 to Jianning 2), 2, 1a, which states that each of the feudal lords would offer the Son of Heaven one gentleman every three years.

15 Cai Yong is arguing that the various forms of nomination and recommendation already established are quite sufficient to obtain suitably recommended recruits for the imperial civil service. There is thus no cause for Emperor Ling to seek new routes for people such as the scholars at the Gate of the Vast Capital and his other favourites.

16 The *Boyi* 博弈 game is evidently the same as, or related to, the gambling board game *Liubo* or *Bose* (note 87 to Yanxi 2). It is now commonly identified with a form of "Surrounding Chess" 圍棋 *weiqi*, related to the Japanese game of Go.

17 The Gate of Abundant Reform appears only in this passage of *HHS*, and I can find no other reference to it in the texts of the time. Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, has no discussion.

Cai Yong at this time appears to have held the comparatively low court rank of Gentleman-Consultant, without specific duties, but we have seen the importance attached to his calligraphy and scholarship in the matter of the collation and carving of the Stone Classics - a work which was still continuing (passage A and note 1 to Xiping 4) - and the Gate of Abundant Reform may have been the site of his office,

associated with the library at the Orchid Terrace. It does not seem possible to assess how he came to have access to the edicts on appointment, but he obviously had no direct authority in their implementation.

18 The conference on the classics in the Stone Canal Pavilion (石渠閣 *Shiqu ge*), held under the auspices and in the presence of Emperor Xuan of Former Han in 51 BC are discussed by Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 92-94. The discussions resulted in the determination of an increased number of officially recognised schools of Confucian study, and accordingly increased the number of Erudites in the Imperial University.

The conference on the classics in the White Tiger Hall, held under the auspices and in the presence of Emperor Zhang of Later Han in 79 AD, determined the official teachings and the endorsed status of the New Text School of Confucianism. See Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions*.

19 Commentary to *HHS* 60B/50B here quotes from *Lun yu* XIX.4; Legge, *CC* I, 340-341 (Lau, *Analects*, 153), being comments ascribed to the disciple Zixia 子夏 :

> Even in inferior studies and employments there is something worth being looked at; but if it be attempted to carry them out to what is remote, there is danger of their proving inapplicable. Therefore, the superior man does not practise them.

Cf. also the Treatise of Bibliography, *HS* 30, 1756, being the comments of Ban Gu on the catalogue of rhapsodies in the imperial library of Former Han; Watson, *Chinese Rhyme-Prose*, 111-112.

20 On this matter, see passage C and note 4 above.

21 On the limitation of the court mourning period by Emperor Wen of Former Han in 157 BC, see note 1 to Yanxi 2.

22 The Empress-Dowager Dou of Emperor Huan had died in the sixth month of 172 and was buried in the seventh (passages D and F of Xiping 1).

Commentary to *HHS* 60B/50B quotes the commentary of Zheng Xuan to *Zhou li* 6 (25), 37b; Biot, *Rites* II, 98, explaining the phrase 祖載 *zuzai* as referring to the farewell sacrifice *zu* made at the hall where lying state had been held at the time when the coffin was loaded *zai* onto the carriage to be taken to the tomb.

23 The phrase 虛 偽 *xuwei*, which I have here rendered as "futility and dishonesty" appeared one paragraph earlier as a description of the men concerned. It seemed better understood there as "false and empty quality".

24 The ceremony of Welcoming the Ethers of the Season in the north was appropriate for winter, and was held at the beginning of the tenth month, early in November according to the Western Julian calendar: see Bodde, *Festivals*, 197. Similarly, the ceremony of Entertaining the Aged was also to be carried out in the tenth month: Bodde, *Festivals*, 367. See also notes 9 and 11 above.

25 Cai Yong's proposal had been that the new members of the Suite of the Heir-Apparent should simply be dismissed from their cadetships and sent home: they might then encounter the legal authorities waiting for them, or perhaps (and he would have regarded this as most unlikely) they might receive the regular local nomination as Filially Pious and Incorrupt.

In a compromise decision, however, the court gave these men immediate appointment as Assistants and Commandants in county-level administration. As such, they were subordinate to the Prefect or Chief. This was the lowest level of commissioned rank in the imperial service, and it offered small expectation of substantial promotion to high office in the future.

[Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 100-101, states that the Prefect of Chief of a county (rendered by Bielenstein as "prefecture") was the lowest local official appointed directly by the central government. The evidence on the question is thin, but I follow Yen, *Regional and Local Administration* I, 220-221, and II, table facing 344. His analysis indicates that county Assistants and county Commandants were appointed by the central government.

Moreover, in cases where there is some information about the previous career of county Assistants and county Commandants, then it appears that they had come from the ranks of cadets at the capital. The present incident, of the appointment of the former Members of the Suite of the Heir-Apparent, may also be taken as some indication that such appointments were made under central government authority, not simply by provincial administrations.]

E *HHS* 90/80, 2990-94 (9a-11a), the Account of the Xianbi.

26 Xia Yu had been one of the chief lieutenants of the general Duan Jiong in the campaigns of extermination against the Qiang at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling (passage K of Jianning 2), and he had achieved success against a notable invasion by the Xianbi three years before (passage D of Xiping 3). The tone of his memorial, with its reference to "one winter and two springs" is reminiscent of the claim by Duan Jiong that he could destroy the Xianlian Qiang in the space of "three winters and two summers" (passage D of Jianning 1 at 1803); a boast which Duan Jiong had indeed fulfilled.

27 Tian Yan had also been a chief lieutenant of Duan Jiong in his campaigns against the Qiang (passage K of Jianning 2). We are given no further details of the crime for which he had been convicted.

28 The great campaigns of Emperor Wu of Former Han against the Xiongnu are well known. See, for example, Loewe, *Military Operations in the Han Period*, de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 183-185.

The commentary of Hu Sanxing here refers to the Edict of Anguish and Sorrow for Luntai (*Luntai aitong zhao*). Luntai was a territory in the Western Regions, now about Bugur on the north of the Tarim basin: Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 166 and note 527. *HS* 96B, 3912-14, tells how in 90 BC, towards the end of the reign of Emperor Wu and after the many years of fighting, a proposal to establish military colonies in this region was rejected in an imperial edict which referred to the burdens which had been placed upon the people, recent military disaster, and the present sad state of the frontier defences; Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 168-176, and see also Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 64-65. This Edict of Anguish and Sorrow is referred to again in the Appreciation (*zan*) of *HS* 96B, 3929; Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 202.

29 Duan Jiong had first been engaged against the Western Qiang, on the northwestern frontier of the empire beyond the Yellow River, in 159 (passage LL of Yanxi 2) and his final campaign against them took place in 167 (passage B of Yongkang 1). This was followed by the further series of attacks against the Eastern Qiang until the final massacre at Shehu/Shoot-Tiger Valley in 169 (passage K of Jianning 2).

The text of Cai Yong refers here specifically to Duan Jiong's campaigns against the Western Qiang: while the attacks against the Eastern Qiang, which Xia Yu has taken as his model, were totally successful military operations against comparatively vulnerable people living inside the frontiers of the empire, the Western Qiang, operating on or beyond the borders, had required a great deal more effort. In that sense, the proposed attack on the Xianbi should not be compared to the previous achievements of Duan Jiong.

30 In 201 BC Emperor Gao of Han, on campaign against the Shanyu Modun 冒頓 of the Xiongnu, was encircled and besieged at the city of Pingcheng 平城, near present-day Datong in Shanxi. The *Xin lun* 新論 of Huan Tan 桓譚, who lived at the end of the first century BC and the beginning of the first century AD, has the story that Gaozu escaped from the trap only through the intervention of the wife of the Shanyu: a Chinese agent, Chen Ping 陳平, approached her, saying that Gaozu was intending to buy his freedom by presenting Chinese women to Modun, and when her husband met such beauties she would not be able to retain his affections. As a result, the lady urged and persuaded the Shanyu to let the Chinese army escape. See Dubs, *HFHD* I, 116-117, translating *HS* 1B, 63, and his note 2 to 116, translating the extract from *Xin lun* quoted in commentary to *SJ* 56, 2057-58, also *SJ* 110, 2894; Watson, *RGH* II, 166, and *HS* 94A, 3753. Huan Tan remarks that the stratagem, long kept secret but which he claimed to have revealed, was "shabby, mean awkward and evil".

After the death of Gaozu, when the Empress Lü controlled the government, Modun sent a letter to her, suggesting that he and the Empress, both now old and without wife or husband, should get together and console one another. The Chinese court was utterly offended by such presumption and the Empress Lü considered killing the messengers and launching a military campaign. She was reminded, however, of the difficulties at Pingcheng, and persuaded that such insolence from barbarians was better ignored. See *HS* 94A, 2754-55, *SJ* 110, 2895; Watson, *RGH* II, 167.

31 Liu An, King of Huainan, a grandson of the founding Emperor Gao of Han, was a distinguished scholar and the patron of the school reflected in the work *Huainan zi* 淮南子: see, for example, Ames, *The Art of Rulership*, xv-xvi. In 122 BC he was accused of plotting rebellion and was executed: *e.g.* Dubs, *HFHD* II, 58. His biography is in *HS* 44, 2144-52.

HS 64A, 2776-85, contains the text of a memorial from Liu An, written in 135, seeking to dissuade the youthful Emperor Wu from embarking on a campaign against the Minyue 閩越 people of the southeastern seaboard. The passage cited by Cai Yong is at 2784.

Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 250, notes that Liu An in this memorial also makes the argument, raised earlier by Cai Yong, that natural barriers divided China from those regions where the government had no business to interfere.

32 Gaoliu county was the chief county of Dai commandery, near present-day Yanggao 陽高 in Shanxi northeast of Datong, and would have provided an assembly point for troops drawn from You province. Yunzhong commandery was in the valley of the Dahei River in Inner Mongolia, about present-day Hohhot, a suitable position for gathering forces from Bing province. Yanmen commandery lay between these two.

Although their assembly points were separate, and the columns left the frontiers separately, the Chinese forces were operating on a comparatively narrow front, and it is probable that they joined forces in the steppe country.

33 On the Xianbi chieftain Tanshihuai and the organisation of his state into three divisions, see passage JJ of Yanxi 9. For discussion of Tanshihuai, and the disastrous campaign of 177, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 329-344, particularly 338-341.

F *HHS* 8, 339-340 (7a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

34 This eclipse is recorded in *HHS* 108/18, 3370, the Treatise of the Five Powers. It is said to have been reported by the Chancellor of Zhao state, in present-day southern Hebei. No such eclipse, however, is recorded in the Oppolzer *Canon*.

The Treatise does not include a prognostication, but the commentary of Liu Zhao records a memorial from the minister Gu Yong 谷永, which observes that the eclipse appears as a sign of the oppression of taxation and of disregard by the government for the people, and it indicates that there will be rebellion and change.

35 The earthquake is recorded in *HHS* 106/16, 3332, the Treatise of the Five Powers. No prognostication is attached to the event.

From the order of the chronicle, it would appear that this day *xinchou* (cyclical no. 38) should have fallen in the tenth

month. There was, however, no *xinchou* day in the tenth month of this year, which ended on a *xinsi* day (cyclical no. 18).

It seems possible that the indication of the eleventh month, which follows this entry both in *HHS* 8 and in *ZZTJ*, has been misplaced. I therefore interpret the date as referring to the *xinchou* day of the eleventh month.

G *HHS* 81/71, 2692-93 (20a-21a), the Biography of Zhao Bao in the Chapter on the Men of Unusual Conduct.

36 The story of Zhao Bao is discussed in de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 462-463 note 53, with particular reference of the site of Liucheng, on which see note 37 below.

Liaoxi commandery under Later Han extended along the northeastern shore of the Gulf of Liaodong, with two enlargements of territory, in the region of the Luan River 灤河 in northwestern Hebei and at the mouth of the Liao River 遼河 in Manchuria.

Zhao Bao's biography says that he was a cousin of the high-ranking eunuch Zhao Zhong, but that he disapproved of eunuch involvement in government and refused to have anything to do with his powerful relative. He appear to have risen to his position as Grand Administrator of this frontier commandery by the accepted route of service in local government, followed by recommendation as Filially Pious and Incorrupt, and then a term as prefect in a county administration.

The account of Zhao Bao's relationship to Zhao Zhong is a unusual reference to a palace eunuch of Later Han coming from a gentry background. Cao Jie is also said to have been a man of distinguished official family (*HHS* 78/68, 2524), but most of the other leading eunuchs mentioned in the history are described only by their place of origin, regularly in one of the commanderies of central China.

37 Liucheng was a county administration during Former Han, but had lost that distinction under Later Han, though it was evidently still a significant population centre. One scholarly tradition places the site of the ancient city in the valley of the present-day Daling River 大凌河. My own interpretation, however, suggests that Liucheng was situated on the shore of the Gulf of Liaodong southwest of present-day Jinxi 錦西.

Based upon that interpretation, I suggest further that the capital of Liaoxi commandery, Yangle 陽樂, must have been in the region of present-day Jinzhou 錦州 in Manchuria, not,

as some reconstructions would suggest, in Hebei east of Beijing.

38 Weihao 威豪 was evidently the style of Zhao Bao.

39 The county of Yu was in Qinghe in Ji province, just north of the Yellow River on the North China plain.

Notes to Guanghe 1: 178 AD

A *HHS* 8, 340 (7a-b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 The Wuhu people, who appear to have inhabited the coastal region between the Bay of Canton and the Leizhou peninsula, had been brought under the control of the imperial government in 170, and their territory was made into the new commandery of Gaoliang (passage E and note 4 of Jianing 3).

2 This eclipse is recorded in *HHS* 108/18, 3370, the Treatise of the Five Powers. No such eclipse, however, is recorded in the Oppolzer *Canon*.

The Treatise does not include a prognostication.

3 The earthquake is recorded in *HHS* 106/16, 3332, the Treatise of the Five Powers. This, and a further tremor two months later (passage C below), are both related to the dominance of Emperor Ling's government by his eunuch attendants.

B Hua Qiao, *Hou Han shu* 1, 1a.

4 The formal establishment of the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital is also described in *HHS* 8, 340-41, and commentary to that text. The School is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 28.

We have already seen, at passage D of Xiping 6, that there were students in attendance at the Gate of the Vast Capital. This "establishment" of the School, therefore, may best be interpreted as its formal recognition as an institution with official authority. In particular, it would seem to be at this time that orders were given for the students of the School to be nominated in a similar fashion to the established candidacies such as Filially Pious and Incorrupt and Flourishing Talent, and for graduates from the school to be transferred as a matter of course to responsible official position at the capital or in the provinces. In this respect, of course, the School represented a major alternative and challenge to the traditional forms of scholarship as a means to government office.

Bielenstein has suggested that the School was personally established by Emperor Ling on 15 March 178. It appears, however, that he has assumed the proclamation to have been made on the same day as the earthquake chronicled just above. I do not believe, however, that we can make such an

assumption: the edict may have been issued any time after 15 March but before 26 April, the next precise date recorded.

Xie Cheng and *HHS* 60B/50B, 1998, also tell us that on the walls of the new school building there were painted portraits of Confucius and his seventy-two disciples, while the memorial of Yang Qiu cited in passage L below says that there were another thirty-two portraits of members of the School.

This latter group of paintings may have been, as Bielenstein suggests, inspired by the thirty-two portraits of generals and statesmen who had supported Emperor Guangwu, which had ordered by Emperor Ming to decorate the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace, which had been a centre for official literary and scholarly debates during the first century (Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 26-27 and 110 note 107).

Two of the thirty-two men so honoured were Yue Song and Jiang Lan, both of whom were described by Yang Qiu as petty fellows, of mean origin and minimal capacity. Yue Song, evidently a scholar of the earlier period, before the official establishment of the School, had already achieved substantive office by 177 (passage D of Xiping 6). He was abused by Yang Ci (passage D below), but he was later associated with the scholar Liu Tao in a memorial supporting Yang Ci and warning the Emperor against the ambitions of the heretic Zhang Jue (*HHS* 57/47, 1849, and passage F to Guanghe 6, where, however, Liu Tao's associates Yue Song and Yuan Gong 袁貢 are not mentioned by *ZZTJ*). Apart from the hostile reference in Yang Qiu's memorial, nothing is recorded of Jiang Lan.

C *HHS* 8, 341 (7b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

5 The statement of Zhang Hao's relationship to the eunuch Zhang Feng is recorded in the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao, 1, 6b, quoted in the Pei Songzhi commentary to *SGZ* 6, 179.

Commentary to *HHS* 8 has a brief anecdote from the *Soushen ji* 搜神記 "Record of Enquiries about the Spirits" compiled by Gan Pao 干寶 of the early fourth century, telling how Zhang Hao found a mysterious golden seal when he was Chancellor of Liang kingdom. There is, however, nothing of his relationship to the eunuch.

6 This earthquake, like that of the second month, is recorded also in *HHS* 106/16, 3332, the Treatise of the Five Powers (passage A above).

7 This phenomenon is discussed in rather more detail by *HHS* 103/13, 3273, the Treatise of the Five Powers. It presents the only item in the category of "Portents involving Chickens" (雞禍 *ji huo*).

The Office of the Palace Attendants was in the Southern Palace at Luoyang. As Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 49, remarks in another context, it appears that such offices regularly contained living quarters and lodgings.

According to *HHS* 103/13, the change of sex was not complete: the plumage of the bird changed from that of a hen to that of a cock, but the head remained the same. A memorial from Cai Yong addressed the matter. He pointed out that a similar change had taken place at the imperial palace in 49 BC, during the reign of Emperor Xuan of Former Han, and at the residence of the Imperial Chancellor in 48 BC, just after the accession of Emperor Yuan (*HS* 27B/2, 1370). He associated those omens with the rise to power of the Wang family, which ultimately took the throne, and he applied the warning to the government of Emperor Ling. However, since the head of the bird had not changed, there was still time for reform.

The interpretation of Sima Biao refers to the rebellion of the Yellow Turbans under Zhang Jue, observing, however, that there was still no change in policy, and so eventually all fell into ruin.

8 This phenomenon is also described in *HHS* 107/17, 3351-52, the Treatise of the Five Powers. This text tells us that the hall was in the Northern Palace, but the name is given as Gentle Brightness (溫明 *Wenming*), which reading is accepted by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 37.

It appears that the mist (氣 *qi*) was at first the black colour of the covers of a chariot, but it then developed further into a multitude of colours with a shape like that of a dragon, a well-defined head and a body one hundred feet long.

The Treatise says that Emperor Ling asked Cai Yong about this, and quotes his reply. Cai Yong observed that the apparition had no feet or tail, and identified it as a snake rather than a dragon. He then quoted a number of authorities, relating the omen to harem influence, to military problems, and to a general lack of virtue in the government and amongst its servants. (The commentary of Liu Zhao contains a further extract from the memorial. As Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises of Later Han*, 187, observes, Cai Yong's comments were originally presented in a single document, but Sima Biao has split this

text among the records of the various portents which he discussed. See passage E and note 19 below.)

The interpretation of Sima Biao refers the matter to the rise of the influence of the Lady He, future empress, to the rebellion of the Yellow Turbans, to the seizure of power by Dong Zhuo, and the ultimate downfall of the dynasty.

9 This apparition is not mentioned in the Treatise of the Five Powers, but the commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 107/17, 3352 note 3, quotes the *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shansong, 1, 7a, which mentions the occurrence and observes that the Emperor was again present at the time. The incident appears similarly in the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Ying, at 3b, though the date is given only by year, and the place is described as the forecourt of the Rear Hall of the Hall of Exalted Virtue (崇德 *Chongde*). *HHS* 54/44, 1779, moreover, the Biography of Yang Ci cited immediately below in passage D, refers to the phenomen as taking place in the front of the Hall of Excellent Virtue (嘉德 *Jiade*).

The Jade Hall was in the Southern Palace (Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 26), the Hall of Exalted Virtue was in the Northern Palace (Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 35-36), and the Hall of Excellent Virtue was in the Southern Palace (Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 25). On the weight of the evidence it seems that the rainbow appeared in the Jade Hall complex.

HHS 8, followed by *ZZTJ*, described the colour of the rainbow only as *qing* 青. Yuan Shansong and Xie Ying, however, both say that it was both *qing* and *chi* 赤 - as Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises of Later Han*, 186, interprets it, blue and red.

The day given by *HHS* 8 and followed by *ZZTJ* is *renzi* (cyclical no. 49), but there was no such day in the seventh month of this year, which ended on a *dingwei* day (cyclical no. 44). It seems most likely that the character *zi* has been miswritten for *wu* : the *renwu* day (cyclical no. 19), was the fourth day of the seventh month of Guanghe 1, equivalent to 5 August 178.

D *HHS* 54/44, 1779-80 (14b-16b), the Biography of Yang Ci.

10 According to the Collected Works of Cai Yong, 6, 6b, which preserves the text of his memorial on this occasion, the conference took place on the tenth day of the seventh month, equivalent to 11 August.

The Gate of Metal and Shang was an internal gate of the Northern Palace, giving access from the west to the Hall of Exalted Virtue (Bielenstein, *Lo-yang* 35-36). *HHS* 54/44 says

that the discussion was held in an office (署 *shu*) of the gate, which was a part of the Exalted Virtue complex of buildings, and that besides Yang Ci, Cai Yong was also invited.

HHS 60B/50B, 1998, the Biography of Cai Yong, adds the names of the scholars Ma Midi 馬日磾, Zhang Hua 張華 and Shan Yang 單颺. It too says that the group attended first at the Gate of Metal and Shang but was then brought to the Hall of Exalted Virtue, where they were questioned not by Emperor Ling in person but by the eunuchs Cao Jie and Wang Fu speaking on his behalf. At some stage, however, it would appear that Cai Yong believed he had the right to confidential communication with Emperor Ling himself, see his plea at 1847 below.

11 As Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises of Later Han*, 186, observes, the series of portents was even more impressive and disconcerting than those which have been selected by *ZZTJ*. Besides the recorded (though false) eclipse, the two earthquakes, the sex-changing chicken, the misty dragon or snake and the two-coloured rainbow, we are also told of locusts (*HHS* 105/15, 3319, the Treatise of the Five Powers) of a meteor 流星 *liu xing* (*HHS* 102/12, 3258, the Treatise of Astronomy), and of a man dressed in white who claimed a member of the fallen Liang family, come to take the throne (*HHS* 107/17, 3346-47, the Treatise of the Five Powers).

Later in the year there was to be a comet 蓑星 *sou xing*, appearing for more than eighty nights (*HHS* 102/12, 3258, and passage F and note 32 below) and another eclipse of the sun (passage H below). Indeed, as Mansvelt Beck remarks, this was an *annus mirabilis*.

12 The phrase *Chunqiu chan* 春秋占 is punctuated as a book title by the modern editions of both *ZZTJ* and *HHS*. Commentary to *HHS*, quoted by Hu Sanxing, cites a similar passage from the work entitled *Chunqiu yan Kong tu* 春秋演孔圖, "The Spring and Autumn Annals Displaying the Plan of Confucius".

13 It was now almost four centuries since the establishment of the Han dynasty by Emperor Gaozu in 206 BC. Yang Ci is forecasting the end of an era.

14 The phrase *changbo* 常伯 is understood to indicate Yue Song's post as a Palace Attendant: see passage D of Xiping 6. The phrase *neiyan* 內言 refers to the position of Ren Zhi as a Master of Writing.

15 The first part of this sentence echoes an expression occurring in *Chu ci*, as, for example, 17, 11a, in the *Dao luan* 悼亂 poem of the Nine Longings (九思 *Jiu si*) collection; Hawkes, *Songs of the South*, 176: "Hats and shoes tied up together".

The second expression reflects the third stanza of the *Shiyue zhi jiao* 十月之交 Ode of *Shi jing*, II.4.9; Legge, *C C* IV, 322 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 193 at 138-139):

High banks become valleys,
Deep valleys become hills.
Alas for the men of this time!
How does [the king] not stop these things?

Both may be taken as a criticism of men of mean quality being promoted to the highest positions.

16 There is no text such as this in any of the Confucian classics.

17 The phrase *heming zhi ren* 鶴鳴之人, literally "men of whom the crane calls", but rendered here as "men of true distinction", reflects the *Heming* Ode of *Shi jing*, II.3.10; Legge, *CC* IV, 296-297 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 184 at 127). The crane was recognised for its carrying cry, and the phrase could be interpreted as a reference to men of widespread reputation.

18 On the formal establishment of the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital, see passage D of Xiping 6.

The phrase *chiyi* 尺一, "one-foot tablets", normally refers to official documents (note 58 to Yanxi 2). This style of writing was evidently taught at the school.

The phrase *panyu* 槃游 reflects the term 般樂 used by Mencius: *Mengzi* IIA, 4; Legge, *CC* II, 198, and *Mengzi* VIIB, 34; Legge, *CC* II, 496. In particular, the former passage is rendered: "But now the princes...abandon themselves to pleasure... - they in fact seek calamities for themselves." (*Cf.* Lau, *Mencius*, 81 and 201).

While it is possible to understand Cao Yong's objection to the more frivolous compositions such as rhapsodies, it is more difficult to appreciate the reasons for his opposition to such a practical skill as the composition of official formal documents. Two reasons, however, may be adduced: firstly, that the basic study of an official should be the Confucian classics, and other skills would be added only to that firm foundation; and secondly that he, and other colleagues in the regular imperial service, objected in principle to this irregular route of entry and to the people who took advantage of it.

In fact, on the evidence, albeit hostile, the curriculum of the school appears to have been an interesting one. On the practical side, it included the style and technique of drawing up official documents; in more imaginative fashion, it included the art of the rhapsody and calligraphy. It is arguable that a graduate of such an institution would have been at least as well equipped to handle affairs of government as an official who had spent all his time in study of the texts of current Confucianism. But there was, of course, a moral and political dimension to the argument.

E *HHS* 60B/50B, 1998-2002 (14a-17b), the Biography of Cai Yong.

19 As indicated, this text is taken from the account of the memorial presented at the conference by Cai Yong as recorded in his biography. Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises of Later Han*, 187 and 347 note 8, points out, however, that Cai Yong's comments have come to us in fragments, with other parts scattered among the relevant items in the Treatise of the Five Powers. Two of these extracts are cited in notes 6 and 7 above.

Another text of the memorial appears in the Collected Works of Cai Yong.

20 The Palace of Perpetual Joy was the residence of the Empress-Dowager Dong, natural mother of Emperor Ling (passage C of Jianning 2). Huo Yu is mentioned only in this text. It appears that she was a menial woman who had at some time attracted the attentions of Emperor Ling.

21 This Lady Cheng is evidently the adopted daughter of the eunuch Cheng Huang, married to the Court Architect Yang Qiu: see below.

22 *ZZTJ* here gives this man's surname as Wei 偉. *HHS* 60B/50B, however, has it as Xing 姓. The commentary of Zhou Shouchang, cited in *HHSJJ* at 15a, concludes that Xing is indeed correct: the matter is rather confused by the fact the character *xing* has itself the meaning of "surname", while both Wei and Xing are most unusual surnames.

Wei/Xing Zhang is not referred to anywhere else in the texts.

23 The phrase 宰相大臣 *zaixiang dachen* may be understood as a general term for the highest officials of the empire.

24 The office of the Master of Techniques (尚方 *shangfang*, also rendered as Master of Recipes) is discussed by Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 52 and 61. It is described as a workshop in the palace where articles such as knives and swords were made for the emperor's personal use. From passage L below, however, it appears that the staff also included painters and decorators.

Cai Yong's juxtaposition of the workshop and the new School at the Gate of the Vast Capital shows his judgement of the scholarship which Emperor Ling was patronising: meretricious, idiosyncratic, and quite inessential to the true purposes of government. The trinkets from the workshop and the literary compositions of the school were luxuries which could well be dispensed with.

25 Cai Yong here quotes from *Yi jing*, hexagram Qian 謙, "Modesty"; *cf.* Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 66.

26 Cai Yong here quotes from *Yi jing* 7, 6b [*Xi ci* 繫辭]; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 330.

27 The phrase *geng yi* 更衣 may describe simply a change of garments, as on account of a change in the temperature of the day, or it may be a euphemism for a visit to the lavatory. In either event, it appears that the document was left about in such a fashion that Cao Jie was able to discover its contents.

28 *HHS* 60B/50B describes Liu He as Minister of Works. That office, however, was held at this time by Lai Yan (passage C above). Liu He was appointed Minister of Works from Grand Herald in the third month of the following year (passage A of Guanghe 2). Sima Guang has thus corrected an anachronism.

29 On the categorisation "Great Iniquity" (大不敬 *da bujing*), which had also been levied against the critic Li Yun in the time of Emperor Huan, see passage FF and note 66 to Yanxi 2.

30 On remission of the death penalty by one degree, see Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 129, and note 35 to Yanxi 2. The sentence apears to have been equvalent to the heaviest form of hard labour, which began with a bastinado and had the additional penalties of shaving the head and applying an iron collar and leg chains.

31 We shall see in passage L below that Yang Qiu was also a determined opponent of the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital. This political agreement with Cai Yong, however, had

evidently no effect upon his determination to pursue their private quarrel.

F *HHS* 8, 341 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

32 This comet is discussed and described further in *HHS* 102/12, 3258, the Treatise of Astronomy.

The Heavenly Market Enclosure 天市垣 *Tianshi yuan* is a broad circle of stars extending over the Western Hercules, Serpens and Ophiuchus: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 84 and Star Maps 3 and 4.

This comet is recorded as having appeared first to the north of the Kang 亢 lunar mansion, being the eastern part of Western Virgo: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 83 and 95 and Star Map 3. It then entered the Heavenly Market Enclosure and thereafter moved southeastwards through a dozen lunar mansions for more than eighty days until it disappeared in the region of the Heavenly Parkland (天苑 *Tian yuan*), being the western part of Western Eridanus: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 110 and Star Map 6.

The prognostication of this comet in the Treatise relates it to the transfer of the capital from Luoyang to Changan in 190 after death of Emperor Ling and the seizure of power by Dong Zhuo.

33 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 24, 6b, states that Lai Yan was suffering from a long illness, and it was for this reason he left office.

G *HHS* 10B, 448 (8b-9a), the Biography of the Empress Song of Emperor Ling.

34 For the miserable treatment meted out to Liu Kui by Wang Fu, and for the king's unhappy death, see passage B of Yanxi 8, passage T of Yongkang 1 and particularly passage J of Xiping 1.

35 The biography of the Empress Song has been translated, with annotations, by Goodrich, "An Empress of the Later Han", II, 190-191. At note 26 on pages 200-201 Goodrich discusses the significance of the expression 左道 *zuodao* "Way of the Left" and concludes that it was a general term for witchcraft. A similar accusation may have been levied against the Empress Deng of Emperor Huan at the time of here deposition in 165: see *HHS* 106/16, 3331, the Treatise of the Five Powers; *cf.* passage G of Yanxi 8.

36 On the Drying House and the convenient death of grief, which may have been a euphemism for enforced suicide, see note 21 to Yanxi 8.

H *HHS* 8, 342 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

37 *HHS* 108/18, 3370, the Treatise of the Five Powers, lists this eclipse, noting that it took place in the Ji 箕 lunar mansion, being a part of Western Sagittarius (Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 98 and Star Map 4). The eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3323. It is mapped in Stephenson and Houlden at 214a.

The Ji constellation is identified with the inner palace and the harem, including the residence of the empress. The Treatise then relates this eclipse to the dismissal of the Empress Song, due to the Emperor's giving credence to slanders against her.

I *HHS* 64/54, 2117 (12b-13a), the Biography of Lu Zhi.

38 Lu Zhi took the occasion of the eclipse to present this memorial. He prefaces these remarks by a long introductory passage on the significance of portents, and an enumeration of the remedies which the Emperor should be prepared to embark upon. He then itemises the specific policy actions which should be taken to fulfil these remedies.

Sima Guang has not followed Lu Zhi's full pattern, but has introduced items by the expression *you* 又"Again".

39 Lu Zhi refers here to the *hun*魂 soul, which was supposed to depart the body for the afterworld: see Loewe, *Ideas of Life and Death*, 26 and 114. In the fuller text of the memorial in *HHS*, Lu Zhi identifies these spirits as causing sickness, and urges the Emperor that giving them proper burial will help to cure this. See also note 16 to Xiping 1.

40 The phrase 九載 refers to the *Shun dian* 舜典 "The Canon of Shun" Chapter of *Shu jing*, II.1, 27; Legge, *CC* III, 50 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 8), describing how every three years there was an examination *kao* of the merits of officials, and promotions and demotions were carried out only after three *kao* examination periods, being nine years in all.

J *HHS* 8, 342 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

41 Qiao Xuan was one of the men recommended earlier in the year by Cai Yong (passage E above).

K *HHS* 90/80, 2994 (11a), the Account of the Xianbi.

L *HHS* 77/67, 2499 (7b-8a), the Biography of Yang Qiu in the Chapter on the Stern Officials.

42 This statement is taken from the text of the memorial of Yang Qiu, which Sima Guang then quotes directly below.

43 See passage D of Xiping 6.

44 The colours described here are *dan* 丹, cinnabar red, and *qing* 青, the colour of nature, black, green or blue.

45 The Eastern Lodge, situated in the Southern Palace, was the major imperial library, a centre for literary work by some of the most distinguished scholars of the empire, and the place where the continuing history of Later Han, eventually known as *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記 was composed. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 29-30.

We are told that Emperor Ling ordered the portrait of the distinguished scholar Gao Biao 高彪 should be painted in the Eastern Lodge (*HHS* 80B/70B, 2652), which implies, as Bielenstein observes, that there may have been a collection of such works; this, of course, would make the presumption and rivalry of the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital, with its parallel set of pictures, only more galling.

M *HHS* 8, 342 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *Shanyang gong zaiji* quoted in commentary to *HHS* 8, 342;
and *HHS* 52/42, 1731 (18b), the Biography of Cui Lie;
and *HHJ* 25, 4a.

46 The Western Garden, which lay outside the walls of Luoyang, was a favourite residence and resort of Emperor Ling. It had evidently existed at least by the time of Emperor Shun, for *HHS* 78/68, 2524 records that the eunuch Cao Jie held a guard appointment there before being transferred to office in the harem. Emperor Ling, however, spent vast quantities of money on its embellishment (*e.g. HHS* 63/53, 2091), and his entertainments there became notorious. See, for example, *HHS* 8, 346, passage E of Guanghe 4, and the discussion in Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 78.

Though the text does not say so exactly, Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 78, assumes that the Western Quarters (西邸 *xi di*) were a part of the Western Garden complex, and this indeed seems likely.

47 Before his accession, Emperor Ling had held the petty fief of Marquis of Jiedu Village by inheritance from his father: *HHS* 8, 327, and passage V of Yongkang 1.

48 The sale of offices under the government of Emperor Ling has been discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 78, and *Bureaucracy*, 140-141 and notes page 203.

In his adaptation of the sources, Sima Guang has to some extent blurred the information provided by the texts, and there are some slight anachronisms and omissions.

HHS 8, 342, refers specifically to appointments of Marquis Within the Imperial Domain, Rapid as Tigers and Feathered Forest, and to other, lesser, positions. The text then continues immediately to refer to the private arrangements for the Excellencies and Ministers.

The statement that the wealthy could pay in advance and others were allowed to defer payment at extravagant rates is related specifically to the appointment of Cui Lie as Minister over the Masses (which took place in 185: *HHS* 8, 351, and passage G to Zhongping 2). That text says also that the sale of offices and noble ranks was being carried out from the Gate of the Vast Capital; but it seems likely that this is a calumny or corruption of text inspired by the official disapproval of the School at the Gate.

As Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 141, observes, there had been previous sales of offices and enfeoffments, documented first in the time of Emperor Wen of Former Han (*HS* 50, 2307, with commentary of Ru Shun 如淳 of Later Han), and carried out energetically by Emperor Wu as a means to finance his great campaigns against the Xiongnu (*HS* 24B, 1158, 1159, 1167, 1171; Swann, *Food and Money*, 249, 254, 283-285, 300-301).

Again, under Later Han, there were sales of the positions of Gentlemen Rapid as Tigers, Gentlemen of the Feathered Forest, Cavalrymen Dressed in Red and Warrior in the Encampments, together with some minor posts in the ministerial offices at the capital and the noble rank of Quintuple Grandee at the time of the Qiang rebellion in 109 (*HHS* 5, 213), and in 161 the government of Emperor Huan had arranged for the compulsory purchase of the Gentleman, Cavalryman and Warrior

appointments, together with the high noble rank of Marquis Within the Imperial Domain (passage D and note 13 to Yanxi 4).

On the basis of this history, it seems possible that the present decision called for the sale of quite junior positions in the hierarchy of officials: the references to "Rapid as Tigers" and "Feathered Forest" should be taken as indicating appointments only as Gentlemen in those corps, while there was already precedent for the sale of the noble rank Marquis Within the Imperial Domain.

The significant changes at this time appear to have been, firstly, that proceeds of the sales of the junior offices and noble ranks would go to the private funds of Emperor Ling, not into the official public treasury and, second, the introduction of private (*私 si*) trading in the appointment of the highest officers of state, a trade from which both the Emperor and his eunuch agents profited.

The text from *HHJ*, moreover, is dated in that work to Zhongping 2: 185, and it appears from other sources that it was about that time the sale of offices for the private imperial profit was established in fullest form: see passage S to Zhongping 2, and the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao, 1, 7a-b.

From this analysis, it appears that some part of this present description refers to future developments, that the general traffic in offices may not have been developed until later, and that the reference by *Shanyang gong zaiji* to the store house in the Western Garden actually describes the Hall of Ten Thousand Gold Pieces which was set up in 185.

It is my suggestion, therefore, that the sale of offices under Emperor Ling began in a comparatively small way in 178, concerned first only with noble ranks and with comparatively junior, cadet, appointments in the official bureauracy, with the proceeds used for the Emperor's personal and discretionary use. The traffic then increased, and in 185 it was extended to the whole official system - the situation as *ZZTJ* describes it here, however, was not to apply for another few years.

As to the private arrangements for sale of appointments as Excellency or Minister, which also appear to have begun in 178, besides Cui Lie who took office in 185, *HHS* 52/42 also mentions the names of Duan Jiong, Fan Ling and Zhang Wen, who are described as men of real merit, but who had nonetheless paid fines in similar fashion. Of these, Duan Jiong was appointed Grand Commandant for the first time in 173, but resigned on the grounds of ill health later in the same year (passage A of Xiping 2 with *HHS* 8, 334, and *HHS* 65/55, 2154,). His second appointment was in 179, but he was impeached a

month later for collusion and conspiracy with the eunuch Wang Fu, and he died in prison (passages A and F of Guanghe 2); though it evidently did him little good, this second appointment must have been the one subject to payment. Fan Ling became Grand Commandant in 188, but left office only a month later (passage E of Zhongping 5). Zhang Wen was Minister of Works from 184 to 185, was then appointed to command against the rebels of Liang province in the northwest, and was then given simultaneous appointment as Grand Commandant in 186, holding that post for about a year (passage L of Zhongping 1, passage N of Zhongping 2, passage B of Zhongping 3, and passage E of Zhongping 4).

In the pattern which had now been established, such appointments to the ranks of the Excellencies seldom lasted as long as a year, so one can hardly suggest that the fee paid on appointment represented a sensible investment. We can only assume that the honour of holding these most senior positions, even for a short time, had some attraction; and, of course, that there was considerable political pressure on men of appropriate experience to take such posts. At this level, moreover, it would appear that suitable candidates did have adequate private means; remarkably enough, men like Cui Lie could put up the sum of five or ten million cash - which may appear as a sign of the inability of the imperial government to find more regular means of tapping the financial resources of the empire as a whole.

At the lower level, on the other hand, there was unquestionably hardship, and the system would obviously produce gross corruption and extortion as men sought to recoup their investment in office by extracting wealth from the communities in their charge. As I suggest above, however, this full development may have come a few years later.

N *HHS* 54/44, 1768 (7b), the biography of Yang Qi.

49 Yu-Shun 虞舜 and Tang-Yao 唐堯 are fuller names for the sage-emperors Shun and his predecessor Yao. Se, for example, the *Yao dian* 堯典 "The Canon of Yao" Chapter of *Shu jing*; Legge, *CC* III, 15-16 and 26, with notes. Yang Qi was perhaps offering a little sarcasm.

50 Yang Zhen had been a great minister during the time of Emperor An, and was Grand Commandant in 123. When a faction associated with the clan of the Empress Yan 閻 arranged the dismissal of Emperor An's son Liu Bao保, the future Emperor

Shun, Yang Zhen was dismissed at their instigation, driven to commit suicide, and was refused proper burial. After Emperor Shun had been brought to the throne in a counter-coup, Yang Zhen was posthumously rehabilitated and his family was rewarded. A formal burial ceremony was held, and as it was taking place a flock of great birds came and stayed for ten days to pay their respects.

The biography of Yang Zhen is in *HHS* 54/44, 1759-68, and the story of his burial is told at 1767. The biography of Yang Qi is attached to that of Yang Zhen at 1768.

Yang Qi was a grandson of Yang Zhen's eldest son Yang Mu牧. Yang Zhen's third son, Yang Bing, and Yang Bing's son Yang Ci both became Excellencies during the reigns of Emperors Huan and Ling (see Index *sub voce*). Yang Ci's son, Yang Biao彪, who also obtained that rank, but in the rather different circumstances of the reign of Emperor Xian, was a second cousin of Yang Qi.

O *HHS* 89/79 2964 (18b), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

HHS 89/79 in fact states that the Shanyu had died in the previous year, after the disastrous attack against the Xianbi of Tanshihuai, which he had joined as part of the column led by Zang Min (passage E of Xiping 6).

It seems most likely that the entry in the chronicle is misplaced. Most probably the Shanyu, whose personal name is not recorded, died at the end of the Chinese year Xiping 6, but the ceremony of enthronement for his successor was not carried out until the beginning of this following year, Guanghe 1.

Notes to Guanghe 2: 179 AD

A *HHS* 8, 342 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 This outbreak is recorded also in *HHS* 107/17, 3351, the Treatise of the Five Powers. No prognostication is attached.

HHS 8 records that officials were sent out on tour to distribute medicines.

2 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 24, 6b, dates this change of appointment to the *dingsi* day of the second month, and gives the personal name of the new appointee as Shao 劭. Sima Guang, however, has chosen to follow *HHS* 8.

In fact, there was no *dingsi* day in the second month of this year. The *dingsi* day of the third month was 7 May.

B *HHS* 51/41, 1696 (11b), the Biography of Qiao Xuan.

C *HHS* 8, 342-43 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

3 The earthquake is recorded in *HHS* 106/16, 3332, the Treatise of the Five Powers. No prognostication is attached.

4 This eclipse is recorded in *HHS* 108/18, 3370, the Treatise of the Five Powers. No prognostication is attached.

The eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3324. It is mapped in Stephenson and Houlden at 214b.

D *HHS* 77/67, 2499-2500 (8a), the Biography of Yang Qiu in the Chapter on the Stern Officials;
and *HHS* 78/68, 2325 (13b), the Biography of Cao Cie in the Chapter on the Eunuchs;
and *HHS* 77/67, 2501 (9b), the Biography of Wang Ji in the Chapter on the Stern Officials.

5 Though it might at first appear surprising that eunuchs could have sons, they had been given the right of adoption by Emperor Shun in 135 (*HHS* 6, 264) We see below an account of the activities of the adopted son of Wang Fu, and a later reference to to his wife and other children.

The reference to the post of "governor" (牧 *mu*) may be taken as a literary variant on the position of Inspector (*cishi*), being the official in charge of a province at that time. Governors

were not appointed to provinces in this period until 188 (passage B and note 4 to Zhongping 5).

6 This account of Wang Ji is presented as a supplement to the biography of Yang Qiu in *HHS* 77/67.

E *HHS* 54/44, 1786 (19a), the Biography of Yang Biao.

7 Here, and in the following text, the shorter term *sili* 司隸 "Director of Retainers" is used for the full title *sili xiaowei* 校尉 "Colonel Director of Retainers". The office of Director of Retainers had existed under Former Han, but the title was changed in 89 BC by the addition of the designation *xiaowei* "Colonel", and the new office had very broad powers. Later in that dynasty, and during Later Han, the office was somewhat reduced in importance, but the powers of the Colonel Director of Retainers in the capital province were still, as Yang Qiu was to demonstrate, very considerable. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 84-85, and also de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance", 68.

F *HHS* 77/67, 2499-50 (8a-9b), the Biography of Yang Qiu in the Chapter on the Stern Officials.

8 The precise date comes from the record in the Annals, *HHS* 8, 343.

9 Enumerations of the five forms of torture (五毒 *wudu*) vary, but the classical repertoire may be listed as the imposition of fetters and the cangue, beating with a whip and with a bamboo, binding with cords, which may have implied hanging up without support, and burning with hot irons. See, for example, the commentary of Wang Xianqian to *HHSJJ* 51/41, 2a-b).

10 The death of the accused in such a fashion, while their case was still being examined, had the advantage of saving Yang Qiu from the inconvenience of having to justify his accusations to any more formal investigation.

11 The Xia Gate was the westenmost gate on the northern wall of the city of Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 13 and 15.

12 The county of Bijing was in Rinan commandery, in the furthest south of the empire. Bijing had been used similarly as a place of intended banishment for Liang Ji (passage L of Yanxi 2), and

for the banishment of the family of Dou Wu (passages O of Jianning 1 and D of Xiping 1).

13 According to *HHS* 117/27, 3613-14, the Treatise of Officials, cited by Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 85-86, the Attendant Clerk [of the Bureau] for Officials at the Capital (都官曹從事 *duguan* [*cao*] *congshi*) was one of the locally-appointed Attendant Officials under the Colonel Director of Retainers, responsible for supervision and reporting on officials in Luoyang. The text here has added the prefix *zhong* 中 to the title, but it is surely the same officer that is described.

14 The Honoured Lady Yu was a concubine of Emperor Shun and the mother of his son and short-lived successor the infant Emperor Chong: *HHS* 6, 275. According to her biography in *HHS* 10b, 440, although she was the mother of an emperor, her substantive rank had only been that of a Beauty (美人 *meiren*): Emperor Shun had died before she could be raised in honour, and Liang Ji was unwilling to share his authority by accepting her an an Empress-Dowager. In Xiping 5: 176, however, she had been given the title of Honoured Lady of the Funerary Park of [the Mound of] Glory (憲園貴人 *Xianyuan guiren*: so titled after the tomb of Emperor Shun): *HHS* 8, 337.

15 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 24, 8a, has a different version of the story, saying that when Cao Jie paid his respects to the corpse of Wang Fu on the road, Yang Qiu threatened him in the same terms, "traitor minister", as the placard describing Wang Fu; and this caused Cao Jie to take thought.

16 See passage B and note 2 to Xiping 6.

17 The phrase *chiyi* 尺一 refers to the imperial edicts drafted on "documents one foot long". See note 58 to Yanxi 2, and *cf.* note 18 to Guanghe 1.

18 Several editions of *ZZTJ* include the two characters *koutou* 叩頭 at this point in the text. In this, they follow the parallel text in *HHS* 77/67.

G *HHS* 78/68, 2526-27 (13b-14b), the Biography of Cao Jie in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

19 In passage K below we are told that in the fifth month of this year Liu Kuan was appointed Grand Commandant from the ministerial position of Commandant of the Guards. If that is correct, and Liu Kuan was appointed direct from one post to another, then there was no vacancy for the position of Commandant of the Guards until then.

It seems likely that this portion of the chronicle is misplaced, and it was not until Liu Kuan's promotion that the eunuchs were able to force the transfer of Yang Qiu from Colonel Director of Retainers to this unwanted position, of higher status but less immediate power.

20 See passage K of Jianning 1 at 1809.

21 Even allowing for rhetoric and hyperbole, one might feel Shen Zhong is going a little far here, when he describes the relationship between the young Empress-Dowager Dou and the still younger Emperor Ling as being that of "flesh and blood" (骨肉 *gurou*) and mother and son (母子 *muzi*). The Empress-Dowager was certainly the formal dynastic mother of the Emperor who had been brought to the throne, but there was no natural relationship, and indeed the Emperor's true mother, the Lady Dong, had been deliberately kept away from Luoyang. See note 17 to Jianning 1.

22 There had been a plague of locusts at the beginning of the previous year (passage A of Xiping 6). No such visitation is recorded for the present year, but *HHS* 105/15, 3319-20, the Treatise of the Five Powers, says that at this time an imperial decree remarked upon the number of occasions that locusts had appeared over the previous years, and asked ministers for comments and advice. Cai Yong gave references to apochryphal works, blaming the phenomenon upon the laxity, greed and cruelty of the government, an Sima Biao himself adds a comment referring to the requirement that officials being appointed to a new position should pay money into the Emperor's private treasury in the Western Garden.

23 Gaozong was the posthumous title of King Wuding 武丁 of the Shang/Yin dynasty. The *Gaozong yong ri* 高宗肜日 "The Day of the Supplementary Sacrifice of Gaozong" Chapter of *Shu jing*, IV.9, 1: Legge, *CC* III, 264-266 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 26), tells how a pheasant appeared and crowed during the ceremony, and how the counsellor Zuji 祖己 took the opportunity to warn his ruler.

Wuding was the fourth descendant of the King Pangeng 盤庚, who had brought about the restoration (中興 *zhongxing*) of the dynasty. He was known as a monarch who sought good advisers and who governed the state well. See also *SJ* 102-03; Chavannes, *MH* I, 195-197.

There is some disagreement among sources and scholars whether Zuji's warning was given to Wuding when he was sacrificing to the founding ancestor Tang 湯, or to a descendant of Wuding when he was sacrificing to Wuding himself. Modern scholarship tends to the latter interpretation. In any event, the warning related chiefly to the undue emphasis being given to the worship of ancestors.

24 The eunuch Chancellor Zhao Gao was the celebrated deceiver and traitor of the Second Emperor of Qin, who brought the downfall of the dynasty by his machinations. See *SJ* 6, 264-75; Chavannes, *MH* I, 191-217, and also note 15 to Yanxi 2.

25 *Zuo zhuan*, Xiang 29; Legge, *CC* V, 548 (Couvreur, *Chronique* II, 524), tells how a prisoner of war from Yue 越 was brought to the state of Wu 吳 and made a door-keeper (閽 *hun*) there and was placed in charge of the ruler's boat. He took his revenge, however, by stabbing and killing the ruler.

The Gongyang and Guliang commentaries to this text state that the door-keeper was a *xingren* 刑人, *i.e.* had suffered mutilation, and Guliang states that he was a eunuch (寺 *si*). Legge questions this last assertion, arguing that such door-keepers had often suffered amputation of the feet, but were not necessarily castrated. Shen Zhong here uses the phrase *xingren*, and it seems likely that he did interpret the term as indicating a eunuch, guarding the private life of the ruler.

26 Although Shen Zhong is described at the beginning of this passage, and in the parallel text in *HHS* 78/68, as a Gentleman of the Palace (郎中 *langzhong*), that was one of the probationary posts under a General of the Gentlemen of the Household, and was normally held only for some three years before appointment to substantive office: see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 27.

Since we are told that Shen Zhong's memorial was in some way related to Cao Jie's involvement with the Masters of Writing, it seems more probable that Shen Zhong was in fact a member of staff of that imperial secretariat, not a Gentleman of the Palace, but a Gentleman of the Masters of Writing (尚書郎 *shangshu lang*).

27 The phrase 漏刻 *louke* refers to one degree of measurement on the clepsydra (*lou*): the day was divided into one hundred of these *ke* units: *e.g.* Needham, *Science and Civilisation* III, 322.

H *HHS* 78/68, 2528-31 (14b-17a), the Biography of Lü Qiang in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

28 On this matter, see note 79 to Yanxi 2.

29 On Zhao Gao, see note 24 above. Execution by having limbs tied to different chariots, which were then driven off in different directions, was a form of punishment prescribed for traitors, though it does not seem to have been used during Han (Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 109-112), and in fact we are told that Zhao Gao was killed with a sword by Ziying 子嬰, last ruler of Qin (*SJ* 6, 275; Chavannes, *MH* I, 217).

30 Part of the traditional ceremony of enfeoffment consisted of the handing over of a symbolic package of soil wrapped up in rushes (茅土 *maotu*): see, for example, *HS* 99A, 4090; Dubs, *HFHD* III, 242.

31 Lü Qiang has here rather unkindly adapted the text of *Yi jing* Shi 師, six at the top; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 36:

> The great prince issues commands,
> Founds states, vests families with fiefs.
> Inferior people should not be employed.

Lü Qiang quotes the second and third line of this verse, but changes the negative character *wu* 無 in the last line to the positive *shi* 是.

32 The expression *chongjin jianci* 重金兼紫 refers to the seals and ribbons of the highest offices of state. An edict of 25 AD had established the insignia of marquises and the Three Excellencies as a seal of gold (*jin*) and a ribbon of purple (*ci*): *HHS* 120/30, 3675-76 commentary to the Treatise of Carriages and Robes quoting *Dongguan Hanji*, and *cf.* Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises of Later Han*, 270 ff.

33 For the rendering of this very elliptical passage, I follow commentary to *HHS* 78/68.

34 This refers to the general summons of the previous year (passage D of Guanghe 1). Cai Yong's advice to the Emperor is recorded in passage E of Guanghe 1.

35 Lü Qiang is here echoing a phrase from *Lun yu* XVII.1; Legge, *CC* I, 317-318 (Lau, *Analects*, 143): "Can he be called benevolent who keeps his jewel in his bosom and leaves his country to confusion?"

36 This must refer to the anonymous slander put about by the eunuch Cheng Heng against Cai Yong (passage E of Guanghe 1 at 1847).

37 This refers to the attempt against Cai Yong's life, after his disgrace, by a retainer of Yang Qiu (passage E of Guanghe 1 at 1848).

38 The phrase *chuifa* 垂髮 "hanging hair" refers to the traditional style of young children, whose hair was arranged in tufts hanging down.

39 There is some pleasure in finding at least one person prepared to condemn the shabby fashion in which Duan Jiong was done to death. Regardless of his alleged association with the eunuchs, one must feel his services to the empire merited better treatment than he obtained at the hands of Yang Qiu. See passsage F above.

I *HHS* 8, 343 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

J *HHS* 67/57, 2189 (5a-b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

40 Shanglu county was in Wudu commandery in Liang province, near Wudu in present-day southern Gansu, the hill country of the western frontier of the empire.

41 The extension of the proscription had been ordered three years earlier (passage B of Xiping 5 and, on the degrees of kinship defined by the requirements of mourning (五屬 *wu shu*), see note 6 to that text). He Hai used the term *wu zu* 五族 "the five degrees of relationship," but the meaning here is evidently the same as *wu shu*.

The fourth grade of mourning, *xiaogong* 小功, applied to the descendants of the brothers of the paternal grandfather *zongzu* 從祖, that is those having a common great-grandfather

zengzu 曾祖, being second cousins in the same generation in the male line. The fifth grade of mourning, *sima* 緦麻, applied to descendants of the brothers of the paternal great-grandfather, that is those having a common great-great grandfather, being third cousins. (A note by Hu Sanxing identifies the *sima* mourning with descent from the *zongzu*, but this does not agree with the calculations of Ch"ü T'ung-tsu, nor with the edict cited in *HHS* 8 and discussed in note 42 below.)

See also Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 153-154 note 185, and the translation of this passage by Ch'ü T'ung-tsu, *Han Social Structure*, 315.

42 There is a slight contradiction between this and the immediately preceding passsage. According to the Annals in *HHS* 8, the edict of amnesty issued on 16 June provided for the release from proscription of those relatives of the men of Faction of the fourth (*xiaogong*) and more distant degrees of mourning relationship (specifically the fifth, *sima*, degree). The commentary to that text refers to the representations of He Hai as being instrumental in that decision being made, and *HHS* 67/57, cited in the present passage, does not contradict such an interpretation.

Sima Guang, however, has omitted the reference to the easing of the proscription provisions from his citation of the amnesty, and by placing the story of He Hai's representations after it he implies that the reform was the subject of a separate, later edict.

At any rate, the provisions for involvement of relatives of the men of Faction in proscription from office now reverted to the normal practice of Han, which had probably applied from 169: *cf.* note 61 to Jianning 2.

K *HHS* 8, 343 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

L *HHS* 89/79, 2964 (18b), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

43 The character *hu* 護 "Protector" here is probably a miswriting for *shi* 使 "Emissary". The regular title of the Chinese resident at the court of the Southern Xiongnu was General of the Gentlemen of the Household Emissary to the Xiongnu, while the term Protector was used for the officials who dealt with the Qiang or with the Wuhuan and Xianbi. (The text of *HHS* 89/79 at this point refers to Zhang Xiu only as "General of the Gentlemen of the Household"; it is *ZZTJ* which has sought to

add the full version of the title and has then suffered the error.)

44 The Worthy King of the Right (右賢王 *you xian wang*) was the second member of the royal clan in rank after the Shanyu. The Worthy King of the Left was senior to him, and normally received the succession. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 177.

M *HHS* 56/46, 1834 (15a), the Biography of Chen Qiu.

45 Liu Shu was the man who had advised the Empress-Dowager Dou and her brother Dou Wu that they should set Liu Hong, future Emperor Ling, upon the throne (passage V of Yongkang 1).

46 The phrase *taiting* 台鼎 is interpreted as referring to the three highest ministers of state under the Zhou dynasty, and hence also to those of Han. The *san tai* 三台 "Three Platforms" were a group of stars in the south of Western Ursa Major which were identified with the three chief ministers: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 80 and Star Map 2; while the character *ting* refers to a three-legged cauldron, an item of sacred ritual and also a symbol of the stability of the state.

47 Liu Na is quoting the words of Confucius from *Lun yu* XVI.1; Legge, *CC* I, 307 (Lau, *Analects*, 138):

> When he can put forth his ability, he takes a place in the ranks of office; when he finds himself unable to do so, he retires from it. How can he be used as a guide to a blind man, who does not support him when tottering, nor raise him up when fallen.

Confucius' argument was that it was the duty of a minister to serve his lord even in times of difficulty, or when his own right policies were in disfavour.

In the translation I have amended the meaning slightly: firstly, the characters *dongliang* 棟梁 refer rather to the ridgepole and beams of a building than to the pillars; but I suggest the English idiom in fact fits rather better. Secondly, although Liu Na quotes the last sentence of the extract from *Lun yu* in full, I have not reflected the reference to the assistance for a blind man, but simply followed on the metaphor.

ZZTJ has shortened the record of this discussion with Liu He, and slightly confused the account in so doing. *HHS* 56/46 says that Chen Qiu spoke to Liu He terms ascribed to him above, and

then Liu Na, who had been a Master of Writing but was transferred out to become Colonel of Footsoldiers, also urged Liu He to action. It was to Liu Na, not to Chen Qiu, that Liu He referred to the danger from the eunuchs' spies, and then Liu Na replied to this sign of weakness by quoting the words of Confucius. (From the comments of Cao Jie given below, it appears that at least some of this discussion and the planning which followed took place by letter.)

48 Confusingly, Chen Qiu and Yang Qiu had the same character for their given names, and the text of *ZZTJ* does not make it clear which had the treacherous concubine. The source text, from *HHS* 56/46, is part of the biography of Chen Qiu, and we might therefore have assumed that he was the husband betrayed, but we have in fact been told earlier that the Lady Cheng, adopted daughter of Cheng Huang, was a concubine of Yang Qiu (passage E of Guanghe 1).

N *HHS* 8, 343 (8b-9a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

49 The Account of the Banshun people is in *HHS* 86/76, 2842-43, the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

The Banshun people, who inhabited the northern part of present-day Sichuan, had been long associates of the Chinese: they had sent contingents to assist Emperor Gaozu of Han in his war to conquer the empire at the end of the third century BC, and they had been allies of Later Han against the Qiang rebels at the beginning of the second century AD (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 107).

50 The Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk was formally the head of the imperial censorate. On occasion, officers of the censorate had been sent as imperial agents on special missions outside the capital, and sometimes they were given command of military operations. On this aspect of their duties, see de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance", 73-74.

In time of major disturbance within a province, the Inspector was authorised to take command of troops raised within the various commanderies in order to co-ordinate operations. In the present instance, Xiao Yuan was commissioned to take control over those troops which had thus been raised, presumably in order to add authority to the provincial headquarters. It seems likely that by this time there was some unease about the level of competence of provincial inspectors for dealing with such considerable, and frequently-

exercised, responsibilities, for the system of provincial government was changed a few years later (passage B of Zhongping 5).

Notes to Guanghe 3: 180 AD

A *HHS* 8, 344 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 The first day of this month was *gengzi* (cyclical no. 37), and there was no day *guiyou* (cyclical no. 10).

It does not seem possible to determine where the error lies and what was the true date of the amnesty.

2 *HHS* 106/16, 3332, the Treatise of the Five Powers, states that from the autumn of Guanghe 3 to the spring of the following year the territory of Biaoshi 表氏 in Jiuquan, near present-day Gaotai 高台 in western Gansu, suffered a series of more than eighty earthquakes, accompanied by springs of water or geysers bursting from the ground. The county city was devastated, with government offices and private dwellings reduced to rubble, and the damage was so bad the city was transferred and rebuilt on a new site.

3 This comet is discussed and described further in *HHS* 102/12, 3259, the Treatise of Astronomy.

The Wolf star (狼 *Lang*) is Western Sirius, α of Canis Major; in Chinese astronomy identified as part of the Jing 井 lunar mansion, the [Eastern] Well: Chavannes, *MH* III, 310 note 3 and 353; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 111, Star Map 7.

The Bow (弧 *Hu*) constellation is described by *SJ* 27, 1306, as four stars, by *JS* 11, 306, as nine stars, southeast of the Wolf star: thus extending across the border of Western Canis Major and Puppis of Argo. See Chavannes, *MH* III, 353, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 111, Star Map 7.

The comet is recorded as having appeared first in these constellations, from whence it travelled east to enter the Zhang 張 lunar mansion, being five stars in Western Hydra: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 104, Star Map 7.

The prognostication in the Treatise identifies the constellation Zhang with the territory of Zhou; that is, the heartland of Eastern Zhou before the establishment of the Qin empire, and thus the region about Luoyang. The comet is a sign of rebellion and war, and its appearance is thus said to have foretold the great levy of troops at the imperial capital in order to combat the Yellow Turban rebellion four years later. (*Cf.* the prognostication for the second comet of Guanghe 1: 178 (passage F and note 32.)

B *HHS* 8, 344 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *HHS* 69/59, 2246 (6a), the Biography of He Jin;
and *HHS* 10B, 449 (9b-10a), the Biography of the Empress He of Emperor Ling.

4 The *Kaoyi* commentary observes that *HHJ* 24, 10b, dates the establishment of the Empress He to the eleventh month of this year. Sima Guang has preferred to accept the more detailed information provided by *HHS* 8.

5 *HHS* 69/59 says that He Jin was actually the half-brother of the Lady He: she was his younger sister by a different mother. After she had received the imperial favour, He Jin was brought to the capital in probationary postion as Gentleman of the Palace, and later became General of the Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers. He was then sent to provincial office as Grand Administrator of Yingchuan.

The post of Palace Attendant gave special access to the Emperor as counsellor, with rank/salary at Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi* (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59-60). In following years, He Jin was appointed Court Architect, with rank/salary of Two Thousand *shi* (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 81), and then to the substantial important position of Intendant of Henan, administrator of the capital commandery.

6 The He family came from Wan county, the capital of Nanyang commandery.

According to *HHS* 10A, 400, being the introduction to the biographies of the empresses and other imperial concubines, there was a selection made in the region (鄉中 *xiangzhong*) of Luoyang at the time of the tax assessment in the eighth month of each year. Various officers of the place and the harem, including a physiognomist (相工 *xiang gong*), chose young women of reputable family (良家 *liang jia*), aged between thirteen and twenty *sui*, for recruitment into the ranks of the imperial concubines. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 63. Because of the importance of Nanyang in the empire, including its position as the home region of the imperial family of Later Han and of a number or earlier empresses and senior concubines, it appears that the women of this territory were also passed under scrutiny.

The occupation of a butcher was, naturally enough, regarded as a humble one, though from this example it does not appear to have acted as a disqualification from membership of the category described as respectable or blameless. The Lady He's

father was already dead at the time of his daughter's elevation, and he was later paid posthumous honours (*HHS* 10B, 449). *HHS*, however, does not state specifically that he had himself been a butcher, and the statement may have been no more than a canard against the newcomers. *HHJ* 24, 10b-11a says simply that the Lady He was selected into the harem as a person of respectable family.

There was also a story, cited from the *Fengsu tongyi* of the contemporary Ying Shao by commentary to *HHS* 10B, 449, that the Lady He was only admitted to the harem because the selecting officers had been bribed. On the other hand, she was evidently a woman of striking appearance, seven *chi* feet and one *cun* inch tall (some 165 centimetres or about 5 feet 6 inches English measure) and Emperor Ling himself appears to have endorsed the choice. See also Ch'ü T'ung-tsu, *Han Social Structure*, 126 and 390.

C *HHS* 8, 345 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

7 These parks are discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 81. They appear to have been situated to the south of Luoyang, a short distance outside the outer suburban wall of the capital, and were of moderate size.

Commentary to *HHS* 8 says that the Jade Sceptre Park was established in two parts, an Eastern park with circumference of rather more than two kilometres, which included the Terrace of the Fish Dam (魚梁臺 *Yuliang tai*), and a Western park, with circumference of some four and a half kilometres.

In his discussion, Bielenstein includes reference to the memorial of protest by Yang Ci cited in passage D below.

D *HHS* 54/44, 1782-83 (16b-17b), the Biography of Yang Ci.

8 According to *HHS* 54/44, this memorial was submitted while the parks were being planned, not, as the order of the chronicle in *ZZTJ* would imply, after their completion.

9 The Shanglin Park "Park of the Supreme Forest" as the name of two places in the time of Later Han. One, the Shanglin Park of Former Han, west of the earlier capital Changan, was still to some degree maintained and occasionally visited by the emperors of Later Han. The other was a new foundation, on a much smaller scale, which lay a short distance to the west of

Luoyang. See note 5 to Yanxi 1, and also Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 81-83.

The Vast Pond (鴻池 *Hong chi*) was east of Luoyang on a lower reach of the Gu穀 River which flowed by the city, and covered an area of some 450 hectares. It had been established as an imperial park in the early years of Later Han, and was probably developed further by Emperor Huan. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 80-81.

10 From the *Kang gao* 康誥 "The Announcement to the Prince of Kang" Chapter of *Shu jing*, V.9, 9; Legge, *CC* III, 389 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 40):

> Deal with them, as if you were guarding your infants, and the people will be tranquil and orderly.

11 Commentary to *HHS* 54/44 gives a list:
the Western Park (西苑 *Xi yuan*), established in 132: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 81;
the Park of Illustrious Light (顯陽苑 *Xianyang yuan*), established in 159: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 81;
the Shanglin Park: see note 8 above;
the Park of Vast Virtue (鴻德苑 *Hongde yuan*), constructed by Emperor Huan, which may have been an extension or improvement to the Vast Pond: see note 8 above and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 80-81,
the Park of Tranquil Joy (平樂苑 *Pingle yuan*), set about the Lodge (觀 *guan*) of Tranquil Joy, which was established by Emperor Ming in 62 as a site for the Feilian 飛廉 and Bronze Horse 銅馬 statues brought from Changan, and which was evidently situated within the suburbs to the north of the city: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 61;

There were also gardens maintained within and near to the capital, which are discussed and described by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 77-80. These included a Fruit Garden or Orchard (果園 *Guo yuan*), whose products served the palace, and a Southern Garden (南園 *Nan yuan*) outside the city beyond the Luo River. The Western Garden (西園 *Xi yuan*), which must be distinguished from the Western Park listed above, was the favoured pleasure ground of Emperor Ling and the site of his new offices for receipt of payments (*e.g.* passage M and note 46 to Guanghe 1). The Eastern Garden (東園 *Dong yuan*) was actually a workshop for imperial and state funerary equipment.

12 Commentary to *HHS* 54/44 explains the phrase *si jie* 四節 as referring to the spring hunt (蒐 *sou*), the summer hunt

(苗 *miao*), the autumn hunt (獮 *xian*) and the winter hunt (狩 *shou*). See *Zhou li* 7 (29), 13a-17a; Biot, *Rites* II, 171-179, and *cf.* the fragment of *Bohu tong* translated by Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 655, where the spring hunt is called *tian* 田 and the autumn hunt *sou*. These were formal, traditional and ritualistic prescriptions. In the imperial calendar of Han, it appears the major hunting seasons were autumn and winter: Bodde, *Festivals*, 327-332 and 382-386.

13 Commentary to *HHS* 54/44 quotes a saying of Confucius about the sage Emperor Yu禹, founder of the Xia 夏 dynasty, from *Lun yu* VIII.21; Legge, *CC* I, 215 (Lau, *Analects*, 95):

> He lived in a low mean house, but expended all his strength on the ditches and water-channels. I can find nothing like a flaw in Yu.

HS 4, 134; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 272, being the Eulogy (贊 *zan*) at the end of the Annals of Emperor Wen of Former Han, whose temple name (廟號 *miao hao*) was Grand Exemplar (太宗 *Tai zong*), tells the story of how Emperor Wen at one time intended to make a roofless terrace (露臺 *lu tai*), but was then advised that the cost would be a hundred catties of gold. The Emperor said, "A hundred catties of gold is the estate of ten families of medium means. I have received the palaces and apartments of the deceased emperors and have constantly been afraid that I should disgrace them; what is the use of building this terrace?" This anecdote is also quoted in commentary to *HHS* 54/44.

14 The *Kaoyi* commentary observes that *HHS* 54/44 describes Yue Song as a Regular Palace Attendant, which would mean that he was a eunuch. He was, however, a graduate of the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital (passage L of Guanghe 1) and he has earlier been noted among the Palace Attendants (passages D of Xiping 6 and D of Guanghe 1). *HHJ* 24, 10b, describes both men as Palace Attendants, and Sima Guang has followed that text.

15 A reference to the celebrated passage in *Mengzi* IB.2, 1 and 2: Legge, *CC* II, 153-154 (*Cf.* Lau, *Mencius*, 61):

> King [Xuan of Qi] asked, "Was it so, that the park of King [Wen] contained seventy square *li*?' Mencius replied, 'It is so in the records.'
>
> "Was it so large as that?" exclaimed the king. "The people," said Mencius, "still looked upon it as small." The king added, "My park contains only forty square *li*, and the people still look on it as large. How is this?" "The park of King [Wen],"

was the reply, "contained seventy square *li*, but the grass-cutters and fuel-gathers had the privilege of entrance into it; so also had the catchers of pheasants and hares. He shared it with all the people, and was it not with reason that they looked upon it as small?"

Ren Zhi and Yue Song have exaggerated the difference between the two parks discussed by Mencius and his royal interlocutor.

We are told that the imperial hunting parks of Later Han were sometimes opened to those in need, and it is evidently upon this basis that Emperor Ling's advisers could encourage him, on the grounds that he rather resembled King Wen than King Xuan. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 81-82, citing *HHS* 3, 134, *HHS* 4, 175, *HHS* 5, 206 and 212.

HHS 86/76, 2843 (11b), the Account of the Banshun people in the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

16 This was evidently a revival or continuation of the troubles of the previous year (passage N of Guanghe 2).

F *HHS* 38/28, 1288 (11a-b), the Biography of Yang Xuan.

17 Cangwu commandery was in Jiao or Jiaozhi province, south of the Nan Ling ranges in the region of present-day northeastern Guangxi. Guiyang, in Jing province, lay across the divide, in present-day southeastern Hunan.

The rebels were therefore operating in the border country between two provinces, and the trouble they caused was evidently sufficiently widespread to involve the administration of Lingling commandery, in Jing province immediately north of Cangwu, while the Inspector of Jing province was required to supervise these operations across administrative frontiers. (On this system, see also, for example, note 50 to Guanghe 2.)

18 On Yang Qiao, a worthy man of the time of Emperor Huan, see passage O of Yongkang 1.

Notes to Guanghe 4: 181 AD

A *HHS* 8, 345 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 On this appointment, see also Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 37.

2 The fourth month of this year began on a *guihai* day (cyclical no. 60), and therefore contained no *gengzi* day (cyclical no. 37). It is possible that the characters *gengzi* 庚子 have been miswritten for *gengwu* 庚午 (cyclical no. 7). The *gengwu* day of the fourth month was equivalent to 9 May 181 in the West.

B *HHS* 71/61, 2308-09 (7b-8a), the Biography of Zhu Jun;
and *HHS* 8, 345 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *HHS* 86/76, 2839 (8b), the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

3 We have been told earlier that the Wuhu people of this region, largely inhabiting the coastal region south of the West River between the Bay of Canton and the Leizhou peninsula, had been brought under the control of the new commandery of Gaoliang in 170 (passage E and note 4 of Jianning 3). Rebellion had broken out among these people, however, in 178 (passage A of Guanghe 1), and it was this rebellion Zhu Jun was appointed to deal with.

HHS 8 and *HHS* 86/76 refer to the Wuhu people as in the region of Jiaozhi [commandery] and Hepu, but *ZZTJ* has abbreviated the text so that it can be read as indicating the whole provincial region of Jiaozhi; and indeed the troubles do appear to have been widespread. *HHS* 86/76 mentions also the commanderies of Jiuzhen and Rinan, on the further coast of Vietnam, while *HHS* 71/61 says that the bandit named Liang Long 梁龍 , "Dragon Liang", had even attracted the Grand Administrator of Nanhai commandery to join his rebellion.

HHS 71/61 states that Zhu Jun was appointed Inspector of Jiaozhi in Guanghe 1: 178, but *HHS* 86/76 has the disturbances commencing in that year, with Zhu Jun's appointment and success in Guanghe 4. Since the biography goes on to say that Zhu Jun was successful in a matter of weeks, and since *HHS* 8 confirms that the rebellion was defeated in Guanghe 4, we may accept that the troubles had begun in 178, and they were put down by Zhu Jun, newly appointed to be Inspector of Jiaozhi, in 181.

Since this rebellion certainly involved the Wuhu people, it is seems likely that the newly established commandery of

Gaoliang was one of the territories at the centre of the disorder, and the new organs of local administration in that region would have suffered most serious attacks. In the later resettlement, it is probable that the new commandery was quietly abandoned. Certainly it is not mentioned again in *HHS*. See note 4 to Jianning 3.

C *HHS* 8, 345-46 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

4 The exact date of this portent is given in *HHS* 8, but the information on the size of the hailstones comes from the commentary of Li Xian to that text, quoting *HHS* 105/15, 3315, the Treatise on the Five Powers. Sima Biao there relates the phenomenon to the power of eunuch officials in the government.

5 This eclipse is listed in *HHS* 106/16, 3370, the Treatise of the Five Powers. It was observed in the lunar mansion Jue 角, being a and z of Western Virgo: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 94-95, and Star Map 2. The eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3329. It is mapped in Stephenson and Houlden at 215a.

Sima Biao offers no prognostication for this eclipse, but the Commentary of Liu Zhao quotes from *Qiantan ba*, which says that an eclipse on a *gengshen* day indicates high officials and military officers will suffer execution, that there will be great floods, and that many people will be killed.

6 The Lateral Courts (掖庭 *Yiting*) described the harem apartments, and the Prefect of the Long Lanes (永巷令 *Yongxiang ling*) was a eunuch official in charge of serving women: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64. Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 39, refers to this outbreak.

HHS 104/14, 3296, the Treatise of the Five Powers, also records this event. Sima Biao gives no prognostication, but the commentary of Liu Zhao quotes from a memorial of the former minister Chen Fan, quoted in his biography at *HHS* 66/56, 2161 (passage RR of Yanxi 2).

Chen Fan there referred to the manner in which "The woman of Chu was grieved and the Western Palace burnt", a reference explained further by the commentary of Li Xian, note 4 at 2162, quoting the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*, Xi 20, interpreted by the scholar He Xiu 何休 of Later Han, who tells the story of how Duke Xi of Lu 僖魯公 was compelled for political reasons to take a concubine from the state of Qi 齊 and abandon his former lady from Chu 楚. The disaster to the

Western Palace 西宮, a section of the harem, reflected this unhappy decision.

D *HHS* 90/80, 2994 (11b), the Account of the Xianbi.

7 *HHS* does not give exact years for the deaths of either Tanshihuai or of Helian, and the placing of these events at this point in the chronicle is the judgement of Sima Guang. It seems probable that Tanshihuai died in the early 180s, and Helian met his death about 185-187. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 342-343.

HHS 90/80 specifies that the man who shot Helian was an expert marksman of Lian 廉 county in Beidi. Lian county was in the vicinity of present-day Yinchuan 銀川 in Ningxia.

HHS also observes that even before his death Helian's poor character had cost him the allegiance of a good half of his father's former subjects.

E *HHS* 8, 346 (9b-10a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

8 This text is also translated by Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 391. The phrase *cainü* 采女, "Chosen Lady", describes the lowest rank of recognised concubine in the imperial harem: *HHS* 10A, 400, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy,* 74. In this instance, however, it appears to be a general term for the ladies of the palace.

Sima Biao, in *HHS* 103/13, 3273, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this custom of Emperor Ling among his list of misfortunate omens relating to clothing (服妖 *fu yao*).

9 Commentary to *HHS* 8 quotes *Sanli tu* 三禮圖 "Illustrations to the Three Classics of Ritual" which describes the Cap of Worthy Advancement as being seven Han inches (approximately 16 cm or 7 English inches) high at the front, three inches (7 cm/2.5 inches) high at the back, with a length of eight inches (18.5 cm/7.5 inches). It was worn by civil officials. (There were a number of different works entitled *Sanli tu*, one of which was ascribed to the second century scholar Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, but all the early versions have been lost.)

HHS 103/13, 3272, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this custom of Emperor Ling among his list of misfortunate omens relating to clothing. There was also apparently one occasion that one of the dressed-up dogs escaped and ran about the more public parts of the palace. Sima Biao observes in scathing fashion that this was all a sign of the manner in

which improper appointments were being made, so that ministers of the government were in fact no better than dogs. (The Roman Emperor Caligula appears to have had similar views about the qualities of his senators, which was why he at one time proposed to appoint the horse Incitatus to join their ranks.)

10 *HHS* 103/13, 3272, the Treatise of the Five Powers, and Sima Biao, in what is by now predictable fashion, quotes from *Yi jing* and *Shi jing* in order to show that this disturbance of the natural order foretold the usurpation of power by Dong Zhuo in 189, the incursions of the northern barbarians, and the general ruin of the empire.

F *HHS* 78/68, 2532-33 (17a-b), the Biography of Lü Qiang in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

11 The term "commission" renders the Chinese phrase *daoxing fei* 導行費 . On Emperor Ling's interest in a personal treasury, the Western Quarters, which was probably maintained at the Western Garden, see passage M of Guanghe 1.

12 On the office of the Master of Techniques, the palace workshop, and on the Imperial Wardrobe, see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 52 and 61; also *HHS* 116/26, 3596, the Treatise on the Officials, and on the office of the Master of Techniques, also note 24 to Guanghe 1. The prefix *zhong* 中 here specifies that these two offices were part of the emperor's personal administration, and would also indicate eunuch influence: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 67.

G *HHS* 10B, 449-50 (9b-10a), the Biography of the Empress He.

13 Beauty (美人 *meiren*) was the second rank of concubine after that of Honoured Lady. See *HHS* 10A, 400, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 74.

This second son of Emperor Ling was destined to be the last emperor of Han, abdicating to Cao Pi 曹丕 and the dynasty of Wei 魏 in 220. He was eventually awarded the posthumous title of Emperor Xian.

H Passage compiled by Sima Guang from *HHS* 78/68, 2527 and *HHS* 78/68, 2534, the biographies of Cao Jie and of Zhao Zhong in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

14 The apartments of the Empress were known as the Palace of Prolonged Autumn: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 38-39. The Grand Prolonger of Autumn was the eunuch official who acted as chamberlain to the Empress: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 69-70 and 72.

Notes to Guanghe 5: 182 AD

A *HHS* 8, 346 (10a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 *HHS* 8 describes this as a "great" amnesty, but Sima Guang has it simply as an amnesty. *Cf.* note 2 to Yongshou 3.

B *HHS* 57/47, 1851 (9a-b), supplement to the Biography of Liu Tao.

2 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that *HHS* 57/47 says that the future warlord Cao Cao 曹操 was associated with Chen Dan in submitting this memorial, and the *Wei shu* 魏書 of Wang Shen 王沈, cited in *SGZ* 1, 3 PC, does say that Cao Cao submitted a memorial at this time. Sima Guang, however, observes that Cao Cao at this time was only a Gentleman-Consultant, and it was therefore quite unlikely that he would be in a position to associate himself directly with one of the Three Excellencies. Cao Cao very probably did submit a memorial, as we are told several officials had done, but it would not have been a joint document with Chen Dan.

C *HHS* 8, 346-47 (10a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

3 This epidemic is also recorded in *HHS* 107/17, 3351, the Treatise of the Five Powers. Since the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling, similar outbreaks had been recorded in 171, 173 and 179 (passage A of Jianning 4, passage A of Xiping 2, and passage A of Guanghe 2).

It is possible that the frequency of epidemics at this time was an encouragement to faith-healers and their disciples, and assisted the growth of such unorthodox teachings as that of Zhang Jue and the Yellow Turbans.

No prognostication is recorded, but commentary by Liu Zhao to the record of the epidemic of 161 notes the theory that such a pestilence is brought about through the impositions of heavy taxation for extravagant constructions. See note 2 to Yanxi 4.

4 According to *HHJ* 24, 11a, which dates the incident to the fourth month of Guanghe 4, Chen Dan was dismissed as being inadequate for his responsibilities.

5 This drought is recorded also in *HHS* 103/13, 3280, the Treatise of the Five Powers. No prognostication is recorded,

but a reference in the following year relates that misfortune to the excessive power and wealth of the eunuchs.

6 The Palace of Perpetual Joy was the name of the residence of the Empress-Dowager Dong, natural mother of Emperor Ling. She had come to the capital in 169, and had been installed in the Hall of Excellent Virtue of the Southern Palace, which set of apartments was then given that title (passage C and note 2 to Jianning 2).

HHS 104/14, 3296, however, describing this fire, says that it took place in the Northern Palace, and that the Perpetual Joy apartments were at that time associated with the Hall of Virtuous Light (德陽殿 *Deyang dian*). It would appear that the Empress-Dowager Dong had shifted her residence in the intervening years, and the formal name had been appropriately transferred to her new abode. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 39.

The title of the residence of the Empress-Dowager Dou, widow of Emperor Huan, but not the mother of an emperor, had been Palace of Prolonged Joy (note 19 to Jianning 1); while the current residence of the Empress He was called Palace of Prolonged Autumn (note 14 to Guanghe 4).

7 This comet 慧星 *sui xing* is also recorded in *HHS* 102/12, 3259, the Treatise of Astronomy.

The Supreme Subtlety Enclosure (太微垣 *Taiwei yuan*) is a broad circle of stars extending over the Western Virgo and Leo: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 76-78 and Star Map 2.

This comet is said to have appeared first in the vicinity of the Three Platforms (三台 *San tai*), being six stars in Western Ursa Major, north of the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure, which represent the seats of the Three Excellencies: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 80 and Star Map 2. (The phrase *San tai* also appears with the meaning of Three Terraces, and describes, not the Three Excellencies, but the palace offices of the Masters of Writing, the Imperial Clerks, and either the Internuncios or the Office of Insignia and Credentials: see de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance", 65, citing Ch'en Ch'i-yün. In the present instance, however, I follow the rendering of Ho and the interpretation given by *JS* 11, 293.)

The comet then travelled eastwards into the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure as far as the Heir-Apparent (太子 *Taizi*) star (93 Leonis) and the Favourite Courtier (幸臣 *Xing chen*) star (209 Leonis): Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 78 and Star Map 2. It was visible for some twenty days.

The prognostication of this comet in the Treatise relates it to the current power and evil influence of the eunuchs and to the changes and disorder that took place with the death of Emperor Ling in 189.

D *HHS* 86/76, 2843 (11a-b), the Account of the Banshun people in the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

8 The outbreak of this rebellion was recorded in 179 (passage N of Guanghe 2).

9 Each year, commandery and royal administrations were required to send a report of their activities, and an accounting of revenues to the capital. A local officer accompanied this mission with the designation of Reporting Officer 上計 *shangji*. He could, as in this case, be asked for advice as a man coming from the spot; and such a person was regularly considered as a potential candidate for commissioned office. See Yen, *Regional and Local Administration* II, 260-265.

10 This refers to the time of the Great East Qiang Rebellion, and particularly to the Qiang attack southwards in 114: see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 97-107, and *HHS* 87/77, 2889. One may observe that a leader of the defence in Hanzhong at that time was the local official Cheng Xin 程信, who was very likely a clansman of Cheng Bao.

The phrase "devil troops" here renders the Chinese expression *shen bing* 神兵.

11 This refers to an attack by the White Horse (白馬 *Baima*) Qiang against the Dependent State of Guanghan: *HHS* 87/77, 2897.

12 On this campaign, see passages I and J of Yanxi 5.

13 On this campaign, see passage A of Xiping 5.

E *HHS* 6, 347 (10a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

14 It does not appear possible to identify the site of this building, nor give a further description of it.

15 According to *HHJ* 24, 11a, which dates the incident to the tenth month of Guanghe 4, Xu Yu was dismissed for mistaken recommendations of men who should be summoned to court.

16 On the imperial hunts, see note 4 to Yanxi 1, and on the Shanglin and Guangcheng parks near Changan, see note 5 to Yanxi 1. There was a Shanglin Park close to Luoyang, but it is clear that this expedition of Emperor Ling took him to the region of the former capital.

F *HHS* 37/27, 1258 (6b), the Biography of Huan Dian.

17 An Attendant Imperial Clerk was one of the officers of the censorate: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 58-59 ("Attending Secretaries"), and de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance", 71-72.

Huan Dian had reached this position through a clerical appointment in the office of the Minister over the Masses Yuan Wei, from which he had been promoted with the appellation of "highest quality" 高第 *gao di*. According to Cai Zhi 蔡質 of the second century AD, quoted in the commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 116/26, 3600, this was a regular method of selection, and it would appear that there was a sense of career appointment among the office of the Imperial Clerks.

18 The last two characters of these lines, 止 and 史, rhyme: Karlgren, *GSR* 961*a* and 975*a*.

19 The Biography of Huan Yan is in *HHS* 37/27, 1257, immediately preceding that of Huan Dian. The Huan family had come to prominence through the qualities of Huan Rong, who was a renowned scholar at the beginning of Later Han, and became Grand Tutor to Emperor Ming. Huan Yan, his grandson, had risen to be Grand Commandant in the early 140s, during the reign of Emperor Shun.

Notes to Guanghe 6: 183 AD

A *HHS* 8, 346 (10b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 This drought is also listed in *HHS* 103/13, 3280, the Treatise on the Five Powers. Sima Biao associates it with the excessive power and wealth of the eunuchs.

Despite the drought, the Annals state in a single entry for the end of this year that there was an excellent harvest (大有年 *da you nian*): *HHS* 8, 347. Sima Guang, in his *Kaoyi* commentary, notes the discrepancy and remarks that he has decided not to include that statement.

B *HHJ* 24, 11b.

2 *HHS* 10B, 449, dates this enfeoffment to the year after the establishment of the Empress in Guanghe 3: 180. *HHS* 10B says that the personal name of the mother of the Empress He was Xing 興, and adds the information that the father of the Empress, He Zhen 何真, who had died earlier, was granted posthumous appointment as General of Chariots and Cavalry.

C *HHS* 8, 346 (10b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

3 This flooding is listed, without further information or comment, in *HHS* 105/15, 3312, the Treatise of the Five Powers.

D *HHS* 71/61, 2299 (1a-b), the Biography of Huangfu Song; and *SGZ* 46/Wu 1, 1094, the Biography of Sun Jian.

4 The phrase *huang-lao* 黃老 may be interpreted as referring to the Yellow Emperor 黃帝 and the sage Laozi 老子, but at this time was often used to describe a combination deity. See, for example, Maspero, *Le Taoisme*, 121, Seidel, *La divinisation de Lao Tseu*, 36-43, and, on the worship of Huang-Lao by Emperor Huan in 166, *HHS* 7, 317; de Crespigny, "The Harem of Emperor Huan", 36-42, *Portents of Protest*, 82-83 note 70, also passage F of Yanxi 9.

5 This list of provinces includes all the east of the empire, but not the northwestern region of Liang province, the western territory of Yi province in present-day Sichuan and Yunnan, nor the far south, present-day Guangdong, Guangxi and Vietnam. And although it might appear below that the influence of Zhang

Jue's teaching was felt in Luoyang, the capital region and province of Sili is not specifically mentioned.

E *HHS* 54/44, 1784 (17b), the Biography of Yang Ci.

6 Yang Ci had been Minister over the Masses from the end of 176 (passage C of Xiping 5) to the beginning of 178 (passage F to Xiping 6).

7 *HHS* 54/44 indicates that this statement, here described as a memorial, was actually the text of a discussion between Yang Ci and his clerk Liu Tao (see below). Yang Ci raised these points with Liu Tao, and Liu Tao encouraged him to present them in a memorial.

F *HHS* 57/47, 1849 (7b-8a), the Biography of Liu Tao.

8 Although it appears that the memorial of Yang Ci must have been submitted about 177, and that Liu Tao was at that time his Senior Clerk (notes 6 and 7 above), *HHS* 57/47 indicates that Liu Tao offered his own memorial in the current year, Guanghe 6: 183. By that time he was no longer a Senior Clerk in the office of the Minister over the Masses, but had been appointed to the position of an Attendant Imperial Clerk, and we are told that he sent this memorial jointly with the junior officials Yue Song 樂松 and Yuan Gong 袁貢 .

G *HHS* 71/61, 2299-2300 (1b), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

9 The characters *jiazi* 甲子, being the first of the "ten celestial stems 十天干 *shi tiangan*, combined with the first of the "twelve earthly branches" 十二地支 *shier dizhi*, represent the first position in the sexagenary era used by the Chinese for their calendars. The year which was to follow Guanghe 6, being 184 AD by Western reckoning, was attributed with the characters *jiazi* and thus marked the beginning of a new cycle. For a millenary doctrine such as Zhang Jue's, this was a most suitable omen for the beginning of the rebellion that was to overthrow the established order of the world.

In theories of the Five Powers (五行 *wu xing*), moreover, the colour yellow was recognised as the symbol of the Power of Earth which would succeed the Power of Fire under whose auspices the dynasty of Han was reigning. Though a blue sky was not specifically associated with the colour symbolism of Han, a yellow heaven would certainly be a clear sign for the

future, and would also, of course, relate appropriately to the Yellow Emperor or Huang-Lao deity who held an important position in the doctrines of Zhang Jue and other popular religious leaders. For recent writing on the theories of the political influence of the Five Powers, see *Cambridge Han*, 230 and 255 (Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, the restoration of the Han dynasty, and Later Han"), 337 and 360 (Mansvelt Beck, "The Fall of Han").

Notes to Zhongping 1: 184 AD

A *HHS* 71/61, 2300 (1b-2b), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

1 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that *HHJ* 24, 12a, describes Tang Zhou as a man from Jiyin commandery, but he has chosen to follow *HHS* 71/61.

2 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that *HHJ* 24, 14b-15a, says that Ma Yuanyi, and some fellow-conspirators, were executed on the *yimao* day of the fifth month, 7 June in the Western calendar. Sima Guang has preferred the order of events described in *HHS* 71/61.

3 The translation "Yellow Turban" for the term *huangjin* 黃巾 is now traditional, and so I follow it. In fact, the insignia was surely no more than a fillet of yellow cloth bound about the temples - a form of headgear still used for some traditional religious ceremonies such as funerals; also by Japanese *kamikaze* pilots during the Second World War and by the late Yukio Mishima.

4 The dating to the second month comes from *HHS* 8, 348.

5 There is some disagreement among the texts as to the order of birth and the titles taken by Zhang Jue's brothers. The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that the *Jiuzhou chunqiu* 九州春秋 of Sima Biao 司馬彪, cited in *SGZ* 46/Wu 1, 1094 PC, describes Zhang Liang as the second brother and Zhang Bao as the third, while *HHJ* 24, 12a, follows the same order, but writes the given name Liang as 良 rather than 梁. Sima Guang follows *HHS* 71/61.

B *HHS* 8, 348 (10b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

6 Liu Xu 續, King of Anping, and Liu Zhong 忠, King of Ganling, were both descendants of Emperor Zhang. See *HHS* 55/45, 1808 and 1806, also *HHS* 50/40, 1674.

C *HHS* 8, 348 (10b), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *HHS* 69/59, 2246 (6a), the Biography of He Jin;
and *HHS* 71/61, 2300 (2a), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

7 *HHS* 69/59 says that He Jin received his marquisate as reward for his achievement in discovering the plot of Ma Yuanyi.

8 The so-called guards of the Right and the Left were two of the corps of cadets under the Generals of the Gentlemen of the Household. They were young men on probation for appointment to commissioned rank in the civil service, and would have been of limited use in serious combat. The Gentlemen of the Feathered Forest were recruited from among the sons and grandsons of men who had died in battle, and from worthy families of the northwest, and I have suggested that they were perhaps a corps of military officer cadets. The troops of the Five Regiments of the Northern Army, however, were fully professional soldiers, and formed the central strategic reserve of the empire. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 46-47.

On the Capital Hostel (都亭 *duting*), which had been the site of the confrontation between the eunuch forces and those of Dou Wu at the time of the coup of 168, see note 62 to Jianning 1. It appears to have been situated a short distance south of the main Vermilion Bird Gate of the Northern Palace, and was associated with an open area of ground suitable for military gatherings.

9 The Eight Passes (八關 *ba guan*) lay in a circle about Luoyang:
the Hangu Pass was on the road leading westwards to Changan, by present-day Xinan 新安 in Henan;
the Yique Pass, north of present-day Yichuan 伊川 in Henan, controlled passage along the Yi River south of Luoyang;
the Taigu Pass, south of Luoyang, guarded the road leading across the Xionger Shan 熊耳山 towards Nanyang commandery;
the Guangcheng Pass, west of present-day Linru 臨汝 in Henan, controlled passage along the Ru River and also represented a southern outpost of the Yique and Taigu routes;
the Huanyuan Pass, northwest of Dengfeng 登封 in Henan, guarded the road past Song Mountain 嵩山 leading southeast from Luoyang towards Yingchuan commandery;
the Xuanmen Pass, near present-day Sishui 汜水 in Henan, close to the line of the modern railway, guarded the road which led due east to the North China plain;
the Meng Crossing 孟津, sometimes rendered as the Meng Ford, was on the southern bank of the Yellow River northeast of Luoyang and south of present-day Meng county in Henan;
the Xiaoping Crossing 小平津, west of the Meng Crossing and almost due north of the capital, also gave passage across the Yellow River.

D *HHS* 71/61, 2300 (2a), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

10 The commentary of Hu Sanxing to this passage identifies the Western Garden stables with those under the control of the Assistant of the Stables for Thoroughbreds, appointed three years earlier (passage A of Guanghe 4).

E *HHS* 67/57, 2189 (5b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction; and *HHS* 78/68, 2533 (17a), the Biography of Lü Qiang in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

F *HHS* 8, 348 (10b-11a), the Annals of Emperor Ling; and *HHS* 71/61, 2300 (2a), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

10 *HHS* 8 adds that there was a general summons sent out, requiring all provincial and commandery administrations to gather horses and crossbows, and instructing them to recommend the sons and grandsons of former military officers and those among the common people who had some understanding of warfare, that they might attend at Luoyang for possible appointment.

G *HHS* 78/68, 2534-36 (19a-20a), the Biography of Zhang Rang and of Zhao Zhong in the Chapter on the Eunuchs; and *HHS* 78/68, 2533 (18a), the Biography of Lü Qiang in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

11 The Palace of Perpetual Peace is discussed by Bielenstein, *Loyang*, 46-47. It was a detached pleasure ground northeast of the Northern Palace within the walls of the city of Luoyang, with a lake and bamboo groves.

The Observation Terrace was evidently an official structure under the administration of the Prefect Grand Astrologer (太史令 *taishi ling*), for the office was commissioned in 179 with verification of calendrical calculations: *HHS* 92/2, 3042.

ZZTJ here has the character *chang* 嘗 "on one occasion"; *HHS* 78/68 has the character *chang* 常 "frequently".

12 Commentary to *HHS* 78/68 notes that this warning to Emperor Ling was evidently based upon *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, the anonymous apocryphal work on the *Chunqiu*, which is cited frequently by the commentary of Liu Zhao to the Treatise of the Five Powers in the section on eclipses, and which appears to have been popular at this time: *e.g.* note 5 to Guanghe 4.

13 The Biography of Huo Guang is in *HS* 68, 2931-59. The Huo family was one of the leaders of the imperial relatives by marriage in the first century BC, and Huo Guang held a dominant position at court from the time of the death of Emperor Wu in 87 BC. In particular, in 74 BC, after the death of Emperor Zhao, Huo Guang first put Liu He 劉賀 upon the imperial throne, and then arranged for his dismissal and replacement by Liu Pingyi 病已, who became Emperor Xuan of Han. One assumes that the significance of Huo Guang's biography was that the reader might have similar ideas of overbearing power and enforcing an abdication. On Huo Guang, see Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 66-79, and *Cambridge Han*, 182-184 (Loewe, "The Former Han dynasty").

H *HHS* 81/71, 2694 (21b), the Biography of Xiang Xu in the Chapter on the Men of Unusual Conduct.

I *HHS* 78/68, 2535 (19a), the Biography of Zhang Rang and Zhao Zhong in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

14 There were at this time twelve Regular Palace Attendants, and *HHS* 78/68, 2534, lists their names. Zhang Jun is giving only an approximate figure.

15 The parallel text in *HHJ* 24, 15b, says that the eunuchs also offered their adopted sons and brothers as volunteers for the front against the rebels.

16 It seems clear from the chronicle of *HHS* 8, 348, that this date was in the third month, but the third month of this year began on a *bingwu* day (cyclical no, 43), and there was no *gengzi* 庚子 day (cyclical no. 37). It seems likely that *gengzi* should read *gengwu* 庚午 : the *gengwu* day of the third month was equivalent to 23 April.

K *HHS* 54/44, 1784 (17b), the Biography of Yang Ci;
and *HHS* 8, 348 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

17 On these memorials, written about 177, see passages E and F of Guanghe 6. *HHS* 54/44 says the Emperor discovered the memorials while on a visit to the Southern Palace, where he was browsing amongst various old documents.

The statement of Liu Tao's enfeoffment comes from his biography in *HHS* 57/47, 1849.

L *HHS* 348 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

M *HHS* 71/61, 2300-01 (2a), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

18 At this point, a variant edition includes the phrase "Yellow Turbans". 黃巾

N *HHS* 8, 349 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

O *HHS* 71/61, 2301 (2a-b), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

19 The city of Changshe was north of present-day Xuchang 許昌 in Henan.

20 Shaoling county was east of present-day Yancheng 郾城 in Henan, near the northwestern border of Runan with Yingchuan.

21 This is the first appearance in the chronicle of the celebrated warlord who founded the Three Kingdoms state of Wei 魏, and was posthumously honoured as Emperor Wu 武帝 .

P *SGZ* 1, 1-2, the Biography/Annals of Cao Cao, posthumously entitled Emperor Wu of Wei.

22 The biography of Cao Teng is in *HHS* 78/68, 2519, the Chapter on the Eunuchs, and there is an account of Cao Song attached to that biography.

SGZ 1, 2 PC observes that the *Cao Man zhuan* 曹瞞傳 an anonymous work by a subject of the rival state of Wu 吳 of the Three Kingdoms period, and the [*Wei-Jin*] *shiyu* 魏晉世語 by Guo Song 郭頌, both say that Cao Song was a member of the Xiahou clan.

Q *HHS* 67/57, 3218 (23b), the Biography of He Yong in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

R *SGZ* 1, 3 PC quoting the [*Wei-Jin*] *shiyu* of Guo Song; and *HHS* 68/58, 2234-35 (7a-8a), the Biography of Xu Shao; and *SGZ* 1, 3 PC quoting the *Yitong zayu* of Sun Sheng.

23 This biography of Xu Shao is grouped in the same chapter as that of the celebrated moral critic and analyst Guo Tai.

As the commentary of Hu Sanxing observes, this regular pattern of assessment may be seen as the origin of the later

system of appointment of officials on the basis of local evaluations, *zhongzheng* 中正 "Impartial and Just". See Holzman, "Les neuf catégories et l'Impartial et Juste".

24 The Officer of the Bureau of Merit was responsible for selection of personnel and for recommendations of Filially Pious and Incorrupt candidates from the commandery for probation and then commission into the imperial civil service.

S *HHS* 58/48, 1873-74 (7a-8a), the Biography of Fu Xie.

25 Major (司馬 *sima*) was a regular military rank (*e.g. HHS* 114/24, 3564, the Treatise of Officials), The prefix Protector of the Army (護軍 *hujun*) may be traced to the Former Han and Qin period, when it indicated a senior official responsible for discipline (*e.g. HS* 19A, 737). Fu Xie was probably acting as an adjutant to Zhu Jun.

26 Yu 虞 was the dynastic designation of Emperor Shun. The *Shun dian* 舜典 "The Canon of Shun" Chapter of *Shu jing*, II.1, 12; Legge, *CC* III, 39-40, tells how Shun, as chief minister for Emperor Yao 堯, banished the Minister of Works (共工 *gong gong*) to Yu island 幽洲, confined Huandou 驩兜 on Mount Chong 崇山, drove the chief of the Sanmiao 三苗 and his people into Sanwei 三危 and kept them there, and held Guan 鯀 as a prisoner for life on Mount Yu 羽山. "These four criminals being thus dealt with, universal submission prevailed throughout the empire." (But *cf.* Karlgren, *Documents*, 5, which has Shun's last deed as the killing of the criminal Gun, and emphasises the achievement of the "four condemnations".)

Later in that chapter, at *Shu jing* II.1, 17 to 25, we are told how, after the death of Emperor Yao, when Shun took the throne himself, he commissioned his nine ministers: Legge, *CC* III, 42-49 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 5-7).

Zuo zhuan, Wen 18; Legge, *CC* V, 282-283 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 553-556), on the other hand, tells how sixteen worthy descendants of ancient rulers were given office as "chancellors" (相 *xiang*) by the future Emperor Shun at the time he came to serve as minister to Yao, and as a consequence, when Yao was dead, "all under heaven, as if they had been one man, with common consent bore Shun to be emperor, because he had raised to office those sixteen helpers, and had put away the four wicked ones."

So Shun appointed the sixteen worthy chancellors in the time of Emperor Yao, possibly before dealing with the four

criminals, and later, after his accession, he appointed or confirmed in office his nine ministers. Fu Xie has to some extent confused the traditions.

27 The commentary of Hu Sanxing explains that when the Yellow Turbans have been defeated they will abandon their insignia of rebellion and return to plain clothing as ordinary subjects of the empire.

28 *ZZTJ* 3, 102, contains an anecdote concerning the mother of Zeng Can 曾參, a disciple of Confucius and a worthy man of Lu 魯, to whom is ascribed *Xiao jing*, the Classic of Filial Piety. Someone else, with exactly the same name as her son, killed a man. As she was weaving outside her house, three passers-by in succession told her that "Zeng Can has killed a man." At first the mother refused to believe it, but when she heard the mistaken tale for the third time, she threw down her shuttle in belief and despair. See also *Zhanguo ce* 3, 22a.

In *Zhanguo ce* 7, 6b-7a, an adviser asks a ruler, "If a man says there is a tiger in the market-place, would you believe him?" The king replies, "No." Then the sage asks, "If three men came and said so?" The king replies, "Yes". Even if a story is untrue, enough false witnesses can sometimes make it appear true.

29 Bo Qi, whose biography is in *SJ* 73, was a general of the state of Qin 秦 in the third century BC. In 257 he fell out of favour with the king and was degraded to become a common soldier. Later, he was sent out from the capital to Duyou 杜郵, a village outside the wall. The king and his advisers convinced themselves that Bo Qi must feel resentment for the way they had treated him and they satisfied themselves that some of his statements had shown a rebellious spirit, so they sent him a sword and compelled him to commit suicide. See *ZZTJ* 5, 182, where Bo Qi is described by his title as Lord of Wuan 武安.

T *HHS* 71/61, 2309 (8a), the Biography of Zhu Jun; and *HHS* 8, 349 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

U *HHS* 31/21, 1111-12 (15a-b), the Biography of Jia Zong.

30 Jing county was in Henan commandery, near present-day Zhengzhou 鄭州 in Henan. Jia Zong's biography says that he was selected to deal with this considerable emergency after special consideration by the central government offices.

The seven commanderies of the far south were grouped under a provincial unit (部 *bu*) called Jiaozhi - the name Jiao province (交州 *Jiaozhou*) was not given to the region until about 203 (*JS* 15, 464-65; note that *HHS* 113/23, 3533, the Treatise of Administrative Geography, refers to the territory as Jiao province, but see the remarks of Wang Xianqian, criticising Sima Biao's terminology, in *HHSJJ* 113B/23B, 30b). Because of the distance from the capital, the Inspector of the region had the special authority of imperial credentials (節 *jie*), giving power of summary judgement without prior reference to the throne: *HHS* 118/28, 3618, the Treatise of Officials, commentary quoting *Dongguan Hanji*.

Because of the special nomenclature of the provincial region, there were thus two different administrative units in the south which had the name Jiaozhi: the commandery of that name, headed by a Grand Administrator, in the region of the Red River delta about present-day Hanoi; and the province-level unit, headed by an Inspector. [There was a similar situation in the western part of the empire, where Yi province (益州 *Yizhou*) included a commandery which was also called Yizhou: *e.g. HHS* 113/23, 3512.]

V *HHS* 71/61, 2301 (2b), the Biography of Huangfu Song; and *HHS* 71/61, 2308 (8a), the Biography of Zhu Jun.

31 In passage F above, we have seen the appointment of Generals of the Gentlemen of the Household, normally a position at court, to command on active service against the Yellow Turban rebels. We have now one of the first appointments designated by a flowery slogan. Hereafter, there are a number of occasions that an officer entitled General of the Gentlemen of the Household, with similar identification, appears as a commander on active service.

It is not possible to say in which county Zhu Jun was granted his fief of "West District" (西鄉 Xixiang).

32 The county city of Guangzong in Julu commandery lay east of present-day Wei 威 in Henan.

W *HHS* 64/54, 2118 (13a-b), the Biography of Lu Zhi.

33 On this penalty, see note 35 to Yanxi 2, and Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 129.

X *HHS* 72/62, 2320 (1b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

Y *HHS* 8, 349 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
with the [*Lingdi*] *ji* of Liu Ai quoted in commentary to that passage;
and *SGZ* 8, 263;
and *SGZ* 8, 264 PC quoting the *Dian lue* of Yu Huan.

34 As the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes, the evidence on the personal name of the leader of this rebellion of the Five *Dou* of Rice sect (五斗米 *wudou mi*), is somewhat confused.

HHS 8, Liu Ai and *Dian lue* all give the name as Zhang Xiu. The main text of *SGZ* 8, however, which presents the more coherent account of the career of Zhang Lu, who later took the headship of the movement, states that Zhang Lu's grandfather was named Ling (sometimes Daoling 道陵), that he moved from Pei in the east to Hanzhong and that he established the Five *Dou* of Rice sect. Zhang Ling was then succeeded by his son Zhang Heng, and that when Zhang Heng died Zhang Lu took over the leadership. This listing, of course, leaves no space for a teacher called Zhang Xiu; moreover, we are told by *SGZ* 8 that Zhang Lu attacked and killed a certain Zhang Xiu, officer in the provincial government under the Governor Liu Yan (who was appointed in 188: passage B of Zhongping 5).

In commentary at the end of the quotation from *Dian lue*, evidently basing himself upon the main text of *SGZ* 8, Pei Songzhi argues that the personal name of Zhang Xiu has been miswritten for that of Zhang Heng. Sima Guang, however, accepts the plain statement of *HHS* 8, and discounts the statement of Liu Ai connecting Zhang Xiu with the Rice Sect.

It seems possible that Zhang Xiu of Ba commandery had in fact at some time taken an active position of leadership in the Rice Sect, parallel and in some rivalry to the spiritual authority of Zhang Heng; and that he was later killed by Zhang Lu, inheriting his father's position. Certainly, if we accept the plain statement of the annals in *HHS* 8, that Zhang Xiu rebelled in this year, Zhongping 1: 184, the reference to the time of Liu Yan is an anachronism, possibly interpolated to emphasise Zhang Lu's essential loyalty to the house of Han.

One must observe that the history is considerably confused, not only through the normal lack of interest shown by Chinese historians of the Confucian persuasion for such heterodox sects, but also through the hagiographic tradition which came to surround the founders of the modern Taoist church. It should be observed, moreover, that the teachings and practices of a sect could change very considerably in the course of evolution

under different leadership at different times, and it is extremely difficult to judge what stage of development is being described in any particular text.

35 The *dou* 斗 measure of capacity in Han times was a fraction under two litres.

Z *HHS* 71/61, 2301 (2b), the Biography of Huangfu Song; and *HHS* 72/62, 2320 (1b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo; and *HHS* 8, 350 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

36 Cangting was a village in Dong commandery, now north of Fan 范 county in Shandong.

AA *HHS* 8, 350 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

BB *HHS* 63/53, 2090 (14a), the Biography of Li Xie.

37 There is some confusion here. According to *HHS* 63/53, Li Xie had been Chancellor of Anping, upon which basis he would certainly have an opinion on what should be done about the king. It should seem that he was dismissed from that post and imprisoned, and after his vindication he was given appointment at the capital as a Gentleman-Consultant.

38 Li Xie was the surviving son of the distinguished minister Li Gu (passage B of Yanxi 3). The saying evidently refers to the manner in which Li Gu had opposed the appointment of Emperor Zhi in 145 and that of Emperor Huan in 146. The General-in-Chief Liang Ji and his sister the Empress-Dowager had determined the succession, but Li Gu objected on each occasion that the new candidate was too young, and he urged that a mature ruler should be chosen - this, of course, was just what the Liang family did not want, for it would have removed their opportunity to control the government through a regency. Li Gu was dismissed and was later executed. See *HHS* 63,53, 2085-87, and also note 69 to Yanxi 2.

CC *HHS* 71/61, 2301-02 (2b-3a), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

39 Guangzong county was in Julu, the homeland of the Zhang brothers. It is now in the region of Wei 威 county in Henan.

40 The date of this battle is given by the annals in *HHS* 8, 350. Xiaquyang appears to have been the headquarters of the Zhang

brothers; it was a county in Julu, now west of Jin 晉 county in Henan.

HHS 71/61 mentions that in this operation Huangfu Song was assisted by the Grand Administrator of Julu, Guo Dian of Youfufeng. Guo Dian had evidently been maintaining a resistance to the rebellion on its home ground for some months. He is not mentioned, however, either by the annals in *HHS* 8 nor by *ZZTJ*, and it does not appear that he gained any notable reward.

41 These were considerable appointments, particularly in combination.

The title of General of Chariots and Cavalry was formally the third military rank in the empire, but in recent times it had often been held by members of the clan of imperial relatives by marriage or by favoured eunuchs such as Shan Chao and Cao Jie: see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 122-123.

Formally speaking, the office of Governor (牧 *mu*) was not established in Later Han until 188 (passage B of Zhongping 5). In this instance, however, it appears to have been granted to Huangfu Song as a mark of his achievement in settling the disturbances in that region.

The county of Huaili was the capital of Youfufeng commandery, one of the Three Adjuncts (三輔 *san fu*) about the former imperial city of Changan. The ancient site is now close to Xingping 興平 in Shenxi. *HHS* 71/61 adds that the value of the fief was the revenue of eight thousand households, drawn not only from Huaili but also from the neighbouring county of Meiyang 美陽 (near present-day Wugong 武功 in Shenxi).

DD *HHS* 72/62, 2320 (1b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

42 This rebellion of the Qiang and others, with Chinese renegades, was to bring the end of Han control over Liang province in the northwest. It is discussed by de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 146-149 and ff, and by Haloun, "The Liang-chou Rebellion".

Fuhan and Heguan were counties of Longxi commandery, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River above present-day Lanzhou, on the frontiers of the empire.

43 Huangzhong described the region of the Huang River 湟水, tributary of the Yellow River, which flows from the area of Qinghai to junction near present-day Lanzhou; it was the general territory of Jincheng commandery of Later Han.

The Loyal Barbarians from Huangzhong was an auxiliary force, initially established by the Colonel Protector of the Qiang Deng Xun 鄧訓 at the end of the first century from among the Little Yuezhi 小月氏, but which later included also Qiang and other non-Chinese people. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 86.

44 Though Bian Zhang and Han Sui did not rise to immediate prominence, and they did not at any time hold joint leadership (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 150 and note 25 at 493), the rebellion is often described in Chinese texts as the rebellion of Bian Zhang and Han Sui.

匡 *HHS* 58/48, 1879-81 (10b-12a), the Biography of He Xun.

45 The histories do not record the name of this wicked official.

46 The surname of this man is sometimes transcribed as Gai, but I follow the alternative classical pronunciation, which appears indicated by the commentary of Hu Sanxing to this passage, subject to amendment of the first character of *fanqie* spelling 徒盍 to read 徒: see Karlgren, *GSR* 642*q*.

47 The expression *shijun* 使君, rendered as "Commissioner", was used as a term of address or reference for the Inspector of a province.

48 Ayang county in Hanyang was south of present-day Jingning 靜寧 in Gansu.

49 Ji county, the capital of Hanyang commandery, was south of present-day Gangu 甘谷 in Gansu.

50 *SJ* 64, 2157-58, in the biography of Sima Rangju 司馬穰苴, tells how he was made general of the armies of the state of Qi 齊 in the fifth century BC. Zhuang Jia 莊賈 was a courtier appointed to the army. Sima Rangju had him executed under military law because he arrived late for an appointment. When messengers arrived from the Duke of Qi to ask for mercy, Sima Rangju answered them, "When a commander is with his army, he is not required to accept all the orders of his sovereign."

51 Xia Yu, leader of the ill-fated expedition against the Xianbi of Tanshihuai in 177 (passage E of Xiping 6), had evidently been

appointed Colonel Protector of the Qiang in replacement of Ling Zheng, lately killed by the rebels (passage DD above).

The Herding Office was the administrative establishment for the Liuma 流馬 Horse Park, or Pasture of Roaming Horses, which was maintained in Hanyang commandery, under the ministerial office of the Grand Coachman, to provide horses for the army and the government. See *HHS* 115/25, 3582, the Treatise of Officials, de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 486 note 62 and 494 note 29, *cf.* Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 36.

The site of the office, and of the place Hupan, where the nearby battle was fought, cannot now be more precisely identified.

52 Dianyu had been the name of a celebrated leader of the Qiang in the first century (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 79 and 84; *HHS* 87/77, 2879-80), but it is unlikely that there was any direct connection by blood with this later chieftain. On the variant writing and pronunciation of the second character of the name, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 476 note 2.

FF *HHS* 71/61, 3209-10 (8a-9a), the Biography of Zhu Jun.

53 Zhang Mancheng had been the first leader of the Yellow Turbans in Nanyang commandery. After initial success, he was defeated and killed by the Grand Administrator Qin Xie (passages J and T above).

54 Bo Qi and Yue Yi were generals of the Warring States period at the end of the Zhou dynasty. Bo Qi served the state of Qin 秦, and in a military career of thirty-five years he captured more than seventy cities from the neighbours and rivals of that state. Yue Yi served the northern state of Yan 燕. When the King of Yan wanted to make an attack on Qi 齊, Yue Yi first went round on embassy to other states to gain allies for the campaign, and only then did he lead a combined army to a great victory for his master. The biography of Bo Qi is in *SJ* 73, the biography of Yue Yi is in *SJ* 80. On Bo Qi see also note 29 above.

55 This refers to the time of rebellion against the Second Emperor of Qin in 209-206 BC. The rebel forces were eventually under the supreme command of Xiang Yu 項羽, who established himself briefly as hegemon. See, for example, the biography/annals of Xiang Yu in *SJ* 7, 298; Chavannes, *MH* II, 252-253, and *SJ* 7, 316-17; Chavannes, *MH* II, 284-292.

56 Variant editions of *ZZTJ* here include the character 易 *yi* "easy", which appears also in the original passage of *HHS* 71/61.

GG *SGZ* 46/Wu 1, 1094, the Biography of Sun Jian;
and *HHS* 8, 350 (12a), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *HHS* 71/61, 2310 (9a), the Biography of Zhu Jun;
and *HHJ* 24, 18a.

57 Xi'e county was in Nanyang commandery, north of present-day Nanyang in Henan. The Jing Hills are part of the watershed between the basin of the Han River and that of the Yi and Luo tributaries of the Yellow River further north.

58 Up to this time, the current year had been counted as the seventh of the Guanghe period. It was only now, two days before the end, that the reign-title was changed and the year became known as the first of the period Zhongping "Peace Achieved".

HH *HHS* 66/56, 2172-73 (10a-11a), the Biography of Wang Yun.

59 The commentary of Hu Sanxing notes that this sentence is an echo of the words of Wang Jia 王嘉, recorded in his biography in *HS* 86, 3502, and that the character 乳 *ru* should be read 咀 *ju*.

Wang Jia was Chancellor (丞相 *chengxiang*) under Emperor Ai, but he was dismissed and executed for his opposition to the Emperor's favourite Dong Xian 董賢.

60 Wang Yun was at this moment still in office as Inspector of Yu province. The Attendant Officials were the locally recruited officers of the provincial administration, and the cage cart from the capital, with the summons for Wang Yun's arrest, was waiting outside.

61 Variant editions of *ZZTJ*, following *HHS* 68/58, include the characters 廷尉 *ting wei* "Commmandant of Justice" at this point of the text of *ZZTJ*.

62 The *kao yi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that *HHS* 68/58 describes Yang Ci as Minister over the Masses and Yuan Wei as Grand Commandant, but points out that neither man held such office at this time. Yuan Wei was actually Minister over the Masses, not Grand Commandant (passage C of Guanghe 5). Yang

Ci had left the office of Minister over the Masses in 181 (passage C of Guanghe 4), then became Grand Commandant in the following year (passage E of Guanghe 5), but had left that office earlier in the present year (passage K above); at the time in question he was probably Prefect of the Masters of Writing (*HHS* 54/44, 1784)

63 The chronology of Wang Yun's misfortunes is somewhat confused, particularly as regards amnesties and/or pardons. *HHS* 66/56 says that Wang Yun was sent to prison and then received the benefit of the amnesty "in the following year" (明年 *ming nian*), which would be Zhongping 2; but there was in fact no amnesty granted in Zhongping 2, and the next available was in the second month of Zhongping 3 (passage A). Moreover, the biography continues to tell of an amnesty in the winter, which specifically excluded Wang Yun from its benefits (*HHS* 66/56, 2173) - but the only amnesty in the winter season at this time was the one which has just been recorded at the time of the change of reign period to Zhongping, immediately above. We are then told that Wang Yun was released (得解釋 *de jieshi*), again "in the following year".

It seems most probable that Wang Yun obtained the incriminating documents in the first months of this year (Zhongping 1 [Guanghe 7]: 184), at an early stage of the rebellion, and the evidence he sent in was in some part responsible for the Emperor's anger at his eunuch attendants described in passage G above. His first release and reappointment as Inspector would then have taken place during the course of the year, and he was evidently the beneficiary of a specific pardon rather than a general amnesty. Later, after his second arrest, he was excluded from the benefits of the amnesty given at the time of the change of reign title, but he again obtained an individual release during the course of Zhongping 2: 185.

Wang Yun's biography remarks that after Wang Yun had been released from arrest for the second time, he changed his name and went to take refuge in the border region between Chenliu commandery in Yan province and Henei commandery in Sili.

Notes to Zhongping 2: 185 AD

A *HHS* 8, 351 (12a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 This epidemic is also recorded in *HHS* 107/17, 3351, the Treatise of the Five Powers. Similar outbreaks had been recorded in the previous fifteen years (see note 3 to Guanghe 5), but this was to prove the last of such magnitude for more than thirty years, until Jianan 22: 217.

2 These fires are recorded and described in detail by *HHS* 104/14, 3297, the Treatise of the Five Powers, and they are discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 31.

The fire began in the rafters of the Cloud Terrace building, and spread to several halls, to the Orchid Terrace, and to two other palace offices. *HHS* 8 notes that the fire was not put out for two weeks.

The Hall of the Achievement of Joy (樂成殿 *Le cheng dian*) was in the Southern Palace, and was evidently the first major building to be affected by the spread of the fire from the Cloud Terrace. The text here and in *HHS* refers to the structure as 樂城門 *Le cheng men*, "the City Gate of Joy", and the commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 104/14, suggests that it was the central gate of the Southern Palace. However Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 108 note 99, and also at 27, observes that the text of the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao, as quoted by the commentary to *HHS* 8, describes it as the Hall of the Achievement of Joy, and he argues that the reading in the main *HHS* text is corrupt.

Predictably, the prognostication for the portent emphasises the spiritual and official importance of the buildings which were affected, and draws particular attention to the Cloud Terrace building. This complex, which was said to have been originally constructed in the time of the Zhou dynasty, was established on a raised platform. During Later Han it had been used variously for literary discussions and also for the residence of the Empress-Dowager Dou after the overthrow of Dou Wu (Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 26-27, and note 70 to Jianning 1). The omen as a whole foretold the fall of Han, and in particular the great fire which burnt through the capital in the troubles after the death of Emperor Ling in 189.

Regardless of the portentous significance of the conflagration, however, Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 37, emphasises that this fire was the most serious to affect the palaces in the whole period of Later Han. Note, however, his reservations on

the claimed extent of the fire as recorded by the Treatise: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 109 notes 119 and 120.

B *HHS* 78/68, 2535 (19b), the Biographies of Zhang Rang and Zhao Zhong in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

3 A *mou* 畝 (commonly written 畝 and often pronounced *mu*) was rather more than a tenth of an English acre, or 0.04 of a hectare. At this time, it appears to have been assumed that the average annual yield of a *mou* would be some 3 *hu* 斛 (about 60 litres) of grain. Traditionally, land tax under the Han was paid at the rate of one-thirtieth of the assumed produce, which would thus have been one *dou* 斗, or some two litres. See, for example, Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 74-75, based upon the calculations of the philosopher Zhongchang Tong, writing at about this time (Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 239).

Since the price of grain fluctuated considerably, and the histories normally record only the extreme figures of good harvest or dearth, it is difficult to offer a useful assessment of the impact of the new levy, though Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 79, suggests an arbitrary cash value of 60 cash per *shi* 石 of grain, which would represent a value of a little more than 100 cash for the 3 *hu* of the nominal yield per *mou*.

One may note, however, that this levy was probably a single payment, charged against capital held in land, and was not a continuing tax. Its incidence may have fallen quite heavily upon the landed classes, and more indirectly upon their poorer tenants.

On the other hand, considering the recent ravages of the Yellow Turban rebellion, and the continuing trouble in Liang province, not to mention the other difficulties of the government, this was hardly a politic, appropriate or sensible time for such an additional impost.

C *HHS* 31/21, 1113 (16b-17a), the Biography of Lu Kang.

4 The Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*, Xuan 15, ascribes a plague of locusts to the Duke's increased taxes: *cf.* Legge, *CC* V, 329.

5 In *Zuo zhuan*, Ai 11; Legge, *CC* V, 826 (Couvreur, *Chronique* III, 676-677), it is told how the Duke of Lu 魯, on the advice of his minister Jisun 季孫, proposed to increase the land tax and sent a messenger to ask Confucius for his opinion. Confucius gave no official reply, but said privately to the

messenger, "... If [Jisun] be not governed by the rules of propriety, but by a covetous daring and insatiableness, though he enact this taxation of the lands, it will still not be enough. If you and [Jisun] wish to act according to the laws, there are the statues of the Duke of [Zhou] still existing. If you wish to act in an irregular manner, why do you consult me?"

6 Categorisations such as "Great Iniquity" (大不敬 *da bujing*: interpreted by Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 156, as "nefas"), identified the conduct as a gross offence against morality or against the state and rendered the offender liable to very severe penalties. See also notes 66 to Yanxi 2 and 56 to Jianning 1.

7 Lu Xu was a junior officer in the reign of Emperor Ming who was arrested on a charge of treason. His mother came to the prison but was prevented from seeing her son and could only send in some food for him. Although Lu Xu had remained unmoved by the torture which was applied to him, he wept when he saw the dish of food, for he recognised his mother's style of preparing it. In respect for this mark of filial piety, pardon was granted to Lu Xu and his associates, although they were proscribed from holding office again for the rest of their lives. The biography of Lu Xu is in *HHS* 81/71, 2682-83, in the Chapter on the Men of Unusual Conduct.

D *HHS* 78/68, 2535-36 (19b-20a), the Biographies of Zhang Rang and Zhao Zhong in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

8 *HHS* 78/68 identifies the material which was being supplied as fine timber and patterned stone from Taiyuan and Hedong commanderies, in present-day Shanxi, and from Didao 狄道, the chief county of Longxi commandery, near present-day Lintao 臨洮 in Gansu.

9 On the Meng Crossing over the Yellow River on the road from Luoyang to the north, see also note 9 to Zhongping 1.

E *HHS* 71/61, 2310 (9a), the Biography of Zhu Jun.

10 *HHS* 71/61 says that Zhu Jun was also appointed Imperial Household Grandee (光祿大夫 *guanglu dafu*), with an enhanced enfeoffment as Marquis of Qiantang 錢唐, in the region of present-day Hangzhou, accompanied by the appellation Specially Advanced, which permitted him to remain

in attendance at the court rather than being required to reside in the territory of his fief. See note 52 to Yanxi 8.

F *HHS* 71/61, 2310 (9a-b), the Biography of Zhu Jun;
and *SGZ* 8, 261, the Biography of Zhang Yan;
and *SGZ* 8, 261 PC quoting the *Jiuzhou chunqiu* of Sima Biao.

11 Boling was the site of the tomb of Liu Yi 劉翼 father of Emperor Huan and former Marquis of Liwu 蠡吾 . When Emperor Huan was brought to the throne in 146, his father was given posthumous title as an emperor and his tomb-site was recognised with suitable ceremony: *HHS* 55/45, 1809. In 158 the territory was separated from Zhongshan and established as a separate commandery: *HHS* 7, 303.

ZZTJ has taken the surname Zhang from *SGZ* 8; *HHS* 71/61 mentions only a 青牛角 "Green Ox-horn".

12 As *HHS* 71/61 observes, these various bandit leaders were identified by nicknames. Some of them are obvious enough, such as White Horse Zhang for a leader who rode a white steed, Zuo with the long moustache (reading 丈 *zhang* for the variant 文*wen*), and Lord of Thunder who probably had a very loud voice. There are a few which are difficult or even impossible to interpret:
apart from the personal agility of "Flying Swallow", as described below, it will be recalled that a celebrated concubine of Emperor Cheng of Former Yan was known as Flying Swallow Zhao 趙 (*e.g. HS* 97B, 3988; Wilbur, *Slavery*, 418, and note 48 to Yanxi 8);
"Enclosure of the Left" probably took his name from the title of the officer responsible for convict labourers under the Court Architect: see note 76 to Yanxi 2;
in the *nom de guerre* Yu Digen, the character *yu*, which could be a surname, is also identified by commentary to *HHS* 71/61 with hairiness, the character *di* is also the name of a group of non-Chinese people in the west, and the character *gen* may refer to a base, or to something hanging down. In the absence of any further information, the nickname may be taken as referring to the commander's facial hair, but it is just possible that reference was being made to a lower part of the body;
the characters 五鹿 *wulu*, here translated as "Five Deer" and regarded as a nickname, were also known as a double-character surname under the Han, held in particular by Wulu Chongcong 五鹿充宗, who was Privy Treasurer in 38 BC (*HS* 19B, 820). In this text, however, the immediately following three characters

cannot possibly be treated as a personal name, so Wulu must refer to one of the leaders, perhaps in reference to some badge that he bore;
Bo Rao may be a genuine name, but the character 繞 *rao* refers to coiling and winding, and it could be rendered as "White Circles";
similarly, in Sui Gu, the character 眭, when pronounced *sui*, is an uncommon surname, but also has the meaning of deep-set eyes, so the combination could be understood as reference to a fixed, presumably fierce, gaze - and *HHS* 71/61 has the first character as 畦 *xi* or *qi*, referring to a plot of land or a field boundary;
the character 蝤 *jiu* normally occurs as part of the compound 蝤蠐 *jiuqi*, describing a large wood-boring maggot, traditionally admired for its whiteness and its length: see, for example, Legge, *CC* IV, 95, commenting on the *Shi ren* 碩人 Ode (Karlgren, *Odes*, 57 at 38). In contrast to other leaders, it seems that "Dry Grub" may have been clean shaven and bald.

13 Yingtao county in Julu was south of present-day Ningjin 寧晉 in Hebei.

14 The territory of the Black Mountain bandits was based upon the eastern ridges of the Taihang mountains.

15 Flying Swallow Zhang thus possessed the same rights and responsibilities as the Grand Administrator of a commandery.

G *HHS* 8, 351 (12a-b), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *HHS* 52/42, 1731 (18a-b), the Biography of Cui Lie.

16 Cui Shi, author of *Zheng lun* 政論, has a biography in *HHS* 52/42, 1725-31, to which that of his cousin Cui Lie is attached. On the legalist philosophy of *Zheng lun*, see the article by Balazs, "Crise sociale et philosophie politique."

H *HHS* 8, 351 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

17 The Three Adjuncts (三輔 *san fu*) described the three commanderies about the old capital, Changan: Jingzhao, Youfufeng and Zuopingyi.

I *HHS* 58/48, 1875 (8a-b), the Biography of Fu Xie.

18 *HS* 37, 1976-77, tells how Modun 冒頓, Shanyu of the Xiongnu, sent an insulting letter to the Empress-Dowager Lü of Emperor Gaozu, regent for Emperor Hui of Former Han. Fan Kuai 樊噲 urged that the imperial armies should attack the Xiongnu, but Ji Bu 季布 pointed out that in the time of Gaozu, when the armies of Han tried such a strategy of offence, and Fan Kuai was one of the generals, they had met with serious danger in the campaign about Pingcheng 平城. See also, for example, the Account of the Xiongnu in *HS* 94A, 3753-55, and *SJ* 110, 2894-95; Watson, *RGH* II, 165-167.

Fu Xie's claim is that when a minister suggests a foolish and dangerous policy, suggestions for his execution, even from the body of the court, are quite justifiable.

19 When the future emperor Gaozu was first named King of Han under the hegemony of Xiang Yu 項羽 in 206, he sent his officer Li Shang 酈商 to take control of the regions of Longxi, Beidi and Shang commanderies in preparation for his attack on the kingdoms which had been established about the former heartland of Qin 秦 in the region of the Wei River. See the biographies of Li Shang in *SJ* 95, 2660, and *HS* 41, 2074, and on the general situation at that time also, for example, Dubs, *HFHD* I, 65-70.

20 Epochal Exemplar (世宗 Shizong) was the temple-name of Emperor Wu of Former Han, during whose reign the empire of Han expanded in the northwest along the Gansu corridor and the four commanderies of Jiuquan, Zhangye, Wuwei and Dunhuang were established. See, for example, Loewe, *RHA* I, 58-60, de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 61, and Yü, "Han Foreign Relations", 391.

J *HHS* 8, 351 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

K *HHJ* 25, 2b.

L *HHS* 8, 351 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

M *HHS* 71/61, 2304-05 (4b-5a), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

N *HHS* 8, 351 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *HHS* 72/62, 2320 (1b-2a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

O *HHS* 54/44,, 1785 (18a-b), the Biography of Yang Ci, and *HHS* 8, 352 (12b), the Annals of Emperor Ling, with commentary.

21 *ZZTJ* and *HHS* 8 agree that Yang Ci was appointed Minister of Works in the ninth month and died in the tenth month. However, the tenth month of this year began on a *bingshen* day (cyclical no. 33), and could therefore not have included a *gengyin* day (cyclical no. 27). The Qing dynasty commentator Qian Daxin 錢大昕 suggests that the identification of the month has been misplaced in the chronicle, and that the *gengyin* day referred to was that of the ninth month. That day was equivalent to 4 November.

Yang Ci had been dismissed from his position as Grand Commandant in the summer of the previous year, but was later granted a marquisate (passage K of Zhongping 1). According to his biography in *HHS* 54/44, 1784, he was again appointed to office as Prefect of the Masters of Writing and was then offered the ministerial post Commandant of Justice; this latter, however, he declined.

Since he was out of office, and held a fief as a marquis, Yang Ci could have been required to leave the capital and reside at his nominal estates. He was, however, given the status of Specially Advanced, which permitted him to continue at court and maintain his lodging at Luoyang.

P *HHS* 57/47, 1849-51 (8a-9b), the Biography of Liu Tao.

22 Yi Yin 伊尹 was the great minister and counsellor of King Tang 湯, founder of the Shang 商 dynasty. Lü Shang 呂尚 was a great minister of kings Wen 文 and Wu 武, founders of the Zhou 周 dynasty.

At the end of the Shang/Yin 殷 dynasty there were three worthy ministers prepared to remonstrate with the wicked last ruler, King Zhou 紂. *Lun yu* XVIII.1; Legge, *CC* I, 331 (Lau, *Analects*, 149):

> The Viscount of [Wei] 微子 withdrew from the court. The Viscount of [Ji] 箕子 became a slave [and jester to King Zhou]. Bigan 比干 remonstrated with him [King Zhou] and died. Confucius said, 'The Yin dynasty possessed these three men of virtue'.

According to legend, the "Viscount of Ji", or Jizi [Korean: Ki-ja], travelled to the lands of Korea, where he became the ancestor of the Marquises of Chaoxian 朝鮮 : see, for example, Gardiner, *Early History of Korea*, 9-11.

Q *HHS* 72/62, 2320 (2a-b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

23 Yuzhong county in Jincheng commandery is now in the vicinity of Lanzhou in Gansu.

24 *ZZTJ* here has the characters *can junshi* 參軍事, which is a title appearing frequently towards the end of Han and during the Three Kingdoms. It is discussed briefly, as *canjun*, in *JS* 24, 740. The commentary of Hu Sanxing quotes Du You, author of *Tong dian*, who suggests (at 189/3) that this is an early reference to the office, and *HHS* 72/62, would appear to support that interpretation.

In the biography of Sun Jian in *SGZ* 46/Wu 1, 1905, however, we are told that Zhang Wen recommended Sun Jian *yu* 與 *can jun shi*, which may be translated as "to take part in the affairs of the army". So Sun Jian was a member of Wen's staff, but *can junshi* was not necessarily an official military title at this time.

Besides this, *Tong dian*, as cited above, and also the *Tong zhi* of Zheng Qiao (693/2) both refer to the appointment of Tao Qian 陶謙 as *can junshi* under Zhang Wen about this time, and they cite the biography of Tao Qian in *SGZ* 8, 247. Here too, however, though it is certainly possible that Zhang Wen was the first to appoint officials with this style, the text may better be read as a sentence, not as a formal title.

25 *ZZTJ* here follows *HHS* 72/62, but *SGZ* 46/Wu 1, 1098-99 PC quotes the *Shanyang gong zaiji* 山陽公載記 of the Jin dynasty historian Yue Zi 樂資, recording comments of Dong Zhuo on this campaign, which has the name as Caiyuan 蔡園. There is no way to tell which alternative is correct, and the place cannot now be precisely identified, though it was presumably a pass on the upper reaches of the Wei River.

26 Wangyuan county in Hanzhong commandery is now northwest of Tianshui 天水 in Gansu.

27 *HHS* 72/62 remarks also that Dong Zhuo was the only commander who had been able to maintain his forces intact after this unhappy offensive; and we may note that he had also played a leading role in the initial success at Meiyang.

In these circumstances, the following passage R, which records advice alleged to have been given to Zhang Wen by the staff officer Sun Jian, makes little sense - and one is inclined

to believe that it is a fictional anecdote, devised by hagiographers of Wu, to enhance their hero's reputation for perspicacity. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 156-157.

From the other point of view, we may observe in the history of all this period a number of occasions that Dong Zhuo is cast in a bad light. To a considerable degree, this is surely a result of later opinion that he was the usurper who brought down the dynasty of Han, so that some historians sought opportunity to show the early signs of his wicked character, and others found incidents to demonstrate how a particular individual was early on the side of virtue through his distrust and distaste for the future tyrant.

R *SGZ* 46/Wu1, 1095, the Biography of Sun Jian.

28 Zhang Wen is referring to the eastern part of Liang province. The Long Mountain lies north of the Wei River, and was on the border of Sili and Liang province; "Yellow River" here refers to the reach about present-day Lanzhou. Dong Zhuo himself was a man from Lintao 臨洮, the capital of Longxi commandery.

29 An axe (鉞 *yue*) was the ancient symbol of military authority; see, for example, the *Mu shi* 牧誓 "The Speech at Mu" Chapter of *Shu jing*, V.2, 1; Legge, *CC* III, 300 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 29), where King Wu of Zhou carries a golden (or yellow) battle-axe as he addresses his army. According to the commentator Song Zhong 宋衷 of the third century, those granted the battle-axe had the right to execute on their own initiative: see Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 24-29, particularly at 28.

S *HHS* 78/68, 2536 (20a), the Biographies of Zhang Rang and Zhao Chong in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

30 On the establishment in 178 of the Western Quarters office in the Western Garden as a place for the collection of revenue paid personally to the Emperor, see passage M of Guanghe 1. The Hall of Ten Thousand Gold Pieces is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 78.

The Grand Minister of Agriculture was the public treasurer of the empire: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 43; and also his comments at 47 on the fusion of financial functions under Later Han and the opportunity this gave for such embezzlement by Emperor Ling.

31 Hejian had been the home country of Emperor Ling before his accession to the throne.

Notes to Zhongping 3: 186 AD

A *HHS* 8, 352 (13a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

B *HHS* 8, 352 (13a), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *HHS* 72/62, 2321 (2a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

C *HHS* 58/48, 1876-77 (8b-9a), the Biography of Fu Xie.

1 Nanrong 南容 was the style (字 *zi*) of Fu Xie.

D *HHS* 78/68, 2537 (20b), the Biography of Zhang Rang and Zhao Zhong in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

2 The Gate of Tranquillity (平門 *Ping men* or *Ping cheng* 城 *men*) was the main gate in the south wall of Lo-yang, leading directly to the Southern Palace of the Emperor: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 23. On the water-works of Bi Lan, see also Bielenstein, Lo-yang, 32-33.

The Heavenly Deer are described as similar to ordinary deer, but with long hair and only one horn; they were a canting sign of good fortune: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 109 note 132.

Needham, *Science and Civilisation* IV:2, 345, suggests that the deer and the frogs were noria, worked by human power, as it is unlikely that the current in the moat on the southern side of the city was strong enough to lift the water required. Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 32, agrees, and suggests further that the mouths of the deer and the frogs were the nozzles of fountains.

The phrase 翻車 *fan che* is interpreted by Needham, *Science and Civilisation* IV:2, 345, as a square-pallet chain pump. The "thirsty crow" is traditionally described as a form of syphon, but in this context it was most probably some form of suction-lift pump: Needham, *Science and Civilisation* IV:2, 345 and 358.

E *HHS* 8, 353 (13a-b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

3 This eclipse is listed in *HHS* 106/16, 3370, the Treatise of the Five Powers. It is identified as Oppolzer 3340, and is mapped in Stephenson and Houlden at 215b.

Sima Biao offers no prognostication for this eclipse, but the Commentary of Liu Zhao quotes from the *Qiantan ba*, which says that an eclipse on a *renchen* day indicates that there will be great floods and mist and influence of the power of Yin 陰.

F *HHS* 72/62, 2321 (2a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

Notes to Zhongping 4: 187 AD

A *HHS* 8, 352-53 (13b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 Both Rongyang and Zhongmou were counties in Henan commandery, Rongyang being by present-day Yingce 滎澤, and Zhongmou by present-day Zhongmou, both in Henan province.

B *HHS* 72/62, 2321 (2b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

2 The chief county of Longxi commandery was at Didao 狄道, by present-day Lintao 臨洮 in Gansu.

C *HHS* 58/48, 1877-78 (9a-10a), the Biography of Fu Xie.

3 The capital of Hanyang commandery was at Ji 冀 county, south of present-day Gangu 甘谷 in Gansu.

4 From *Zuo zhuan*, Cheng 15; Legge, *CC* V, 388 (Couvreur, *Chronique* II, 116):

> a sage is equal to the duties of all positions;... a man of the second class maintains the duty of his positions;... one of the lowest class fails in the duty of his.

5 On Boyi, see note 19 to Yongkang 1. Fu Xie here refers to him as example of a man who remained loyal to his allegiance, even though the sovereign to whom he gave his loyalty was personally unworthy of such respect.

6 *SJ* 43, 1783-85; Chavannes, *MH* V, 19-22, tells how Cheng Ying 程嬰 preserved the posthumous heir of the noble Zhao 趙 family after the head of the clan had been assassinated. So was Yang Hui to act as guardian of Fu Gan.

D *HHS* 72/62, 2321 (2b-3a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

E *HHJ* 25, 4b.

F *HHS* 73/63, 2353 (1a), the Biography of Liu Yu;
and *SGZ* 8, 239, the Biography of Gongsun Zan;
and *HHJ* 25, 5a-b.

7 The Wuhuan tribespeople of the northeast had regularly served as auxiliaries and mercenaries with the armies of Later Han: see, for example, de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 387-391.

8 The Ji薊 county referred to here is the capital of Guangyang commandery in You province, by present-day Beijing. It must be distinguished from the Ji冀 county which was the capital of Hanyang in Liang province, by present-day Gangu in Gansu (note 3 above).

Ji county in Guangyang had evidently been nominated as assembly place for the Wuhuan troops, and once they had a first taste of the supply and commissariat problems they had little difficulty in breaking ranks and returning to their home county on the northern borders.

9 Feiru county in Liaoxi commandery was north of present-day Lulong in Hebei.

10 It is possible that the phrase 安定 *anding* represents a place-name, but it seems more likely to have been a slogan. On this rebellion, see also de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 399.

G *SGZ* 46/Wu 1, 1095, the Biography of Sun Jian.

11 The county of Wucheng was in Wu commandery, south of the Tai Lake near present-day Huzhou 湖州 in Zhejiang.

H *HHS* 8, 355 (14a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

12 The Chuge or Xiuchuge people, whose name appears in varying forms and pronunciations, were a clan of the Xiongnu who rose to particular prominence about this time: see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 321, 351-352 and 529 note 3, also passage D and note 6 to Xiping 3.

I *HHS* 62/52, 2066-67 (14a-b), the Biography of Chen Shi.

Notes to Zhongping 5: 188 AD

A *HHS* 8, 355 (14a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 This comet 慧星 *sui xing* is also recorded in *HHS* 102/12, 3260, the Treatise of Astronomy.

The Purple Palace (紫宮 *Zigong*), also known as the Enclosure of Purple Subtlety (紫微垣 *Ziwei yuan*), is a broad circle of stars extending over the Western Draco, Ursa Major and Cameleopardus: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 67-71 and Star Map 1.

This comet is said to have appeared first in the Kui 奎 lunar mansion, being Mirach and other stars of Andromeda and Pisces: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 103 and Star Map 5. It then travelled in retrograde motion into the region of the Purple Palace. It was visible for sixty days.

The Purple Palace is identified with the imperial palace. The prognostication of this comet in the Treatise relates it to the change of ruler and the collapse of the dynasty that followed the death of Emperor Ling in the following year.

2 The commentary of Hu Sanxing notes that Hexi 河西 here represents a miswriting for the commandery of Xihe.

The Bobo valley is east of present-day Fencheng 汾城 in Shanxi.

B *HHS* 75/65, 2431 (1a-2a), the Biography of Liu Yan.

3 The commentary of Hu Sanxing here includes a long extract from the work of Cai Yong, taken from his work of commentary entitled *Yueling zhangju* 月令章句, "The Monthly Ordinances [Chapter of *Li ji*] Arranged by Chapters and Sentences", of which a discussion is found in *JS* 11, 307-09; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 113-115. This "Starfield System", identifying portions of the sky with regions and provinces of the empire and making prognostications upon that basis, is discussed by Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises of Later Han*, 137-143.

4 Although these appointments of Governors were made and the change can be dated from this time, the system was not introduced throughout the empire. Inspectors, with their more limited control over the local provincial administration, were still appointed in many regions.

8 The Ji薊 county referred to here is the capital of Guangyang commandery in You province, by present-day Beijing. It must be distinguished from the Ji冀 county which was the capital of Hanyang in Liang province, by present-day Gangu in Gansu (note 3 above).

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C *HHS* 75/65, 2431 (1a-2a), the Biography of Liu Yan; and *HHS* 73/63, 2353-54 (1a-b), the Biography of Liu Yu.

D *HHS* 89/79, 2964-65 (18b-19a), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

5 Xiluo was the name of a clan of the Xiongnu who inhabited the western part of the national territory. The commentary of Hu Sanxing suggests that they were connected to the royal house of the Shanyu, and had taken the name from the dynastic title Xiluo shizhu di 醯落尸逐鞮 , held by the first Southern Shanyu Bi 比: *HHS* 89/79, 2939, and also de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 233.

On this rebellion, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 347.

E *HHS* 8, 355-56 (14b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

F *SGZ* 31/Shu 1, 866, the Biography of Liu Yan.

G *HHS* 8, 356 (14b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

6 These floods are recorded also in *HHS* 105/15, 3312, the Treatise of the Five Powers, which, however, refers to only six commanderies or kingdoms. The commentary of Liu Zhao, however, notes that the *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shansong lists seven, being Shanyang, Liang, Pei, Pengcheng, Xiapi, Donghai and Langye. The flooding thus affected most severely the region in the south of the North China plain, between the Yellow River and the Huai.

H *SGZ* 1, 4, the Biography of Cao Cao;
and *SGZ* 1, 4 PC quoting the *Jiuzhou chunqiu* of Sima Biao;
and *SGZ* 1, 4-5 PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen.

7 This is a late reference to Xiang Kai, the man who sent in memorials against the government of Emperor Huan in 166 (passage S of Yanxi 9, and de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest*, particularly at 95-96 note 84). He is described here as 術士 *shu shi*, a general reference to his understanding of the occult.

Chen Fan, of course, was the ally of Dou Wu overthrown and killed by the eunuch coup of 168 (passage K of Jianning 1).

8 The city of Hefei was north of present-day Hefei in Anhui. The marquisate had been granted to Jian Xin 堅鐔, a supporter of

Emperor Guangwu in the early years of Later Han Only four successors are recorded after Jian Xin's death in 50 AD, the last being his great-grandson: *HHS* 22/12, 783-84.

So although there was evidently a Marquis of Hefei in 188, it seems most likely that the Jian line had died out and some cadet of the imperial Liu clan had been appointed. There are no further details of Wang Fen's candidate for the throne.

9 Yi Yin was chief minister to Tang 湯, first ruler of the Shang dynasty. After the death of Tang, the Heir-Apparent Taijia 太甲 displayed inadequate virtue. Yi Yin therefore sent him from the palace to reside near the tomb of the late king for the whole period of mourning; Taijia was thus reformed. See part 1 of the "Taijia" chapter of *Shu jing*; IV.5A; Legge, *CC* III, 199-204.

On Huo Guang, chief minister during Former Han, who deposed the heir Liu He 劉賀 from the imperial position and gave his place to Emperor Xuan, enforcing an abdication, see, for example, note 13 to Zhongping 1, Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 66-79, and *Cambridge Han*, 182-184 (Loewe, "The Former Han dynasty").

I *SGZ* 13, 401, the Biography of Hua Xin.

J *SGZ* 1, 4 PC quoting the *Jiuzhou chunqiu* of Sima Biao.

K *HHS* 8, 356 (14b), the Annals of Emperor Ling;
and *HHS* 8, 356, commentary quoting the *Shanyang gong zaiji* of Yue Zi;
and *HHS* 69/59, 2246-47 (6b-7a), the Biography of He Jin.

10 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that he has preferred the list of titles of these colonels as given by the *Shanyang gong zaiji* to that of *HHS* 69/59. Similarly, he disregards the main text of *HHS* 74A/64A, 2375, the Biography of Yuan Shao, which gives his title as Colonel Supporting the Army (佐軍 *zuo jun*), while commentary again quotes *Shanyang gong zaiji*, with the same text as in *HHS* 8. (*Cf.*, however, *HHS* 58/48, 1882, the Biography of He Xun, and *HHS* 103/13, 3270, the Treatise of the Five Powers, which both give the title of Yuan Shao's commission as Colonel Supporting the Army. As the Qing commentator Hui Dong 惠棟 observes, in *HHSJJ* 74A/64A, 2a, there is a variety of different versions of these titles.

On these commissions, see also Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 78. As he remarks, it seems that this special force was very likely financed from the Emperor's personal treasury, maintained in the Western Garden. Moreover, it would seem that this force was designed as an imperial private army and, as we see below, supreme command was given to a eunuch.

L *HHS* 8, 356 (14b-15a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

11 The information concerning Dong Zhong's enfeoffment and relationship comes from *HHS* 10B, 447. The Lady Dong, Empress-Dowager of the Palace of Perpetual Joy, was the natural mother of Emperor Ling (note 2 to Jianning 2).

M *HHS* 69/59, 2246-47 (16b), the Biography of He Jin.

12 Although the term 望氣 *wang qi* may be taken as a general term for observation of ominous signs, I interpret it here as referring to the ceremony of "Watching the Ethers", normally expressed as 候氣 *hou qi*, which is discussed by Bodde in his article on "The Chinese Cosmic Magic known as Watching for the Ethers".

The theory behind this technique was that the variations of the Yin and Yang forces from one month to the other each year could be seen through the expulsion of ashes from one or more of twelve pipes, arranged in musical tones and set into the earth. In practical terms, no such phenomenon could take place, but it was a subject of considerable interest at the end of Later Han, and it is discussed in *HHS* 91/1, 3014-15, the Treatise on Pitchpipes and the Calendar. The description of the ritual itself in this text is ascribed to Cai Yong. From general discussion, it appears that the observers were supposed to be able to ascertain the quality of the government - and the procedure may be seen as providing another occasion for indirect criticism of current policies.

13 The phrase "two palaces" must refer to the Northern and to the Southern Palace at Luoyang.

14 The Lodge of Tranquil Joy, which was in the suburbs to the west of the city of Luoyang, is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 61, who refers also to this great review of troops by Emperor Ling.

It is *HHS* 8, 356, which gives the date of the review as the *jiazi* day of the tenth month, equivalent to 22 November 188.

N *HHS* 58/48, 1881-82 (12a), the Biography of He Xun.

15 He Xun's biography explains that after he had been Grand Administrator of Hanyang (passage EE of Zhongping 1), he had retired from that office and was subsequently given this colonel's command.

O *HHS* 71/61, 2305 (5b), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

16 Chencang county was in Youfufeng, east of present-day Baoji in Shenxi.

P *HHS* 73/63, 2358 (4b-5a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan.

17 On the position of the dependent state of Liaodong, which I have argued occupied the valley of the Bolang 白狼 "White Wolf" River, now known as the Daling 大凌, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 39 and 460-465 note 53. Commentary to *HHS* 73/63 explains Shimen as hills of the Song Ling 松嶺 range, near present-day Chaoyang 朝陽 in Liaoning.

18 The site of this stronghold cannot be identified, though it was very likely in the mountain country of the Song Ling between the present-day Daling River and the seacoast of the Gulf of Liaodong.

Q *HHS* 71/61, 2305 (5a-b), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

Notes to Zhongping 6: 189 AD

1 In this one calendar year three reign-titles were proclaimed:

In the fourth month, on the day *wuwu* [15 May], after the death of Emperor Ling and the accession of his eldest son Liu Bian, the year was proclaimed as the first of the Guangxi 光熹 period: *HHS* 8, 357.

In the eighth month, on the day *xinwei* [25 September], after the massacre of the eunuchs and the return of the Emperor to the capital under the control of Dong Zhuo, the reign-title was changed to Zhaoning 昭寧: *HHS* 8, 359.

In the ninth month, on the day *jiaxu* [28 September], after the deposition of the young Emperor and his replacement by Liu Xie, future Emperor Xian, the title was changed to Yong-Han 永漢: *HHS* 9, 367.

Finally, in the intercalary twelfth month, on the day *wuxin* [19 February 190], three days before the end of the Chinese year, these three reign-titles were all cancelled and the year was again calculated as the sixth of the Zhongping period: *HHS* 9, 369.

A *HHS* 71/61, 2305 (5b), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

2 According to the commentary to *HHS* 71/61, Dong Zhuo is here quoting from the *Sima bingfa* 司馬兵法 (also known as the *Sima fa*) being the book of the art of war ascribed to Sima Rangju 穰苴 of the fifth century BC (note 50 to Zhongping 1). These words, however, are missing from the present-day text of that work.

B *HHS* 72/62, 2321-22 (3a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

C *HHS* 73/63, 2354 (1b-2a), the Biography of Liu Yu;
and *SGZ* 8, 240, the Biography of Gongsun Zan.

D *HHS* 8, 357 (15b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

3 This eclipse is listed in *HHS* 106/16, 3371, the Treatise of the Five Powers. It is identified as Oppolzer 3347, and is mapped in Stephenson and Houlden at 216a.

Both *HHS* 8, and *HHS* 106/16 give the day as *bingwu* 丙午, which was indeed the first day of the fourth month of this year. *ZZTJ* has confused the two characters *zi* 子 and *wu* 午.

Sima Biao remarks that the Emperor died ten days after the eclipse.

4 Like Zhang Wen in 186 (passage B of Zhongping 3), Liu Yü held the office of Grand Commandant while stationed outside the capital. He continued to serve as Governor of You Province.

Under Former Han, Rongqiu had been a county in Donghai (*HS* 28A, 1588, the Treatise of Geography), but it does not appear in the Treatise of Administrative Geography of Later Han. The city had evidently lost its county status at the beginning of the restored dynasty, but it seems probable that it had been re-established by the time Liu Yü was awarded the territory as a marquisate.

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

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

5 Although infant mortality was naturally high, when a number of children died it was sometimes suspected that an evil influence might be operating, and children were sent to live somewhere else for a time in order that they might escape it. It was in similar fashion, early in this century, that the infant sons of Emperor He had been removed from the palace for safe-keeping, and only the Empress, later Empress-Dowager Deng, knew where they were: *HHS* 10A, 421.

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

6 Although it was common for the chosen heir-apparent to be the eldest son of the emperor by his chief wife, during his lifetime the emperor had undisputed authority to designate whichever of his sons he preferred. (Should he, however, die without formally naming an heir, that power and duty descended upon his Empress, now Empress-Dowager: note 31 to Yongkang 1).

On the birth of Liu Xie and the murder of his mother the Lady Wang, see passage G of Guanghe 4.

HHS 10B, 540, records that Emperor Ling mourned the death of the Lady Wang and was sorry for his son Liu Xie, orphaned in such a fashion. He composed a Rhapsody Reflecting upon Virtue (追德賦 *Zhuide fu*) and a Hymn to Excellent Conduct (令義頌 *Lingyi song*) in her memory.

H *HHS* 8, 357 (15b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

7 The Hall of Excellent Virtue was in the Southern Palace: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 25.

HHS 8 says that Emperor Ling was thirty-four *sui* when he died. He was thus born in Yongshou 2, generally equivalent to 156 AD. See also note 37 to Yongkang 1.

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Cambridge Han *The Cambridge History of China*: *Volume 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires 221 BC - AD 220*, edited by Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, Cambridge UP 1986

ESWSBB *Ershiwu shi bubian* 二十五史補編, Kaiming 開明 edition

HJAS *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*

PFEH *Papers on Far Eastern History*, Australian National University, Canberra

QJHHS *Qijia Hou Han shu* 七家後漢書, Taipei 1974

SBBY *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 collection, Commercial Press

SBCK *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊 collection, Commercial Press

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[Note: chapters are cited jointly by order within the whole *HHS* and by order within each of the three parts of *HHS*: thus *HHS* 5 indicates the fifth chapter of *HHS* annals and the fifth of the whole work, *HHS* 68/58 indicates the fifty-eighth chapter of the *liezhuan* and the sixty-eighth of the whole work, and *HHS* 105/15 indicates the fifteenth chapter of the treatises, being the one hundred and fifteenth chapter of the work.]
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