

# TO ESTABLISH PEACE

Internet edition 2003

## VOLUME 1

being the Chronicle of the Later Han dynasty  
for the years 189 to 200 AD

as recorded in Chapters 59 to 63 of the *Zizhi tongjian* of Sima Guang  
translated and annotated by Rafe de Crespigny

*NOTE:* This document contains the text of the first volume of a work which was originally published in 1966 as No. 21 of the Asian Studies Monographs: New Series of the Faculty of Asian Studies at The Australian National University.

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## FOREWORD

to the Internet edition 2003

Since the hard-copy of *To Establish Peace* is now out of print, and is easily available only through specialist libraries, it seems appropriate to offer the text in electronic form to those who may be interested in the history of the Three Kingdoms, perhaps the most tumultuous and romantic of all Chinese history. I accompany this document of Volume 1 with Volume 2, and there is other work in the field at <http://www.anu.edu.au/asianstudies/decrespigny/>.

In the presentation below, the original English-language of the 1996 edition has been preserved, with a few minor corrections, but there are some changes in format.

Firstly, no characters are included. There are, however, detailed references to Chinese works, and those wish to do further research and checking should have no difficulty in identifying the relevant texts. Given the convenience of searching electronic documents, moreover, I have not included an index.

Second, rather than running heads to show the chapter or year on each page, at intervals and throughout the notes I indicate in the margin the year which is under consideration: thus *Zp6: 189* means that the text is rendering the chronicle for the sixth year of Zhongping, roughly equivalent to 189 AD.

Third, annotations are not provided as footnotes, but appear as additions to the text, in a smaller font, at the end of each annual chronicle. Reference points are indicated by full-size numbers in the body of the main text.

Other technical details from the hard-back edition are explained below: see The Arrangement of the Translation and the Annotations in the Introduction.

Subject to these alterations, following the Preface immediately after this Foreword the present document gives the original text of the 1996 translation of the chronicle from 189 to 200 AD.

It must be stated, however, that *Zizhi tongjian* is a work of history, and the story is somewhat different, both in facts and emphasis, to the account found in the literary tradition, best exemplified by the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* [*Sanguo yanyi*], largely ascribed to Luo Guanzhong of the late fourteenth century. Though Sima Guang compiled *ZZTJ* in the eleventh century, he based his work upon texts which were very close to the time they describe, and although he had his biases he did not seek to distort the facts which they presented.

Rafe de Crespigny

Canberra

October 2003

## PREFACE

to the 1996 edition

I first published a translation of this material in *The Last of the Han* (Canberra 1969), which covered Chapters 59 to 68 of *Zizhi tongjian* [ZZTJ], the chronicle from 181 to 220 AD.

*Last of the Han*, however, is now out of print, and this work is designed as a continuation, in essentially the same format, of *Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling*, published in 1989, which offers a translation of ZZTJ 54 to 59, dealing with the period from 157 to the beginning of 189. Moreover, where *Last of the Han* translated the Chinese text without major annotation and with minimal discussion of Sima Guang's sources, I now provide more information on the texts and the facts they describe, and that deeper consideration has often improved the rendering.

I began work in this field under the guidance of Hans Bielenstein, Gören Malmqvist, Fang Chao-ying, Wang Ling and Otto van der Sprenkel, and I received special assistance from the late Ch'en Chih-mai, former Ambassador of the Republic of China. Since that time I have benefited greatly from the advice and assistance of colleagues and friends, notably Igor de Rachewiltz, Mark Elvin, Ken Gardiner and Greg Young in Canberra, Burchard Mansvelt Beck of Leiden, Michael Loewe of Cambridge and Hans Stumpfelt of Hamburg.

The maps have been prepared by Winifred Mumford, a most patient and talented cartographer.

In the course of the work I received assistance from the Australian Research Grants Committee and the Faculties' Research Fund of the Australian National University.

Above all, however, I must thank Liu Ts'un-yan, Emeritus Professor of Chinese at the Australian National University and long-time guide and friend, who has given his time most generously to revision and discussion of this material. With all admiration for the depth and breadth of his scholarship, I am grateful for the attention he has given this project, and I am honoured to be able to dedicate the work to him.

Rafe de Crespigny  
Canberra  
December 1996

## INTRODUCTION

The title of this work comes from the reign–title (*nianhao*) Jian'an "Establishing Peace," which was proclaimed in 196 AD and which lasted through twenty–five years of civil war to the eve of the abdication of Emperor Xian and the fall of the dynasty of Han

From 189, the beleaguered government of the empire proclaimed a series of such optimistic slogans to date these years of conflict. 189 began as the sixth year of the period Zhongping "Peace Achieved," so named in 184 after victory over the Yellow Turbans. Through the year, however, as one crisis followed another, new reign periods were announced: Zhongping was succeeded by Guangxi "Splendid Fortune," Guangxi by Zhaoning "Glorious Tranquillity" and Zhaoning by Yong–Han "Eternal Han." And at the end, exhausted by the process, the central government under the usurping general Dong Zhuo cancelled all changes, so the year reverted to the sixth of Zhongping. [See, for example, passages E, W, CC and NN to the chronicle of Zhongping 6.]

With renewed optimism, 190 was named as the first of Chuping "Beginning Peace," a period which lasted four years, followed by two years of Xingping "Flourishing Peace." At the beginning of 196, as the Emperor returned to the devastated capital of Luoyang, the occasion was marked by announcement of the Jian'an period: that title was maintained until 220, as long as the imperial government lay in the hands of the warlord Cao Cao. [I render both the character *an* and the character *ping* as "peace." More strictly, *an* may be understood as describing a state of peace (similar to *ning* "tranquillity"), while *ping* commonly describes the active process of achieving "pacification," often by the slaughter of those who opposed good order.]

### *ZIZHI TONGJIAN* AND THE FALL OF HAN

The Introduction to *Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling* discusses the life of Sima Guang and his composition of *ZZTJ*, and I shall not repeat such detail here. In these chapters, however, describing the fall of Han into the chaos of civil war, then the rise of Cao Cao and his rivals to form three contending states, Sima Guang was dealing not only with a different type of source material, but with a different sense of historical morality and virtue.

The whole *ZZTJ* recounts the chronicle of China over fourteen hundred years, from 403 BC to 960 AD. The present translation is a small contribution to presenting this material in terms of Western scholarship, and we may eventually obtain a complete rendering of Sima Guang's great history. At the same time,

though each chapter begins *in medias res*, one may discern unity within groups of them, and a contrast between the groups. In Chapters 54 to 58, rendered by *Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling*, Sima Guang tells of thirty years during which the government fell into decline under two corrupted rulers and their eunuch favourites. In *ZZTJ* 59 to 63 he describes the decade of disaster which that moral failure brought upon the civilised world. And in *ZZTJ* 64 to 68, translated in the second volume of this work, he describes the rise of Cao Cao and his rivals, and the weaknesses which prevented a true restoration of the unified empire. Sima Guang is more than a chronicler, and he presents each section of the past with a subtle theme.

For historiography, this is a complex period. Sima Guang generally takes his material from the standard, or official, histories (*zheng shi*): for the period of Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling, his chief authority is the *Hou Han shu* of Fan Ye [*HHS*], supplemented by the *Hou Han ji* of Yuan Hong [*HHJ*], with occasional reference to other, less recognised sources. [On Fan Ye and other historians of the Later Han, see the Prolegomena to Bielenstein, *RHD* I, 20–40 and *ff.*]

For the years from 189 to 220, however, Sima Guang had two standard histories to rely upon: *HHS* maintains its account of the history of Han until the abdication of Emperor Xian, while *Sanguo zhi* [*SGZ*], dealing with the Three Kingdoms of Wei, Shu–Han and Wu, extends its coverage backwards, before their formal proclamations in the 200s, to consider the origins of their rulers' power. Furthermore, while the main text of *SGZ* was compiled by Chen Shou at the end of the third century, his work is completed by the commentary of Pei Songzhi, an elder contemporary of Fan Ye, who gathered material from many other texts – biographies, local records, official documents and other histories – and presented them, with provenance, to Liu Yichan, Emperor Wen of the Liu Song dynasty, who accepted the whole work as an official history in 429. [There are biographies of Chen Shou in *Huayang guo zhi* 11 and *Jin shu* 82, and biographies of Pei Songzhi in *Song shu* 54 and *Nan shi* (the latter a shortened version of the former). For more detailed discussion of *SGZ* and the contribution of Pei Songzhi, see de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 533–589 [Chapter 9: "An Essay on the Sources for the history of Wu 170–230"], and de Crespigny, *The Records of the Three Kingdoms*.

So the history of civil war at the end of Han is discussed by a medley of sources: any incident may be recounted in one or more biographies of *HHS* and *SGZ*, with quotations from the commentary of Pei Songzhi. The founders of the three states, Cao Cao, Liu Bei and the Sun family, have biographies only in *SGZ*,

for Fan Ye evidently felt it unnecessary to duplicate the work of Chen Shou. Accounts of other leaders, however, such as Dong Zhuo, Yuan Shao, Yuan Shu and Liu Biao, appear in parallel in *HHS*, in *SGZ*, and in other works of the second, third and fourth centuries.

Sima Guang makes sophisticated use of this material. Through one passage after another, from disparate and often contradictory texts, the Song historian has compiled a smooth and convincing history of turmoil and conflict. His literary style is elegant, superior to that of his sources, and his chronicle is easier to follow than the criss-cross of biographies in the earlier histories.

Sima Guang, however, was not just telling a story. His work was designed as a guide to morality and good government, and there were lessons to be drawn from both the tragedies and the triumphs of the past. Above all, Sima Guang sought to judge individuals: given the situation described, how should a gentleman conduct himself?

During the reigns of Huan and Ling, the court had been dominated by eunuchs, and true scholars and officials protested even to death against the weakness and corruption that they perceived.

In the years of civil war which followed the collapse of Han government, any hope for restoration of good order must rely on sensible, moderate and honourable action by the leaders of the time, with personal loyalty and good advice from their followers. Treachery, cruelty and excessive conduct brought their own punishment, for men do not maintain allegiance to chieftains who show lack of good faith, unnecessary violence and greedy ambition.

The history presented by Sima Guang is dominated by personality, and the course of events is often decided by individual character and conduct. At an obvious level, the cruelty of Dong Zhuo is a key factor in his failure to restore good order at the capital, but when Dong Zhuo is overthrown, the faults of his enemies like-wise bring their destruction: Lü Bu is naturally treacherous and greedy, but his civilian ally Wang Yun, despite many virtues, first shows cruelty by killing Cai Yong, then vacillates in mistaken sophistry until the former officers of Dong Zhuo turn in fear against him: passages K and P of *Chuping* 3.

Frequently, the historian's opinion is clear enough: Dong Zhuo, Lü Bu and Gongsun Zan are brutal, Yuan Shu is proud and weak, Han Fu lacks authority. [On Han Fu, see passages M to Q of *Chuping* 2.] Jiao He and Kong Rong are intellectuals out of their depth. [On Jiao He and Kong Rong, see passages Q of *Chuping* 1 and Z of *Jian'an* 1.] Others, notably Cao Cao but also such men as Liu Biao and Liu Bei, are treated more cautiously. And some of Sima Guang's most

impressive writing deals with the conflicts of good conduct. The sad tale of Zang Hong, whose loyalty to his former patron Zhang Chao caused him to quarrel with his current master Yuan Shao, leading to his own death and that of the worthy Chen Rong, demonstrates the extremes of behaviour which honour could require. [Passage RR of Xingping 2.] In the whispered criticism of Yuan Shao, moreover, "How could he kill two such heroes on a single day?" the failure of that leader is foreseen, for no true gentleman would drive his followers into such a situation.

Sima Guang did not invent these stories: all may be found in earlier histories. He did, however, present them to advantage, so that personal anecdotes are interwoven with broad historical fact. As the reader contemplates the tensions and emotions of the past, he is encouraged to apply the lessons to himself.

Such emphasis on individuals, however, means that many questions are largely unconsidered. In economics, there are a few references to the price of grain, but only in exceptional circumstances, and one looks in vain for any real appreciation of the effects of famine, pestilence and the human catastrophe of general warfare upon a subsistence economy. Even the great battles and sieges, with all their misery and loss of life, are presented in rhetorical formulae, a background against which leading characters may play their roles. [Consider, for example, the description of the siege of Zang Hong by Yuan Shao, referred to in note 10 above, and also the account of the destruction of Yuan Shao's army at Guandu, passage AA and note 42 of Jian'an 5.] This is the tradition of Chinese history, and it is idle to expect the greatest of its exponents to go beyond his sources and the powerful moral message he has to convey.

The present translation, therefore, is a rendering of Chinese history, not an analysis of the period in modern Western terms. The annotations, however, discuss particular points, and in later sections of this Introduction I present an account of the political situation at the time the chronicle begins, followed by a summary of the events which followed, while in a further essay I describe the formal structures of military command.

#### THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE TRANSLATION AND THE NOTES

The basic text for the translation is the Beijing punctuated edition of 1956, published by Guji Publishing House, and reprinted several times by Zhonghua shuju. That edition has notes on variant readings to the text, and these are noted as appropriate.

In the left-hand margin of the translation are indications of the pages of the Chinese text. The Index is based upon that pagination, so it serves as a guide both to the translation and to the modern Chinese edition.

Also in the left-hand margin are letters identifying "passages" of the translation and the text, and the annotations contain Finding Notes: being identifications of the sources Sima Guang used as the basis for that passage. Sima Guang regularly amended those sources, shortening them and combining them with others, and he sometimes drew upon as many as four or five different texts for the composition of a single passage. I do not provide a character-by-character discussion, and on several occasions I have relied upon personal judgement to decide which texts were sources of a particular passage. Readers may make the comparison for themselves: the Finding Notes will help them to do so, and will also enable them to check the various modern commentaries to those parallel texts in the standard histories. A summary of the Finding Notes is given in the Finding List at the end of Volume 2.

I have sought to present a translation into English which reads as straightforwardly as possible, and therefore avoided all but the minimum of square brackets. These are used by many scholars to show words which cannot be precisely identified with characters in the Chinese text, but I believe that in most cases they tend to hinder comprehension rather than aid understanding. Furthermore, though it is traditional Chinese practice to give the surname of a person on the first appearance in a passage and to refer thereafter only to the given name, I always present personal names in their full form.

I use Pinyin as the system for transcription, with some variations. Notably, I refer to the province transcribed by the cumbersome and non-regular style of Shaanxi as Shenxi, echoing the old Post Office system and distinguishing it from neighbouring Shanxi.

Unless there is reason to question and discuss the matter, I accept the identifications of places given by *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* "The Historical Atlas of China," volume II.

For dates, I follow the calculations of Xue Zhongsan and Ouyang Yi, *A Sino-Western Calendar for the First Two Thousand Years A.D.*, which equates Chinese dates with the contemporary Julian calendar of the West. As is well known, the traditional Chinese New Year, based upon a lunar cycle, varies between late January and middle February of the Western system. For convenience, however, I commonly refer to a Chinese year as equivalent to a specific Western year: thus the fifth year of the Jian'an reign period, Jian'an 5, is usually described as 200 AD.



Western-style dates of the first and last days of each Chinese year appear at the beginning of the relevant sections of the chronicle.

In translating official titles, I normally follow the renderings provided by Bielenstein, particularly in *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*. For his part, Bielenstein generally accepts the system devised by Dubs for his translation of *The History of the Former Han Dynasty by Pan Ku [HFHD]*.

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### Map 01: The Later Han Empire in 189 AD

This map shows the provinces, commanderies, kingdoms and dependent states about 189, at the time of the death of Emperor Ling. For the generality of the empire, commandery units are shown with their boundaries, but in the North China plain they are indicated by the sites of their capitals, with abbreviated names as listed below:

#### Ji province

<b>AP</b>	Anping
<b>BH</b>	Bohai
<b>BL</b>	Boling
<b>CS</b>	Changshan
<b>GL</b>	Ganling
<b>HJ</b>	Hejian
<b>JL</b>	Julu
<b>W</b>	Wei
<b>Z</b>	Zhao

#### Qing province

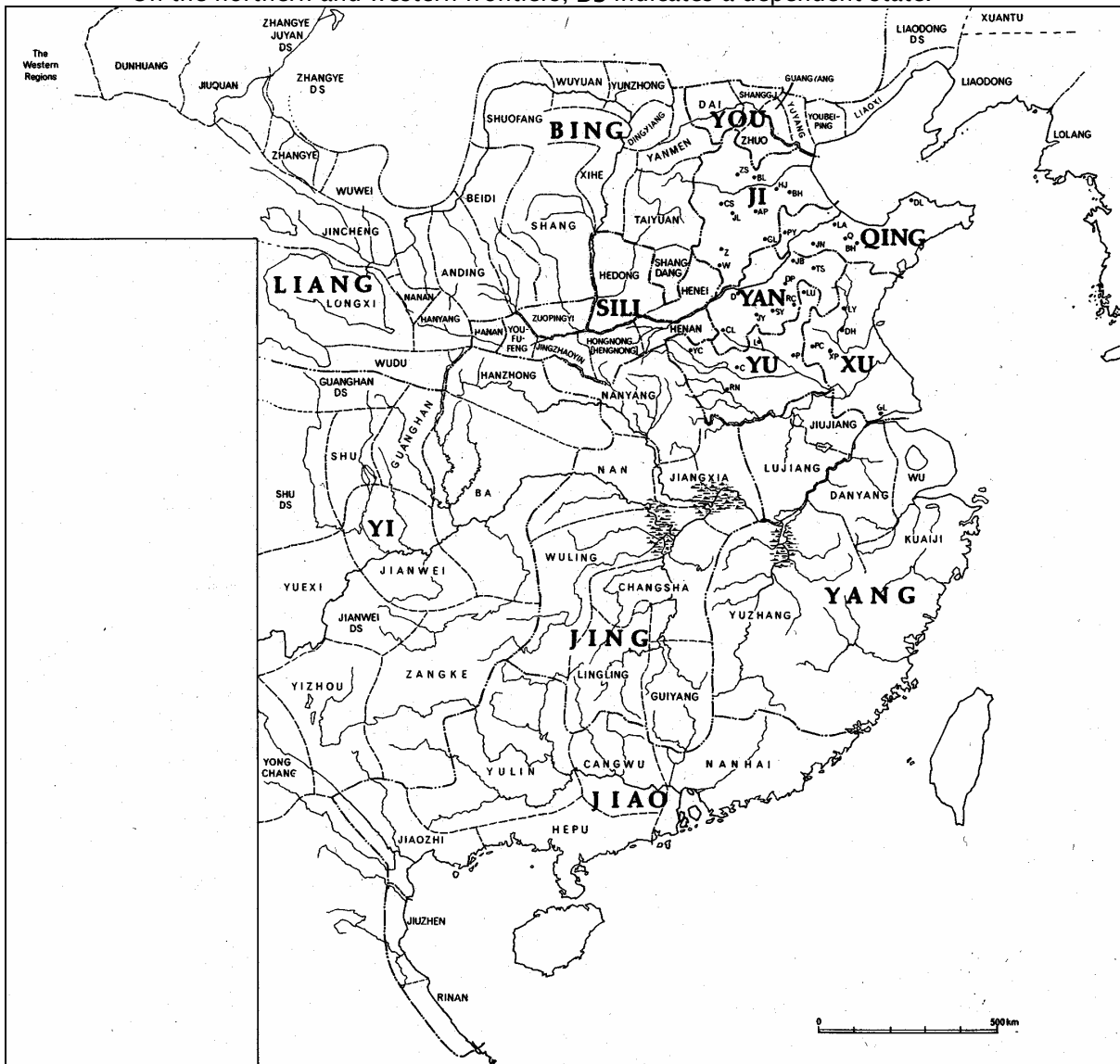
<b>BH</b>	Beihai
<b>DL</b>	Donglai
<b>JN</b>	Ji'nan
<b>LA</b>	Le'an
<b>PY</b>	Pingyuan
<b>Q</b>	Qi

#### Xu province

<b>DH</b>	Donghai
-----------	---------

- |                     |           |                    |           |
|---------------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|
| ZS                  | Zhongshan | GL                 | Guangling |
|                     |           | LY                 | Langye    |
| <b>Yan province</b> |           | PC                 | Pengcheng |
| CL                  | Chenliu   | XP                 | Xiapi     |
| D                   | Dong      |                    |           |
| DP                  | Dongping  | <b>Yu province</b> |           |
| JB                  | Jibei     | C                  | Chen      |
| JY                  | Jiyin     | L                  | Liang     |
| RC                  | Rencheng  | Lu                 | Lu        |
| SY                  | Shanyang  | P                  | Pei       |
| TS                  | Taishan   | RN                 | Runan     |
|                     |           | YC                 | Yingchuan |

On the northern and western frontiers, **DS** indicates a dependent state.



Notes to Map 01:

When Emperor Ling came to the throne in 169 the commandery of Hongnong was renamed Hengnong to avoid taboo on his personal name. The variant form, however, seldom appears.

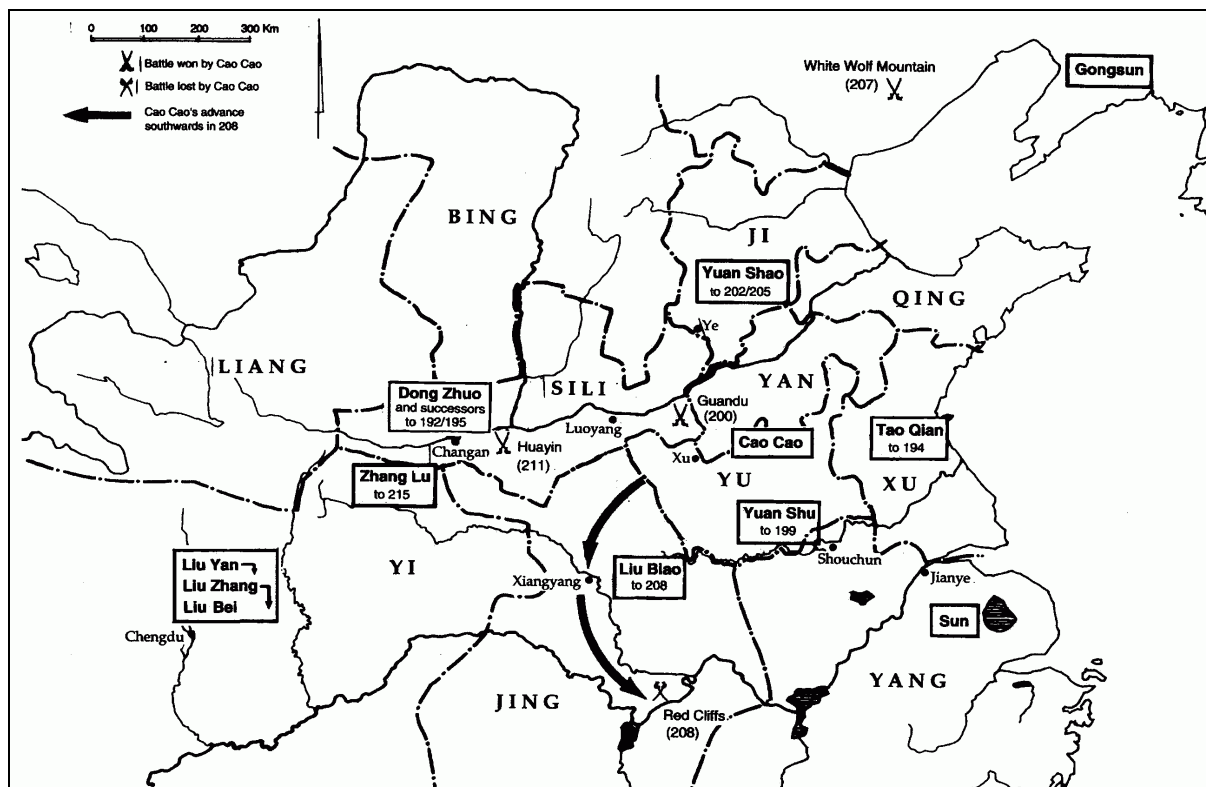
The commanderies of Han'an, divided from Youfufeng, and Nan'an, from the northern part of Hanyang, were short-lived establishments designed to deal with different stages of the rebellion in Liang province from 184: de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 494–495 notes 35 and 37.

The administrative headquarters of Anding, Beidi, Shang, Shuofang and Xihe had been withdrawn from their frontier regions during disturbances of the Xiongnu in the early 140s. Though the commanderies were formally maintained on the map, Chinese imperial authority in the Ordos was now very slight: e.g. *Northern Frontier*, 310–311.

A commandery named Gaoxing or Gaoliang was established from the eastern part of Hepu in the far south about 170, but appears to have been abandoned in the early 180s: e.g. de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 36.

Apart from these and a few lesser changes of names and boundaries, the official geography of China at the death of Emperor Ling was essentially the same as at the time of the census during the reign of Emperor Shun about 140 AD. In the years of civil war from 189, however, a multitude of new commanderies and administrative units were established by one warlord of another, too many and too contradictory to be reflected in a general map. The regional maps which accompany this translation reflect local changes where appropriate, and an excellent overall summary is provided by the *Sanguo junxian biao* of Wu Zengjun, supplemented by Yang Shoujing.

Map 02: Civil War and the Warlords



## TABLES

### THE EMPERORS OF THE TWO HAN DYNASTIES

I Former Han [all dates BC unless otherwise specified]

<i>Dynastic name</i>	<i>Acceded</i>	<i>Died</i>
Gao 1	202	195
Hui 2	195	188
[Empress–Dowager Lü of Emperor Gao]	187	180
Wen	180	157
Jing	157	141
Wu	141	87
Zhao	87	74
[Liu He (no dynastic title)] 3	74	[59]
Xuan	74	49
Yuan	49	33
Cheng	33	7
Ai	7	1
Ping	I BC	AD 6
[Wang Mang] 4	AD 6/9	AD 23

#### Notes:

- 1 The first emperor of Han is commonly referred to in history as Gaozu, a combination of his dynastic title Gao "High" and his temple name Taizu "Grand Founder:" see Dubs, *HFHD* 1, 145.
- 2 All emperors of Former and Later Han, except the two founders Gaozu and Guangwu, had the courtesy prefix *Xiao* "Filial" to their posthumous dynastic names. In general reference, however, it is customary to ignore this common factor.
- 3 Liu He was deposed after a reign of 27 days.
- 4 Initially, Wang Mang took the title of "Acting Emperor" on behalf of the infant Liu Ying (AD 5–25), who was declared Heir–Apparent in AD 6, but never reigned. In AD 9 Wang Mang demoted Liu Ying and proclaimed his own Xin dynasty. His government was overthrown on 6 October 23 AD.

II Later Han [all dates AD unless otherwise specified]

<i>Dynastic name</i>	<i>personal name</i>	<i>Born</i>	<i>Acceded</i>	<i>Died</i>
[The Gengshi Emperor]	Xuan	[?]	11 Mar 23	Dec 25
Guangwu	Xiu	5 BC	5 Aug 25	29 Mar 57
Ming	Zhuang [or Yang]	28	29 Mar 57	5 Sep 75
Zhang	Da	57	5 Sep 75	9 Apr 88
He	Zhao	79	9 Apr 88	13 Feb 106
Shang ["Young"]	Long	105	13 Feb 106	21 Sep 106
An	You	94	23 Sep 106	30 Apr 125
Shao ["Little"]	Yi	[?]	18 May 125	10 Dec 125
Shun	Bao	115	16 Dec 125	20 Sep 144
Chong	Bing	143	20 Sep 144	15 Feb 145
Zhi	Zuan	138	6 Mar 145	26 Jul 146
Huan	Zhi	132	1 Aug 146	25 Jan 168
Ling	Hong	156	17 Feb 168	13 May 189
Shao ["Little"]	Bian	176	15 May 189	26 March 190 [deposed 28 September 189]
Xian	Xie	181	28 Sep 189	21 April 234 [abdicated 25 Nov 220]



## CHRONOLOGY 189–200 AD

### CHAPTER 59

[pages of ZZT/Beijing 1956 edition]

#### Jianan 6: 201

Liu Bei flees to Liu Biao in Jing province 2041

#### Zhongping 6: 189

death of Emperor Ling and accession of Liu Bian 1894

destruction of the Dong family by the He clan 1895

murder of He Jin by the palace eunuchs 1900

massacre of the eunuchs at Luoyang 1901

Dong Zhuo takes power in Luoyang 1902

Liu Bian is deposed in favour of his half-brother Liu Xie,  
Emperor Xian 1904

destruction of the He clan by Dong Zhuo 1904

alliance in the east against Dong Zhuo, headed by Yuan Shao 1908

#### Chuping 1: 190

Dong Zhuo shifts the capital to Chang'an 1912

the alliance against Dong Zhuo breaks up 1915

Gongsun Du independent in the northeast 1918

### CHAPTER 60

#### Chuping 2: 191

Sun Jian captures Luoyang 1918

Yuan Shao takes over Ji province 1920

Cao Cao in Dong commandery 1924

fighting between Yuan Shao and Yuan Shu 1926

Sun Jian killed in an attack on Liu Biao in Jing province 1928

Zhang Lu establishes a religious state in Hanzhong 1928

#### Chuping 3: 192

Yuan Shao defeats Gongsun Zan 1931

Dong Zhuo killed by Wang Yun and Lü Bu at Chang'an 1934

Cao Cao takes over Yan province 1935

Li Jue's party takes over Chang'an and kills Wang Yun 1938

Lü Bu flees to Yuan Shao 1939

#### Chuping 4: 193

Yuan Shu driven into Yang province 1942

Cao Cao attacks Tao Qian in Xu province 1945

Gongsun Zan destroys Liu Yu in You province 1946

## CHAPTER 61

### **Xingping 1: 194**

Liu Bei becomes Inspector of Yu province	1949
Zhang Miao and Lü Bu take Yan province from Cao Cao	1950
Liu Zhang succeeds Liu Yan as Governor of Yi province	1956
Liu Bei takes over Xu province	1957
Liu Yao fights Yuan Shu for Yang province	1959

### **Xingping 2: 195**

Li Jue and Guo Si fight in Chang'an	1960
Cao Cao recaptures Yan province	1964
Emperor Xian escapes eastwards from Chang'an	1965
Sun Ce south of the Yangzi	1971
Yu province rebels against Gongsun Zan	1977

## CHAPTER 62

### **Jian'an 1: 196**

Yuan Shu, Liu Bei and Lü Bu fight for Xu province	1980
the Emperor returns to Luoyang	1981
Sun Ce independent of Yuan Shu	1983
Cao Cao brings the Emperor to Xu city	1985
Sun Ce takes Kuaiji commandery	1986
Liu Bei flees to Cao Cao	1991

### **Jian'an 2: 197**

Cao Cao attacks Liu Biao in Jing province	1994
Yuan Shu takes the imperial title	1996
Lü Bu defeats Yuan Shu	1998
Cao Cao drives Yuan Shu south of the Huai	2000

### **Jian'an 3: 198**

Cao Cao destroys Lü Bu in Xu province	2006
Sun Ce takes control of the lower Yangzi valley	2010

## CHAPTER 63

### **Jian'an 4: 199**

Yuan Shao destroys Gongsun Zan in You province	2012
death of Yuan Shu	2014
Yuan Shao prepares to attack Cao Cao	2015
Cao Cao settles the land within the passes	2018
Sun Ce seizes Lujiang commandery	2020
Sun Ce takes Yuzhang commandery	2022

Liu Bei rebels against Cao Cao in Xu province	2023
<b>Jian'an 5: 200</b>	
Cao Cao defeats Liu Bei	2024
Cao Cao defeats Yuan Shao's forces at Boma	2026
death of Sun Ce, succeeded by Sun Quan	2029
Yuan Shao besieges Cao Cao at Guandu	2032
Cao Cao destroys Yuan Shao's army at Guandu	2035

## TO ESTABLISH PEACE

### CHAPTER 59

continued \*

being Chapter 51 of the Chronicle of Han  
[containing Part 3 of the reign of Emperor Ling  
and Part 1 of the reign of Emperor Xian]

#### Zhongping 6: 189 AD

[4 February 189 – 22 February 190]

1893

A Before this, several of the Emperor's children had died very young. When the Empress He gave birth to a son Liu Bian, he was brought up at the house of a Taoist named Shi Zimiao. The boy was known as Lord Shi.<sup>1</sup>

1894 The Beauty Wang had borne a son Liu Xie. The Empress–Dowager Dong cared for him herself, and he was called Lord Dong.<sup>2</sup>

B All the senior ministers had asked that an Heir–Apparent be established. The Emperor thought Liu Bian was frivolous and lacked dignity. He had it in mind to grant the succession to Liu Xie, but had not yet made a final decision.<sup>3</sup>

About this time Emperor Ling became extremely ill. He entrusted Liu Xie to the care of Jian Shi.<sup>4</sup>

C On the day *bingchen* [13 May], the Emperor died in the Hall of Excellent Virtue.<sup>5</sup>

D Jian Shi, who was in the palace at that time, had plans to kill He Jin and then set Liu Xie upon the throne. He invited He Jin to come and consult with him, and He Jin immediately mounted his chariot to go to the palace. Pan Yin, a major in Jian Shi's command, was an old friend of He Jin. He went out to meet him and gave a warning look. He Jin took fright and galloped straight back to his quarters. He led out his troops to camp at the Commandery Residences,<sup>6</sup> and from there he announced that he was ill and could not come to the palace.

E On the day *wuwu* [15 May] Prince Bian was established as Emperor. He was fourteen years old.<sup>7</sup> The Empress was honoured as Empress–Dowager and held court. An amnesty was proclaimed for the empire and the reign–title was changed to Guangxi.<sup>8</sup>

The Emperor's younger brother Liu Xie was enfeoffed as King of Bohai. He was at that time aged nine.<sup>9</sup>

The General of the Rear Yuan Wei was made Grand Tutor, sharing control of the Imperial Secretariat with General-in-Chief He Jin.<sup>10</sup>

[Zp6:189]

F He Jin now held the government of the court. He was angry at Jian Shi for plotting against him, and he made secret plans to kill him. Yuan Shao, through He Jin's trusted client Zhang Jin, urged him to kill all the eunuch officials. Since the Yuan clan had been honoured for generations, while Yuan Shao and his younger cousin Yuan Shu, who was General of the Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers, were respected by the great families, He Jin trusted them and gave them appointment.<sup>11</sup>

G He Jin also sought widely for men who were wise and able in planning, and he recruited more than twenty, such as He Yong, Xun You, Zheng Tai of Henan and others. He Yong was appointed Captain of the Centre of the Northern Army, Xun You was Gentleman in Attendance of the Yellow Gates, and Zheng Tai became a Master of Writing. He Jin trusted these men completely.

Xun You was a great-nephew of Xun Shuang.<sup>12</sup>

1895

H Jian Shi was suspicious and uneasy. He wrote to the Regular Palace Attendants Zhao Zhong, Song Dian and others, "The General-in-Chief and his relatives control the state and usurp authority at court. Now, with the men of Faction in the empire, they plan to kill the attendants of the late Emperor and destroy our people. The only reason he delays is because I control the guard. You must get together, bar the doors of the palace apartments, take him quickly, and kill him."

The Regular Palace Attendant Guo Sheng came from the same commandery as He Jin.<sup>13</sup> He had been involved in the fortune and favour of the Empress-Dowager and He Jin, and was a close and loyal friend of the He clan. He joined the discussions with Zhao Zhong and the others, they decided not to join Jian Shi's plot, and Guo Sheng showed the letter to He Jin.

On the day *gengwu* [27 May] He Jin sent the Prefect of the Yellow Gates to arrest Jian Shi and execute him, and he took over his troops in camp.<sup>14</sup>

[Zp6:189]

I The General of Agile Cavalry Dong Zhong disputed He Jin's authority, and the eunuchs enlisted his aid in support of their party. Whenever the Empress–Dowager Dong sought to interfere in matters of government the Empress–Dowager He always stopped her. The Lady Dong was furious and shouted, "You are powerful now because you rely on your brother! But I can order the General of Agile Cavalry to cut off He Jin's head, and that would be easy as turning my hand!" The Empress–Dowager He heard this and told He Jin.

In the fifth month He Jin presented a memorial jointly with the three Excellencies, "The Xiao–Ren Empress [the Empress–Dowager Dong] instructed the former Regular Palace Attendant Xia Yun and others to communicate with provincial and commandery governments that they should send the proceeds of all taxes to the Western Apartments.<sup>15</sup> By precedent, a supernumerary empress should not remain in the capital district. We ask she be required to transfer residence to her own state.<sup>16</sup>" The memorial was approved.

On the day *xinsi* [7 Jun] He Jin brought troops to surround the offices of the General of Agile Cavalry. He arrested Dong Zhong and stripped him of his appointment. Dong Zhong killed himself.<sup>17</sup>

In the sixth month on the day *xinhai* [7 Jul] the Empress–Dowager Dong died suddenly from grief and fear.<sup>18</sup> Because of this the people no longer approved of the He clan.

J On the day *xinyou* [17 Jul] the Xiao–Ling Emperor was buried at Wenling.<sup>19</sup> He Jin had taken warning from Jian Shi's plot: claiming to be ill, he neither attended the mourning nor accompanied the funeral.

There were great floods.<sup>20</sup>

1896

In the autumn, in the seventh month Liu Xie the King of Bohai was transferred to be King of Chenliu.

The Minister over the Masses Ding Gong left office.

[Zp6:189]

K Yuan Shao again urged He Jin, "In the past, when Dou Wu planned to kill the palace favourites, the only reason he came to grief was because he allowed the news to leak out.

"The men of the five regiments [of the Northern Army] feared the eunuchs and were prepared to obey them, but Dou Wu had counted on those troops, so he brought misfortune upon himself.

"At the moment, you and your brother [He Miao] both control strong forces. Your subordinate and divisional commanders are all brave men of fine reputation, fully prepared to carry out your orders. Everything is in your hands, and this is an occasion sent by heaven. You, my general, must act at once to remove evil from the empire, and leave a name for later generations. You cannot let this opportunity slip."

Then He Jin spoke to the Empress–Dowager, asking to dismiss all the Regular Palace Attendants and those of lower rank, and to appoint Gentlemen of the Household to fill their places. The Empress–Dowager would not agree. "Since ancient times," she said, "it has been a custom of the house of Han that eunuchs control the forbidden apartments. You cannot do away with that. Moreover, when the late Emperor has only just left the world, how can I act so brazenly as to deal with men face to face?"<sup>21</sup>

He Jin found it difficult to disregard the Empress–Dowager's feelings, but he still wanted to punish the evil–doers. Yuan Shao argued further that the eunuchs were close to the Emperor, sending out and taking in orders: unless this system was halted completely and immediately, it would certainly cause trouble later.

He Miao, however, and the Lady of Wuyang who was mother to the Empress–Dowager,<sup>22</sup> had often received bribes and gifts from the eunuchs. They realised that He Jin wanted to kill the attendants, and they spoke several times to the Empress–Dowager so she would give them protection. They also said, "If the General–in–Chief kills eunuchs on his own authority, he will be abusing his power and will weaken the national altars [and the imperial state]."<sup>23</sup> The Empress–Dowager suspected this might be true.

He Jin had only lately come to high position, and he had always been in awe of the eunuchs. Though outwardly he seemed to be in *pursuit* of a great name, inwardly he lacked decision, and so the matter long remained unsettled.

Yuan Shao and the others made another proposal, that the brave leaders and fighting men from all parts of the empire should lead their troops towards the capital as a means to put pressure on the Empress–Dowager. He Jin approved this.

He Jin's Master of Records,<sup>24</sup> Chen Lin of Guangling, remonstrated with him, saying, "There is a proverb about closing the eyes to catch a bird.<sup>25</sup> Such deceit is sure to fail in small matters, and the rule must apply yet more strongly in great affairs of state. How can policy be maintained by trickery? You hold the imperial authority, and all essential military strength. With the leap of a dragon and the pace of a tiger, you may act as you will.

"The present plan, however, is like pumping up fire in a stove when all that is required is the singeing of a hair. You need only act quickly, and display the thunder of your power. Use your own judgment to make a decision, and both heaven and man will approve.

1897 "If, on the other hand, you fail to use the strength you have, but call in help from outside, then great armies will gather and the strongest will win. That is like turning a spear against yourself and passing the handle to someone else. The project will surely fail, and you will have embarked upon a road to ruin." He Jin would not listen.

L When the Colonel Who Arranges the Army Cao Cao heard of this debate, he laughed and said, "There has always been a need for eunuchs, but the rulers of our time should never have granted them such authority and favour as to cause this trouble. To solve the problem, they need only punish the ringleaders; just one jailer would be enough for that. Why such a fuss, calling in soldiers from outside? If he plans to kill them all, the affair will certainly leak out. I can already foresee his failure."

[Zp6:189]

M Before this, Emperor Ling had summoned Dong Zhuo to become Privy Treasurer,<sup>26</sup> but Dong Zhuo sent in a memorial saying, "My Huangzhong auxiliaries and the barbarians from the northwest<sup>27</sup> all came to me and said, 'Our wages have not been paid and the supplies have not come through. Our wives and children are hungry and cold.' They held my carriage so it could not move. The Qiang and their fellow barbarians have evil hearts and the nature of dogs. I could not bring them to order, so I am staying with them to keep them quiet. If there is anything different or unusual, I shall report again."<sup>28</sup> The court could do nothing about him.

Then the Emperor became seriously ill and an imperial letter appointed Dong Zhuo as Governor of Bing province, with orders to leave his troops under the command of Huangfu Song. Dong Zhuo sent in another memorial, "Despite my lack of merit, I have received your heavenly favour and held military command for ten years. My officers and men of every rank have



long been close to me. They appreciate my generous care, and they obey my commands at any emergency. I beg to take them with me to the northern provinces, to assist in the defence of the frontier."

Huangfu Song's nephew Huangfu Li said to his uncle, "It is either you or Dong Zhuo who must hold command over the armies of the empire. There is already bad feeling between you,<sup>29</sup> and one of you will surely lose out. Dong Zhuo has been ordered to hand his men over, but he has sent in a message to beg himself off: this is disobeying an imperial order. He relies on the fact that the government of the capital is in disorder, so he dares to delay and refuses to come: this is treachery. The two faults cannot be pardoned.

1898 "Dong Zhuo, moreover is cruel and perverse. He has no loyal friends, and his troops will not follow him. You are now the senior general. If you exercise the authority of the state to punish him, you will display a brilliant loyalty above, and will wipe out evil and harm below. Such a plan cannot fail."

"Though it is wrong to disobey orders," replied Huangfu Song, "I shall also be at fault if I carry out punishment on my own authority. It is best to send in a full report, and let the court decide it." So he sent in a report, and the Emperor issued a reprimand against Dong Zhuo. Dong Zhuo, however, paid no attention, but camped in Hedong to await developments.<sup>30</sup>

N He Jin called Dong Zhuo to bring his troops to the capital district.<sup>31</sup> The Attendant Imperial Clerk Zheng Tai protested, "Dong Zhuo is extremely brutal and has small sense of honour, while his ambitions have no limit. If you involve him in the imperial government and entrust him with great affairs you will lose control over his evil intentions and you will certainly endanger the court.

"Through your own personal qualities, and by your close relationship to the throne, you hold the authority of Aheng,<sup>32</sup> with power to make your own decisions and to take your own action against criminals. It is quite inappropriate for you to favour Dong Zhuo by asking for his assistance. Furthermore, if you delay matters, there will be changes. The example of Yin is not far off.<sup>33</sup> You must make your mind up soon."

The Master of Writing Lu Zhi also advised him not to call Dong Zhuo, but He Jin would follow neither of them. Zheng Tai resigned his position and went away, observing to Xun You, "It is not easy to assist Lord He!"

O Wang Kuang, Senior Clerk in He Jin's offices, and the Chief Commandant of Cavalry Bao Xin both came from Taishan. He Jin sent them back to their own districts to raise troops, and he called the Grand Administrator of Dong commandery, Qiao Mao, to camp at Chenggao. He sent Ding Yuan, Chief Commandant Who is Martial and Brave, to lead several thousand men to ravage Henei and burn Mengjin. The fire could be seen from the capital. All this was done under pretext that they sought to punish the eunuchs.<sup>34</sup>

P When Dong Zhuo received the summons [from He Jin] he set out at once, sending in another memorial, "The Regular Palace Attendant Zhang Rang and his fellows have usurped favour and played for advantage. They have corrupted and disrupted all within the seas. I have heard of people who would fan a fire to stop the soup from boiling, but it is far better to take away the firewood.<sup>35</sup> To burst an abscess is painful, but better than a malignant growth.

1899 "In ancient times Zhao Yang raised the armed men of Jinyang to drive away the wicked from the side of his lord.<sup>36</sup> Now and at once I sound the bells and drums and march to Luoyang.<sup>37</sup> I beg permission to arrest Zhang Rang and his fellows, to clear out the evil and wickedness."

[Zp6:189]

Q The Empress-Dowager still refused her approval. He Miao spoke to He Jin and said, "When we first came from Nanyang we were all of us poor, and it was through the eunuchs of the inner palace that we came to wealth and honour. In affairs of state, how can you act so hastily? Once water is tipped out, it cannot be gathered up again. Think hard about it, then make peace with the eunuchs."

R Dong Zhuo came to Mianchi,<sup>38</sup> and He Jin now became worried. He sent the Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant Chong Shao with an imperial order for him to halt. Dong Zhuo refused to accept the order and continued on to Henan [county]. Chong Shao met him there again, welcomed him politely, rewarded his men with food and drink, then explained once more that he should withdraw his army.

Dong Zhuo was suspicious at the change of policy, and he sent armed men to threaten Chong Shao. With the authority of his imperial commission, however, Chong Shao rebuked them angrily and drove them away in confusion. Then he faced Dong Zhuo and accused him directly of disloyalty. Dong Zhuo apologised, and led his army off to Xiyang village.<sup>39</sup>

Chong Shao was a grandson of Chong Gao.<sup>40</sup>

[Zp6:189]

S Yuan Shao was concerned He Jin might change his plans, and he pressed him to take action, saying, "The battle-lines are drawn and our plans are in the open. How can you continue to wait and not make any decision? If the affair is delayed too long, things will change and you will be a second Dou Wu." So He Jin made Yuan Shao Colonel Director of Retainers, with the Staff of Authority to decide and execute cases on his own,<sup>41</sup> while Wang Yun, Gentleman of the Household in Attendance,<sup>42</sup> became Intendant of Henan.

Yuan Shao ordered the military officers at Luoyang who were expert in strategy to investigate the eunuchs, and he encouraged Dong Zhuo and the other commanders to send in memorials post-haste, asking permission to bring their troops forward to the Lodge of Tranquil Joy.<sup>43</sup>

Now the Empress-Dowager was frightened. She dismissed all the Regular Palace Attendants and the Junior Attendants of the Yellow Gates, and ordered them to return to their own homes. There remained only some family retainers, who were sent by He Jin to guard the inner apartments.

All the eunuchs, the regular and junior attendants, went to He Jin and apologised and assured him they were at his service. He Jin said to them, "The empire is in disorder, and it is all your doing. Now Dong Zhuo is coming. Why do you not go quickly back to your homelands?"

1900 Yuan Shao urged He Jin to take this opportunity to settle with them. He repeated three times, but He Jin would not agree. Yuan Shao then wrote further letters to all provincial and commandery governments, pretending that He Jin had issued orders to place all the eunuchs' families under arrest.

For several days He Jin considered his plans, then some information leaked out. The eunuchs became frightened and thought of rebellion. The wife of Zhang Rang's son was a younger sister of the Empress-Dowager.<sup>44</sup> Zhang Rang kowtowed before his daughter-in-law and said, "I am old and have acted wrongly. You and I, daughter-in-law, should retire together to private life. Our family, however, has received imperial favour for generations, and although I must leave the inner apartments my heart yet holds great attachment to them. I wish to return once more to the forbidden palace, to gaze from afar for one last time upon the countenance of her majesty the Empress-Dowager. Then I can go back to the mud of the ditches and die without regret." His son's wife spoke to the Lady of Wuyang,<sup>45</sup> and she told the Empress-Dowager. So it was ordered that all the eunuchs could continue in their service.

[Zp6:189]

In the eighth month on the day *wuchen* [22 Sep] He Jin went to the Palace of Prolonged Joy for an audience with the Empress–Dowager,<sup>46</sup> and he asked that all the eunuchs be executed. The Regular Palace Attendants Zhang Rang and Duan Gui said to one another, "The General–in–Chief said he was ill. He did not attend the mourning, and he did not accompany the funeral.<sup>47</sup> Now he comes suddenly to the palace, and what does this mean? Is the Dou Wu business coming again?" They sent someone to hide and listen and he heard everything that was said. Then they led several dozen men of their party to take up weapons, go in quietly by a side entrance, and conceal themselves behind the doors of the palace.

He Jin came out, and they pretended to have orders from the Empress–Dowager to call him back, so he went in and waited by the doors. Then Zhang Rang and the others said to him, "If the empire is troubled, it is not our fault alone. When the late Emperor was angry with the Empress–Dowager and she was on the brink of destruction, it was we who wept and managed to save her, and each of us gave thousands and tens of thousands from our private fortunes to make the Emperor contented again.<sup>48</sup> All we sought was the patronage of your house. Now you want to destroy us and our families, this is surely too much!"

Then Qu Mu, Supervisor of the Palace Workshop,<sup>49</sup> drew his sword and cut off He Jin's head at the front of the Hall of Excellent Virtue.<sup>50</sup>

Zhang Rang, Duan Gui and the others now composed an edict, appointing the former Grand Commandant Fan Ling as Colonel Director of Retainers and the Privy Treasurer Xu Xiang as Intendant of Henan. When the Masters of Writing got the edict block they questioned it, "We ask that the General–in–Chief come out and discuss this with us." The Palace Attendants of the Yellow Gates took He Jin's head and tossed it to the Masters of Writing, saying, "He Jin planned to rebel, he has been executed."

1901 Wu Kuang and Zhang Zhang, officers of He Jin, were outside the palace when they heard that he had come to harm. They wanted to lead their men inside, but the gates of the palace were closed. The General of the Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers Yuan Shu joined Wu Kuang, and they attacked and chopped the gates, while the eunuchs took up weapons to defend them. About this time the sun went down, and Yuan Shu set fire to the Gate Engraved in Blue of the Southern Palace to drive out Zhang Rang and the others.<sup>51</sup>

Zhang Rang and his fellows went in and told the Empress–Dowager that the troops of the General–in–Chief had mutinied, burning the palace and attacking the entrance to the Office of the Masters of Writing. Then they forced junior officers of the palace to help them lead the Empress–Dowager, the Little Emperor and the King of Chenliu, and they fled along the Covered Way to the Northern Palace.<sup>52</sup>

Standing with a halberd below a window of the Covered Way, the Master of Writing Lu Zhi stared up at Duan Gui and listed out his wrongdoing. Duan Gui was frightened. He let go of the Empress–Dowager, and she escaped through a side–door.

Yuan Shao and his uncle Yuan Wei forged imperial orders to summon Fan Ling and Xu Xiang, and had them beheaded. Yuan Shao and He Miao then brought their troops to station by the Tower of the Vermilion Bird.<sup>53</sup> They caught Zhao Zhong and some others and cut off their heads.

Wu Kuang had been angry at He Miao for his failure to support He Jin [in his intention to attack the eunuchs], and he suspected him of sympathy for the eunuchs. He announced to his troops, therefore, that "The man who killed the General–in–Chief was the General of Chariots and Cavalry [He Miao]. Officers and men, will you not take revenge upon him?" All wept and said, "We would give our lives for it."<sup>54</sup> With Dong Zhuo's younger brother Dong Min, therefore, Chief Commandant of the Imperial Equipage, Wu Kuang led his men against He Miao. They killed him and left his body in the park.

Yuan Shao now closed the gates of the Northern Palace and ordered his soldiers to seize and slaughter all the eunuchs, without respect for young or old. Altogether some two thousand people died, including several whole men, who had no beards and were killed by mistake. Then Yuan Shao sent troops forward to clear the palace, and a number of them climbed the Principal Gate to attack the inner apartments.<sup>55</sup>

On the day *gengwu* [24 Sep] Zhang Rang, Duan Gui and others were in difficulty and distress. Leading the Emperor and the King of Chenliu, with several dozen men on foot, they went out the Gu Gate<sup>56</sup> and came by night to the Xiaoping Crossing.<sup>57</sup> They [left in such haste they] could not take the six seals,<sup>58</sup> and none of the Excellencies or ministers were able to accompany them.

1902 Only the Master of Writing Lu Zhi and the Head of the Central Precinct of Henan Min Gong came by night to the Yellow River.<sup>59</sup> Min Gong faced

Zhang Rang and his fellows with an angry shout, "Unless you die quickly, I shall kill you." He drew his sword and beheaded several men.

T Zhang Rang and the others, in fear and dread, clasped fingers, bowed twice and kowtowed towards the Emperor, "Now we must die. May Your Majesty maintain yourself." They threw themselves into the river and drowned.

[Zp6:189]

U Seeking to return to the palace, Min Gong helped the Emperor and the King of Chenliu to go southwards on foot by night, guided by the light of glow-worms. After several *li* they obtained a commoner's open cart and rode in it together as far as Luoshe.<sup>60</sup>

On the day *xinwei* [25 Sep] the Emperor rode by himself on one horse, the King of Chenliu and Min Gong rode together on another, and they travelled south from Luoshe until some of the Excellencies and ministers came to meet them.

V As Dong Zhuo came to the Park of Illustrious Light, he saw fires rising in the distance. Realising there was a revolt, he led his troops quickly forward and came to the west of the city before it was light.<sup>61</sup> There he learnt that the Emperor was in the north, and with the Excellencies and ministers he went to receive him below the Beimang Slope.<sup>62</sup> When the Emperor saw Dong Zhuo suddenly appear, leading armed men, he was frightened and wept.

The Excellencies said to Dong Zhuo, "There is an imperial order to withdraw troops." Dong Zhuo replied, "You may be high ministers of state, but you could not keep the royal house in order, and you have made the Emperor a homeless wanderer. What is this about withdrawing troops?"

Dong Zhuo spoke with the Emperor, but gained no clear account of what had happened. Then he talked to the King of Chenliu and asked about the causes of the misfortune and disorders. The King described events from first to last, with nothing left out, and Dong Zhuo was very pleased. He was impressed with the King, and since he had been brought up by the Empress-Dowager Dong, and since Dong Zhuo himself claimed to be of the same clan as the Empress-Dowager,<sup>63</sup> he took it in mind to depose the Emperor and set up the King.

[Zp6:189]

W On this day [xinwei, 25 Sep] the Emperor returned to the palace. There was an amnesty for the empire and the reign–title Guangxi was renamed Zhaoning.

The Great Seal of State had been lost but the other seals were all recovered.<sup>64</sup>

X Ding Yuan was made Bearer of the Gilded Mace.

The Chief Commandant of Cavalry Bao Xin had lately returned from recruiting troops in Taishan.<sup>65</sup> He advised Yuan Shao that "Dong Zhuo has a strong army and will be inclined to rebellion. Unless you take precautions you will certainly fall into his hands. Now that he has just arrived, his men will be weary and exhausted. If you attack him by surprise, you can take him." Yuan Shao was afraid of Dong Zhuo and did not dare to act. Bao Xin led his troops back to Taishan.

1903 When Dong Zhuo first reached the capital he had with him no more than three thousand foot–soldiers and horsemen, and he was concerned they might be too few to establish wide respect. For the first few days, therefore, he had his men go out quietly each night to camp nearby, returning at dawn in great array of flags and drums to look as if more troops had come from the west. Nobody in Luoyang saw through the trick, and in a very short time all the followers of He Jin and his brother He Miao had turned to Dong Zhuo. He also arranged in secret for Ding Yuan's own follower, the Major Lü Bu of Wuyuan, to kill Ding Yuan and take over his forces.<sup>66</sup> So Dong Zhuo's army became very much stronger.

Then, on grounds that it had been raining a long time, Dong Zhuo criticised the Minister of Works Liu Hong before the court, implying that he should be dismissed. The order was duly issued, and Dong Zhuo took the vacant post.

[Zp6:189]

Y Before this, Cai Yong had been banished to Shuofang, but soon afterwards there was an amnesty and he was able to return. The Grand Administrator of Wuyuan Wang Zhi, however, a younger brother of Wang Fu, then reported that Cai Yong had insulted the court, and Cai Yong fled to the Yangzi and the sea. He remained [in exile from the capital] for twelve years.<sup>67</sup>

Dong Zhuo knew his reputation and summoned him, but Cai Yong pleaded sick and would not come. Dong Zhuo was angry and swore, "I can destroy a man's clan." Cai Yong was afraid and obeyed the order. When he

arrived he received provisional appointment as Libationer [in the offices of the Minister of Works]. He was graded First Class, and in the space of three days he passed through all Three Terraces, and was then made a Palace Attendant.<sup>68</sup>

Z Dong Zhuo said to Yuan Shao, "The master of the empire should be a man of worth and wisdom: I become angry whenever I think of Emperor Ling. Lord Dong [Liu Xie] seems possible. If I give him the throne, however, would he be any better than Lord Shi [Liu Bian]? There are men who can show a little wisdom in some things but great foolishness in others. How shall we judge such things? It may be that the Liu clan has exhausted its virtue."<sup>69</sup>

"The house of Han has ruled the empire for over four hundred years," replied Yuan Shao. "Its grace and favour have penetrated all the realm, and the people look up to it. Now the Emperor is rich in years, and he has not yet shown the empire anything less than perfection. You wish to do away with the son of the legal wife and set the son of a concubine in his place. I fear people will not accept your arguments."

Dong Zhuo grasped his sword and shouted at Yuan Shao, "Silly fool, how dare you defy me! Am I not in charge of the affairs of state? If I want to do it, who shall say me no? Do you doubt the temper of my sword?"

Yuan Shao flew into a rage, "Are you the only strong man in the empire?" He drew his own sword from his belt, gave a curt salute, and went out.

1904 Dong Zhuo had only just taken power, and he realised Yuan Shao came from a great family, so he did not dare to harm him. Yuan Shao hung his insignia of office on the Upper East Gate and fled to Ji province.<sup>70</sup>

[Zp6:189]

AA In the ninth month on the day *guiyou* [27 Sep], Dong Zhuo called a great assembly of the officials.<sup>71</sup> He raised his head and said, "The Emperor is ignorant and weak. He is not capable of maintaining the imperial temples nor acting as master of the empire. I intend to follow the examples of Yi Yin and Huo Guang, and set [Liu Xie] the King of Chenliu upon the imperial throne.<sup>72</sup> What is your opinion?" The Excellencies, ministers and men of lower rank were all frightened and confused. None dared speak against him.

Dong Zhuo said again, "In former times, when Huo Guang settled policy, Tian Yannian held the sword.<sup>73</sup> Anyone who seeks to impede the grand design will be dealt with by military law." All those present were shaken. Only the Master of Writing Lu Zhi said, "In former times, Taijia held position



but lacked understanding, and the faults of [the King of] Changyi were more than a thousand, so there were reasons for the depositions. Our present Emperor, however, is rich in years, and his actions have shown no lack of virtue. There is no parallel with the past."

Dong Zhuo, furious, left his seat and was going to kill Lu Zhi. Cai Yong, however, pleaded for him, and the Gentleman-Consultant Peng Bo also argued, "Master of Writing Lu is a leading scholar of the empire. People look up to him. If you harm him, the whole country will be disturbed." So Dong Zhuo stopped, and did no more than dismiss Lu Zhi from office. Lu Zhi fled to Shanggu and lived there in seclusion.

BB Dong Zhuo advised the Grand Tutor Yuan Wei of his intention to depose the Emperor. Yuan Wei gave his consent.

On the day *jiaxu* [28 Sep] Dong Zhuo summoned all the officials to another assembly at the front apartments of the Hall of Exalted Virtue.<sup>74</sup> There he compelled the Empress-Dowager to issue an edict dismissing the Little Emperor: "In mourning, the Emperor lacked the feelings of a true son, while his dignity and conduct are unworthy of a ruler. We now depose him to be King of Hongnong and we establish Liu Xie, King of Chenliu, as Emperor."

Yuan Wei then removed the Emperor's seal and ribbon and presented them to the King of Chenliu, and he escorted the new king down to the body of the hall, where he faced north to acknowledge himself as subject. The Empress-Dowager muffled her sobs and the ministers restrained their grief. No-one dared speak.

Dong Zhuo also announced, "The Empress-Dowager made the Lady of the Palace of Perpetual Joy [the Empress-Dowager Dong] uneasy and miserable, and even caused her to die of grief. This is contrary to the proper behaviour of a daughter-in-law to a mother." He transferred the Empress-Dowager to the Palace of Perpetual Peace.<sup>75</sup>

CC There was an amnesty for all the empire and the reign-title was changed from Zhaoning to Yong-Han.

On the day *bingzi* [30 Sep] Dong Zhuo had the Empress-Dowager He killed by poison. The Excellencies, ministers and lower officials did not wear linen clothes [to court], and her burial ceremony was carried out simply in white clothing.<sup>76</sup>

1905 Dong Zhuo also dug up He Miao's coffin, took out the body, broke up the joints and left it on the side of a road. He killed He Miao's mother the Lady of Wuyang and threw her corpse into some brambles in a park.

DD An edict called for the sons and younger brothers of Excellencies, ministers and lower officials to be appointed as Gentlemen, replacing eunuchs in attendance at the palace.

On the day *yiyou* [10 Oct] the Grand Commandant Liu Yu was appointed Commander-in-Chief and enfeoffed as Marquis of Xiangfei.<sup>77</sup>

Dong Zhuo made himself Grand Commandant controlling the affairs of the General of the Van. He also took the Staff and Insignia, Battle-Axe, Ceremonial Axe and Gentlemen Rapid as Tigers, and changed his fief to become Marquis of Mei.<sup>78</sup>

On the day *bingxu* [11 Oct] the Grand Palace Grandee Yang Biao was made Minister of Works. On the day *jiawu* [19 Oct] the Governor of Yu province Huang Wan was made Minister over the Masses.

At the behest of Dong Zhuo the Excellencies presented memorials to justify the actions of Chen Fan, Dou Wu and the men of Faction. Their titles and ranks were restored, envoys were sent to offer mourning sacrifices to them, and their sons and grandsons were selected for office.

[Zp6:189]

EE There was rain from the sixth month until this [ninth] month.<sup>79</sup>

FF In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *yisi* [29 Oct] they buried the Thoughtful Empress of Emperor Ling.<sup>80</sup>

The Bobo bandits ravaged Hedong.<sup>81</sup> Dong Zhuo sent his officer Niu Fu to attack them.

GG Before this, the Southern Shanyu Yufuluo had come to power [among the Xiongnu], but the men of the state who had killed his father made rebellion and set up a Gudu Marquis of the Xubu clan as Shanyu.<sup>82</sup> Yufuluo came to the capital to plead his cause. Then Emperor Ling died and the empire fell into disorder. With a following of several thousand horsemen, Yufuluo joined with the Bobo bandits to raid commanderies and counties. At this time, however, the people had all gathered together for protection, so there was no profit in plunder. His men were defeated and suffered casualties.

They wanted to go back home, but their own people refused to accept them, so they camped at Pingyang in Hedong.

1906 After only one year as Shanyu the Gudu Marquis of the Xubu clan died. As a result, the southern court had no-one in the office and an old king carried out the affairs of the state.

[Zp6:189]

HH In the eleventh month Dong Zhuo was made Chancellor of State,<sup>83</sup> with the right to perform obeisance without calling his own name, to enter court without hastening step, and to stand in the hall of audience with sword and shoes.<sup>84</sup>

In the twelfth month on the day *wuxu* [19 Feb 190] the Minister over the Masses Huang Wan was made Grand Commandant, the Minister of Works Yang Biao became Minister over the Masses and the Superintendent of the Imperial Household Xun Shuang became Minister of Works.

II Before this, the Master of Writing Zhou Bi of Wuwei and the Colonel of the City Gates Wu Qiong of Runan<sup>85</sup> had suggested to Dong Zhuo that he should reform the government of Emperors *Huan and Ling* and appoint famous scholars to office. By this means he would gain the hearts of the people.

Dong Zhuo followed this advice. He commissioned Zhou Bi and Wu Qiong, with the Master of Writing Zheng Tai and the Chief Clerk He Rong,<sup>86</sup> to sift out dishonest and wicked men and bring forward those who had been unjustly neglected in the past. Summons were sent to Xun Shuang, Chen Ji, Han Rong and Shentu Pan, scholars of local reputation who had yet received no official rank.<sup>87</sup>

JJ Xun Shuang was first appointed as Chancellor of Pingyuan. While still on his way there, he was transferred to Wanling.<sup>88</sup> He then became Superintendent of the Imperial Household, but after attending to the duties of that position for three days he was promoted to be Minister of Works. Altogether it was ninety-three days from his first summons to his appointment as an Excellency.

KK Chen Ji became General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes and Han Rong became Grand Herald.<sup>89</sup> Chen Ji was the son of Chen Shi, Han Rong was the son of Han Shao.<sup>90</sup>

LL Xun Shuang and the others all feared Dong Zhuo's cruelty and none dared to refuse. Only Shentu Pan, when he received the order of summons

and was urged to go, simply laughed. In the end Dong Zhuo could not compel him. He was more than seventy, and he died of old age.

MM Dong Zhuo also appointed the Master of Writing Han Fu as Governor of Ji province, the Palace Attendant Liu Dai as Inspector of Yen, and Kong Zhou of Chenliu as Inspector of Yu.<sup>91</sup> Zhang Miao of Dongping became Grand Administrator of Chenliu, and Zhang Zi of Yingchuan was Grand Administrator of Nanyang. Dong Zhuo's personal favourites were appointed only as Generals [of the Gentlemen of the Household] or Colonels. They were not given important posts.

[Zp6:189]

NN An edict abolished the three reign-titles Guangxi, Zhaoning and Yong-Han [so the year was again counted as the sixth of Zhongping].<sup>92</sup>

OO Dong Zhuo was by nature cruel and vindictive, he had come suddenly to supreme power and he controlled all the arms and treasure of the empire. His authority shook the empire and his ambitions knew no limit. He said to his retainers, "It is written on my countenance that I should gain the highest honours."<sup>93</sup>

1907 The Attendant Imperial Clerk Raolong Zong went to Dong Zhuo to make a report, and he failed to take off his sword. He was immediately flogged to death.

PP At this time in Luoyang the mansions of the nobility and the imperial relatives stood one beside the other, every house filled with treasure of gold and silk. Dong Zhuo let his soldiers loose to break into these buildings, to plunder the property and to force into marriage the wives and daughters of their families, regardless and unsparing of high position or connection to the throne.<sup>94</sup> The spirits of the people were fallen in terror and there was no security from dawn to dusk.

[Zp6:189]

QQ Dong Zhuo offered rewards and tried eagerly to capture Yuan Shao. Zhou Bi and Wu Qiong argued with him, "To dismiss one emperor and set up another, these are matters of moment, quite beyond the comprehension of ordinary men. Yuan Shao could not appreciate such a great action, and he ran away simply because he was frightened. If you chase him too anxiously, however, the situation will certainly change. That family has been distributing favours for four generations, so they have clients and officials who have served under them throughout the empire. If Yuan Shao calls up

fighting men and raises an army, then bold warriors will join him in rebellion and you will hold nothing east of the mountains.<sup>95</sup> It would be much better to pardon him and give him appointment as administrator in some commandery. Yuan Shao will be glad to escape punishment and will certainly cause no trouble."

Dong Zhuo agreed. He promptly appointed Yuan Shao as Grand Administrator of Bohai, with enfeoffment as Marquis of Kang District. He also appointed Yuan Shu as General of the Rear and Cao Cao as Colonel of Resolute Cavalry. Yuan Shu, however, was afraid of Dong Zhuo and fled to Nanyang.

[Zp6:189]

RR Cao Cao also fled east, disguised and with a false name. As he went through Zhongmou, however, the chief of a village became suspicious: he arrested Cao Cao and sent him to the county office.<sup>96</sup> They had a letter from Dong Zhuo [ordering his arrest] but only the Officer of the Bureau of Merit recognised him. He thought it wrong for one of the leading men in the empire to be imprisoned when the world was in such disorder, so he advised the prefect to release him.<sup>97</sup>

When Cao Cao reached Chenliu, he sold off his family property and recruited five thousand soldiers.

SS At this time many of the fighting men of the empire were planning to rebel against Dong Zhuo. Yuan Shao was in Bohai, but Han Fu, Governor of Ji province, sent several Attendant Officials into the commandery to keep him under control. Yuan Shao could make no move.<sup>98</sup>

The Grand Administrator of Dong commandery, Qiao Mao, forged letters as if sent by the Excellencies in the capital to the provinces and commanderies. Listing the faults and crimes of Dong Zhuo, they went on to say that, "We are oppressed and can do nothing to help ourselves. We look eagerly for loyal troops to free the state from danger and harm."

1908 Han Fu received one of the letters and asked the members of his staff, "Do we support the Yuan clan or the Dong?"

His Attendant Official at Headquarters<sup>99</sup> Liu Zihui replied, "If you raise troops on behalf of the state, how can there be any question of Yuan and Dong?" Han Fu blushed in shame.

"War is bad," continued Liu Zihui, "and you should not be the first to begin it. Wait and see what other provinces do. If they take action you can

join them, and since Ji province is one of the most powerful, the chiefs of other provinces will never be able to rival you for the leading position."

Han Fu agreed. So he wrote to Yuan Shao, discussing the crimes of Dong Zhuo, and giving tacit consent to his levy of troops.<sup>100</sup>

### NOTES to Zhongping 6: 189

- \* The first part of the chronicle for this year is rendered by de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling I*, 211–212. Passages A, B and C below are duplicates of passages F, G and H of that translation, with minor amendments.

[Zp6:189]

A *HHS* 10B, 449–50 (10a), the Biography of the Empress He of Emperor Ling, with commentary quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

1 Though infant mortality was naturally high, when a number of children died it was sometimes suspected that evil influences might be operating, and children were sent away to escape the effect. There was precedent for this policy in the time of Emperor He some ninety years earlier: *HHS* 10A, 421.

2 The Beauty Wang had been murdered by the Empress He soon after the birth of Liu Xie. We are told that Emperor Ling mourned her deeply and composed two rhapsodies in her memory: *HHS* 10B, 450.

The Emperor was also naturally concerned for Liu Xie, who was surely threatened by more than the normal dangers of infant mortality. In these circumstances, the patronage of Emperor Ling's mother the Lady Dong served as some protection to the child against the jealousy of the Empress He.

[Zp6:189]

B *HHS* 69/59, 2247 (7a), the Biography of He Jin.

3 Though it was expected that a gentleman's heir would be the eldest son by his chief wife, the traditions of Han gave the emperor authority to designate which-ever of his sons he preferred. Should he die without naming an heir-apparent, power to decide the succession fell to his empress, now empress-dowager.

4 Jian Shi, a eunuch, had been given command over the eight regiments of the Western Garden in the previous year, and held formal authority over all military forces about the capital, including those of He Jin, the General-in-Chief: de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling I*, 208.

[Zp6:189]

C *HHS* 8, 357 (15b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

5 The Hall of Excellent Virtue was in the Southern Palace, behind the Gate of the Nine Dragons; Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 25. *HHS* 8 says that Emperor Ling was thirty-four *sui* when he died, so he was born in 156 AD.

[Zp6:189]

D *HHS* 69/59, 2247–48 (7a), the Biography of He Jin.

6 The Commandery Residences, which appear to have been grouped together in the eastern part of the walled city of Luoyang, were lodging houses maintained by the governments of

commanderies and kingdoms for their messengers to the capital: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 49–50.

[Zp6:189]

E *HHS* 8, 357 (15b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

7 Liu Bian is generally known as Shaodi, the "Little" Emperor.

*HHS* 8 says that he was seventeen *sui* at the time of his accession. Sima Guang, however, chose to follow the *Hou Han ji* of Zhang Fan. Some of the young man's conduct, as reported in passage V below, would indicate immaturity. *HHS* 10B, 450–51, however, telling of his death in the following year, confirms the age of eighteen, and adds a touching account how he had his concubines drink and dance for him, and sang a song of farewell before drinking a forced draught of poison: passage C and note 5 of Chuping 1. Depending which statement of his age is correct, Liu Bian was born either in 173 or in 176.

8 On the amnesty in Han China, see Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 225–250, and McKnight, *Quality of Mercy*, 12–36, also de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* II, 265 note 2.

The amnesty clearly gave some general remission of punishment throughout the empire, probably reducing the heaviest sentences by one degree, and perhaps giving full pardon to minor offences or sentences whose time had been largely served. Amnesties are occasionally distinguished in the texts by the designation "great," but it is impossible to identify the significance of any one proclamation. Under Han, amnesties varied in frequency, but by the time of Emperor Ling they occurred almost annually. Some commentators criticised such leniency, and the value and effect of the remissions may have been reduced.

On the proclamation of the reign-period at this time, see note 92 below.

9 Liu Xie was thus born in 181.

10 The Imperial Secretariat, staffed by Masters of Writing, was the central office of government. The Masters of Writing were responsible for drafting imperial edicts, they received instructions from the highest level, and they served on occasion as an investigative body in cases of impeachment. Under Later Han, the designation *lu shangshu shi* "control of the Masters of Writing" (also rendered as "Intendant of the Affairs of the Masters of Writing") held in conjunction with some other high substantive post, established the power of a regent: see and compare Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 153–154.

[Zp6:189]

F *HHS* 69/59, 2248 (7a–b), the Biography of He Jin.

11 In the administration of Later Han, the Yuan family of Runan had risen to extraordinary heights. Yuan An had been appointed Minister of Works in 86, his son Yuan Chang also became Minister of Works, and his grandson Tang held all three offices of the Excellencies. Again, Yuan Tang's son Feng was Minister of Works, and Yuan Wei, another son of Feng, was now Grand Tutor. These promotions to the highest official ranks give indication of the influence that the family held in the bureaucracy and the empire as a whole: On the earlier history of the Yuan, see *HHS* 45/35, 1517–27.

Yuan Shu was the son of Yuan Feng. Yuan Shao was a grandson of Yuan Tang, but his parenthood is a matter of dispute. At the beginning of his biography in *HHS* 74/64A, 2373, the main text states that his father was Yuan Cheng, eldest son of Tang. Commentary to this passage, however, notes that other sources, the *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shansong and the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen, describe Yuan Shao as an adopted son of Cheng,

and add that he was actually the son of Yuan Feng by a concubine. A comment ascribed to Yuan Shu by passage *CC* of Chuping 2 appears to confirm that Yuan Shao held only inferior status in the family. *Cf.* however, the commentary of the Qing scholar Hong Liangji to *HHSJJ* 74/64A, 1a–b.

[*Zp6:189*]

G *HHS* 69/59, 2248 (7b), the Biography of He Jin;  
*HHS* 70/60, 2257 (1a), the Biography of Zheng Tai;  
*SGZ* 10, 321–22 (27a–29a), the Biography of Xun You,  
with PC quoting *Hanmo mingshi lu*.

12 He Yong had been a member of the Proscribed Faction in the time of Emperors *Huan and Ling*, and returned to office at the capital only after the ending of the proscription in 184: *HHS* 67/57, 2218. The Captain of the Centre of the Northern Army was responsible for discipline among the five regiments of regular troops stationed at the capital: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 118.

The biography of Xun Shuang, with other members of his clan, is in *HHS* 62/52. The Xun were a leading family of Yingchuan commandery, and had been involved with the Proscribed Faction: *HHS* 62/52, 2050, and see Ch'en, "Confucian magnate," *Hsün Yüeh: life and reflections*, and *Hsün Yüeh and the mind of Late Han China*. A Gentleman in Attendance at the Yellow Gates was among the few regular officials entitled to enter the palace: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 60.

As a Master of Writing in the Imperial Secretariat, Zheng Tai had access to all high official documents, and he was soon afterwards transferred to become an Attendant Imperial Clerk, a member of the censorate: passage N below.

These three men, therefore, though quite low in formal rank, were important for He Jin's chain of command in the army, the palace, and the government.

[*Zp6:189*]

H *HHS* 69/59, 2248 (7b), the Biography of He Jin.

13 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that the name of Guo Sheng appears as Guo Mai in *HHJ* 25, 13a, and as Lang Sheng in *Jiuzhou chungiu*. Sima Guang follows *HHS* 69/59.

14 The Prefect of the Yellow Gates had police and disciplinary powers over eunuchs of the imperial palace: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64. The date of Jian Shi's arrest and death is given by *HHJ* 25, 13a.

[*Zp6:189*]

I *HHS* 10B, 447 (8a–b), the Biography of the Empress–Dowager Dong.

15 Liu Chang, father of the late Emperor Ling, was a distant cadet of the imperial clan who had held title as marquis of a village in Hejian. When Emperor Ling was brought to the throne in 168, Liu Chang was already dead, but he was given posthumous imperial honours as Emperor Xiao–Ren. (On the prefix "Xiao," see note 19 below). In the following year, when the Lady Dong, widow of Liu Chang and mother of Emperor Ling, was brought to the capital, this title was also extended to her: de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 92 and 104.

The apartments which served as the residence of the Lady Dong were formally known as the Palace of Perpetual Joy (*Yongle*), and from this text it appears the complex was at this time on the western side of the imperial palace compound. In similar fashion, Palace of



Prolonged Joy (Changle ) referred to the apartments of the Empress–Dowager He, mother of the new Emperor. On this system, see Bielenstein, *Lo–yang*, 38–39.

- 16 The character *fan* may indicate a loyal subject who supports the throne (in which case it is identified with a near–homonym, as expressed in the phrase *fanping* "support and screen" (e.g. *HHS* 4, 166). It may also describe people and territories at the outer limits of control (e.g. *Zhou li* 8, 27b–28a; Biot II, 276–277). Here the term designates the Lady Dong (and the Lady Wei before her) as people outside the essential core of the court and the government.

The precedent for exile is cited by commentary to *HHS* 10B with reference to the Lady Wei, mother of Emperor Ping of Former Han in the time of Wang Mang's ascendancy. Because she might have provided a centre for opposition to the Wang hegemony, she was forbidden to stay at the capital: *HS* 97B, 4008. The Lady Dong was now in a similar position to that of the Lady Wei two hundred years earlier: both mothers of sovereigns, but neither formal wives of a ruler.

- 17 The date of Dong Zhong's death, and that of the Lady Dong described below, are both taken from the Annals, *HHS* 8, 357–58.

- 18 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that *Jiuzhou chungju* says the Lady Dong killed herself. Sima Guang has chosen to accept the version in *HHS* 10B.

The biography of the Lady Dong, *HHS* 10B, 447, says her body was sent back to be buried with that of her late husband, the former Marquis of Jiedu Village, in Hejian.

[Zp6:189]

- J *HHS* 8, 358 (15b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

- 19 Wenling, the "Mound of Accomplishment," was eight kilometres northwest of Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo–yang*, 86.

The prefix Xiao "filial" was part of the posthumous dynastic title of all emperors of Han except for the two founders, Emperors Gao and Guangwu. See also note 15 above. Because it is so common, it is generally omitted in ordinary reference.

- 20 These floods are not mentioned in the relevant section of the Treatise on the Five Powers at *HHS* 105/15, 312. The "excessive rain" section of the Treatise, however, *HHS* 103/13, 3270, relates the rain mentioned in passage EE below as a portent of the massacre of the eunuchs. See note 79 below.

[Zp6:189]

- K *HHS* 69/59, 2248–49 (7b–8b), the Biography of He Jin.

- 21 The expression *chuchu* appears in the Fouyou Ode of Shi jing I.14.1; Legge, *CC* IV, 220 (Karlsgren, Odes, 94), where it describes the shining display of the ephemeral dung–fly or beetle.

- 22 Wuyang county was in Yingchuan, by present–day Wuyang in Henan. Lady (*jun*) of Wuyang was the title and enfeoffment granted to Xing, mother of the Empress–Dowager He: *HHS* 10B, 449.

- 23 The phrase *sheji* refers to the national altars to the gods of the soils and grains at the imperial shrine in Luoyang: see, for example, *Cambridge China* I, 263 Map 13, and Bielenstein, *Lo–yang*, 56. In language such as this, the phrase refers to the dynasty and empire of Han.

- 24 The Master of Records was a senior secretary on the staff of the General–in–Chief: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 124.

25 The proverb refers to self-deception. A man closes his eyes in the hope that if he cannot see the bird, then the bird will be unable to see him. The ostrich is said to have the same idea.

[Zp6:189]

L SGZ 1, 5 (16a) PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen.

[Zp6:189]

M HHS 72/62, 2322 (3a–b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
and HHS 71/61, 2306 (5b–6a), the Biography of Huangfu Song.

26 HHS 72/62 gives the date of this proposed appointment as Zhongping 6; that is, earlier in the present year.

27 Huangzhong refers to the territory about the Huang Shui or Xining River in present-day Gansu. During Later Han, Qiang and other non-Chinese from this region were recruited into a force known as the Auxiliary of Loyal Barbarians of Huangzhong (*Huangzhong yicong hu*). See, for example, HHS 16/6, 609–10; de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 86.

The phrase *Qin-Hu*, from the region of the ancient state of Qin, present-day Shenxi, evidently refers to non-Chinese people of the northwest other than the Qiang.

28 ZZTJ commentary notes that this or some similar expression appears as a concluding formula in several memorials about this time.

Dong Zhuo had been a general in the west since 185: de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling I*, 195. He is now refusing to leave that personal command.

29 Huangfu Song had been senior commander over Dong Zhuo in operations against the rebels of Liang province who were besieging the city of Chencang earlier this year. We are told that he had twice rejected Dong Zhuo's advice, and when his own strategy proved to be correct Dong Zhuo was embarrassed and resentful: de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling I*, 209–211.

30 The court has attempted to arrange that Dong Zhuo should move to Bing province, in the north, and that he leave behind the troops he has led, who were personally loyal to him, under the integrated command of Huangfu Song.

Dong Zhuo, however, refuses to do this and, instead of going away to Bing province, he has moved into Hedong commandery, in the capital province of Sili, northwest of Luoyang across the Yellow River.

[Zp6:189]

N HHS 70/60, 2257 (1b), the Biography of Zheng Tai;  
HHS 64/54, 2119 (13b), the Biography of Lu Zhi.

31 *Kaoyi* commentary observes that the biography of He Jin, HHS 69/59, 2250, says that he summoned Dong Zhuo to camp at the Shanglin Park, near Chang'an. Sima Guang notes, however, that the biography of Dong Zhuo, HHS 72/62, 2322, says he was already in Hedong commandery: passage M above. If he had gone to Shanglin, he would actually have been withdrawing to the west, and in the circumstances this was most unlikely. Sima Guang therefore follows the account in HHS 72/62.

32 Aheng was the name or title held by Yi Yin, chief minister at the beginning of the legendary Shang dynasty: see, for example, Chavannes, *MHI*, 178, and Legge, *CC III*, 199–200 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 118).

33 From the Dang Ode of *Shi jing* III.3.1.8; Legge, *CC IV*, 510 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 216): The beacon of Yin is not far distant:–

It is in the age of the last sovereign of Xia.

According to Chinese tradition, Jie, last ruler of the Xia dynasty, ruled as a tyrant, and he was destroyed by Tang, first king of the Shang dynasty, which was later known as Yin. Six centuries later, King Zhou of Shang/Yin again ruled badly, and he was conquered by King Wu of Zhou.

So the fall of Xia was a model and a warning to Shang/Yin, and Zheng Tai is saying that the fate of Dou Wu shows He Jin what may happen to him.

[Zp6:189]

O *HHS* 69/59, 2250 (8b–9a), the Biography of He Jin;

*SGZ* 12, 384 (26b–27a) PC quoting *Wei shu* by Wang Shen.

34 The county city of Chenggao lay east of Luoyang, near the junction of the Luo with the Yellow River. The Meng Crossing of the Yellow River, north of Luoyang, gave its name to the city of Mengjin.

[Zp6:189]

P *HHS* 72/62, 2322–23 (3b–4a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

35 From a remonstrance addressed by the official Mei Sheng to Liu Pi, King of Wu, on the eve of the rebellion of the Seven States in 154 BC, *HS* 51, 2360: "If you wish to cool some boiling soup, and one man blows on it while a hundred others are fanning the flames, you will not succeed. It is best to take away the firewood and stop the fire."

36 Zhao Yang was a servant of the Jin state during the Zhou period. Two wicked ministers controlled the government, but Zhao Yang seized the arsenal at Jinyang, now Taiyuan in Shenxi, attacked the two ministers, and drove them into exile. Though his action was virtuous, it was technically regarded as rebellion, for he had no proper orders. See *Zuo zhuan*, Ding 13; Legge *CCV*, 784–785 (Couvreur, *Chronique*, 575–580), and the Gongyang commentary.

37 Bells and drums were symbols of punishment. *Lun yu* XI.16/17; Legge, *CC I*, 243 (Lau, *Analects*, 108): "The Master said, "He is no disciple of mine. My little children, beat the drum and assail him." Commentary explains that this refers to the practice of beating a drum when criminals were condemned to public execution, so that the people would collect to hear of their crimes.

Bells and drums were also used to signal commands to an army: e.g. *Mengzi* IA.3.2; Legge, *CC II*, 130 (Lau, *Mencius*, 51).

[Zp6:189]

Q *HHS* 69/59, 2250 (9a), the Biography of He Jin.

[Zp6:189]

R *HHS* 56/46, 1830 (12a), the Biography of Chong Shao.

38 Mianchi was in Hongnong commandery, near present-day Mianchi. Having crossed the Yellow River south from Hedong, Dong Zhuo is moving east towards Luoyang.

39 Henan was the capital commandery, centred on Luoyang, but there was also a county of that name a few kilometres west of the capital, and this is the place referred to here. Xiyang village was a short distance west of Henan city.

40 Chong Gao was Minister over the Masses during the 160s, and had earlier gained distinction for settling troubles with the Qiang: de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling I*, 7.

[Zp6:189]

S *HHS* 69/59, 2250 (9a–10b), the Biography of He Jin.

- 41 The Colonel Director of Retainers supervised the officials and people of the seven commanderies about the imperial capital, but for most of Later Han the position was responsible only for reporting misdeeds to the throne, and entailed no right to take direct action. The grant of a Staff of Authority meant that Yuan Shao could carry out sentence without prior approval from the court: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 50, and de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 68.
- 42 Two Gentlemen of the Household in Attendance were attached as advisers to the staff of the General in Chief: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 124 ["Attendant Gentlemen of the Household"]. Wang Yun had thus been an aide to He Jin.
- 43 The Lodge of Tranquil Joy was in the suburbs west of Luoyang. Emperor Ling had held a grand review of troops there in the previous year, so it was evidently a *suitable* camping place for armies coming to the capital. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 61, and de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling I*, 209.
- 44 Zhang Rang had come to the court of Emperor Huan when he was young: *HHS* 78/68, 2534; it is likely that his son was adopted. Eunuchs had long been permitted to adopt children, and in 135 Emperor Shun granted them permission to pass on titles and fiefs to such dependents: *HHS* 6, 264. There is no evidence that Zhang Rang's ancestors had previous connection with the court, so when he refers below to his family receiving imperial favour for generations, it is most likely that he is drawing attention to his own long service.
- 45 The Lady of Wuyang was the mother of the Empress-Dowager: passage K and note 22 above.
- 46 Palace of Prolonged Joy was the name given to the apartments of the Empress-Dowager He: note 15 above. The date of this incident is given by the Annals, *HHS* 8, 358.
- 47 It is true He Jin had claimed to be ill at the time of Emperor Ling's burial, but that was in July, two months earlier. One might assume he would have recovered by now, and indeed it appears that he had been taking an active part in government, and visiting his sister the Empress-Dowager. It seems unlikely that the eunuchs needed this reason to make them suspicious.
- 48 This refers particularly to the time when the Lady He had killed her rival the Beauty Wang: note 2 above.
- 49 The Palace Workshop, also rendered as the Office of the Master of Recipes, or of the Masters of Techniques, was the centre of manufacture of articles for imperial use, where artisans worked under the authority of eunuchs: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 52 and 61.
- 50 As Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 99, observes, He Jin must have been brought by force to the Hall of Excellent Virtue from the site of his arrest near the Empress-Dowager's apartments.
- 51 The Gate Engraved in Blue is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 107 note 85. Its site within the Southern Palace is not known.  
*HHS* 69 says it was the Gate of the Nine Dragons that was attacked at this time. Since we know that gate led to the Hall of Excellent Virtue where He Jin had been killed and where the eunuchs presumably had their headquarters (note 50 above), this seems quite likely. Sima Guang, however, follows *HHJ* 25, 15b.
- 52 There were two imperial palaces at Luoyang, one in the north and one in the south of the city. These complexes were connected by the Covered Way, an elevated passage which led

above the intervening area of the city so the ruler and his attendants could go from one to the other without a procession through the open streets: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 22.

- 53 The Gate of the Vermilion Bird was the main entrance to the Northern Palace, set in the southern wall and giving access to the city of Luoyang, and the tower of the gate was the tallest in the capital: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 33–34.

This area outside the Gate of the Vermilion Bird had also been the scene of military confrontation in 168, when forces loyal to the eunuchs faced those of Dou Wu based on the Capital Hostel (*duting*): de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 100–101, and II, 417–419 notes 62 and 66. There must have been an area of open ground, *suftable* for deployment, in front of the gate.

- 54 *HHS* 69/59, not quoted by *ZZTJ*, observes that He Jin had treated the men well and had been very popular with them.

- 55 The Principal Gate was an interior gate of the Southern Palace, leading to the main audience halls: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 23.

- 56 The Gu Gate was the main gate of the north wall of Luoyang, so named because it crossed the Gu River which formed the moat of the city: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 13, 15–16 and 124.

- 57 The Xiaoping Crossing of the Yellow River lay due north of the city of Luoyang, a short distance upstream from the Meng Crossing.

- 58 The six imperial seals of Han were carved from white jade and were used for various classes of documents: the enfeoffment of kings, the enfeoffment of other feudal lords, for raising troops, for writing to ministers, for writing to foreign nations, and for sealing sacred documents.

The six seals did not include the Great Seal of State, which had been inherited from the empire of Qin and was the mark of imperial rank: see passage W below.

- 59 *ZZTJ* commentary cites the *Hanguan yi* of Ying Shao of the second century AD, which notes that commandery administrations appointed Investigators (*duyou*) to supervise the subordinate counties: in each commandery there were normally five such officers, controlling precincts north, south, east and west, with one in the centre. In the capital commandery of Henan, however, the officer of the central precinct was not called *duyou*, but *yuan*.

Min Gong thus held a police appointment under the Intendant of Henan, Wang Yun, and *HHS* 69/59 says it was on the orders of Wang Yun that he was sent after Lu Zhi in *pursu*t of the eunuchs. Another version, quoted from *Xiandi chunqiu* by commentary to *HHS* 8, 359, says that Min Gong saw the imperial party as they fled and led horsemen in *pursu*t. Though we are told Lu Zhi and Min Gong were the only two to catch up, Min Gong surely brought a posse with him.

[*Zp6:189*]

- T *HHS* 78/68, 2537 (20b), the Biography of Zhang Rang  
in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

[*Zp6:189*]

- U *HHS* 8, 358 (16b), the Annals of Emperor Ling;  
*SGZ* 6, 173 (6a–b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

- 60 *ZZTJ* commentary explains Luoshe as a place, somewhere between the Xiaoping Crossing of the Yellow River, where the eunuchs had been killed, and the Beimang Slope where the imperial party met with Dong Zhuo.

[Zp6:189]

V *HHS* 72/62, 2323 (4a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo,  
with commentary quoting *Dian lue*;

*SGZ* 6, 173 (6a) PC quoting [*Hou*] *Han ji* by Zhang Fan and *Xiandi ji*.

61 The Park of Illustrious Light, west of Luoyang, was established by Emperor Huan in 159: *HHS* 7, 304; Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 81. Dong Zhuo, with his army from Bing province (passage P above), evidently arrived on 23 or 24 September, as the forces of Yuan Shao were burning the eunuchs out of the palaces.

62 The Beimang Slope is the ridge of high ground north of Luoyang between the valley of the Luo and the Yellow River.

63 Dong Zhuo was certainly no close relation of the late Empress-Dowager Dong. His family came from Longxi commandery in the west, and hers from Hejian on the North China plain. Liu Xie, however, had been protected by the Lady Dong, and was known as Lord Dong: passage A above.

[Zp6:189]

W *HHS* 8, 359 (16b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

64 This sentence appears to have been inserted by Sima Guang, compiled from sources cited in *SGZ* 46, 1099 PC. The six imperial seals had been left behind when the eunuchs fled with the two imperial children (passage S above), and they were now found somewhere in the palace. The Great Seal of State, however, insignia of the emperor, had also disappeared in the confusion, and was not discovered at this time. We are told Sun Jian found it two years later: passage D and note 17 of Chuping 2.

[Zp6:189]

X *SGZ* 6, 172–74 (6b–7a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;

*SGZ* 7, 219 (4a–b), the Biography of Lü Bu;

*HHS* 72/62, 2323–24 (4a–b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;

*HHS* 75/65, 2444 (9b–10a), the Biography of Lü Bu.

65 Bao Xin had been sent to Taishan some weeks earlier: passage O above.

66 Ding Yuan had been Inspector of Bing province, which included Wuyuan commandery. He had favoured Lü Bu and given him rank under his own command. All texts in *HHS* and *SGZ*, however, state that Ding Yuan appointed Lü Bu as his Master of Records, or personal secretary; the description of him as a Major comes from *HHJ* 25, 16b.

The term "follower," here and in reference to He Jin and He Miao immediately above, renders the phrase *buqu*, an expression which during Han indicated regiments and companies in the regular army (see the Introduction at p. xxiv), but which now began to have implications of personal service and commitment to an individual leader. See, for example, Yang, "Evolution of Dependents," and *Cambridge China* I, 630 [Ebrey, "Economic and Social History of Later Han"].

[Zp6:189]

Y *HHS* 60/50B, 2003 and 2005 (18a–19a), the Biography of Cai Yong.

67 As a result of eunuch pressure, Cai Yong had been banished in 178 to the far northern region of Shuofang. The next amnesty was in the summer of 179, by which time Wang Fu and his eunuch clique had been destroyed, but Cai Yong was evidently not prepared to take the risk of further slanders. See de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 147–150, 154–156, 161, and also II, 483.

The statement of Cai Yong's sentence at *HHS* 60/50B, 2002, included provision that he should not benefit from any amnesty; lapse of time and changes at court, however, made the policy more lenient.

68 *HHS* 60/50B, and also the *Hou Han ji* of Zhang Fan, quoted in *SGZ* 6, 180 PC, have a more detailed account of this swift succession of posts.

When Cai Yong was first summoned, he was given provisional appointment (*shu*) as a Libationer clerk in the office maintained by Dong Zhuo in his capacity as Minister of Works.

Each of the Three Excellencies maintained an office (*fu*), headed by a Chief Clerk (*zhangshi*), and staffed by some twenty or thirty Senior and Junior Clerks (*yuan* and *shu*), assisted by a slightly larger number of Foremen (*lingshi*) and Assistant Writers (*yushu*). One of the senior clerks in each office was designated as Libationer (*jijiu*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 12–17 [my Senior and Junior Clerks are rendered by Bielenstein as "Division Heads" and "Associates," my Foremen and Assistant Writers as "Foreman Clerks" and "Attendants"].

As Bielenstein observes, apart from their ceremonial and advisory functions as the heads of the bureaucracy, the Excellencies held general supervision of the government, so the chief function of the small group of clerks in their offices was to receive and review reports from ministries at the capital and from the administrations of the provinces, commanderies and kingdoms.

Besides the routine of supervision, however, such clerical appointment could lead to commissioned rank in the imperial government. After some time in the office of one of the Excellencies, a man could be recommended, possibly with the attribute First Class (*gaodi*), and was then entitled to appointment into the regular imperial service, without need for local nomination such as Filially Pious and Incorrupt.

First Class assessment from the office of one of the Excellencies, moreover, was often used as a process of selection for the Attendant Imperial Clerks (*shiyushi*), officers of the Imperial Censorate who served as trusted agents of the Emperor: see commentary to *HHS* 106/26, 3600 note 4 quoting the *Han yi* of Cai Zhi; de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 72.

On this basis, *HHS* 60/50B and Zhang Fan's *Hou Han ji* state that Cai Yong was appointed as an Attendant Imperial Clerk, then promoted to Attendant Imperial Clerk in Charge of Documents (*zhishu*), a more senior position among the Imperial Clerks: de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 70–71, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 58 [who renders *shiyushi* as "Attending Clerks"]. Soon afterwards Cai Yong was transferred to the Imperial Secretariat as a Master of Writing.

After that, Cai Yong was given formal appointment as Grand Administrator of Ba commandery, a post with rank/salary of Two Thousand shi. He was not, however, actually sent out to the province, but remained at court as a Palace Attendant, a supernumerary post of formal adviser to the Emperor: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59–60.

The offices of the Masters of Writing and of the Imperial Clerks, both trusted by the throne and influential in the government, were two of the so-called "Three Terraces" (*santa*). The third, generally enumerated as the Office of Seals and Credentials (*fujie*), was less important. Strictly speaking, therefore, Cai Yong had not held office in all three of the terraces. See de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 68 and note 65, and Ch'en, "San-t'ai."

[Zp6:189]

Z HHS 74/64A, 2374 (2b), the Biography of Yuan Shao, with commentary quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*, SGZ 6, 190 (39a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao, with PC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

69 Dong Zhuo is exploring the possibility of taking imperial power for himself.

70 The Upper East Gate was the northernmost in the eastern city wall of Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 14. Until this time, Yuan Shao had continued in the position of Colonel Director of Retainers which had been given him by He Jin.

[Zp6:189]

AA HHS 72/62, 2324 (4b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo; SGZ 6, 174 (7b–8a) PC quoting *Xiandi ji*.

71 The date of this assembly is not given specifically by the texts, but HHS 8, 359, cited in passage BB below, says that the ceremony of deposition and enthronement took place on the day *jiaxu*, and HHS 72/62, 2324, says it was the day after this preliminary council: in the sexagenary cycle, *guiyou* immediately precedes *jiaxu*. HHJ 25, 17b, puts both meetings on the same day, but this is unlikely.

72 Yi Yin was chief minister to Tang, founder of the Shang dynasty. When Tang died, his grandson Taijia was Heir-Apparent. Taijia, however, showed lack of virtue, so Yi Yin banished him from the palace to reside near the tomb of the late king for the whole period of mourning. Taijia was reformed. See the "Taijia" Chapter of *Shu jing*, IV.5A; Legge, CC III, 199–203 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 118–121).

Huo Guang, whose biography is in HS 68, was chief minister at the time of the death of Emperor Zhao of Former Han in 74 BC. Liu He, King of Changyi, was designated as heir, but after a short time at the capital he was found to be unworthy; he was dismissed from the throne and replaced by the infant Liu Bingyi, who became Emperor Xuan. See Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 66–79, and *Cambridge China* I, 182–184 [Loewe, "The Former Han Dynasty"].

73 Tian Yannian, a senior minister, was the chief associate of Huo Guang when Liu He was deposed. At a critical point in the debate he drew his sword and asked permission to execute anyone who disapproved of the proposal: HS 68, 2937–38; Dubs, HFHD II, 182, and Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 77.

[Zp6:189]

BB HHJ 25, 17a–b; HHS 72/62, 2324 (4b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

74 The Hall of Exalted Virtue was in the Northern Palace: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 35.

75 Perpetual Joy and Prolonged Joy were formal names attached to the apartments occupied by one of the empress-dowagers, regardless where they were sited: note 15 above. The apartments of the Lady Dong had been known as the Palace of Perpetual Joy: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 39; and de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 104, and II, 423 note 2.

The Lady Dong, natural mother of Emperor Ling, is referred to here as *gu*, while the expression *fu*, indicating a man's wife, refers to the Lady He. By rites the wife was subordinate to her mother-in-law, so the persecution of the Lady Dong by the Lady He, as described in passage I above, was utterly unfilial.



Unlike the apartments named Perpetual Joy and Prolonged Joy, the Palace of Perpetual Peace was a specific set of buildings in the Garden of Perpetual Peace, a park situated in the north-eastern corner of the walled city. The Lady He was placed there under house arrest: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 46–47.

[Zp6:189]

CC *HHS* 9, 367 (1a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;  
*HHS* 10B, 450 (10b), the Biography of the Empress He;  
*HHS* 72/62, 2324 (4b–5a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*SGZ* 6, 175 (9b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

76 For the death of an empress, the court was expected to wear plain linen instead of silk during the time of mourning, but on this occasion they paid no such courtesy. At the funeral itself, the attendants simply wore white, they did not put on clothes of coarse fabric, nor disarray themselves to show grief.

[Zp6:189]

DD *HHS* 9, 367 (1b), the Annals of Emperor Xian;  
*HHS* 72/62, 2325 (5a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*HHS* 73/63, 2325 (2a), the Biography of Liu Yu.

77 Liu Yu had been appointed Governor of You province in the previous year, and had continued in that region even after his appointment as Grand Commandant: *ZZTJ* 59, 1889 and 1893; de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 206 and 211–212. He had no effective position at court.

The title Commander-in-Chief (*da sima*) had been changed to Grand Commandant in 51 AD, and was not used thereafter in the regular system of Later Han: see the Treatise of Officials, *HHS* 114/24, 3557. Since Dong Zhuo named himself Grand Commandant at this time, it appears that the changed appointment of Liu Yu was designed primarily to give him an honorific position, without direct responsibility in the government.

The county of Xiangfei was in Donghai commandery in Xu province, near present-day Linyi in Shandong. For the variant pronunciation of the second character, I follow commentary to *HHS* 20/10, 744; *ZZTJ* commentary attributes the gloss to Ying Shao. Liu Yu had earlier been enfeoffed with the territory of Rongqiu, also in Donghai, but of only marginal county status: de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* II, 583 note 4. The new fief was more valuable.

78 The Battle-Axe and Ceremonial Axe (*fuyue*) and the Gentlemen Rapid as Tigers (*huben*) were two of the Nine Distinctions (*jiu xi*). *HS* 99A, 4074–75, records the grant of Distinctions to Wang Mang in 5 AD, including a vermilion axe of authority (*yue*) to be held on the left and a metal battle-axe (*qi*) to be held on the right, together with three hundred Gentlemen Rapid as Tigers to guard the gates of his office and residence: see Dubs, *HFHD* III, 208–211, and particularly note 23.3.

*SGZ* 1, 39, quoted in *ZZTJ* 66, 2119–20, records the edict of 213 which awarded the Nine Distinctions to Cao Cao, and the battle-axe in that text is called *fu*. In the Introduction to his *White Tiger Discussions* I, 24–29 and 37–39, Tjan Tjoe Som discusses the various versions and explanations of the Nine Distinctions with reference to this edict and to the commentary by Song Zhong [also known as Song Zhong and Song Zhongzi] of the third century. In general terms, the Gentlemen Rapid as Tigers was a corps of the imperial guards, while the award of the axes conferred the right to execute without prior

reference to the throne. See also de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 415–417 note, discussing the Distinctions awarded to Sun Quan in 221.

In the phrase *jiechuan*, rendered here as Staff and Insignia, *jie* may refer to the Staff of Authority, on which see note 41 above. The combined term earlier referred to permits for travel (*Zhou li* 4, 22a–23a; Biot I, 333–336), but it appears at this time as a general term for official insignia (*HHS* 27/17, 940, 73/63, 2360, and 90/80, 2993. Here we may understand *jiechuan* as referring to emblems of special power, no doubt including authority of life and death, which Dong Zhuo had appropriated to himself.

The county of Mei was in Youfufeng, northeast of present-day Meixian in Shenxi.

[Zp6:189]

EE *HHS* 103/13, 3270 (4a), the Treatise of the Five Powers.

79 The Treatise says that it rained for over eighty days, and tells of similar down-pours in 159, at the time of the destruction of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji by Emperor Huan, when it rained for fifty days, and in 168, when the General-in-Chief Dou Wu was destroyed by the eunuchs; at that time it rained for sixty days. These rains and floods are recorded also by the Annals, *HHS* 7, 304, *HHS* 8, 329 and 358.

The prognostication of the Treatise naturally connects these rains to the death of General-in-Chief He Jin and the massacre of the eunuchs. In passage X above, however, we have seen Dong Zhuo use this phenomenon as excuse to dismiss the Minister of Works and take that place for himself.

[Zp6:189]

FF *HHS* 9, 368 (1b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

80 The posthumous title "Thoughtful" was awarded to the Empress He. It had been held earlier by the Empress Yan of Emperor An and the Empress Dou of Emperor Huan: they too survived their husbands to become empress-dowagers, and in both cases their power and that of their clan was overthrown in a palace coup.

The biography of the Empress-Dowager He, *HHS* 10B, 450, says that she was given the honour of burial with her late husband Emperor Ling. His tomb was named Mound of Accomplishment (Wen ling) passage J and note 19 above; hers, within that complex, was called Mound of Accomplished Display (Wenzhao ling). See also note 4 to Xingping 1.

81 An isolated group of Yellow Turbans, based on the Bobo valley in Xihe, had made a rising early in the year before: *HHS* 8, 355; de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 205.

[Zp6:189]

GG *HHS* 89/79, 2965 (19a), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

82 Qiangqu, the previous Shanyu and father of Yufuluo, had been killed in 188 by rebels who objected to his willingness to send Xiongnu troops to serve as auxiliaries to Chinese armies.

The Xubu were not the royal clan of the Xiongnu, but one of the exogamous lineages into which the royal clan could marry. The two Gudu Marquises were the most senior ministers at the Xiongnu court, and Gudu Marquis was the highest position that could be held by a man outside the royal clan. See *HHS* 89/79, 2944–45, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 177 and 347.

*Kaoyi* commentary notes that the Annals of *HHS* 8, 356, say the Xiongnu had joined the rebellion of the Bobo group in the previous year. Sima Guang follows the Account of the

Southern Xiongnu in *HHS* 89/79, 2965 (passage GG below), which places the insurrection of Yufuluo after the death of Emperor Ling.

[Zp6:189]

HH *HHS* 9, 367 (1b), the Annals of Emperor Xian;

*HHS* 72/62, 2325 (5a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

83 Chancellor of State (*xiangguo*) was a title which had been held by Xiao He under Emperor Gao at the beginning of Former Han. The name of the office was later changed to Chancellor (*chengxiang*). Later Han abolished the position of Chancellor, and had the Three Excellencies as joint chiefs of the administration. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 7 and 11–12. Dong Zhuo's appointment changed the previous practice of the dynasty and proclaimed his extraordinary powers.

84 Hastening step (*qu*) was part of the conduct of Confucius at court, described by *Lun yu* X.3–4; Legge *CCI*, 228–229 (Lau, *Analects*, 87).

There were precedents for grants of exemption from such formal conduct. Xiao He, Chancellor of State under Emperor Gao, was excused from all except the requirement to announce himself: *SJ* 53, 2016, and *HS* 39, 2009; Watson, *RGH* I, 94, and see also the biography of Wang Mang: *HS* 99A, 4061; Dubs, *HFHD* III, 174–175. During Later Han the scholar Bao Xian, former tutor of Emperor Ming, was excused from announcing himself and hastening his steps (*HHS* 79/69B, 2570), and in 145 the General-in-Chief Liang Ji, then dominant at court, was granted similar honours (*HHS* 34/24, 1183). In 212, Cao Cao would be awarded the same distinction: passage A of Jian'an 17.

[Zp6:189]

II *SGZ* 6, 175 (10a–b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;

*SGZ* 6, 175 (10b–11a) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;

*HHJ* 25, 18b.

85 *Kaoyi* commentary observes that there is some confusion in the texts as to the offices that Zhou Bi and Wu Qiong held, and in the writing of Zhou Bi's personal name.

86 Chief Clerk was the title of a senior assistant to the Grand Tutor, to the Excellencies, to generals, to chancellors of kingdoms and to other provincial officials in time of military concern, and to senior officers dealing with non-Chinese peoples. Here, He Rong evidently holds appointment on the staff of Dong Zhuo as Chancellor of State.

87 He Yong, Xun Shuang and Chen Ji had all been involved in the great proscription under Emperor Ling: *HHS* 67/57, 2217; *HHS* 62/52, 2056 and 2067. Han Rong and Shentu Pan had been invited to office but had not accepted: *HHS* 62/52, 2062 and *HHS* 53/43, 1751–53, and Shentu Pan had deliberately avoided appointment at the time before the proscription (de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 116–117).

[Zp6:189]

JJ *HHS* 62/52, 2056 (7a), the Biography of Xun Shuang.

88 Pingyuan was a kingdom in Qing province, near the mouth of the Yellow River, and the chief county was also named Pingyuan. Wanling was the chief county of Nanyang commandery, south of Luoyang, and a leading city of the empire.

It appears that Xun Shuang's first post was to the county of Pingyuan, which was at this time the nominal fief of a marquis, so that the Prefect or Chief was given the formal title of Chancellor.

[Zp6:189]

- KK *HHS* 62/52, 2068 (15a), the Biography of Chen Ji;  
*HHS* 62/52, 2063 (11b), the Biography of Han Rong.
- 89 There is confusion about the appointment to Grand Herald. *HHS* 62/52, 2068, says that Chen Ji became General of the Gentlemen of the Household, then Grand Herald, while Han Rong's biography says he was the Grand Coachman. Next year, however, Han Rong appears as Grand Herald: passage T of Chuping 1.
- 90 On the scholar and gentleman Chen Shi, see de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 115 and 204. Han Shao was also a celebrated scholar. Both men came from Yingchuan and, with Xun Shu and Zhong Hao, were known as the Four Masters of that commandery: all have biographies in *HHS* 62/52.

[Zp6:189]

- LL *HHS* 53/43, 1754 (11a), the Biography of Shentu Pan.

[Zp6:189]

- MM *HHS* 72/62, 2326 (6a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

- 91 In 188 the government of Emperor Ling had restored the system of appointing Governors as heads of provincial administrations, with executive authority over their subordinate commandery units. Depending upon circumstances, however, it was still possible for Inspectors to be appointed, with limited direct authority but with the right to report wrongdoing to the throne.

*Kaoyi* commentary notes that *Jiuzhou chunqiu* writes the personal name of Kong Zhou by a homonym. Sima Guang follows *HHS* 72/62.

[Zp6:189]

- NN *HHS* 9, 369 (2a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

- 92 On these three reign–titles, see passages E, W and *CC* above. Their proclamations had always been exceptional, for by tradition it was expected that a new emperor would not proclaim his own reign period until the year following that in which his predecessor had died: since Emperor Ling died at the beginning of this year, it should have continued to be known as the sixth of Zhongping.

An example of this principle in action may be seen in the close succession of emperors in the years 144 to 147, following the death of Emperor Shun:

Emperor Shun died in the eighth Chinese month of 144, two months after he had declared his last reign period, Jiankang: *HHS* 6, 274. He was immediately succeeded by his son, but the new reign period of Yongjia did not commence until the beginning of the following year: *HHS* 6, 276.

The infant Emperor Chong, however, died in the first days of that new year, 145. His successor was brought to the throne within a few weeks, but the Yongjia reign period likewise continued until the end of the year, and the new period of Benchu did not commence until 146: *HHS* 276 and 280.

When the young Emperor Zhi died in 146, Emperor Huan came to the throne under the aegis of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. Once again, the first reign–period of the new emperor, Jianhe, was not introduced until the following year: *HHS* 6, 282, *HHS* 7, 287 and 289.

The same system may be observed in earlier reigns: e.g. *HHS* 1B, 85, *HHS* 2, 95 and 99, when Emperor Ming succeeded his father, the founding Emperor Guangwu in 57. By chance, it did not need to be applied at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling in 169, for

Emperor Huan had died at the end of one Chinese year, and Emperor Ling did not come to the throne until the beginning of the next year: *HHS* 7, 320, *HHS* 8, 328.

On this basis, it was not appropriate for the Empress He and her brother He Jin to have proclaimed the Guangxi period at the time of Liu Bian's accession, and Dong Zhuo's two subsequent changes added to the confusion. It is possible that the change at this time, restoring the traditional arrangement, was made at the urging of the scholar Cai Yong, who had just been brought to court by Dong Zhuo: passage Y above. Cai Yong was celebrated as an expert on proper ritual, and his influence was demonstrated in the following year by the reform of the imperial ancestral temple: passage X of Chuping 1; Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 105–108.

We are not told when the period Chuping, which began in the following year, was announced. It may have been now, or it may have been in the New Year, at the time of the amnesty in the second month: passage C of Chuping 1.

[Zp6:189]

OO *SGZ* 6, 175 (9a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.  
*SGZ* 6, 175 (9a), PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen;  
*SGZ* 6, 175 (9a–b), PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

93 The expression *xiang* here refers to the telling of character and fortune by physiognomy.

[Zp6:189]

PP *HHS* 72/62, 2325 (5a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

94 This edition of *ZZTJ*, following the parallel text in *HHS* 72/62, has the characters *guiqi*, the latter indicating imperial relatives by marriage. Other editions read *guijian*, "rich and noble or poor and lowly."

[Zp6:189]

QQ *HHS* 74/64A, 2375 (2b–3a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*HHS* 75/65, 2438 (6a), the Biography of Yuan Shu.

95 The mountains referred to are the Taihang range, and the phrase *shandong* "east of the mountains" is a general term for the North China plain and the eastern part of the empire. The same area may also be referred to as *guandong* "east of the passes," being east of the passes which protected the imperial city of Luoyang. This area is far larger than the present-day province of Shandong, which takes its name from the massif about Mount Tai, to the east of the North China plain.

Over the next few years, the term "east of the mountains" refers to the alliance against Dong Zhuo.

[Zp6:189]

RR *SGZ* 1, 5 (16b–17b), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*SGZ* 1, 5–6 (17b) PC quoting [*Wei-Jin*] *shiyu*.

96 In the system of Han, commandery governments appointed a chief for each village. Besides general matters of law and order, the chief was responsible for maintaining the roads and the posting system. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 104 ["Chief of a Commune"].

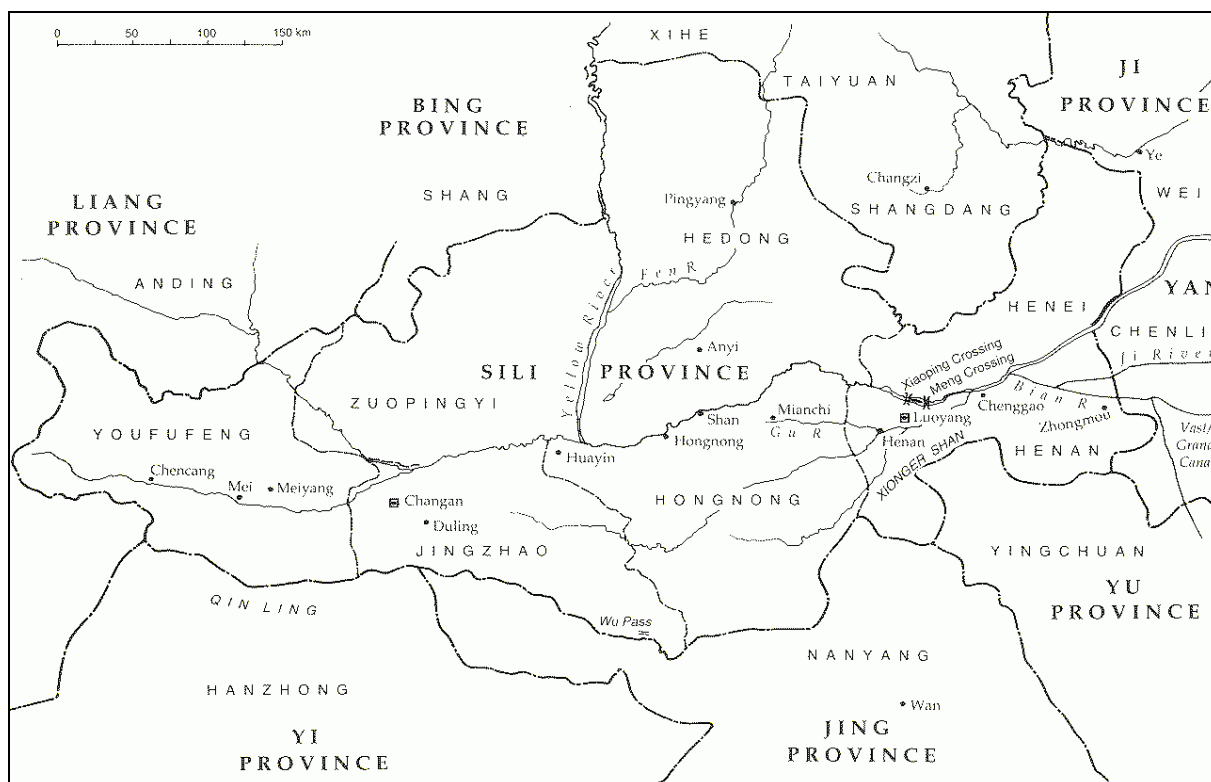
97 In a commandery and, as here, in a county, the Officer of the Bureau of Merit was a senior assistant, responsible for recruitment and recommendation for official appointment: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 100, and Yen, *Regional and Local Administration* IA, 224.

Although the officer knew who Cao Cao was, he evidently did not tell the prefect, but advised him that they had the wrong man and he should let him go.

[Zp6:189]

- SS *HHS* 74/64A, 2376 (3a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 1, 6 (16a–b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.
- 98 Attendant Officials were local subordinates of a provincial administration, and it was established practice that some should be sent out to supervise the commanderies and kingdoms: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 92.
- 99 In a provincial government, the Attendant Official at Headquarters was in charge of general administration, with particular responsibility for advising on men *su*table for appointment or recommendation to commissioned rank: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 92, and de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 56. The responsibility was similar to that of the Officer of Merit in a commandery or county (note 97 above), and the post was held by a senior and trusted officer.
- 100 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that *HHS* 74/64A places Han Fu's approval of Yuan Shao after the alliance against Dong Zhuo had been formed in the following year, with Yuan Shao as its leader: passage A of Chuping 1. *Hanmo yingxiong ji*, however, puts the approval before the formation of the alliance. As Sima Guang observes, once the alliance had been formed, and Yuan Shao named as leader of the combined army, Han Fu was in no position to influence the matter. Sima Guang therefore accepts the order of events in *Hanmo yingxiong ji*. [*Kaoyi* actually refers to the Wei section of the main text of *SGZ*, but the incident is recorded by *Hanmo yingxiong ji*, quoted in *SGZ* 1, 6 PC, not in the biography of Yuan Shao at *SGZ* 6, 190.]

Map 03: Sili territory under Dong Zhuo 189–192



### Chuping 1: 190 AD

[23 February 190 – 11 February 191]

A In the spring, in the first month all the provinces and commanderies east of the passes raised troops to attack Dong Zhuo. Yuan Shao, Grand Administrator of Bohai, was elected leader of the covenant. He styled himself General of Chariots and Cavalry, and his associates also awarded themselves temporary commissions.<sup>1</sup>

Yuan Shao and the Grand Administrator of Henei, Wang Kuang, camped in Henei, while the Governor of Ji province, Han Fu, stayed at Ye to attend to the provisions of the army.<sup>2</sup> Kong Zhou, Inspector of Yu province, camped in Yingchuan. Liu Dai the Inspector of Yan province, Zhang Miao the Grand Administrator of Chenliu, Zhang Miao's younger brother Zhang Chao the Grand Administrator of Guangling, Qiao Mao the Grand Administrator of Dong commandery, Yuan Yi the Grand Administrator of Shanyang, Bao Xin the Chancellor of Jibei; with Cao Cao all camped at Suanzao.<sup>3</sup> The General of the Rear Yuan Shu camped at Luyang.<sup>4</sup> Each army contained several ten thousand men.

B Most of the leaders turned to Yuan Shao, but Bao Xin said to Cao Cao, "The ability to make plans is not common, and you are the only one who can end confusion and restore order. Though our forces may be strong we shall achieve nothing if the wrong man holds command. You, however, are like a sign from heaven."

1909

C On the day *xinhai* [4 Mar] there was an amnesty for the empire.

[In the second month] on the day *guiyou* [26 Mar] Dong Zhuo had the Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace Li Ru poison and kill Liu Bian the King of Hongnong.<sup>5</sup>

[*Cp1:190*]

D Dong Zhuo was considering a great levy of troops to attack east of the mountains, but the Master of Writing Zheng Tai said, "Government lies in virtue, not in armies." Dong Zhuo was not pleased, and said, "When you talk that way, do you mean that soldiers are useless?"

"I did not mean that," replied Zheng Tai,<sup>6</sup> "but I do not believe there is any need to send a large army against the east of the mountains.

"You are a man from the western provinces, you commanded soldiers when you were still young, and you are well trained in the arts of war. Yuan Benchu [Yuan Shao] is a descendant of great officials. He was born at the capital and he has always lived there. Zhang Mengzhuo [Zhang Miao] is an old man from Dongping. All he knows is the right way to sit in halls of audience, not glancing to left or right. Kong Gongxu [Kong Zhou] has pure conversation and impressive talk, so eloquent he can bring withered things to life just by breathing on them.<sup>7</sup> None of them, however, are any use in dealing with military matters, and now they have taken up arms against you they are simply not in your class.

"Those men, moreover, hold no authority from the Emperor, and their ranks are in complete disorder. Each will rely upon his own strength, and store up resources till he can assess the situation.<sup>8</sup> They will never agree on plans or co-operate in attack.

"Besides this, east of the mountains there has long been peace and the people have no experience of war. West of the passes they have lately suffered the ravages of the Qiang barbarians, and even women and girls can carry a bow and fight. The men of Bing and Liang, and the barbarian auxiliaries, are feared throughout the empire, and they are your teeth and claws. It will be like driving tigers and rhinoceros against dogs and sheep,



or calling up a violent wind to sweep away dead leaves. Who will dare oppose them?

"If, on the other hand, you make an unnecessary levy of troops to frighten the empire, then you will cause all the people who are afraid of being conscripted to collect together and rebel. You would be abandoning virtue to rely on force, and that way you would lose both authority and prestige." Dong Zhuo now accepted the argument.

[Cp1:190]

E Because of the strength of the forces east of the mountains, Dong Zhuo planned to shift the capital away. The Excellencies and senior officials did not agree, but none dared to speak. Dong Zhuo recommended that the Intendant of Henan, Zhu Jun, become Grand Coachman and act as his Assistant. A messenger brought the summons to office, but Zhu Jun excused himself and would not accept. Then he said, "If the Emperor moves west, he will surely destroy the hopes of the empire, because he will be confirming the rift with the east of the mountains. I see no advantage in that."

1910 The messenger said, "You were invited to take an appointment and you have turned it down. Nothing was said about shifting the capital, and yet you raise the matter. Why is this?" Zhu Jun said, "Assistant to the Chancellor, that is not a position I am competent to fill. Shifting the capital is ill-considered, and that is something important. I excuse myself from what I cannot manage, and I speak of things that are important: that is the duty of a subject." So he was not made Assistant.

F Dong Zhuo called a great assembly of the senior officials and said, "Gaozu set the capital within the passes,<sup>9</sup> and eleven generations later Guangwu made his palace at Luoyang. Now another eleven generations have passed. According to the *Shibao* prophecies we should shift the capital to Chang'an to follow the will of heaven and man."<sup>10</sup> All the officials were silent.

The Minister over the Masses Yang Biao said, "To shift the capital and to change the laws are great affairs of the empire. In ancient times Pan'geng moved to Bo and the people of Yin all resented it.<sup>11</sup> In former times, the land within the passes suffered from the ruin and destruction of Wang Mang, and so Guangwu changed the capital to the city of Luo.

"For many years the citizens have been at peace and contented here. If you now, without good reason, make plans to abandon the temples of the

imperial clan and to leave the imperial tombs, then I am afraid the people will tremble in fear and there will surely be confusion like a boiling broth.<sup>12</sup> The *Shibao* prophecies are superstitious, apocryphal works. How can you trust them?"

Dong Zhuo said, "The land within the passes is rich and abundant, and that is why Qin was able to conquer its rival states. Moreover, timber is produced west of Long Mountain and there are the pottery kilns of Emperor Wu at Duling.<sup>13</sup> If all combine their efforts, we can manage the work in a day. As for the people, who needs to consult them? If anyone is reluctant I shall set my soldiers onto them, and I could make them go all the way to the sea!"

"It is easy to stir up the empire," replied Yang Biao, "but very difficult to soothe it down. Please think again."

"Would you obstruct the affairs of the state?" demanded Dong Zhuo, colouring.

The Grand Commandant Huang Wan said, "This is a question of national importance. Should you not pay some thought to Lord Yang's argument?" Dong Zhuo made no reply.

The Minister of Works Xun Shuang saw that Dong Zhuo had already made up his mind, and he was afraid he might harm Yang Biao and his supporters. He therefore said in placatory fashion, "Can the Chancellor of State enjoy this situation? The soldiers east of the mountains are in rebellion. We cannot put them down immediately, so we shift the capital to deal with them properly. This is just like the time of Qin and early Han." Dong Zhuo became a little less angry.

G Huang Wan left the assembly, but he continued to argue against the proposal. In the second month, on the day *yihai* [28 Mar] Dong Zhuo memorialised that because of disasters and strange happenings, Huang Wan, Yang Biao and others should be dismissed. The Superintendent of the Imperial Household Zhao Qian was made Grand Commandant and the Grand Coachman Wang Yun became Minister over the Masses.

1911 The Colonel of the City Gates Wu Qiong and the Colonel Who Controls the Army Zhou Bi strongly criticised the proposal to shift the capital. Dong Zhuo was very angry and said, "When I first came to court you two urged me to employ fine scholars. I accepted your advice and all these men came to office, but now they take up arms against me. You have betrayed me. How can I use such untrustworthy people?"

On the day *gengchen* [2 Apr] he arrested Wu Qiong and Zhou Bi and had them beheaded. Yang Biao and Huang Wan were frightened, and went to apologise to Dong Zhuo. Then Dong Zhuo was sorry he had killed Wu Qiong and Zhou Bi, and he recommended that Yang Biao and Huang Wan be restored to office as Imperial Household Grandees.

[Cp1:190]

H Dong Zhuo summoned the Intendant of Jingzhao, He Xun,<sup>14</sup> to be Gentleman-Consultant. At this time the General of the Left Huangfu Song held command of thirty thousand soldiers at camp in [You]fufeng, and He Xun had made secret plans with him to attack Dong Zhuo. Soon afterwards Dong Zhuo also called Huangfu Song [to the capital] to take appointment as Colonel of the City Gates.

Liang Yan, Chief Clerk to Huangfu Song, said to him, "Dong Zhuo ravages and plunders the capital city, he has dismissed one emperor and set up another simply on his whim. Now he has sent a summons to you. If things turn out badly, you will suffer danger and ill fortune, and at the very least you will surely be humiliated and miserable. Take the opportunity now, while Dong Zhuo remains at Luoyang and the Son of Heaven is coming to the west. Lead your men to receive the Emperor, accept his orders to attack the rebels, call up additional troops and gather leaders. Then the Yuan will be pressing on the east as you attack from the west. That will catch him!"

Huangfu Song would not accept this advice, and he went to obey the summons.<sup>15</sup> Because his own forces were too weak to act alone He Xun also went back to the capital district, and Dong Zhuo made him Colonel of Elite Cavalry.

The Intendant of Henan, Zhu Jun, spoke with Dong Zhuo on military matters, but Dong Zhuo cut him short, saying, "In a hundred battles I have gained a hundred victories. I have made my decision. Stop this nonsense or I shall dirty my sword on you." He Xun said, "In ancient times, Wuding was a brilliant ruler, but he still sought wise rebuke.<sup>16</sup> This is yet more true for someone like you, but you want to force men into silence." Dong Zhuo apologised.

1912

I Dong Zhuo sent his army against Yangcheng. The people had gathered for a ceremony at the local altar and the soldiers beheaded all the menfolk.<sup>17</sup> They took heavy carts, loaded the women and girls, bound the heads to the shafts, and returned singing and shouting to Luo[yang] with the claim that

they had attacked bandits and taken a great number of prisoners. Dong Zhuo set fire to the heads and burnt them, and he gave the females to his soldiers as servants and concubines.

[Zp6:189]

J On the day *dinghai* [9 Apr] the Emperor moved west.<sup>18</sup> Dong Zhuo arrested all the men of wealthy houses, put them to death for wrongdoing and confiscated their property. The dead could not be counted. The remainder of the people, millions of them, were driven away to Chang'an. Hassled forward by horsemen and foot-soldiers, they trod one another down in confusion. Starving and hungry they scavenged and robbed. Piled-up corpses clogged the roads.

Dong Zhuo himself remained at camp in the Jade Sceptre Park.<sup>19</sup> He burnt all the palaces and temples, government offices and private houses. Every building for two hundred *li* was destroyed, and not a dog or a chicken remained. He also sent Lü Bu to break open the tombs of the emperors and the burial mounds of the Excellencies, senior and lower officials, and collect their treasure.

[Cp1:190]

K Dong Zhuo captured some soldiers from the east of the mountains. He took lard and daubed it on a dozen rolls of cloth, then bound the cloth to their bodies and set light to them, beginning at the feet and going up.

[Zp6:189]

L In the third month, on the day *yisi* [27 Apr] the Emperor came to Chang'an,<sup>20</sup> where he stayed in the official residency of Jingzhao commandery.<sup>21</sup> Only later were the palace buildings put into sufficient repair that he could live in them. Dong Zhuo had not yet arrived, and the imperial government in matters large and small was left to Wang Yun.

Outwardly Wang Yun acted quietly and sought to smooth things over [when Dong Zhuo made an error]. Secretly, however, it was his intention to aid the Emperor. He had all the abilities expected of a great official, and from the Son of Heaven to his courtiers, everyone looked to him. Wang Yun hid his feelings and served Dong Zhuo, and Dong Zhuo treated him well and trusted him.

[Zp6:189]

M Because of Yuan Shao, on the day *wuwu* [10 May], Dong Zhuo killed the Grand Tutor Yuan Wei, the Grand Coachman Yuan Ji, and their families from babies up, more than fifty people.

[Cp1:190]

N Some time earlier, Wang Rui the Inspector of Jing province had joined the Grand Administrator of Changsha, Sun Jian, to attack bandits in Lingling and Guiyang. Because Sun Jian held a military appointment, Wang Rui spoke slightly of him.<sup>22</sup>

1913 When the provinces and commanderies gathered their forces to attack Dong Zhuo, Wang Rui and Sun Jian also raised troops. Wang Rui, however, had quarrelled with the Grand Administrator of Wuling, Cao Yin, and he announced that his first priority was to kill Cao Yin.

Cao Yin, fearing for his own safety, forged an order from an officer of investigation and sent it to Sun Jian. The order listed Wang Rui's crimes and faults and authorised Sun Jian to arrest him, execute him, then submit a report.<sup>23</sup> As soon as Sun Jian received it he led his forces against Wang Rui.<sup>24</sup>

When Wang Rui learnt of the arrival of these troops, he climbed a tower and looked out, and then sent to ask, "What do you want?" Sun Jian's advance division replied, "We have long been suffering the toil of fighting and labour, and we have come to ask you for some recompense." Then Wang Rui saw Sun Jian, and he was alarmed and said, "The soldiers may want rewards, but why is Magistrate Sun here?"<sup>25</sup>

"I have orders to execute you," replied Sun Jian.

"What is my crime?" asked Wang Rui.

"You just don't understand things," answered Sun Jian.

In distress and despair, Wang Rui scraped gold and drank it and died.<sup>26</sup>

As Sun Jian moved forward to Nanyang his army already numbered twenty or thirty thousand men.<sup>27</sup> Zhang Zi, Grand Administrator of Nanyang, refused to grant them supplies, but Sun Jian tricked him and took off his head.<sup>28</sup> In the commandery there was fear and trembling, and he was given everything he asked for.

Sun Jian went on to Luyang to join Yuan Shu, and so Yuan Shu gained control of Nanyang. He recommended Sun Jian as Acting General Who Routs the Caitiffs and Inspector of Yu province.<sup>29</sup>

[Zp6:189]

O An edict appointed Liu Biao, Captain of the Centre of the Northern Army, as Inspector of Jing province.<sup>30</sup> At this time the roads were blocked and robbers and bandits ranged in all directions. Liu Biao travelled on

horseback to Yicheng without an escort and invited Kuai Liang and Kuai Yue, well-known scholars of Nanyang, to make plans with him.

"South of the Yangzi," he observed, "there are numbers of clan armies. Each has its own followers, and none have any loyalty to the others. If Yuan Shu obtained their support, they could cause tremendous trouble. I want to recruit an army, but I am afraid there are not many people who will accept the summons. What am I to do?"

"If people will not come to you," replied Kuai Liang, "it is because you have not shown sufficient humanity. If they come, but act unruly, then you have not shown sufficient justice. Just follow the road of humanity and justice and the people will turn to you like water hurrying downwards. Why should you worry whether soldiers may rally to you?"

1914 "Yuan Shu is arrogant and has no sense of planning," added Kuai Yue. "The leaders of private armies are often greedy and cruel and their followers are distressed. If you have someone demonstrate the advantages to them, the masses will surely come to you. If you punish the wicked, cherish the others, and give them posts, all the people of the province will feel contented and secure.

"When they learn of your authority and your virtue, they will come with their children strapped to their backs. Soldiers will gather about you and the people will fight for you. In the south you can hold Jiangling, and on the north you will guard Xiangyang. You have only to give the order, and the eight commanderies of Jing province will be settled. Even if Gonglu [Yuan Shu] does come, there will be nothing he can do.

"Excellent!" said Liu Biao, and he sent Kuai Yue to trick the clan leaders to come to him. Fifty-five men arrived, and they were all beheaded and their forces taken over. Then he shifted his administration to Xiangyang, kept the commanderies and counties in order and looked after them, and all the lands south of the Yangzi were settled.<sup>31</sup>

[Cp1:190]

P Dong Zhuo was at Luoyang. Yuan Shao and the other armies were all afraid of his strength and none dared go forward. Cao Cao said, "You have raised loyal troops to destroy oppression and disorder, and a great army is already collected. Why do you hesitate?"

"At the beginning, if Dong Zhuo had relied on the imperial house, occupied the old capital [Luoyang] and turned east to take the offensive

against the rest of the empire, then even though he was acting as a criminal it would still have made things difficult. But now he is burning palaces and houses, and he has kidnapped the Son of Heaven and sent him away. All within the seas is in disorder and no-one knows where to turn. This is the time he is condemned by heaven. One battle and the empire is settled."

So he led his soldiers west, intending to occupy Chenggao, and Zhang Miao sent his officer Wei Zi with a detachment of troops to follow him.

Advancing to the Bian River at Rongyang, they met and fought there with Dong Zhuo's officer Xu Rong of Xuantu.<sup>32</sup> Cao Cao's men were defeated.

Cao Cao himself was hit by a stray arrow, and his horse was wounded under him. His younger cousin Cao Hong gave his horse to Cao Cao, but Cao Cao would not accept. "The empire can do without me," said Cao Hong, "but it cannot do without you." Then he followed Cao Cao on foot and they withdrew by night.

Xu Rong observed that Cao Cao had few soldiers in his command, but they had maintained the battle all through the day. He considered an attack on Suanzao would be difficult, and he too drew back.

Cao Cao returned to Suanzao. All the allied armies, hundreds of thousands of men, laid out wine every day to hold feasts, but they made no plans for attack. Cao Cao reproached them. Then he made plans and said, "Here is what I propose. Let the Grand Administrator of Bohai [Yuan Shao] take the Henei army forward to Meng Crossing, while the commanders at Suanzao blockade Chenggao, occupy the Ao Granary and close Huanyuan and Taigu, so all the passes are held.<sup>33</sup>

1915 "Then General Yuan [Shu] can lead the armies from Nanyang through Dan[shui], Xi and into the Wu Pass to threaten the Three Adjuncts.<sup>34</sup>

"In each case, we prepare strong-points, and position ourselves behind high walls and deep trenches. We avoid any actual fighting, but we make it appear that we are on the move, and it will appear to all the world that we are the righteous men destroying rebels. Then things will settle themselves.<sup>35</sup>

"Our men have come to us because the cause is just, but if we hesitate and delay we shall lose the hopes of the empire, and I would be ashamed for you."

Zhang Miao and the others would not accept his plans, so Cao Cao went with the major Xiahou Dun of Pei state and others to Yang province, where

he made a levy of troops.<sup>36</sup> He gathered more than a thousand men, and took them to camp in Henei [with Yuan Shao].<sup>37</sup>

Soon after this, the armies at Suanzao ran out of food and the allied forces dispersed. Liu Dai was on bad terms with Qiao Mao, so he killed him and appointed Wang Gong Grand Administrator of Dong commandery.

[Cp1:190]

Q The Inspector of Qing province, Jiao He, also raised troops to attack Dong Zhuo. He made every effort to catch up with the other leaders in the march to the west, but he had prepared no defences for his own people, and as his soldiers crossed the Yellow River the Yellow Turbans were already within his borders.<sup>38</sup>

Up to this time Qing province had been prosperous, and well protected by armed men. Whenever Jiao He caught sight of the rebels, however, he would always retreat, and he had never tried the winds and dust of campaigning nor the clash of banners and drums in battle. He liked divination, and he believed in ghosts and spirits. When you visit a man like that you find Pure Conversation to reach the clouds, but when you look at his administration you find rewards and punishments confused, the province bleak and desolate, and everywhere a wasteland.<sup>39</sup>

Soon afterwards Jiao He took ill and died. Yuan Shao sent Zang Hong of Guangling to govern Qing province and maintain order.

[Zp6:189]

R In the summer, in the fourth month Liu Yu, Governor of You province, was made Grand Tutor. The roads, however, were blocked, and the letter of authority never reached him.<sup>40</sup>

In the past, You province had to deal with the territory outside the frontiers. The cost was enormous: every year over two hundred million cash was taken from the taxation income of Qing and Ji provinces to supply [the expenses of You province]. Now, however, all communications were cut off and grain transport could not get through.<sup>41</sup>

Liu Yu wore old clothes and rope sandals, he ate only the simplest meals, and he held it essential to maintain a lenient administration. He encouraged the farming of mulberries, he opened a prosperous trade at a market with the barbarians of Shanggu, and brought in the surplus salt and iron from Yuyang.<sup>42</sup> The people enjoyed the harvest, a shi of grain was thirty cash,<sup>43</sup> and more than a million gentry and commoners of Qing and Xu provinces fled the troubles and came to Liu Yu. He took them in and cared for them



with sympathy, settled them and set them in a livelihood. All the refugees there forgot that they were exiles.

1916

S In the fifth month the Minister of Works Xun Shuang died. In the sixth month on the day *xinchou* [21 Aug] the Imperial Household Grandee Chong Fu became Minister of Works. Chong Fu was the father of Chong Shao.<sup>44</sup>

T Dong Zhuo sent the Grand Herald Han Rong, the Privy Treasurer Yin Xiu, the Bearer of the Gilded Mace Humu Ban, the Court Architect Wu Xiu and the Colonel of Elite Cavalry Wang Gui to negotiate with Yuan Shao and his allies, and make peace with the east of the mountains.

Humu Ban, Wu Xiu and Wang Gui came to Henei. Yuan Shao sent Wang Kuang and he captured and killed them all. Yuan Shu also killed Yin Xiu. Only Han Rong escaped, because he was known for his virtue.<sup>45</sup>

U Dong Zhuo destroyed the Wushu currency and minted smaller coins.<sup>46</sup> He melted down the statues of Luoyang and Chang'an, such as the Bronze Men, the Zhongju, the Feilian and the Bronze Horses, to cast the new money.<sup>47</sup> So the currency was devalued and goods became dear: the price of a single shi of grain rose to several ten thousand cash.<sup>48</sup>

1917

V In the winter, Sun Jian and his officers were holding a drinking party east of Luyang city when twenty or thirty thousand of Dong Zhuo's horsemen and foot-soldiers appeared without warning. Sun Jian, however, continued to pass the wine around and talked and laughed. He gave orders for his men to form up in their divisions, but refused to let them do anything reckless. As more enemy horsemen gradually came up, Sun Jian calmly left his seat and led his men back into the city. Then he explained, "The reason I did not get up straight away was that I was afraid the soldiers would rush and trample one another, and you would not be able to get in."

When Dong Zhuo's soldiers observed such discipline, they turned back without venturing an attack.

[*Cp1:190*]

W Wang Kuang was camped at Heyang Crossing. Dong Zhuo made a surprise attack and completely defeated him.<sup>49</sup>

X The General of the Gentlemen of the Household on the Left Cai Yong recommended that, "All the emperors since Xiao-He<sup>50</sup> who possess the

temple–name 'Exemplar' should have them removed, to show proper respect for the original tradition." This was done.<sup>51</sup>

Y Xu Rong, General of the Gentlemen of the Household, recommended Gongsun Du to Dong Zhuo. Gongsun Du was a man from Xu Rong's own commandery [Xuantu], and a former Inspector of Ji province. Dong Zhuo appointed him Grand Administrator of Liaodong.

When Gongsun Du took up his post, he punished by law and wiped out more than a hundred of the great and famous families in the commandery,<sup>52</sup> and the whole territory trembled for fear. Then he attacked Gaogouli in the east, and in the west he attacked the Wuhuan.<sup>53</sup>

Gongsun Du spoke to those closest to him, Liu Yi, Yang Yi and some others and said, "The reign of Han is coming to its end. I ask you to join me in making plans for a kingdom."<sup>54</sup> He divided Liaodong to form Liaoxi and Zhongliao commanderies and appointed a Grand Administrator to each of them,<sup>55</sup> while across the sea he collected all the counties of Donglai and set up an Inspector of Ying province.

Gongsun Du appointed himself Marquis of Liaodong and Governor of Ping province.<sup>56</sup> He set up temples to the two Han ancestors [Emperor Gao and Emperor Guangwu], he took the authority to hold state sacrifice to Heaven and Earth and to Plough the Field, he rode in a Phoenix Chariot with a team of four horses, and he established Cavalry of the Feathered [Forest] with [Standard–Bearers of] Ox–tail Banners.<sup>57</sup>

[Zp6:189]

## NOTES to Chuping 1: 190

A *HHS* 74/64A, 2375 (3a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

1 The term *ban shou*, here rendered as "temporary," is explained by *ZZTJ* commentary as reflecting the fact that since Dong Zhuo controlled the Emperor, Yuan Shao and his allies had no way to communicate with the court and thus no proper authority to take these titles. They claimed, therefore, that they were adopting them as a matter of expediency, just for the duration of the campaign.

From this time onwards the whole system of official appointments got quite out of hand, with new titles granted, invented or adapted whenever some warlord found them appropriate. In almost every case the appointments are dignified by the use of the term *biao* "recommended to the throne," but the expression was in fact meaningless, for the emperor could do nothing about recommendations made by men who were technically in rebellion. The warlords, however, evidently felt the ritual gave some form of legality to their power.

- 2 Ye, capital city of Wei commandery, was south of present-day Ci county in Henan. The armies in Henei commandery threatened Luoyang from the north of the Yellow River.
- 3 Suanzao county in Chenliu was near present-day Yanjin in Henan. The site is north of the modern course of the Yellow River, but at that time it lay on the southern bank. This group of allies threatened Luoyang with a direct advance from the east.
- 4 Luyang county in Nanyang was near present-day Lushan in Henan. Yuan Shu's position controlled the southern and south-eastern approaches to Luoyang, through the passes of the Xiong'er Shan.

[Cp1:190]

B SGZ 12, 384 (27a) PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen.

[Cp1:190]

C HHS 9, 369 (2a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;

HHS 10B, 450–51 (10b–11a), the Biography of the Empress He.

- 5 A Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace was supervisor to the household of a king: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 107. The sad story of how the deposed emperor was compelled to drink the fatal potion, and of the song he sang as his favourite concubine danced for him, is told in HHS 10B.

HHS 9 gives the day *guiyou* (cyclical number 10) for the death of Liu Bian. The first month of this year ended on a *gengwu* day (cyclical number 7). Though the Annals have no reference to the beginning of the second month, and *ZZTJ* refers to it below, we may assume that it is the third day of the second month that is described here.

HHS 9 says Liu Bian was given posthumous title as Huai "Remembered" King of Hongnong. This was not an uncommon style, but *cf.* note 4 to Xingping 1.

[Cp1:190]

D HHS 70/60, 2258–59 (1b–3a), the Biography of Zheng Tai.

- 6 HHS 70/60 observes that Zheng Tai was attempting to dissuade Dong Zhuo from taking action and causing more trouble to the empire, but he was frightened for his own sake when Dong Zhuo turned upon him. The passage which follows summarises a long argument, with ten identified points, preserved in HHS 70/60, which may be regarded as a model of pacific rhetoric under pressure.

- 7 Benchu was the style of Yuan Shao, Mengzhuo the style of Zhang Miao, and Gongxu that of Kong Zhou.

On Pure Conversation (*qingtan*), dialectical discussion of philosophical and aesthetic theory, enlivened by wit and repartee, which became extremely popular in the third century and was developed by experts of the *Xuan xue* "School of the Mysteries," see, for example, *Cambridge China* I, 828–32 [Demiéville, "Philosophy and Religion"], and Balazs, "Nihilistic revolt," 231–232 and 248.

Other devotees recorded at this time were Jiao He (passage Q below) and Kong Rong (passage Z of Jian'an 1). [Kong Rong, a man of Lu and direct descendant of Confucius, was not a close relation of Kong Zhou, who came from Chenliu].

- 8 The phrase *qizhi* would indicate a stock of the counters used in the game of Go (*weiqi*), as yet uncommitted to play.

[Cp1:190]

E SGZ 46 (Wu 1), 1094–95 (5a), PC quoting the *Xu Han shu* by Sima Biao.

[Cp1:190]

- F *HHS* 54/44, 1786–87 (19a–b), the Biography of Yang Biao;  
*SGZ* 6, 177 (12a–13b) PC quoting the [*Hou*] *Han shu* of Hua Qiao.
- 9 Gaozu refers to the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han: the title is a common adaptation of his posthumous dynastic title Gao and his temple name Taizu "Grand Ancestor."
- Land within the passes (*guanzhong*) describes the territory about the Former Han capital Chang'an, in present-day Shenxi. The terminology at this time is somewhat confused by the fact that the city of Luoyang was also defended by passes, and the phrase "west of the passes" (*guanxi*) can be used to refer to the territory about both capital cities, Luoyang as well as Chang'an. Compare the complementary expression "east of the passes/mountains" discussed in note 95 to Zhongping 6, and the discussion of the Eight Passes in de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* II, 550).
- 10 *ZZTJ* commentary identifies the *Shibao shi chan* as a work of fortune-telling popular at the end of Han. Though evidently composed in the same style, it was not one of the recognised apocryphal texts (*wei*) of the New Text School of Han Confucianism, it does not appear in any of the bibliographies of the standard histories, and it is no longer extant.
- 11 Pan'geng, whose traditional dates of reign are 1401–1373 BC, changed the title of his dynasty from Shang to Yin, and transferred the capital from Geng to Bo. With the change of name and the change of capital, the dynasty gained a new lease of life (*zhongxing*) and continued for another two centuries.
- Shu jing* IV.7A, the Pan'geng Chapter; Legge, *CC* III, 220–247 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 132–150), tells of the people's opposition to the move of the capital, and records Pan'geng's rebuke to them.
- Yang Biao is arguing that the common people disapprove of such unsettling changes even when there is good reason for them. They would object even more strongly to an unnecessary move.
- 12 *HHS* commentary cites the *Dang* Ode of *Shi jing* III.3.1.6; Legge, *CC* IV, 506 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 214), recording the criticism of the future virtuous conqueror King Wen of Zhou for the mistaken, wicked government of Shang/Yin:
- All about you is the sound of cicadas,  
or the bubbling of soup on the boil.  
Affairs, great and small, approach their ruin,  
yet you and your creatures continue this course.....
- The analogy to the rule of Dong Zhuo was not flattering.
- 13 The county of Duling lay south of Chang'an. The text of *HHS* 54/44 says that the pottery works were by the mountains to the south, foothills of the Qinling range.
- Dong Zhuo is observing that timber for pillars, walls and beams can be obtained in the west, and there was an established source of clay for making roof-tiles close to Chang'an in the south. There would be therefore no difficulty finding material for the reconstruction of the ancient capital.
- [*Cp1:190*]
- G *HHS* 61/51, 2041 (21a), the Biography of Huang Wan;  
*HHS* 54/44, 1787 (20a), the Biography of Yang Biao;  
*HHS* 9, 369 (2a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;  
*HHS* 72/62, 2327 (6b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

[Cp1:190]

- H *HHS* 58/48, 1883 (13a), the Biography of He Xun;  
*HHS* 71/61, 2306 (6a), the Biography of Huangfu Song.
- 14 *ZZTJ* commentary to this passage gives the pronunciation of this surname as Ge, while the modern reading is Gai. Earlier, however, at *ZZTJ* 58, 1873, the sound is given as He [reading for ], which is supported by Karlgren, *GSR* 642q. I accepted it in Huan and Ling, and I continue to do so.
- 15 As *ZZTJ* commentary observes, this is the second time Huangfu Song has been urged to take action against Dong Zhuo: *cf.* passage M of Zhongping 6.
- 16 Wuding was a king of the Shang/Yin dynasty; his traditional dates of reign are 1324–1265 BC. The *Yueming* "The Charge to Yue" Chapter of *Shu jing* IV.8; Legge, *CC* III, 248–263 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 150–161), tells how Wuding appointed Fu Yue as his minister and ordered that he should give advice on proper conduct. The Qing scholar Hui Dong, however, expert on *Shu jing* and commentator to *HHS*, cited in *HHSJ* 58/48, 13b, notes that the *Yueming* was probably a forgery of the fourth century AD, so that text was not available to He Xun at this time. See also Loewe, *Early Chinese Texts*, 385.
- HHS* 58/48 also mentions Wuding. *ZZTJ* commentary, however, quotes [Li] Xian suggesting the text should read not Wuding, but Wugong, referring to Duke Wu of Wei (reigned 812–757 BC): he was prepared to accept criticism though he was ninety-five years old and well experienced in government: *Guo yu* 17, 11b. It is in any case a little strange that a loyal Han official such as He Xun should compare the over-powerful minister Dong Zhuo to a legitimate king. [Curiously, the present text of *HHS* commentary does not contain this item ascribed to Li Xian by Hu Sanxing: it was evidently omitted later from the transmitted text.]

[Cp1:190]

- I *HHS* 72/62, 2325 (5a–b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*SGZ* 6, 174 (9b–10a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.
- 17 Yangcheng county was in Yingchuan commandery, east of Luoyang, so this was an attack on the position of Yuan Shu.
- The second month of spring was a time for sacrifice to the God of the Soil, and this was the ceremony that the soldiers interrupted. See Bodde, *Festivals*, 56, and Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 380.

[Cp1:190]

- J *SGZ* 6, 177–78 (14a) PC quoting *Xu Han shu*;  
*HHS* 72/62, 2327 (6b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.
- 18 The date the court began its journey is given by the Annals in *HHS* 9.
- 19 The Jade Sceptre Park for Bird-Netting had been established by Emperor Ling in 180 outside the southern suburbs of Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 18 and 81.

[Cp1:190]

- K *SGZ* 6, 178 (14a) PC quoting *Xiandi ji*;  
*HHS* 72/62, 2327 (6b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

[Cp1:190]

- L *HHS* 9, 369 (2a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;  
*HHS* 72/62, 2327 (6b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*HHS* 66/56, 2174–75 (11b), the Biography of Wang Yun.

20 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that *HHJ* 26, 3b, has the day as *jisi* (cycle number 6) rather than *yisi* (cycle number 42). Sima Guang, however, follows *HHS* 9. The day *jisi* was the last of the third month, equivalent to 21 May of the Julian calendar.

21 Jingzhao commandery controlled the territory around Chang'an, and the offices were in the city.

*HHS* 9 says that the Emperor lived at the old Weiyang Palace, in the southwest of the city, but *HHS* 72/62, followed by *ZZTJ*, says that at first the buildings were not in sufficient repair, so he took temporary lodging in the commandery residence. The *Hou Han ji* of Zhang Fan, quoted in commentary to *HHS* 9, refers to unfortunate omens of rain, darkness and flying pheasants as the ruler was moving to the Weiyang Palace.

[*Cp1:190*]

M *HHS* 9, 370 (2a–b), the Annals of Emperor Xian,  
with commentary quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

[*Cp1:190*]

N *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1096 (8a–9b), the Biography of Sun Jian;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1097 (8b) PC quoting *Wu lu*.

22 This was in 187, when Sun Jian was first appointed Grand Administrator of Changsha and sent to put down the bandits: de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling I*, 203. Wang Rui was evidently a man of good gentry background who was resentful of the success and honour which had been given a simple fighting man such as Sun Jian. He mistakenly expressed his opinion in public.

23 The text here has the phrase "Itinerant Commissioner of Investigation." The title reflects the system of early Han, when officers of the court were sent on tours of inspection through the provinces: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 90; de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 46–47. More recently, as in 142, similar visitations had again been commissioned: see, for example, de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 75.

In the confusions of the time, therefore, there was precedent for such an appointment. It is doubtful, however, whether Sun Jian was seriously concerned with the realities of either the putative commissioner or the alleged letter: he now had excellent excuse to turn on his snobbish colleague, and apparent authority to act first and report later.

24 The headquarters of the Inspector of Jing province were at Hanshou in Wuling commandery, and the capital of the commandery was at Linyuan, less than twenty kilometres distant. This region lay on the main road which Sun Jian would take on his way north.

25 "Magistrate" (*fujun*) was the term of address for the head of a commandery.

26 This style of self-immolation is by no means uncommon in Chinese history. *JS* 31, 966, says that in 300 the infamous Empress Jia of Western Jin was compelled to kill herself by taking a draught of powdered gold in wine, and the custom remained until modern times: T'ien, *Male Anxiety and Female Chastity*, refers at 58 to two cases during the Ming dynasty of women committing suicide by swallowing gold. At 96, there is a detailed account of a woman attempting suicide in 1676 by swallowing fragments of broken copper coins, and plate 5 tells how the favoured concubine of a Manchu general also sought to kill herself in 1885 by swallowing pieces of gold. She was found and saved just in time.

Chapter 69 of the novel *Honglou meng* by Cao Xueqin of the late eighteenth century; Hawkes, *Story of the Stone*, 369–370, tells how the deceived concubine You Erjie killed herself in this manner.

The character *jin*, of course, can refer to metal in general, not specifically to gold. Moreover, while lumps and large slivers, rather than scrapings, of metal would damage the intestines, pure gold is not of itself dangerous (it is regularly used in dentistry). So the substance used for suicide was either an alloy of gold or some material resembling gold.

For the first alternative, *ZZTJ* commentary to this text quotes the sixth-century scholar Tao Hongjing, who says that some "raw gold" (*shengjin*) is poisonous unless it is refined by smelting. Tao's remarks are cited again in commentary to the section on Gold in *Bencao gangmu* 8, 3–4, which also quotes the eighth-century scholar Chen Cangqi, who tells of a poisonous raw gold found in the far south, which resembles red and black gravel. Chen ascribes the poison to the teeth or dung of poisonous snakes, or to the dung of the *yuan* bird; Schafer, *Vermilion Bird*, 162, interprets this "raw gold" as discoloured auriferous quartz; Needham, *Science and Civilisation* V.2, 62, suggests that the poisoning came either from physical irritation by quartz particles in the powder or from chemical contamination by lead ores or pyritic sulphides, probably arsenical ores. A third possibility is that "raw gold" is the telluride Calaverite [AuTe<sub>2</sub>], which can be red and black in colour and which would break down in contact with the acids of the stomach: tellurium is a poison.

You Erjie in *Honglou meng* is said to have found a suitable nugget of raw gold in one of her storage boxes, but unrefined and unworked gold would not necessarily be readily available in a gentleman's official residence. It may be that Wang Rui took scrapings from a vessel made of imitation gold: Needham, *Science and Civilisation* V.2, 195, refers to brasses, with varying quantities of zinc or arsenic, which resemble gold or silver, and at 224–225 he discusses the strong likelihood that the Chinese early incorporated arsenic into copper and bronze to make artificial gold and silver. On this last, Needham cites pharmacopoeias from pre- and post-Han times which mention the use of realgar and orpiment, sulphides of arsenic, to "make gold from copper." Scrapings of such material would surely prove poisonous.

One should note, however, that although *Honglou meng* refers to death from eating raw gold as easier than hanging or drowning, poisoning by arsenic is quite remarkably painful, and would not be a method of choice. It is possible that Wang Rui and some others in his situation consumed "gold" as a symbol of worth and value, and then received the *coup de grâce* from a "second:" a similar custom may be found in classical Rome when a general fell upon his sword, or in traditional Japan when a gentleman committed *seppuku*.

27 The capital of Nanyang commandery was at Wan city, now Nanyang in Henan.

28 As *Kaoyi* commentary observes, there are two stories of how Sun Jian trapped Zhang Zi. The main text of *SGZ* 46 says that he invited him to a banquet in his camp, then arrested him and had him executed. *Wu li*, quoted by PC, says that Sun Jian pretended he was ill and that he proposed to hand over his troops to Zhang Zi, but when Zhang Zi called upon him Sun Jian leapt from his bed and killed him.

29 *Kaoyi* commentary notes a variety of texts with slightly variant statements on Yuan Shu's control of Nanyang: the biographies of Yuan Shu at *HHS* 75/65, 2438, and *SGZ* 6, 207; the biography of Liu Biao at *HHS* 74/64B, 2419; and the biography of Cao Cao at *SGZ* 1, 7. Passage A and note 4 above observe that Yuan Shu had set his headquarters at Luyang county in Nanyang at the beginning of the rebellion, but it was through the agency of Sun Jian that he established his position over the whole commandery. Sun Jian now became commander of Yuan Shu's operations against Luoyang.

[Cp1:190]

O *HHS* 74/64B, 2419–20 (8a–b), the Biography of Liu Biao;  
*SGZ* 6, 211–12 (80b–82a) PC quoting *Zhan lue*.

30 This would be to replace the unfortunate Wang Rui.

31 Xiangyang was on the southern bank of the Han River by present-day Xiangfan in Hubei. Yicheng, where this council was held, was some distance to the south. Jiangling, capital of Nan commandery, was a port and crossing place on the Yangzi by the present-day city of that name in Hubei. Liu Biao's initial strategy, therefore, was to hold the basin of the Han River north of the Yangzi and south of Xiangyang, with only a general influence over the valley of the Xiang River to the south.

The Kuai brothers refer above to eight commanderies. According to the Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 112/22, 3476–85, Jing province under Later Han contained only seven, being Nanyang, Nan, Jiangxia, Wuling, Changsha, Lingling and Guiyang. Commentary to *HHS* 118/28, 3618, however, quotes *Xiandi qijuzhu*, which gives a list of the provinces formally rearranged by Cao Cao in 213 (passage A of Jian'an 18), and it is indicated there that Jing province had the additional commandery unit of Zhangling. Under Later Han, Zhangling was a county under Nanyang commandery, near present-day Zaoyang in Hubei, and it seems likely that the new administration controlled the territory south and east from Wan and Xiangyang, an area over which Yuan Shu had not gained full control, and which could be disputed with him by Liu Biao.

[Cp1:190]

P *SGZ* 1, 7–8 (21b–24a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

32 Chenggao county was near present-day Sishui in Henan province, northeast of Luoyang by the junction of the Luo with the Yellow River. Cao Cao was advancing due west from Suanzao, the rebels' main base on the south of the Yellow River.

The Bian River was part of the Hong Gou, the "Vast" or "Grand" canal system bringing supplies to the capital from the south and east of the empire: e.g. de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 57–58. Rongyang, north of the present-day city of that name and some twenty-five kilometres from Chenggao, was an important staging post on the route to Luoyang.

33 The passes about Luoyang were positions of military strength which had been fortified a few years earlier at the time of the Yellow Turbans rebellion: note 9 above and de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* II, 550. The Ao Granary, just south of the Yellow River in Rongyang county of Henan commandery about present-day Sishui in Henan, had been established under the Qin dynasty and maintained as a way-station and depot for tax grain brought to the capital from the east: see the Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 109/19, 3389 and 3392 note 24. With that purpose, it was also a fortified and defensive position.

34 The Three Adjuncts were the commanderies about Chang'an, the Former Han capital: Jingzhao, Youfufeng and Zuopingyi in Sili.

Danshui and Xi were counties in the northwest of Nanyang commandery, near the border with Sili. The Dan River is a tributary of the Han, and the Wu Pass lay upstream of Danshui, on the main route from Nanyang to Chang'an. Rather than attacking Luoyang from the south, Cao Cao is proposing that Yuan Shu should threaten Dong Zhuo's position at Chang'an from the southeast.



35 Cao Cao's plan is to maintain pressure on Dong Zhuo without committing the allied armies to a major assault. After a time Dong Zhuo's government, deprived of the initiative, will become over-strained, lose credit and collapse.

Cao Cao has already attempted a direct attack through Chenggao, and was thoroughly defeated by Xu Rong. He has learnt from experience, and has a fertile strategic imagination.

36 Cao Cao's father Cao Song was an adoptive son of the eunuch Cao Teng, but it is generally believed that the Cao were related to the Xiahou family of Qiao county in Pei state, which was in Yang province of Later Han. See *SGZ* 1, 2 PC note 3 quoting the *Cao Man zhuan* by an anonymous propagandist of the Three Kingdoms state of Wu.

*SGZ* 1, 8, and PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen note that Cao Cao had difficulty with the troops that he raised at this time, and at one point he had to fight his way out of a mutiny.

37 Cao Cao now abandons his association with the group of commanders at Suanzao, and joins Yuan Shao, commander of operations against Dong Zhuo on the north of the Yellow River.

[*Cp1:190*]

Q *SGZ* 7, 232 (13a–b) PC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*, *HHS* 58/48, 1885 (15a), the Biography of Zang Hong.

38 The Yellow Turban rebellion led by Zhang Jue had broken out and been destroyed in 184: e.g. de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 177–189. In several regions of the empire, however, there remained groups which had not taken part in the major rising, and still constituted a formidable force.

It appears Jiao He had removed troops from his northern border territory, where they had been facing Yellow Turbans in the east of Ji province, present-day northern Shandong and eastern Hebei. As his army moved southwest across the Yellow River to join the allies at Suanzao, these enemies entered along the coast.

39 The disapproving comment at this point from the *Jiuzhou chunqiu* of Sima Biao, writing at the end of the third century, appears also in *HHJ* 26, 4b, the fourth-century work of Yuan Hong. On Pure Conversation (*qingtan*) see note 7 above.

[*Cp1:190*]

R *HHS* 73/63, 2354 (2a), the Biography of Liu Yu.

40 Liu Yu had been Governor of You province since 188, and while there he had also held appointment as Grand Commandant and then as Commander-in-Chief: passage DD of *Zhongping* 6. It does not appear likely that he was now expected to return to Chang'an, but his acceptance of the formal position of Grand Tutor would confirm his association with the court and weaken the rebel cause in the east.

During Later Han, the Grand Tutor was the most honoured official of the empire. The appointment was made only at the beginning of a reign, and the post was not supposed to be filled after the death of the initial incumbent. See the Treatise of Officials, *HHS* 114/24, 3556–57; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 5–7.

At this time, Yuan Wei had been Grand Tutor not only to Emperor Xian, but also to his elder brother the deposed and now deceased "Little" Emperor Liu Bian. Having killed Yuan Wei, Dong Zhuo sought political advantage in replacing him.

41 You province extended along the north of the empire from present-day Shanxi to Manchuria, and was responsible for the defences against the Wuhuan, Xianbi, Xiongnu and other non-Chinese peoples of the northeast. To assist in this work, the territory received support from the two provinces which lay immediately to the south. The subsidy appears to have been levied since the early years of Later Han, and at one stage took the form of tribute to the Xianbi: see *HHS* 90/80, 2986, and the discussion in de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 292, 525 note 17 and 550–551 note 91. (There is some disagreement as to whether the contributing provinces were Qing and Ji, as here, or Qing and Xu. The latter pair, which extended along the coastline from Shandong to the Yangzi estuary, are often associated in the texts, as immediately below, but it would have been more logical for the charge to have been levied against Qing and Ji.)

Though the text says the transport routes were blocked, it is more probable that Yuan Shao and his colleagues were simply not sending the subsidy, but expropriating the supplies for their own purposes in the civil war.

42 Ning county in Shanggu commandery, by present-day Zhangjiakou in Hebei, had been an official market for trade with the non-Chinese people throughout the Later Han period: de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 384, and it appears that Liu Yu maintained and encouraged the exchange.

During the Han period, Yuyang county in Yuyang commandery, by present-day Miyun in Hebei, was a recognised source of iron, and Quanzhou, about present-day Tianjin on the shore of the Gulf of Zhili, produced salt. See the Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 113/23, 3528 (the Treatise of Geography, *HS* 28B, 1624, makes it appear that the entry for iron ascribed to Quanzhou by *HHS* is actually miswritten for salt).

43 A *shi* (or *hu*) measure of the Han period was approximately twenty litres.

[*Cp1:190*]

S *HHS* 9, 370 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

44 The biographies of Chong Fu and Chong Shao are in *HHS* 56/46. Chong Fu's father, Chong Gao, had formerly been Minister over the Masses, and Chong Shao had distinguished himself for his opposition to Dong Zhuo in the previous year: passage R of Zhongping 6.

[*Cp1:190*]

T *HHS* 74/64A, 2376 (3a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;

*HHS* 9, 370 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

45 Wang Kuang was Yuan Shao's front-line general. Humu Ban had been one of the Eight Treasurers (*chu*) admired by students and the Proscribed Faction (*danggu*) in the time of Emperor Huan: de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling I*, 110. The *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, cited by commentary to *HHS* 74/64A, says he was a brother-in-law of Wang Kuang, and quotes a letter he is said to have written to him at this time. *Kaoyi* commentary, however, notes anachronism in the document and doubts its authenticity.

Han Rong was a distinguished scholar of Yingchuan, called to court by Dong Zhuo when he first seized power: passages II and KK of Zhongping 6. Yin Xiu was a man from Nanyang (his and Wu Xiu's personal names also appear as Xun).

The unfortunate embassy is also described in *SGZ* 6, 192, which places it, however, before the killing of Yuan Wei and the other members of the Yuan family. Passage M above follows the dating of *HHS* 9, which is circumstantially more convincing. On the other hand, since the murders obviously rendered impossible any agreement of Dong Zhuo with Yuan

Shao, one wonders why Dong Zhuo made the attempt at an embassy; and it is possible the two atrocities took place in reverse order – so the slaughter of the Yuan group at the capital was carried out in reprisal for the brutal treatment of the would-be peacemakers. Opinion on this question depends on judgement of Dong Zhuo's insensitivity and Yuan Shao's natural violence, but the massacre of these messengers, men of quality and reputation, demonstrated a complete breakdown of courtesy, respect and morale among the gentry of the empire.

[Cp1:190]

U *HHS* 72/62, 2325 (5b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

46 The parallel text in the Treatise of Economics of *Jin shu*, JS 26, 794, is translated by Yang, "Economic History," 157.

The *shu* weight of Han times was approximately one third of a gram. The Wushu coinage, about 3.25 grams, had been introduced in 119 BC and was maintained as the basic currency ever since. Despite great problems at the end of Han and during the centuries that followed, the Wushu was the staple coinage until the beginning of Tang. See *Cambridge China* I, 587–589 [Nishijima, "Economic and Social History of Former Han"], where it is pointed out that the Wushu currency was notable for the fact that the face value matched the actual weight. Dong Zhuo's new coins, however, had no defined edge and no statement of their value: JS 26, 794; Yang, "Economic History," 157.

[Cp1:190]

47 The Bronze Men of Chang'an dated from the time of the First Emperor of Qin, who had them cast in 221, immediately after his full conquest of China and his proclamation as Emperor. *SC* 6, 239; Chavannes, *MH* II, 134–135 (Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 137), says that he collected all the metal which had been used for weapons by the rival states, and melted it down to make bells, twelve great statues, and other ornaments. *HHS* 72/62 and its commentary quoting the *Sanfu jiushi* say that the inspiration for the statues came from the appearance of giants at Lintao in the west of the empire. *HHS* observes further that Dong Zhuo was a man from Lintao, so the fortunes of the empire had come full circle.

Commentary to *HHS* 72/62 quotes from a *Yinyi* commentary to *Han shu* which describes the Zhongju as a mystical creature with the head of a deer and the body of a dragon. Karlgren explains the character as meaning a bell-frame, but the *Shuowen* dictionary, quoted in *HHS* commentary, explains that stands for bells and drums were decorated with the image of this animal, a symbol of ferocity. According to the *Guanzhong ji* by Pan Yue of the Jin dynasty, quoted by the modern scholar Hui Dong in *HHSJJ*, four statues of the Zhongju were set up in the Temple of the Eminent Founder, Emperor Gao of Former Han.

The Feilian "Flying Purity" creature was the Wind God described in the *Li sao* poem of *Chu ci*; Hawkes, *Songs of the South*, 28 note 9. He is said to have had the body of a deer, a bird's head with stag horns, the tail of a snake, and the spotted coat of a leopard. An image cast at Chang'an was set up by Emperor Wu at the Feilian Lodge in 109 BC: *HS* 6, 193; Dubs, *HFHD* II, 90. It was brought to Luoyang by Emperor Ming in 62 AD, and placed by the Lodge of Tranquil Joy, constructed for the purpose outside the Upper West Gate; Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 61. On the Lodge of Tranquil Joy see also note 43 to Zhongping 6.

A Bronze Horse of ideal proportions had also been cast in the time of Emperor Wu, and it too was brought to Luoyang and placed at the Lodge of Tranquil Joy by Emperor Ming;

Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 61. Earlier in Later Han, moreover, when the general Ma Yuan defeated the rebellion of the Trung sisters in present-day Vietnam, he melted down the captured drums of his enemies and had the metal cast into a similar statue, which was set up by the Hall of All-Embracing Virtue in the Southern Palace: *HHS* 24/14, 840, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 25–26.

- 48 Compare the price of thirty cash, ascribed to You province under the rule of Liu Yu: passage R above.

[*Cp1:190*]

V *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1096 (9b–10a), the Biography of Sun Jian.

[*Cp1:190*]

W *HHS* 72/62, 2328 (7a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

- 49 Heyang county was in Henei, north of Luoyang across the Yellow River. *ZZTJ* commentary identifies Heyang Crossing with the Meng Crossing.

*HHS* 72/62 gives further detail of the attack against Wang Kuang. It took the form of a holding movement across the river, combined with an attack from the rear by troops who used the Xiaoping Crossing further upstream. The operation was devastating, and almost all Wang Kuang's force was destroyed.

[*Cp1:190*]

X *HHS* 9, 370 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Huan;  
*HHS* 99/9, 3197 (7a), the Treatise on Sacrifices.

- 50 In the system of Han, all rulers except the two founders had the courtesy prefix Xiao "Filial" incorporated in their dynastic title. Emperor He had died in 106.

- 51 The tradition (*dian*) for the worship of ancestors, referred to here by Cai Yong, is expounded by Maspéro, *China in Antiquity*, 109–110. The complex arrangements for Later Han are described in the second part of the Treatise on Sacrifices, *HHS* 99/9, discussed by Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 105–108, who deals particularly at 107 with the significance of this reform of Cai Yong.

In the classical system, an ancestral temple should contain only a limited number of wooden spirit tablets. After a certain point, as each new one was added by a death, an earlier one should be removed to a side-chamber where it received less frequent ceremony. Some ancestors, distinguished by a "temple name" (*miao hao*) including the honorific term "Founder" (*zu*) or "Exemplar" (*zong*), had their tablets maintained in the temple and never removed, but in principle the ancestral temple of the Son of Heaven should contain just seven tablets.

The Later Han dynasty, however, did not follow this pattern. First, because of his claim to succession from Former Han, and for propaganda purposes in the civil war, Emperor Guangwu established a shrine to his imperial ancestors, called the Temple of the Eminent Founder (*Gao miao*) at Luoyang in 26 AD. It contained the tablets of Emperor Gao, together with those of Wen, Wu, and Xuan, maintained as Exemplars, and also that of Emperor Yuan, who was of the same generation as Guangwu's father, and was thus regarded as his predecessor in the imperial lineage: Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 169–170 and 233 note 50.

After considerable debate at court, it was determined that the later rulers of Former Han should be worshipped at the original Temple of the Eminent Founder, which was maintained at Chang'an, while sacrifices to the immediate, non-imperial ancestors of

Guangwu would be held at their tombs by local officials: *HHS* 99/9, 3193–94; Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 167–169.

It is probable Guangwu intended his own tablet should be maintained in the Temple of the Eminent Founder at Luoyang, but after his death his son Emperor Ming established the Temple of the Epochal Founder (*Shizu miao*), also known simply as the Temple of Guangwu, in his honour, and the two shrines were maintained side by side at the capital: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 54–56.

When Emperor Ming died, he was given the temple name of Illustrious Exemplar (*Xianzong*) and his tablet was placed in a side-chamber of the Temple of the Epochal Founder. Thereafter, for the remainder of the dynasty, each emperor who lived to manhood was awarded an exemplary title and his tablet was maintained in the temple: Emperor Zhang was granted the designation Aweful Exemplar (*Suzong*: *HHS* 3, 129), Emperor He was the Solemn Exemplar (*Muzong*: *HHS* 4, 196), Emperor An the Reverent Exemplar (*Gongzong*: *HHS* 5, 242), Emperor Shun the Respectful Exemplar (*Jingzong*: *HHS* 6, 275) and Emperor Huan was the Majestic Exemplar (*Weizong*: *HHS* 7, 328).

As a result of this policy, in the latter part of the second century the dynasty had three imperial ancestral temples: the original Temple of the Eminent Founder at Chang'an, the Temple of the Eminent Founder established by Guangwu at Luoyang, and the Temple of the Epochal Founder also at Luoyang. Moreover, while the Temple of the Eminent Founder at Luoyang commemorated only five imperial ancestors, by the time of Emperor Ling the Temple of the Epochal Founder contained "permanent" spirit tablets for the full canonical count of seven.

Apart from anything else, as Mansvelt Beck observes at 106, the burden of sacrifices was becoming onerous: at the very least, during the reign of Emperor Ling there were eighteen sacrifices of a sheep, an ox and a pig to be offered four times a year to five Former Han rulers, to seven Later Han emperors, and at six tomb mounds. There had been some reform and reduction in the requirements, but on the other hand, when Emperor An died and there was debate whether he deserved the honour, it was argued that dynastic tradition now required that no ruler should be "deposed" (*hui*), and he was duly given status as an exemplar: *HHS* 99/9, 3197.

The first real sign of hesitation about this continually expanding system appeared when Emperor Ling died and was not immediately granted exemplary status. The situation, however, was dramatically changed by Dong Zhuo's shift of the capital, which was accompanied by the burning of the ancestral temples (passage J above), and then by the intervention of Cai Yong.

Cai Yong had long been a scholar of ritual, who compiled his own Treatise on Sacrifices, and he was concerned that the ever-growing and cumbersome tradition of Later Han disobeyed the proper system (see commentary to *HHS* 99/9, 3200, which quotes Cai Yong's introduction to his work; Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 105). He wished, therefore, to reduce the number of Founders and Exemplars for the whole dynasty to the canonical number of seven, and combine their worship into one ancestral temple. He also proposed to eliminate the regular sacrifices at the tombs, and he presented a new system of posthumous titles for six empresses.

To clear out the unified ancestral temple, Emperors Xuan and Yuan had to be reduced in rank: this was not too difficult, for Yuan in particular had never been granted exemplary

status. The major reform proposed by Cai Yong, and accepted by Dong Zhuo, was that the temple-name, and the permanent position it entailed, should be taken from Emperors He, An, Shun and Huan. On the same principle, Emperor Ling would be awarded no such posthumous status, and his tablet would be maintained in the main hall of the temple only until the death of his successor.

In justification for the demotion, Cai Yong argued that these rulers had been of no more than ordinary quality, and did not deserve the honour they had been given. His full statement, not included in *ZZTJ*, appears in *HHS* 9 and *HHS* 99/9.

It may well be that Cai Yong was justified on both ritual and moral grounds in his drastic amendment of the sacrificial provisions of Later Han, but it is questionable if the general consensus of scholars would have wanted to go so far. The reform, moreover, had major political implications, for Dong Zhuo was given the opportunity to pronounce judgement not only on the current situation, but on the whole authority of Han rule for the previous hundred years. As the modern commentator Huang Shan points out, the changes were forced through by Dong Zhuo's authority, they committed Cai Yong to his party, and they earned him the resentment and enmity of his colleagues: *HHSJ* 99/9, 7b; Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 107.

In any event, the imperial court was in no position to maintain any complex system of sacrifices, and while Emperor Xian was at Chang'an he presumably contented himself with visits to the surviving Temple of the Eminent Founder.

The degradation of Emperors He, An, Shun and Huan is reflected in the fact that their temple-names are not included among their titles at the beginning of the relevant chapters of the Annals compiled by Fan Ye. The names, however, are given in the entries for their funerals.

[*Cp1:190*]

Y *SGZ* 8, 252 (25b–28a), the Biography of Gongsun Du.

52 Gongsun Du's family actually came from Xiangping county, the capital of Liaodong commandery, but his father had travelled to the frontier territory of Xuantu to take up an local official post. Gongsun Du was thus regarded as an outsider by the leading families of Liaodong, and it appears that this gave a useful energy to his suppression of discontent when he came to power.

On the history of this local state in the northeast of the empire, see Gardiner, "The Kung-sun Warlords."

53 The non-Chinese state of Gaogouli, whose name is written as and as, and which is known also by the Korean name of Koguryo, later developed into one of the leading powers of Korea. At this time its territory lay in the hill country of present-day eastern Manchuria, where it had a history of disturbance against the Chinese frontier. There is an account of the people in *HHS* 85/75 and in *SGZ* 30; see also Gardiner, *Early History of Korea*, 29–32.

The Wuhuan people, whose name appears both as and as, long-time neighbours of China, were based on the hill and forest country between present-day Manchuria and Mongolia. There is an account of them in *HHS* 90/80 and in *SGZ* 30; see also de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 355–416.

54 The main text of *ZZTJ* at this point has the character *zheng* "to correct," but *SGZ* 8 has *wang* "to rule as a king," and other editions of *ZZTJ* agree.

55 The statement that Gongsun Du divided Liaodong commandery to form Zhongliao and Liaoxi commanderies has caused some difficulty in reconstructing the administrative geography of that region at this time.

Wu Zengjin, *Sanguo junxian biao*, 2914, interprets the phrase "*Liaoxi Zhongliao*" as referring to a single commandery unit, and this is followed by the punctuated edition of *SGZ*. There is, however, no further comment, nor any suggestion as to the territory of the commandery or commanderies.

I observe that the Dependent State of Liaodong seems to disappear about this time. It is my belief that during Later Han this Dependent State was on the Daling River, not, as most Chinese interpreters suggest, on the coast by present-day Yingkou in Liaoning: de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 460–465. I suspect that a new commandery of Zhongliao "Middle Liao" was established by Gongsun Du from the eastern part of the former Dependent State, extending north and east over the western Liao basin, possibly taking also the western territory of Liaodong up to the main stream of the Liao River (observe the odd area extruded from Later Han Liaodong on maps 61–62 of *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* II).

As to Gongsun Du's Liaoxi, I note there was already a commandery of that name under Han: it is my interpretation, as discussed in *Northern Frontier*, that it extended along the north-western shore of the Gulf of Liaodong from the region of present-day Yingkou to the area of present-day Luan county in Hebei. So this part of Gongsun Du's new establishment was not a subtraction from Liaodong commandery, but a seizure of the eastern part of the existing Liaoxi.

On this basis, though Liu Yu is described in passage R above as the Governor of You province, which extended along the north of the empire from present-day Shanxi into Manchuria, the east of the province had been taken over by Gongsun Du, and Liaoxi commandery was divided into two. The new border lay on the narrow coastal plain between present-day Qinhuangdao and Jinxi.

56 From his capital at Xiangping, by present-day Liaoyang in Liaoning, Gongsun Du controlled the southern part of Manchuria, extending eastwards into the north of Korea, and he named this territory Ping province. South across the Gulf of Zhili, moreover, he had an outpost on the northern coast of Shandong, where Donglai commandery of Han was isolated from the rest of Qing province by the backbone mountains of the peninsula, and in that region he claimed to establish Ying province.

57 These ceremonies and appointments were all imperial or royal prerogatives.

At the imperial capital, Luoyang, the Altar of Heaven was established outside the walled city to the south. A large circular mound, with a complex of altars, shrines and other constructions, it was used for many different rites and supplications, with the chief ceremony held at New Year: *HHS* 97/7, 3159–61, the *Treatise on Sacrifices*; Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 166–167, and *Lo-yang*, 73–74.

The square Altar of Earth at Luoyang was northwest of the city; the complex contained shrines to the Mountains, Rivers and Seas. The chief sacrifice was also held at New Year, in the same cycle as the worship of Heaven: *HHS* 98/8, 3177–81 and *HHS* 94/4, 3102; Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 180–181, and *Lo-yang*, 75.

The ritual of Ploughing the Field (*jitian*) is described by the *Treatise on Ceremonial*, *HHS* 94/4, 3106, and discussed by Bodde, *Festivals*, 223–240, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 56–57. The ceremony was supposed to be held in the first or second month of the New

Year, when the coming of spring had rendered the ground just warm enough to be broken. The grains produced from the Field were used for sacrifice, but the chief purpose of the ceremony was to demonstrate imperial concern for agriculture: e.g. *Bohu tong* 4, 24a–b; Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 493. Records of performance of the Ploughing by the emperors of Later Han, however, are curiously erratic: Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 74–75.

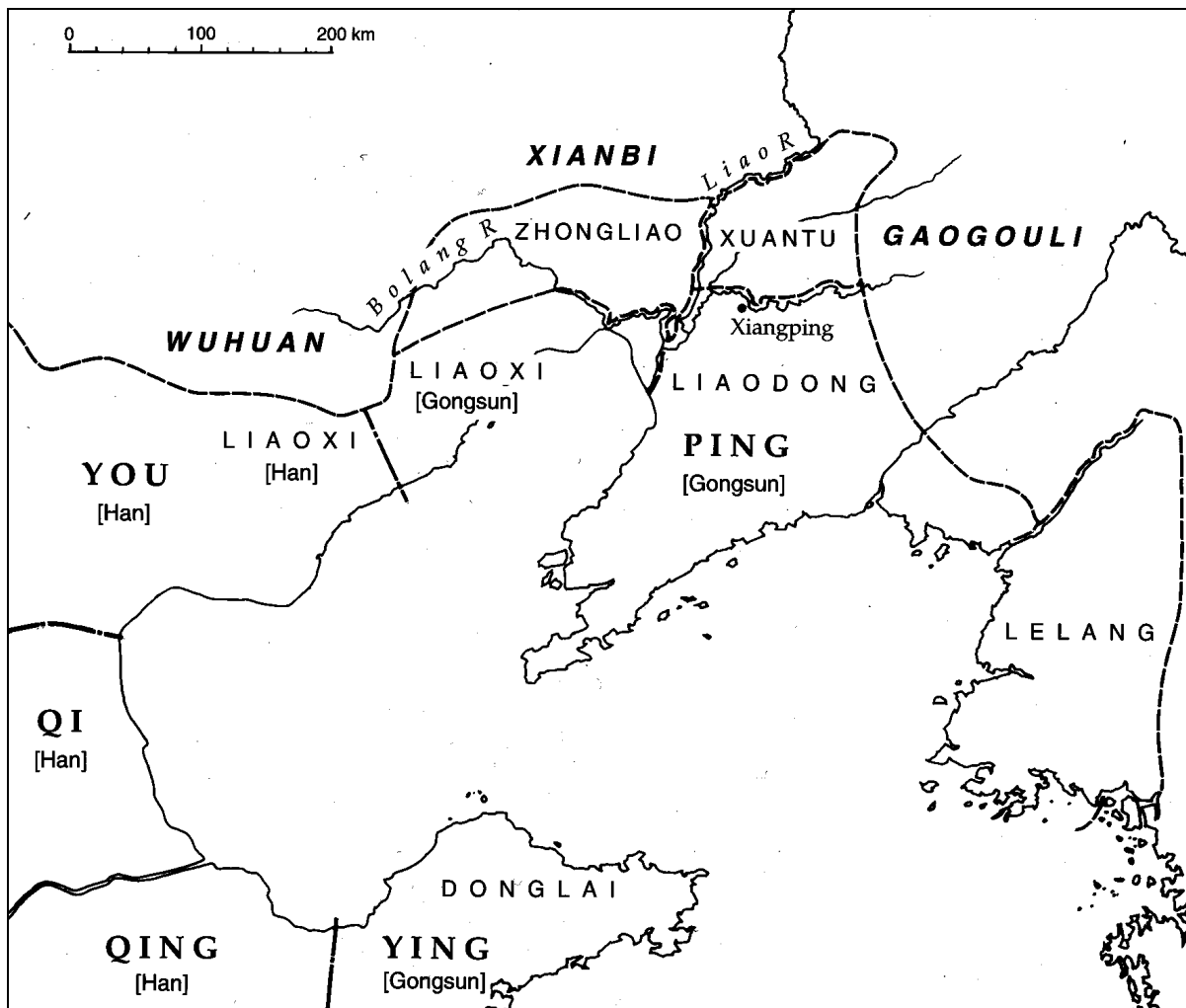
The *luan* was a mythical bird, similar to the Chinese phoenix (*fenghuang*). A Phoenix Carriage (*luanlu*), drawn by a team of four horses, was one of the Nine Distinctions awarded to Wang Mang in 5 AD, a few years before he took full imperial power (see also note 78 to Zhongping 6). The Phoenix Carriage was presumably decorated with images of the bird, and the commentator Yan Shigu says that it was hung with bells (*luan*): *HS* 99A, 4075; Dubs, *HFHD* III, 209. It may have resembled the Imperial Coach which was also usurped about this time by Liu Yan in Yi province: see passage JJ and note 64 to Chuping 2.

Under both Former and Later Han, Feathered Forest (*yulin*) was the name of a regiment of imperial guards: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 24–25 and 28. For imperial processions, standard-bearers (*maotou*) were appointed from among their number; they wore their hair dishevelled and carried banners made from the tails of wild oxen: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 25, and commentary to *HHS* 1B, 79, quoting the *Hanguan yi* of Ying Shao.

With these ceremonial actions and appointments Gongsun Du was usurping the rituals of Han, and by his worship of the two founders of that dynasty he evidently planned to make his government appear as its natural successor.



Map 04: The territory of Gongsun Du 190





## TO ESTABLISH PEACE

### CHAPTER 60

being Chapter 52 of the Chronicle of Han  
[containing Part 2 of the reign of Emperor Xian]

#### Chuping 2: 191 AD

[12 February 191 – 31 January 192]

1918

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *xinchou* [17 Feb] there was an amnesty for the empire.

B A general council was held among the leaders east of the passes. It was observed the Emperor was young and weak, under the control of Dong Zhuo. Far away, isolated by the passes, they did not even know whether he was still alive. Liu Yu, Governor of You province, was worthy and able and a member of the imperial clan.<sup>1</sup> It was therefore proposed he be set up as ruler.

Cao Cao said, "When we raised loyal troops, all the people supported us, and the reason was that our cause is just. Now we have a young ruler who is feeble and weak, in the power of an evil minister. These are not the faults for which [the King of] Changyi [Liu He] forfeited his imperial throne.<sup>2</sup> If we make a sudden change, who in the empire can be at ease? You may look north [to Liu Yu], but I turn west [to the Emperor at Chang'an]."

Han Fu and Yuan Shao wrote to Yuan Shu to say, "The Emperor is not a true son of Xiao-Ling.<sup>3</sup> We want to act like [the Marquis of] Jiang and Guan [Ying] in former times, when they punished and deposed a puppet ruler, and welcomed the King of Dai to his place.<sup>4</sup> We plan to set up the Commander-in-Chief Liu Yu as Emperor."

Secretly, Yuan Shu wanted the throne for himself, but he realised this would become difficult if the state had a strong ruler. As a result, he argued, on the best principles, against the proposal.

Yuan Shao wrote again to Yuan Shu, "Now in the west there is a young ruler who has the name [of an emperor], but has no blood relationship to the imperial clan, while all his officials, high and low, are supporters and flatterers of Dong Zhuo. How can we continue to trust them?"

1919 "We need only send troops to camp at the passes and strategic points, and all [the supporters of Dong Zhuo and the Emperor] will be cramped and

die. If a sage ruler is set up in the east, then we may hope for great peace. How can you still have doubts?

"Moreover, the people of our clan have been slaughtered. Do you not recall [the example of] Wu Zixu?<sup>5</sup> How can you still accept this ruler?"

Yuan Shu replied, "The Emperor is wise and capable, with the nature of King Cheng of Zhou.<sup>6</sup> The bandit Dong Zhuo has taken advantage of a temporary confusion and compelled the officials to obey him, so this is a moment of difficulty for the house of Han.

"Now you say the Emperor 'has no blood relationship,' but that is simple slander. You say, 'the people of our clan have been slaughtered,' and 'how can you still accept this ruler?' But this was Dong Zhuo's work, certainly not the Emperor's.

"It is with the utmost loyalty that I seek the destruction of Dong Zhuo, I refuse to think of anything else!"

Han Fu and Yuan Shao did send Zhang Qi, former Grand Administrator of Lelang, with a deputation to offer Liu Yu the imperial title. When Liu Yu saw Zhang Qi and his colleagues, he rebuked them sternly, "The empire has fallen into disorder, and the ruler is forced into exile. I have received great favours from the throne, but yet I cannot clear away the disgrace from our state. You hold provinces and commanderies, and you should join all your forces to save the royal house. Instead, you have made plans of rebellion, and you seek to involve me in your shameful dealings!" He firmly refused them.

Then Han Fu and his associates asked Liu Yu to take control of the imperial secretariat, with authority to grant enfeoffments and make appointments. Still he would not hear of it, threatening to take refuge amongst the Xiongnu in order to cut himself off from such proposals. So Yuan Shao and the others gave up the idea.

[Cp2: 191]

C In the second month, on the day *dingchou* [25 Mar] Dong Zhuo was appointed Grand Master, with rank above the kings.<sup>7</sup>

D Sun Jian shifted camp to the east of Liang, but he was defeated by Dong Zhuo's officer Xu Rong. He reassembled his scattered troops and went forward to camp at Yangren.<sup>8</sup>

Dong Zhuo now sent his Grand Administrator of Dong commandery, Hu Zhen,<sup>9</sup> with five thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers to attack Sun Jian.

Lü Bu was in command of the cavalry. Hu Zhen and Lü Bu quarrelled. Sun Jian came out to attack them, completely defeated them, and took the head of their Chief Controller Hua Xiong.<sup>10</sup>

Someone said to Yuan Shu, "If Sun Jian captures Luoyang, you will not be able to control him. This is to destroy a wolf and obtain a tiger." Yuan Shu was concerned, and he did not send supplies for the army. Sun Jian rode fast by night to see Yuan Shu, drew on the ground to show his plans, and said, "The reasons I have taken service with you are that above I am attacking a rebel for the Emperor, while below I give some help to your family in a private feud. I have no thought for my own interests, and no personal enmity for Dong Zhuo.

1920 "Yet you now pay attention to slander,<sup>11</sup> and for no reason at all you are suspicious of me!"

Yuan Shu was embarrassed, and he immediately sent up supplies for the army.

Sun Jian went back to his camp, and Dong Zhuo sent his officer Li Jue to treat with him, to make peace and arrange an alliance. He told Sun Jian to recommend junior members of his family as Inspectors or Grand Administrators and promised to urge their appointment. Sun Jian replied, "Dong Zhuo opposes Heaven and defies the law. Until I have killed you and all your clan, and shown your heads to the four seas, I shall not be able to die in peace. How can there be alliance with you?"<sup>12</sup>

Sun Jian went forward to Dagu, ninety *li* from Luoyang.<sup>13</sup> Dong Zhuo himself came out to fight with him amongst the tombs.<sup>14</sup> Dong Zhuo was defeated and fled. He withdrew his camp to Mianchi and gathered troops at Shan.<sup>15</sup>

Sun Jian advanced to Luoyang and attacked Lü Bu. He defeated him too and put him to flight.

Then Sun Jian cleared out the imperial temples and held great sacrifice.<sup>16</sup> He found the Great Seal of State in a well in the Pottery Office south of the city.<sup>17</sup>

He sent part of his force forward to Xin'an and Mianchi to threaten Dong Zhuo's defence positions.<sup>18</sup>

[Cp2: 191]

E Dong Zhuo said to his Chief Clerk Liu Ai, "The armies east of the passes have often been defeated. All of them are afraid of me and can do nothing

effective. Sun Jian, however, the little fool, is quite competent. You must warn my officers to be careful of him.

"Some years ago I was sent west with Zhou Shen to attack Bian Zhang and Han Sui in Jincheng.<sup>19</sup> I suggested to Zhang Wen that I should use my troops as a rearguard for Zhou Shen, but Zhang Wen would not agree. Soon afterwards Zhang Wen sent me to attack the rebel Xianlian Qiang. I knew we would have no success, but I could not avoid the duty, and so we marched.

"I left the Major with a Separate Command Liu Jing, with four thousand horse and foot, to camp in Anding as a show of strength. The Qiang tried to cut our lines of communication, but I opened them with a small attack, and the reason [I could do this so easily] was that the enemy were afraid of the soldiers in Anding. They thought there must be tens of thousands; they had no idea it was only Liu Jing.

1921 "At the same time, Sun Jian was with Zhou Shen. He offered to lead ten thousand men forward to Jincheng, leaving Zhou Shen to act as rearguard with twenty thousand. Bian Zhang and Han Sui would have been afraid of Zhou Shen's great force, and would have been cautious about committing themselves against Sun Jian, while Sun Jian's troops were strong enough to cut their line of supplies.

"Had the commanders used our suggestions, Liang province would have been settled. But just as Zhang Wen could not use my advice, so Zhou Shen could not use Sun Jian's, and in the end they were defeated and turned back.

"So when he was an Associate Major, Sun Jian saw things the way I did, and he has some useful talents.<sup>20</sup> Now, however, for no good reason he has joined the Yuan gang, and in the end he will die too."

F Dong Zhuo now sent the General of the Gentlemen of the Household of the East Dong Yue to camp at Mianchi, the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Duan Wei to camp at Huayin, and the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Niu Fu to camp at Anyi.<sup>21</sup> His other commanders were spread out among the counties to block any attack from the east of the mountains. Niu Fu was Dong Zhuo's son-in-law.

Dong Zhuo led his own troops away to Chang'an.

G Having repaired the imperial tombs, Sun Jian led his army back to Luyang.<sup>22</sup>

[Cp2: 191]

H In the summer, in the fourth month Dong Zhuo came to Chang'an.<sup>23</sup> The excellencies and ministers all came out to welcome him, and they bowed before his carriage. Dong Zhuo clapped his hands and said to the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk Huangfu Song, "Yizhen, are you afraid?"<sup>24</sup>

"If Your Excellency uses virtue to maintain the court, " replied Huangfu Song, "this will be a time of great blessing, and why then should I be afraid? If you govern badly and inflict arbitrary punishments, however, I shall not be the only person who is frightened "<sup>25</sup>

I Dong Zhuo's supporters wished to honour him as the Grand Duke and give him the title Honoured Uncle.<sup>26</sup> Dong Zhuo asked Cai Yong what he thought of the proposal.

"Your excellency's majestic virtue, how truly imposing!" said Cai Yong." In my humble opinion, however, it is not yet possible to make a comparison with the Grand Duke. It would be better to wait until the east of the passes is settled and at peace, and the Emperor is returned to his former capital [at Luoyang]. Then we can talk about it." So Dong Zhuo gave up the idea.<sup>27</sup>

[Cp2: 191]

J Dong Zhuo had the Colonel Director of Retainers Liu Ao arrest those of the officials and people who had not been respectful sons, loyal subjects, honest officials or obedient younger brothers. All were executed and their wealth was confiscated. As a result, many false accusations were made by one against another, and thousands were put to death without good cause. The people were anxious and fearful: as they passed one another on the roads they did no more than exchange glances [not daring to speak].<sup>28</sup>

1922

K In the sixth month, on the day *bingxu* [1 Aug] there was an earthquake.<sup>29</sup>

In the autumn, in the seventh month, the Minister of Works Chong Fu left office and the Imperial Household Grandee Chunyu Jia of Ji'nan was made Minister of Works. The Grand Commandant Zhao Qian was dismissed and the Grand Master of Ceremonies Ma Midi became Grand Commandant.

L Before this, He Jin had sent Zhang Yang of Yunzhong to go back to Bing province and raise troops. Soon afterwards He Jin came to grief, and Zhang Yang stayed in Shangdang with a force of several thousand men. When Yuan Shao was in Henei Zhang Yang went to join him, and he camped with the Southern Shanyu Yufuluo by the Zhang River.<sup>30</sup>

[Cp2: 191]

M Han Fu, jealous that so many leading men had turned to Yuan Shao, quietly cut down on his military supplies, hoping his army would drift apart. Soon afterwards, however, Han Fu's officer Qu Yi rebelled. Han Fu fought him and was defeated, and Yuan Shao made an alliance with Qu Yi.

Yuan Shao's follower Pang Ji said to Yuan Shao, "You have undertaken a great work, but you still rely upon others for subsidy and supplies. Unless you take a province for yourself, you will never be able to act independently."

"Ji province has a strong army," objected Yuan Shao, "and my troops are hungry and weary. If we fail we shall be left with nothing."

"Han Fu is a very ordinary fellow," argued Pang Ji. "If we make a secret agreement with Gongsun Zan to have him take Ji province, Han Fu will certainly be startled and frightened. Then you send someone who can argue a case well, to explain things to him. Han Fu will be under pressure, he will get flustered and he will certainly be willing to yield."

Yuan Shao agreed, and he wrote at once to Gongsun Zan. Gongsun Zan approved, and he came up with his troops. He pretended he was going to attack Dong Zhuo but then turned against Han Fu. Han Fu fought him but without success.

About this time Dong Zhuo entered the passes [to Chang'an], and Yuan Shao brought his army back to the Yan Crossing.<sup>31</sup>

He sent his nephew Gao Gan of Chenliu with Han Fu's friends Xin Ping of Yingchuan, Xun Shen, Guo Tu and others to say to Han Fu, "Gongsun Zan is coming with an army from Yan and Dai [the north],<sup>32</sup> and will follow his success with a further advance. All the commanderies will join him, and you cannot match his strength. Yuan the Chariots and Cavalry General is bringing his army eastwards, and we cannot be sure of his intentions. You seem to be in trouble!"

Han Fu was frightened and said, "What can I do?"

"Judge yourself," replied Xun Shen. "In generosity and charity, as a leader of men admired by all; how do you compare with Yuan?" "I cannot compare with him," replied Han Fu.

1923 "Making plans in time of emergency, in wisdom and courage surpassing others; again how do you compare with Yuan?" "I cannot compare with him," replied Han Fu.



"Generations of his family have displayed grace and virtue, and all the empire has received their favour; once more, how do you compare with Yuan?" "I cannot compare with him," replied Han Fu.

"Yuan is the hero of the time," said Xun Shen, "and in these three ways your abilities fail to match his fine qualities. You have long held place above him, but he will surely not be satisfied to remain your subordinate. Now Ji province is an important property of the empire. If he and Gongsun Zan join forces to seize it then danger and loss can be expected any moment.

"On the other hand, Yuan is an old friend and a sworn ally. Here is the right plan for this moment: cede Ji province to Yuan. He will certainly be grateful to you, and Gongsun Zan cannot contest him. So you gain reputation for yielding place to a worthier man, and you yourself will be secure as Mount Tai." Han Fu was timid and so he followed this plan.

Han Fu's Chief Clerk Geng Wu, his Aide-de-Camp Min Chun and his Attendant Official at Headquarters Li Li heard of this and protested,<sup>33</sup> "Ji province has a million men at arms and sufficient grain to last for ten years. Yuan Shao leads an army which is isolated, dependent and poor; he relies on us for everything. Like a child on the lap, if you end its suckling it will starve and die. Why do you want to give him the province?"

"I am a former officer of the Yuan," answered Han Fu, "and my ability is not equal to that of Benchu [Yuan Shao].<sup>34</sup> I have taken account of his virtue, and so I cede it to him. The men of ancient times saw honour in such conduct.<sup>35</sup> Why do you alone find fault?"

N Before this, Han Fu's Attendant Officials Zhao Fu and Cheng Huan had led ten thousand Strong Bowmen to camp at the Meng Crossing.<sup>36</sup> They heard what was going on and brought their men quickly back.

1924 Yuan Shao was at this time by Qingshui in Chaoge. Zhao Fu and the others came up behind him with several hundred boats and a force of over ten thousand men, they set their weapons and drums in order and passed Yuan Shao's camp during the night. Yuan Shao was very annoyed.<sup>37</sup>

When Zhao Fu and his companions arrived, they said to Han Fu, "Yuan Benchu's army has not a single measure of grain. Even now his men are deserting. Zhang Yang and Yufulu have only recently joined him, and they will not accept his orders. He cannot match us. As your junior officers, we ask approval to oppose them with the troops we have at hand: within ten days his power will be like fallen earth and flying tiles. You, wise general,

may rest on a high pillow with your doors open [in security and confidence]. Why should you be concerned or frightened?"

Han Fu still refused this advice. Leaving his office, he went to lodge in the former mansion of the Regular Palace Attendant Zhao Zhong,<sup>38</sup> and he sent his son to take the seal and tassel [of his appointment as Governor] and hand them to Yuan Shao.

O As Yuan Shao approached, ten of Han Fu's staff hastened to abandon him [and join Yuan Shao]. Geng Wu and Min Chun faced them with swords, but could not hold them back and were forced to let them go. Yuan Shao killed the two loyalists.

P So Yuan Shao took over as Governor of Ji province. He claimed the authority to appoint Han Fu as General Who Displays Majesty, but Han Fu had no command and no staff.

Yuan Shao made Ju Shou of Guangping General Who Displays Firmness, with responsibility as Supervisor and Protector over all his officers, and he treated him with great favour.<sup>39</sup> Because of their upright conduct, Shen Pei of Wei commandery and Tian Feng of Julu had both failed to fulfil their ambitions under Han Fu. Yuan Shao appointed Tian Feng as his Aide-de-Camp and Shen Pei as Attendant Official at Headquarters. Xu You and Pang Ji of Nanyang, with Xun Shen of Yingchuan, all became councillors.<sup>40</sup>

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Q Yuan Shao appointed Zhu Han of Henei as Attendant Official for the Officers at the Capital.<sup>41</sup> In the past, Zhu Han had been treated rudely by Han Fu, and he now sought to anticipate Yuan Shao's intentions. Without authority he brought troops to surround Han Fu's house, took up a sword and climbed into the building. Han Fu fled to the upper storey, and Zhu Han seized his eldest son, beat him and broke both his legs.

Yuan Shao immediately arrested Zhu Han and killed him, but Han Fu was still anxious and afraid. He asked Yuan Shao for permission to leave, and he went to stay with Zhang Miao.

Some time later, Yuan Shao sent a messenger to Zhang Miao to discuss plans with him, and the messenger whispered something to Zhang Miao while Han Fu was there. Han Fu believed they were plotting against him. Soon afterwards he got up and went to the lavatory and killed himself with a writing-knife.<sup>42</sup>

R Bao Xin said to Cao Cao, "Yuan Shao is leader of the covenant, but he uses that authority to his own advantage. He will himself rebel and become another Dong Zhuo. You are not yet strong enough to restrain him, and you will only make trouble for yourself if you try. What you can do, however, is establish a position south of the Yellow River and wait to see what happens." Cao Cao thought this an excellent idea.

S Soon afterwards the Black Mountain bandits Poison Yu, Bo Rao, Sui Gu and their followers, over a hundred thousand strong, plundered in Dong commandery,<sup>43</sup> and Wang Gong could not keep them out. Cao Cao led troops into Dong, attacked Bo Rao at Puyang and defeated him. Then Yuan Shao recommended him as Grand Administrator of Dong, and Cao Cao set his government at Dongwuyang.<sup>44</sup>

T The Southern Shanyu [Yufuluo] compelled Zhang Yang to join him against Yuan Shao, and they camped at Liyang. Dong Zhuo appointed Zhang Yang as General Who Establishes Righteousness and Grand Administrator of Henei.<sup>45</sup>

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U The Grand Astrologer examined the omens, and foretold that a great minister would be executed. Dong Zhuo had false accusation made that the Commandant of the Guards Zhang Wen had been in contact with Yuan Shu. In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *renxu* [5 Nov] Zhang Wen was flogged to death in the market-place to fulfil the prophecy.<sup>46</sup>

V The Yellow Turbans of Qing province ravaged Bohai with a force of three hundred thousand men, and they planned to join forces with the Black Mountain bandits. Gongsun Zan led twenty thousand infantry and cavalry to intercept them, and he attacked them south of Dongguang. He completely defeated them and cut off more than thirty thousand heads. The rebels abandoned their baggage and fled to the Yellow River, but Gongsun Zan caught up with them when they were only half across. The rebels were again defeated, the dead were several ten thousands, blood flowed and the water was red. He captured more than seventy thousand alive, and it was impossible to count the quantity of armour and carriages and treasure. The fear of his name spread wide.<sup>47</sup>

W Liu He, son of Liu Yu, was a Palace Attendant. The Emperor was hoping to return to the east, and he ordered Liu He to make his escape from Dong Zhuo, go in secret out the Wu Pass, and take a message to Liu Yu that he should lead troops to come and receive the Emperor.<sup>48</sup>

1926 Liu He came to Nanyang,<sup>49</sup> but Yuan Shu kept him there as a guest to force Liu Yu into alliance. He would not let him continue his journey, but promised that when reinforcements came they would advance to the west together, and he made Liu He write a letter to Liu Yu.

When Liu Yu received the letter he sent several thousand cavalry to aid Liu He. Gongsun Zan knew Yuan Shu had ideas of rebellion and he urged Liu Yu not to send them, but Liu Yu would not listen. Then Gongsun Zan became afraid Yuan Shu would hear about his advice and would be angry, so he sent his cousin Gongsun Yue to take another thousand horsemen to Yuan Shu. And he secretly encouraged Yuan Shu to keep hold of Liu He and take the soldiers for himself. So Liu Yu and Gongsun Zan had a grudge against each other.

Liu He fled from Yuan Shu, and got away to the north, where he was detained by Yuan Shao.

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X By this time, every ruler of a province or commandery east of the passes was trying to seize someone else's territory to make himself more powerful. Yuan Shao and Yuan Shu did not trust one another. Yuan Shu had sent Sun Jian to attack Dong Zhuo, but before he returned Yuan Shao had appointed Zhou Ang of Kuaiji as Inspector of Yu province. Zhou Ang attacked Sun Jian's camp at Yangcheng and captured it.<sup>50</sup>

Sun Jian sighed and said, "Together we raised loyal troops to save the nation. Now the rebels and bandits are almost destroyed, and yet each can act like this. Whom can I work with?" He led his men against Zhou Ang and put him to flight.

Y Yuan Shu had sent Gongsun Yue to help Sun Jian attack Zhou Ang, but Gongsun Yue was hit by a stray arrow and died. Gongsun Zan was angry and said, "My cousin is dead, and Yuan Shao is to blame." He led out his army and camped at the Pan River.<sup>51</sup> He sent a memorial to the court listing Yuan Shao's crimes and wrongdoings, and he brought his men forward to attack him.

Many of the cities of Ji province rebelled against Yuan Shao to support Gongsun Zan. Yuan Shao was afraid. He still held seal and ribbon as Grand

Administrator of Bohai,<sup>52</sup> so he gave the insignia to Gongsun Fan, a distant younger cousin of Gongsun Zan, and sent him out to that commandery. Gongsun Fan, however, turned against Yuan Shao and brought the soldiers of Bohai to help Gongsun Zan.

Gongsun Zan took authority to give appointments to his officers: Yan Gang as Inspector of Ji province, Tian Kai as Inspector of Qing province, and Shan Jing as Inspector of Yan province. He also changed the chief posts in commanderies and counties.

1927

Z Before this, Liu Bei of Zhuo commandery was a descendant of the Tranquil King of Zhongshan.<sup>53</sup> When he was young he was orphaned and poor, and he and his mother made a living by peddling shoes. He was seven feet and five inches tall, his hands hung below his knees, he could glance around and see his ears.<sup>54</sup> He was a man of great ambitions but few words, and whether he was pleased or angry it did not show in his expression. He had at one time studied with Gongsun Zan under Lu Zhi,<sup>55</sup> and so he went to join him. Gongsun Zan sent Liu Bei to accompany Tian Kai in the attack on Qing province. He did well and was made Chancellor of Pingyuan.

AA When Liu Bei was young he had become good friends with Guan Yu of Hedong and Zhang Fei of Zhuo commandery. He made Guan Yu and Zhang Fei Majors with Separate Commands and shared his troops with them. Liu Bei could sleep with these two men in the same bed and he treated them with the favour of brothers, but when there was a crowd of other people about, they would stand in attendance all day. They followed Liu Bei everywhere, and they would undertake anything for him, no matter how difficult or dangerous.

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BB Zhao Yun of Changshan brought troops from his native commandery to join Gongsun Zan. Gongsun Zan said, "I hear that the men of your worthy province all follow Yuan. Why are you the exception, and can persuade them the other way?"

"The empire is in turmoil," replied Zhao Yun, "no one can judge who is right, and the people are miserable as if they were hanging upside down. In my poor province we discussed affairs, and we turned to the place where there is fair government. It is not that we despise Lord Yuan, nor are we particularly biased towards you."

When Liu Bei met Zhao Yun, he admired him and showed him particular friendship. Zhao Yun followed Liu Bei to Pingyuan and commanded cavalry for him.

CC Before this, Yuan Shu had gained Nanyang, with a population of several million, but he acted wastefully and plundered at will, and he raised levies without restraint. The people suffered from this, and they gradually drifted away. He quarrelled with Yuan Shao, and each established a faction against the other. Yuan Shu joined Gongsun Zan, so Yuan Shao made an alliance with Liu Biao.

When a number of the leading retainers of the Yuan clan went over to Yuan Shao, Yuan Shu became angry and said, "These worthless fellows have deserted me to join our family slave." He wrote a letter to Gongsun Zan saying, "Shao is not a son of the Yuan clan." When Yuan Shao heard about this he was furious.<sup>56</sup>

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DD Yuan Shu sent Sun Jian to attack Liu Biao. Liu Biao sent his officer Huang Zu to meet the invasion between Fan and Deng.

1928 Sun Jian attacked Huang Zu and defeated him, and went on to besiege Xiangyang. Liu Biao sent Huang Zu to go secretly by night to gather reinforcements, but as he was on his way back Sun Jian faced and fought with him. Huang Zu was defeated and fled into the Xian hills.<sup>57</sup>

Sun Jian followed up his victory and pursued Huang Zu by night, but a soldier of Huang Zu's force hid in a bamboo grove and shot Sun Jian and killed him.<sup>58</sup>

EE Huan Jie of Changsha, who had been recommended by Sun Jian as Filially Pious and Incorrupt, went to Liu Biao to ask for Sun Jian's body. Liu Biao admired his sense of honour and approved the request.<sup>59</sup>

FF Sun Ben, son of Sun Jian's elder brother, led the army back to Yuan Shu, and Yuan Shu again recommended that Sun Ben become Inspector of Yu province.<sup>60</sup>

GG Because of Sun Jian's death, Yuan Shu was unable to conquer Liu Biao.

HH Before this, when Dong Zhuo entered the passes to Chang'an he had left Zhu Jun to guard Luoyang. Zhu Jun, however, was in secret communication with the east of the mountains. Afraid Dong Zhuo would attack him, he fled to Jing province.

Dong Zhuo appointed Yang Yi from Hongnong as Intendant of Henan, but then Zhu Jun led soldiers back to Luoyang, attacked Yang Yi and put him to flight. Henan was desolate and had nothing of value so Zhu Jun went east to camp at Zhongmou. He wrote to the provinces and commanderies asking for troops to attack Dong Zhuo.

Tao Qian, Inspector of Xu province, recommended Zhu Jun as Acting General of Chariots and Cavalry, and sent three thousand trained soldiers to help him, while other provinces and commanderies also sent troops.

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II Tao Qian was a man from Danyang. The Yellow Turbans had been plundering and making trouble in Xu province, and the court appointed him as Inspector. When Tao Qian arrived he attacked the Yellow Turbans, completely defeated them and put them to flight. The territory of the province was at peace.

JJ Liu Yan in Yi province had secret plans for rebellion.

Zhang Lu was officially a man from Pei, but the leadership of the Five Dou of Rice sect had been with his family since the time of his grandfather Zhang Ling, and they had all migrated to live in Shu. By reason of her teachings about demons and spirits, Zhang Lu's mother was a frequent visitor at Liu Yan's house.<sup>61</sup>

1929 Liu Yan appointed Zhang Lu as Major Who Controls Righteousness and Zhang Xiu as Major with a Separate Command. The two men joined forces to surprise and kill the Grand Administrator of Hanzhong, Su Gu, and to block the Yegu Pass, and they killed the messengers from the Han court.<sup>62</sup>

Liu Yan sent in a memorial, "The Rice Rebels have blocked the road and there is no way to get through." On various pretexts, he killed Wang Xian and Li Quan and a dozen others, the strongest and most influential men of the province, and so established a punitive authority. The Grand Administrator of Jianwei, Ren Qi, and the Colonel Jia Long raised troops against him, but Liu Yan attacked and killed both of them.<sup>63</sup>

Liu Yan became steadily more ambitious. He had an Imperial Coach made for himself, with more than a thousand other carriages of state.<sup>64</sup> Liu Biao sent in a memorial observing that "Liu Yan is like Zixia, and people west of the Yellow River mistake him for the sage."<sup>65</sup>

At this time, of Liu Yan's sons, Fan was General of the Gentlemen of the Household on the Left, Dan was Imperial Clerk Preparer of Documents,<sup>66</sup>

and Zhang was Colonel Who Serves the Army. All three followed the Emperor to Chang'an. Only his youngest son, the Major with a Separate Command Liu Mao, had remained with Liu Yan. The Emperor sent Liu Zhang with a message to admonish Liu Yan and re-establish contact. Liu Yan kept him and did not send him back.

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KK Gongsun Du's authority was respected beyond the seas. Many people fled to him from the disorders of China proper, including Guan Ning, Bing Yuan and Wang Lie, all from Beihai.

LL When Guan Ning was young he was a friend of Hua Xin. On one occasion he was hoeing a vegetable plot with him when they saw some gold in the ground. Guan Ning continued hoeing and did not turn to look at it, as if it was nothing different from a tile or a stone. Hua Xin took it up, then threw it away. From this people recognised their different qualities.

MM Bing Yuan travelled far in search of learning, and after eight or nine years he was due to go home. Because he did not drink wine, his teachers and school fellows prepared only rice and meat for the farewell party.

1930 Bing Yuan said, "I used to drink wine, but I stopped because it confused my thoughts and prevented me from working. Since I am leaving you for such a long time, however, I can drink and feast just this once." So they sat and drank wine, and after a whole day he was not drunk.

NN Guan Ning and Bing Yuan were both celebrated for their integrity, and Gongsun Du maintained a lodging-house always empty and ready for them.

Then Guan Ning came to Gongsun Du and, having met him, he built a hut in a mountain valley. At this time those who had fled the dangers generally lived in the south of [Gongsun Du's] commanderies. Only Guan Ning went to live in the north, to show that he had no intention of returning. Other refugees steadily came to join him, and in a very short time there was a complete city.

When Guan Ning saw Gongsun Du, he would speak of nothing but the classics and histories, and made no mention of the affairs of the day. When he went back to the hills he talked only about the Odes and the Documents, and he carried out and practiced worship with the sacrificial utensils. If a man was not a scholar he refused to see him. Because of this, Gongsun Du was pleased at his worth and the people were influenced by his virtue.

Bing Yuan had naturally strict principles. He spoke out clearly to set things right, and everyone from Gongsun Du down was wary of him. Guan



Ning said to Bing Yuan, "A hidden dragon fulfils its virtue by not being seen.<sup>67</sup> Speaking at the wrong time brings misfortune." He quietly persuaded Bing Yuan to return home, and when Gongsun Du heard of it he made no attempt to fetch him back.

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OO Wang Lie's ability and insight surpassed that of others and when he was young his fame was higher than that of either Guan Ning or Bing Yuan. He was extremely good at reforming by his teaching.

A man in Wang Lie's village stole cattle, and the owner caught him. The robber confessed, saying, "I would readily accept the punishment of death, just so long as you will not tell Wang Yanfang."<sup>68</sup>

Wang Lie did hear of this, and he sent someone to thank the man and present him with a bolt of cloth. When he was asked why, Wang Lie explained that "The robber was afraid I would learn of his wrongdoing. Now he has shown such sense of shame, his latent good can be brought to life. I gave him the cloth to encourage his feelings towards virtue."

Later on, there was an old man who left a sword on the road, and man passing saw it and stayed by it. When it was dusk the old man came back to look for the sword and he found it. He thought it remarkable [that the man should have guarded his sword for him] and he told Wang Lie about it. Wang Lie enquired further, and it turned out it was the former cattle-thief.

Everyone with a quarrel or dispute of right and wrong would have the case judged by Wang Lie. Some would turn back on the way [because they knew they were in the wrong], others would see his house and retreat. Each encouraged the other to act rightly, for none dared have a bad report reach Wang Li.

Gongsun Du wanted to appoint Wang Lie as his Chief Clerk, but Wang Lie refused. He became a merchant, and so degraded himself, and by this means he escaped the summons.<sup>69</sup>

## NOTES to Chuping 2: 191

A *HHS* 9, 371 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

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B *HHS* 73/63, 2355 (2b), the Biography of Liu Yu;  
*SGZ* 1, 8 (24b) PC quoting *Wei shu* by Wang Shen;  
*SGZ* 8, 241–42 (6a) PC quoting *Wu shu*;  
*SGZ* 6, 208 (72b–73a) PC quoting *Wu shu*.

1 Wu shu, quoted in *SGZ* 8, 240 PC, says that Liu Yu was a descendant of Emperor Guangwu through the lineage of the kings of Donghai. This would have made him a very distant connection to the throne.

2 Liu He, King of Changyi, had been chosen as emperor in 74 BC, but was soon afterwards dismissed for alleged improper and immoral conduct. See note 72 to Zhongping 6.

3 Though the accusation is clear, and is echoed by Yuan Shu's reply, as quoted below, it is hard to believe there was any serious question that the young emperor was truly a son of Emperor Ling. *Wu shu*, quoted in an earlier part of *SGZ* 6, 208 PC, which has been omitted by *ZZTJ*, says Han Fu and Yuan Shao were arguing that Liu Xie's claim to the throne was weak because he was the off-spring of a concubine, the Beauty Wang, and not the child of a formal wife: see also passage A of Zhongping 6. Considering Yuan Shao's position in his own family, however, on which see note 11 to Zhongping 6, and his sensitivity to it, one must wonder how he could raise such a question.

4 Biographies of Zhou Bo, Marquis of Jiang, are in *SJ* 57 and *HS* 40. Biographies of Guan Ying are in *SJ* 95 and *HS* 41.

In 180, these two men took a leading role in the conspiracy which overthrew the power of the Lü clan, relatives of the late Empress-Dowager who had attempted to maintain control of the government, and placed Emperor Wen, a son of the founding Emperor Gao, upon the throne. See, for example, *HS* 3, 100–05, and Dubs, *HFHD* I, 172–173.

Before his accession, Emperor Wen had been King of Dai. The commandery of Dai, which had formed part of that kingdom, was under the jurisdiction of You province during Later Han, so there was a fortuitous connection to Liu Yu.

5 The biography of Wu Zixu is in *SJ* 66; Nienhauser, *GSR* VII, 49–59. His personal name was Yun, but he is more commonly known by his style.

Wu Zixu was a subject of the state of Chu during the Chunqiu period in the late sixth and early fifth centuries. His father and brother were put to death by King Ping of Chu, and he fled to the rival state of Wu, where he rose to high office. He then arranged for Wu to attack Chu, and they captured the capital. By this time, King Ping was dead, but Wu Zixu had the body dug up and publicly flogged. See also Johnson, "Epic and History in Early China."

6 King Cheng of the Zhou dynasty was the son of King Wu, conqueror of the state of Shang/Yin. He succeeded his father while still a child, and his uncle the Duke of Zhou acted as regent. King Cheng became a worthy sovereign in his own right. See, for example, *SJ* 4, 131–34; Chavannes, *MHI*, 247–249 (Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 64–66), and *Shu jing* V.20.1, in the *Zhou guan* "The Officers of Zhou" Chapter; Legge, *CC* III, 523 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 331).

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C *HHS* 72/62, 2329 (7b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

7 The date of this appointment is given by the Annals, *HHS* 9, 370, but *HHS* 72/62 places it after Dong Zhuo's arrival at Chang'an two months later. The latter date is more likely, particularly since *HHS* 72/62 says also that Dong Zhuo arranged for one of the ministers in his control to carry out the formal ceremony.

The title Grand Master was introduced for a time by Wang Mang, but was not maintained under Later Han: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 5 and 159 note 7. Commentary to *HHS* 114/24, 3557, the Treatise of Officials, quotes the *Hanguan yi* of Ying Shao, which

says that the post was ranked above the Grand Tutor. The change was evidently one of prestige, with no administrative significance.

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D SGZ 46 (Wu 1), 1096 (10b–11a), the Biography of Sun Jian;  
HHS 72/62, 2328 (7a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

8 HHS commentary says that the village of Yangren was west of the county city of Liang, so Sun Jian had more than recovered the ground he lost from his defeat by Xu Rong.

9 SGZ 46 says that Hu Zhen was Grand Administrator of Chen commandery, but a parallel text of Jiuzhou chunqiu, quoted in commentary to HHS 72/62, has the reading Dong, and this is followed by ZZTJ. As Lu Bi observes in his SGZJJ, Chen was at this time a kingdom, not a commandery, and should thus have been headed by a Chancellor.

10 The office of Chief Controller (*dudu*) is not mentioned in surviving records of the regular official or command structure of Han, It appears, however, with increasing frequency during this period of civil war.

The significance of such an appointment could vary. A few years later, in the army of Sun Ce, the Chief Controller was a fairly low-ranking post, responsible for internal discipline and administration: passage JJ of Xingping 2. It seems likely this was the position of the unfortunate Hua Xiong in the present instance.

Under Cao Cao, however, a Chief Controller was appointed with military responsibility for several commanderies: passage B of Jian'an 4; and under Yuan Shao, three men with that title held command of substantial divisions of a field army: passage J of Jian'an 4. In later times, the appointment was frequently used at this higher level by the various competing warlords and their states, particularly for regional and garrison command on the frontiers.

11 The phrase "insidious slanders" comes from *Lun yu* XII.6; Legge, CC I, 253 (Lau, *Analects*, 111).

12 It seems possible this embassy from Dong Zhuo came to Sun Jian before the time Yuan Shu threatened to cut off his supplies on suspicion of disloyalty: Sun Jian rejected Li Jue's offers in fine style, but he did allow him to return unscathed, and Yuan Shu could have felt suspicious that he was temporising with the enemy.

I take the pronunciation of Li Jue's personal name from ZZTJ commentary. This is the man who emerged as a leader against Wang Yun and Lü Bu after the assassination of Dong Zhuo two years later: passage Q of Chuping 3.

13 Dagu, or Taigu, was one of the fortified passes which defended the approaches to Luoyang from the south.

14 The tombs of the emperors of Later Han had been established to the southeast and the northwest of the capital: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 86. Sun Jian was approaching from the south.

15 Mianchi and Shan were counties in Hongnong, on the road between Luoyang and Chang'an. Mianchi, west of present-day Mianchi in Henan, was the nearer to Luoyang. Shan, on the Yellow River by present-day Shan in Henan, had communications with the north, and later became Dong Zhuo's main garrison post for the defence of Chang'an against the east.

16 The *tailao* sacrifice was the slaughter of a bull, a ram and a pig. See Bodde, *Festivals*, 56, and Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 380.

- 17 The Great Seal of State (*chuanguo xi*; or "Seal Which Transmits the State") had been lost at the time of the massacre of the eunuchs at Luoyang two years earlier: passage W and note 64 of Zhongping 6.

The seal was a central item at each ceremony of accession, and it was worn at the belt of the sovereign on state occasions. Predictably, a number of legends grew up around the sacred object, and this story of Sun Jian's magical discovery may be one of them. My own analysis, however, would accept the possibility that by one means or another he did discover or acquire the seal which had been used by the rulers of Later Han: de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 138–145.

On the general history of the Great Seal of State, see Chavannes, *MHII*, 108–110 note 5; Daudin, *Sigillographie*, 129–157; and Rogers, *Fu Chien*, 54–55 and 102 note 279.

- 18 Xin'an county in Hongnong was east of present-day Mianchi in Henan, and thus a short distance from Dong Zhuo's camp at Mianchi: note 15 above.

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E *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1098–99 (11b–12a) PC quoting *Shanyang gong zaiji*.

- 19 Dong Zhuo is referring to a campaign against the rebels in Liang province some five years earlier.

The rebellion broke out at the end of 184, and the first defeat of the enemy was achieved at the battle of Meiyang, just west of Chang'an, in 185. Following that success, Dong Zhuo and other commanders were ordered to advance against the rebels' bases in the west, but they achieved no success. The campaign is described by *ZZTJ* 58, 1881; de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling I*, 197, and discussed by de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 150–151 and 157–159.

Sun Jian was actually a Major with a Separate Command at the time Dong Zhuo is referring to. He was first appointed Associate Major in the Army by Zhu Jun at the time of the Yellow Turban rising early in 184, but was promoted at the end of that campaign. During the Liang province operations, he was appointed to an advisory position at the headquarters of Zhang Wen, but probably maintained the same substantive rank. See *SGZ* 46, 1094–95; de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 92–100, and *cf.* de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling I*, 197–198, and II, 571–572.

- 20 Dong Zhuo is describing a strategy which he and Sun Jian had both recommended and used: to establish a reserve guard to fix the enemy while a mobile force was used in immediate combat against their more vulnerable positions.

This passage, of course, would be better situated in the account of the campaign of 185. The historians, however, and particularly Pei Songzhi who placed it in his commentary to Sun Jian's biography in *SGZ* 46, were concerned to show Dong Zhuo's respect for Sun Jian's military ability, demonstrated by this conversation of 189, rather than to enhance the narrative of the events four years earlier.

Liu Ai, Chief Clerk and thus senior assistant to Dong Zhuo's military headquarters, was the compiler of two chronicle works, the *Lingdi ji* and the *Xiandi ji*. It is probable, therefore, that the essential account of this conversation is authentic.

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F *HHS* 72/62, 2328 (7b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

- 21 Anyi, capital of Hedong commandery, was near present-day Anyi in Shanxi. It guarded against attack on the Chang'an region from the northeast.

Huayin county in Hongnong was by present-day Huayin in Shenxi, southwest of the great bend of the Yellow River and the junction with the Wei. It could thus serve as a reserve base against an attack either directly from the east through Mianchi and Hongnong, or from the northeast through Anyi.

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G SGZ 46 (Wu 1), 1097 (14b), the Biography of Sun Jian.

22 So the former capital of Luoyang was now abandoned by both contending forces.

[Cp2: 191]

H HHS 71/61, 2307 (6b), the Biography of Huangfu Song;

SGZ 6, 178–79 (15b) PC quoting the [*Hou*] *Han ji* of Zhang Fan.

23 The date is given by HHS 9, 371.

24 Yizhen was the style of Huangfu Song.

25 *ZZTJ* has followed the anecdote told by Zhang Fan, but Kaoyi commentary observes that there are other accounts of the dialogue between the two men on this occasion: in the main text of HHS 71/61, in commentary to HHS 71/61 quoting the *Xiandi chunqiu*, and in SGZ 6, 178 PC quoting *Shanyang gong zaiji*. There is, moreover, considerable disagreement as to what the exchange was actually about.

According to the main text of HHS 71/61, Huangfu Song had been sent to prison and was due to be executed for his opposition to Dong Zhuo. He was, however, released at the earnest pleading of his son, and was then appointed Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, formal head of the censorate. Dong Zhuo's question to him was then, "Do you submit to my authority?" (interpreting the character *bei* in accordance with HHS commentary, as meaning *fu* "to submit"). Huangfu Song smiled and acknowledged his former errors.

According to *Xiandi chunqiu* and to *Shanyang gong zaiji*, the question was the same (with specific use of the character *fu* "to submit"), but it simply referred to the long personal rivalry between the two men. Huangfu Song's reply was that formerly they had contended with one another like eagles, but now Dong Zhuo resembled a phoenix, far beyond his reach.

The version of Zhang Fan, which Sima Guang has chosen to follow, reads the central word of Dong Zhuo's question as *bu*, and presents the exchange without any context. Zhang Fan adds, however, that Dong Zhuo accepted Huangfu Song's reply as conciliatory and agreeable.

[Cp2: 191]

I SGZ 6, 178 (14b) PC quoting *Xiandi ji*.

26 According to tradition, Lü Shang, also known as the Grand Duke's Hope, was chief minister to King Wen and King Wu of Zhou, and assisted at the conquest of Shang/Yin. He was also granted the title "Honoured Uncle" (*shangfu*). See for example *SJ* 4, 120; Chavannes, *MH* I, 222–223 (Nienhauser, *GSRI*, 59 and note 49), and *SJ* 32, 1477–81; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 34–42.

27 The Biography of Cai Yong in HHS 60/50B, 2005, has a very similar account of this discussion. The main text of SGZ 6, however, claims at 176 that Dong Zhuo did take the titles of Grand Duke and Honoured Uncle.

[Cp2: 191]

J SGZ 6, 176–77 (17a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;

SGZ 6, 178 (17a), PC quoting the *Wei shu* by Wang Shen.

28 This is an echo of the popular reaction to the tyrannous King Li of Zhou in the ninth century BC: *SJ* 4, 142; Chavannes, *MH* I, 272 (Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 71), also *Guo yu* 1, 4b. King Li sought to block criticism, but was later driven from his throne; Dong Zhuo likewise came to grief.

[*Cp2: 191*]

K *HHS* 9, 371 (3a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

29 *HHS* 106/16, 3332, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this earthquake, but offers no prognostication.

[*Cp2: 191*]

L *SGZ* 8, 251 (24a), the Biography of Zhang Yang.

30 The Zhang River runs from the Taihang Mountains east across the North China Plain, and one of its upper courses, known as the Zhuozhang (the Muddy Zhang), flows by Zhangzi in Shanxi, site of the chief county of Shangdang commandery under Later Han. The city of Ye, headquarters of Han Fu as Governor of Ji province, was on the lower reaches of the Zhang river.

[*Cp2: 191*]

M *HHS* 74/64A, 2377–78 (4a–5a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 6, 191 (40b), PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

31 The Yellow River in this area flowed some distance north of its modern course. Yan Crossing was north of present-day Yanjin in Henan, on the south-eastern border of Ji province, and about one hundred kilometres from Han Fu's headquarters at Ye. See also note 37 below.

32 Yan and Dai were two feudal states of the north during the Zhou period, approximately the region of present-day Hebei province. The energetic military commander Gongsun Zan, a recalcitrant subordinate of Liu Yu in You province, was currently based in Youbeiping commandery. See, for example, de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 211.

33 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that there are several versions of this anecdote, with different lists of the names of the advisers: *SGZ* 6, 191; *Jiuzhou chunqiu*, quoted in *SGZ* 6, 191–92 PC, and *HHJ* 26, 11b–12a.

34 Benchu was the style of Yuan Shao.

35 Celebrated examples of ceding power rang in Chinese tradition are those of the legendary emperors Yao and Shun: each transferred government to a worthy successor who was not a relative. See *Shu jing* I.3.12, and II.2.2.18, chapters *Yao dian* "The Canon of Yao" and *Da-Yu mo* "The Counsels of the Great Yu;" Legge, *CC* III, 25–27 and 63 (Couvreur, *Annales*, 10–11 and 40–41).

[*Cp2: 191*]

N *SGZ* 6, 191–92 (41b–42a), PC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*;  
[*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*, quoted in commentary to *HHS* 74/64A, 2378 (5a).

36 The crossbow was the chief infantry missile weapon of Han: see, for example, Loewe, "The Campaigns of Han Wu-ti," 110. There was no force or category of Strong Bowmen (*qiangnu*) in the regular military system of Han, but there are references like this in texts of the time. Loading and firing a crossbow required some training, so these soldiers were often organised as special units.

37 *ZZTJ* commentary, citing *SJZ* 9, 26b–33b, observes that the Qing River which was tributary to the Yellow River flowed through Henei commandery and joined the Yellow River some

distance upstream of Chaoge (*SJZ* 9, 1a–8a) It was the Qi River which flowed through Chaoge county to join the Yellow River south of Chaoge city (*SJZ* 9, 21a–22a). See *Zhongguo lishi ditu* ji II, 48. The name Qingshui is an abbreviation for Qingshuikou "Mouth of the Qing River," but it actually refers to the place where the Qi River, not the Qing, joins the Yellow River. The name presumably came from an earlier time, when the courses of the streams were different (*SJZ* 9, 8b). Qingshui was also the site of the Yan Crossing mentioned above: note 31.

As they returned to join Han Fu at Ye, Zhao Fu and his forces thus came eastwards along the Yellow River from the Meng Crossing. At Qingshui[kou], the mouth to the Qi River, they turned north up that stream and passed by Yuan Shao's camp at the Yan Crossing in ostentatious defiance.

- 38 Zhao Zhong, a leading eunuch at the time of Emperor Ling, had been killed in the massacre of 189: passage S of Zhongping 6. Originally from Anping commandery (*HHS* 78/68, 2534), he had evidently established a residence in the capital of his native province.

[*Cp2: 191*]

O [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*, quoted in commentary to *HHS* 74/64A, 2378 (5a).

[*Cp2: 191*]

P *HHS* 74/64A, 2378–80 (5a).

- 39 Guangping county in Julu was north of present-day Quzhou in Hebei, and Ju Shou had been a locally-appointed officer under Han Fu. His new responsibility (*shi*) as Supervisor and Protector (*jianhu*) gave him police authority within Yuan Shao's army. On the significance of the term hu as indicating an officer to discipline an army, see de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance" 62 note 46; cf. Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 121.

- 40 This sentence comes from a later part of the biography of Yuan Shao, *HHS* 74/64A, at 2390.

[*Cp2: 191*]

Q *HHS* 74/64A, 2380 (5b),

with commentary quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji* and *Jiuzhou chunqiu*.

- 41 As *ZZTJ* commentary observes, in the regular system of Later Han the Bureau for the Officials at the Capital was established only under the Colonel Director of Retainers at the imperial capital, not, as here, in a provincial government: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 85 and 92. Yuan Shao may have been reclaiming his former authority as Colonel Director, while there is some implication that his government is more closely linked to the true centre of power.

- 42 *ZZTJ* commentary describes the *shudao* as a writing utensil. Paper was in common use at this time, but writing was still done on wood and bamboo, and the knife could be used as a stylus or, more often, to prepare and clean the surface.

[*Cp2: 191*]

R *SGZ* 12, 384 (27a) PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen.

[*Cp2: 191*]

S *SGZ* 1, 8–9 (24b–25a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

- 43 The Black Mountain bandits were an amorphous group which had arisen in the eastern ridges of the Taihang range during the period of disorder which followed the Yellow Turban rebellion of 184: de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 192–193, and II, 567–568.

44 Dong commandery was in Yan province, and extended along the Yellow River south of Yuan Shao's position in Ji province. Wang Gong had taken position as Grand Administrator there in the previous year: passage P of Chuping 1.

The capital of Dong commandery under Later Han was at Puyang, south of present-day Puyang in Hebei. Cao Cao's headquarters at Dongwuyang were some distance to the northwest, on the northern bank of the Yellow River, by present-day Shen in Shandong.

[Cp2: 191]

T *SGZ* 8, 251 (24b), the Biography of Zhang Yang.

45 Liyang, which had been an important garrison centre for the recruitment and training of troops under Later Han, was on the Yellow River a short distance downstream from the Yan Crossing. West of Puyang and south of Ye, it lay just east of the borders of Henei commandery, and represented a substantial salient into the North China Plain.

[Cp2: 191]

U *HHS* 72/62, 2330 (8b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

46 The date is given by the Annals in *HHS* 9, 372.

*ZZTJ* commentary recalls the occasion in 185 that Zhang Wen could have executed Dong Zhuo for insubordination during the campaign against the rebels of Liang province: de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 197–198.

The omen was ultimately a threat to Dong Zhuo himself, and was fulfilled in the following year: passage I of Chuping 3.

[Cp2: 191]

V *HHS* 73/63, 2359 (5a–b), the Biography of Gongsun Zan.

47 Bohai commandery was north of the mouth of the Yellow River, and Dongguang county was in the west of the commandery, some eighty kilometres north of the River.

*HHS* 73/63 says that the rebels came from Qing and also from Xu province, further to the south. They had broken out from the region of the Shandong peninsula, and were turning westwards to cross the plain towards the Taihang Mountains. After their defeat by Gongsun Zan south of Dongguang, however, they turned back to seek their home country, and Gongsun Zan chased them and caught them in their retreat across the Yellow River in the region of Pingyuan commandery.

According to *SJZ* 5, 24a, the slaughter actually took place not on the main stream of the Yellow River, but further north, on a branch of the old course, known as the Pan River, which lay on the border of Ji and Qing provinces: see note 51 below.

[Cp2: 191]

W *HHS* 73/63, 2355–56 (3a), the Biography of Liu Yu;  
*SGZ* 8, 241 (6b–7a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan.

48 Kaoyi commentary notes that the biography of Liu Yu in *HHS* 73/63, 2355, mistakenly combines this escape of Liu He with the journey of Tian Chou some three years later: passage Q of Chuping 4. As Sima Guang points out, if Liu He had travelled back with Tian Chou, as *HHS* 73/63 suggests, he would have taken a route along the north, not one through the Wu Pass, which led to the southeast.

49 The Wu Pass was on the main road to Nanyang, where Yuan Shu had his base.

[Cp2: 191]

X *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1100 (14b) PC quoting *Wu lu*.



50 Yangcheng county, by present-day Dengfeng in Henan, was in the northern part of Yingchuan commandery, on the border between the territory of Yuan Shao and that of Yuan Shu.

There were three brothers from Kuaiji, Zhou Xin, Zhou Ang and Zhou Yu, in the service of Yuan Shao about this time, and there is complete disagreement between the various sources as to which of the brothers was sent against Sun Jian in Yu province. *HHS* 75/65, 2439, says it was Zhou Xin, and *HHS* 73/63, 2359, agrees, but the parallel text to *HHS* 73/63, in *SGZ* 8, 242, says it was Zhou Ang, and this has been followed by Sima Guang.

*Wu lu*, however, the base text for this passage, says it was Zhou Yu, and this is followed by a very circumstantial account of the careers of the three brothers taken from *Kuaiji dianlu*. I suspect that version is correct: de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 130–131.

[*Cp2: 191*]

Y *HHS* 73/63, 2359–60 (5b–7b), the Biography of Gongsun Zan;  
*SGZ* 8, 242 (7a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan.

51 The Pan River, on the borders of Ji and Qing provinces, was a remnant of the old course of the Yellow River. It took its name from Pan county in Pingyuan commandery of Qing Province, by present-day Deping in Shandong. *SZ* 5, 24a, says this was the place where Gongsun Zan had defeated the Yellow Turbans earlier in the year. See note 47 above.

52 Dong Zhuo had appointed Yuan Shao as Grand Administrator of Bohai in an attempt to make peace with him: passage QQ of Zhongping 6.

[*Cp2: 191*]

Z *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 871–72 (1b–4b), the Biography of Liu Bei, First Sovereign.

53 Liu Sheng, whose posthumous title was Tranquil (*Jing*) King of Zhongshan, born to a concubine, was one of fourteen sons of Emperor Jing of Former Han in the middle of the second century BC: *HS* 53, 2409 and 2422. Liu Bei could therefore claim a distant relationship with the lineage of the rulers of Later Han, for Emperor Guangwu had also been a descendant of Emperor Jing: *HHS* 1A, 1. On the other hand, while it is possible that Liu Bei could trace his ancestry over more than three centuries, it was hardly a matter of real dynastic significance, for he must have shared that imperial connection with many others.

54 By Chinese measure there were ten *cun* inches to one *chi* foot, and the foot measure of Han was some 23 cm or nine English inches. Liu Bei was therefore about 173 cm, or five feet eight inches tall. Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 18, observes that in the Han period seven *chi* feet (161 cm; five feet three inches) was considered the normal height of a man.

In descriptions of this kind, historians often emphasised or invented curious physical appearance for the future rulers of an imperial state, and they may be items of formal exaggeration rather than accurate reporting. Both the founding emperors, Gao of Former Han and Guangwu of Later Han, are said to have had large foreheads, big noses, and strong beards, and Guangwu was tall. See *HS* 1, 2; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 29, and *HHS* 1A, 1, discussed by Bielenstein, *RHD* I, 99.

Lü Bu, however, is said to have referred to Liu Bei in hostile fashion as "Big-ears" (passage P of Jian'an 3), so part of this description was probably correct.

55 Lu Zhi, a man from Zhuo commandery, whose biography is in *HHS* 64/54, had a distinguished military record in operations against the Yellow Turbans and other rebels. He was also a noted scholar and historian.

[*Cp2*: 191]

AA *SGZ* 36 (Shu 6), 929 (1a–b), the Biography of Guan Yu.

[*Cp2*: 191]

BB *SGZ* 36 (Shu 6), 948 (14b), the Biography of Zhao Yun;  
*SGZ* 36 (Shu 6), 949 (15a) PC quoting *Zhao Yun biezhuàn*.

[*Cp2*: 191]

CC *HHS* 75/65, 2439 (6a–7a), the Biography of Yuan Shu;  
*SGZ* 6, 207 (72a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shu.

56 On the relationship of Yuan Shao and Yuan Shu, see note 11 of Zhongping 6.

[*Cp2*: 191]

DD *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1100 (15a), the Biography of Sun Jian;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1100–01(15b) PC quoting *Dian lue*.

57 The two cities Fan and Deng lay north of the Han, while Xiangyang, Liu Biao's capital (passage O of Chuping 1), was on the southern bank. Sun Jian met Huang Zu north of the Han, defeated him there and pursued him across the river. The Xian hills were south of Xiangyang city, on Liu Biao's line of communications.

58 There is confusion about the date of this campaign and of Sun Jian's death.

*ZZTJ* follows the account in *Dian lue*, but the biography of Liu Biao in *SGZ* 6, 211, says that Sun Jian was struck by a flying arrow, not by an aimed shot from ambush, while *Hanmo yingxiong ji*, quoted in *SGZ* 46, 1101 PC, says he was killed by a stone thrown from above.

The main text of *SGZ* 46 says that the operations took place in Chuping 3. [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*, quoted by PC, says he was killed on the seventh day of the first month of Chuping 4 (25 Feb 193). This could be reconciled with *SGZ*, if we assume the military operations began at the end of Chuping 3.

Sima Guang, however, sets the date in Chuping 2: his *Kaoyi* commentary notes that a memorial of Sun Jian's son Sun Ce, written about 197, refers to the death of Sun Jian when Sun Ce himself was seventeen: *SGZ* 46, 1107 PC quoting *Wu lu*. Sun Ce died in Jian'an 5 (200/201) at the age of twenty–six *sui*, so Sun Jian should have died nine years earlier. Sima Guang also cites the *Hou Han ji* of Zhang Fan and *Wu li*, both in *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1107 PC, which give the date of Sun Jian's death as Chuping 2.

*HHJ* 27, 3b, has the date of Sun Jian's death in the fifth month of Chuping 3; despite the chronicle form of that work, however, its dating is not reliable.

Considering the progress of events at the time, and assuming Sun Ce, writing an official memorial, would be careful about the date of his father's death, I agree with Sima Guang in dating the fatal campaign to Chuping 2.

[*Cp2*: 191]

EE *SGZ* 22, 631 (1a–b), the Biography of Huan Jie.

59 Filially Pious and Incorrupt was the formal title of a candidate recommended for commissioned office by the head of his commandery unit. Huan Jie had been nominated while Sun Jian was Grand Administrator of Changsha, some time between 187 and 190.

Though he was now in the service of Liu Biao, he was still by custom under an obligation to his former patron, and it was appropriate that he negotiate the recovery of Sun Jian's body.

[Cp2: 191]

FF *SGZ* 51 (Wu 6), 1209 (6a), the Biography of Sun Ben.

60 Sun Jian had held title as a general as well as being Inspector of Yu province. Sun Ben had only the local appointment, with far less authority.

[Cp2: 191]

GG *SGZ* 6, 210 (82b), the Biography of Liu Biao.

[Cp2: 191]

HH *HHS* 71/61, 2312 (10a–b), the Biography of Zhu Jun.

[Cp2: 191]

II *HHS* 73/63, 2366 (10a–b), the Biography of Tao Qian;  
*SGZ* 8, 247–48 (17a–20a), the Biography of Tao Qian.

[Cp2: 191]

JJ *SGZ* 31 (Shu 1), 867 (7a–8b), the Biography of Liu Yan;  
*SGZ* 8, 263 (42b–44a), the Biography of Zhang Lu.

61 The term *Shu* may refer specifically to the Han commandery of that name, but it could also describe the whole of the Sichuan basin. The residence of the Governor of Yi province was the city of Mianzhu in Guanghan commandery.

I render the phrase *guidao* as "teachings about demons and spirits." The term *gui* is not necessarily pejorative here, and it frequently appears in descriptions of the Zhang group and the Five Dou of Rice Sect.

The earlier history of the Rice Sect is mentioned in *ZZTJ* 58, 1872; de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 185, discussed in de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* II, 557–558. The account is based upon a number of texts, some contradictory.

There is evidence, notably in the Dunhuang text of the *Laozi bianhua jing* "Sutra of the Transformation of Laozi" (MS. Stein 2295), discussed by Seidel, "Image of the Perfect Ruler," 222–227, for the existence of a number of competing, potentially rebellious groups in the region of Yi province, present-day Sichuan, during the latter part of the second century AD. Among these was Zhang Lu, who claimed authority through his grandfather Zhang Ling.

*Dian lue*, quoted in commentary to *HHS* 75/65, 2436, and also (in a corrupt version) by *SGZ* 8, 264 PC, has a comparatively detailed account of the organisation and beliefs of the Rice Sect, to which the leadership is attributed first to Zhang Xiu, and then to Zhang Lu.

Eichhorn, "Chang Jio und Chang Lu," 317–318, however, suggests that though Zhang Ling had been a Taoist teacher, and Zhang Lu's mother was an adept, Zhang Lu himself was not at first particularly concerned with Taoist beliefs, while Zhang Xiu, who had been involved in the brief rebellion of 184, and appears again below, was the effective leader of the Rice Sect. In particular, Eichhorn notes the story in *Dian lue* that when Zhang Lu later killed Zhang Xiu (passage UU of Jian'an 5), he was obliged to maintain Zhang Xiu's teachings in order to keep the support of the people.

It is indeed possible that Zhang Xiu was the real founder and leader of the Rice Sect until the time Zhang Lu killed him and took over, while Zhang Ling and his son, whose name appears in the main text of *SGZ* 8 as Zhang Heng, had been teachers of a separate, less important group. The references to the foundation and leadership of the Rice Sect by

Zhang Ling and Zhang Heng would then be later interpolations, designed to give a legitimate tradition to the claims of Zhang Lu.

In any event, Eichhorn is surely correct when he remarks that Zhang Ling and Zhang Heng owe their later fame and glory to the success of Zhang Lu; without him, they would have remained nameless nobodies.

Among other discussions of the Five Dou of Rice sect, I mention particularly those of Maspero, Taoisme; Michaud, "Yellow Turbans;" Fukui and Miyakawa, also de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 356–361 and notes.

62 Hanzhong commandery, on the upper reaches of the Han River in the south of present-day Shenxi, was the northernmost territory of Yi province. The Baoye Road led south from Mei county through the Yegu Pass [in the valley of the Ye River] to Baozhong and Nanzheng. This was the main route from the region of Chang'an through the Qin Ling dividing range, and Nanzheng, capital of Hanzhong commandery, was the terminus for all roads from the north.

63 Jia Long had been an Attendant Official of Yi province, who put down a rebellion in 186 and was one of the leaders in receiving and establishing Liu Yan in his position as Governor: *SGZ* 31 (Shu 1), 866; de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 206.

64 The Imperial Coach (*chengyu*) was the chief carriage of the emperor, and was used at the time of the Grand Procession (*dajia*), most solemn cortege of the state: *HHS* 119/29, 3648–49, the Treatise of Carriages and Robes, discussed by Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 244–248.

The Imperial Coach and the other great chariots of state are described by the treatise as having vermilion or gold-painted wheels, being decorated with the images of powerful and sacred animals, covered by a feathered canopy and drawn by six horses: *HHS* 119/29, 3646–47; discussed by Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 245–248, who points out, however, that the information is contradictory.

At 3649, moreover, commentary to the Treatise quotes from the *Hanguan lubu tu* "Drawings of Imperial Processions in Han Offices" by Ying Shao of the late second century, which specifies that in the Grand Procession the emperor rode in a Phoenix Carriage (*fenghuang ju*): Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 245. This would indicate that the Imperial Carriage was decorated with images of that sacred bird, and it may, like the Phoenix Chariot (*luanlu*) usurped by Gongsun Du in the northeast, have had bells to imitate its melodious cry: passage Y and note 57 to Chuping 1. Liu Yan, as a former minister at court, would have had some idea what form his vehicle should take, though it may not have followed the model perfectly. The point is, however, that he was usurping an imperial prerogative, with arrogance even greater than that of Gongsun Du.

I interpret the phrase *juju* as referring to other ornamented carriages and chariots, whose style should likewise have been reserved to the court of Han, but which Liu Yan used in his own processions.

65 Zixia was the style of Bu Shang, a disciple of Confucius. *Li ji* 2.1A.12; Couvreur, *Mémoires* I, 138–139, tells how Zixia's son died, and he wept so much that he lost his eyesight. Another of Confucius' disciples, Zeng Sen, went to commiserate with him. When Zixia exclaimed, however, that he had done nothing to deserve such misfortune, Zeng Can became angry and reproached him: Zixia had received Confucius' teaching in the region of Lu, and then went to reside on the North China plain west of the Yellow River. Teaching the

people there what he had learnt from the Master, he failed to explain clearly that the doctrines were not his own, and as a result he had acquired credit and glory without paying proper acknowledgement.

It is this passage to which Liu Biao refers. Liu Yan was taking to himself the attributes and prestige of the Emperor, and confusing the people about their true allegiance.

- 66 Attendant Imperial Clerk Preparer of Documents (*zhishu shiyushi*) was a senior official of the censorate, responsible for supervision of legal cases dealt with by the office of the Commandant of Justice: note 68 to Zhongping 6, de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 71, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 58 [Bielenstein renders the title as Attending Secretary Preparer of Documents, and uses the variant form *chishu*, on which see the commentary of the Qing scholar Qian Daxin quoted by *HHSJJ* 60/50B, 19a.]

[*Cp2: 191*]

- KK This introductory passage was composed by Sima Guang himself, based upon the biography of Gongsun Du, *SGZ* 8, 252, and those of the scholars referred to in the passages following.

[*Cp2: 191*]

- LL *Shishuo xinyu* 1.11; Mather, *New Account of the Tales of the World*, 7.

[No earlier provenance is recorded for this anecdote, and it appears Sima Guang has taken the item from that marginally historical work, rather than from his more usual sources such as *HHS* and *SGZ*.]

[*Cp2: 191*]

- MM *SGZ* 11, 352 (26b), PC quoting [*Bing*] *Yuan biezhuàn*.

[*Cp2: 191*]

- NN *SGZ* 11, 354 (11b), the Biography of Guan Ning;  
*SGZ* 11, 354–55 (11b), PC quoting Fuzi.

- 67 *Yi jing*, hexagram 1: Qian [The Creative], first line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes*, 7:  
Nine at the beginning means:  
Hidden dragon. Do not act.

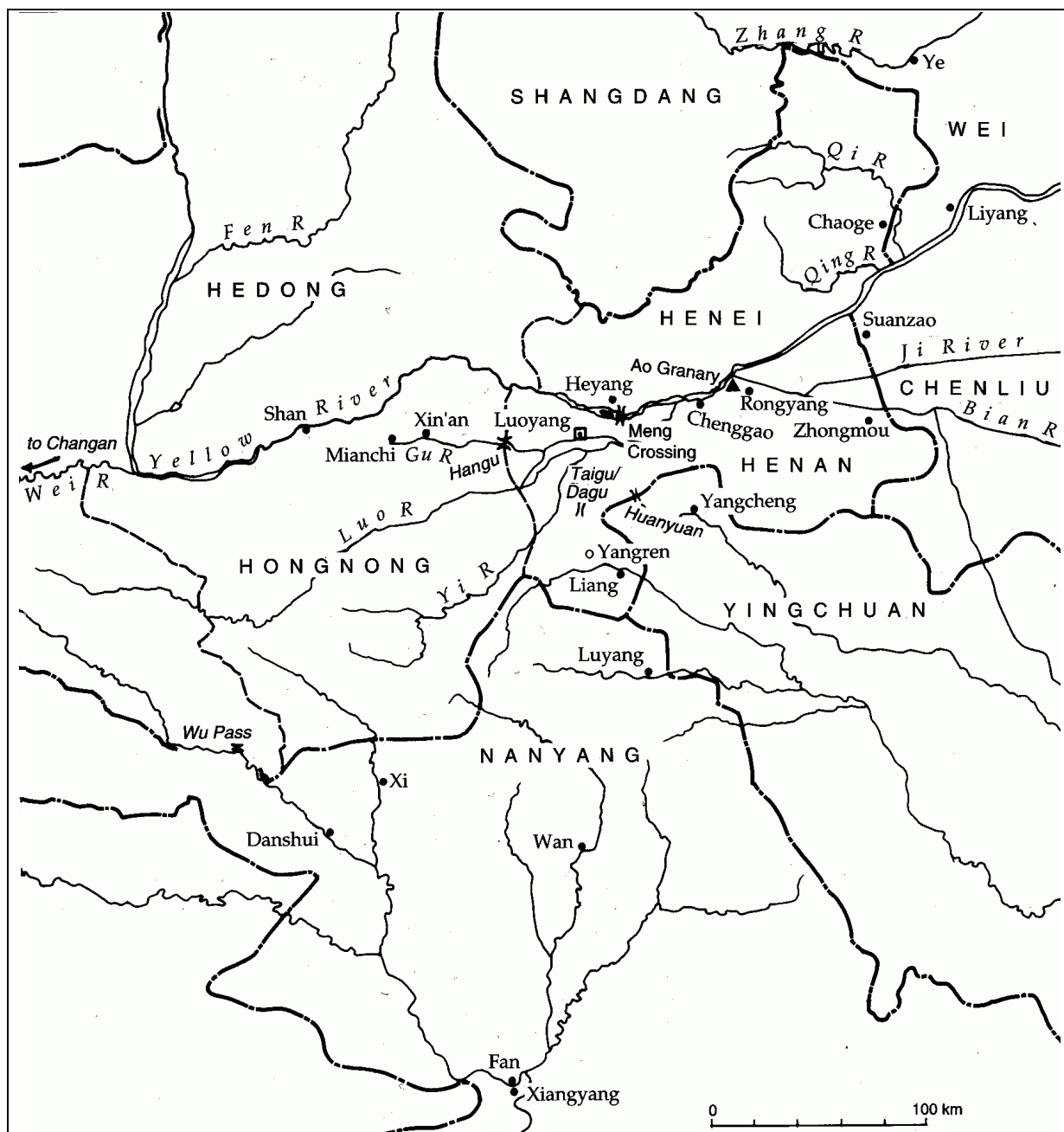
[*Cp2: 191*]

- OO *HHS* 81/71, 2696–97 (23a–b), the Biography of Wang Lie;  
*SGZ* 11, 360 (31a–b), the Biography of Wang Lie;  
*SGZ* 11, 360 (31b–32a) PC quoting *Xianxian xingzhuang*.

- 68 Yanfang was the style of Wang Lie.

- 69 It is not clear whether there was a formal prohibition against the employment of merchants in the civil service of Later Han, and there were certainly exceptions to any such rule. There is, however, clear evidence of social and political discrimination against them, and Wang Lie's action, regardless of its legal effect, was sufficient to discourage his would-be patron. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 132, and Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 120–122 and 382–383.

Map 05: The approaches to Luoyang 189-193



### Chuping 3: 192 AD

[1 February 192 – 18 February 193]

1931

- A In the spring, in the first month on the day *dingchou* [*xinchou*=12 Feb]<sup>1</sup> there was an amnesty for the empire.
- B Dong Zhuo sent Niu Fu to lead troops and camp at Shan. Niu Fu divided his army, and the colonels Li Jue of Beidi, Guo Si<sup>2</sup> of Zhangye and Zhang Ji of Wuwei were given command of several ten thousand foot-soldiers and horsemen to attack Zhu Jun at Zhongmou. Defeating him there, they plundered the counties of Chenliu and Yingchuan. Wherever they passed they killed and took prisoners. Nothing was left.
- C Before this, Xun Shu had a grandson Yu,<sup>3</sup> well-known for his ability while he was still young. He Yong saw and admired him and said, "Here is talent to aid a king!"<sup>4</sup>

As the empire fell into disorder Xun Yu said to his elders, "Yingchuan is exposed to attack on all sides. We should get away quickly." Many people, however, loved their homeland and refused to leave, so Xun Yu alone led his family and clan away to join Han Fu.

By this time Yuan Shao had taken over Han Fu's position. He treated Xun Yu as an honoured guest, but Xun Yu did not feel that Yuan Shao would ever be able to gain the empire.

Then he heard that Cao Cao was brave and ingenious, so he left Yuan Shao and went to join him. When Cao Cao spoke with him, he was very pleased and said, "You are my Zifang!"<sup>5</sup> He appointed Xun Yu as Major Who Displays Firmness.<sup>6</sup>

Many of Xun Yu's fellow-villagers who had stayed behind were killed by Li Jue and Guo Si.

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- D Yuan Shao himself took command against Gongsun Zan, and they fought twenty *li* south of Jie Bridge.<sup>7</sup> Gongsun Zan had thirty thousand men and his attack was very fierce. Yuan Shao sent Qu Yi against them with eight hundred good soldiers, while a thousand Strong Bowmen supported his advance from either side. Thinking little of Qu Yi's small force, Gongsun Zan sent cavalry to drive them away. Qu Yi's men hid behind their shields and made no move until the enemy were ten or twenty yards away; then

they leaped up together, shouted so that the ground shook, and completely defeated Gongsun Zan's army.

Taking the head of Yan Gang, the Inspector of Ji province appointed by Gongsun Zan, and killing more than a thousand armed men, Yuan Shao's troops maintained their pursuit to Jie Bridge. Gongsun Zan regrouped his men to turn and fight, but Qu Yi again defeated him. Then they came to Gongsun Zan's camp, captured his standard,<sup>8</sup> and the rest of his army took to flight.

1932

E Before this, Liu Dai, Inspector of Yan province, had been on good terms with both Yuan Shao and Gongsun Zan. Yuan Shao had sent his wife and sons to stay with Liu Dai, and Gongsun Zan sent his Attendant Official Fan Fang to lead cavalry to help him. Then Gongsun Zan attacked and defeated Yuan Shao's army and told Liu Dai to send Yuan Shao's wife and children home. And he sent a separate order to Fan Fang, "If Liu Dai does not send Yuan Shao's family away, bring the cavalry back. I shall first deal with Yuan Shao, then send troops against Liu Dai."

Liu Dai discussed the problem with his subordinates, but days passed and they could not decide. They heard that Cheng Yu of Dong commandery was wise in planning, and they called him in to seek his advice. Cheng Yu said, "If you give up the alliance with Yuan Shao who is close at hand, and look for distant aid from Gongsun Zan, that is like getting help from a man in Yue when your son is drowning.<sup>9</sup> Gongsun Zan is no match for Yuan Shao, and although he has beaten him once, Yuan Shao will get him in the end."

Liu Dai followed this advice. Fan Fang led his cavalry back, but before he returned Gongsun Zan had been defeated.

[Cp3: 192]

F Cao Cao was camped at Dunqiu when Poison Yu and other bandits attacked Dongwuyang. Cao Cao led his troops west into the mountains against Poison's base camp.<sup>10</sup> His officers urged that he go to relieve Dongwuyang, but Cao Cao said, "If the enemy hear I have gone to the west and then come back, Wuyang will automatically be relieved. If they not come back, I can destroy their base and they will certainly not be able to take Wuyang." So he marched. When Poison Yu heard of it, he abandoned the attack on Dongwuyang and retreated.



Then Cao Cao attacked Sui Gu and Yufuluo of the Xiongnu at Neihuang, and completely defeated them.<sup>11</sup>

G Dong Zhuo appointed his younger brother Min General of the Left, while Dong Huang, son of his elder brother, was Colonel of the Centre Army. Both had control of military affairs.

All the members of the Dong clan or relations by marriage held rank at court. Dong Zhuo's sons, even those still in the arms of maidservants and concubines, were enfeoffed as marquises and played with gold seals and purple tassels. Dong Zhuo's chariot was adorned like an emperor's.

Dong Zhuo would summon the officials of the Three Terraces, Masters of Writing and below, and all went to his offices to report or receive instructions.<sup>12</sup>

Dong Zhuo also built a fortress at Mei, seventy feet high and seventy feet broad,<sup>13</sup> storing thirty years supply of grain. "If things go well," he said, "I shall be master of the empire. Even if I fail, however, I can hold out here in comfort until I die of old age."

1933 Dong Zhuo was relentless in his punishments: if one of his officers said the wrong thing, he was killed on the spot. Everyone felt insecure. The Minister over the Masses Wang Yun, with the Colonel Director of Retainers Huang Wan, the Supervisor Shisun Rui and the Master of Writing Yang Zan made secret plans to kill Dong Zhuo.<sup>14</sup>

H The General of the Gentlemen of the Household Lü Bu was an expert with the bow and with a horse, and stronger than other men. Dong Zhuo treated men insolently, and he knew they resented him, so he had Lü Bu accompany him every-where as a guard. He loved and trusted him completely, and they took oath as father and son.

By nature, however, Dong Zhuo was obstinate and over-bearing. On one occasion Lü Bu had some slight disagreement with him, and Dong Zhuo grabbed a hand-axe and threw it at him. Lü Bu ducked quickly and it missed. He changed his tune and apologised, so Dong Zhuo's anger left him. Lü Bu, however, now held a grudge against Dong Zhuo.

Besides this, Dong Zhuo ordered Lü Bu to guard the doors to the palace, and he had taken the opportunity to seduce one of the maid-servants. So now Lü Bu had a guilty conscience.

Wang Yun had always behaved very well towards Lü Bu, and Lü Bu told Wang Yun how Dong Zhuo had nearly killed him. Wang Yun then told him

about the plan against Dong Zhuo, and asked him to act as agent on the inside.

"But if we are like father and son?" asked Lü Bu.

"You bear the surname Lü," replied Wang Yun, "and he is no true relation by blood. And now, when you are constantly concerned that he may kill you, how can you talk of father and son? When he threw the axe at you, where was the feeling of father and son?" So Lü Bu agreed.

I In the summer, in the fourth month on the day *dingsi* [miswritten for *xinsi*, 22 May],<sup>15</sup> when the Emperor had been ill and was just recovered, there was a great assembly at the Weiyang Apartments.<sup>16</sup> Wearing his robes of state, Dong Zhuo rode up in his chariot. His troops lined the road from the camp to the palace, foot-soldiers on the left and cavalry on the right, with camps and guards all around. Lü Bu and others were ordered to act as escort at the front and rear.

Wang Yun had Shisun Rui write an imperial order in his own hand to give to Lü Bu, and Lü Bu ordered the Chief Commandant of Cavalry Li Su, a man from his own commandery,<sup>17</sup> with the swordsmen Qin Yi, Chen Wei and a dozen others, to disguise themselves in guards' uniforms and stand behind the Northern Lateral Gate to wait for Dong Zhuo. As he came to the gate, Li Su stabbed him with a lance.

Dong Zhuo had armour beneath his clothes, so the lance did not go in, but it wounded him in the arm and he fell from his chariot. He looked round, and called out, "Where is Lü Bu?"

Lü Bu said, "I have orders to kill a rebel minister."

Dong Zhuo cursed him, "Useless dog, you dare do this?" For reply, Lü Bu stabbed Dong Zhuo with his spear and ordered the soldiers to cut his head off.

1934 The Master of Records Tian Yi, and the head of Dong Zhuo's granary, came forward to attend his corpse and Lü Bu killed them as well. Altogether, three men were killed.

Lü Bu took the edict-block from his breast and used it to take command of the troops, saying, "The order requires that Dong Zhuo be executed, and that is all. For the rest, there are no questions asked." The men stood fast and made no move, but they all cried out, "Ten thousand years!"<sup>18</sup>

People sang and danced in the streets, and the shops in the city were filled with men and women selling pearls and jade, dresses and clothing, to buy wine and meat for celebration.

Dong Zhuo's younger brother Min, [his nephew] Huang and other members of the clan were in Mei, and they were all cut down or shot and killed by the men of their command.

Dong Zhuo's body was shown in the market-place. The weather began to get hot, and Dong Zhuo had been big and fat, and his fat flowed onto the ground. The men guarding the corpse made a great lamp and set it up on Dong Zhuo's navel and lit it, and it burned clear and bright till dawn. This went on for several days.

The dependents of the Yuan family collected the corpses of the Dong clan, burnt them and scattered the ashes on the roads. In the enclosure [at Mei] there were twenty or thirty thousand catties of gold, eighty or ninety thousand catties of silver, with brocade, fine silk and rare ornaments piled up like mounds and hills.

J Wang Yun was ordered to take control of the imperial secretariat, while Lü Bu became General Who Displays Majesty, held the Staff of Authority,<sup>19</sup> and received the ceremonial of the three excellencies. He was enfeoffed as Marquis of Wen and shared in the government with Wang Yun.

[Cp3: 192]

K At the time of Dong Zhuo's death Cai Yong, General of the Gentlemen of the Household on the Left and Marquis of Gaoyang,<sup>20</sup> was sitting with Wang Yun. When he heard the news, he gasped in fright. Wang Yun was furious and attacked him, "Dong Zhuo, great bandit of the empire, almost destroyed the house of Han. You are an imperial servant and should share our hatred. But you maintain private friendship, and instead you mourn him. You too must be considered a rebel." Cai Yong was arrested and handed to the Commandant of Justice.

Cai Yong begged excuses: "Unworthy though I am, there are great principles constant from ancient times to the present, and I have heard and recited them too often to forget them. How, then, could I work for Dong Zhuo and neglect my duty to the state? Let me have my face branded and my feet cut off, anything but interrupt my work on the history of Han."<sup>21</sup>

Many scholars and gentlemen were sympathetic and inter-ceded for him, but they could do nothing to save him.

The Grand Commandant Ma Midi said to Wang Yun, "Bojie [Cai Yong]<sup>22</sup> is one of the world's rare and unusual talents, he knows a great deal of the affairs of Han, and he should continue and complete the later history. This

is one of the great works of our times. His fault is slight. If you punish him, people will surely lose their regard for you."

"In former times," replied Wang Yun, "Emperor Wu failed to kill Sima Qian, and so allowed him to write a book of slander which was passed down to later times.<sup>23</sup>

1935 "Particularly at this time, as the fortunes of the Emperor are in decline and there are war-horses in the suburbs,<sup>24</sup> we cannot allow a treacherous minister to hold his brush among the attendants to a young emperor. It offers no advantage to the sage virtue of the ruler, and it will cause our party to suffer contempt and abuse."

As Ma Midi went out, he observed, "Lord Wang should have no descendants!<sup>25</sup> Good men are the foundation of the state, while the record of affairs is the code of the nation. If he destroys the foundations and does away with the code, how can he last for long?"

Cai Yong died in prison.<sup>26</sup>

L Before this, the Gentleman in Attendance at the Yellow Gates Xun You, the Master of Writing Zheng Tai, the Palace Attendant Chong Ji and others had made plans,<sup>27</sup> saying, "Dong Zhuo is conceited and cruel, with no allies or friends he can trust. Though he relies on his strong army, he is still just one man, and he can be killed with a single blow." Their plans were almost complete when the affair was discovered. Xun You was arrested and put in prison, and Zheng Tai fled to Yuan Shu. Xun You spoke and ate and drank as usual. Soon afterwards Dong Zhuo died and he was released.<sup>28</sup>

[*Cp3: 192*]

M The Yellow Turbans of Qing province plundered in Yan. Liu Dai was going to attack them, but Bao Xin the Chancellor of Jibei argued, "The bandits number a million and the people are frightened. Without fighting spirit our men cannot face them.

"On the other hand, the rebels have no supplies, nothing but what they can plunder. The first thing is to gather your troops and establish firm defences. The enemy will seek to fight but will not be able to, and when they attack they will not succeed. Their army will certainly break apart. When that happens, send your best men to occupy the strategic places and attack them. This way you will win."

Liu Dai would not follow this advice. He fought the bandits and was killed.

Chen Gong of Dong commandery, a subordinate commander under Cao Cao, said to him, "The province has no master, and the imperial authority is broken. Let me talk to the senior officers of the province,<sup>29</sup> then Your Excellency can go at once to govern it. From this base you may receive the empire. This is the method of the hegemon kings."<sup>30</sup>

So Chen Gong went to the Aide-de-Camp and the Attendant Official at Headquarters.<sup>31</sup> "The empire is divided and our province has no master," he said. "Cao Cao of Dong commandery has ability to command the world. If you invite him to govern the province he will certainly give peace and life to the people."

Bao Xin and his colleagues agreed, and with the provincial officers Wan Qian and others they went to Dong commandery and asked Cao Cao to take over as Inspector of Yan province.

1936 Then Cao Cao took his soldiers forward against the Yellow Turbans east of Shouzhang, but had no success.<sup>32</sup> The rebel army was strong and fierce and Cao Cao's soldiers were few and weak, but he cared for his men and encouraged them, made open rewards and clear punishments, and looked for enemy weaknesses to spring his own surprises. They fought day and night, and each time he took some prisoners. The rebels retreated and fled.

Bao Xin died in this fighting. Cao Cao offered a reward for the recovery of his body but it could not be found. He carved a piece of wood to look like Bao Xin, and made sacrifice and mourned before it.

N An imperial edict appointed Jin Shang of Jingzhao as Inspector of Yan province, but before he could enter the territory Cao Cao came to attack him. He fled to Yuan Shu.

[*Cp3: 192*]

O In the fifth month the General Who Subdues the West Huangfu Song was made General of Chariots and Cavalry.<sup>33</sup>

P Before this, Lü Bu had urged Wang Yun to kill all Dong Zhuo's followers, but Wang Yun answered him, "I cannot do that, for they have done nothing wrong."

Lü Bu also wanted to take Dong Zhuo's treasure and divide it among the Excellencies, senior officials, generals and colonels. Again Wang Yun would not approve.

Wang Yun had always regarded Lü Bu simply as a fighting man, but Lü Bu was proud, and boasted of his achievements. After he was disappointed he began to look discontented.

Wang Yun was a hard, stern man, who hated evil. Earlier, he had been afraid of Dong Zhuo, so he had humbled himself and obeyed him. Now that Dong Zhuo was destroyed, he believed he had nothing more to worry about and began to act arrogantly. None of his subordinates felt any particular loyalty to him.

Wang Yun had spoken earlier with Shisun Rui about a special edict to pardon Dong Zhuo's subordinates, but then he became doubtful and said, "The army followed their master, and that was all. If we say that they were wicked and rebellious, and then pardon them, I am afraid they will just become more uncertain. That is not the way to settle them."<sup>34</sup> He refused to approve the edict.

Then Wang Yun considered disbanding the armies, but someone said to him, "Up until now the men from Liang province have dreaded the Yuan and feared the east of the passes. If you suddenly dismiss the troops and open the passes, the people will surely feel threatened. Give Huangfu Yizhen [Huangfu Song] command as general at Shan.<sup>35</sup> That will keep them peaceful and secure."

"No," said Wang Yun. "The men east of the passes who have raised loyal troops are all our supporters. If we block the passes and maintain a garrison in Shan, though we might settle the people from Liang province, we would make the east of the passes suspicious. We cannot do that."

[Cp2: 191]

At this time there were rumours among the people that all the men from Liang province would be killed. Dong Zhuo's former generals and colonels turned to one another in anxiety and collected their men to defend themselves.<sup>36</sup>

1937 These officers said to each other, "Cai Bojie [Cai Yong] was found guilty merely because Dong Zhuo had favoured him. They have issued no pardon for us, yet they want to disband our troops. If we dismiss our soldiers today we shall be fish-meat tomorrow."

Q Lü Bu sent Li Su to Shan with imperial orders to kill Niu Fu, but Niu Fu and his officers rebelled and attacked Li Su. Li Su was defeated and fled to Hongnong and Lü Bu had him arrested and killed. Then Niu Fu became frightened and lost control, and there was panic in his camp. He tried to run away and was killed by his own attendants.

By the time Li Jue and the others came back [from their raid into Yingchuan and Chenliu]<sup>37</sup> Niu Fu was dead. Li Jue and the others had

nowhere to go, so they sent a messenger to Chang'an asking for pardon. Wang Yun refused them, saying, "There cannot be two amnesties in a single year."<sup>38</sup>

Li Jue and his fellows, increasingly worried, had no idea what to do. They were going to scatter and hurry by side-paths back to their homes, but the Colonel Who Exterminates Caitiffs Jia Xu from Wuwei said, "If you leave your troops and travel alone, then the chief of a single village can arrest you. The best thing to do is move west together, attack Chang'an and avenge Lord Dong. If you are successful you can serve the royal house and set the empire to rights. If you fail, there will still be time to run away."

Li Jue and the others agreed. They made covenant together, and led their forces, several thousand men, marching west-wards day and night.

R Hu Wencai and Yang Zhengxiu [Yang Ding] were both powerful elders, respected by the men of Liang province.<sup>39</sup> Calling them up, Wang Yun told them to go east and explain the situation, but not to show any leniency. "Those rats east of the passes,"<sup>40</sup> he said, "what do they want? Go and summons them." The two men left, but they did no more than collect their own troops and return [to their home province].

S Li Jue recruited as he marched,<sup>41</sup> and by the time he came to Chang'an he had more than a hundred thousand men. He joined Fan Chou and Li Meng, former followers of Dong Zhuo, and besieged the city. The walls were too steep to be stormed, and the defences held out for eight days.<sup>42</sup>

Among Lü Bu's army there were soldiers from Sou [*i.e.* Shu],<sup>43</sup> and these men staged a mutiny. In the sixth month on the day *wuwu* [28 Jun] they gave entry to Li Jue's army, and the soldiers broke loose to plunder.<sup>44</sup>

T Lü Bu fought them within the walls but could do nothing to stop them. Leading a few hundred horsemen, and with the head of Dong Zhuo tied to his saddle, he fled from the city.

Halting his horse below the Gate Engraved in Blue,<sup>45</sup> he called Wang Yun to come away with him. Wang Yun said, "If I have received blessing from the national altars, then my only wish would be to give peace to our country. If this cannot be achieved, then I offer myself to die for it.

1938 "The Emperor is young and weak, and I am the only person he can depend upon. Even when danger comes, I cannot run away. Try to get help from the leaders east of the passes. Urge them to think of the nation."

U The Grand Master of Ceremonies Chong Fu said, "We are the chief servants of the state, but we could neither prevent violence nor resist insult.

Because of our failure, naked swords have been brought against the palace. If we leave, where can we go?" He died in the fighting.

[Cp2: 191]

V Li Jue and Guo Si camped by the Lateral Gates of the Southern Palace.<sup>46</sup> They killed the Grand Coachman Lu Kui, the Grand Herald Zhou Huan, the Colonel of the City Gates Cui Lie and the Colonel of Elite Cavalry Wang Qi. More than ten thousand officials and commoners died, the bodies scattered in the streets.

Wang Yun helped the Emperor to climb the tower of the Xuanping Gate to escape the enemy.<sup>47</sup> Li Jue and his fellows came to the gate, fell to the ground and made the kowtow. The Emperor said to them, "Gentlemen, you have set soldiers loose everywhere, what do you want?"

Li Jue and his men replied, "Dong Zhuo was loyal to Your Majesty but Lü Bu killed him without good cause. We are avenging Dong Zhuo; we would not dare make rebellion. We beg to finish this business, then go to the Commandant of Justice for punishment."

W They surrounded the gate tower and asked that the Minister over the Masses Wang Yun come out, saying, "What fault had the Grand Master [Dong Zhuo]?" Wang Yun had no alternative but to go down and see them.

On the day *jiwei* [29 Jun] there was an amnesty for the empire.<sup>48</sup> Li Jue was made General Who Manifests Firmness, and Guo Si General Who Manifests Courage. Fan Chou and the others were all Generals of the Gentleman of the Household.

X Li Jue and his men arrested the Colonel Director of Retainers Huang Wan and killed him.<sup>49</sup>

[Cp3: 192]

Y Before this, Wang Yun had appointed Song Yi and Wang Hong, men of his own commandery, as Eastern Supporter and Western Sustainer.<sup>50</sup> Li Jue and the others wanted to kill Wang Yun but they were afraid the two commanderies would make trouble, so they sent for Song Yi and Wang Hong.

Wang Hong sent a messenger to Song Yi, "It is only because you and I are still at large that Guo Si and Li Jue have not yet killed Lord Wang. If we answer the summons today, they will destroy us and our families tomorrow. What shall we do?"

"It is difficult to judge good fortune and ill," replied Song Yi, "but the first principle must be to obey an imperial command."



"East of the passes," observed Wang Hong, "the loyal armies are bubbling like a cauldron. They sought to destroy Dong Zhuo, and now he is dead it should be easy to deal with his followers. If we bring an army to attack Li Jue and his fellows, and ally ourselves with the east of the mountains, we can turn ill fortune into good."

Song Yi, however, would not agree, and Wang Hong could not act alone, so they both obeyed the summons.

1939 On the day *jiazi* [4 Jul] Li Jue arrested Wang Yu, Song Yi and Wang Hong and killed them.<sup>51</sup> Wang Yun's wife and family died too. As Wang Hong came to his fate he cursed and said, "Song Yi was a useless bookworm, not fit to discuss great plans."

Li Jue left Wang Yun's body in the market-place and no-one dared to collect it. Then Zhao Jian of Jingzhao, Prefect of Pingling, a former subordinate of Wang Yun, left his post to collect the corpse and bury it.<sup>52</sup>

Before this, Wang Yun had claimed all the credit for killing Dong Zhuo, while Shisun Rui refused any reward and rejected a fief as a marquis. So now he escaped misfortune.

[Cp3: 192]

Z Your servant Sima Guang remarks:

The Book of Changes claims: "The superior man of humility and merit will maintain his success to the end and will receive good fortune."<sup>53</sup> Shisun Rui had achievement but did not boast of it, and so he preserved his life. May not that be called wisdom?

AA Li Jue and the others appointed Jia Xu as Eastern Supporter, and they intended to make him a marquis. Jia Xu said, "My proposal was just a plan to save our skins. What have I done to deserve a reward?" And he refused to accept it. Then they intended to make him Supervisor of the Masters of Writing. Jia Xu said, "Supervisor of the Masters of Writing is a senior appointment. The whole empire looks to it.<sup>54</sup> My name has not been well-known before, and people will not respect it." He became a Master of Writing.<sup>55</sup>

BB Lü Bu escaped through the Wu Pass to Nanyang, and Yuan Shu treated him extremely well. Lü Bu, however, presumed upon his credit with the Yuan clan and allowed his soldiers to plunder and rob, so that Yuan Shu became annoyed. Lü Bu felt uneasy, and he went off to join Zhang Yang in Henei.

Li Jue and the others offered a high reward for Lü Bu's death or capture, and Lü Bu fled once more to Yuan Shao.

[Cp3: 192]

CC On the day *bingzi* [16 Jul] the General of the Van Zhao Qian became Minister over the Masses.

In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *gengzi* [9 Aug], the Grand Commandant Ma Midi was made Grand Tutor with control of the imperial secretariat.

In the eighth month the General of Chariots and Cavalry Huangfu Song was made Grand Commandant.

1940 The Grand Tutor Ma Midi and the Grand Coachman Zhao Qi, each bearing a Staff of Authority, were despatched by edict to make peace with the east of the passes.<sup>56</sup>

In the ninth month Li Jue became General of Chariots and Cavalry with command as Colonel Director of the Retainers bearing the Staff of Authority. Guo Si was General of the Rear, Fan Chou General of the Right and Zhang Ji General of the Agile Cavalry.<sup>57</sup> All were enfeoffed as marquises.

Li Jue, Guo Si and Fan Chou controlled the government at the court, while Zhang Ji went out and camped in Hongnong.

The Minister over the Masses Zhao Qian left office. On the day *jiashen* [21 Sep] the Minister of Works Chunyu Jia became Minister over the Masses, the Imperial Household Grandee Yang Biao became Minister of Works, and they shared control of the imperial secretariat.

DD Before this, when Dong Zhuo entered the passes [to Chang'an], he had persuaded Han Sui and Ma Teng to join him in dealing with the east of the mountains, and Han Sui and Ma Teng brought their forces to Chang'an. Soon afterwards, Dong Zhuo died, and now Li Jue and the others made Han Sui General Who Maintains the West in Peace and sent him back to Jincheng, while Ma Teng became General Who Subdues the West and was sent to camp at Mei.

EE In the winter, in the tenth month Liu Biao, Inspector of Jing province, sent up tribute. He was appointed as General Who Maintains the South in Peace and Governor of Jing province, and was enfeoffed as Marquis of Chengwu.<sup>58</sup>

[Cp3: 192]

FF In the twelfth month the Grand Commandant Huangfu Song was dismissed. The Imperial Household Grandee Zhou Zhong was made Grand Commandant and shared in the control of the imperial secretariat.

GG Cao Cao pursued the Yellow Turbans to Jibei and they all surrendered to him. He gained more than three hundred thousand soldiers and over a million men and women. He chose out the best fighters and called them the Qingzhou troops.<sup>59</sup>

HH Cao Cao appointed Mao Jie of Chenliu as Attendant Official at Headquarters. Mao Jie said to Cao Cao, "The empire is divided and falling, the ruler is in exile and his people have left their occupations: they hunger and wander and die. The government has less than a year's reserve of food and people have no sense of security. Things cannot remain like this.

1941 "Now, men fighting in a good cause make the best soldiers, but supplies are needed to keep them at their posts.<sup>60</sup> You must serve the Son of Heaven as a means to gain authority over those who would not submit to you otherwise, and you must put farming in order to store up military supplies. If you do this, you can achieve the position of a hegemon king."<sup>61</sup>

II Accepting this argument, Cao Cao sent a messenger to Zhang Yang, Grand Administrator of Henei, asking him to open the road west to Chang'an. Zhang Yang would not agree.

Dong Zhao of Dingtao [in Jiyin commandery] said to Zhang Yang, "Though Yuan Shao and Cao Cao are allies, they will not stay together for long. Cao Cao may be weak now, but he is truly one of the great men in the empire, and you should look for some occasion to get on good terms with him. Here is an excellent opportunity. Send his memorial through, and add your own recommendation. If things turn out well there will be a permanent bond between you." So Zhang Yang endorsed Cao Cao's memorial and forwarded it to the capital, while Dong Zhao wrote on Cao Cao's behalf to Li Jue, Guo Si and the others, with varying compliments to suit each man.

JJ Li Jue and Guo Si received Cao Cao's envoy, but they were convinced that the rebels east of the passes wanted to set up their own emperor, and although Cao Cao had sent for orders they were sure there was some trick. They considered keeping Cao Cao's messenger back.

Zhong Yao, a Gentleman in Attendance of the Yellow Gates, spoke to Li Jue and Guo Si and said, "At this time all the fighting men have risen up together, and each claims the mandate to rule on his own. Cao Cao of Yan

province is the only one who cares for the imperial house. If you reject his loyalty this is no way to encourage people to look to you in the future." So Li Jue and Guo Si made a generous reply.

Zhong Yao was a grandson of Zhong Hao.<sup>62</sup>

[Cp3: 192]

KK Tao Qian, Inspector of Xu province, with the chief officials of his commanderies and kingdoms, sent in a memorial to recommend that Zhu Jun become Grand Master.<sup>63</sup> And they wrote also to the other heads of provinces, urging them to join an attack on Li Jue and his followers, then invite the Emperor [to come to the east].

About this time, on advice of the Grand Commandant Zhou Zhong and the Master of Writing Jia Xu, Li Jue summoned Zhu Jun to court. Zhu Jun declined Tao Qian and instead answered the call. He was again made Grand Coachman.

1942

LL Gongsun Zan attacked Yuan Shao, but as his army reached Longcou Yuan Shao attacked and defeated him.<sup>64</sup> Gongsun Zan went back to You province and dared not come out again.

MM Chen Wen of Runan, the Inspector of Yang province, died, and Yuan Shao sent Yuan Yi to take over Yang province. Yuan Shu attacked him and defeated him. Yuan Yi fled to Pei and was killed by soldiers.<sup>65</sup> Yuan Shu appointed Chen Yu of Xiapi as Inspector of Yang province.

### NOTES to Chuping 3: 192

A *HHS* 9, 372 (3a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

1 Both *HHS* 9 and *ZZTJ* date this amnesty on a *dingchou* day (cyclical number 14), but the first month of this year began on a *gengyin* day (cyclical number 27), and did not contain a *dingchou* day.

The amnesty at the beginning of the previous year had been proclaimed on a *dingchou* day, so there may be dittography, but when the character *xin* is defaced in a manuscript, it is sometimes misread as *ding*. The day *xinchou* of this month (cyclical number 38) was 12 February.

[Cp3: 192]

B *HHS* 72/62, 2332 (10a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

2 *ZZTJ* commentary gives the preferred pronunciation of the personal name of this man as *si*, with an alternative of *fan*.

[Cp3: 192]

- C SGZ 10, 307–08 (1a–5a), the Biography of Xun Yu.
- 3 Xun Shu was a distinguished scholar of Later Han, and the Xun were one of the leading families of Yingchuan commandery: *HHS* 62/52, and note 12 to Zhongping 6.
- 4 He Yong, a celebrated judge of character, was a supporter of the proscribed reformers in the time of Emperor Huan, and sought to assist He Jin and Dong Zhuo to recruit good men. His favourable opinion of Cao Cao is recorded in his biography in *HHS* 67/57, 3218; de Crespigny, Huan and Ling I, 181.
- 5 Zifang was the style of Zhang Liang, great minister of the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han. His biographies are in *SJ* 55 and *HS* 40.
- 6 Cao Cao's first command in the civil war had been as General Who Displays Firmness: *SGZ* 1, 6.

[*Cp3: 192*]

- D *HHS* 74/64A, 2380 (6a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao; *SGZ* 6, 193 (45a–46a), PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.
- 7 The Jie Bridge was a crossing of the Qing River, which flowed northeast across the plain parallel with the Yellow River to join the coast south of present-day Tianjin. Gongsun Zan was advancing southwest from Bohai commandery, where he had lately massacred the Yellow Turbans (passage V of Chuping 2), between the Qing and the Yellow River. The battle took place east of Guangzong county on the borders of Julu commandery, now Wei county in Hebei.
- 8 The *yamen* standard was the central symbol of an army, comparable to the regimental colours of modern Europe.

[*Cp3: 192*]

- E *SGZ* 14, 425–26 (1b–2a), the Biography of Cheng Yu.
- 9 The people of the region of Yue, along the southern coast of China, were naturally expert swimmers, but there was no point waiting for help to arrive from so far away when one was faced with an immediate emergency.

[*Cp3: 192*]

- F *SGZ* 1, 9 (25a), the Biography of Cao Cao; *SGZ* 1, 9 (25a–b), PC quoting the *Wei shu* by Wang Shen.
- 10 Poison Yu was a leader of the Black Mountain group of bandits in the southern ridges of the Taihang Mountains. Passage J of Chuping 4 indicates that his base was in the hill country of Chaoge county in Henei, while other groups were further to the north.
- The Black Mountain group had lately expanded their activities into Dong commandery, and Cao Cao was contending with them for the territory: passage S of Chuping 2. Dunqiu county was on the western frontier of the commandery, north of the Yellow River, and Dongwuyang, Cao Cao's headquarters, was to the northeast.
- 11 Sui Gu was another chieftain of the Black Mountain group, while the émigré Xiongnu chieftain Yufuluo, based upon Liyang in the south of Wei commandery, had rebelled against the authority represented by Yuan Shao and joined forces with the bandits: passage T of Chuping 2. Neihuang lay north of Liyang and west of Dunqiu in Dong commandery.

So Poison Yu and his allies had sought to distract Cao Cao by an attack on his rear base, but Cao Cao maintained his operations to the west, relieving the southern part of Ji province while Yuan Shao was occupied with Gongsun Zan: passage D above.

[Cp3: 192]

G *HHS* 72/62, 2329–31 (8a–b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

12 The Three Terraces are generally classified as the offices of the Masters of Writing (the imperial secretariat), the Attendant Imperial Clerks (the censorate), and the office of Seals and Credentials: note 68 to Zhongping 6. The offices were formally under direct control of the emperor, so Dong Zhuo abuses his position by requiring their staff to attend on him in person.

Though Dong Zhuo had always been arrogant and cruel, we are told that when he first came to power he was quite restrained in appointing close relatives to substantial office: passage MM of Zhongping 6. Though the present accusation of favouritism may be no more than a historian's cliché, it is likely that the strain of civil war and internal unrest within his government had brought a change in his policy and tightened his reliance upon immediate family and followers.

13 The measurements are given as seven *zhang*, and a *zhang* was ten *chi* feet. The dimensions are approximately 16 metres or 53 feet English measure.

14 The conspirators are listed in the biography of Wang Yun, *HHS* 66/56, 2175.

Shisun Rui is described here only as Supervisor, without specifying what office he belonged to. We know, however, that he later composed the order for Dong Zhuo's assassination, so he was evidently a member of the Masters of Writing.

[Cp3: 192]

H *SGZ* 7, 219–20 (2a–b), the Biography of Lü Bu;  
*HHS* 75/65, 2445 (10a), the Biography of Lü Bu.

[Cp3: 192]

I *HHS* 72/62, 2331–32 (9a–10a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*SGZ* 6, 179 (17a–18b), the Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*SGZ* 6, 179–80 (19a) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

15 The fourth month of this year began on a *jiwei* day (cyclical number 56), and did not contain a *dingsi* day (cyclical number 54). *HHS* 9 has the day as *xinsi* (cyclical number 18), and this would be correct. *Cf.* note 1 above.

16 The Weiyang Palace was the ancient imperial residence of Chang'an. Emperor Xian had been living there since soon after his arrival: note 21 to Chuping 1.

17 Lü Bu came from Wuyuan in the northwest.

*Kaoyi* commentary notes that *HHJ* 27, 1b, has the personal name of this man as Shun. Sima Guang follows *HHS* 72/62 and *SGZ* 6.

18 *SGZ* 6, 179, says that all the members of Dong Zhuo's party at Chang'an were killed, and we are told immediately below how the Dong clan was massacred at Mei. It seems clear, therefore, that Lü Bu's proclamation was intended merely to reassure a disconcerted crowd of guards and onlookers, and had no close relationship with the edict of authorisation.

Indeed, I find no precise authority for the words ascribed to Lü Bu by *ZZTJ*, and they fit strangely with the pattern of events described elsewhere. *HHS* 72/62 says that immediately Lü Bu had killed Dong Zhuo, he took out an edict which authorised an amnesty (*she*), and used that authority to take command of the troops about the palace. The story, however, is not told in the same words as in *ZZTJ*, and there is no mention of Lü Bu's direct speech.

Wang Yun's intransigence on amnesties, moreover, was a major factor in his downfall: passages P to Y below. There can surely have been no provision for an amnesty in the edict of authority granted to Lü Bu.

In *Kaoyi* commentary, discussed at note 33 below, Sima Guang argues firmly on this line; and it may be that he reinterpreted the text of *HHS* at this point in an attempt to reconcile it with the surrounding facts.

[Cp3: 192]

J *HHS* 9, 372 (3a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;

*HHS* 75/65, 2445 (10a), the Biography of Lü Bu.

19 The Staff of Authority (*jie*, also rendered as "credentials"), was a bamboo eight *chi* feet tall (about 185 cm), with three yak's tails fastened to the top as tassels: *HHS* 1A, 10, commentary quoting the *Hanguan yi* of Ying Shao of the second century AD. In theory, at least, the bearer of the Staff held plenipotentiary powers to act on behalf of the emperor, taking his own initiative and reporting only afterwards. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 50.

[Cp3: 192]

K *HHS* 60/50B, 2006 (19b–20a), the Biography of Cai Yong;

*SGZ* 6, 180 (19a–b), PC quoting the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng.

20 In 190 the government of Dong Zhuo had enfeoffed Cai Yong as Marquis of Gaoyang District, probably associated with the village of that name in Yu county of Chenliu: *HHS* 60/50B, 2005; *HHS* 111/21, 3448; and *ZZTJ* commentary.

21 Cai Yong was working with other scholars on the continuation of the history of Han, now known as *Dongguan Hanji*, and had himself composed several treatises for the work. See Bielenstein, *RHD* I, 11, and Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 23–25 and 41–46. His request for physical punishment if only he might continue his work of history echoes Sima Qian, who suffered castration but maintained his labours on *Shi ji*: e.g. Watson, *Ssu-ma Ch'ien*, 62, and Nienhauser, *GSR* I, x.

22 Bojie was the style of Cai Yong.

23 Wang Yun did not share the common approval of the work of Sima Qian. Indeed, it is remarkable to find a nominal Confucianist with such little concern for the work of historians.

24 *Daode jing* 46.104: "When the empire has lost the Way, war-horses are reared in the suburbs (*jiao*);" cf. Lau, *Lao Tzu*, 107.

25 This is the curse attributed by Mencius to Confucius, referring to the man who first made images to bury with the dead: *Mengzi* IA.4.6; Legge, *CC* II, 133 (Lau, *Mencius*, 52).

26 *HHS* 60/50B says that Wang Yun regretted his decision and changed his mind, but Cai Yong had been killed before he could countermand the order.

[Cp3: 192]

L *SGZ* 10, 321 (27a–29a), the Biography of Xun You;

*HHS* 70/60, 2260 (3a), the Biography of Zheng Tai.

27 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that *SGZ* 10 lists He Yong and Wu Qiong among the conspirators, but Sima Guang observes that both men were dead by the time Dong Zhuo was killed. The biography of Zheng Tai in *HHS* 70/60 says He Yong was indeed in a plot with Zheng Tai and Xun Yu, while the biography of He Yong in *HHS* 67/57, 2218, says that he was involved in a conspiracy with Wang Yun, but that he was arrested by Dong Zhuo on another

matter and died in prison. Wu Qiong, however, had been killed by Dong Zhuo two years earlier: passage G of Chuping 1.

- 28 Xun You was a kinsman of Xun Yu (passage C and note 3 above): Xun You's great-grandfather had been an elder brother of Xun Yu's grand-father Xun Shu: *HHS* 62/52, 2050, *SGZ* 10, 307 and 321.

[*Cp3*: 192]

- M *SGZ* 1, 9 (26a–27a), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*SGZ* 1, 10 (26a–b), PC quoting [*Wei–Jin*] *shiyu*;  
*SGZ* 1, 10 (27a), PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen.

- 29 The phrase *gangji* indicates the leading locally-appointed officers of a provincial headquarters: see note 31 below.

- 30 Hegemon (*ba*) describes a vassal lord who obtains supremacy among his fellows and uses his power to support the rightful ruler.

In Chinese tradition the two great models of hegemony were Duke Huan of Qi (reigned 685–643 BC) and Duke Wen of Jin (635–628 BC). Each established dominance over the other states of central China, notably through gathering assemblies of other feudal lords for formal declaration of allegiance to the weakened Eastern Zhou dynasty at Luoyang, for the adjudication of disputes, and for the occasional organisation of an allied military campaign. See, for example, Maspero, *China in Antiquity*, 180–208, and, for Later Han theories on the nature and identity of the hegemon, Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 236–237.

- 31 In a provincial administration, the Aide-de-Camp attended the Inspector when he went on tour of the subordinate commanderies, while the Attendant Official at Headquarters was responsible for the central administration. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 92, and de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 56–57, also note 99 to Zhongping 6. Both officers were locally appointed, but they were the most senior assistants, and their influence was considerable.

- 32 Shouzhang county was in Dongping, near present-day Dongping in Shandong.

[*Cp3*: 192]

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

[*Cp3*: 192]

- O *HHS* 9, 372 (3a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

- 33 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that both *HHS* 9 and *HHJ* 27, 3a, say there was an amnesty during this month, though they disagree on the day. As Sima Guang observes, however, there had already been an amnesty in the first month (passage A above), while in passage Q below Wang Yun is refusing to grant a second amnesty in the same year. It is therefore most unlikely that an amnesty was granted at this time. See also notes 18 above and 38 below.

[*Cp3*: 192]

- P *HHS* 66/56, 2176 (12b–13a), the Biography of Wang Yun.

- 34 Wang Yun is arguing that since the troops had simply followed orders, there was no need for them to be pardoned, and indeed a pardon would imply they had done something wrong. He is hoping to keep the troops from questioning orders on political grounds, for this would upset the structure of military discipline.

- 35 Yizhen was the style of Huangfu Song.



Shan county in Hongnong was on the Yellow River by present-day Shan in Henan. Dong Zhuo had stationed his son-in-law Niu Fu there in defence against the east earlier this year: passage B above.

- 36 Dong Zhuo came originally from Longxi commandery in Liang province, and many of his supporters were also from that territory. Li Jue and Guo Si, for example, leaders of the revolt which is to follow, were from Beidi and Zhangye respectively.

[Cp3: 192]

- Q *HHS* 72/62, 2332–33 (10a–b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*SGZ* 6, 181 (21a–b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*SGZ* 6, 181 (21a) PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen.

- 37 On this expedition, see passage B above.

- 38 It is difficult to see why Wang Yun should have said this. Apart from the danger that his obstinacy was causing, and the clear fact that some gesture of conciliation and security was necessary and appropriate, the statement is untrue.

Three years earlier, in 189, three reign-titles had been proclaimed, and an amnesty had been granted each time (passages E, W and *CC* of Zhongping 6). It was surely arguable that the destruction of Dong Zhuo could provide occasion for a change of reign title and another amnesty.

Moreover, at the very beginning of Han two amnesties had been granted by Emperor Gao, in the first and the fifth months of 205 BC (*HS* 1B, 51 and 58; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 74 and 81). If Wang Yun wanted one, this provided a precedent.

We have already recorded the amnesty granted in the first month of this year (passage A above). *HHS* 9, 372, and *HHJ* 27, 3a, record another in the fifth month, but as Sima Guang observes in *Kaoyi* commentary to passage O above, this cannot be correct, for Wang Yun's refusal to grant an amnesty after the killing of Dong Zhuo in the fourth month was a major reason for the rebellion of Li Jue and his associates. See also notes 18 and 33 above.

[Cp3: 192]

- R *SGZ* 6, 181–82 (22b), PC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*.

- 39 This text of *Jiuzhou chunqiu* is also quoted in commentary to *HHS* 72/62, 2334, and at 10b of *HHSJ* the commentator Hui Dong of Qing identifies Yang Zhengxiu as Yang Ding, referred to further below: *e.g.* passage R of Xingping 1. Note, however, that the surnames are different.

*Yingxiong ji*, quoted by *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1098 PC, says Wencai was the style of Hu Zhen, the officer of Dong Zhuo defeated by Sun Jian the year before: passage D of Chuping 2. In *HHS* 72/62, 2333, however, Hu Zhen is said to have fought at this time with Li Jue and Guo Si, then surrendered and joined them. Either the texts are confused or Hu Zhen and Hu Wencai were different men.

- 40 In this context, "east of the passes" refers to Li Jue and his group, on the eastern approaches to Chang'an, not to the original allies against Dong Zhuo, east of the passes about Luoyang. *Cf.* note 95 to Zhongping 6 and passage A of Chuping 1.

[Cp3: 192]

- S *SGZ* 6, 181 (22b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*HHS* 72/62, 2333 (11a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.

- 41 *HHS* 72/62 says that Wang Yun sent two officers to oppose Li Jue's advance. One was killed in battle, the other went over with all his men to the rebels.

- 42 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that *SGZ* 6 refers to a siege of ten days, while *HHS* 72/62 has eight days. Sima Guang chose to follow *HHS*.
- 43 The texts here read *sou*. *HHS* commentary explains that in Han times *Sou* was another name for the territory of Shu commandery.
- 44 The date is given by *HHS* 9, 372.
- [*Cp3*: 192]
- T *SGZ* 7, 220 (3a), the Biography of Lü Bu;  
*HHS* 75/65, 2445 (10a), the Biography of Lü Bu;  
*HHS* 66/56, 2176 (13a), the Biography of Wang Yun;  
*SGZ* 6, 182 (23a), PC quoting the [*Hou*] *Han ji* of Zhang Fan.
- 45 The Gate Engraved in Blue lay within the palace compound at Chang'an. The use of such ornamentation was reserved to the emperor: in the time of Emperor Ai Wang Gen, uncle of Wang Mang and former Commander-in-Chief, was charged with lese-majesty for using the style on his own mansion: *HS* 98, 4028.
- There was also a Gate Engraved in Blue in the Southern Palace at Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 107 note 85, discussing *HHS* 116/26, 3593, with commentary citing Ying Shao and others.
- [*Cp3*: 192]
- U *HHS* 56/46, 1830 (12a), the Biography of Chong Fu.
- [*Cp3*: 192]
- V *SGZ* 6, 182 (23a–b) PC quoting the [*Hou*] *Han ji* of Zhang Fan.
- 46 During Former Han, the Weiyang Palace, on the west, and the Changle Palace, on the east, were in the southern half of the capital (e.g. *Cambridge China* I, 134 Map 4). It is not possible to specify which is indicated here by the term "Southern Palace."
- 47 *Sanfu huangtu*, quoted in commentary to *HHS* 72/62, 2332, says that the Xuanping Gate was the northernmost on the east city wall of Chang'an.
- [*Cp3*: 192]
- W *HHS* 72/62, 2333 (11a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo,  
with commentary quoting the *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shansong.
- 48 The date is given by *HHS* 9, 373.
- [*Cp3*: 192]
- X *HHS* 61/51, 2041 (21a), the Biography of Huang Wan.
- 49 Some texts of *ZZTJ*, following *HHS* 61/51, here include the characters "sent him to prison."
- [*Cp3*: 192]
- Y *HHS* 66/56, 2177–78 (13a–14a), the Biography of Wang Yun.
- 50 The two commanderies Zuopingyi and Youfufeng flanked the old capital of Chang'an, and the officials in charge of them had the same style. Eastern Supporter and Western Sustainer are Dubs' renderings of those titles. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 87–88.
- 51 The date for the arrest and execution of Wang Yun is given by *HHS* 9, 373.
- 52 Pingling county in Youfufeng was near present-day Xianyang in Shenxi, some twenty kilometres west of Chang'an.
- [*Cp3*: 192]
- Z Comment written by Sima Guang.
- 53 *Yi jing*, hexagram 15: Qian [Modesty], third line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes*, 65:  
Nine in the third place means:

A superior man of modesty and merit  
Carries things to conclusion.

Good fortune.

*ZZTJ* commentary cites a related passage in the Great Treatise A7, rendered by Wilhelm at 306–307: "When a man does not boast of his efforts and does not count his merits a virtue, he is a man of great parts....the modest man is full of merit, and therefore he is able to maintain his position."

[*Cp3: 192*]

AA *SGZ* 10, 327 (38a–b), the Biography of Jia Xu.

54 The Supervisor held second position in the office of the Masters of Writing, the imperial secretariat: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 55–56.

55 Sima Guang's comments in the passage above, though formally applied to Shisun Rui, may have even greater relevance to Jia Xu.

His advice to Li Jue and his colleagues had proven excellent, but he was sensible enough not to take the rewards that were offered, and to keep a discreet distance from the ramshackle collection of fighting men who now occupied the imperial capital. As a result, his personal position was not compromised.

Jia Xu later became a trusted adviser to Cao Cao, and when Cao Pi proclaimed his empire of Wei, he appointed him as Grand Commandant.

[*Cp3: 192*]

BB *HHS* 75/65, 2445 (10a–b), the Biography of Lü Bu.

[*Cp3: 192*]

CC *HHS* 9, 373 (3b–4a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

56 The mission of Ma Midi and Zhao Qi is reminiscent of the ill-fated embassies sent by Dong Zhuo when the rebellion first broke out east of the passes (passage T of Chuping 1), and it appears similar to those despatched by the Gengshi Emperor in 23 AD, to gain support from his government: *HHS* 1, 10.

Bielenstein, *RHD* II, 35–40, discusses those earlier expeditions, noting how the grant of the Staff of Authority in such circumstances gave the emissary the right to establish jurisdiction in each region he visited, like the Governor of a province, and freedom to decide matters of high policy without prior approval from the court.

However, as Bielenstein observes, and as we shall see below, the success or even survival of such a mission depended very much upon the personality and good fortune of the messenger, and the differing treatment of Ma Midi and Zhao Qi at the hands of Yuan Shu (described in passage AA of Xingping 1) demonstrates how little real authority the envoys possessed or could gather once they had left the immediate vicinity of the capital.

57 There is uncertainty about the titles the new masters of Chang'an appropriated during this period. It is generally agreed Li Jue was first named General Who Manifests Firmness (passage W above) and then, as here, General of Chariots and Cavalry, but information on the others is confused: *HHS* 9, *HHS* 72/62, and *HHJ* 27, 7b, all say that Guo Si and Fan Chou became General of the Rear and General of the Right respectively at this time (though *HHJ* 27, probably by a copyist's error, has *fu* instead of *hou* in the title of Guo Si). Another entry in *HHJ* 27, 14b–15a, however, dates the promotions two years later, saying that until then Guo Si was General Who Manifests Firmness, while Fan Chou was General Who Gives

Tranquillity and Collects the Empire. The contradiction in *HHS* 27 has been followed by *ZZTJ*: passage O to Xingping 1.

Despite the weight of evidence, if we accept the second entry of *HHJ* 27 the process becomes more orderly: in that case, as in passage W above, Li Jue was first named General Who Manifests Firmness, and a few months later, as here, he became General of Chariots and Cavalry. Guo Si then took his title as General Who Manifests Firmness, while Fan Chou became General Who Gives Tranquillity and Collects the Empire. Two years later Guo Si and Fan Chou became Generals of the Rear and of the Right respectively. See note 29 to Xingping 1.

Besides this, *HHS* 9 and *HHS* 72/62, 2334, both say that Zhang Ji became General Who Maintains the East in Peace, not General of Agile Cavalry. *ZZTJ* has followed *HHJ* 27, 7b, which is supported by *SGZ* 6, 181. It seems more likely, however, that the *HHS* versions are correct, for in the system of Han the General of Agile Cavalry was senior to the General of Chariots and Cavalry: *HHS* 114/24, 3563. As Li Jue and Guo Si were the leading figures of the group, it is likely they took the highest ranks. Three years later, Zhang Ji is described as General Who Maintains the East in Peace, and we are again told of his appointment as General of Agile Cavalry: passages Q and S of Xingping 2. This is more circumstantial.

[*Cp3*: 192]

DD *HHS* 72/62, 2335 (11b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*SGZ* 36 (Shu 6), 944 (9b), the Biography of Ma Chao.

[*Cp3*: 192]

EE *HHS* 74/64B, 2420–21 (9a), the Biography of Liu Biao.

58 Chengwu county, present-day Chengwu in Shandong, was in Jiyin commandery in Yan province, not within the territory controlled by Liu Biao. Nevertheless, from the honours granted Liu Biao one may observe the eagerness of the new regime to gain even token acknowledgment.

[*Cp3*: 192]

FF *HHS* 9, 373 (4a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

[*Cp3*: 192]

GG *SGZ* 1, 9 (27a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

59 The Qingzhou troops obtained their name from their origins in that province (*e.g.* passage M above). They were maintained as a separate unit in Cao Cao's army (*e.g.* passage D of Jian'an 2), and as late as 221, at the time of Cao Cao's death and the succession of his son Cao Pi, there were Qingzhou troops in camp at Ye (*SGZ* 15, 481–82, PC quoting *Wei lue*; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 2); these, of course, must have been descendants of the original troops.

Though this large group of former rebels and displaced people were not particularly well-disciplined, and their fighting men had been heavily defeated by Gongsun Zan (passage V of Chuping 2), their accession to Cao Cao's service represented a notable augmentation of his military force. Leban, "The Early Years," 189–202, postulates that the formula of "surrender" conceals a carefully negotiated contract of alliance and service, and that Cao Cao was by no means absolute master in the exchange.

[*Cp3*: 192]

HH *SGZ* 12, 374–75 (14b), the Biography of Mao Jie.

60 *ZZTJ* commentary observes that the first of these homilies is adapted from a memorial of the scholar and statesman Wei Xiang of the second century BC (*HS* 74, 3136), while the

second echoes *Yi jing*, The Great Treatise, B1, "On the Signs and Lines, on Creating and Acting;" Wilhelm, *Book of Changes*, 328:

How does one safeguard this place? Through men.

By what are men gathered together? Through goods.

- 61 *ZZTJ* commentary observes that Mao Jie is here presenting plans for the two policies which would form the basis of Cao Cao's success in the civil war: physical possession of the emperor, and military agricultural colonies (*tuntian*).

[*Cp3: 192*]

II *SGZ* 14, 436 (15a–b), the Biography of Dong Zhao.

[*Cp3: 192*]

JJ *SGZ* 13, 391 (3a–b), the Biography of Zhong Yao.

- 62 Zhong Hao of Yingchuan was a famous scholar. His biography in *HHS* 62/52, at 2065, however, describes Zhong Yao as his grandson, not his great-grandson, and this appears correct.

Assuming the two stories are true, it is noteworthy, as *ZZTJ* commentary observes, that Cao Cao already held high reputation with such men as Dong Zhao in Henei and Zhong Yao at Chang'an: both men were somewhat isolated from the east, and Cao Cao at this stage was just one amongst many contending warlords.

[*Cp3: 192*]

KK *HHS* 71/61, 2312 (10b), the Biography of Zhu Jun.

- 63 On the title Grand Master, revived by Dong Zhuo two years earlier, see note 7 to Chuping 2.

[*Cp3: 192*]

LL *HHS* 74/64A, 2380–81 (6b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

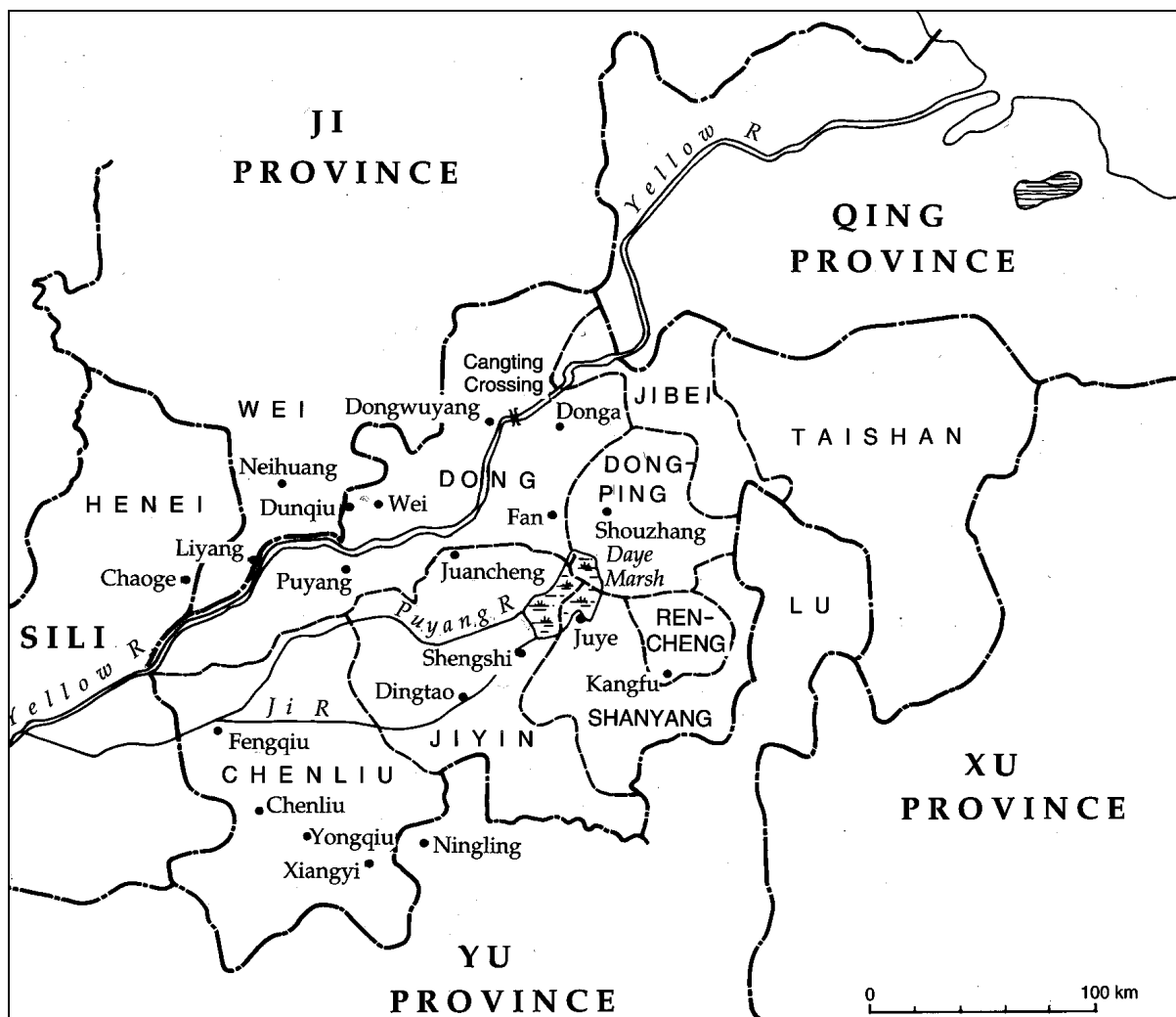
- 64 The commentary of Wang Xianqian to this text argues that Longcou city was in the area of Pingyuan and Bohai, on the borders of Ji with Qing province. The site was thus in the vicinity of De county in the north of present-day Shandong. Gongsun Zan had advanced south down the coast of Ji province, seeking to outflank Yuan Shao, then turned southwest up the stream of the Qing River. This was the same line of advance as in his campaign leading to the battle by Jie Bridge earlier in the year (passage D above), but on this occasion he did not get so far.

[*Cp3: 192*]

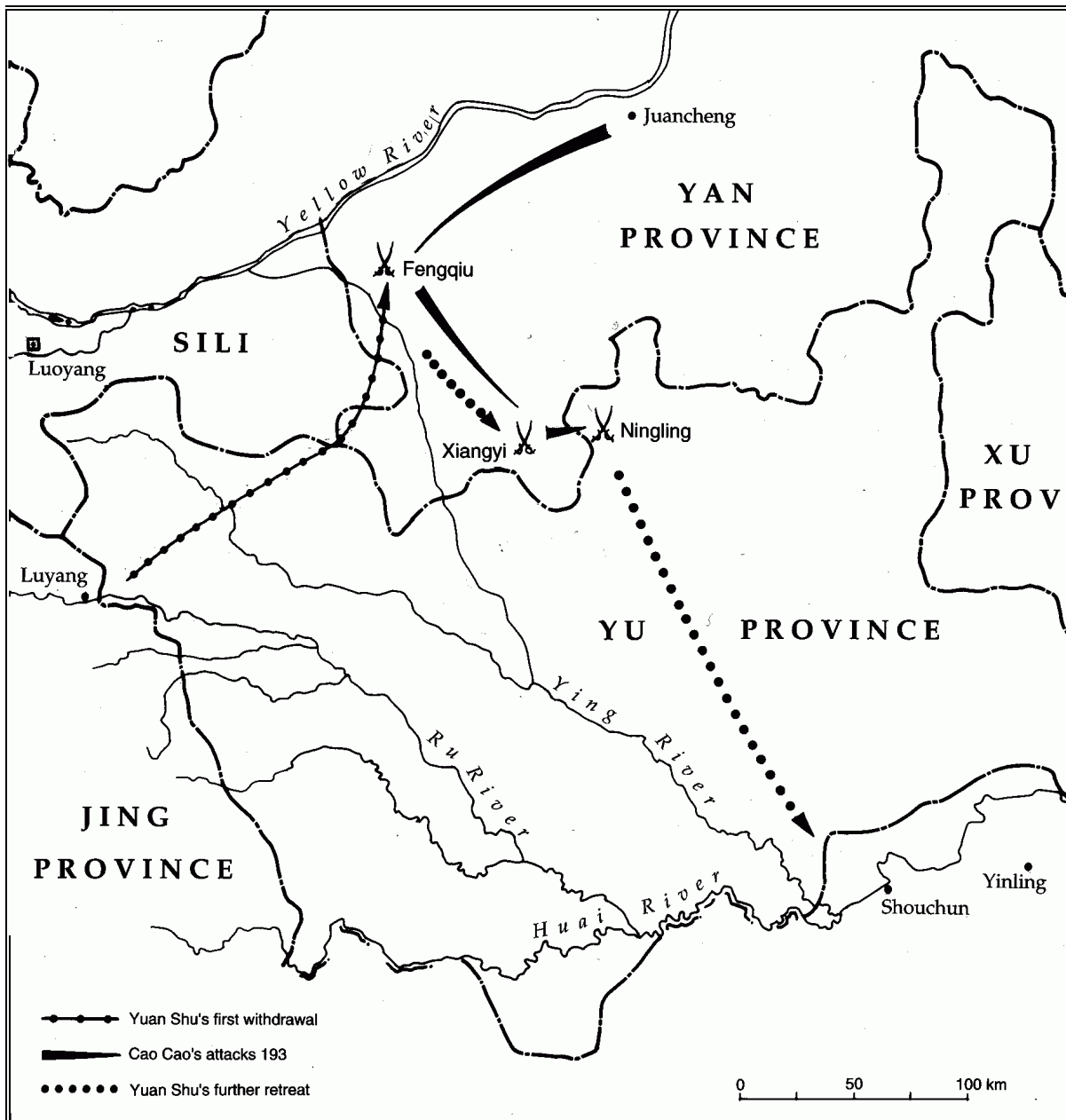
MM *SGZ* 6, 208 (73b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

- 65 *Kaoyi* commentary observes that the main text of *SGZ* 6, and *Xiandi ji* quoted in PC to that passage, both say that Yuan Shu killed Chen Wen. *HHS* 75/65, 2439, agrees. *SGZ* 6 PC, however, cites this passage from [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*, and also the account of *Jiuzhou chunqiu*, preserved in *SGZ* 56 (Wu 11), 1310 PC (reading the personal name of Chen Wen as Yi). The sequence of events is told further in passage B of Chuping 4.

Map 06: Yan province under Cao Cao 192-194



Map 07: The retreat of Yuan Shu 193



## Chuping 4: 193 AD

[19 February 193 – 8 February 194]

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *jiayin* [19 Feb], first of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.<sup>1</sup>

On the day *dingmao* [4 Mar] there was an amnesty for the empire.<sup>2</sup>

B Cao Cao's army was at Juancheng. Yuan Shu, under pressure from Liu Biao, brought his men to camp at Fengqiu, where he was joined by a group of the Black Mountain bandits and also by Yufuluo of the Xiongnu. Cao Cao attacked Yuan Shu's army, defeated it, then besieged Fengqiu. Yuan Shu retreated first to Xiangyi and then to Ningling. Cao Cao continued the pursuit and defeated him in one battle after another. Yuan Shu fled into Jiujiang.<sup>3</sup>

Chen Yu, the Inspector of Yang province appointed by Yuan Shu, turned against him and refused to allow him entry.<sup>4</sup> Yuan Shu fell back on Yinling, collected his forces from the north of the Huai and went forward once more against Shouchun. Chen Yu took fright and retreated to Xiapi. Then Yuan Shu took over his territory and claimed the additional title "Lord of Xu province."<sup>5</sup>

1943 Li Jue wanted to make an alliance with Yuan Shu, so he appointed him General of the Left and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Yangdi, granting him the Staff of Authority.<sup>6</sup>

C Yuan Shao and Tian Kai, the Inspector of Qing province appointed by Gongsun Zan, had been fighting continually for two years. Both sides were exhausted, their supplies were finished, and they had plundered each other's people till the land was a wilderness without one blade of grass.

Yuan Shao made his son Tan Inspector of Qing province. Tian Kai fought him but had no success. Then Zhao Qi came to make peace in the east of the passes. Gongsun Zan accepted a truce with Yuan Shao and each side led their troops away.

[Cp4: 193]

In the third month Yuan Shao was at the Boluo Crossing. The troops in Wei commandery rebelled and joined Poison Yu and the Black Mountain bandits to make a force of several ten thousand men. They stormed Ye city [the



capital of Wei commandery] and killed the Grand Administrator. Yuan Shao went back to camp at Chiqiu.<sup>7</sup>

D In the summer, Cao Cao led his army back to Dingtao.<sup>8</sup>

E Wang Lang of Donghai, Attendant Official at Headquarters in Xu province, and the Aide-de-Camp Zhao Yu of Langye suggested to their Inspector Tao Qian, "If you wish to be numbered amongst the feudal lords, the best method is to show loyalty to the throne.<sup>9</sup> Now that the Son of Heaven is away in the western capital you should send a messenger to take tribute."

So Tao Qian sent Zhao Yu to take a memorial to Chang'an. An imperial edict promoted Tao Qian to be Governor of Xu province, with the additional title of General Who Gives Tranquillity to the East, and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Liyang.<sup>10</sup> He appointed Zhao Yu as Grand Administrator of Guangling and Wang Lang as Grand Administrator of Kuaiji.<sup>11</sup>

Up to this time the people of Xu were prosperous, crops were adequate, and many people had taken refuge there. But then Tao Qian began to put his trust in slanderers and evil men, granting them offices and keeping loyal and upright men at a distance. Law and government were poorly administered, and so the province gradually fell into disorder.

F Xu Shao left his home [in Runan commandery] to go to Guangling and Tao Qian received him with utmost courtesy. Xu Shao, however, said to his followers, "Tao Gongzu [Tao Qian]<sup>12</sup> appears to admire people of my quality, but he is not genuine. Though he treats me generously, he will not always be in so agreeable." So he left him. Later, Tao Qian arrested all the gentlemen who had come to live in his province, and people admired Xu Shao's foresight.

G In the sixth month there was great rain and hail in [You]fufeng.

1944 There was a landslide on Mount Hua.<sup>13</sup>

The Grand Commandant Zhou Zhong was dismissed, and the Grand Coachman Zhu Jun became Grand Commandant with control of the imperial secretariat.

[Cp4: 193]

H Que Xuan of Xiapi collected a force of several thousand men and styled himself Son of Heaven. Tao Qian attacked and killed him.<sup>14</sup>

I There were great rains day and night for twenty days and more, and the floods destroyed people's houses.<sup>15</sup>

J Yuan Shao led his army into the Luchang Hills of Chaoge county.<sup>16</sup> He attacked Poison Yu, besieged him for five days and defeated him. He took the heads of Poison and over ten thousand of his men.

Then Yuan Shao went north through the mountains. He attacked the bandit Zuo with the Eighty-foot Moustache, beheading him with all his followers. He also attacked Liu Shi, Green Ox-Horn, Yellow Dragon, Enclosure on the Left, Great-Virtue Guo, Big-Eyes Li and Yu Digen, killing tens of thousands more and destroying their camps and defences.<sup>17</sup>

He went on to fight in Changshan with the Black Mountain bandit Zhang Yan and four detachments of the Chuge [group of the Xiongnu] and the Wuhuan from Yanmen.<sup>18</sup> Zhang Yan had twenty or thirty thousand good soldiers and several thousand horsemen. Yuan Shao and Lü Bu attacked Zhang Yan together, and the fighting continued for more than ten days. Many of Zhang Yan's troops were killed or wounded, but Yuan Shao's army was also exhausted, and both sides drew back.

K Many of Lü Bu's troops had acted cruelly, and Yuan Shao was concerned about it.<sup>19</sup> Then Lü Bu asked to go back to Luoyang. Yuan Shao claimed the authority to appoint Lü Bu as Colonel Director of the Retainers, and sent a strong escort to accompany him. Secretly, however, he planned that his men should kill Lü Bu.

1945 Lü Bu set a man to strum music in his tent,<sup>20</sup> but he himself went away into hiding. During the night, the men of the escort got up and hacked the tent and coverlets and destroyed everything inside. Next day, when Yuan Shao learnt that Lü Bu was still alive, he was so frightened that he closed the gates of the city to defend himself.

Lü Bu led his army back to join Zhang Yang [in Henei].

[Cp4: 193]

L The former Grand Commandant Cao Song had taken refuge in Langye. His son Cao Cao ordered Ying Shao, Grand Administrator of Taishan, to invite him.<sup>21</sup>

Cao Song's travelling baggage required more than a hundred carts. Tao Qian had stationed a garrison at Yinping, and the soldiers there were greedy for the treasure. They made a surprise attack on Cao Song between Hua and Fei and killed him, together with his younger son De.<sup>22</sup>

In the autumn, Cao Cao led his men to attack Tao Qian, stormed more than ten cities, and came to Pengcheng. There was a great battle, Tao Qian's army was defeated and he fled to take refuge in Tan.<sup>23</sup>

Before this, when the capital [Chang'an] and Luoyang had suffered the disorders of Dong Zhuo the people had migrated to the east, and many had come to Xu. As Cao Cao came up, he trapped and killed hundreds of thousands of men and women along the Si River, so many the water did not flow.<sup>24</sup>

Cao Cao was unsuccessful in his attack on Tan, but he stormed and massacred Qulü, Suiling, and Xiaqiu. The cities were laid waste, no-one was left alive, and even the chickens and dogs were gone.<sup>25</sup>

M In the winter, in the tenth month, on the day *xinchou* [3 Dec] there was an earthquake in the capital district.<sup>26</sup>

There was a comet in the Heavenly Market.<sup>27</sup>

1946 The Minister of Works Yang Biao was dismissed. On the day *bingwu* [8 Dec] the Grand Master of Ceremonies Zhao Wen became Minister of Works and controlled the imperial secretariat.

[Cp4: 193]

N Liu Yu and Gongsun Zan had long been on bad terms. Gongsun Zan often attacked Yuan Shao, and though Liu Yu forbade him he was unable to enforce his orders. He therefore reduced the supplies sent to Gongsun Zan.

Gongsun Zan was angry. He repeatedly disobeyed instructions and he plundered the people. Liu Yu could not control him, and he sent a courier to take a memorial to the Emperor setting out [Gongsun Zan's] crimes of cruelty and robbery. Gongsun Zan on his side complained that Liu Yu was sending insufficient supplies. When the two memorials were presented, each accusing the another, the court could only temporise, replying in vaguely favourable terms to each of them, but making no decision.

Gongsun Zan built a small fort in the southeast of Ji city and shifted his residence there.<sup>28</sup> Liu Yu asked several times to meet him, but Gongsun Zan claimed he was ill and would not agree. Liu Yu suspected he was preparing to rebel, so he collected the soldiers of his province, a hundred thousand men, and attacked him. At that time, Gongsun Zan's forces were scattered, away from their posts. In haste to retreat, they even tried to break through the eastern wall of the city.

Liu Yu's soldiers, however, had no organisation and no training in battle. He respected the houses of civilian, he gave strict orders not to burn them, and he warned the commanders of his army, "We do not harm other people, we have only to kill one Bogui [Gongsun Zan]."29 They attacked and besieged the fort but could not capture it.

Then Gongsun Zan picked several hundred of his best men, took advantage of the wind to set a fire, and charged through the enemy lines. Liu Yu's force disintegrated, and he fled with his officers north to Juyong.30

Gongsun Zan pursued Liu Yu and attacked him, and after three days the city fell. He captured Liu Yu and his wife and children and brought them back to Ji, still keeping him in nominal charge of the civil administration of the province.

At this time an edict sent the messenger Duan Xun to grant Liu Yu a larger fief, and to give him command over the government of six provinces.31 Gongsun Zan was to be made General of the Van and enfeoffed as Marquis of Yi.32 Gongsun Zan, however, now made the false claim that Liu Yu had at one time made plans with Yuan Shao to take the imperial title,33 and he forced Duan Xun to have Liu Yu, his wife and children executed in the market-place at Ji.

O Sun Jin, former Chancellor of Changshan, joined the officers Zhang Yi and Zhang Zan and went to Liu Yu. They laid every curse they could think of upon Gongsun Zan, then they died together with Liu Yu.

P Gongsun Zan sent Liu Yu's head to the capital. Wei Dun, a former officer of Liu Yu, intercepted and seized the head from the couriers, brought it back and buried it.

By his grace and generosity, Liu Yu had gained the affection of his people, and in the northern provinces not one of those who had migrated [into You] or who were native [to You] failed to mourn him with bitter grief.

1947

Q Earlier, when Liu Yu wanted to send a messenger to take a report to Chang'an, he found it difficult to decide on the right man. Everyone said, "Tian Chou of Youbeiping is only twenty-two, but although he is young he is remarkably able." So Liu Yu sent a polite invitation and asked him to join his service.

He had already prepared chariots and cavalry to escort him, but Tian Chou said, "The road is blocked and there are robbers and bandits everywhere. If you give me an official commission, everyone will notice me.

I wish to go privately, and with good fortune I may get through." Liu Yu agreed.

Tian Chou collected twenty horsemen from his own family retainers, they went together up to the western pass, across the frontier, along the northern mountains, and then straight to Shuofang. From there they travelled by side-roads to Chang'an and delivered the message.<sup>34</sup>

An edict appointed Tian Chou as a Chief Commandant of Cavalry. Because the Emperor at that time was a wanderer and had no security, Tian Chou felt this was no time for a subject to receive favours and rewards, and he could not accept the honour. He refused it firmly, and as soon as he had a reply to Liu Yu's message he hurried back. Liu Yu, however, was dead before he arrived.<sup>35</sup>

Tian Chou went to make sacrifice at Liu Yu's grave, displayed the document he had been entrusted with, wept and went away.

Gongsun Zan was angry. He offered a reward and captured Tian Chou, then he asked him, "You did not pass the message to me. Why not?"

"The Han house is in decline, " replied Tian Chou, "and the people have ideas of rebellion. Lord Liu was the one man who never lacked loyalty or honour. The message I carried was not flattering to you, and I fear you would not have been pleased to hear it. So I did not come forward. Moreover, you have just destroyed an innocent lord [Liu Yu] and you are hostile to an honest subject [myself, Tian Chou]. I regret to say that the men of Yan and Zhao would prefer to leap into the Eastern Sea and drown themselves, rather than follow you."<sup>36</sup> Gongsun Zan let him go.

Tian Chou went back north to Wuzhong,<sup>37</sup> where he gathered together several hundred of his clan and others that came to him. They cleared the ground and made covenant together, "Unless our lord's enemy suffers vengeance we can remain no longer in the world." Then they went into the Xuwu hills,<sup>38</sup> made camp in some open land among steep passes, and lived there. Tian Chou himself tilled the ground to keep his father and mother. People came to join him there, and in several years their numbers grew until there were more than five thousand families.

Tian Chou spoke to the elders and said, "Now the people here are as many as a city, yet there is no single government for them and no laws to guide them. I fear this is not the way to keep our peace. Foolish though it may be, I have a plan, and with your help I would seek to put it to effect. May I do so?" All replied, "Do so."

Then Tian Chou proclaimed his code. Those who killed or wounded one another, those who robbed and those who quarrelled should answer for their fault according to its severity. The heaviest penalty was death. Altogether there were some twenty articles.<sup>39</sup> He also set out ceremonies for marriage and for the courses taught in the schools.

1948 He proclaimed these among the people, and all found them easy to follow. Eventually the government was so well maintained that things found in the road were never touched [but left there for their owners to collect]. All people in the north had trust in him and submitted to his authority, while both the Wuhuan and the Xianbi sent messengers with offerings of food. Tian Chou treated them well and accepted them, and ordered them not to invade the borders.<sup>40</sup>

[Cp4: 193]

R In the twelfth month, on the day *xinchou* [1 Feb 194] there was an earthquake.<sup>41</sup> The Minister of Works Zhao Wen was dismissed.

On the day *yisi* [5 Feb] the Commandant of the Palace Guard Zhang Xi was made Minister of Works.

### NOTES to Chuping 4: 193

A *HHS* 9, 373 (4a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

1 *HHS* 108/18, 3371, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this eclipse, and notes that it took place in the Encampment *Yingshi* constellation, also known as the *Shi* lunar mansion, the thirteenth, which is a part of Western Pegasus about the two chief stars of that constellation; Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 275, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 99 and Star Map 5. The eclipse, Oppolzer 3355, mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 216, affected the far south of China.

The Treatise identifies the omen as relating to the seizure of power by Li Jue and Guo Si. Commentary to the Treatise, however, quotes from *Qiantan ba*, an anonymous apocryphal work on the *Chunqiu*, which says that an eclipse on a *jiayin* day foretells civil war.

Commentary to the Treatise, moreover, quotes also from *HHJ* 27, 8b–9a, which tells how the Grand Astrologer, who had calculated when the eclipse should take place, at first reported that it had not in fact occurred. All the court offered congratulations, but Emperor Xian said they should wait and observe longer, and the eclipse did take place later that day. Stephenson and Houlden, indeed, say that it was effective in the late afternoon.

The energetic Jia Xu proposed that the Grand Astrologer, and his formal supervisor the Grand Commandant Zhou Zhong, should be impeached for the error. Emperor Xian, however, remarked that it was difficult to calculate the distant ways of the heavens, and that in any case the ultimate responsibility rested upon him. He maintained the men in

their posts, but he ordered there should be no military activity, while he himself left the main hall of the palace, and held no official business for five days.

The first part of this story is also quoted by commentary to *HHS* 9.

- 2 *Kaoyi* commentary notes that *HHJ* 27, 9a, dates this amnesty to the *dingmao* day of the fifth month [2 Jul]. Sima Guang follows *HHS* 9.

[*Cp4*: 193]

- B *SGZ* 1, 10 (27b–28a), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*SGZ* 6, 208 (73b PC quoting [*Hanmo*] yingxiong ji;  
*HHS* 75/65, 2439 (6b), the Biography of Yuan Shu;  
*SGZ* 6, 208 (73a), the Biography of Yuan Shu.

- 3 Juancheng county (the name appears in two forms) was in Jiyin commandery in Yan province, by present-day Pu county in Shandong, just south of the Yellow River.

Fengqiu county was in Chenliu in Yan province, by present-day Fengqiu in Henan.

Xiangyi county was in Chenliu in Yan province, west of present-day Sui in Henan.

Ningling county was in Liang in Yu province, by present-day Ningling in Henan.

This series of engagements, described in more detail by *SGZ* 1, destroyed Yuan Shu's power in central China. Driven from Nanyang as a result of his own mal-administration (passage *CC* of *Chuping* 2) and pressure from Liu Biao, he had sought to re-establish a position in Chenliu, south of the Han-time course of the Yellow River by present-day Kaifeng. In doing so, however, he presented himself as a contender against Cao Cao, who controlled the north and centre of Yan province. Cao Cao moved swiftly, and his campaign did not relent until Yuan Shu had been bundled away south into Jiujiang.

- 4 As we have observed in passage *MM* and note 65 of *Chuping* 3, the biographies of Yuan Shu in *SGZ* 6 and *HHS* 75/65 say simply that Yuan Shu killed Chen Wen the Inspector of Yang province and took over his territory. Sima Guang, however, follows the more circumstantial story that Chen Wen died in the previous year, then Yuan Shu sent Chen Yu to take his place, but Chen Yu now sought to turn against his former patron.

- 5 Yinling county was in Jiujiang, by present-day Dingyuan in Anhui, south of the Huai and about fifty kilometres east of Shouchun, which was at the modern site of Shouchun. During Later Han, Yinling had been the residence of the Inspector of Yang province, but Chen Yu had evidently established himself at Shouchun, and this became the headquarters of Yuan Shu.

Xiapi commandery was in Xu province, east and north of Jiujiang. By taking the title Lord (*bo*) of Xu, Yuan Shu was announcing a claim to that territory also, despite the position of Tao Qian.

- 6 Yangdi county was in Yingchuan, at present-day Yu in Henan. Like the marquisate granted to Liu Biao (passage *EE* and note 58 of *Chuping* 3), it did not lie within any territory now controlled by Yuan Shu.

[*Cp4*: 193]

- C *HHS* 73/63, 2362 (7b), the Biography of Gongsun Zan;  
*HHS* 74/64A, 2381 (6b–7a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

- 7 The Boluo Crossing of the Zhang River was north of present-day Guangzong in Hebei, some thirty kilometres northwest of the Jie Bridge, scene of Yuan Shao's victory over Gongsun Zan in the previous year: passage *D* of *Chuping* 3.

Chiqiu was in Wei commandery, by present-day Chengan in Hebei, some fifty kilometres from Ye. Both Ye and Chiqiu were on the Zhang River, so Yuan Shao was moving his troops south by land and water to deal with the insurrection and the bandits who had supported it.

[Cp4: 193]

D SGZ 1, 10 (28a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

Dingtao county, capital of Jiyin, was by present-day Dingtao in Shandong. Cao Cao had now no rival to his control of Yan province.

[Cp4: 193]

E SGZ 13, 407 (25a), the Biography of Wang Lang;

HHS 73/63, 2366–67 (10b), the Biography of Tao Qian.

9 *Zuo zhuan*, Xi 25; Legge, *CCV*, 195 (Couvreur, *Chronique I*, 368), attributes these words to the minister Hu Yan of Jin.

10 Tao Qian had hitherto been only the Inspector of Xu province, and the appointment as a general gave him formal military authority.

This county of Liyang was in Danyang commandery in Yang province. Though Tao Qian was himself a man from Danyang, the territory was not under his control at this time. As in the grants to Liu Biao and Yuan Shu (passage B above and passage EE of Chuping 3), the award of a marquisate was a largely empty honour, for the recipient was most unlikely to obtain any revenue from his notional fief. In formal terms, the court at Chang'an was following the tradition of Han, but in the circumstances of the time these fiefs were something of a joke.

11 Guangling was the southernmost commandery of Xu province, being immediately north of the mouth of the Yangzi. Kuaiji, extending along the south of Hangzhou Bay, was formally under Yang province. Wang Lang, however, was able to establish himself there (e.g. passage S of Jian'an 1), so it appears there was no co-ordinated government in the lands south of the Yangzi.

[Cp4: 193]

F HHS 68/58, 2234 (8a), the Biography of Xu Shao.

12 Gongzu was the style of Tao Qian.

[Cp4: 193]

G HHS 9, 374 (4a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

13 This landslide or rock-fall on one of China's most numinous mountains could be considered a portent of the troubles afflicting the dynasty. Surprisingly, Sima Biao does not list it at the appropriate place in the Treatise of the Five Powers, HHS 106/16, 3334.

[Cp4: 193]

H SGZ 1, 10 (28a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao;

HHS 73/63, 2367 (10b), the Biography of Tao Qian;

SGZ 8, 248 (21a), the Biography of Tao Qian.

14 The source texts agree that Tao Qian had for some time tolerated Que Xuan and even formed an alliance with him to attack Taishan and Rencheng in Yan province. Then, however, he turned on him and took over his troops. In *Kaoyi* commentary Sima Guang discounts this story.

HHS 73/63, has the surname of this rebel as Yan, but Sima Guang preferred HHS 9, 374, and the other two texts.



[Cp4: 193]

I *HHS* 9, 374 (4a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

15 Neither *HHS* 103/13, 3270, nor *HHS* 105/15, 3312, the expected places in the Treatise of the Five Powers, record these rains and floods.

[Cp4: 193]

J *HHS* 74/64A, 2381–82 (7a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

16 Chaoge county was in Henei, about present-day Qixian in Henan, and south of Wei commandery, which Yuan Shao now controlled. The hills were in the west of the county, a south-eastern extension of the Taihang ranges.

17 These men, together with Zhang Yan, also known as Flying Swallow Zhang, who is mentioned below, were leaders of the Black Mountain group of bandits, a loose confederation which had emerged at the time of the Yellow Turban disturbances in 184. See de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, Cp4: 193–193, and for some discussion of the names and nicknames, de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* II, 567–568.

18 Changshan commandery was in Ji province, on the west of the plain and well north of Wei and Henei commanderies. Yuan Shao first attacked southwards, then marched north some 250 kilometres, over 150 miles, clearing out the nests of bandits which had been established in the hill country along the edges of the Taihang Shan.

The Chuge, also known as the Xiuchuge, were a group of the Xiongnu who rose to increasing importance at this time. In 185, for example, they played a leading role in killing the former Shanyu, father of Yufuluo: de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 206. On the various forms of the name of this people, and its pronunciation, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 529–531 note 3.

The Wuhuan people inhabited the frontier territories of China between the Ordos loop of the Yellow River and the sea. Yanmen commandery bordered Changshan on the north.

[Cp4: 193]

K *HHS* 75/65, 2445 (10b), the Biography of Lü Bu;

*SGZ* 7, 220 (3b), the Biography of Lü Bu.

19 *ZZTJ* does not make the point, but both *HHS* 75/65 and *SGZ* 7 say that Lü Bu had played a leading and most effective role in the attacks against Zhang Yan.

20 The instrument was the *zheng* zither, a speciality of Lü Bu's home country in the northwest of China. Sources disagree whether it had five or thirteen strings.

[Cp4: 193]

L *HHS* 78/68, 2519 (9b), the Biography of Cao Teng in the Chapter on the Eunuchs;

*HHS* 73/63, 2367 (10b–11a), the Biography of Tao Qian;

*SGZ* 1, 10–11 (28b), the Biography of Cao Cao;

*SGZ* 1, 10–11 (29a–b) PC quoting *Wei-Jin shiyu*;

*SGZ* 1, 10–11 (29b) PC quoting the *Wu shu* of Wei Zhao/Yao.

21 Taishan was the easternmost territory of Yan province, so Ying Shao was under Cao Cao's formal authority.

22 Yinping county was in Donghai, near present-day Zaozhuang in Jiangsu. Hua city was in Fei county in Taishan, near present-day Fei in Shandong, some eighty kilometres to the north. [The modern pronunciation of the name of the county is Fei, but *ZZTJ* commentary says it should be sounded as Bi. The variant reflects the changes of sound over time, and I have accepted the modern form.]

There are several accounts of this incident, which differ both in detail and in substance. Among particular variations, we may note that:

The main text of *SGZ* 1 has no reference to the murder of Cao Song, but says simply that Tao Qian, having taken over the troops of the rebel Que Xuan (passage H above), occupied the region of Hua and Fei, and then plundered in Rencheng. Taishan and Rencheng were in Yan province of Han, so Cao Cao was defending his own territory.

*HHS* 73/63, followed by *ZZTJ*, says that it was a detachment of Tao Qian's troops, not under his direct control, who went on the raid from Yinping;

The *Wu shu* of Wei Zhao says that Tao Qian sent two hundred men to serve as an escort to Cao Song, but that instead they robbed and murdered him;

*Wei-Jin shiyu* says that Tao Qian personally sent several thousand troops to the assault.

So accounts of Tao Qian's responsibility differ, and disagreement between the sources may reflect political relationships with Cao Cao and his successors in the state of Wei at the time they were written. *ZZTJ* presents a coherent and credible story, but it is clear that Cao Cao blamed the misfortune on Tao Qian.

There is also confusion about the given name of the unfortunate younger son of Cao Song. The modern edition of *ZZTJ* identifies the name as Deqiu; but the text of *Wei-Jin shiyu* is clear that the character *qiu* is not part of the name, but belongs at the beginning of the following sentence as "In the autumn." [Similarly, *HHS* 78/68 has the character *ji* at this point, and the Beijing edition punctuates it as a name; it should, however, be interpreted as "urgently" or "hurriedly," describing the manner in which Cao Song and his son sought to escape from the disturbances.] The name of the young man remains uncertain.

23 Tan, by present-day Tancheng in Shandong, was the capital of Donghai.

24 In *HHS* 73/63, the account of the slaughter at the Si River appears after the description of Cao Cao's drive to the south, described below. The main stream of the Si River flowed west-east across Xiapi, so the massacre probably took place during the course of those operations, not, as implied in here, during the attack upon Tan, which lay substantially to the north.

25 These three counties were all in Xiapi, Qulü (also pronounced Qiulu) near Suining in Jiangsu, Suiling in the area of the Hongzi Lake, and Xiaqiu by Si in Anhui. So Cao Cao, having bottled up Tao Qian in Tan city, extended his ravages two hundred kilometres south to the Huai River. (The punctuated edition of *ZZTJ* fails to mark the character qu as part of the name Qulü.)

[*Cp4: 193*]

M *HHS* 9, 375 (4b–5a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

26 The Treatise of the Five Powers has no record of this earthquake at the expected place in *HHS* 106/16, 3332.

27 This comet is described and discussed in *HHS* 102/12, 3260, the Treatise of Astronomy.

The comet appeared first between the two Horns,  $\alpha$  and  $\zeta$  of Western Virgo, which are part of *Jue*, the first lunar mansion; Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 487 and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 94–95 and Star Map 2. It then travelled northeast into the Heavenly Market Enclosure (*Tianshi yuan*), a circle of stars extending over the Western Hercules, Serpens and Ophiucus; Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 536, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 84 and Star Maps 3 and 4.

Prognostication in the Treatise, and *HHJ* 27, 10a, also quoted in commentary to *HHS* 9, relate this comet to the escape of Emperor Xian from Chang'an to the east two years later.

[*Cp4*: 193]

N *HHS* 73/63, 2356–57 (3a–4a), the Biography of Liu Yu;  
*SGZ* 8, 243 (9b–10a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan.

28 Ji city was south of Daxing in the municipal territory of Beijing, south of the modern capital. Ji was the chief county of Guangyang commandery, and the city was the headquarters of You province under Later Han, so Gongsun Zan had established a military position against Liu Yu within the walls of his own capital.

29 Bogui was the style of Gongsun Zan.

30 Juyong county was in Shanggu commandery, by present-day Yanqing in Hebei, just north of the Badaling Pass of the Great Wall, which was also fortifiable at this time.

31 Though this is the only reference to the mission of Duan Xun, it would seem his position was comparable to that of Ma Midi and Zhao Qi, who had been sent out with plenipotentiary powers in the previous year: passage CC and note 56 to Chuping 3.

On the other hand, it is hard to believe that the regime at Chang'an intended to appoint Liu Yu as overlord of six provinces. We have been told just above that it failed to give clear support to either Liu Yu or Gongsun Zan in the course of their quarrel. The grant of six provinces, moreover, presumably comprising You, Ji, Qing, Xu, Yan and Yu, in the east of the empire, would have grossly offended such leaders as Tao Qian, Yuan Shu and Cao Cao, all of whom had been lately confirmed in their local powers within one or other of those territories.

One must assume either that the historian has exaggerated, to point the contrast between the splendours offered Liu Yu and the reality of his miserable death; or perhaps that Duan Xun was pushing his authority to the limit in some manoeuvre which might support Liu Yu at his time of trial – a manoeuvre which failed to overawe the brutal determination of Gongsun Zan.

32 Yi county was in Hejian in Ji province, near Xiong in Hebei, about one hundred kilometres south of Ji city. Unusually for the fiefs granted to warlords at this time, the territory lay within Gongsun Zan's area of control (*cf.* notes 6 and 10 above), and it could indeed provide a central position for the government of You province and his ambitions southwards into Ji province against Yuan Shao. It seems likely he had influence over Duan Xun in the selection of his nominal fief.

33 This must refer to the time that Yuan Shao and the leaders east of the mountains had discussed nominating Liu Yu as Emperor: passage B of Chuping 2.

[*Cp4*: 193]

O *SGZ* 8, 244 (11a) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] yingxiong ji.

[*Cp4*: 193]

P *HHS* 73/63, 2357 (4a), the Biography of Liu Yu.

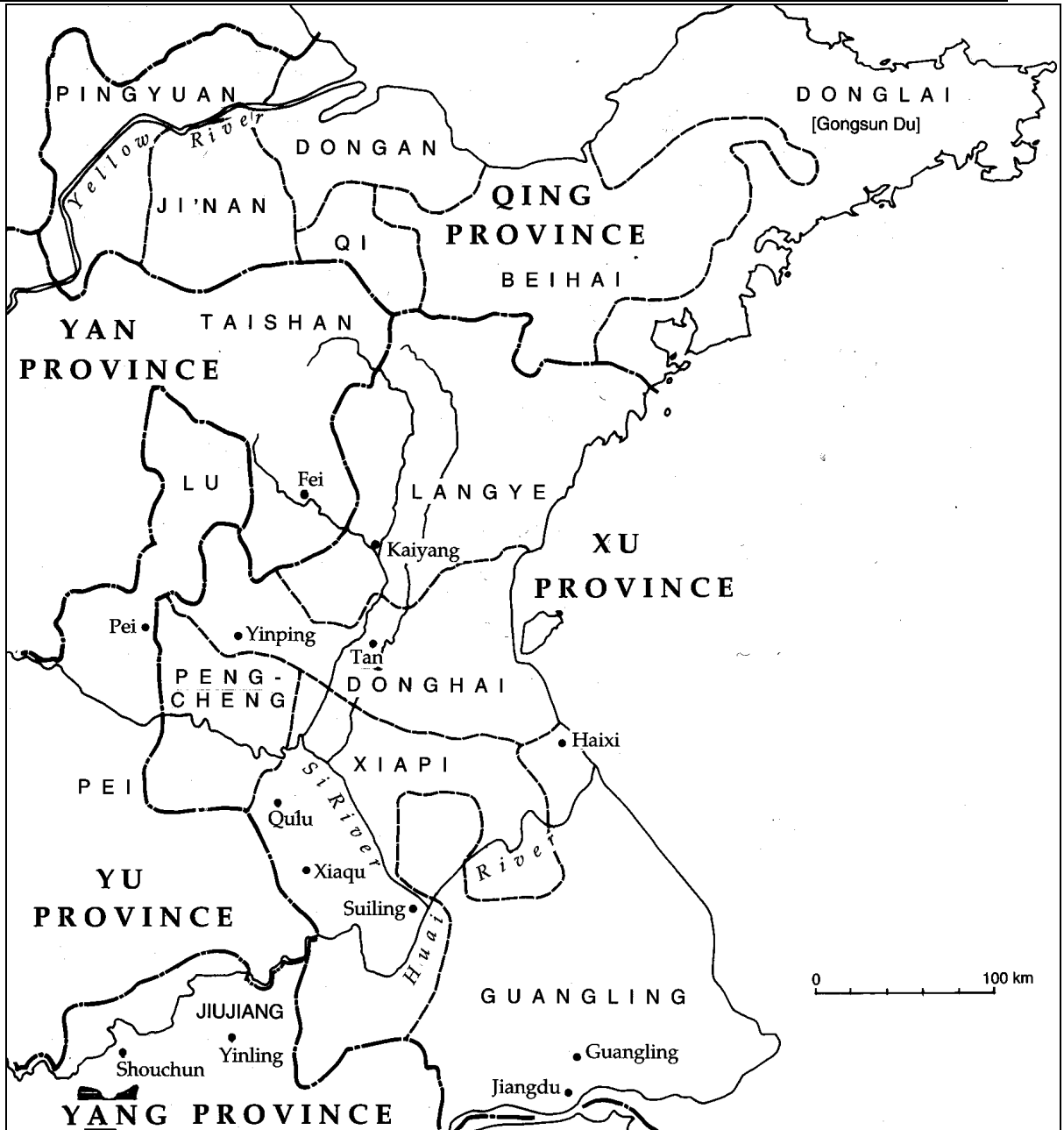
[*Cp4*: 193]

Q *SGZ* 11, 430–31 (10b–12a), the Biography of Tian Chou.

34 This Western Pass is identified as the Juyong Pass, present-day Badaling, north of Beijing: note 30 above. The Northern Mountains are the Yin Shan range of Inner Mongolia, north of the Ordos.

- Tian Chou thus went north from Liu Yu's headquarters at Ji city, through the line of the Great Wall and along the northern frontier of the empire to the west of the great loop of the Yellow River. From there he made his way southwards to the Wei River and Chang'an.
- 35 Tian Chou's biography in *SGZ* suggests that he was commissioned for this journey soon after Dong Zhuo shifted the Emperor to Chang'an in Chuping 1; that is three or four years before Liu Yu was killed. It must, however, have been a later expedition, possibly carrying Liu Yu's complaint against Gongsun Zan. On the other hand, if the journey was so difficult, one wonders how the envoy Duan Xun managed to get through from the capital. The purpose of the story, however, is to demonstrate Tian Chou's enterprise, imagination and loyalty, not to chronicle the communications of Liu Yu with the imperial court.
- 36 The phrase Yan and Zhao refers here to the two states of that name during the Warring States period, and is a general term for this region of the north. Compare note 32 of Chuping 2.
- 37 Tian Chou was a native of Wuzhong county in Youbeiping, about present-day Ji in Hebei.
- 38 Xuwu county in Youbeiping was about Yutian in Hebei, and the hills are part of the dividing range north of the coastal plain followed by the line of the Great Wall west of present-day Shanhaiguan.
- 39 *SGZ* has the number as twenty, but *ZZTJ* has miswritten the first character.
- 40 His biography tells us that Tian Chou took pleasure in books and was also skilled in war. The picture is that of a respected member of the local elite, and the government he established is frequently taken as a model of the self-supporting, independent administration which was established in various regions of China under the authority of a local leader during this time of crisis. See, for example, *Cambridge China* I, 630 note 75 [Ebrey, "Economic and Social History of Later Han"], and Tanigawa, *Medieval Society and the Local "Community,"* 106–109.
- [Cp4: 193]
- R *HHS* 9, 375 (4b–5a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.
- 41 The Treatise of the Five Powers has no record of this earthquake at the expected place in *HHS* 106/16, 3332.

Map 08: Xu and Qing provinces 193-194





## TO ESTABLISH PEACE

### CHAPTER 61

being Chapter 53 of the Chronicle of Han  
[containing Part 3 of the reign of Emperor Xian

#### Xingping 1: 194 AD

[9 February 194 – 28 January 195]

1949

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *xinyou* [21 Feb] there was an amnesty for the empire.<sup>1</sup> On the day *jiazi* [24 Feb] the Emperor took the Cap of Manhood.<sup>2</sup>

In the second month on the day *wuyin* [10 Mar] the high officials recommended that a Palace of Prolonged Autumn be established.<sup>3</sup> An edict said, "How can I contemplate the choice of my harem when the burial place for my late mother has still not been decided?"

On the day *renwu* [14 Mar] the three Excellencies recommended that the grave of the Emperor's mother the Lady Wang be moved [to the Wenzhao Mausoleum of Emperor Ling], and that she be granted posthumous title as Remembered Empress of Emperor Ling.<sup>4</sup>

B Tao Qian told Tian Kai of his imminent danger [from Cao Cao] and Tian Kai came with the Chancellor of Pingyuan, Liu Bei, to bring him help.<sup>5</sup> Liu Bei had a few thousand soldiers of his own, but Tao Qian allocated him four thousand more from Danyang, so Liu Bei left Tian Kai and joined Tao Qian. Tao Qian recommended him as Inspector of Yu province and he camped at Xiaopei.<sup>6</sup>

1950 Cao Cao's supplies were also exhausted, and he led his men back.<sup>7</sup>

C Ma Teng had some private request of Li Jue, but did not get what he wanted. Angry, he planned to raise troops against the capital. The Emperor sent messengers to bring about a reconciliation, but Ma Teng would not listen. Han Sui brought his forces to make peace between Ma Teng and Li Jue, but then he too joined Ma Teng.

The Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant Chong Shao, the Palace Attendant Ma Yu and the General of the Gentlemen of the Household on the Left Liu Fan planned for Ma Teng to attack Chang'an. They would then act as his supporters inside the city and kill Li Jue and his allies.

[In the third month] on the day *renshen* [*?gengshen* = 21 Apr]<sup>8</sup> Ma Teng brought his soldiers to camp at the Changping Observatory.<sup>9</sup> Chong Shao and his fellow-conspirators were discovered and fled to Huaili. Li Jue sent Fan Chou, Guo Si and his elder brother's son Li Li to attack Ma Teng. Ma Teng was defeated and fled, and he went back to Liang province. The army then turned against Huaili, and Chong Shao and the others were all killed.

On the day *gengshen* [*?renshen* = 3 May] an edict was issued to pardon Ma Teng and his supporters. In the summer, in the fourth month, Ma Teng was made General Who Gives Tranquillity to the Northern Barbarians and Han Sui was made General Who Gives Tranquillity to the Submissive.

[195]

D Cao Cao ordered his Major Xun Yu, with Cheng Yu the Prefect of Shouzhang, to guard Juancheng<sup>10</sup> while he went once more to attack Tao Qian. Seizing territory as far as Langye and Donghai, he destroyed everything he passed. Then he turned back and defeated Liu Bei east of Tan.

Tao Qian was frightened and wanted to escape to his home country in Danyang, but just at this time the Grand Administrator of Chenliu, Zhang Miao, rebelled against Cao Cao and called in Lü Bu, and so Cao Cao led his army back.

E Before this, when Zhang Miao was young, he enjoyed acting as a knight-errant,<sup>11</sup> and he was on good terms with both Yuan Shao and Cao Cao. When Yuan Shao was the leader of the alliance [against Dong Zhuo] he became arrogant, and Zhang Miao spoke straight and told him so. Yuan Shao was angry and told Cao Cao to kill him. Cao Cao refused, "Mengzhuo [Zhang Miao] is my close friend.<sup>12</sup> Right or wrong, we should show him tolerance. Now, while the empire is still not settled, how can we cause danger to one another?"

1951 When Cao Cao first attacked Tao Qian, he was prepared to give his life in the cause.<sup>13</sup> He told his family, "If I do not come back, go and seek refuge with Mengzhuo." Later when he returned and saw Zhang Miao, they wept for emotion.

F Gao Rou of Chenliu said to his countrymen, "At present General Cao holds only Yan province, but in his heart he has plans of conquest everywhere. He will never be content to stay here. And at the same time, Magistrate Zhang,<sup>14</sup> with all the wealth of Chenliu, is just waiting for the opportunity to make rebellion. To avoid complications, I think we should leave this territory. What do you say?" Everyone thought that Cao Cao and



Zhang Miao were close friends, and they considered Gao Rou too young, so they would not follow his suggestion. Then Gao Rou's elder cousin Gao Gan invited him to come north of the Yellow River [into Ji province], so Gao Rou took his family and went to join him.

G When Lü Bu had left Yuan Shao and was on the way to Zhang Yang,<sup>15</sup> he stayed with Zhang Miao, and as he was about to leave they took hands and swore an oath together. Yuan Shao heard about this and was very angry. Zhang Miao became afraid that eventually, as a favour to Yuan Shao, Cao Cao would kill him. He was not easy in his mind.

H The former Grand Administrator of Jiujiang, Bian Rang of Chenliu, had criticised Cao Cao. Cao Cao came to hear of it, and he killed Bian Rang, his wife and children. Bian Rang had long been known for his ability, so all the leading men of Yan province were frightened.<sup>16</sup>

I Chen Gong by nature was upright, strong and impetuous. He too felt unsure of his position, and with the Gentlemen of the General Staff Xu Si, Wang Kai and Zhang Miao's younger brother Chao he made plans to rebel against Cao Cao.

Chen Gong said to Zhang Miao, "The empire is divided and fallen, and the brave men rise up together. With the forces of a thousand // you occupy a land which is open on four sides to war.<sup>17</sup> You hold your sword and you look around proudly, and you are good enough to be a leader of men. Yet you prefer to take your orders from another. Isn't that mean-spirited?

"Now the provincial army is away fighting in the east and this area is empty. Lü Bu is a strong soldier and a superb fighting man. Call him in for a while, govern Yan province together, watch the situation of the empire and wait for the changes of circumstance. Now is the ideal time for such a strategic move." Zhang Miao agreed.

At this time, Cao Cao had ordered Chen Gong to lead a force into camp in Dong commandery. Then Chen Gong took his army and secretly invited Lü Bu to come and take over as Governor of Yan province.

J When Lü Bu arrived, Zhang Miao sent his follower Liu Yi to tell Xun Yu, "General Lü has come to help Commissioner Cao in his attack on Tao Qian.<sup>18</sup> You must quickly get provisions ready for his army." Everyone was suspicious and uneasy, and Xun Yu realised that Zhang Miao was planning to rebel. He immediately ordered his men to prepare themselves, and he sent an urgent message to call the Grand Administrator of Dong

commandery, Xiahou Dun, from Puyang. As Xiahou Dun left the city, Lü Bu occupied Puyang.<sup>19</sup>

At this time Cao Cao had committed the bulk of his forces to the attack on Tao Qian. There were few soldiers left on guard, and many of the commanders and senior officials had been in correspondence with Zhang Miao and Chen Gong. The same night Xiahou Dun arrived, he executed several dozen men who had planned rebellion, and the army was settled.

1952 The Inspector of Yu province, Guo Gong, brought an army of several ten thousand men below the walls of [Juancheng] city. Some said that he was in the plan with Lü Bu, and people were extremely frightened. Guo Gong asked to see Xun Yu. Xun Yu was prepared to go, but Xiahou Dun and the others said, "You are the safeguard for the whole province. If you go you will certainly be in danger. You must not do it."

"Guo Gong knows almost nothing about Zhang Miao's party," replied Xun Yu, "for they have had little to do with each other in the past.<sup>20</sup> He has only recently arrived, and he certainly has not made up his mind what he is going to do. If we talk with him while he is still undecided, then even if we cannot get him to join us, we may at least persuade him to stay neutral. If, on the other hand, we appear to distrust him he will certainly become angry and will decide against us."

Guo Gong saw Xun Yu was quite unafraid. Judging that Juancheng would be difficult to attack, he led his men away.

[195]

K All the commanderies and counties of Yan province now turned to Lü Bu, and only Juancheng, Fan and Dong'a remained loyal.<sup>21</sup> Deserters from Lü Bu's army said, "Chen Gong is coming himself to take Dong'a, and he will send Fan Yi to capture Fan." All the people were frightened.

Cheng Yu was originally a man from Dong'a. Xun Yu said to him, "The whole province has rebelled and only these three cities remain. Chen Gong and his fellows will attack them with a strong force. Unless we have something to bolster their confidence, all three will certainly change sides. The people look up to you. Go and encourage them."

On his way home, Cheng Yu passed by Fan and spoke to the Prefect Jin Yun, "I have heard that Lü Bu holds your mother and your younger brother, your wife and your children. As a filial son, how can you bear this? But the empire is now in great disorder, and brave men rise up against one another. It is the way of a wise man to judge and choose the leader who can truly

take control and end the disorder. He who finds his true lord will prosper, but the man who makes a bad choice will die.

"Now Chen Gong has rebelled and brought in Lü Bu. All the other cities have joined him, and it may indeed seem possible that they can take over everything. If you think about it, however, what sort of a man is Lü Bu?

"Lü Bu is a common man's hero: he is rough, he has small affection for anyone else, he is brutal and arrogant. Just for moment Chen Gong and his fellows are obliged to be friendly with him, but they will never accept him as their chief. Though he has many soldiers, he will come to nothing in the end. By contrast, the wisdom and strategy of Commissioner Cao are not of this world, but rather gifts from Heaven.

1953 "So you must hold Fan while I guard Dong'a, and we shall achieve the good work of Tian Dan.<sup>22</sup> How can you abandon loyalty and follow evil, and so bring mother and son both to die? Please consider the matter carefully."

Jin Yun wept and said, "I do not dare to have a double heart [and act unfaithfully]." Fan Yi had by this time already entered the county. Jin Yun received him, but set soldiers in ambush to kill him. Then he went back and prepared his troops to defend themselves in Fan.

L The Criticism by Xu Zhong says:<sup>23</sup>

Jin Yun had no responsibility as a subject to Lord Cao, and his mother was his closest relative. According to moral standards, he should have gone away.

When Kaifang, prince of Wei, went to take up office in Qi and did not return home for several years, Guan Zhong judged that since he did not care for his own family, how could he care for his ruler?<sup>24</sup> This means that if one is looking for a loyal official, one must go to the door of a filial son. Jin Yun should first have rescued his closest relative.

When the mother of Xu Shu was held by Lord Cao, Liu Bei sent him back to the north.<sup>25</sup> A man with imperial ambitions should have sympathy with the feelings of a son. Lord Cao, in the same manner, should have sent Ji Yun away.

[195]

M Cheng Yu also sent a detachment of cavalry to hold the Cangting Crossing, and when Chen Gong arrived he could go no further.<sup>26</sup> And by the time Cheng Yu came to Dong'a the Prefect there, Zao Zhi of Yingchuan, had

already taken command and had trained the people to guard the walls and hold firm. So Cheng Yu was able to keep all three cities safe for Cao Cao.

Then Cao Cao came back, and he took Cheng Yu by the hand and said, "But for your strength, I would have had no place to return to." He recommended Cheng Yu as Chancellor of Dongping to command the garrison at Fan.<sup>27</sup>

N Lü Bu had attacked Juancheng but could not capture it, and he went back west to camp at Puyang. Cao Cao said, "Lü Bu obtained the province in a single day. What he should have done then was seize Dongping and cut the roads through Kangfu and Taishan, holding the passes and strategic points against me. Instead, he just stayed in camp at Puyang. Now I know he is incompetent." He went forward to the attack.<sup>28</sup>

O In the fifth month the General Who Manifests Firmness Guo Si became General of the Rear and the General Who Gives Tranquillity and Collects the Empire Fan Chou was General of the Right. Both opened offices like the three Excellencies, and joined [with the three Excellencies and Li Jue] to form six offices. Each made selections and recommendations.<sup>29</sup>

1954 Li Jue and the others wanted all their proteges to receive appointment, and if anyone objected they were prompt to show their feelings. Those in charge were intimidated, and gave out positions by order of preference: first they took Li Jue's nominees, then Guo Si's, then Fan Chou's. No-one recommended by the Excellencies was ever given a place.

[195]

P The four commanderies west of the Yellow River were a long way from the headquarters of Liang province and were cut off by pirates on the rivers. A memorial was sent to ask that they be set up as a separate province. In the sixth month on the day *bingzi* [6 Jul] an edict made Handan Shang of Chenliu Inspector of Yong province, to administer the new region.<sup>30</sup>

Q On the day *dingchou* [7 Jul] there was an earthquake in the capital district, and another on the day *wuyin* [8 Jul].<sup>31</sup>

On the day *yiyou* [miswritten for *yisi*], the last day of the month [4 Aug], there was an eclipse of the sun.<sup>32</sup>

In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *renzi* [11 Aug] the Grand Commandant Zhu Jun was dismissed. On the day *wuwu* [17 Aug] the

Grand Master of Ceremonies Yang Biao was made Grand Commandant with control of the imperial secretariat.

R On the day *jiazi* [23 Aug] the General Who Maintains the South in Peace Yang Ding became General Who Gives Tranquillity to the West and opened an office like the Three Excellencies.

S From the fourth month to this [seventh] month there was no rain.<sup>33</sup> A *hu* of grain cost half a million cash,<sup>34</sup> and there was cannibalism in Chang'an.

The Emperor ordered the Attendant Imperial Clerk Hou Wen to give out grain and beans from the main granary so that people could make gruel, but they continued to starve and die. The Emperor suspected the issue had not been correctly made. Five *sheng* each of the grain and beans were brought to his presence to make gruel and only two dishes were obtained. Hou Wen was then beaten fifty times, and after that everyone got full measure.<sup>35</sup>

1955

T In the eighth month the Qiang of [Zuo]pingyi plundered the counties of that commandery. Guo Si, Fan Chou and the others led out their troops and defeated them.

[195]

U Lü Bu had outposts west of Puyang. Cao Cao attacked them by night and destroyed them. Before he had got back to his own lines, however, Lü Bu himself appeared.<sup>36</sup> From daybreak to sunset they were constantly engaged, and the battle was desperately even.

Cao Cao called for men to break the enemy line, and the Major Dian Wei of Chenliu led out a group of volunteers. Lü Bu's archers and crossbowmen fired at them from every direction, and the arrows and bolts came down like rain. Paying no attention, Dian Wei said to his men, "When the enemy are ten paces away, report it."

"Ten paces!" they said.

"Tell me at five paces."

Frightened, they all shouted, "They're here."

Holding a halberd, Dian Wei rose up and roared defiance. Wherever he struck, none could withstand his blow. Lü Bu's forces retreated.

Then the sun went down, and Cao Cao was able to make his retreat. He made Dian Wei Chief Commandant and ordered him to act always as guard on his great tent with several hundred of his own troops.

V The powerful Tian clan of Puyang changed sides, and Cao Cao was able to get into the city. He set fire to the eastern gate to show he had no intention of turning back, but then he fought and his troops were defeated. Some of Lü Bu's cavalry captured Cao Cao but did not realise it. They asked him, "Where is Cao Cao?" and Cao Cao replied, "That man on the bay horse riding away." So Lü Bu's cavalry let Cao Cao go and chased the man on the bay.

Cao Cao rushed through the fire and escaped. He came to his camp and hastily encouraged the army, ordered the men to make quick preparations for an attack, and went forward once more to the assault.

Cao Cao and Lü Bu faced one another for more than three months. Then locusts came and there was a great famine. The supplies in Lü Bu's army were also exhausted, and they both drew away.

In the ninth month Cao Cao returned to Juancheng. Lü Bu went to Shengshi, but he was defeated by Li Jin of that county, and he went east to camp in Shanyang.<sup>37</sup>

In the winter, in the tenth month, Cao Cao came to Dong'a.

W Yuan Shao sent someone to suggest to Cao Cao that he send his family to stay at Ye. Cao Cao had just lost Yan province, his army's food supplies were exhausted, and he was going to accept the offer.

1956 Cheng Yu said, "It appears, general, that you get flustered under pressure. How else could you contemplate such a foolish move? Yuan Shao has designs upon the empire, but he is not nearly clever enough. Could you really accept him as your leader? You have the majesty of a dragon or a tiger. Are you prepared to play the role of his Han [Xin] or Peng [Yue]?<sup>38</sup>

"Even if Yan province is lost, you still possess three cities and at least ten thousand fine soldiers. With your military genius, and with Wenruo [Xun Yu]<sup>39</sup> and me and others to gather men for your service, you may yet become hegemon.<sup>40</sup> Please think again." Cao Cao gave up the idea.

[195]

X In the twelfth month the Minister over the Masses Chunyu Jia left office. The Commandant of the Guards Zhao Wen became Minister over the Masses with control of the imperial secretariat.<sup>41</sup>

Y When Ma Teng attacked Li Jue two sons of Liu Yan, Liu Fan and Liu Dan, had both been killed. The Gentleman-Consultant Pang Xi of Henan had always

been a friend of Liu Yan, and he sent someone to collect Liu Yan's grandchildren and bring them into Shu.

At that time a fire from heaven burnt the city [of Mianzhu] and Liu Yan shifted his government to Chengdu. An ulcer broke out on his back and he died.<sup>42</sup>

Zhao Wei and the other senior officers of the province knew that Liu Yan's son Zhang was lenient and gentle, so they joined to set him up as Inspector of Yi province. An imperial edict had appointed Hu Mao of Yingchuan as Inspector, and Liu Zhang's officers Shen Mi, Lou Fa and Gan Ning rebelled and attacked Liu Zhang. They gained, however, no success, and fled to Jing province. Then another edict made Liu Zhang the Governor of Yi province.

Liu Zhang appointed Zhao Wei as General of the Gentlemen of the Household Who Subdues the East, and he led an army to attack Liu Biao [in Jing province] and camped at Quren.<sup>43</sup>

[195]

Z Tao Qian, Governor of Xu province, was seriously ill. He said to his Aide-de-Camp Mi Zhu of Donghai, "No-one but Liu Bei can ever give peace to this province." Tao Qian died, and Mi Zhu led the people of the province to invite Liu Bei.

Liu Bei did not dare to accept, saying, "Yuan Gonglu [Yuan Shu] is close by at Shouchun. Give the province to him."<sup>44</sup>

1957 The Colonel in Charge of Agriculture Chen Deng of Xiapi replied,<sup>45</sup> "Gonglu is proud and overbearing, not the man to cure disorder. Now we ask that the Commissioner [*i.e.* you, Liu Bei, as Governor] collect a hundred thousand horse and foot. Above, you will give help to the ruler and relief to the people, below you can seize land for yourself and guard its boundaries. We shall not take 'No' for an answer!"

The Chancellor of Beihai, Kong Rong, said to Liu Bei, "Yuan Gonglu, is he a man to care for the state? Can he ever forget his family? Dry bones from a tomb, why bother about them?<sup>46</sup> The affairs of the present day, the people give them to the able man. If you reject such gift from Heaven, you will be sorry when it is too late." So Liu Bei took over Xu.

AA Before this, the Grand Tutor Ma Midi had come with Zhao Qi as envoys to Shouchun.<sup>47</sup> Zhao Qi maintained his dignity without wavering, and Yuan Shu was afraid of him.<sup>48</sup> When Ma Midi, however, made some small request

of Yuan Shu, Yuan Shu browbeat him and ridiculed him. Claiming that he wished to inspect the regalia, he borrowed the imperial credentials and the Staff of Authority from Ma Midi, then kept them by force and refused to hand them back. He ordered a dozen of his men to bully Ma Midi so that he would be compelled to give him higher office.

Ma Midi asked to leave, but Yuan Shu held him and refused to allow him to proceed, and he tried to compel Ma Midi to act as his Master of the Army.<sup>49</sup> Ma Midi, however, was ashamed to have lost his insignia. He vomited blood and died.

[195]

BB Before this, Sun Jian had married a woman of the Wu clan from Qiantang, and they had four sons, Ce, Quan, Yi and Kuang, and one daughter. When Sun Jian went away on campaign he left his family at Shouchun, and while Sun Ce was still in his teens, he had already made friends with well-known men.

Zhou Yu of Shu [county in Lujiang] was the same age as Sun Ce, and he also showed early promise and ability. He heard of Sun Ce's reputation, he came from Shu to visit him, and they became close friends. Zhou Yu urged Sun Ce to come to live in Shu, and when Sun Ce did so Zhou Yu presented him with a great house beside the road. He went there to pay respects to Sun Ce's mother, and they shared everything together.

Then Sun Jian died. Sun Ce was seventeen, and he went back for the burial at Qu'a.<sup>50</sup> From there he moved across the Yangzi to settle in Jiangdu. He made friends there with fighting men, and maintained his aim of revenge [for his father's death from Huang Zu].<sup>51</sup>

The Grand Administrator of Danyang, Zhou Xin of Kuaiji, was on bad terms with Yuan Shu,<sup>52</sup> and Yuan Shu sent Sun Ce's maternal uncle Wu Jing to take over as Grand Administrator. He attacked Zhou Xin, seized his commandery, and appointed Sun Ce's elder cousin Sun Ben as Chief Commandant of Danyang.

1958 Sun Ce entrusted his mother and younger brothers to Zhang Hong of Guangling and went straight to Shouchun to see Yuan Shu. He wept and said, "When my late father came from Changsha to attack Dong Zhuo, he joined you at Nanyang, made alliance with you and became your friend. Through ill fortune he met with death, and his good work remained unfinished. In consideration of the favour which you showed my late father,



I wish to offer my services. Honourable Commissioner, please examine my sincere request."

Yuan Shu was most impressed, but he was not prepared to give Sun Ce back his father's troops, so he said to him, "I have appointed your worthy uncle as Grand Administrator of Danyang, and your excellent cousin Boyang [Sun Pen] is Chief Commandant.<sup>53</sup> That is the place of the best soldiers. Go back there to join them and recruit your own men."

So Sun Ce went with Lü Fan of Runan and his clansman Sun He to escort his mother to Qu'a to stay with his maternal uncle's family, and then, taking whatever was offering, he gradually collected a few hundred men. At this time, however, he suffered a surprise attack from the chieftain Zu Lang of Jing county, and he was almost killed. He went back once more to see Yuan Shu.

Yuan Shu now allocated Sun Ce about a thousand of Sun Jian's old soldiers, and recommended him as Colonel Who Cherishes Righteousness.

A cavalryman of Sun Ce was guilty of some fault, and he ran away to Yuan Shu's camp and hid in the headquarters stables. Sun Ce sent men to go and behead him there, and then went to Yuan Shu to apologise. "Soldiers are only too often insubordinate," responded Yuan Shu. "We should both be angry about it. What need for an apology?" After this, the men in the army feared and respected him still more.

Yuan Shu at one time promised he would appoint Sun Ce as Grand Administrator of Jiujiang, but he changed his mind and appointed Chen Ji of Danyang.

Later, as Yuan Shu was planning to attack Xu province, he asked Lu Kang the Grand Administrator of Lujiang for thirty thousand *hu* of grain.<sup>54</sup> Lu Kang refused and Yuan Shu was very angry. He ordered Sun Ce to attack Lu Kang and said to him, "I was confused that other time, so I appointed Chen Ji. I have been annoyed with myself ever since. Now if you can take Lu Kang, then Lujiang will certainly be yours." Sun Ce attacked Lu Kang and captured him.<sup>55</sup> Again, however, Yuan Shu gave the post of Grand Administrator to one of his former officers, Liu Xun. Sun Ce was still more disillusioned.

[195]

CC The Attendant Imperial Clerk Liu Yao was a younger brother of Liu Dai. He had earlier made a fine reputation, and an imperial letter was sent to appoint him as Inspector of Yang province. The provincial headquarters had earlier been at Shouchun, but Yuan Shu had already occupied that city, so

Liu Yao arranged to go south across the Yangzi, where Wu Jing and Sun Ben received him and set him up at Qu'a.

Then Sun Ce attacked Lujiang. Liu Yao heard about it, and because Wu Jing and Sun Ben had been appointed by Yuan Shu he was afraid the Yuan and Sun clans would join to plan against him. So he stirred up trouble, forcing Wu Jing and Sun Ben to leave, and they set up a new base at Liyang.

1959 Liu Yao then sent his officers Fan Neng and Yu Mi to camp at Hengjiang, and Zhang Ying at Danglikou, to hold them off.

Yuan Shu named his former officer Hui Qu as Inspector of Yang province and appointed Wu Jing as General of the Gentlemen of the Household Controller of the Army. Together with Sun Ben, they went to attack Zhang Ying and his fellows.<sup>56</sup>

### NOTES to Xingping 1: 195

- A *HHS* 9, 375 (5a), the Annals of Emperor Xian,  
*HHS* 10B, 452 (11b), the Biography of the Lady Wang.
- 1 It was at this time the reign title was changed from Chuping to Xingping.
- 2 The phrase *jia yuanfu* refers to the ceremony of Capping, signifying coming of age. See, for example, *Yi li* 1; Couvreur, *Cérémonial* 1–24. The ceremony is discussed in *HHS* 94/4, 3105, the Treatise of Ceremonial, where the main text and the commentary present various versions of the procedure: Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 87.
- According to *Bohu tong* 10, 1b–2a; Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 613, a man should be capped at the age of twenty. Emperor Xian, however, was only fourteen, and such youthful coming of age had been common for the reigning emperors of Later Han: Emperor He was capped at thirteen, Emperor An at sixteen, Emperor Shun at fifteen, Emperor Huan at seventeen, and Emperor Ling at fifteen. Likewise, though *Bohu tong* says that the ceremony can be carried out at any time of the year, the Treatise says that it should be in the first month, and for each of the young rulers a favourable *zi* day, first of the sequence of the twelve branches in the sexagenary calendar, was chosen: Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 66 and 69 note 1 citing Qian Dazhao of Qing.
- 3 Prolonged Autumn was the name given to the apartments of the Empress within the imperial palace compound: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 69, and *cf.* note 15 to Zhongping 6. It was thus proposed that the Emperor should now take himself a full consort.
- 4 The Beauty Wang, mother of Emperor Xian, had been murdered by the Empress He soon after his birth in 181 (*HHS* 10B, 450; de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 169). The fuller text of the Emperor's complaint, in *HHS* 10B, observes that no auguries had been taken for her final resting place, nor had the rituals been fully carried out.
- HHS* 10B records that a high-ranking mission was sent to the ruined city of Luoyang to transfer the body of the Lady Wang to the mausoleum of the late Emperor Ling. The name

of her tomb, shared with her murderess the Empress–Dowager He, was Mound of Accomplished Display (Wenzhao ling). See also note 80 to Zhongping 6.

The appellation Huai "Remembered" had earlier been given to the Lady Liang, natural mother of Emperor He, who was similarly ill–treated by the Empress Dou of Emperor Zhang: de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* II, 467–468. The character may be understood as "cherished," "regretted" and "mourned for." The same title was given to the Little Emperor, son of the Empress He and half–brother of Emperor Xian, after his death at the hands of Dong Zhuo in 189: note 5 to Chuping 1.

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B *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 872 (5a), the Biography of Liu Bei.

5 Tian Kai was Gongsun Zan's nominee as Inspector of Qing province, immediately to the north of Tao Qian in Xu province: passage Y of Chuping 2 above. Pingyuan, at this time a kingdom, was in the region of Qing province, across the mouth of the Yellow River.

6 Xiaopei "Lesser Pei" refers to Pei county in the kingdom of that name. The city was close to present–day Pei in Shandong.

Pei kingdom was part of Yu province, but its territory extended along the western border of Xu, and Pei county was in the northeastern corner, very close to Tao Qian's territory, and to the province of Yan controlled by Cao Cao. Though the claim to make Liu Bei Inspector of Yu province appeared extravagant, it was primarily a defensive move by Tao Qian: he sought to open a southern flank against Cao Cao, and as Inspector Liu Bei had the theoretical right to recruit troops in the territory to his south and west.

Danyang commandery, however, was in Yang province, south of the Yangzi, and Tao Qian at that time had no direct control there. Tao Qian himself, however, came originally from Danyang, so it is most likely that these were volunteers or refugees who had come north to join his service. Such landless men could then be transferred to the allegiance of another expatriate leader such as Liu Bei.

7 I can find no original source for this statement.

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C *HHS* 72/62, 2335 (11b–12a), the post–Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*SGZ* 6, 182 (24b–25a), the post–Biography of Dong Zhuo.

8 *HHS* 9, 375, mentions the month in which these events took place; *HHJ* 27, 14a, gives the days. In the traditional calendar, however, the day *gengshen*, cyclical number 57, comes shortly before *renshen*, cyclical number 9. As the incident was concluded quite quickly, it appears the days have been transposed.

9 The Changping Slope was a ridge of high ground between the Jing and Wei Rivers, some fifty *li*, about twenty kilometres or twelve miles, northwest of Chang'an. The Observatory was evidently a tower or terrace built on that vantage point.

[195]

D *SGZ* 1, 11 (30a), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*HHS* 73/63, 2368 (11a), the Biography of Tao Qian.

10 Juancheng was in Jiyin, near present–day Juancheng in Shandong. The titles of Cao Cao's officers appear in their biographies at *SGZ* 10, 308, and *SGZ* 14, 426.

[195]

E *SGZ* 7, 221 (4b), the Biography of Zhang Miao.

11 The expression *xia* appears in various combinations in texts of the Han period, and it has been discussed by James Liu as *The Chinese Knight-Errant*. The reality of most of the cases cited, however, even in literature, does not well reflect the Western understanding of the English term. In fact, reference to activity as a "knight-errant" may better be regarded as a euphemism for the maintenance of private retainers, generally accompanied by action as a local bully, and often descending to simple banditry. Men described as *xia* were basically fighting men waiting for someone to hire them.

For a devastating, but to my mind reasonable, critique of these "heroes" in literature, see Hsia, *The Classic Chinese Novel*, 86–114, discussing *Shuihu zhuan*. On the concept and conduct of *xia* in the Han period, see Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 185–195.

Zhang Miao had been celebrated for his activity in this line, but he was evidently less thug-like than many such leaders of armed bands, and he was well regarded among the gentry of his day: he was one of the eight "Treasurers" (*chu*) praised by student groups at the capital during the Faction affair at the end of the reign of Emperor Huan, and a Treasurer was defined as a man who could assist others by means of his wealth: *HHS* 67/57, 2187; de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling I*, 110.

12 Mengzhuo was the style of Zhang Miao.

13 I can find no original source for the statement that "he was prepared to give his life in the cause." It may be assumed from the context of *SGZ* 7.

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F *SGZ* 24, 682 (10a), the Biography of Gao Rou.

14 "Magistrate" (*fujun*) was a term of address for the head of a commandery or kingdom.

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G *SGZ* 7, 221 (4b–5a), the Biography of Zhang Miao;

*HHS* 75/65, 2446 (11a), the Biography of Zhang Miao supplementary to that of Lü Bu.

15 This was in 192: passage BB of Chuping 3 above.

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H Adapted by Sima Guang from *SGZ* 1, 55 (130a) PC quoting Cao Man *zhuan*; and a proclamation of Yuan Shao recorded in *Weishi chungiu*, quoted in *SGZ* 6, 197 (55a) PC, and *HHS* 74/64A, 2394 (15a).

16 The biography of Bian Rang is in *HHS* 80/70B, 2640–47. He was a distinguished composer of *fu* rhapsodies, who served a short term in Jiujiang commandery, with limited success, during the early 190s. He had only lately returned to his home in Chenliu when he incurred Cao Cao's wrath.

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I *HHS* 75/65, 2446 (11a), the Biography of Zhang Miao supplementary to that of Lü Bu, with commentary quoting Dian lue; *SGZ* 7, 221 (5a), the Biography of Zhang Miao.

17 Commentary to *HHS* 75/65 explains that Chenliu was on the open plain, exposed to attack from every direction.

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J *SGZ* 10, 308 (5b), the Biography of Xun Yu.

18 "Commissioner" (*shijun*) was a term of address for the head of a province.

19 Puyang was the capital of Dong commandery, just to the south of the Yellow River, by present-day Puyang in Shandong. The River at this time ran slightly north of its modern course in this area: the present-day city of Puyang is now north of the stream.

20 One may observe that Guo Gong is described as Inspector of Yu province, a title Lü Bu had lately awarded Liu Bei: passage B above. There were a variety of different interests and factions at this time.

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K *SGZ* 14, 426–27 (2a–3a), the Biography of Cheng Yu.

21 The city of Fan was near present-day Dongping in Shandong. Dong'a was by present-day Dong'a in Shandong. Both were in Dong commandery, northeast of Juancheng and southeast of the main stream of the Yellow River.

22 Tian Dan was an officer of the state of Qi in the third century BC. When his country was attacked by the armies of Yan Tian Dan was in charge of the defence of Jimo, one of the few cities which had not fallen to the enemy. He defeated the invaders and so led to the recovery of seventy cities of Qi. See *SJ* 34, 1558; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 145, *SJ* 46, 1900–01; Chavannes, *MHV*, 272–277, and *SJ* 82, 2453–55; Nienhauser, *GSR* VII, 275–277.

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L *SGZ* 14, 427 (3a) PC quoting the *Sanguo ping* of Xu Zhong/Yuan.

23 This work is discussed by the commentary of Lu Bi at *SGZJJ* 7, 26b. The book is listed in the bibliographic treatises of *Sui shu*, 33, 955, *Jiu Tang shu* 46, 1994, and *Xin Tang shu* 58, 1464, as *Sanguo zhi ping* (though some editions of *Sui shu* reverse the last two characters). PC has *Sanguo ping*, and *ZZTJ* cites it simply as Ping "Criticism."

There is disagreement on the given name of the author: Pei Songzhi has Xu Zhong, and the bibliographic treatises of the two Tang histories agree; *Sui shu*, however, has the name as Xu Yuan, and some modern scholars have argued that this is correct.

Xu Yuan was a historian of the fifth century; with biographies in *Song shu* 94 and *Nan shi* 77. Lu Bi, however, argues that he was working too late for Pei Songzhi to have quoted him at the time he presented his commentary in 429. At the same time, Lu Bi observes that there is reference to a Xu Zhong, subject of Eastern Jin in the fourth century, and this man could well have been the author of a work discussing the Three Kingdoms.

24 Kaifang was a prince (*gongzi*) in Wei in the mid-seventh century BC. He left his native state to take service with Duke Huan of Qi, and became one of the duke's favoured ministers, but the great statesman Guan Zhong warned against him in the terms cited, and Kaifang did indeed turn traitor. According to one version, he and his associates seized power and left Duke Huan to die alone; and it is also said that he rebelled against the rightful heir and placed the son of a concubine on the throne. See, for example, *Guanzi* XI.32, 11b–12b and X.26, 6b–7a; Rickett, 429–430 and 385–386.

25 In 208, when Cao Cao attacked Jing province, he captured the mother of one of Liu Bei's most valued officers, Xu Shu. Explaining that he could no longer serve with the devotion he deserved, Xu Shu made his excuses to Liu Bei and went to take service with Cao Cao. He later held high rank at the court of Wei. See passage Y of Jian'an 13.

[195]

M *SGZ* 14, 427 (3b), the Biography of Cheng Yu.

26 The Cangting Crossing of the Yellow River was west of Dong'a. Chen Gong was evidently based across the river in the northern part of Dong commandery.

27 During Han, Fan county was in Dong commandery. It was, however, just to the west of the border of Dongping kingdom. Cheng Yu was thus established with a promotion in rank and a claim to further territory.

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N *SGZ* 1, 11 (30b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

28 Lü Bu had come into Yan province from Henei, where he had taken refuge with Zhang Yang: passage K of Chuping 4. As we have observed above, he had occupied Puyang as Xiahou Dun left it.

The direct line of attack from Puyang against Cao Cao's loyalists was through Juancheng, immediately to the east. When this failed, however, and with Chen Gong blocked at the Cangting Crossing, the invaders were left with little more than Dong commandery in the northwest of Yan province, and Chenliu, held by Zhang Miao, in the southwest.

Cao Cao's argument is that Lü Bu should have by-passed the three loyal counties and occupied the territory of Dongping to their south and east. This would have given him control of the greater part of the province.

Once Lü Bu had taken Dongping, the major routes by which Cao Cao might come in a counter-attack from Xu province were from the south through Kangfu in Rencheng, or from the east through Taishan commandery. If Lü Bu had blocked those roads, Cao Cao would have been held off, and his supporters in Yan province would have isolated and could be dealt with at leisure.

Lü Bu, however, had not taken that opportunity, and had thought only of a direct attack. As a result, Cao Cao could now join his loyal supporters and go onto the offensive with a combined army from an advanced position.

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O *HHJ* 27, 14b-15a;

*HHS* 72/62, 2335 (12a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo,  
with commentary quoting *Xiandi qijuzhu*.

29 The titles taken by these chieftains at the capital have been the subject of confusion. I have discussed the question in note 57 to Chuping 3, and I believe the statement here is correct.

Regardless of the ranks and titles that these men adopted, the major change at this time, the date of which is given only by *HHJ*, is the establishment of offices (*fu*) by Li Jue and his colleagues, and their assumption of the right to nominate men as officials.

Under Later Han, each of the three Excellencies put forward one candidate each year as possessing Abundant Talent (*moucai*), and two as being Incorrupt Officers (*lianli*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 136 and 201 note 26. The offices themselves, moreover, provided a regular channel of patronage, for men could be recruited into a clerical position and then brought forward to commissioned rank: *e.g.* note 68 to Zhongping 6. It was this method that was used most energetically by Li Jue and his colleagues.

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P *SGZ* 18, 547 (21a) PC quoting Dian lue.

30 The date of establishment of this province is given by the Annals, *HHS* 9, 376. On the later fate of Handan Shang, see passage G of Jian'an 11.

The phrase Hexi "west of the River" described the region beyond present-day Lanzhou in Gansu, first occupied by the Chinese during the reign of Emperor Wu of Former Han, at

the turn of the second and first centuries BC. There is difficulty, however, on the enumeration of the four commanderies.

During Later Han, Jincheng commandery was based upon present-day Lanzhou, southeast of the Yellow River, but its territory extended west into the upper valley of the River and into the Xining valley towards the Qinghai lake. Wuwei, Zhangye and Jiuquan commanderies lay north of the Nan Shan or Richthofen Range, along the Gansu corridor towards central Asia, with Dunhuang in the far northwest. On this basis, there were five commanderies "west of the River," and *JS* 14, 433, the *Treatise of Geography*, describing the establishment of Yong province referred to here, mentions five commanderies, not four.

*HHS* 9, however, refers to four commanderies, and *HHS* commentary then lists four, including Jincheng but not Wuwei. In terms of geography, however, it makes no sense to count Jincheng without including Wuwei, while it appears from passage G of Jian'an 11 that Wuwei was definitely a part of Yong province. So *HHS* commentary is anachronistic, probably based upon the fact that during Former Han Wuwei was established later than the others: see Loewe, *RHA* I, 59–60 and 145 note 38, and *Cambridge China* I, 391 [Yü, "Han Foreign Relations"].

If Wuwei is included and Jincheng omitted, the territory of the four commanderies would cover only the line of the Silk Road northwest along the Gansu corridor. For normal purposes, however, the phrase "west of the River" appears to have been used for all the region beyond the Yellow River, and the newly established Yong province would thus have included five commanderies: Jincheng and Wuwei, with Zhangye, Jiuquan and Dunhuang.

The headquarters of Liang province were in Hanyang commandery, on the upper reaches of the Wei River, separated by a ridge of mountains from the Yellow River at Lanzhou and the lands to the north and west. The administrative geography of the northwest at the end of Han became confusing, but the arrangements of the provinces may be summarised as follows:

- in 195, as described here, the commanderies west of the Yellow River were separated from Liang province of Han and grouped as Yong province;
- in 213 Cao Cao proclaimed a new organisation, combining Yong province, Liang province and part of Sili into an enlarged Yong province: passage A and note 4 to Jian'an 18;
- in 220 Cao Pi again divided off the commanderies west of the Yellow River, but this time the new province was given the name Liang: *e.g.* *SGZ* 15, 474.

So the commanderies west of the Yellow River were in a separate Yong province between 195 and 213, and from 220 the same area was again separated and called Liang. The name Yong, moreover, was given first to the western part of Liang province of Han, then to a reunited and enlarged province in the northwest, and finally to the eastern rump of that territory.

See also the *Treatise of Geography of Jin shu* as cited above, *JS* 14, 432–34, which summarises the history and describes the Liang province of Jin, observing that it was the same as that of Wei. The area of Jincheng was included at that time, and it is probable this successor region controlled the same territory as the first establishment of Yong province.

[195]

Q *HHS* 9, 376 (5a), the *Annals of Emperor Xian*.

31 The first of these earthquakes, but not the second, which was presumably an aftershock, is listed in the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 106/16, 3332. No prognostication is recorded.

32 This eclipse is listed in the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 108/18, 3371, where the date is given as *yisi*, and the day *yisi* was indeed the last day of this month. No further details are given. The eclipse, Oppolzer 3358, mapped by Stephenson and Holder at 217, affected the far north of China proper and northern Manchuria.

The Treatise gives no prognostication, but the Qing commentator Qian Daxin observes that *Qiantan ba*, the apocryphal work on the *Chunqiu*, relates an eclipse on a *yisi* day to a military rising in the east: *HHSJ* 108/18, 9a.

*HHS* 9 says that after this series of portents the Emperor avoided the chief halls of the palace, ordered that all military activity should cease, and refused to undertake any official business for five days. Despite this, however, *HHS* 9 records a plague of locusts, and we are told below also of drought and famine.

[195]

R *HHJ* 27, 15a.

[195]

S *HHJ* 27, 15a–b.

34 This drought is also recorded in *HHS* 103/13, 3280, the Treatise of the Five Powers, where the prognostication refers to the usurpation of power by Li Jue and his colleagues.

*HHS* 9 records that the Emperor again avoided the chief halls of the palace, held a ceremony to pray for rain, and sent officials to review and remit the sentences of prisoners: on this last, see also Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 51–52.

35 A *hu* measure of grain was approximately twenty litres.

36 A *sheng* measure of grain was one hundredth of a *hu*, about one fifth of a litre.

This incident is recounted, with variations, in a number of texts besides *HHJ*, including *HHS* 9, 376, and *JS* 26, 782, the Treatise of Economics, translated by Yang, "Economic History," 157. The descriptions of the means by which Emperor Xian checked on the distribution vary.

According to *HHJ* 27, 15a–b, the Emperor ordered that five *sheng* of grain and beans, half and half, should be the basic issue, with variation according to individual need. When he discovered that people were still going hungry, he was uncertain whether the issue he had authorised was sufficient. He therefore ordered the Palace Attendant Liu Ai to bring a sample of the five *sheng* allowance and make up the gruel in his presence: two bowls (*pen*) were obtained. This was clearly enough to feed a person, so either short measure was being given or the issue was erring too much to the low side of the approved variation. Hou Wen was punished for his meanness, and the issue thereafter was properly fulfilled.

*HHS* 9 has a summary of the *HHJ* story, and commentary quotes from *HHJ*, though the amount of gruel obtained is described as three basins (*yu*).

*ZZTJ* has varied the text and abbreviated the story still further, so that it is difficult to tell what judgement the Emperor was making.

According to *JS* 26, the Emperor had the issue of grain and beans carried out in his presence. This, however, implies that he was present for the issue day after day, and seems most unlikely. It is more probable, as *HHJ* describes, that he believed the measures of grain being passed out were insufficient and below what he had ordered, and his



purpose in having the quantities brought to him was just to check that five *sheng* should produce enough for each person. It appears from other texts that the standard military ration in Han times was 3.3 *shi* [equivalent to 3.3 *hu*] per man for a thirty-day month: thus one-tenth of a *hu*, or ten *sheng*, per day: Loewe, *RHA* II, 64–73, de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 472. The emperor was therefore allowing half that ration in this period of dearth.

[195]

T *HHS* 9, 377 (5b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

[195]

U *SGZ* 18, 544 (16b), the Biography of Dian Wei.

36 *SGZ* says that these camps were forty or fifty *li* west of Puyang: some twenty kilometres on the side away from Cao Cao's own positions. He was presumably attempting to disrupt Lü Bu's line of communications, but when Lü Bu arrived with his full array Cao Cao was himself cut off and in great danger.

[195]

V *SGZ* 1, 12–13 (30b–31b), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*SGZ* 1, 12–13 (30b–31a) PC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

37 Shengshi county, now northeast of Dingtao in Shandong, was in Jiyin, south of Cao Cao's position at Juancheng. Lü Bu may have been attempting to outflank Cao Cao, but it is more likely that he was seeking supplies for his troops from some territory which had not yet been eaten out. If he could be defeated by a local force, raised within the county, his army must have been seriously weakened.

On the other hand, it appears that Lü Bu was able to move into Shanyang commandery without opposition, so Cao Cao had indeed lost control of that region and could organise no support there.

[195]

W *SGZ* 14, 427 (4a), the Biography of Cheng Yu;  
*SGZ* 1, 13 (31b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

38 Han Xin and Peng Yue were allies of the future Emperor Gao, and played a leading role in the establishment of Han. Both of them, however, were later perceived as a threat to the new state, and they were destroyed by their former master with allegations of treason: they are models of great servants of a ruler who are removed once their usefulness is past. Biographies of Han Xin are in *SJ* 92; Watson, *RGHI*, 163–184, and *HS* 34, those of Peng Yue are in *SJ* 90; Watson, *RGHI*, 148–152, and *HS* 34.

39 Wenruo was the style of Xun Yu.

40 On the concept of the hegemon ruler, developed from the traditions of Zhou, see note 30 to Chuping 3. Increasingly from this time, as it became obvious the power of the dynasty was gone, various warlords would seek to establish their legitimacy by claiming to serve the dynasty of Han and support the Emperor against his enemies, their rivals.

[195]

X *HHJ* 27, 15b.

41 *HHS* 9, 377, says that Chunyu Jia left office in the ninth month of this year, while Zhao Wen's appointment is dated to the tenth month. Sima Guang prefers the account in *HHJ*.

[195]

Y *SGZ* 31 (Shu 1), 867 (8b–9a), the Biography of Liu Yan;  
*SGZ* 31 (Shu 1), 868 (9a) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

42 Liu Yan set his headquarters at Mianzhu in Guanghan commandery when he was first appointed Governor of Yi province in 188. The city was north of present-day Deyang in Sichuan. Chengdu city was in Shu commandery, near present-day Chengdu, some eighty kilometres or fifty miles to the south, on the broadened valley complex of the Min River.

An ulcer (*ju*) is identified as cause of death on a number of occasions in the records of early China: *e.g.* Zuo zhuan, Xiang 19; Legge CC V, 482 (Couvreur, *Chronique* II, 345), *SJ* 7, 325; Chavannes, *MH* II, 304 (Nienhauser, *GSRI*, 200), *HS* 31, 1813, and *HS* 40, 2043.

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43 Quren city was in the Yangzi Gorges, a short distance downstream from present-day Wanxian.

[195]

Z *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 873 (5a–6a), the Biography of Liu Bei.

44 Gonglu was the style of Yuan Shu. He had been driven south by a series of attacks from Cao Cao early in the previous year, but had established himself at Shouchun on the Huai, and there named himself head of Yang province, with a claim also against Xu province: passage B of Chuping 4.

45 Chen Deng's position as a Colonel in Charge of Agriculture (*diannong xiaowe*) is attested by *SGZ* 7, 230 PC quoting *Xianxian xingzhuang*. In later years, such a title was identified with the administration of military agricultural colonies (*tuntian*) in the administration established by Cao Cao, and it is possible that Chen Deng's appointment under Tao Qian represents an early attempt at that form of resettlement. See also de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 313–316.

46 Kong Rong is casting scorn upon Yuan Shu's claim to precedence by right of his family's past tradition of high appointment in the bureaucracy of Han.

[195]

AA *HHJ* 28, 11a–b;

*SGZ* 6, 208 (74a), the Biography of Yuan Shu;

*HHS* 70/60, 2264–65 (6a), the Biography of Kong Rong;

*Xiandi chunqiu*, quoted by commentary to *HHS* 70/60, 2264–65 (6a)

and by *SGZ* 6, 208 (74b) PC.

47 On the dispatch of this embassy of reconciliation and restoration of authority, sent out from the capital two years earlier after Li Jue and his fellows had seized power, see passage CC of Chuping 3.

48 The biography of Zhao Qi, junior colleague of Ma Midi on this embassy, is in *HHS* 64/54, and at 2123–24 there is a further account of his travels, which included negotiations with Yuan Shao, Cao Cao and Gongsun Zan.

Zhao Qi was a noted scholar, responsible for the major Han commentary (*zhangju*) to the *Mengzi*, and also the author of *Sanfu jue*lu, "Evaluative Records of the Three Adjuncts [the area about Chang'an]," which contains a biography of Ma Midi, quoted in commentary to the present text of *HHS* 70/60. (On *Sanfu jue*lu as an early collection of local biographies, see *Cambridge China* I, 645 [Ebrey, "Economic and Social History of Later Han"]).

49 Master of the Army (*junshi*) was not a title in the regular system of Han. It evidently refers here to a position as senior adjutant and adviser.

[195]

- BB *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1101 (15b), the Biography of Sun Jian;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1101 (16a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1103 (17b–18a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1101–02 (16a–18b), the Biography of Sun Ce;  
*SGZ* 50 (Wu 5), 1195 (1b), the Biography of the Lady Wu;  
*SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), 1259 (2a), the Biography of Zhou Yu.
- 50 On the death of Sun Jian, fighting for Yuan Shu against Liu Biao's general Huang Zu, see passage DD of Chuping 2. The information on Sun Ce's age at that time is taken from a memorial which he sent in the following year to the imperial court under Cao Cao's control: the text of the memorial is in *SGZ* 46, 1107 PC quoting *Wu lu*.
- 51 The reference to Sun Ce's desire for revenge against Huang Zu is based primarily upon an account of his discussion of affairs about this time with his future officer Zhang Hong, recorded in *SGZ* 46, 1102–03 PC quoting *Wu li*.
- 52 Zhou Xin was a brother of Zhou Ang, an officer of Yuan Shao who had attacked Yuan Shu and Sun Jian: passage X of Chuping 2. It may actually have been Zhou Xin who attacked Sun Jian: note 50 to Chuping 2.
- 53 Boyang was the style of Sun Ben, a nephew of Sun Jian: passage FF of Chuping 2.
- 54 Since a hu of grain was some twenty litres, this represented 600 kilolitres.
- 55 Lu Kang's biography in *HHS* 31/21, 1114, says that Lu Kang defended his city for two years, aided by devoted retainers and citizens. This may be a fiction designed to present the hero of the biography in the best light; but so too may be the account in the biography of Sun Ce, which says that Sun Ce captured Lu Kang. It is possible that Sun Ce occupied the greater part of the territory of Lujiang commandery on behalf of Yuan Shu, but that Lu Kang held out in his isolated capital, the city of Shu, for some time longer. Certainly, if the siege lasted more than a year, Sun Ce cannot have been in command of the attackers when the city fell, for by that time he had long been in the south of the Yangzi.
- So it may be that Sun Ce had considerable, but not total, success in his attack, and he did not capture Lu Kang. Because the campaign was not complete, Yuan Shu did not give the reward he had promised.

[195]

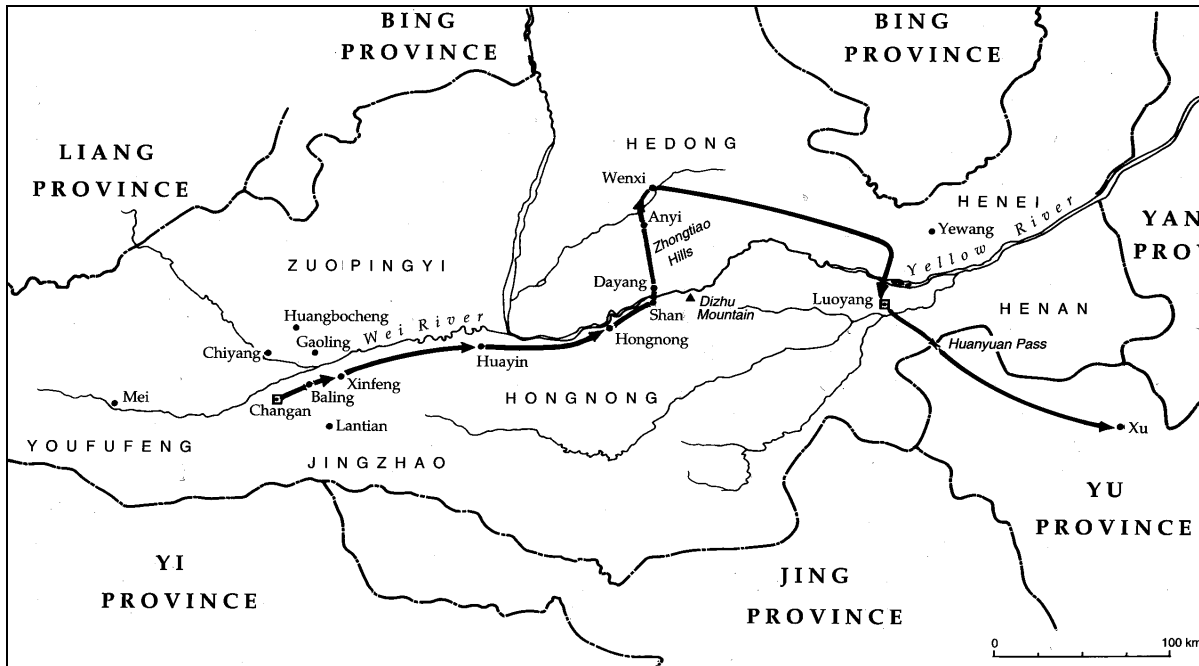
- CC *SGZ* 49 (Wu 4), 1183–84 (2b–3b), the Biography of Liu Yao;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1102 (19a–20a), the Biography of Sun Ce.
- 56 Liyang was a county in Jiujiang commandery, near present-day Hexian in Anhui, on the north-western bank of the Yangzi. Hengjiang and Danglikou (also known as Danglipu ) were reaches and crossing places of the Yangzi in Danyang commandery, opposite Liyang and south of present-day Nanjing.

The precise relationship between the various commanders in this region at this time is difficult to determine, but it appears that Wu Jing and Sun Ben, south of the Yangzi, had sought to establish some independence, and for this reason they were willing to welcome Liu Yao when he first arrived, presumably in the hope of using him as a counter-balance to their former patron Yuan Shu.

Sun Ce, however, still seeking command of the troops who had served his father, maintained connection with Yuan Shu and took active service in his army. This made Liu Yao suspicious of Wu Jing and Sun Ben, and he sought to force them back north. In these new circumstances, Wu Jing and Sun Ben were compelled to seek help from Yuan Shu and

revert to their former position as his clients: it is symbolic of their loss of status that Yuan Shu appointed one of his own followers, not a member of the Sun group, as his claimant for Yang province in rivalry to Liu Yao.

Map 09: Imperial travels 195–196



### Xingping 2: 195 AD

[29 January 195 – 16 February 196]

- A In the spring, in the first month on the day *guizhou* [7 Feb] there was an amnesty for the empire.<sup>1</sup>
- B Cao Cao defeated Lü Bu at Dingtao.<sup>2</sup>
- C An edict was sent to Yuan Shao appointing him General of the Right.<sup>3</sup>
- D At the time of Dong Zhuo's death, the population of the capital district was still numbered by hundreds of thousands of households. But Li Jue and his armies plundered far and wide, then there was famine, and within two years the people had been reduced to cannibalism. All but a very few left the territory or died of starvation.

E Li Jue, Guo Si and Fan Chou, boasting of their achievements and contending for power, were always on the point of quarrelling. Jia Xu exhorted them to good moral principles, and as a result, though each hated the other, they did not show their true feelings.

[In the previous year], when Fan Chou attacked Ma Teng and Han Sui, [Li Jue's nephew] Li Li had not shown well in the fighting.<sup>4</sup> Fan Chou swore at him, "These men are coming to take your uncle's head. How can you behave like this? I should have you killed?"

F Then Ma Teng and Han Sui were defeated and fled, and Fan Chou pursued them to Chencang. Han Sui said to Fan Chou, "We may be at war, but we have no personal quarrel and both come from the same district. I would like to talk with you in private to say farewell." Each rode forward, set their horses together, linked arms and talked for a time apart. When the army returned, Li Li reported to Li Jue that "Han Sui and Fan Chou met on horseback and spoke together. I do not know what they said, but it looked friendly and was all very private." Li Jue, in any case, was jealous of Fan Chou because he was brave and had a considerable following.

1960 Then Fan Chou planned to take an army east out of the passes, and he asked Li Jue for additional troops. In the second month Li Jue called him to a meeting, then killed him where he sat.<sup>5</sup> So the leaders began to distrust one another.

G Li Jue often invited Guo Si to drink, and sometimes kept him to stay overnight. Guo Si's wife was afraid her husband might have an affair with one of Li Jue's serving women, and she determined to break it up.

The time came that Li Jue sent a gift of some food. Guo Si's wife made salted beans into a poisonous drug, then picked them out as if they had come with the present. Showing them to her husband, she said, "Two cocks cannot roost on the same branch. I do not believe you should be so trusting of Lord Li." Soon afterwards, Li Jue invited Guo Si again, and Guo Si became very drunk. He suddenly suspected that he had been poisoned, so he made an emetic of liquid excrement and drank it. Each side now gathered troops to fight the other.

H The Emperor sent Palace Attendants and Masters of Writing to make peace, but neither would agree. Guo Si was going to take the Emperor to his camp, but one of his soldiers deserted in the night and told Li Jue.

In the third month on the day *bingyin* [22 Apr]<sup>6</sup> Li Jue sent his nephew Li Xian to lead several thousand men to surround the palace, and to take

three chariots to collect the Emperor. Grand Commandant Yang Biao said, "There has been a rule since ancient times that an emperor or a king should never take up residence in another man's house. You gentlemen are engaged in a great cause. How can you act like this?" "The general has made his decision," replied Li Xian.

The ministers followed the imperial carriage on foot, and the soldiers went immediately into the palace, plundered the place and seized all the women.

As the Emperor arrived, Li Jue had all the gold and silk of the imperial treasury transferred to his own camp, and he set fire to the palaces and apartments, the offices and the people's houses. Everything was destroyed.

Again the Emperor sent his highest ministers to make peace between Li Jue and Guo Si, but Guo Si detained Yang Biao, the Minister of Works Zhang Xi, the Master of Writing Wang Long, the Superintendent of the Imperial Household Deng Yuan [miswritten as Liu Yuan],<sup>7</sup> the Commandant of the Guards Shisun Rui, the Grand Coachman Han Rong, the Commandant of Justice Xuan Fan, the Grand Herald Rong Ge, the Grand Minister of Agriculture Zhu Jun, the Court Architect Liang Shao, and the Colonel of Garrison Cavalry Jiang Xuan, and he held them in his camp as hostages. Zhu Jun was so furious he became ill and died.

I In the summer, in the fourth month on the day *jiazi* [miswritten for *jiawu*, 20 May]<sup>9</sup> the Honoured Lady Fu from Langye was made Empress. The Empress' father the Palace Attendant Fu Wan was appointed Bearer of the Gilded Mace.

J Guo Si gave a feast for the high ministers, and discussed an attack on Li Jue. Yang Biao said, "The imperial subjects are fighting one another, one man has kidnapped the Son of Heaven while another holds the highest officials hostage. What sort of situation is this?"

1961 Guo Si, furious, snatched up a sword to attack him. Yang Biao said, "You have no concern for the good of the state. Why should I live?" Yang Mi, however, General of the Gentlemen of the Household, protested fiercely, and Guo Si stopped.

K Li Jue called up several thousand men of the Qiang and other northern tribes. First he gave them imperial treasure, silk and embroideries, and promised them women from the palace for their slaves, then he urged them to attack Guo Si.

L Guo Si made plans with a member of Li Jue's party, the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Zhang Bao, for a secret attack, and on the night of *bingshen* [22 May] he brought soldiers to attack Li Jue's gates. An arrow came through the curtains of the Emperor's tent, while another hit Li Jue in the right ear.

Zhang Bao and his fellows set fire to houses [within Li Jue's lines] but the fires did not take, and Yang Feng drove off Guo Si's main attack [against his outer defences]. Guo Si's men retreated, but Zhang Bao and his friends, with the soldiers under their command, went over to Guo Si.

On this day [23 May] Li Jue shifted the Emperor once more, to the Northern Fort, and appointed a colonel to keep the gate.<sup>10</sup>

The Emperor was now cut off from all contact with the outside. The faces of his personal attendants were drawn with hunger, but when he asked for just five dou of grain and five sets of cattle-bones to feed them, Li Jue replied, "Morning and evening we send food. What do you want grain for?" And he gave nothing but old rotten bones. The Emperor was furious and wanted to shout at him, but the Palace Attendant Yang Qi advised against it, "Li Jue knows he is acting like a rebel. He wants to shift Your Majesty to Huangbocheng in Chiyang.<sup>11</sup> I beg that Your Majesty tolerate his insolence." So the Emperor restrained his anger.

The Minister over the Masses Zhao Wen sent a letter to Li Jue saying, "You began with massacre and looting in the imperial city, and you slaughtered the great ministers. Then you quarrelled over some trivial insult and have made it a battle of life and death. The court has tried to get you to make peace, but the imperial orders have no effect. Now you want to shift the Emperor to Huangbocheng, and I, an aging man, simply do not understand it. In the *Book of Changes*, once is a mistake, twice is going further in, and if a third time there is still no change then overwhelming misfortune will come.<sup>12</sup> The only policy which remains to you is to renew the alliance as quickly as possible." Li Jue was very angry. He intended to kill Zhao Wen, but his younger brother Li Ying opposed it and after some days he gave up the idea.<sup>13</sup>

1962 Li Jue believed in the arts of witches and wizards and in the use of black magic to ward off ill fortune. He regularly offered triple sacrifice to Dong Zhuo outside the gate of the palace.<sup>14</sup> Whenever he spoke to the Emperor, he would always address him as "Wise Majesty" or "Wise Emperor," and

described Guo Si as wicked and recalcitrant. The Emperor replied suitably and Li Jue was pleased, thinking that he had truly gained his favour.

In the intercalary [fifth] month on the day *jimao* [4 Jul]<sup>15</sup> the Emperor sent the Supervisor of the Internuncios Huangfu Li to make peace between Li Jue and Guo Si. Huangfu Li went first to Guo Si, and Guo Si accepted the message. Then he went to Li Jue but Li Jue refused, saying, "Guo Duo<sup>16</sup> is nothing but a brigand and horse-thief. How dare he seek to rank with me? I shall certainly punish him. You see my plans and my forces. Are they not sufficient to deal with Guo Duo? Besides, Guo Duo has kidnapped the senior ministers and holds them hostage. He acts like this and you still want to help him?"

"Think back," replied Huangfu Li. "My general will surely recall how strong was Dong Zhuo just a short time ago. Lü Bu was his favourite, but then he led a plot against him, and before very long Dong Zhuo's head and body were in different places. This is what happens to men who have adequate courage but who fail to make proper plans.

"Now you are the chief commander, with all the favour and honour of the state. Guo Si holds the chief ministers, but you have taken the Emperor: which is more serious? Zhang Ji has joined Guo Si. Yang Feng is no more than a leader of the Bobo bandits but even he realises you are in the wrong. Though you have treated him well, but he will soon be no use to you." Li Jue cursed him and told him to leave.

As Huangfu Li made his departure, he went to the gate of the palace and told the Emperor, "Li Jue refuses the imperial orders, and his speech is insubordinate." The Emperor was afraid Li Jue would hear of it, and he ordered Huangfu Li to leave at once.

Li Jue sent Wang Chang, one of the Guards Rapid As Tigers,<sup>17</sup> to call Huangfu Li back, intending to kill him. Wang Chang, however, realised Huangfu Li was loyal and honest. So he let him go and then told Li Jue that "We chased him but could not catch him."

On the day *xinsi* [6 Jul] the General of Chariots and Cavalry Li Jue became Commander-in-Chief, with rank above the Three Excellencies.<sup>18</sup>

[Xp2: 195]

M Lü Bu's officers Xue Lan and Li Feng were camped at Juye, and Cao Cao attacked them.<sup>19</sup> Lü Bu went to aid Xue Lan, but he failed to break through and was compelled to retreat. Cao Cao cut off the heads of Xue Lan and his followers.



N Cao Cao's army came to Shengshi.<sup>20</sup> Tao Qian was already dead, and someone suggested that he should take Xu province before he turned to deal with Lü Bu.

1963 "In earlier times," said Xun Yu, "Emperor Gaozu took the land within the passes, and Emperor Guangwu occupied Henei. Both set their control of the empire on deep roots and a secure base. When they advanced they could defeat their enemies, and when they were forced to retreat they could still maintain their ground. They were sometimes defeated, but in the end they achieved the great work and conquered the empire.

"When you were chief in Yan province before, you settled the disturbances east of the mountains and so the people turned to you and were glad to accept your rule. The Yellow River and the Ji, moreover, are strategic points of the empire: though the countryside is now in ruins it is still easy to maintain yourself here. This is your 'land within the passes' and your 'Henei'; you must settle it first.<sup>21</sup>

"Now that you have defeated Li Feng and Xue Lan, if part of your army goes east to attack Chen Gong he will certainly not venture to come west. Then take the opportunity to have your men bring in the harvest, collect food and store grain: by this one move Lü Bu will be defeated. Once you have dealt with Lü Bu, you can make an alliance in the south with [Liu Yao of] Yang province so as to attack Yuan Shu and move towards the Huai and the Si.

"But supposing you leave Lü Bu now and go east [into Xu province]: if you leave any substantial number of men here you will not have sufficient with you to accomplish any-thing; and if you leave only a small defence force behind then the people will keep to the cities, they will not be able to gather the harvest, and Lü Bu will take advantage of their weakness to rob and plunder. The people would become more and more uncertain of their affection for you. Juancheng, Fan and Wei [*i.e.* Puyang] would hold, but the rest would all be lost to us.<sup>22</sup>

"In that case, you would no longer have Yan province, and if you failed in your plan to take Xu province where could you turn? Furthermore, though Tao Qian is dead, Xu will not be easy. The people have learnt from the defeats of the past: they will be frightened and will join together as closely as a jacket and its lining. Those lands of the east have already taken in the harvest, and they will wait for you with strong walls and empty fields. You will not be able to capture anything, and there will be nothing to plunder. In

less than ten days, an army of hundred thousand men would be in trouble before ever it began to fight.

"When you attacked Xu province before, your majestic punishment was applied too harshly. The sons and younger brothers remember the shame of their fathers and elders. They will guard themselves and have no mind to surrender. You might be able to defeat them but you will not be able to hold them.

"In every situation, there comes a time when it is possible to take one thing rather than the other. It is always best to consider the more important matter rather than upon the lesser; it is always best to seek security rather than danger; and it is always best to judge an opportunity carefully and make no move that may risk your base of operations. Your present plan takes no account of these three good principles. Please think it over again." So Cao Cao gave up the idea.

1964

O Lü Bu came again from Dongmin, joined Chen Gong and led ten thousand men to come and fight.<sup>23</sup> Cao Cao's soldiers were all out collecting the harvest, there were no more than a thousand men on the spot, and the camp was very lightly defended. West of the camp was a large dyke, and south of the dyke the woods were very thick. Cao Cao hid soldiers behind the dyke and drew up only half his force in the open. As Lü Bu's army came closer he sent out skirmishers. The moment the two lines met, the men that had been hidden climbed the embankment and charged together horse and foot. They completely defeated the enemy, chased them all the way to their camp, and then came back. That night Lü Bu made his retreat.

Returning to the attack, Cao Cao took Dingtao, then sent detachments to settle the other counties [of Yan province]. Lü Bu fled east to Liu Bei [in Xu province], and Zhang Miao followed Lü Bu, leaving his younger brother Zhang Chao to take command of the family forces and hold Yongqiu.<sup>24</sup>

P When Lü Bu first came to Liu Bei he behaved with utmost courtesy, saying, "You and I are both men of the borders.<sup>25</sup> I saw that the east of the passes were raising soldiers because they wanted to attack Dong Zhuo, and I was the man who killed Dong Zhuo. Since I came to the east, however, not one of the leaders there has treated me well, and they all seek to kill me."

He invited Liu Bei to his tent, sat on his wife's bed and ordered his wife to make obeisance. He poured wine, they ate and drank together, and he called Liu Bei his younger brother. Liu Bei, however, felt that Lü Bu's speech

and conduct were inappropriate. He pretended to be pleased to see him but privately he was quite put off.

[Xp2: 195]

Q Li Jue and Guo Si had fought each other for months on end, and the dead were numbered in tens of thousands. In the sixth month Li Jue's officer Yang Feng made plans to kill him. The plot was discovered, but Yang Feng led his men in a mutiny and so Li Jue's army was somewhat weakened.<sup>26</sup>

On the day *gengwu* [24 Aug] the General Who Maintains the East in Peace Zhang Ji arrived from Shan. He wanted to make peace between Li Jue and Guo Si and to shift the Emperor temporarily to Hongnong.<sup>27</sup> The Emperor had his mind on the old capital [at Luoyang], and he too sent messengers to proclaim [his wish for peace]. After ten exchanges, Guo Si and Li Jue agreed to a truce, each giving a favourite son as hostage. Li Jue's wife, however, loved her son, so negotiations came to a halt.

R The Qiang tribesmen and other barbarians came constantly to stare at the gate to the Emperor's lodging, saying, "Is the Son of Heaven in there? General Li promised us the palace maidservants. Where are they all?" Worried by this, the Emperor sent the Palace Attendant Liu Ai to say to the General Who Proclaims Righteousness Jia Xu, "As a loyal officer, you have been honoured and favoured by his majesty. Now Qiang and the other barbarian people are everywhere. You must do something."

1965 So Jia Xu called in the chieftains, gave them wine and food, and promised them fiefs and rewards. So they all went away. Li Jue was now isolated and weak, and when there was further talk of reconciliation, he agreed. Each side took a daughter as hostage.

S In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *jiazi* [miswritten for *jiawu* = 17 Sep]<sup>28</sup> the Emperor came out by the Xuanping Gate. As he was about to cross the bridge, several hundred of Guo Si's men blocked the way and said, "Isn't this the Son of Heaven?" Several hundred of Li Jue's men, armed with great halberds, were marching in front of the imperial carriage, and the two groups were about to fight when the Palace Attendant Liu Ai called out in a loud voice, "This is the Son of Heaven!" He had the Palace Attendant Yang Qi raise up the curtains of the carriage, and the Emperor said, "You soldiers, how dare you crowd our honourable person?" Guo Si's men drew back, and as the cortege crossed the bridge they all cried out, "Ten thousand years!"

That night the convoy came to Baling. The followers were hungry, and Zhang Ji allocated rations to each person. Li Jue went out and camped at Chiyang.<sup>29</sup>

On the day *bingyin* [miswritten for *bingshen* = 19 Sep] Zhang Ji was made General of Agile Cavalry, with offices like the Three Excellencies. Guo Si became General of Chariots and Cavalry, Yang Ding was General of the Rear, Yang Feng was General Who Brings Righteousness to Flourish and all were enfeoffed as marquises. Dong Cheng, former retainer of Niu Fu, became General Who Gives Tranquillity and Collects the Empire.<sup>30</sup>

Guo Si wanted to have the Emperor go to Gaoling, but the chief ministers and Zhang Ji thought he should go to Hongnong. There was a great meeting to discuss it, but nothing was decided. The Emperor sent a messenger to say to Guo Si, "It is merely that Hongnong is close to the sacrificial and ancestral temples. There is no cause for suspicion." Guo Si would still not agree. Then the Emperor refused food for a whole day. Guo Si heard about this, and said, "For the time being, let him go to a county near here."<sup>31</sup>

T In the eighth month on the day *jiachen* [27 Sep] the Emperor went to Xinfeng. On the day *bingzi* [*bingwu* = 29 Sep?] Guo Si again planned to force the Emperor back to take up residence at Mei. The Palace Attendant Chong Ji learnt of it, and he secretly told Yang Ding, Dong Cheng and Yang Feng to gather at Xinfeng. When Guo Si realised his plan had been found out, he abandoned his troops and went away to the southern hills.<sup>32</sup>

1966

U Cao Cao besieged Yongqiu. Zhang Miao went to Yuan Shu to ask help [for his brother Zhang Chao in that city] but on the way he was killed by his own men.

In the winter, in the tenth month Cao Cao was appointed Governor of Yan province.<sup>33</sup>

[Xp2: 195]

V On the day *wuxu* [20 Nov] Guo Si's partisans Xia Yu, Gao Shi and others were planning to force the Emperor back to the west. The Palace Attendant Liu Ai saw fires flare up one after another, and he asked the Emperor to choose one of the camps as a refuge.<sup>34</sup>

Yang Ding and Dong Cheng brought their troops to escort the Emperor to the camp of Yang Feng. Xia Yu and the others urged their men on to stop

the imperial carriage by force. Yang Ding and Yang Feng fought bravely and defeated them, so the Emperor was able to get away.

On the day *renyin* [24 Nov] the Emperor came to Huayin.<sup>35</sup>

W The General of Peace and Harmony, Duan Wei, set out his clothing and possessions for the Emperor and made provision for the high ministers and other officials. He wanted the Emperor to come to his camp. Duan Wei, however, was on bad terms with Yang Ding, and Yang Ding's followers Chong Ji and Zuo Ling said that Duan Wei planned to rebel.

The Grand Commandant Yang Biao, the Minister over the Masses Zhao Wen, the Palace Attendant Liu Ai and the Master of Writing Liang Shao all said, "Duan Wei will not rebel. We stake our lives on it." But then Dong Cheng and Yang Ding forced one of the Investigators of Hongnong to say that Guo Si had come and was in Duan Wei's camp.<sup>36</sup> The Emperor was uncertain, and he decided to stay south of the road without shelter.

On the day *dingwei* [29 Nov] Yang Feng, Dong Cheng and Yang Ding intended to attack Duan Wei. They sent Chong Ji and Zuo Ling to ask the Emperor for an edict against him. The Emperor said, "There is no evidence Duan Wei has done any-thing wrong, yet Yang Feng and the others are going to attack him. And you want me to issue an edict?" Chong Ji asked persistently, even up to midnight, but he still refused.

Then Yang Feng and his associates attacked Duan Wei's camp without the authority, but after ten days they had not captured it. Duan Wei maintained provisions for the Emperor and supplies for the officials, never wavering in his loyalty.

An edict ordered the Palace Attendants and the Masters of Writing to proclaim to Yang Ding and his fellows that they should make peace with Duan Wei. Yang Ding and the others accepted the command and went back to their camps.

X Li Jue and Guo Si were angry that the Emperor had gone towards the east. When they heard Yang Ding was attacking Duan Wei they came to join in, with the intention of forcing the Emperor back to the west.

When Yang Ding, however, heard Li Jue and Guo Si were coming, he wanted to go back to Lantian. Guo Si cut him off, and he escaped to Jing province alone and on horseback.<sup>37</sup>

Zhang Ji, who had frequently quarrelled with Yang Feng and Dong Cheng now joined up again with Li Jue and Guo Si.

1967 In the twelfth month [miswritten for the eleventh],<sup>38</sup> as the Emperor reached Hongnong. Zhang Ji, Li Jue and Guo Si came in pursuit. There was a great battle at Dongjian in Hongnong,<sup>39</sup> and the armies of Dong Cheng and Yang Feng were defeated. The officials, lower officers and commoners that died could not be counted. They abandoned the imperial insignia and tallies, the tablets for appointment, the records and books. Almost nothing remained.

Ju Jun, Colonel of the Archers Who Shoot at a Sound, was wounded and fell from his horse. Li Jue asked his attendants, "Will he live?" Ju Jun cursed him and said, "You and your fellows have made brutal rebellion. You oppress the Emperor, you have brought harm to the highest ministers, and the palace women are scattered abroad. Of all the traitors and rebels in the past, none has been so bad." Li Jue killed him.

On the day *renshen* [24 Dec] the Emperor came without shelter to Caoyang.<sup>40</sup> Dong Cheng and Yang Feng now pretended to make peace with Li Jue and the others, but they sent secretly to Hedong to call the former leaders of the Bobo bandits Li Le, Han Xian and Hu Cai, and the Worthy King of the West of the Southern Xiongnu, Qubei. These came with their troops of several thousand horsemen. They joined Dong Cheng and Yang Feng in attacking Li Jue and his fellows, completely defeated them, and killed several thousand.

As a result of this new defeat of Li Jue and his fellows, Dong Cheng and the others thought to continue their journey.

On the day *gengshen* [1 Jan 196?]<sup>41</sup> the Emperor came out [from Caoyang] and went east. Dong Cheng and Li Le guarded the imperial carriage, Hu Cai, Yang Feng, Han Xian and the Worthy King of the West of the Xiongnu were in the rear as guards. Li Jue and his fellows came again to the attack, and this time Yang Feng and the allies were utterly defeated, with greater casualties than at Dongjian. The Superintendent of the Imperial Household Deng Yuan, the Commandant of Justice Xuan Fan, the Privy Treasurer Tian Fen, and the Grand Minister of Agriculture Zhang Yi all died.

Y Zhao Wen the Minister over the Masses, Wang Jiang the Grand Master of Ceremonies, Zhou Zhong the Commandant of the Guards and the Colonel Director of Retainers Guan Ge were captured by Li Jue. He was going to kill them, but Jia Xu said, "These are great ministers, how can you harm them?" So he let them go.

1968 Li Le said, "The situation is serious. Your majesty should get on a horse." The Emperor said, "It would surely be wrong to abandon my ministers and run away!"

Z The soldiers maintained a running fight for forty *li*, then they came to Shan and made camp to defend themselves.<sup>42</sup> By this time, after such destruction and defeat, there were less than a hundred men remaining of the imperial guards Rapid As Tigers or Feathered Forest. The troops of Li Jue and Guo Si were shouting all round the camp, officers and soldiers were pale for fear, and each of them thought only how he might desert and escape.

AA Li Le, extremely concerned, proposed the Emperor take a boat down past Dizhu and out by the Meng Crossing. Yang Biao, however, thought the Yellow River was too dangerous for the Emperor to travel along. So he had Li Le cross the river by night, get a boat ready quietly and then light a fire [as a sign of the landing place they should aim for].<sup>43</sup>

As the Emperor and his ministers left the camp on foot, the Empress' elder brother Fu De was escorting her, and he carried ten rolls of silk under his arm. Dong Cheng sent the Prefect of Insignia and Credentials Sun Hui to cut him down in the midst of the crowd. They killed one of the attendants and blood splashed on the Empress's clothes.

The river bank was over a hundred feet high and the people could not get down. A carriage chair was made from the silk, a man in front supported the Emperor,<sup>44</sup> and others made their way as best they could. Some jumped from above, and their caps and headgear were all ruined.

As they came to the water's edge, men struggled to get in the boat. Dong Cheng and Li Le took dagger-axes to keep them back, and cut-off fingers in the boat [from those who had tried to grasp the gunwales] could be gathered by handfuls.<sup>45</sup>

Then the Emperor was on board, and those that crossed with him were the Empress, and Yang Biao, and a few dozen others. All the palace women, officials and people that could not get across were robbed by the soldiers: their clothing was taken and even their hair was cut off. More people died from the cold than could be counted.

The Commandant of the Guards Shisun Rui was killed by Li Jue.<sup>46</sup>

1969 Li Jue saw the fire north of the River [which had been lit as a signal for the crossing], and he sent riders to scout. Seeing the Emperor in midstream,

they shouted, "You. are taking the Emperor away!" Dong Cheng, afraid they might shoot, screened him with some clothing.

When they had reached Dayang the Emperor went to Li Le's camp.<sup>47</sup> Zhang Yang the Grand Administrator of Henei sent several thousand men with bags of grain on their backs to feed them.

On the day *yihai* [miswritten for *dinghai* = 27 Dec?]<sup>48</sup> the Emperor came to Anyi riding in an oxcart.<sup>49</sup> Wang Yi, Grand Administrator of Hedong, offered tribute of cotton and silk; all was given to the ministers and officials, and Wang Yi was enfeoffed as a marquis. Hu Cai was made General Who Subdues the East and Zhang Yang became General Who Gives Tranquillity to the State. Both were granted the Staff of Authority and the right to maintain offices.

BB Every leader with a troop under his command competed for appointments. There was such great demand for seals, and such a shortage of engravers, that some were scratched with an awl. The Emperor lodged among thorns and wattles, his gates could not be fastened, and when the Son of Heaven met with his ministers, common soldiers hid in the bushes to watch, pushing and jostling each other to make a laugh.

The Emperor sent the Grand Coachman Han Rong back to Hongnong to make peace with Li Jue and Guo Si. Li Jue released the high officials he had held prisoner, and he also sent back some of the palace women, together with the carriages, robes, insignia and other goods that had been seized from the court. The supplies of grain were soon exhausted, and all the attendants ate vegetables and fruit.

CC On the day *yimao* [miswritten for *xinmao* = 17 Jan]<sup>50</sup> Zhang Yang came from Yewang to pay court. He planned to escort the Emperor back to Luoyang, but the other leaders would not agree, and Zhang Yang returned to Yewang.

DD By this time Chang'an city had been empty for more than forty days. Those who were able to had scattered, and starving people ate one another. For the next two or three years there was no trace of man within the passes.

[Xp2: 195]

EE Ju Shou advised Yuan Shao, "Your clan has provided honoured assistants for one ruler after another, and each generation has contributed loyalty and brave deeds. Now the court is wandering and in flight, and the imperial ancestral temples have been destroyed. Look at the provinces and command-eries: their rulers pretend to maintain their troops for the



Emperor, but in secret each is planning against the other. There is no concern for the national altars and no thought of giving rest to the people.

1970 "In this province [of Ji], the borders are comparatively peaceful, you have a strong army, and the gentry support you. Go west to welcome the imperial carriage, and set the palace at Ye city.<sup>51</sup> If you hold the Emperor you will have authority over the other lords, and you can collect men and horses to punish those that will not pay court. Who could dare to oppose it?"

Guo Tu and Chunyu Qiong of Yingchuan argued, "The Han house has long been failing. Now you want to restore it, but that is surely too difficult. And brave men are rising every-where, each with a province or a commandery. They join their followers and collect their forces, and whenever they move they can number their troops by the tens of thousands. This is the time that the Qin have lost a deer, and the first to catch it will rule as king.<sup>52</sup>

"If you receive the Son of Heaven, you will have to report everything you do. If you obey him you lose your independence, but if you disobey you will be opposing the mandate. This is not the best plan."<sup>53</sup>

"If you receive the court now," replied Ju Shou, "you will be acting with justice to fulfil the needs of the time. Unless you decide quickly, someone else will be ahead of you." Yuan Shao would not follow his advice.

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FF Before this, Zhu Zhi of Danyang had at one time served as a colonel under Sun Jian. He saw how badly Yuan Shu ruled and he realised his regime was not secure, so he urged Sun Ce to turn back and take the territory east of the Yangzi.

In the mean time Wu Jing was engaged with Fan Neng, Zhang Ying and the others, but in more than a year he had not defeated them. Sun Ce said to Yuan Shu, "My family has long had a following in the east. I wish to help my uncle attack Hengjiang. When Hengjiang has fallen I shall go to my home commandery to raise troops. I can bring thirty thousand men to help your Honour the Commissioner settle the empire."

Yuan Shu knew that Sun Ce was resentful [because he had not given him the appointments he had promised],<sup>54</sup> but since Liu Yao held Qu'a and Wang Lang was in Kuaiji he did not expect that Sun Ce would be able to do very much. So he gave his permission and recommended Sun Ce as Colonel Who Breaks the Enemy Line.

Sun Ce had little more than a thousand soldiers and a few dozen horsemen, but he gathered more men on the march, and when he arrived at Liyang his force was five or six thousand.

Zhou Yu's uncle Zhou Shang was at this time Grand Administrator of Danyang. Zhou Yu brought soldiers to welcome Sun Ce and again gave him help with supplies and food. Sun Ce was delighted, saying, "I have found you; we are a pair!"

1971 Going forward to Hengjiang and Dangli[kou], they captured both places, and drove Fan Neng and Zhang Ying away.

Sun Ce crossed the Yangzi and fought one battle after another. All who faced him were defeated and none dared match themselves against him. When people heard Young Gentleman Sun was coming they all lost heart, and the local officials left their cities and fled into the mountains and wilderness. When Sun Ce arrived, however, the men of his army respected his orders, they did not dare rob or plunder, and no chickens or dogs or vegetables were stolen. Then the people were very pleased, and they all hastened to bring cattle and wine as rewards for the army.

As a man, Sun Ce had a handsome face and he could laugh and talk. He was generous and prepared to listen, very good at managing men. That was why the soldiers and people who saw him were all devoted to him and would gladly give their lives for him.

Sun Ce captured Liu Yao's camp at Niuzhu, and all the grain and weapons stored there. At this time the Chancellor of Pengcheng, Xue Li, and the Chancellor of Xiapi, Zhai Rong of Danyang, both accepted Liu Yao as their sworn leader.<sup>55</sup> Xue Li held Moling city and Zhai Rong was camped in the south of that county. Sun Ce attacked them both and defeated them.

1972 He defeated Liu Yao's detached commanders at Meiling, then advanced to Hushu and Jiangcheng and overran both of them. From there he moved against Liu Yao at Qu'a.<sup>56</sup>

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GG Taishi Ci, from the same commandery as Liu Yao, had come to him from Donglai.<sup>57</sup> As Sun Ce was approaching, someone suggested to Liu Yao that he should give Taishi Ci a senior military command, but Liu Yao replied, "If I appoint Ziyi [Taishi Ci], then Xu Zijiang [Xu Shao] will laugh at me."<sup>58</sup> He used Taishi Ci merely as a scout.

Accompanied by just a single trooper, Taishi Ci met Sun Ce unexpectedly at Shenting. Sun Ce had thirteen veteran horsemen with him,

including his father's former officers Han Dang of Liaoxi and Huang Gai of Lingling. Taishi Ci went forward to fight nonetheless, and he came face to face with Sun Ce. Sun Ce wounded Taishi Ci's horse, and grasped the hand-dagger above Taishi Ci's neck.<sup>59</sup> Taishi Ci got Sun Ce's helmet. A moment later troopers had come up from both sides and the two broke off their combat.<sup>60</sup>

HH Liu Yao fought with Sun Ce, but his men were defeated and fled to Dantu.<sup>61</sup> Sun Ce entered Qu'a and gave rewards to his troops. He made generous proclamation through all the counties, "When fellow-countrymen or former supporters of Liu Yao and Zhai Rong come to surrender, no questions will be asked. Of those who volunteer to join the army, each man who goes will satisfy the tax and labour requirements of his household. Those who do not wish to go will not be forced." Within a few weeks, like clouds from every direction, more than twenty thousand men and a thousand cavalry had come to join him. His authority shook the lands east of the Yangzi.

II On the day *bingchen* [6 Feb 196] Yuan Shu recommended Sun Ce as Acting General Who Destroys Criminals.<sup>62</sup>

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JJ Sun Ce's officer Lü Fan said to him, "Your responsibilities become greater each day as your army grows larger. There are some items of administration which are still somewhat slack. I wish to act for a time as Chief Controller to help you sort things out."

"Ziheng," replied Sun Ce, "as a gentleman of family you have numbers of men under your command, and you have already made a reputation for yourself on other campaigns. Why should you submit to a such a low appointment and seek to attend the petty details of my army?"<sup>63</sup>

1973 "No," replied Lü Fan, "I did not leave my native country and come to join you because of my family's position, but because I want to help in the work of the world. And this is like men sailing in the same boat: if one thing goes wrong we will all of us drown. This is for my own advantage, not just for you!" Sun Ce laughed and made no further objection.

Then Lü Fan went out, changed his ordinary clothing for riding costume, took up a whip, and went below the council hall to report for duty as Chief Controller. Sun Ce gave him tallies and credentials and put him in charge of all administration in the army. There was respect and good feeling among the troops, and all regulations were well maintained.

KK Sun Ce made Zhang Hong Colonel of Upright Counsel and Zhang Zhao of Pengcheng was Chief Clerk. One of these two would remain at base while the other accompanied the army on campaign. Qin Song, Chen Duan and other men of Guangling took part in planning.

Sun Ce treated Zhang Chao as a teacher and a friend, and would always use his advice in both civil and military affairs. Zhang Zhao regularly received letters from scholars and gentry in the north, full of praise for him, but not for his companions. When Sun Ce heard about this, he laughed, "In olden times Master Guan [Zhong] was Chancellor in Qi. In one thing it was Father Zhong, in two it was Father Zhong, but it was Duke Huan who became the most distinguished of the hegemon rulers. Now Zibu [Zhang Zhao] is a worthy man. If I can use him, will his achievements and reputation show credit on anyone but me?"<sup>64</sup>

LL Yuan Shu appointed his younger cousin Yuan Yin as Grand Administrator of Danyang, and Zhou Shang and Zhou Yu both went back to Shouchun.<sup>65</sup>

MM Liu Yao was going to retreat from Dantu to Kuaiji, but Xu Shao said, "Kuaiji is rich, and that is what Sun Ce covets. Moreover, it is pressed into a corner of the sea. You must not go there. The best place is Yuzhang. In the north it joins the territory of Yu, and to the west it marches with Jing province.

"Gather the officials and the people, send messengers [to the court with] tribute, and make contact with Cao Cao in Yan province. Though Yuan Gonglu [Yuan Shu] stands between the two of you, that man is selfish and cruel as wolf or jackal. He will surely not last long.

1974 "Once you have received royal authority [by sending tribute to the Emperor], Mengde [Cao Cao] and Jingsheng [Liu Biao] will certainly send help."<sup>66</sup> Liu Yao accepted this advice.

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NN Earlier, Tao Qian had appointed Zhai Rong as Chancellor of Xiapi and sent him to take charge of the official grain transport of Guangling, Xiapi and Pengcheng. Zhai Rong, however, took the grain from these territories for his own purposes. He raised a great Buddhist hall of worship, encouraged people to read the Buddhist sutras, and brought in those of nearby commanderies who loved the Buddha, more than five thousand households. On the Day of Washing the Buddha enormous quantities of food and drink

were set out on mats along the roads for scores of *li*, and the wastage was numbered in hundreds and hundreds of thousands.<sup>67</sup>

Then Cao Cao attacked and defeated Tao Qian, and the territory of Xu had no peace. Zhai Rong led ten thousand men and women to Guangling, where the Grand Administrator, Zhao Yu, received him with the courtesy of a guest. And before this, the Chancellor of Pengcheng, Xue Li, driven out by Tao Qian, had set camp at Moling.

Zhai Rong was greedy for the wealth and the goods of Guangling, so he murdered Zhao Yu at a drinking party, let loose his soldiers to plunder far and wide, then crossed the Yangzi to join Xue Li. Later he killed him too.

OO Liu Yao sent his Grand Administrator of Yuzhang, Zhu Hao, to attack Zhuge Xuan, the Grand Administrator appointed to that territory by Yuan Shu, and Zhuge Xuan retreated to defend Xicheng.<sup>68</sup> Then Liu Yao went west up the Yangzi to Pengze,<sup>69</sup> and he sent Zhai Rong to help Zhu Hao attack Zhuge Xuan.

Xu Shao said to Liu Yao, "When Zhai Rong leads out his army, he is little concerned about the cause he should fight for. Zhu Wenming [Zhu Hao] deals with people in good faith.<sup>70</sup> You should warn him to be very careful." When Zhai Rong arrived, he did deceive Zhu Hao and kill him, and he took his place as head of the commandery. Liu Yao went to attack him and Zhai Rong was defeated. He fled into the mountains and was killed by the people there.

PP An edict appointed Hua Xin, a former Senior Clerk under the Grand Tutor, to be Grand Administrator of Yuzhang.<sup>71</sup>

1975

QQ Zhu Zhi, Chief Commandant of Danyang, drove away Xu Gong, the Grand Administrator of Wu commandery, and occupied his territory.<sup>72</sup> Xu Gong went south to take refuge with White Tiger Yan, the bandit of the hills.

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RR Zhang Chao was at Yongqiu and Cao Cao besieged him closely. Zhang Chao said, "If only Zang Hong would come to help us!"<sup>73</sup>

"Yuan Shao and Cao Cao are presently at peace," observed his comrades, "and Zang Hong holds his appointment through Yuan Shao. He will not upset good [relations between Yuan and Cao] and bring the misfortune [of such involvement]."

"Ziyuan [Zang Hong]<sup>74</sup> is one of the most loyal men of the empire" replied Zhang Chao. "He will never turn his back upon me. The only thing

which concerns me is that he may be forcibly prevented from coming to join us."

Zang Hong was at that time Grand Administrator of Dong commandery. With bare feet, crying and weeping, he begged Yuan Shao for soldiers to go to Zhang Chao's relief, but Yuan Shao refused. He asked to lead men from his own command, but Yuan Shao would not allow that either. Then Yongqiu was taken, Zhang Chao killed himself and Cao Cao destroyed his clan and family.<sup>75</sup>

As a result of this, Zang Hong hated Yuan Shao. He broke off relations and would have nothing more to do with him. Yuan Shao brought troops to besiege him but a year went by and he still held out.

Yuan Shao had Zang Hong's fellow-townsman Chen Lin write a letter urging him to give in. Zang Hong replied,<sup>76</sup> "I am a mean fellow, lacking both ambition and ability. I happened to meet our master [Yuan Shao] when I was travel-ling as an emissary,<sup>77</sup> and ever since then I have received his courtesy, favour and generous kindness. So I hold office in this great province. Do you think I am pleased to bear arms against him now?

"When I first received appointment, I believed we could do great things together to aid the imperial house. Then I heard that my native province had been invaded and that the leader of my commandery was in danger.<sup>78</sup> I asked for an army and was refused. I asked to go myself, but I was kept back. And now my former lord has come to harm.

"My sincerity has been denied its true expression, and how can I return to the path of amity? Should I do so, I would inflict still greater harm to my sullied name for filial piety and loyalty. This is the reason I must endure my grief and wave a weapon in farewell, hold back my tears and end our relationship.

"Go away, Kongzhang [Chen Lin]!<sup>79</sup> Seek advantage where you will. I, Zang Hong, devote my life to personal loyalty.<sup>80</sup> You follow the leader of the alliance [Yuan Shao], I serve [the Emperor at] Chang'an.

1976 "You say I shall die and my name will be lost. But I can laugh at you, living in ignominy."

When Yuan Shao saw Zang Hong's letter he realised he had no thought of surrender. He reinforced his men and pressed attack hard. Within the city all supplies were gone, and there was no hope of relief from the outside. Knowing he could not escape, Zang Hong said to his military and civil officers, soldiers and people, "Yuan is a man without principle, and his

ambitions are disloyal. Moreover, he gave no help to the leader of my commandery. For my own honour, I must die. I do appreciate, however, that none of you have any concern in this affair, and there is no reason that you should share this ill fortune. Before the city falls you must take your wives and children and go."

All wept and said, "Your excellency had no cause to quarrel with Yuan, and now you have come to distress for the sake of an official appointed by our Emperor. We are your people. How can we abandon you?"

At first, they could still find rats, old bones and sinews, but then there was nothing more that could be cooked and eaten. The Master of Records reported there were three sheng of rice in the inner kitchen, and asked for a little to make porridge.<sup>81</sup> Zang Hong sighed and said, "How can I enjoy this alone?" He had a thin gruel made, and shared it with all the army. He also killed his favourite concubine to feed his men. All bowed their heads and wept.

Seven or eight thousand men and women lay dead one on another, but none went away or turned against him. Then the city fell and Zang Hong was taken alive. Yuan Shao gathered his chieftains to see Zang Hong, and said, "Zang Hong, how could you be so ungrateful? Will you submit to me now?"

Zang Hong was lying on the ground, but he stared up in scorn and replied, "All the Yuan served the Han, and in four generations they held five posts as excellencies. Well may it be said that they have received favour. Now, however, when the imperial house is weak and in decline, you have no intention to offer support and assistance. You seek only to seize opportunity, you possess inordinate ambition, and you kill good and loyal men to establish your evil power.

"I have myself heard you call Zhang of Chenliu [Zhang Miao] your elder brother, so my commandery leader [Zhang Chao] must be your younger brother.<sup>82</sup> You were supposed to be allies, eliminating evil and preserving the state from harm. How could you hold back your forces and stand idle as another man was destroyed?

"I only regret that I am too weak to raise my sword to right the wrongs of the empire. How can you speak of submission?"

1977 Yuan Shao was truly fond of Zang Hong. He had hoped to compel his submission and then forgive him. Seeing, however, that Zang Hong meant what he said, he realised he would never serve him. So he killed him.

Chen Rong, a man from the same town as Zang Hong, had admired him since he was young. He was at this time in the assembly with Yuan Shao, and he stood up and said, "You have embarked upon a great work, to end the violence in the empire. Yet you begin by killing a loyal, honest man. Does this match the will of Heaven? Zang Hong took up arms for the chief of his commandery. How can you kill him?"

Embarrassed, Yuan Shao had Chen Rong led out, remarking, "You are not one of Zang Hong's people. This is pointless."

Chen Rong turned and said, "There are unwritten rules of humanity and honour. If you follow them you are a gentleman. If you disregard them you are a common fellow. I would rather die on the same day as Zang Hong than live under the same sun as you." So he too was executed.

Everyone there sighed and whispered to one another, "How could he kill two such heroes on a single day?"

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SS When Gongsun Zan had killed Liu Yu, he held all the territory of You province, and his ambition became ever greater. He took advantage of his ability and strength, he felt no pity for the people, he recorded faults and forgot good work, and he took revenge for no more than an angry look.

He used the law to bring harm to scholars and gentlemen of quality and to all those looked upon with greater respect than he was himself, while any man of ability was treated harshly and sent to exile in poor and bad territory. When he was asked why, Gongsun Zan replied, "Those gentlemen think they are all so virtuous that favours come to them by right. They have no gratitude for anything I do." His true favourites were merchants and common fellows, whom he treated like brothers and accepted as relatives by marriage. These men were bullies, and the people hated them.

Liu Yu's Attendant Official Xianyu Fu of Yuyang, with a group of others, collected the troops of the province and led an army of vengeance. Yan Rou of Yan state<sup>83</sup> had earlier been generous and faithful, and he became Major to the Wuhuan.<sup>84</sup> Recruiting several ten thousand barbarians and Han Chinese, Yan Rou fought a battle north of Lu against Zou Dan, Grand Administrator of Yuyang appointed by Gongsun Zan. He took the head of Zou Dan and killed four thousand of his men.<sup>85</sup>

King Qiao of the Wuhuan now brought his tribesmen,<sup>86</sup> and with a further seven thousand horsemen from the Xianbi [Yan Rou and his allies]



he followed Xianyu Fu south to join Liu Yu's son He and Yuan Shao's officer Qu Yi.

1978 The combined armies, a hundred thousand men, attacked Gongsun Zan and defeated him at Baoqiu. They took more than twenty thousand heads.<sup>87</sup> Then the people of Dai, Guangyang, Shanggu and Youbeiping commanderies killed the officials appointed by Gongsun Zan and sent troops to join Xianyu Fu and Liu He. Gongsun Zan's army was defeated time and again.

Before this, there was a children's song which ran,  
Yan comes down to the south, Zhao extends to the north;  
The gap between them, just the size of a millstone;  
Only there can you take refuge from the world."

Gongsun Zan believed that this referred to the territory of Yi, so he transferred his headquarters there.<sup>88</sup> He had ten moats dug around, and within the moats he built motte fortresses, each fifty or sixty feet high, and on top of these he put towers. The mound within the central moat was a hundred feet high, and that was where he lived himself. The gates of the fortress were made of iron.

Dismissing all his attendants and refusing entrance to any male more than seven years old, he lived there with his concubines. All his files and documents had to be hauled up to him, and he issued orders by training his women to shout in unison so they could be heard at several hundred paces. He kept his followers at a distance, there was no-one he would trust, and his best councillors and commanders gradually drifted away. From this time on he seldom went to battle.

Asked the reason for all this, Gongsun Zan replied, "At first, when I drove the barbarians away beyond the borders, and destroyed the Yellow Turbans at the Meng Crossing,<sup>89</sup> it seemed the empire might be settled with the signal of a flag. But now there are soldiers fighting everywhere, and this is more than I care to deal with.

"So the best policy is to leave weapons aside, put work into ploughing, and tide things over through these difficult years. By all the rules of warfare, no-one attacks a hundred towers, and I have scores of camps, watch-towers and pickets, with three million hu of stored grain. When all that grain is eaten, it may be time to review the affairs of the world."

[Xp2: 195]

TT The Southern Shanyu Yufuluo died. His younger brother Huchuquan took his place and established his residence at Pingyang.<sup>90</sup>

### NOTES to Xingping 2: 195

A *HHS* 9, 377 (6a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

1 *HHS* 9 describes this as a "great" amnesty. See note 8 to Zhongping 6.

[Xp2: 195]

B *SGZ* 1, 12 (32a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

2 Dingtao was the chief county of Jiyin; the city is near present-day Dingtao in Shandong, what was then the middle of the commandery.

The base of Cao Cao's position was in the northern part of Jiyin. Lü Bu first attacked him from the west, but towards the end of the previous year he moved to Shanyang in the southeast: passage V of Xingping 1. A detailed account in *SGZ* 1 says that this new operation was initiated by Cao Cao, attacking Lü Bu's allies in the southern part of Jiyin. When Lü Bu came to their support, he was defeated and driven back.

[Xp2: 195]

C *HHS* 74/64A, 2382 (7b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*HHJ* 28, 1a.

3 The date of this appointment is provided by *HHJ*, but the title is given as General of the Rear. Both alternatives present difficulties, for we have been told that Guo Si had been General of the Rear and Fan Chou General of the Right since at least the previous year: passage O of Xingping 1. Fan Chou, however, was killed by Li Jue in the second month of this year (passage F below), so the post of General of Right was then vacant. If the date of Yuan Shao's appointment is assumed to be slightly in error, we can accept that the new title he was offered was as General of the Right.

*HHJ* adds that Yuan Shao was also granted the Staff of Authority, appointed Governor of Ji province and enfeoffed as Marquis of Kang District. In fact, Yuan Shao had controlled Ji province, and styled himself as Governor, since 191 (passage P of Chuping 2), and he had been awarded the marquissate of Kang District by Dong Zhuo: passage QQ of Zhongping 6. Some of these awards, therefore, did no more than restore or confirm honours which Yuan Shao had already taken for himself. They represent, however, an attempt by Li Jue and his party to restore relations with an important leader of the east. There had been a similar attempt to gain the support of Yuan Shu, Yuan Shao's cousin and rival, two years earlier: passage B of Chuping 4.

[Xp2: 195]

D *SGZ* 6, 182 (25a–b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*HHS* 72/62, 2341 (16a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.

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E *HHJ* 28, 1b.

4 See passage C of Xingping 1.

[Xp2: 195]

F *SGZ* 6, 183 (25b–26a) PC quoting *Jiuzhou chunqiu*,

*HHS* 72/62, 2336–37 (12b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo,  
with commentary quoting *Xiandi ji*.

- 5 Han Sui was a man of Jincheng commandery, but we do not know which county he came from. Fan Chou was certainly a man from Liang province; and on the basis of this evidence he too was a native of Jincheng.

*Jiuzhou chunqiu* gives more information: Han Sui said to Fan Chou that although they had disagreements at the present time, they both sought the best interests of the empire, and he would like them to part personally on fair terms.

For a similar incident concerning Han Sui, compare passage F of Jian'an 11.

[Xp2: 195]

- G *SGZ* 6, 183 (26a–b) PC quoting *Dian lue*;  
*HHJ* 28, 1b–2a, quoted also by commentary to *HHS* 72/62, 2337 (12b).

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- H *SGZ* 6, 183 (26a–b) PC quoting *Dian lue*;  
*HHJ* 28, 1b–2a, quoted also by commentary to *HHS* 72/62, 2337 (12b).

- 6 The date is given by the Annals in *HHS* 9, 377.

- 7 *ZZTJ* here has the surname Liu. Parallel passages in *HHS* 9, 338, and *HHS* 103/13, 3275, however, have the surname Deng, and Sima Guang himself, in passage X below, gives it as Deng. The source for reading the surname as Liu is *HHJ* 28, but this appears to be an error

As to the personal name, *HHS* 9 has Deng Quan, but *HHS* 103/13 has Deng Yuan, while *HHJ* 28 has Liu Yuan. The Qing scholar Qian Daxin, commenting on *HHS* 9, explains that the character *yuan* was changed to *quan* in the seventh century to avoid the tabu on the personal name of the founding Emperor Gaozu of Tang, and later editors failed to restore the original text at this point.

- 8 This statement comes from the biography of Zhu Jun, *HHS* 71/61, 2313. A similar account of his death is given by his biography from the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao, quoted in *SGZ* 46, 1094–95 PC.

[Xp2: 195]

- I *HHS* 9, 377 (6a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;  
*HHS* 10B, 453 (12a), the Biography of the Empress Fu.

- 9 *HHS* 9 has this day as *jiawu*, *ZZTJ* has miscopied it as *jiazi*: there was no *jiazi* day in this month.

[Xp2: 195]

- J *HHJ* 28, 2b;  
*HHS* 72/62, 2337 (13a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*SGZ* 6, 184 (28a) PC quoting the [*Hou*] *Han shu* of Hua Qiao.

[Xp2: 195]

- K *SGZ* 10, 328 (37a) PC quoting *Xiandi ji*.

[Xp2: 195]

- L *HHS* 72/62, 2337–38 (13a–b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
with commentary quoting *Xiandi ji* and *Xiandi qijuzhu*;  
*HHS* 9, 378 (6a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;  
*SGZ* 6, 183–84 (26b–29b) PC quoting *Xiandi qijuzhu*;  
*HHJ* 28, 3b–4b.

10 *ZZTJ*, following *HHJ* 28, has said above that the initial attack by Guo Si and his ally Zhang Bao took place in the night of *bingshen* (cyclical number 33). The next day was *dingyou* (cyclical number 34): that date is given by *HHS* 9 for both the attack and the transfer of the Emperor to Li Jue's Northern Fort.

*Shanyang gong zaiji*, quoted by commentary to *HHS* 9, says that until now the Emperor had been in a Southern Fort, while Li Jue's main base was in the Northern Fort: both encampments evidently lay within the walls of the city of Chang'an.

11 Chiyang county was in Zuopingyi, north of Chang'an. *SGZ* 19, 24b, says that Huangbocheng was the Quliang Palace of the Qin dynasty. The site is now close to Sanyuan in Shanxi.

Xiandi qijuzhu explains that Li Jue had been camped at Huangbocheng some time before he entered Chang'an, and he had evidently maintained a base there.

12 *Yi jing*, hexagram 28: Daguo [Preponderance of the Great], sixth line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes*, 114:

Six at the top means:

One must go through the water.

It goes over one's head.

Misfortune. No blame.

In *Yi jing*, this is taken to describe a man who continues his labours for the highest motives, beyond the point of prudence and safety: although he may fail he is given credit for his fine intentions. Zhao Wen, however, has adapted the expression to indicate obstinate stupidity bringing on disaster.

13 *Xiandi chunqiu*, quoted by *ZZTJ* commentary, says that Li Ying was a former subordinate officer of Zhang Wen.

14 *Sansheng*, the offering of one of each of the three kinds of animals, cattle, sheep and pigs, is the *tailao* sacrifice: see also note 16 to Chuping 2.

15 This date is given by *HHJ* 28.

16 *Hanmo yingxiong ji*, quoted by *SGZ* 6, 182 PC, says that Guo Si had the alternative personal name of Duo.

17 The guards Rapid as Tigers were one of the corps of bodyguards to the Emperor: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 28–29, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 47. At this time such forces were naturally under the direct control of Li Jue or one of his colleagues.

18 This date is given by *HHJ* 28. *HHS* 9 has *renwu*, which was the following day.

[*Xp2: 195*]

M *SGZ* 1, 12 (32a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

19 Juye county was in the northern part of Shanyang, near present-day Juye in Shandong, and at that time on the edge of the Daye or Juye marshlands.

[*Xp2: 195*]

N *SGZ* 10, 308–10 (6a–7b), the Biography of Xun Yu.

20 Having taken Juye, Cao Cao moves southwest to Shengshi on the road to Dingtao, capital of Jiyin.

Cao Cao is continuing the strategy he embarked upon earlier this year with a preliminary assault against Dingtao: passage B above. Operating on interior lines from his limited but well-defended territory in the eastern part of Dong commandery and the north of Jiyin, he uses one force to hold off Lü Bu while another attacks his enemy's nearest positions.

21 Cao Cao's base territory at this time was bordered on the northwest by the Yellow River, and in the south by the Ji, which flowed into the Daye Marsh (note 19 above).

As is well known, the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han established his base in the land within the passes, former heartland of Qin, and from there he conquered all of China: see, for example, *Cambridge China* I, 112 and 117–118 [Loewe, "Former Han Dynasty"]. Two centuries later, in the civil war which followed the destruction of Wang Mang, Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu of Later Han first established an independent position in Henei commandery, extended his power into the North China plain, then returned to capture Luoyang and take the empire: Bielenstein, *RHD* II, 84–87 and 102–105.

22 There was a county called Wei in Dong commandery, just north across the Yellow River from Puyang, but the commentary of Hu Sanxing identifies this place called Wei as the city of Puyang, capital of the commandery, and cites the third century scholar Du Yu, who observes that Puyang was in the territory of the ancient state of Wei during the Zhou period. At this time the city of Puyang was a strongpoint on the west of Cao Cao's present holdings, and had been a centre of the fighting against Lü Bu: see, for example, passages J and U of Xingping 1.

[Xp2: 195]

O *SGZ* 1, 12 (32a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

23 Dongmin county was in Shanyang commandery, south of Juye and east of Dingtao.

24 Yongqiu county was in Chenliu, near present-day Jixian in Henan, and a short distance from the capital of the commandery. Zhang Miao has thus abandoned the territory he controlled when he invited Lü Bu into Yan province against Cao Cao, and has left his brother to hold a rear-guard position.

[Xp2: 195]

P *SGZ* 7, 222 (6b) PC quoting [Hanmo] yingxiong ji.

25 Lü Bu came from Wuyuan in Bing province; Liu Bei from Zhuo commandery in You province. Though far apart, both territories were on the northern frontiers of the empire.

[Xp2: 195]

Q *HHS* 72/62, 2338 (13b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*SGZ* 6, 185 (28a–30a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*HHJ* 28, 6b.

26 *ZZTJ* commentary observes that this was just what Huangfu Li had predicted: passage L above.

27 Shan county in Hongnong was by present-day Shan in Henan. Zhang Ji had been appointed as a general in 193: passage CC and note 57 to Chuping 3. His post at Shan was the forward base for the leaders at Chang'an dealing with the various forces in the east of the empire, but he was now thinking of taking the Emperor into his own charge.

*HHS* 9, 378, and *HHJ* 28, 6b both place the date of Zhang Ji's arrival in the sixth month on a *gengwu* day (cyclical number 7), and there is reference below to the seventh month, followed by the days *jiazi* (cyclical number 1) and *bingyin* (cyclical number 3). This year, however, the seventh month is calculated to have begun on a *gengwu* day, so it could not have contained a *jiazi* or *bingyin* day.

It is possible that the indication of the beginning of the seventh month in the chronicle should appear before the reference to the *gengwu* day, and that *gengwu* has been miswritten for *gengshen* (cyclical number 57). If that was the case, all three days would

have been in the sixth month: *gengshen* on 14 August; *jiazi* on 18 August; and *bingyin* on 20 August. That, however, would indicate that the Emperor remained for several weeks at Baling after his escape from Chang'an, and in context that appears improbable: see passage T below.

Alternatively, we can accept the reading *gengwu* and reinterpret *jiazi* as *jiawu* (cyclical number 31) and *bingyin* as *bingshen* (cyclical number 33). Those three dates are in the seventh month: *gengwu* was equivalent to 24 August, *jiawu* to 17 September, and *bingyin* to 19 September. Despite such re-reading of the text, this appears the best interpretation.

[Xp2: 195]

R SGZ 10, 328 (37a) PC quoting *Xiandi ji*;  
HHJ 28, 6b–7a.

[Xp2: 195]

S *Xiandi qijuzhu*, quoted by commentary to HHS 72/62, 2339 (14a),  
and by SGZ 6, 186 (30a) PC;  
HHJ 28, 7a–b.

28 On this dating, see note 27 above.

29 Baling county was in Jingzhao, east of present-day Xi'an and east of the Han capital Chang'an. Chiyang was Li Jue's base north of the Wei River: note 11 above. The main text of HHS 72/62, 2338, says that Li Jue went to camp at Caoyang, but this is probably an anachronism, anticipating later events: passage X below.

30 This flurry of appointments reflects the last rearrangement of nominal authority among the contending leaders at Chang'an. Li Jue, it may be observed, had lately promoted himself Commander-in-Chief, and Guo Si took his former title. Zhang Ji's appointment as General of the Agile Cavalry has been described earlier (passage CC and note 57 to Chuping 3), but this was the more suitable occasion.

Niu Fu, son-in-law of Dong Zhuo, had been the former commander of Li Jue, Guo Si and their associates. SGZ 32 (Shu 2), 875, describes Dong Cheng as a cousin of the Emperor on his mother's side. A note by Pei Songzhi adds that he was a nephew of the Lady Dong, mother of Emperor Ling, and thus a generation senior to Liu Xie, Emperor Xian. See also passage A of Zhongping 6.

On the dating of these appointments, see note 27 above. The day *bingyin* is given by HHJ 28, but not by HHS 9.

31 Gaoling was the capital of Zuopingyi, near present-day Gaoling in Shenxi, across the Wei River to the north of Baling. This was evidently Guo Si's base outside Chang'an. Hongnong, by contrast, was some distance off, in Zhang Ji's area of influence.

The phrase *jiaomiao* evidently refers to the altars for the annual sacrifices (*jiao*) and the ancestral temples (*miao*) of the Later Han dynasty about Luoyang. HHJ has more detail of the Emperor's plea to be allowed to return to these sacred sites, but one feels Guo Si was quite reasonably suspicious that his prize was being wheedled away from him.

[Xp2: 195]

T HHJ 28, 8a.

32 Xinfeng county was in Jingzhao, near present-day Lintong in Shenxi, and a short distance to the east of Baling. The sources disagree about exactly what happened at this time. Sima Guang follows HHJ 28, but according to SGZ 6, 185, Yang Feng and his allies fought with

Guo Si and defeated him, and Guo Si then fled into the southern hills, presumably the foothills of the Qin Ling ranges south of the Wei valley.

*HHS* 72/62, 2339, says that Guo Si was concerned about the attitude of Yang Ding, Yang Feng and Dong Cheng, and led his troops away to make alliance once more with Li Jue.

It seems unlikely Guo Si would have abandoned his forces as this time, nor, given the fact that he still had supporters at the imperial camp (passage V below), does it appear that there was yet open conflict. Guo Si did later re-establish his alliance with Li Jue (passage X below), but he may have felt it politic at this time to take some of his forces away to south, while still retaining men of his party at Xinfeng.

The day *bingzi* (cyclical number 13) for these events is given by *HHJ* 28, but there was no *bingzi* day in the eighth month of this year. It seems most likely that *bingzi* has been miswritten for *bingwu* (cyclical number 43): this was two days after the *jiachen* day given above.

[Xp2: 195]

U *SGZ* 1, 12 (32b), the Biography of Cao Cao;

*SGZ* 7, 222 (5b–6a), the Biography of Zhang Miao.

33 This appointment is another attempt by the group now controlling the Emperor to obtain support from one of the leaders in the east.

[Xp2: 195]

V *HHJ* 28, 10a;

*HHS* 9, 378 (6a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

34 *HHJ* says only that Xia Yu and the others caused a disturbance. *HHS* 9, however, says that one of Guo Si's associates started a fire in the schoolhouse where the Emperor was lodging: this gives more point and immediacy to Liu Ai's advice.

*ZZTJ* commentary explains that Liu Ai was giving the Emperor an open choice: did he want to take refuge with Yang Feng and his associates, who were prepared to move to the east, or was he willing to go to the camp of one of Guo Si's followers and accept a return to the west?

Though it seems a sad reduction, we must assume the Xia Yu mentioned here as a follower of Guo Si is the same man as led the campaign of 177 against the Xianbi, and was last heard of in 184, defending the Herding Office of Hanyang against the rebels from Liang province: *Huan and Ling* I, 142–143 and 187.

35 Huayin was near present-day Huayin in Shenxi, just inside the western border of Hongnong commandery.

[Xp2: 195]

W *HHS* 72/62, 2338–39 (14a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;

*HHJ* 28, 10a–b, also quoted in commentary to *HHS* 72/62.

36 An Investigator was a junior, locally appointed, official under the administration of a commandery, sent out to supervise the conduct of the various counties. See the *Hanguan yi* of Ying Shao, quoted in commentary to the Treatise of Officials, *HHS* 118/28, 3622, and discussed, for example, by Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 82–83, de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 50, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 97.

[Xp2: 195]

X *HHJ* 28, 10b–12a;

SGZ 6, 185–186 (30b–31a), the post–Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
HHS 72/62, 2339–40 (14b–15a), the post–Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
HHS 9, 378 (6a–b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.

37 Lantian county in Jingzhao, about present–day Lantian in Shenxi, was in the south of the Wei valley and southwest of Huayin. Jing province lay southeast of Lantian and south of Hongnong commandery.

37 Sources disagree about the dating of events at this time. ZZTJ follows HHJ 28, but HHS 9 has a different chronology for the journey of escape of Emperor Xian.

HHS 9 may be summarised as follows:

battle at Dongjian eleventh month	<i>gengwu</i> (cyclical number 7)	22 Dec
Emperor at Caoyang	<i>renshen</i> (cyclical number 9)	24 Dec
battle by Caoyang twelfth month	<i>gengchen</i> (cyclical number 17)	?
Emperor to Anyi	<i>yihai</i> (cyclical number 12)	?

HHJ 28 may be summarised as follows:

battle at Dongjian twelfth month	no day specified	
Emperor at Caoyang	<i>renshen</i> (cyclical number 9)	?
battle by Caoyang	<i>gengshen</i> (cyclical number 57)	?
Emperor to Anyi	<i>dinghai</i> (cyclical number 24)	?

The first two dates given by HHS 9 are possible, but all the others are confused:

1. The twelfth month of this year began on a *dingyou* day (cyclical number 34), so it cannot have contained a *gengchen* day (17), an *yihai* day (12), or a *dinghai* day (24);
2. whether a *gengchen* day (17) is said to be followed by an *yihai* day (12), or a *gengshen* day (57) by a *dinghai* day (24), the order appears wrong.

My suggestions would be:

1. ignore all references to the twelfth month;
2. accept the reading *gengchen* [HHS 9] for the day of the battle by Caoyang, but take it as being in the eleventh month;
3. take the reading *dinghai* [HHJ 28] for the day the Emperor arrived at Anyi, but again take it as being in the eleventh month.

If this interpretation is correct, then the battle by Caoyang took place on 6 January 196 and the Emperor reached Anyi on 8 January.

39 Hongnong must refer here to the chief county of the commandery of that name. The city was on the southern bank of the Yellow River by present–day Lingbao in Shanxi.

Dongjian "the Eastern Ravine" was evidently within the borders of Hongnong county. On the analogy of Caoyang, discussed at note 40 below, this ravine was formed by a tributary stream which flowed from the southern hills to join the Yellow River, and had cut a gully through the loess as it did so.

40 Commentary to HHS 9 explains that Caoyang was the ravine of another tributary to the Yellow River.

41 On this dating see note 38 above.

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Y HHJ 28, 12a;

SGZ 10, 328 (37a) PC quoting *Xiandi ji*.

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- Z *HHJ* 28, 12a;  
*HHS* 72/62, 2340 (15a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.
- 42 Commentary to *HHS* 9, cited in note 40 above, says that Caoyang was only seven *li* from Shan county of the Tang period. The distance of forty *li* is better understood in the context of *HHS* 72/62, which says that fighting had continued since the first encounter at Dongjian, several days earlier.

[Xp2: 195]

- AA *HHJ* 28, 12a-13a;  
*SGZ* 6, 186-87 (32a) PC quoting *Xiandi ji*,  
*HHS* 72/62, 2340 (15a-b), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.
- 43 Dizhu is the name of a mountain and of a gorge on the Yellow River downstream from Shan by the present-day Sanmen Gorge. Li Le's plan is for the Emperor to sail in a boat downstream to the vicinity of Luoyang. Yang Biao, however, arranges for the Emperor to cross the Yellow River and make his way east along the northern bank.
- 44 The story of Fu De, the silk and the Emperor's means of descent is confused by the sources and thoroughly mixed up by *ZZTJ*.

The clearest account, though awkwardly phrased and somewhat corrupted, is that of *HHJ* 28, at 12b. There we are told that the first plan was to use the reins of horses and tie them around the Emperor's waist so that he could be lowered, like abseiling. Then there was the incident when Fu De was threatened, one of the attendants was killed and his blood splashed on the Empress. Then it is said that, because the reins could not be joined together for a long enough rope, Fu De himself tied the lengths of silk around his waist to form a strand of support and the Emperor made his way down, supported in front by the colonel Xiang Hong.

The biography of the Empress Fu in *HHS* 10B, 453, followed by *JS* 26, 782; Yang, "Economic History," 158, has quite a different story. In that account, the Empress herself was carrying some silken cloth, and Dong Cheng sent Sun Hui to take it from her. Sun Hui killed one of the attendants at her side, and blood splashed on the Empress' clothes. Yang Lien-sheng, however, in a note following commentary to *JS* 26, discounts the tale, since other evidence indicates Dong Cheng was a loyal officer of the throne.

*Xiandi ji* and also the *Hou Han shu* by Hua Qiao of the third century, quoted in *Taiping yulan* 817, 1a-b, and cited by the Qing scholar Wang Wentai in commentary to *HHS* 9, 6b-7a, say that the silk was taken and used to support the Emperor down the cliff. There is no specific mention of Fu De, Dong Cheng and Sun Hui, nor of any killing.

*HHJ* 29, 2b, quoted also by commentary to *HHS* 72/62, 2342, says that after the Emperor had arrived at Luoyang various of his assistants were rewarded with marquises, and Fu De was one of them: this may have been no more than favour to a relative by marriage, or it may have been recognition of his help by the Yellow River. It does seem clear, however, that *ZZTJ* is wrong to say that he was cut down and killed (*zhuo*) at that time.

- 45 *ZZTJ* commentary here cites *Zuo zhuan*, Xun 12; Legge, *CC* V, 319 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 631) which describes a similar scene on the occasion an army of the state of Jin was defeated by Chu. It is evidently something of a cliché.
- 46 This reference to Shisun Rui is confusing. Passage H above refers to him as Commandant of the Guards earlier this year; *HHS* 9, 378, says he was killed, as Commandant, during the

fighting at Dongjian; and passage Y above refers to Zhou Zhong as Commandant, evidently his successor. On the other hand, *Xiandi qijuzhu*, quoted by *SGZ* 6, 186 PC, says that Shisun Rui was killed by Li Jue at this time, but that he held the title of Prefect of the Masters of Writing. It is not possible to tell which account is correct.

47 Dayang county was on the northern bank of the Yellow River, almost opposite Shan.

48 On this dating see note 38 above.

49 Anyi was the capital of Hedong commandery. The city was near present-day Xia county in Shanxi, about thirty kilometres north of Dayang.

This is the second time Emperor Xian is said to have ridden in a cart: see passage U of *Zhongping* 6.

[*Xp2: 195*]

BB *HHS* 72/62, 2340 (15b–16a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*SGZ* 6, 186 (32b–33a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo;  
*Wei shu* by Wang Shen, quoted in commentary to *HHS* 72/62 and *SGZ* 6;  
*HHJ* 28, 13a–b.

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CC *SGZ* 8, 251 (24b), the Biography of Zhang Yang;  
*HHJ* 28, 13b.

50 The day of Zhang Yang's arrival at Anyi is given by *HHJ* 28 as the *yimao* day, and this is followed by *ZZTJ*. Just before this, however, *HHJ* 28 has stated that the Emperor arrived at Anyi on a *dinghai* day (cyclical number 24). The next *yimao* day, however, (cyclical number 52) would be four weeks later, and such a delay makes no sense at this time.

I discussed the earlier dates for the journey of the Emperor in note 38 above. Following those arguments, I suggest that *yimao* has been miswritten here for *xinmao* (cyclical number 28). This would mean Zhang Yang arrived at Anyi four days after the Emperor, on the equivalent of 17 January.

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DD *HHS* 72/62, 2341 (16a), the post-Biography of Dong Zhuo.

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EE *HHS* 74/64A, 2382–83 (7b–8a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 6, 195 (48a–b) PC quoting *Xiandi zhuan*.

51 The phrase Yedu describes the county city of Ye, capital of Wei commandery and headquarters of Yuan Shao's administration as Governor of Ji province. The site is now close to Cixian in Henan.

52 This expression was first coined at the fall of the Qin dynasty, when the power of the imperial house was gone, and anyone in the empire could seek the throne: e.g. *SJ* 92, 2629; Watson, *RGHI*, 231. The proverb continued during Han.

53 In commentary to his quotation from *Xiandi zhuan* in *SGZ* 6 PC, Pei Songzhi observes that the main text says Guo Tu also advised Yuan Shao to receive the Emperor and set him at Ye; the texts are disagree about his policy on the matter.

[*Xp2: 195*]

FF *SGZ* 56 (Wu 11), 1303 (1b), the Biography of Zhu Zhi;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1102–04 (20a–21b), the Biography of Sun Ce;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1103 (20a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1104–05 (22a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;

SGZ 54 (Wu 9), 1259 (2b), the Biography of Zhou Yu.

54 See passage BB of Xingping 1.

55 Pengcheng and Xiapi were both in Xu province, north of the Yangzi, and had thus been under the formal authority of Tao Qian. Xue Li, however, had been threatened by Tao Qian and gone south to join Liu Yao, and Zhai Rong had fled with his personal followers when Cao Cao attacked Xu province: SGZ 49, 1185.

56 In this whirlwind campaign, Sun Ce first established a beachhead by taking Hengjiang and Dangli, by present-day Hexian in Anhui, then seized the enemy supply base at Niuzhu "Ox-horn" Mountain, northwest of present-day Dangtu.

He next turned north against the positions held by Xue Li and Zhai Rong, south of present-day Nanjing, and at Meiling he defeated a counter-attack from a section of Liu Yao's forces attempting to recapture the depot at Niuzhu. Advancing further to the north past Moling, he took the two counties of Hushu and Jiangcheng, south of the Yangzi estuary.

Sun Ce now controlled all the northern half of Danyang commandery. His next move was east against Liu Yao's position at Qu'a in Wu commandery, present-day Danyang in Jiangsu. (Qu'a happened to be the site of the tomb of Sun Jian, Sun Ce's father: SGZ 46, 1101.) See also de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 158–165.

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GG SGZ 49 (Wu 4), 1188 (9a), the Biography of Taishi Ci.

57 Taishi Ci and Liu Yao both came from Donglai commandery, in Qing province on the tip of the Shandong peninsula. Taishi Ci's biography describes his career as an enterprising junior officer and a soldier of fortune, and he was actually in Liaodong, north of the Gulf of Bohai, when he decided to come and seek the opportunities which might arise from such a patron.

58 Ziyi was the style of Taishi Ci; Zijiang that of Xu Shao. Xu Shao of Runan, an adviser to Liu Yao at this time, was a celebrated moral critic: de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling I*, 181–182.

59 Soldiers at this time often wore small daggers or throwing knives in a sheath at the back of the neck.

60 A well-known opera in the Peking repertoire, *Shenting ling*, recounts this incident.

[Xp2: 195]

HH SGZ 46 (Wu 1), 1104–05 (22a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

61 Dantu county was on the southern shore of the Yangzi estuary, just north of Qu'a, by present-day Zhenjiang.

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II SGZ 46 (Wu 1), 1102 (20a), the Biography of Sun Ce.

62 The main text of SGZ 46 indicates that Yuan Shu had named Sun Ce as Colonel Who Breaks the Enemy Line and simultaneously Acting General Who Destroys the Criminals when he first sent Sun Ce to join Wu Jing and Sun Ben in their attack on Liu Yao: passage FF above. While such a double appointment would presumably be possible in theory, albeit clumsy, it is made clear from a memorial sent by Sun Ce to the court under Cao Cao's control in 198, preserved by *Wu lu* as quoted in SGZ 46, 1107 PC, that Sun Ce received his appointment as a general from Yuan Shu on the twentieth day of the twelfth month of Xingping 2. That was indeed a *bingchen* day, equivalent to Western 6 February 196.

[Xp2: 195]

JJ *SGZ* 56 (Wu 11), 1309–10 (9b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.  
63 Ziheng was the style of Lü Fan. He was a man of family from Runan, who had held junior office in his county while he was still young, and brought more than a hundred retainers to join Sun Ce early in his career. He took part in the fighting in Lujiang and then across the Yangzi, and he had been appointed Prefect of Wanling in Danyang commandery.

The position of Chief Controller (*dudu*) in these circumstances is an administrative post, like that of an adjutant, responsible for the organisation and discipline of an army. See also note 10 to Chuping 2 above, but compare also the higher rank and responsibilities associated with the same title in the armies of Cao Cao and Yuan Shao in passages B and J of Jian'an 4 below.

[Xp2: 195]

KK *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1104 (24a), the Biography of Sun Ce;  
*SGZ* 52 (Wu 7), 1219 (2b–3a), the Biography of Zhang Zhao;  
*SGZ* 53 (Wu 8), 1243 (1b), the Biography of Zhang Hong;  
*SGZ* 53 (Wu 8), 1243 (1b) PC quoting *Wu shu*.

64 Zibu was the style of Zhang Zhao. Sun Ce is referring to a story in the *Xin xu* by Liu Xiang of the first century BC (1, 4a), which tells of the time the great minister Guan Zhong, known by respect as "Father Zhong," was head of government for Duke Huan of Qi in the seventh century BC.

When the chief ministers asked Duke Huan of Qi about the appointment of an official, the Duke said, "Talk to Father Zhong about it."

The chief ministers asked about another matter, and again the Duke replied, "Talk to Father Zhong about it."

Someone standing by said, "In one thing it is Father Zhong; for the second thing it is also Father Zhong. Surely it is easy to be a ruler."

The Duke answered him, "Before I had Father Zhong I had difficulties; now I have him, why should it not be easy?"

So a man who rules as king puts his energies to seek for a good man, and when he has found him he can take his ease.

The biography of Guan Zhong is in *SJ* 62, and the book *Guanzi*, part translated by Rickett, records his teachings.

[Xp2: 195]

LL *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), 1260 (3a), the Biography of Zhou Yu.  
65 Hitherto, Zhou Shang had been Grand Administrator of Danyang under Yuan Shu's authority. Yuan Shu was presumably attempting to establish the position of his own family on the south of the Yangzi, as counterbalance to the energetic Sun Ce.

[Xp2: 195]

MM *SGZ* 49 (Wu 4) 1184 (4a) PC quoting *HHJ* 27, 12a–b.

66 Liu Yao, now at Dantu on the Yangzi estuary, had two routes of escape from Sun Ce: he could take ship along the coast to the east and south, to re-establish himself in Kuaiji, on the south of Hangzhou Bay; or he could travel southwest up the river to Yuzhang, about the present-day Poyang Lake.

Kuaiji, however, was isolated from the rest of the empire, and since it was clear that Sun Ce was aiming in that direction (apart from its wealth, the Sun family came from that

territory), Liu Yao would soon have found himself isolated and under attack from an enemy who had already shown himself to be far the more powerful and competent.

From Yuzhang, on the other hand, as Xu Shao observes, Liu Yao would have communications north to the plain, with the court re-established at Luoyang, with Yu province and with Cao Cao, and also west to Jing province on the middle Yangzi. He could then seek to obtain help from these allies against Sun Ce.

Gonglu was the style of Yuan Shu, Mengde that of Cao Cao, and Jingsheng that of Liu Biao, who controlled Jing province.

[Xp2: 195]

NN *SGZ* 49 (Wu 4), 1185 (4b–5a), the Biography of Zhai Rong supplementary to that of Liu Yao; *HHS* 73/63, 2368 (11a–b), the Biography of Zhai Rong supplementary to that of Tao Qian.

67 Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest of China* I, 27–28, and II, 327–328 notes 48–56, discusses Zhai Rong as an early exponent of Buddhism. As he points out, Zhai Rong did not follow many of the present forms of that religion, and his career was "triumphantly mentioned" by opponents of the creed in the early fourth century "as an example of moral depravity combined with Buddhist devotion."

The ceremony of Washing the Buddha (*yu Fo*) is now held each year on the traditional date of the sage's birth, on the eighth day of the fourth month in the lunar calendar. It is an important ritual, involving the bathing of a statue with scented water and the chanting of hymns. As Zürcher observes at note 53, it is unlikely Zhai Rong held his position long enough to hold more than one annual ceremony: either the historian sought to exaggerate his extravagance; or the ceremony was held more frequently, perhaps even daily, in this early period.

[Xp2: 195]

OO *SGZ* 49 (Wu 4) 1185 (4a–b), the Biography of Zhai Rong;  
with PC quoting *Xiandi chunqiu*.

68 Xicheng, "Western City" or "the Western Fortress," was apparently some distance west of Nanchang, capital of Yuzhang commandery, on the Gan River by present-day Nanchang in Jiangxi. Zhuge Xuan was the uncle of the later celebrated Zhuge Liang, chief minister of Liu Bei and the state of Shu–Han.

There is disagreement among the sources about the allegiance of Zhuge Xuan about this time. The main text of *SGZ* 35, 911, the Biography of Zhuge Liang, says that he was appointed to Yuzhang by Yuan Shu, but the Han court then changed its mind and chose Zhu Hao to replace him, so he went to join Liu Biao. *Xiandi chunqiu*, however, quoted here and by PC to *SGZ* 35, says that Zhuge Xuan was appointed by Liu Biao, but then the Han court sent Zhu Hao who got help from Liu Yao and attacked Zhuge Xuan.

Apart from the fact that in the circumstances of the time it is hard to believe the Han court had any effective opinion on the matter, we have been told above of Xu Shao's advice to Liu Yao that he should seek help from Liu Biao and avoid Yuan Shu: it seems more likely that Zhuge Xuan was initially an associate of Yuan Shu, that he was attacked for that reason by Zhu Hao in alliance with Liu Yao, and that he later sought support from Liu Biao. *Xiandi chunqiu* adds that Zhuge Xuan was later killed in a mutiny among his people at Xicheng.

69 Pengze county in Yuzhang was near present-day Hukou in Jiangxi. During the Han period the southern part of the present Poyang Lake was primarily marshland, and the open water, then known as Pengli, extended north and south of the main stream of the Yangzi.

70 Wenming was the style of Zhu Hao.

[Xp2: 195]

PP *SGZ* 13, 401 (18a), the Biography of Hua Xin.

71 Hua Xin's career had been more complex than this simple statement indicates. He held office for a time in the imperial secretariat at Luoyang, but escaped from the capital after Dong Zhuo seized power, and joined Yuan Shu when the eastern alliance was established. While still with Yuan Shu, he joined the staff of Ma Midi, the Grand Tutor who had been sent out on a peace mission (passages CC of Chuping 3 and AA of Xingping 1). In that capacity, he travelled to Xu province, and then received appointment to Yuzhang.

As in note 68 above, it is hard to understand how the imperial government was in a position to issue or enforce an edict concerning the government of Yuzhang at this time. It may be that Ma Midi's colleague Zhao Qi, who was in the area about this time, took some such authority (note 48 to Xingping 1 and *HHS* 64/54, 2124), or perhaps the appointment came a little later, when the imperial court was under the control of Cao Cao.

[Xp2: 195]

QQ *SGZ* 56 (Wu 11), 1303 (1b), the Biography of Zhu Zhi.

72 Zhu Zhi, former officer of Sun Jian, had also been a protege of the Grand Tutor Ma Midi. *ZZTJ* is mistaken in saying that he was Chief Commandant of Danyang: he was a native of Danyang and had lately been appointed Chief Commandant in Wu commandery. In that position he was the chief military assistant to the Grand Administrator, and was thus in an excellent position to organise a coup against him. Zhu Zhi's biography adds that he took over as Grand Administrator.

[Xp2: 195]

RR *HHS* 58/48, 1887–92 (15a–18b), the Biography of Zang Hong;  
*SGZ* 7, 233 (22a), the Biography of Zang Hong.

73 Zang Hong was a native of Guangling. At the beginning of the civil war, Zhang Chao had been Grand Administrator of that commandery, and Zang Hong held office under him. He accompanied Zhang Chao to join the forces against Dong Zhuo, and gained advancement through his patronage.

We are told below that Zang Hong is currently Grand Administrator of Dong commandery: the appointment is a little strange, for Dong commandery was part of Yan province, formally controlled by Cao Cao, and the commandery indeed had been Cao Cao's original base in that region, under appointment from Yuan Shao: e.g. passage S of Chuping 2.

Yuan Shao, however, had presumably appointed a Grand Administrator of Dong commandery when Cao Cao was in difficulty with Lü Bu, and he maintained the post afterwards. Zang Hong's biography notes that his capital was at Dongwuyang, so it appears that his territory, under Yuan Shao, covered the part of the commandery north of the Yellow River.

74 Ziyuan was the style of Zang Hong.

75 The penalty "destruction of the three clans" (*sanzu*) is discussed by Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 112–122. There are differing explanations, but Hulsewé suggests that in Han times it indicated:

the extermination of the extended family, including the culprit's grandparents; his wife and children, and presumably his grandchildren; his brothers and sisters, and presumably even his married sisters; of course all depending on the age and situation of the person concerned..... It remains possible that the extermination of the three clans did actually embrace even more persons than those enumerated above; in that case the limit which suggests itself is the group affected by the rules for mourning, which may include an important part of the culprit's own clan and members of both his mother's and his wife's clan."

The relationships for mourning in the Han period, based upon *Yi li*, are enumerated in Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 313–317 note 274, and I have discussed them in connection with the proscription under Emperor Ling from 169 to 184: *Huan and Ling* II, 444, 491–492 and 526–527.

In the time of Emperor Ling, however, it is at least arguable that the definitions of the proscribed degrees of relationship had some formal significance in barring individuals from office. By contrast, in the bloody history of civil war, the expression *zu* or *sanzu* seldom refers to any legal formality, but rather to a general slaughter of those relatives unfortunate enough to be available.

Zhang Miao, elder brother of Zhang Chao, had been closely involved in the mutiny of Yan province against Cao Cao in *Xp2: 195*, and though Zhang Miao was now dead, passage O above indicates that most of the surviving members of the family were inside Yongqiu. So Cao Cao had material for his vengeance.

- 76 This letter of Zang Hong occupies a considerable part of his biographies in *HHS* and *SGZ*. It evidently became a celebrated and respected expression of an individual's sense of loyalty.
- 77 The expression is explained by *ZZTJ* commentary with reference to *Kongzi jiyu* 2, 8b–91; Kramers, 237, where the phrase is used to describe how Confucius, on the road to Tan, met with Chengzi, who became his disciple.

Zang Hong had been sent by Zhang Chao on a mission to Liu Yu at the time of his quarrel with Gongsun Zan in 190. Zang Hong was unable to make that contact, but he met Yuan Shao and entered his service: *HHS* 58/48, 1886, *SGZ* 7, 232, and passage Q to Chuping 1.

- 78 Zang Hong is referring to two matters. The first is the invasion by Cao Cao of Xu province in 193 (passage L of Chuping 4), for Guangling commandery was in that province. The second was the siege of Zhang Chao, who had, as we have seen, been Grand Administrator of Guangling, and may have kept that title. Yongqiu, however, was a county of Chenliu in Yan province, so Zang Hong's proposed relief expedition had no direct connection to the problems of his homeland.

- 79 Kongzhang was the style of Chen Lin.

- 80 It is difficult to decide the significance of Zang Hong's use of the phrase *junqin* "personal loyalty" at this point. At the beginning of the civil war, however, Zang Hong had made a fine speech and sworn a blood oath of loyalty to the Emperor and to the leaders of the alliance against Dong Zhuo, notably including Zhang Miao and Zhang Chao: *HHS* 58/48, 1886–87, and *SGZ* 7, 232.

- 81 A *sheng* measure was about one fifth of a litre.

82 Zhang Miao, elder brother of Zhang Chao, was Grand Administrator of Chenliu in 189 and still held that title at the time of the alliance against Dong Zhuo in 190: passages MM of Zhongping 6 and A of Chuping 1.

[Xp2: 195]

SS *HHS* 73/63, 2362–64 (7b–8b), the Biography of Gongsun Zan;  
*SGZ* 8, 243–44 (11a–13a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan,  
with PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

83 There was no kingdom or commandery called Yan in the official geography of this time, so the term here is a general reference to the northeast of the empire. According to the Account of the Wuhuan in *HHS* 90/80, 2984, Yan Rou was a man of Guangyang in You province who had lived among the Wuhuan and the Xianbi when he was young, and so was trusted by them.

84 According to the Treatise of Officials of Sima Biao, a Colonel Protector of the Wuhuan (*hu Wuhuan xiaowe*) was appointed to supervise the Wuhuan and Xianbi tribes of the north-eastern frontier, and the *Han guan* [y] of Ying Shao lists two majors (*sima*) among his subordinates: *HHS* 118/28, 3626; and see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 110–111.

Yan Rou may have received appointment from Liu Yu or from the leaders of the rebels against Gongsun Zan, or he may well have taken the title for himself. He was comparatively modest in his claim, but he was practically independent, and the Account of the Wuhuan says that he later killed the Protector and took his place: *HHS* 90/80, 2984.

85 Lu county was in Yuyang commandery, near present-day Tongxian in the east of Beijing Municipality.

86 Qiao "Severe" was the attribute taken by Supuyan, leader of the Wuhuan people in the territory of the Dependent State of Liaodong: *SGZ* 30, 834; de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 396 and 549 note 79.

87 Baoqiu is the name of a river in present-day Hubei. *SJZ* 14, 7b–8a, says that the place where the river passes to the south of the old city of Yuyang was the site of the battle. Yuyang, southeast of Miyun in Hebei, was the chief county of Yuyang commandery.

88 There are three definite rhymes in the song: the sixth character, modern Mandarin *li*; Karlgren, *GSR* 337; the thirteenth, modern Mandarin *chui*: *GSR* 340; and the twentieth, modern Mandarin *shi*: *GSR* 339. As to the third character, modern Mandarin *ji*, *GSR* 31 indicates an open rather than a closed syllable as in the other three, but it may also have been taken as a rhyme. So the jingle comprised either one line of six characters and two of seven, or two couplets, the first with three characters to the line, the second with seven to the line.

Such popular or children's songs were regarded in Han times as having prophetic authority, and were included in the Treatise of the Five Powers compiled by Sima Biao: *HHS* 103/13, 3280–85; Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 143. This one is mentioned in the commentary of Liu Zhao to the Treatise at 3285.

Yi county was in Hejian in Ji province, about present-day Xiong on the Yi River in Hebei. Gongsun Zan had been made Marquis of Yi two years before (passage N of Chuping 4). The city lay in the midst of a complex of watercourses at the extreme north of Ji province, just across the border with You. The northern state of Yan in the Warring States period occupied much of You province, while the state of Zhao based in present-day Shanxi had extended across the plain; the frontiers of the two, and that of the state of Qi, met about



the area of Yi county in the Han period. See, for example, *Zhongguo shi gao ditu ji* I, 21–22.

- 89 On Gongsun Zan's campaign against rebels in the north in 189 and 190, see de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling* I, 209–211. On his slaughter of Yellow Turbans in 191, see passage V of Chuping 2.

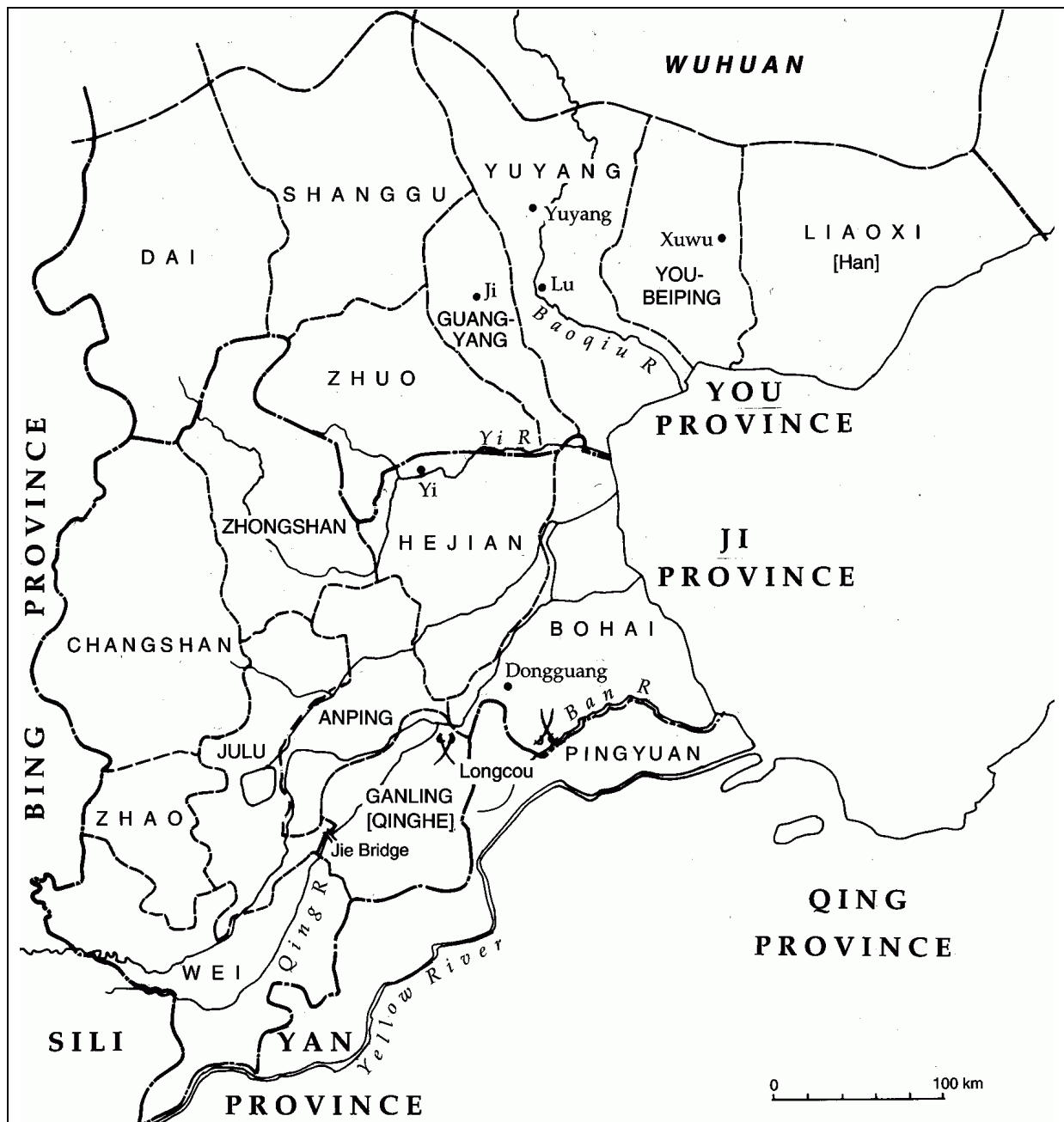
The texts here quote him as referring to this latter exploit as taking place at the Meng Crossing, but there is no record of Yellow Turban forces so close to Luoyang, nor that Gongsun Zan engaged them there. In fact, the massacre took place at another crossing, on a lower reach of the Yellow River in the region of Pingyuan commandery.

[Xp2: 195]

TT *HHS* 89/79, 2964 (19a), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

- 90 Pingyang county was in Hedong commandery, on the Fen River about present-day Linfen in Shanxi. Yufulu had been driven out by his own people (passage GG of Zhongping 6) and had set his base at Pingyang, but he acted as a wandering mercenary or occasional bandit during the years of civil war. See also de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 347–349.

Map 10: North China in the early 1900s



## TO ESTABLISH PEACE

### CHAPTER 62

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

#### Jian'an 1: 196 AD

[17 February 196 – 4 February 197]

1979

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

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

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

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

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

1980

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

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

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

1981

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

"You are right," agreed Sun Ce, but he would not change.<sup>33</sup>

1988

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

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

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

Yuan Shao sent in a memorial, defending himself in detail against each charge.<sup>35</sup>

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

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

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

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

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

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

## NOTES to Jian'an 1: 196

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

[Ja1: 196]

B *HHJ* 29, 1a.

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

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

[Ja1: 196]

E *HHJ* 29, 1a.

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

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

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

12 See passage D of Chuping 2 above.

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

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

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

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

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

*HHJ* 29, 7a–8a;

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

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

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

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

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

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

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

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

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

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

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

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

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

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

*HHJ* 29, 2a–b.

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

25 See passage X of Xingping 2.

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

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

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

39 Gongda was the style of Xun You.

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

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



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

47 These eastern hills were the ridges of the Mount Tai massif.

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

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

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

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

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

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

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

[*Ja1: 196*]

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

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

51 Xuande was the style of Liu Bei.

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

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

[Ja1: 196]

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

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

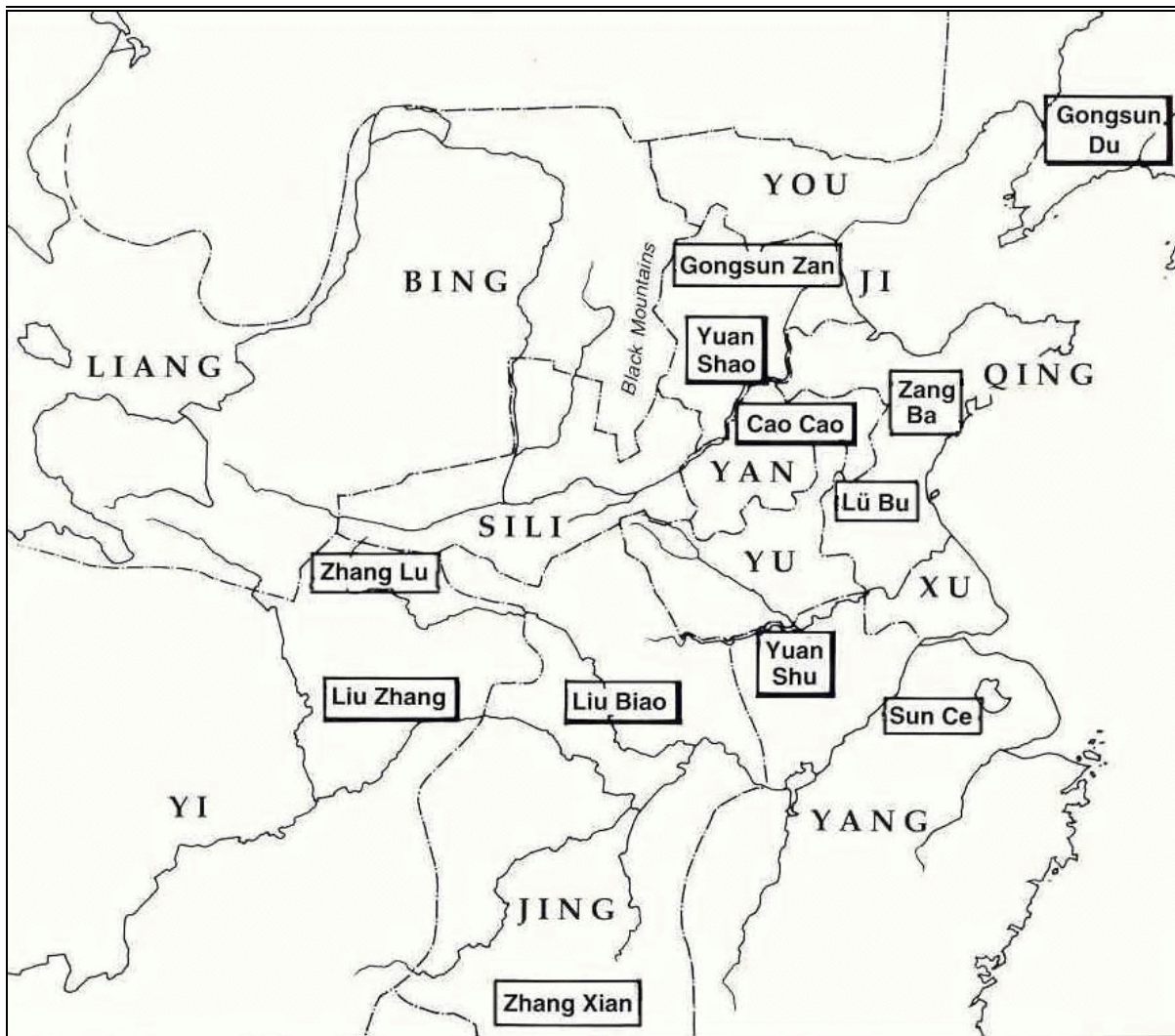
On the association of Kong Rong with Ni Heng, see also passage R of Jian'an 13.

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

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

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

Map 11: Warlords 197



## Jian'an 2: 197 AD

[5 February 197 – 25 January 198]

1994

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Then Cao Cao led his soldiers back to Xu city.

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

K In the summer, in the fifth month there were locusts.<sup>15</sup>

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## NOTES to Jian'an 2: 197

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

5 Rang city was southwest of Wan.

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

- 16 See passage BB of Chuping 3.

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

[Ja2: 197]

- N *SGZ* 7, 226 (10b–11b) PC quoting *Hanmo yingxiong ji*:  
*HHS* 75/65, 2448–50 (12a–13b), the Biography of Lü Bu.
- 20 Zhongli county was in Jiujiang, close to the borders of Xu province. The city lay near present-day Fengyang in Anhui, on the banks of the Huai River at that time about eighty kilometres from Shouchun.
- Lü Bu and his new allies, after their victory at Xiapi, came south along the waterways of the Si River and other streams, then turned west and advanced up the Huai in a display of strength. So Lü Bu confirmed his control of Xu province, and Yuan Shu now held no effective control of any territory north of the Huai.
- 21 According to his biography in *SGZ* 18, 536–37, Zang Ba came originally from Taishan commandery, but he quarrelled with the administration and fled to Donghai. By this time he was chief of the bandits in the region, with his base at Kaiyang, chief county of Langye under Later Han, about present-day Linyi in Shandong. The phrase Taishan in the text refers therefore to the hill country of the Mount Tai massif, not just to Zang Ba's native commandery.
- 22 Xiao Jian's capital at Ju county was in central Langye, about the present-day city of the same name in Shandong.

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

### **Jian'an 3: 198 AD**

[26 January 198 – 13 February 199]

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

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

2003

- C In the summer, in the fourth month the Supervisor of Inter-nuncios Pei Mou was sent with imperial orders for all the leaders within the passes, Duan Wei and the others, to punish Li Jue. They killed him and destroyed his family.<sup>1</sup> Duan Wei was appointed General Who Gives Tranquillity to the South and enfeoffed as Marquis of Min District.<sup>2</sup>

- D In recent years, each time Yuan Shao had received an edict from the Emperor, he was worried that it would cause him trouble. He now sought, therefore, to bring the Emperor to stay by him. He sent a messenger to Cao Cao, suggesting that since Xu city lay in marsh country and Luoyang was in ruins, the capital should move to Juancheng in order to be closer to supplies. Cao Cao refused.<sup>3</sup>

Tian Feng said to Yuan Shao, "Now that the idea of shifting the capital has not worked out, you must make early plans against Xu city and prepare to receive the Emperor yourself. You could then claim that all your actions were in response to imperial orders, and so you would command the four seas. That is the perfect arrangement. If you do not follow this program,

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the twelfth month on the day *guiyou* [7 Nov 199] Hou Cheng, Song Xian, Wei Xu and other officers kidnapped Chen Gong and Gao Shun and led their forces to surrender.<sup>13</sup> Lü Bu and his followers climbed the White Gate Tower<sup>14</sup> and the enemy soldiers were close around them. Lü Bu told his attendants to cut off his head and send it to Cao Cao. They could not bear to do it, so he went down and surrendered.

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2009

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

"I cannot imagine," replied Taishi Ci.

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Ja2: 197]

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

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



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

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

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

### NOTES to Jian'an 3: 198

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

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

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

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

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

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

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

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

Thus the psychology of the soldier is:

Resist when surrounded,

Fight when you have to,

And obey orders explicitly when in danger.

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

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

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

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

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

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

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

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

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

8 Gongtai was the style of Chen Gong.

[Ja3: 198]

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

[*Ja3*: 198]

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

[*Ja3*: 198]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[*Ja3*: 198]

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

[*Ja3*: 198]

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

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

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

[*Ja3*: 198]

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

[*Ja3*: 198]

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

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

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

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

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

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

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

29 See passage GG of Xingping 2.

[Ja3: 198]

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

30 See passage BB of Xingping 1.

31 Ziyu was the style of Hua Xin.

32 Ziyi was the style of Taishi Ci.

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

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

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

[Ja3: 198]

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

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

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

[Ja3: 198]

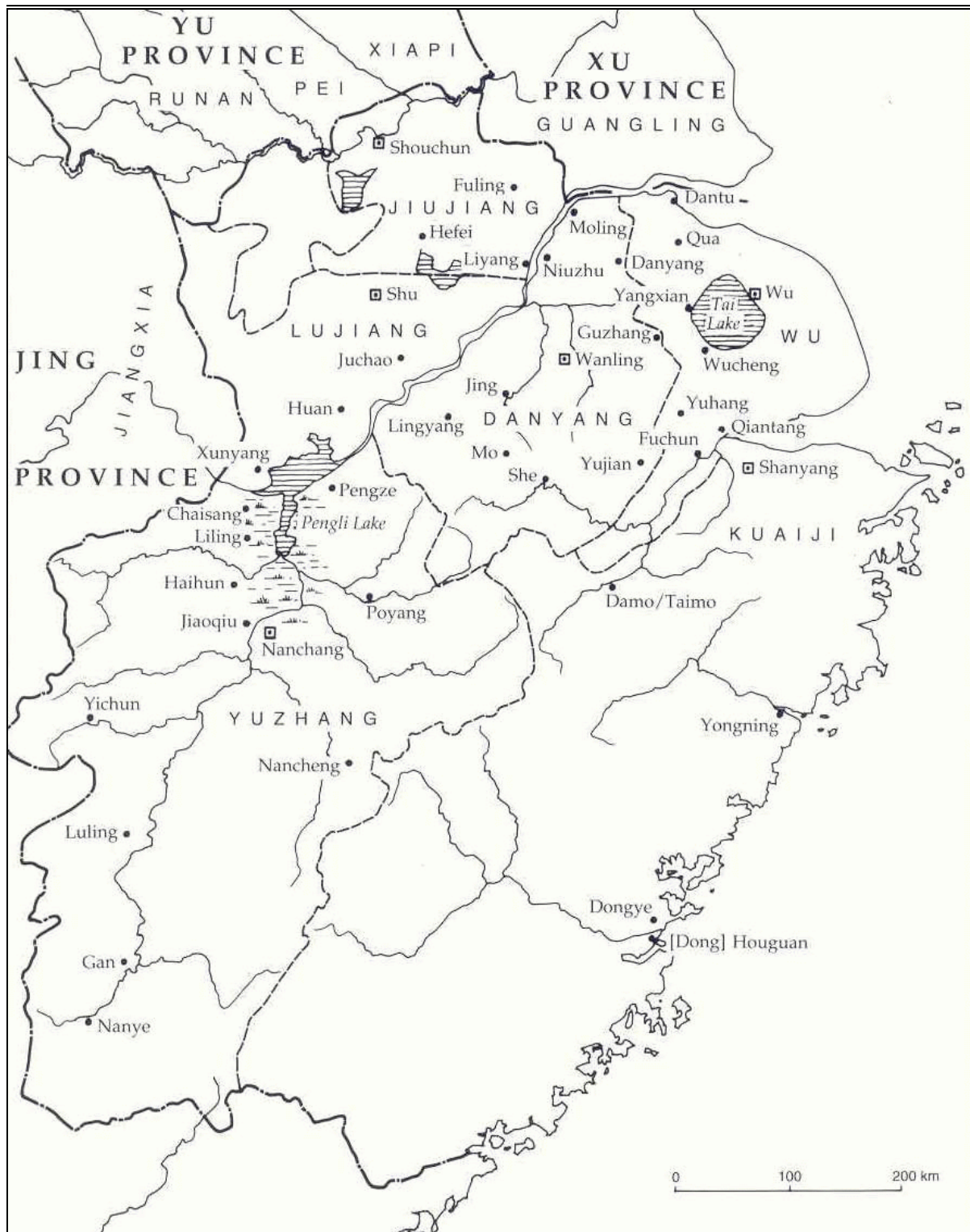
CC *SGZ* 8, 245 (12a) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*.

[Ja3: 198]

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

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

Map 12: Yang Province 195–200



## TO ESTABLISH PEACE

### CHAPTER 63

being Chapter 55 of the Chronicle of Han  
[containing Part 5 of the reign of Emperor Xian]

#### Jian'an 4: 199 AD

[14 February 199 – 2 February 200]

2012

A In the spring, in the third month,<sup>1</sup> Zhang Yan, leader of the Black Mountain bandits, joined Gongsun Xu and brought a hundred thousand soldiers by three routes to the relief [of Gongsun Zan in Yi].

Before they arrived Gongsun Zan had secretly sent a messenger with a letter to Gongsun Xu, telling him to lead five thousand armoured cavalry into the marshes to the north and light a fire as a signal. Then Gongsun Zan would make a sortie from inside the city.<sup>2</sup>

One of Yuan Shao's sentries intercepted the message, and at the appointed time Yuan Shao's army lit the fire. Believing the relief had arrived, Gongsun Zan came out to fight. Yuan Shao laid an ambush to surprise him, and Gongsun Zan was heavily defeated. He went back to take refuge behind the walls.

Yuan Shao made a tunnel, with wooden supports, under one of the towers. When they judged it was in the centre, they set fire to it. The tower collapsed, and some of the ruins fell even into the citadel. Realising he was doomed, Gongsun Zan strangled his sisters, his wives and his children, and prepared his own funeral pyre. Yuan Shao pressed his men forward to climb the terraces, and they cut off Gongsun Zan's head. Tian Kai died in the battle.

2013 Guan Jing sighed and said, "Had I not persuaded the general to stay here, he might have saved himself. I have heard that when a gentleman brings another into danger he must share the misfortune. Can I be the only one to survive?" He spurred his horse against Yuan Shao's army and died.

Gongsun Xu was killed by the Chuge [group of the Xiongnu].<sup>3</sup>

B Tian Yu of Yuyang said to his Grand Administrator Xianyu Fu, "Cao Cao supports the Son of Heaven and so commands the lords. In the end he will settle the empire. You should be among the first to join him." So Xianyu Fu and all his associates sent messages of allegiance. An edict appointed him



General Who Establishes Loyalty and Chief Controller of six commanderies in You province.<sup>4</sup>

- C Before this time, King Qiuliju of the Wuhuan had died. His son Louban was young, and his nephew Tadun, a warlike man, took his place and held command of the chieftains Nanlou from Shanggu, Supuyan from Liaodong and Wuyan from Youbeiping. When Yuan Shao attacked Gongsun Zan, Tadun brought the Wuhuan to help him, and when Gongsun Zan was destroyed Yuan Shao took the occasion to grant seals and ribbons as Shanyu to Tadun, Nanlou, Supuyan and Wuyan.<sup>5</sup>

Knowing Yan Rou had gained the affections of the Wuhuan,<sup>6</sup> Yuan Shao granted him favours and good treatment so that he might keep the northern borders at peace. Later Nanlou and Supuyan appointed Louban as Shanyu and Tadun became a king, but Tadun still kept control of policy.

- D Sui Gu was camped at Shequan. In the summer, in the fourth month Cao Cao brought his army forward to the Yellow River, and sent his generals Shi Huan and Cao Ren across to attack him. Cao Ren was a cousin of Cao Cao.

Sui Gu led some of his troops north to Yuan Shao to ask for help, but Shi Huan and Cao Ren intercepted him at Quancheng, attacked and beheaded him. Then Cao Cao crossed the Yellow River to besiege Shequan. Shequan surrendered and Cao Cao brought his army back to the Ao Granary.<sup>7</sup>

Before this, when Cao Cao was in Yan province he had Wei Chong recommended as Filially Pious and Incorrupt. Yan province rebelled and Cao Cao said, "Wei Chong is the one man who will not desert me." Then he heard that Wei Chong had fled, and he was angry and said, "Chong, unless you run as far south as the Yue tribes or as far north as the Hu barbarians, you will never escape me!"

- 2014 When he captured Shequan Wei Chong was taken alive. "But he's too valuable to kill!" said Cao Cao. He took off his bonds and appointed him Grand Administrator of Henei, with responsibility for the north of the Yellow River.

- E The General of the Guards Dong Cheng was made General of Chariots and Cavalry.<sup>8</sup>

F After Yuan Shu named himself emperor, he acted most extra-vagantly His concubines and attendants were numbered by the hundreds, and they swathed themselves in silk and stuffed themselves with millet and meat. The poor people were hungry and distressed, but he had pity for none of them. Then his treasury was empty and he could no longer hold his position. Burning his palace buildings, he fled to his followers Chen Jian and Lei Bo in the Qian hills, but they turned him away.<sup>9</sup>

At the end of his resources, with all his troops scattered, he was sad and depressed with no idea what to do. He sent a messenger to offer the imperial title to his cousin Yuan Shao, saying: "Heaven has long withdrawn prosperity from the house of Han. The Yuan have received the mandate to rule; auspicious influences shine out in splendour. You hold four provinces with a population of a million families. I respectfully hand over this great trust, so that you may bring it to fulfilment."<sup>10</sup>

Yuan Tan came from Qing province to receive Yuan Shu and planned to escort him north by way of Xiapi. Cao Cao sent Liu Bei and his general Zhu Ling of Qinghe<sup>11</sup> to intercept them. Yuan Shu could not get through and was forced back towards Shouchun.

In the sixth month Yuan Shu came to Jiangting.<sup>12</sup> He sat on a stretcher-bed and sighed, "So Yuan Shu is come to this!" Groaning in anger, he became ill, spat blood and died.

G For fear of Cao Cao, Yuan Shu's cousin Yuan Yin dared not remain at Shouchun. With his followers, carrying Yuan Shu's coffin and bringing his wife and children, he fled to Liu Xun, Grand Administrator of Lujiang, at Huan city.<sup>13</sup>

H Xu Qiu, former Grand Administrator of Guangling, obtained the Great Seal of State and sent it to the Emperor.<sup>14</sup>

I When Yuan Shao had overcome Gongsun Zan his heart became still more proud, and his tribute to the Emperor was infrequent and small. His Master of Records Geng Bao suggested privately that he should follow the will of Heaven and man and take the imperial title. Yuan Shao repeated Geng Bao's suggestion to his officers in council, but they all said Geng Bao was out of his mind and should be punished. Yuan Shao was forced to kill Geng Bao in order to clear himself.

J Yuan Shao chose a hundred thousand good troops and ten thousand horse to make an attack on Xu city. Ju Shou objected,<sup>15</sup> "You have only just dealt with Gongsun Zan, and your army has been away several years. The people are sick and distressed and the granaries and storehouses are empty. You should not move now, but rather pay attention to farming and give your people a rest.

"First of all, send a messenger to present captives to the court. If he cannot get through, then report that Cao Cao is blocking our access to the Emperor. Go forward to Liyang to camp, and gradually develop fortified positions south of the Yellow River.<sup>16</sup> Build more boats, put weapons and equipment in repair, and send detachments of good cavalry to raid the borders, so the enemy has no peace and our men can take their ease. This way, we can settle the business at leisure."

Guo Tu and Shen Pei argued, "With your spiritual warfare, if you lead the mighty armies of the north against the Yellow River to attack Cao Cao, that is easy as turning your hand. Why should you act as he says?"

"Troops that give aid against rebels and punish oppression," replied Ju Shou, "they are called loyal. Those that rely on numbers and trust to their strength, they are called proud. The loyal man has no match, but the proud man is soon defeated. Now Cao Cao holds the Emperor and so gives orders to the empire. If you raise an army against the south, you put yourself in the wrong.

"To plan a campaign, moreover, requires more than a simple count of numbers. Cao Cao's laws and orders are strict, his men are fresh and drilled. This is not Gongsun Zan, who sat and waited for our attack. If you disregard the plans of security and safety, and raise an army without good cause, then I am anxious for you."

"When King Wu [of Zhou] attacked Zhou [of Shang]," responded Guo Tu and Shen Pei, "that was no disloyalty.<sup>17</sup> How much more is this true of fighting against Cao Cao. Yet you claim there is no good cause!

"Besides, our lord is strong and his troops in high heart. If we fail to settle the affair now, that can be described as 'Heaven gives it and we do not take it. Disaster will come in return.' This is how Yue became hegemon and Wu was destroyed.<sup>18</sup> The Supervisor of the Army [Ju Shou]<sup>19</sup> is too conservative. He fails to appreciate opportunity, and he can-not judge how affairs will develop."

Yuan Shao accepted Guo Tu's arguments.

Encouraged by this, Guo Tu and his associates spoke further against Ju Shou, saying, "Ju Shou supervises everything, with authority inside and out. His power overawes the army. If he becomes too mighty, how will you keep him under control? When a minister wields the same power as his ruler, disaster is sure to come. This is what the Yellow Stone [book] warns against.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, the man who controls the army outside should not be privy to decisions taken at the inner council."

So Yuan Shao divided Ju Shou's authority and appointed three Chief Controllers, with Ju Shou, Guo Tu and Chunyu Qiong each commanding one army.<sup>21</sup>

K The Chief Commandant of Cavalry Cui Yan of Qinghe objected [to the proposed campaign], "The Son of Heaven is in Xu city, and all the people look to him. You cannot attack." Yuan Shao would not agree.

2016

L When the officers in Xu city heard Yuan Shao was coming, they were all afraid. Cao Cao said, however, "I know what sort of man Yuan Shao is: his ideas are big, but he has little wisdom; he looks stern, but his courage is slight; he is envious and malicious and has small power of command. His soldiers are many but his plans are confused, his leaders are proud but his government is not united. Though his lands are broad and his supplies are plentiful, that simply makes it more worth while to take him over."

M Kong Rong said to Xun Yu, "Yuan Shao's lands are broad and his troops are strong. Tian Feng and Xu You are wise men to plan for him, Shen Pei and Pang Ji are loyal ministers acting in his affairs, Yan Liang and Wen Chou are brave generals in command of his troops. Here are serious problems."

"Yuan Shao has many soldiers," replied Xun Yu, "but his government is not well-ordered. Tian Feng is stubborn and insubordinate; Xu You is greedy and ill-disciplined. Shen Pei is self-opinionated and lacks original ideas; Pang Ji is too adventurous and independent. People like that find it hard to co-operate, and they will certainly disrupt his councils. Yan Liang and Wen Chou have the bravery of common fellows. One battle will be enough to deal with them."

N In the autumn, in the eighth month Cao Cao brought an army forward to Liyang, and sent Zang Ba and others to lead picked men into Qing province to guard the east. He then set Yu Jin in camp by the Yellow River, and in the

ninth month, with another division of his army left in garrison at Guandu, he returned to Xu city.<sup>22</sup>

- O Yuan Shao sent messengers to call on Zhang Xiu, and he also wrote to Jia Xu to suggest an alliance. Zhang Xiu was prepared to agree, but Jia Xu stood over Zhang Xiu as he sat and said openly to Yuan Shao's messenger: "Go back and present our apologies to Yuan Benchu. If he could not remain on good terms with his own cousin, how can he cope with the leaders of the empire?"<sup>23</sup>

Zhang Xiu was startled and frightened, and said, "There was no call to go so far as that!" He whispered to Jia Xu, "What do we do now?"

"The best thing is to go to Lord Cao," replied Jia Xu.

"Yuan Shao is strong," observed Zhang Xiu. "Cao Cao is weak, and I have quarrelled with him. How can we join him?"

- 2017 "These are the reasons you should follow him," explained Jia Xu. "Lord Cao holds the Son of Heaven and so commands the empire, that is one. Yuan Shao is strong, and if we offer support with our small force he will certainly not treat us with respect. Cao Cao is weak, so if he gets us he will certainly be pleased; that is a second reason. A man with the ambition of a ruler will certainly forget private enmities in order to display his virtue before all the four seas; that is a third reason for us to join him. Don't you worry."

In the winter, in the eleventh month Zhang Xiu brought his troops to submit to Cao Cao.<sup>24</sup> Cao Cao took Zhang Xiu by the hand, gave a banquet, arranged for his son Cao Jun to marry Zhang Xiu's daughter, and appointed Zhang Xiu General Who Manifests Firmness. He recommended Jia Xu as Bearer of the Gilded Mace, and enfeoffed him as marquis of a chief village.<sup>25</sup>

- P The leaders within the passes stayed neutral as Cao Cao and Yuan Shao fought, watching to see what would happen. The Governor of Liang province, Wei Duan, sent his Attendant Official Yang Fu of Tianshui to Xu city. When he came back the leaders west of the passes asked, "Between Yuan and Cao, who will win and who will lose?"

"Lord Yuan is lenient," replied Yang Fu, "but has no power of decision. He is fond of planning but cannot make up his mind. Without decision he will have no authority, and if he is slow to make up his mind he cannot

keep abreast of events. He is the stronger now, but he will never gain the empire.

"Lord Cao is brave and thinks a long way ahead, he seizes opportunity without hesitation. His rules are consistent, his soldiers are well trained, he can appreciate exceptional men, and each one he appoints will give all his effort to serve him. He is the man to carry out great plans."

Q Cao Cao sent the [Attendant] Imperial Clerk Preparer of Documents Wei Ji of Hedong to keep the lands within the passes quiet.<sup>26</sup> At this time there were many refugees seeking to return to their former homes, but the leaders within the passes compelled them to enter their service.

Wei Ji wrote to Xun Yu, "The rich lands within the passes have quickly turned to a wilderness, and more than a hundred thousand families are wandering in Jing province. When these people hear their homeland is at peace they will all be eager to come back. Those who do return, however, are prevented from attending to their own affairs, for local chieftains compete with one another, taking them and pressing them into service.<sup>27</sup> The commandery and county administrations are too weak to deal with the situation, so the fighting men are getting stronger. If they should suddenly turn against us, they will certainly cause trouble.

"Now, salt is the great treasure of the state, but since the rebellion it has been left untended. You should appoint commissioners to supervise its sale as in former times,<sup>28</sup> and use the profit from this to buy ploughs and cattle so that we can supply them to the people when they come back. If we encourage farming, then grain can be collected to make the land prosper. When people hear about it far away, they will surely travel day and night to return as quickly as they can.

"And send the Colonel Director of Retainers to establish administration there and bring the people under his control. Then the military men will become weaker every day and the civilian officials and people will become stronger. This is the way to strengthen ourselves at the expense of our enemies."

2018 Xun Yu told Cao Cao of this program, and Cao Cao followed it. Now for the first time he sent a Supervisor of the Internuncios to oversee the salt office and had the Colonel Director of Retainers set his administration at Hongnong.<sup>29</sup> By this means the lands within the passes were brought to submit and follow Cao Cao.

R Yuan Shao sent men to ask help from Liu Biao. Liu Biao made promises but he never actually sent anything. Neither would he help Cao Cao. His Gentleman of the General Staff Han Song of Nanyang and his Aide-de-Camp Liu Xian of Lingling said to him, "Now two warriors are at grips with one another and the balance of the empire rests in you. If you want something for yourself, you can rise up and take advantage of their difficulties. Even if you have no ambitions of your own, you should certainly choose one of them to follow.

"How can you command a hundred thousand men at arms and sit to watch the result of their contest? They ask for help and you refuse to help them. You know which man is right, but you do not want to turn to him. As a result, both sides will be angry with you, and we are concerned that you will not be able to maintain a neutral position.

"Cao Cao is skilled at using soldiers and many of the worthy and brave men turn to him. He will certainly defeat Yuan Shao. After that, if he moves his men against the Yangzi and the Han we fear you will not be able to deal with him.

"The best policy now is to bring Jing province to join Cao Cao. He will certainly treat you with respect and favour, you will enjoy fortune and honour for a long time to come, and you will be able to hand it on to your descendants. This is the perfect plan." Kuai Yue also urged this policy.

Liu Biao was uncertain and could not make up his mind. He sent Han Song to go to Xu city, saying, "We cannot tell how the empire will be settled, but Cao Cao holds the Emperor in his capital at Xu. Go and see what weaknesses he may have, then tell me."

"A sage can manage any commission at any time," replied Han Song, "but a lesser man keeps to his duty. I keep to my duty.<sup>30</sup> Once the name of master and servant has been settled, it must be held to the death. At this time my name appears upon your service-list, I have handed in my pledge, and you are the only person to command me.<sup>31</sup> You may send me through fire and water and I shall die without complaint.

"It is my firm opinion, however, that Lord Cao will achieve his design for the empire. If you wish to support the Son of Heaven above and Lord Cao below, then send me. If, however, you are undecided, and if when I come to the capital the Son of Heaven grants me a single post and I am compelled

to accept, then I shall become a servant of the Son of Heaven, and my relationship to you will be no more than that of a former officer.

2019 "When I have a master, I work for him. So if I hold appointment from the Son of Heaven, I can no longer serve you to the death. Please remember this, and do not turn against me."<sup>32</sup>

Liu Biao thought only that Han Song was reluctant, and he insisted that he go.

Then Han Song came to Xu city, and the Emperor appointed him Palace Attendant and Grand Administrator of Lingling. When he returned he praised the Emperor and the virtue of Lord Cao, and he urged Liu Biao to send his sons to enter service.<sup>33</sup> Liu Biao, very angry, called him a traitor. He summoned a great assembly of his officials, drew up soldiers, held his Staff of Authority and intended to execute him. Accusing him, he said, "Han Song, how dare you betray me?" Everyone was afraid and pressed Han Song to apologise.

Han Song, quite unmoved, said to Liu Biao slowly and seriously, "It is you who have turned against me; I never turned from you." Then he explained what he had said before.

Liu Biao's wife of the Cai clan protested, "Han Song is the hope of the state of Chu.<sup>34</sup> He is perfectly correct, and you have no right to execute him."

Liu Biao was still angry. He took the men that had accompanied Han Song and examined them by torture until they died. Then he realised Han Song had never intended treachery, so he did not kill him but only put him in prison.

S Zheng Bao, bandit leader of Yang province, planned to force the people living there to go to the south of the Yangzi. Because Liu Ye of Huainan<sup>35</sup> was a well-known man from a leading family he wanted to force him to set an example. Liu Ye was worried.

About this time Cao Cao sent a messenger to the province to hear court cases. Liu Ye invited him to his house, and Zheng Bao came to pay his respects to the messenger. Liu Ye kept them for a feast, but then he seized a sword and killed Zheng Bao, cut off his head and gave orders to his troops, "Lord Cao has given instructions that if any dare to make trouble they will share Zheng Bao's punishment." The whole army, several thousand men, was frightened and submitted and accepted Liu Ye as their leader.



Liu Ye turned the army over to the Grand Administrator of Lujiang, Liu Xun. Liu Xun asked him why, and Liu Ye explained, "Zheng Bao ruled lawlessly and his army found profit in plunder. I had no real authority but I have set them in order. They certainly hate me and I shall not be able to maintain my command of them for long. So I pass them to you."

Liu Xun had a great number of Yuan Shu's former followers, but he could not feed them. He sent his cousin Liu Xie to ask for rice from the clan leaders of Shangliao, but they would not give him enough. Liu Xie urged Liu Xun to attack them.<sup>36</sup>

2020 Sun Ce was concerned that Liu Xun had acquired such a strong army.<sup>37</sup> He pretended humility and wrote to Liu Xun to say, "The clan people of Shangliao have often invaded my commandery. I would like to attack them, but the approach is not easy. Shangliao is extremely rich. I ask you to deal with it, and I shall bring my own troops to act in your support." He presented Liu Xun with pearls and jewels and Yue cloth.<sup>38</sup>

Liu Xun was pleased, and everyone congratulated him, all except Liu Ye. Liu Xun asked him why. "Shangliao may be small," he replied, "but the walls are strong and the moat is deep. It is difficult to attack and easy to defend, and it will take at least ten days before we have any hope of taking it. If the soldiers are worn out from fighting beyond their borders and the state has been left empty behind them, and then Sun Ce takes the opportunity to attack us, we shall not be able to manage alone. You will have taken the offensive but gained no success, and you will seek to retreat and have no place to go. If the army goes out, disaster is coming."

Refusing to listen, Liu Xun marched on Shangliao. The clan leaders, however, knew before his troops reached Haihun. They left their positions and fled, and Liu Xun gained nothing.

Sun Ce was at this time leading his soldiers west to attack Huang Zu.<sup>39</sup> Just as he reached Shicheng, he heard that Liu Xun was at Haihun. He sent his cousins Sun Ben and Sun Fu with eight thousand men to camp at Pengze,<sup>40</sup> while he himself led Zhou Yu, acting Grand Administrator of Jiangxia, with twenty thousand men in a surprise attack on Huan city.<sup>41</sup> They captured the place, and Sun Ce made prisoners of Liu Xun's family, together with that of Yuan Shu and over thirty thousand of their followers. He recommended Li Shu of Runan as Grand Administrator of Lujiang, gave

him three thousand soldiers to hold Huan city, and brought all the people he had captured east to Wu.

As Liu Xun came back to Pengze, Sun Ben and Sun Fu intercepted and defeated him. Liu Xun retreated to Liuyi and asked help from Huang Zu.<sup>42</sup> Huang Zu sent his son She with a fleet and five thousand men to help Liu Xun, but Sun Ce attacked again and completely defeated him. Liu Xun went north to Cao Cao and Huang She also fled.

2021 Sun Ce collected over two thousand of Liu Xun's men and a thousand ships. He went forward again to attack Huang Zu.

In the twelfth month on the day *xinhai* [11 Jan 200]<sup>43</sup> he came to Shaxian.<sup>44</sup> Liu Biao sent his nephew Liu Hu and Han Xi of Nanyang with five thousand spearmen to help Huang Zu.

On the day *jiayin* [14 Jan] Sun Ce fought and completely defeated them, cutting off the head of Han Xi. Huang Zu managed to escape, but his family was captured, and six thousand ships, while several ten thousand of his men were killed or drowned.

T Sun Ce brought heavy reinforcements to attack Yuzhang, setting camp at Jiaoqiu.<sup>45</sup> He said to his Officer of the Bureau of Merit, Yu Fan, "Hua Ziyu [Hua Xin]<sup>46</sup> has a fine reputation, but he is no match for me. Unless he opens his gates and surrenders the city, people will surely be killed and wounded in the fighting. Go and tell him how I feel."

Yu Fan went to see Hua Xin and said, "I know that both you and former Magistrate Wang [Lang] of my own commandery are men of wide renown in the central provinces.<sup>47</sup> All within the seas have heard your name, and although you have come down to the east everyone regards you with respect."

"I am not equal to Wang of Kuaiji," replied Hua Xin.

"Have you examined the wealth and resources, the tools and weapons of Yuzhang?" continued Yu Fan. "And the bravery of the people, how do they compare with my commandery?"

"Considerably worse," answered Hua Xin.

"You say that you are not the equal of Wang of Kuaiji," observed Yu Fan, "and that is extravagant modesty. But it is true that your best troops are not so good as those of Kuaiji.

"Sun, General Who Exterminates Rebels, is the finest strategist in the world, a military genius. He has already put Liu [Yao] of Yang province to

flight, and that you have seen for yourself. In the south he has settled my own commandery, and you have heard about that too. Now you are hoping to hold a single city against him, but you know your-self that your resources are too limited. Unless you make a decision soon, it will be too late for regrets.

"Our army is camped at Jiaoqiu. I am leaving now. If we have no reply to our summons by midday tomorrow, then this is goodbye."

"I have long been south of the Yangzi," replied Hua Xin, "and I have always wanted to return to the north. If Sun of Kuaiji comes, I shall leave." That night he drafted a proclamation, and next morning he sent some of his officers to take it with them and to welcome Sun Ce.

2022 Sun Ce brought his army forward and Hua Xin received him in a head-dress of fine cloth.<sup>48</sup> Sun Ce said to him, "Your reputation for virtue has long been respected and people everywhere admire you. I am only young, and I should act as a son or a younger brother." He bowed to Hua Xin and treated him with the utmost courtesy.

U Sun Sheng says:<sup>49</sup>

Hua Xin lacked the spirit of [Bo]yi and the Four Greybeards, for [while he made no attempt to avoid responsibility] he failed to maintain his honour as a royal minister.<sup>50</sup> He lost heart at the words of a false scholar [Yu Fan] and he linked arms with a follower of oppression and plunder [Sun Ce]. His position was taken and his reputation was lost. What could be more shameful?

V Sun Ce divided Yuzhang to make Luling commandery. He appointed Sun Ben as Grand Administrator of Yuzhang and Sun Fu as Grand Administrator of Luling. Tong Zhi was sick, and so Sun Fu went forward and took Luling, leaving Zhou Yu to hold Baqiu.<sup>51</sup>

W When Sun Ce captured Huan city he looked after Yuan Shu's family,<sup>52</sup> and when he entered Yuzhang he collected Liu Yao's coffin and treated his family well.<sup>53</sup> Gentlemen and scholars praised him for it.<sup>54</sup>

X Wei Teng, Officer of the Bureau of Merit in Kuaiji, offended Sun Ce, and Sun Ce was going to kill him. Everyone was anxious and at a loss what to do. Sun Ce's mother of the Wu clan took her stand by a great well and said to

him, "You are building up the south of the Yangzi, and the task is not complete. This is the time you should treat your worthy men well and be polite to your officers, forget their faults but record their good work. Merit Officer Wei was simply doing his duty. If you kill him today, people will turn from you tomorrow. Before I see such disaster come I would first jump into this well." Sun Ce, very startled, immediately set Wei Teng free.

2023

Y Before this, the Grand Administrator of Wu commandery, Sheng Xian of Kuaiji, had recommended Gao Dai as Filially Pious and Incorrupt. When Xu Gong came to take over the commandery Gao Dai brought Sheng Xian to take refuge with the household of Xu Zhao, leader of an encampment.<sup>55</sup>

Zou Tuo and Qian Tong of Wucheng, Wang Sheng of Jiaxing<sup>56</sup> and other leaders each collected thousands of men, some as many as ten thousand, and they refused to submit to Sun Ce. Sun Ce brought up his soldiers and defeated them all.

He went on to attack White Tiger Yan. Yan's soldiers were defeated and he fled to Yuhang and went to Xu Zhao. Cheng Pu asked permission to attack Xu Zhao. Sun Ce said, "Xu Zhao is acting right by his former lord and is faithful to his old friend. This is the heart of a true man." So he left him alone.

Z Cao Cao returned to the camp at Guandu. Cao Cao's attendants Xu Tuo and others planned to kill him. As they entered his tent, they met the colonel Xu Chu. Their faces changed expression. Realising their intention, Xu Chu killed them.

AA Before this, the General of Chariots and Cavalry Dong Cheng had a secret edict from the Emperor which he hid in his clothing, and he made plans with Liu Bei to kill Cao Cao.<sup>57</sup> Cao Cao, speaking casually with Liu Bei, observed, "You and I are the only brave men in the empire. People like Benchu [Yuan Shao] simply don't count." Just then Liu Bei was eating, and he dropped his spoon and chopsticks [in his flurry]. At that moment there was thunder in the sky, and Liu Bei said, "The sage has it, 'On a sudden clap of thunder, or a violent wind, he would change composure.' Very much like me."<sup>58</sup>

Liu Bei made plans with Dong Cheng, with the Colonel of the Chang River Regiment Chong Ji and the generals Wu Zilan and Wang Fu.<sup>59</sup>

Then Cao Cao sent Liu Bei with Zhu Ling to intercept Yuan Shu.<sup>60</sup> Cheng Yu, Guo Jia and Dong Zhao all objected, "You must not send Liu Bei." Cao Cao changed his mind and called him back, but the messenger could not catch him.

When Yuan Shu turned back to the south Zhu Ling returned. Then Liu Bei killed Che Zhou, the Inspector of Xu province. He left Guan Yu to hold Xiapi and attend to the responsibilities of the Grand Administrator, while he himself went back to Xiaopei.<sup>61</sup>

2024

Chang Xi the bandit from Donghai,<sup>62</sup> joined by many of the commanderies and counties, rebelled against Cao Cao and turned to Liu Bei. Liu Bei's troops amounted to several ten thousand men, and he sent messengers to contact Yuan Shao with a view to joint operations. Cao Cao sent the Chief Clerk to the Minister of Works Liu Dai of Pei state and the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Wang Zhong of [You]fufeng to attack him, but they had no success. Liu Bei said to Liu Dai and his fellows, "I can deal with you and a hundred like you, but if Lord Cao comes himself I could not be so certain."

#### NOTES to Jian'an 4: 199

- A *HHS* 73/63, 2364–65 (9a–b), the Biography of Gongsun Zan;  
*SGZ* 8, 244 (15b–16a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan;  
*SGZ* 8, 247 (16a) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;  
*SGZ* 8, 247 (16a) PC quoting *Han-Jin chunqiu*.
- 1 Some editions omit the reference here to the third month. It appears, however, in the earliest texts of *ZZTJ*, and is given by *HHS* 9, 381.
- 2 The text of the letter appears in *HHS* 73/63, and also in an extract from *Dian lue*, quoted by *SGZ* 8, 246–47 PC.
- 3 On the Chuge, see note 18 to Chuping 4.
- B *SGZ* 26, 726 (8a), the Biography of Tian Yu;  
*SGZ* 8, 247 (16b), the Biography of Gongsun Zan.
- 4 Xianyu Fu, a man from Yuyang, was a former supporter of Liu Yu who had driven Gongsun Zan's forces from the north in 195: passage SS of Xingping 2. One might have expected that he would be an ally of Yuan Shao, but he was now persuaded to link himself to the more distant authority of Cao Cao and the formal imperial court.
- Chief Controller (*dudu*) is here a substantial appointment with authority as a military area commander, though evidently not as high as an Inspector: passage B and note 7 of Jian'an 7. Elsewhere (*e.g.* passage JJ of Xingping 2) the title has described a comparatively

low administrative rank in an army, while in passage J below it designates the commander of a major division in Yuan Shao's army.

The title does not appear in the system described by the Treatise of Officials of *HHS*, and there was at this time obviously a wide range of possible significance to an appointment with this style. Later, during the third century, holders of the title *dudu*, rendered as Area Commander, held as here high military and territorial responsibility. On this development, see for example de Crespigny, "Three Kingdoms and Western Jin" II, 144 and 152.

Five of the six commanderies thus entrusted to Xianyu Fu would have been Dai, Shanggu, Guangyang, Yuyang and Youbeiping, being the western half of You province along the frontier. The sixth commandery may have been Zhuo, also in You province but inside the frontier in the north of the North China Plain, or it could have been Liaoxi, which extended along the coast northeast towards the territory of Gongsun Du in Manchuria: see passage Y of Chuping 1. In any event, from his base in Yuyang it is doubtful if Xianyu Fu controlled more than a small part of his broader, but nominal, command.

- C *HHS* 90/80, 2984 (4b), the Account of the Wuhuan;  
*SGZ* 30, 834–35 (7b–9a), the Account of the Wuhuan.
- 5 Qiuliju had been a leader of the Wuhuan during the time of Emperor Ling. At one time he and his colleagues had joined rebels against Han, but they later made peace with Liu Yu. See de Crespigny, Huan and Ling I, 203 and 211, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 396–397. On the titles of these chieftains and the pronunciation of the name of Subuyan, who also called himself the Qiao Severe" King, see note 86 to Xingping 2 and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 549 note 79. On Wuyan, possibly also known as Nengchendizhi, see note 11 to Jian'an 12.
- 6 On Yan Rou, see passage SS of Xingping 2.
- D *SGZ* 1, 17 (42b–43a), the Biography of Cao Cao.
- 7 According to the Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 109/19, 3395, Shequan was in Yewang county of Henei, north of the Yellow River about present-day Qinyang in Henan. On the Ao Granary, a fortified establishment just south of the Yellow River near present-day Sishui in Henan, see note 33 to Chuping 1.
- Sui Gu, sometime a leader of the Black Mountain bandits, had taken over the former troops of Zhang Yang and led them to join Yuan Shao: passage L of Jian'an 3. His base at Shequan in Henei commandery thus represented the western edge of Yuan Shao's interest. For Cao Cao's concern about the possibility of Yuan Shao's expansion in this direction, see his comments in passage E of Jian'an 2 at 1996.
- E *HHS* 9, 381 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.
- 8 Dong Cheng, a cousin of the Emperor (note 30 to Xingping 2) had been one of the leaders who brought the Emperor back from Chang'an, and he assisted Cao Cao to reach Luoyang and bring the Emperor to Xu city: passages N and O of Jian'an 1.
- F *HHS* 75/65, 2443 (9a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shu;  
*SGZ* 6, 209–10 (77a–78a), the Biography of Yuan Shu;

- with PC quoting *Wei shu* and *Wu shu*.
- 9 Qian county in Jiujiang was about present-day Huoshan in Anhui, some 120 kilometres south of Yuan Shu's former capital at Shouchun. The hills of that region, south of Huoshan and north of Qianshan in Anhui, are an eastern extension of the Dabie range between the Yangzi and the Huai.
- 10 *Wei shu*, followed by *HHS* 75/65, says that Yuan Shao agreed with this statement of the family claim to the empire. This may be a political libel against Cao Cao's chief rival. but *cf.* passage I below.
- 11 Qinghe was the name of a kingdom in Ji province from the beginning of Later Han until 148, when it was renamed Ganling. The name Qinghe was restored about 220, but the reference at this time is an anachronism.
- 12 The plan was for Yuan Shu to escape from Lujiang by travelling east of Shouchun, crossing the Huai in Xiapi, then going north through Xu province.  
*Wu shu* says that Jiangting, the "Village on the River" was some eighty *li*, forty kilometres, from Shouchun. There was a well-known site named Jiangting in Anyang county of Runan commandery (*HHS* 110/20, 3424, and *SJZ* 30, 3a-b), but this was 250 kilometres west of Shouchun, upstream on the Huai. It does not appear likely Yuan Shu travelled so far, and the Jiangting where he died was presumably a village of the same, common, name somewhere in Jiujiang or Pei.
- G *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1108 (29a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.
- 13 Liu Xun had been appointed Grand Administrator of Lujiang by Yuan Shu in 194: passage BB of Xingping 1.  
The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that the main text of *SGZ* 46 claims the remnant of Yuan Shu's court was actually coming to Sun Ce, but they were abducted and their treasure was stolen by Liu Xun. As Sima Guang observes, however, the biographies of Yuan Shu in *HHS* 75/65 and *SGZ* 6 both say the refugees were going to Liu Xun, who was, in any case, an old follower of Yuan Shu, as opposed to Sun Ce, who was a declared enemy. *SGZ* 46 is presumably echoing a propaganda story put about by Sun Ce at this time.
- H *HHS* 48/38, 1621 (17b), the Biography of Xu Qiu.
- 14 The Great Seal of State had been lost at Luoyang in 189. It was found by Sun Jian in 191, then taken from him by Yuan Shu. See passages W of Zhongping 6, D of Chuping 2, and I of Jian'an 1, also note 17 to Chuping 2.  
Xu Qiu's biography says that he was a man from Guangling. He held positions as Grand Administrator and Chancellor, but never in his native commandery. *ZZTJ* has evidently misread the source text.
- I *SGZ* 6, 195 (50b) PC quoting *Dian lue*;  
*HHS* 74/64A, 2390 (12a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- J *HHS* 74/64A, 2390–91 (12a–13a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 6, 196–97 (52a–53a) PC quoting *Xiandi zhuan*.
- 15 *Xiandi zhuan* attributes this argument to Tian Feng as well as to Ju Shou.

- 16 Liyang county was in Wei commandery, near present-day Xunxian in Henan, on the northern bank of the Han time course of the Yellow River. During Later Han, Liyang had been the major base for military recruits in north China: see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 50 and 253, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 118–119.
- 17 The conquest of the wicked king Zhou, last ruler of the Shang/Yin dynasty, by King Wu of the Zhou dynasty, is the traditional example of the just war in China. In *Mengzi* IB.8.3; Legge *CC* II, 167 (Lau, *Mencius*, 68) Mencius said, "I have heard how the common fellow [Zhou] was punished, but I have not heard [that case] described as the killing of a true sovereign.
- 18 In 494 BC, at the battle of Fujiao, King Fuchai of Wu, whose state was based on the region between the Yangzi estuary and the Bay of Hangzhou, defeated Goujian the ruler of Yue, whose territory was on the southern shore of Hangzhou Bay. The army of Wu pursued the remnants of the Yue forces to Kuaiji (or Huiji) Mountain, and held them completely at mercy. Goujian, however, managed to beg peace and escape his predicament and, with the advice of his minister Fan Li, he awaited the occasion for revenge.
- After twenty years, when Wu had been weakened by wars to the north, Yue made a great attack and in 473 BC the army of Goujian conquered Wu. Fuchai now asked for quarter, but Fan Li replied that when Heaven had given Yue into the hands of Wu at Huiji Mountain, Wu had rejected the offer. Now Heaven had put Wu into the hands of Yue; if Yue refused this good fortune, it would meet once more with disaster. So the state of Wu was destroyed.
- See *SJ* 41, 1740–41 and 1745; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 421–424 and 429–431; also *SJ* 31, 1469 and 1475; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 25–26 and 32.
- 19 "Supervisor of the Army" (*jianjun*) refers to Ju Shou's earlier appointment as Supervisor and Protector (*jianhu*) over all the officers of Yuan Shao's army: passage P of Chuping 2.
- 20 Zhang Liang, a man of the state of Han in the late third century BC, made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the First Emperor of Qin. He fled to Xiapi, where he met an old man, who tested him for his courtesy and patience, then gave him a book entitled "The Grand Duke's Art of War" *Taigong bingfa*. With this work as his guide, Zhang Liang became a leading adviser to the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han.
- Thirteen years after the first meeting, the old man was revealed to Zhang Liang in the form of a yellow stone (*huang shi*) at the foot of Mount Gucheng (or Huang Shan) in present-day Shandong. Zhang Liang worshipped the stone and had it placed in his tomb.
- See the biographies of Zhang Liang in *SJ* 55, 2034–35 and 2048; Watson, *RGHI*, 135–136 and 150, and *HS* 40, 2024 and 2038.
- 21 Chief Controller (*dudu*) here describes the high-ranking head of an army group. Ju Shou's original appointment as Supervisor and Commissioner had entailed responsibility for administration and discipline, and the office of Chief Controller was used at various levels in other troops as an administrative position: see, for example, passage JJ of Xingping 2, and passage B with note 4 above. In this instance, however, it appears that Chief Controllers in Yuan Shao's army could also hold strategic and tactical authority: see passage AA of Jian'an 5, describing the active service of Chunyu Qiong and the advisory position of Guo Tu.



K *SGZ* 12, 367 (2a–b), the Biography of Cui Yan.

L *SGZ* 1, 17 (43a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

M *SGZ* 10, 214 (14b–15a), the Biography of Xun Yu;  
*HHS* 70/60, 2285–86 (18b), the Biography of Xun Yu.

N *SGZ* 1, 17 (43b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

22 The direct line of Yuan Shao's approach to Xu city was slightly east of the modern Beijing–Zhengzhou railway, and the major crossing point was at Liyang. The Yellow River at this time ran well north of its present course, and from Liyang it flowed generally northeast.

Cao Cao therefore established a first line of defence under Yu Jin at Liyang, and sent a detachment under Zang Ba northeast to patrol the line of the River and guard against indirect approach on that flank. He then returned to his capital, leaving a second line of defence at Guandu, ninety kilometres north of Xu city and a hundred kilometres southwest of Liyang.

Guandu was in Zhongmou county in Henan commandery, just north of present-day Zhongmou in Henan. The Han city lay well south of the Yellow River, on a slight terrace above the Bian Canal, chief waterway connecting the capital, Luoyang, with the southern part of the North China plain.

O *SGZ* 10, 239–30 (38b–39a), the Biography of Jia Xu;  
*SGZ* 8, 262 (42a), the Biography of Zhang Xiu.

23 Zhang Xiu was an ally of Liu Biao, guarding the area of Nanyang, and had been repeatedly attacked by Cao Cao. See, for example, passages B to F of Jian'an 3.

24 The date is given by *SGZ* 1, 17.

25 The Bearer of the Gilded Mace commanded the imperial palace police: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 78–79.

A chief village (*duting*) was the administrative centre of a district (*xiang*), sub-division of a county. Enfeoffment with a chief village was one level higher than marquisate of a village.

P *SGZ* 25, 700 (7b), the Biography of Yang Fu.

Q *SGZ* 21, 610 (33a–b), the Biography of Wei Ji.

26 Attendant Imperial Clerks, members of the censorate, were trusted agents of the emperor, and were on occasion sent to take administrative or even military responsibilities in sensitive areas. Imperial Clerks Preparers of Documents were senior members of that corps. See de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 71, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 58 (rendering *shiyushi* as "Attending Secretary").

*SGZ* 21 says that Wei Ji had originally been sent as an envoy to Liu Zhang in Yi province, to persuade him to threaten Liu Biao on the west and keep him from intervening against Cao Cao in support of Yuan Shao. The roads from Chang'an, however, were blocked, so Wei Ji stayed there.

27 Great numbers of people had fled the region of Luoyang and Chang'an during the disturbances of Dong Zhuo and his associates at the beginning of the 190s, many of them, as appears below, taking refuge in Jing province. When they sought to return, however, they were often compelled to join the troops of the petty warlords who now competed for control in the region.

The term used for these warlord forces is *buqu*, which was used in Han to refer to regular military formations, but which later developed to describe household slaves and serfs. See note 66 to Zhongping 6 and Yang Chung-yi, "Evolution of Dependents."

28 Salt, used as a savoury and a preservative, was an essential commodity in all early societies. In Former Han, the official salt monopoly was directly controlled by the central government, but under Later Han this responsibility had been delegated to local administration. See *HHS* 116/26, 3590; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 98–99.

29 The Colonel Director of Retainers at this time was Zhong Yao, appointed to that post by Cao Cao in 197: passage F of Jian'an 2. The capital city of Hongnong commandery was Hongnong, south of the Yellow River by present-day Lingbao in Henan.

There was a salt lake in the south of Anyi county in Hedong commandery, by present-day Yuncheng in Shanxi. This had been the site of a salt office (*yan guan*) under Former Han, and was still recognised as a major source of the mineral under Later Han: *HHS* 109/19, 3397. Though separated by the Zhongtiao hills from the Yellow River, the lake was only thirty kilometres north of Hongnong. Cao Cao thus arranged that this area was now taken under the direct control of his officers.

R *HHS* 74/64B, 2422 (9b–10b), the Biography of Liu Biao;  
*SGZ* 6, 212–13 (84b–85b), the Biography of Liu Biao;  
with PC quoting *Fuzi*.

30 From *Zuo zhuan*, Cheng 15; Legge, *CCV*, 388 (Couvreur, *Chronique* II, 116):

It is contained in the books of an earlier time, that a sage is equal to the duties of all positions; that a man of the second class maintains the dignity of his position; and that one of the lowest class fails in the duties of his.

31 *Zuo zhuan*, Xi 23; Legge, *CCV*, 186 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 339):

The ancient rule was that when a son was fit for official service, his father should enjoin him to be faithful. The new officer, moreover, wrote his name on a tablet, and gave the pledge of a dead animal to his lord, declaring that any wavering in his fidelity should be punished with death.

32 Hitherto, Han Song has been a locally-appointed officer under Liu Biao. His loyalty was therefore owed and given to Liu Biao directly, with no direct obligation to the imperial government. Even though the court is dominated by Cao Cao, should Han Song be granted a post in the formal service of the Emperor, then he must regard himself as having no longer any direct relationship to Liu Biao; he will, however, treat Liu Biao with the courtesy owed to a former patron.

A similar situation was faced by Zhang Hong, an officer of the Sun family: note 20 to Jian'an 3.

33 *SGZ* 6 makes it clear that the sons would go to Xu city as hostages (*baozhi*), to confirm Liu Biao's alliance and guarantee his good behaviour.

34 Chu is here a literary/archaic reference to the territory of the middle Yangzi, taken from the great state of that name in the time of the Zhou dynasty.

S *SGZ* 14, 443 (22a–23a), the Biography of Liu Ye;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1104 (28b–29a), the Biography of Sun Ce;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1108 (29a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

35 Huainan refers to Jiujiang commandery of Later Han. The name was changed by Yuan Shu in 197, when he claimed the imperial title: passage G and note 11 of Jian'an 2. Though the new name was rejected by others at this time, the text here reflects that variation.

36 On the independent people of Shangliao, in the county of Haihun, see passage AA and note 34 of Jian'an 3.

37 We are told also that Liu Xun had been appointed to Lujiang by Yuan Shu after Yuan Shu has actually promised the post to Sun Ce: passage BB of Xingping 1.

38 Yue cloth (*ge Yue*): a light cloth woven in south China from the dolichos plant. See, for example, the *Ge tan* Ode, *Shi jing* I.1.2, in the collection "Odes of Zhou and the South;" translated and discussed by Legge, *CC* IV, 6 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 2–3).

39 Huang Zu, now Grand Administrator of Jiangxia in the service of Li Biao, controlled the east of Jing province, on the Yangzi downstream from present-day Wuhan, and was in the line of Sun Ce's expansion up-river from Yang province. Furthermore, Huang Zu had been the commander of Liu Biao's army when Sun Ce's father Sun Jian was killed in 192; so there was a family motive for attacking him. See passages JJ of Jian'an 1 and DD of Chuping 2.

40 Sun Ben and Sun Fu were sons of Sun Qiang, elder twin brother of Sun Jian the father of Sun Ce: *SGZ* 51, 1209 and 1211.

41 Shicheng county in Danyang was near present-day Ma'anshan in Anhui, more than three hundred kilometres downstream from the Poyang marshes and the Pengli Lake. Pengze county was on the Yangzi by present-day Hukou in Jiangxi, and Huan city was west of present-day Anqing in Anhui.

Sun Ce thus moved with considerable speed to attack his rival's headquarters, while sending a substantial detachment to guard the route by which Liu Xun must bring his main forces to the rescue.

42 *ZZTJ* commentary identifies Liuyi as a settlement on the Yangzi near Xisai Mountain, on the borders of Jing and Yang provinces by present-day Huangshi in Hubei. Cut off from Lujiang, Liu Xun was forced west up the Yangzi towards Jing province, and Huang Zu was a natural ally.

43 The dates are in the memorial sent by Sun Ce to Xu city, announcing his victory over Huang Zu. The text was preserved by *Wu lu*, quoted in *SGZ* 46, 1108 PC. The memorial gives the dates as the eighth and eleventh days of the twelfth month, but *ZZTJ* has converted them to the cyclical system.

44 Shaxian county in Jiangxia was southwest of present-day Wuhan, on the Yangzi upstream from the junction with the Han River.

*ZZTJ* commentary quotes a Jin dynasty authority for sounding the second character of this place-name as *yi*, but I follow the modern pronunciation.

T *SGZ* 57 (Wu 12), 1318–19 (3b–4a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;  
*SGZ* 13, 402 (18b) PC quoting *Wu li*;

*SGZ* 13, 402–03 (19a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

45 *SJZ* 39, 16b, says that Jiaoqiu was on the Gan River, downstream and north of Nanchang. Nanchang, the capital of Yuzhang commandery of Han, was present-day Nanchang in Jianxi. So Sun Ce, having defeated Liu Xun and Huang Zu in two battles, and extended the range of his operations into the middle Yangzi, returned east to mop up the last substantial local power, that of Hua Xin.

46 Ziyu was the style of Hua Xin..

47 Yu Fan, a man from Kuaiji, had held local appointment under Wang Lang when he was Grand Administrator there, then transferred his service to Sun Ce: passages S and T of Jian'an 1.

Wang Lang came from Donghai commandery. His biography in *SGZ* 13, 406 and 414, and that of Zhang Zhao in *SGZ* 52 (Wu 7), at 1219, describe his early recognition and later achievements as a scholar.

48 The term *gejin* describes a shawl made of light cloth, probably Yue cloth (note 38 above), draped about the head. This was elegant, but not part of any official costume: Hua Xin wore it to show that he was meeting Sun Ce as a private gentleman, and was now in retirement from public life.

U *SGZ* 13, 403 (19a–b) PC.

49 Though Pei Songzhi does not specify which work of Sun Sheng this comment is taken from, it was probably part of his "Miscellaneous Essays" *Zaji*.

Sun Sheng (c 302–373), whose biography is in *JS* 82, 2147–49, wrote several books and essays on the history of the Three Kingdoms period. See de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 566 and note.

50 Boyi and the Four Greybeards of the Shang Mountains were famous for their rejection of the world.

Boyi was the eldest son of the king of Guzhu. His father proposed to leave the throne to the third son, Shuqi, but Shuqi refused to take it from his elder brother and Bo Yi, for his part, would not disobey his father's wishes. So they left the state to their brother the second son, and retired to the wilderness together. Later, Boyi and Shuqi went to the court of the Lord of the West (posthumously King Wen of Zhou), but they disapproved of the plans of his son, King Wu, to attack his overlord of Shang/Yin, and withdrew to Shouyang Mountain, where they eventually starved to death. See *SJ* 61, 2123–28; also de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling II*, 393–394, and Vervoorn, "Boyi and Shuqi," and *Men of the Cliffs and Caves*, 35–37.

The Four Greybeards of the Shang Mountains were Lord Dongyuan, Lord Xiahuang, Qi Liji, and Scholar Luli. At the end of the Qin dynasty they retired as hermits into the mountains north of Shang county in present-day Shenxi, though sources disagree whether they were avoiding the disorders of Qin or expressing disapproval for the uncouth conduct of Emperor Gao, founder of Han. Emperor Gao, however, was known to admire them, and at the end of his reign, through a plan of the minister Zhang Liang and the Empress Lü, they were persuaded to come to court and support the Heir-Apparent, the future Emperor Hui, against rivalry from one of his half-brothers. See *SJ* 55, 2044–47; Watson, *RGH* 1, 146–147; *HS* 40, 2033–36, and Vervoorn, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves*, 96–100.

Sun Sheng is saying that an honourable man in Hua Xin's position had two courses open to him: either he could follow the example of Boyi and Shuqi and the Four Old Men by retiring from the world or, if he maintained an official position, he should accept fully its responsibilities.

The reference to Hua Xin's failure to maintain honour as a royal minister comes from *Yi jing*, hexagram 39: Jian [Obstruction], second line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes*, 152:

The king's servant is beset by obstruction upon obstruction,

But it is not his own fault.

This is explained as an instance where a man is required by duty to face difficulty and danger, even though it is no advantage to him to do so, nor is it his fault that he has encountered such a situation. Hua Xin failed to reach such a standard.

- V *SGZ* 51 (Wu 6), 1210 (6b–7a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.
- 51 It seems likely the capital of Luling commandery was at Luling county on the upper Gan River, near present-day Ji'an in Jiangxi, so the commandery controlled the upper valley of the Gan and the far south of present-day Jiangxi. This was the region which had been taken over by the local warlord Tong Zhi: passage AA of Jian'an 3. Baqiu county in Yuzhang was on the Gan River near present-day Xiajiang in Jiangxi, just north of the border with Luling.
- W *HHS* 75/65, 2444 (9b), the Biography of Yuan Shu;  
*SGZ* 6, 210 (78a), the Biography of Yuan Shu;  
*SGZ* 49 (Wu 4), 1185 (5a–b), the Biography of Liu Yao.
- 52 Yuan Shu's daughter was taken into the harem of Sun Quan, Sun Ce's younger brother, his son Yao held office at the court of Wu, and Yuan Yao's daughter became a concubine of one of Sun Quan's sons. There was a time that Yuan Shu's daughter was considered for position as Sun Quan's principal wife, but she was passed over because she had borne him no children: see *HHS* 75/65 and *SGZ* 6, also *SGZ* 50, 1200 PC quoting *Wu lu*.
- 53 Liu Ji, eldest of Liu Yao's three sons, who was fourteen at the time of his father's death, later held high rank and favour at the court of Sun Quan. Both his two younger brothers held official posts: *SGZ* 49, 1186.
- 54 This sentence is apparently based upon a letter written by Wang Lang to Sun Ce, recorded in *SGZ* 49, 1185–86.
- X *SGZ* 50 (Wu 5), 1196 (2a–b), PC quoting *Kuaiji dianlu*.
- Y *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1109 (32a) PC quoting *Wu lu*;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1105 (22b–23a) PC quoting *Wu lu*.
- 55 Xu Gong had been Grand Administrator of Wu commandery in 195, when he was deposed by Sun Ce's ally Zhu Zhi: passage QQ of Xingping 2.  
The expression *yingshuai* "leader of an encampment" indicates that Xu Zhao controlled a small private army of family retainers and refugees.
- 56 Several commentators point out that the name Jiaxing is an anachronism. The county, in Wu commandery by present-day Jiaxing in Zhejiang, was known as Youquan under Qin and Han. In 232, after a fortunate omen was reported from there, Sun Quan changed the name

to Hexing "Grain Springs Up." In 242 he changed it again to Jiaxing "Fortune Arises" so as to avoid tabu on the personal name of the new Heir-Apparent Sun He. See *SGZ* 47, 1136, and 1145. [Song shu 35, 1031, mistakenly ascribes the change to Sun He's son Sun Hao.]

*Wu lu*, cited by *SGZ* 46, 1105 PC, says that Wang Sheng was a former Grand Administrator of Hepu commandery in the far south. Some of these local opponents of Sun Ce were men of social rank above that of the Sun family: Sun Ce's father Sun Jian was a man of humble origin: see de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 72-74, 170-171 and 183-185.

Z *SGZ* 18, 542 (14b), the Biography of Xu Chu.

AA *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 875 (8a-10a), the Biography of Liu Bei;  
with PC quoting *Huayang guo zhi*,  
*SGZ* 14, 428 (4b), the Biography of Cheng Yu.

57 Dong Cheng was a cousin of the Emperor: note 8 above and note 30 to Xingping 2.

58 This phrase describing the conduct of Confucius appears in *Lun yu* X.16.5; Legge, *CC* I, 236. Liu Bei was startled at Cao Cao's words, firstly because he evidently regarded him as a potential rival, and second because of his guilty knowledge of Dong Cheng's plot. (Lau, *Analects*, 95, numbering this passage as X.25, has Confucius assuming "a solemn attitude," but Legge's interpretation fits better with Liu Bei's circumstance.)

59 The main text of *SGZ* 32 gives the personal name of Wang Fu as, but *Xiandi qijuzhu*, quoted by PC, and the parallel texts *HHS* 9, 381, and *HHS* 72/62, 2343, all omit the character *zi*. It is presumably dittography from the name of Wu Zilan immediately preceding.

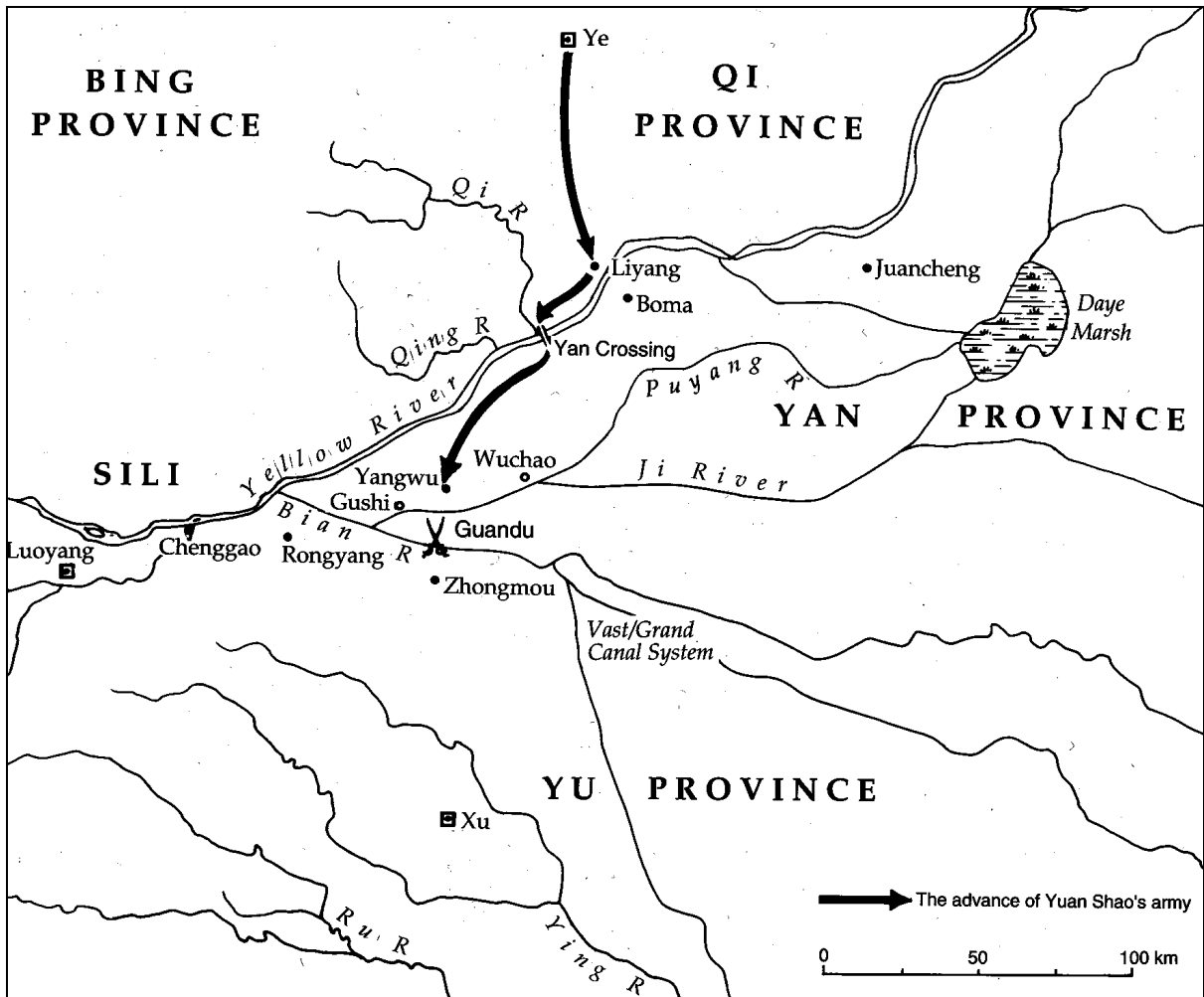
60 See passage F above.

61 That is, Pei county in the north of Pei commandery, near present-day Pei in Shandong: note 6 to Xingping 1.

62 *SGZ* 32 has this name as Chang Ba, not Chang Xi. *SGZ* 1, 18, however, refers to Chang Xi in alliance with Liu Bei at this time, and *ZZTJ* accepts that version.

Chang Xi has appeared earlier as one of the bandit leaders associated with Zang Ba about Mount Tai: passage I of Jian'an 3. (And it may be from this we have the confusion in personal names.) Most of these men were persuaded to take allegiance to Cao Cao after the destruction of Lü Bu: passage S of Jian'an 3. Chang Xi now turned once more against Cao Cao.

Map 13: Operations about Guandu 200



## Jian'an 5: 200 AD

[3 February 200 – 20 February 201]

- A In the spring, in the first month Dong Cheng's plan was found out. On the day *renzi* [miswritten for *renwu*, 10 Feb]<sup>1</sup> Cao Cao killed Dong Cheng, Wang Fu, Chong Ji and all their families.
- B Cao Cao wanted to go in person to attack Liu Bei, but his officers all advised him, "It is Yuan Shao who is fighting you for the empire, and he may make his move any time. If you turn east, and he comes in behind you, what happens then?"  
"Liu Bei is among the bravest of men," argued Cao Cao. "If I leave him now he will surely cause trouble later."  
"Yuan Shao is slow and hesitant," observed Guo Jia. "He will not come quickly. Liu Bei made his rebellion just a short time ago, so he cannot have his troops under full control. If you move promptly you will surely defeat him." So Cao Cao went east.
- C Tian Feng, Aide-de-Camp of Ji province, said to Yuan Shao, "Cao Cao has engaged Liu Bei and he cannot break off easily. If you take the army against his rear, you can settle things at once." Yuan Shao replied that his son was sick, and he would not go. Tian Feng beat the ground with his staff, "Alas, in the critical moment he throws away opportunity for the sake of a sick child. The pity of it, the chance is lost."
- D Cao Cao defeated Liu Bei and took his wife and children.<sup>2</sup> He went on to storm Xiapi and captured Guan Yu. He attacked Chang Xi and defeated him.<sup>3</sup>
- 2025 Liu Bei fled to Yuan Tan in Qing province and so joined Yuan Shao.  
When Yuan Shao heard Liu Bei was coming, he went out two hundred li from Ye to greet him. Liu Bei stayed at Ye for a month, and the men he had lost gradually returned to him.
- E Cao Cao brought his army back to Guandu, and Yuan Shao now considered an attack on Xu city. "Since Cao Cao has destroyed Liu Bei," observed Tian Feng, "the area about Xu city will no longer be undefended. Cao Cao,



moreover, is extremely good at using soldiers, and you can never tell what he will do next. Though his army is small he cannot be taken lightly.

"The best policy is to keep him at a distance and make him wait. You occupy the strong places of the hills and rivers and you command the troops of four provinces. Keep contact with leaders outside and encourage farming in your own lands.

"When all is ready, choose your best soldiers and send out raiding parties.<sup>4</sup> Take advantage of his weak points to break through in one place or another so as to trouble the territory south of the Yellow River. If he relieves the right, you attack the left; if he sends help to the left, you attack him on the right. The enemy will be marching backwards and forwards and his people will have no peace. We shall not be tired, but they will be exhausted. In no more than three years success will come as you wait.

"If, on the other hand, you do not follow this plan of certain victory,<sup>5</sup> but prefer to trust the result of a single battle, you may find affairs go against you. It will then be too late for regrets."

Yuan Shao refused this advice, but Tian Feng pressed his argument. Believing he would upset the morale of the army, Yuan Shao had him chained up.

Then Yuan Shao sent summons for war to the provinces and commanderies, listing Cao Cao's crimes and wrong-doing,<sup>6</sup> and in the second month he brought his army forward to Liyang.<sup>7</sup>

F As Ju Shou was about to leave, he called his clansmen together, divided his possessions among them and said, "If we survive, my authority will certainly be recognised every-where. If we lose, I shall not escape with my life. The pity of it." His younger brother Ju Zong said, "Cao Cao's men and horses are no match for ours. Why are you afraid?"

"Because Cao Cao has clear plans," replied Ju Shou, "and he controls the Son of Heaven. Though we have defeated Bogui [Gongsun Zan],<sup>8</sup> our soldiers are exhausted, our master is proud and his officers arrogant. This will bring our army to destruction.

"Yang Xiong observed, 'The six kingdoms were foolish and stupid. They weakened the Ji [family of the Zhou dynasty] for the Ying [family of Qin].' These are words for today."<sup>9</sup>

G The General Who Inspires Awe Cheng Yu was at Juancheng with a garrison of seven hundred men. Cao Cao wanted to send him two thousand soldiers as reinforcement, but Cheng Yu refused, "With his army of a hundred thousand men, Yuan Shao is confident that nothing can stand before him. If he sees that I have very few, he will pay little attention and will not attack. On the other hand, if you add to my troops, then if he passes by he is sure to attack, and if he attacks he will certainly win. You and I would thus both lose strength. Please have no doubts."<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, when Yuan Shao heard how few soldiers Cheng Yu had, he did not move against him. Cao Cao said to Jia Xu, "Cheng Yu is braver than Meng Ben or Xia Yu."<sup>11</sup>

H Yuan Shao sent his officer Yan Liang to attack Liu Yan, Grand Administrator of Dong commandery, at Boma.<sup>12</sup> Ju Shou said, "Yan Liang is careless and impatient. He is brave, but he can-not manage alone." Yuan Shao would not agree.

I In the summer, in the fourth month Cao Cao went north to help Liu Yan. Xun You said, "Our soldiers are too few to match the enemy. In order to win, you must divide our opponents' strength. When you come to the Yan Crossing, pretend to send men across the river against his rear. Yuan Shao will certainly turn west to deal with them. If you then send light troops to Boma and surprise the enemy there, Yan Liang can be taken." Cao Cao followed this plan.

As soon as Yuan Shao heard that enemy troops had crossed the Yellow River he immediately detached men west to intercept them. Then Cao Cao led his army on a forced march against Boma. They were still more than ten li away when Yan Liang, very startled, came out to fight.

Cao Cao sent Zhang Liao and Guan Yu to go ahead and begin the attack. Guan Yu saw Yan Liang's standard in the distance. Whipping his horse, he broke through to Yan Liang among the ten thousand men of his army, took off his head and came back. No-one could withstand him. So the siege of Boma was broken, and the people were shifted west up the Yellow River.<sup>13</sup>

J Yuan Shao crossed the Yellow River to follow them,<sup>14</sup> but Ju Shou objected, saying, "When you are fighting a war, you must be careful to think of every possibility. The best plan now is to stay in camp at the Yan Crossing and send an advance guard towards Guandu. If they can capture the place you will still have time to join up with them. If, however, you go

forward now and something goes wrong, none of the army will be able to get back." Yuan Shao would not agree.

Ju Shou came to the crossing and sighed, "The master is too confident; his servants too ambitious. Oh, distant Yellow River, why do I cross?" He pleaded sick and asked to leave. Yuan Shao would not approve and became angry with him. He abolished Ju Shou's command and gave it to Guo Tu.

2027

K As Yuan Shao's army came south from the Yan Crossing, Cao Cao had his soldiers in camp under the southern slope.<sup>15</sup> He sent men to look out, and they reported, "Some five or six hundred horsemen." After a short time they reported again, "Horsemen gradually increasing; too many foot-soldiers to count." "No more reports," ordered Cao Cao.

He had his cavalry get down from their saddles and let the horses go. The baggage from Boma was still on the road, and the officers thought that since there were so many enemy horsemen it would be better to go back and guard the camp. Xun You said, "This is a trap for the enemy, how can we leave?" Cao Cao looked at him and smiled.

Wen Chou and Liu Bei, commanders of Yuan Shao's cavalry, came up together with five or six thousand horsemen. The officers said again, "Now we can mount." "Not yet," said Cao Cao. There was a pause, the enemy approached in greater numbers, and some split off to go for the baggage. "Now!" said Cao Cao, and they jumped on their horses.<sup>16</sup>

They were fewer than six hundred, but they charged at speed, they completely defeated the enemy, and they took Wen Chou's head.

Wen Chou and Yan Liang had been Yuan Shao's most celebrated captains, and in just two engagements they had both been killed. Yuan Shao's army was discouraged.

L Before this, Cao Cao had always admired Guan Yu, but he saw on his face that he would not stay long. He sent Zhang Liao to ask Guan Yu about it, and Guan Yu sighed and said, "I know very well how generously Lord Cao has treated me, but I have received favours from General Liu [Bei] and I swore to die with him. I cannot turn away [from that commitment], and eventually I must leave here. I want to offer Lord Cao some assistance in return [for the generous treatment he has given me], and then I shall go."

Zhang Liao reported to Cao Cao what Guan Yu had said and Cao Cao saw the justice of it. Then Guan Yu killed Yan Liang and Cao Cao knew that

he was sure to go. He had given him great rewards, but Guan Yu sealed up everything he had received. Then he wrote to make his excuses, and he fled to Liu Bei in Yuan Shao's army. Some of the attendants wanted to chase after him, but Cao Cao said, "That man has chosen his master. Let him go."

2028

M As Cao Cao brought his army back to Guandu, Yan Rou sent messengers to him, and Cao Cao appointed him Colonel Protector of the Wuhuan.<sup>17</sup> Xianyu Fu came in person to meet Cao Cao at Guandu, and Cao Cao made him General Who Crosses the Liao on the Right and sent him back to settle the territory of You province.<sup>18</sup>

N Chen Deng, Grand Administrator of Guangling, had his capital at Sheyang.<sup>19</sup> When Sun Ce went west to attack Huang Zu, Chen Deng encouraged the remnants of White Tiger Yan's following to make trouble behind Sun Ce.<sup>20</sup> Now Sun Ce came back to attack Chen Deng. His army came to Dantu and he waited there a short time for supplies.<sup>21</sup>

Before this, Sun Ce had killed Xu Gong the Grand Administrator of Wu commandery,<sup>22</sup> and Xu Gong's retainers had hidden amongst the people in hope of avenging him. Sun Ce loved hunting and often went out riding. His horse was a very good one, and none of his escort could keep up.

2029 Suddenly he met with three of Xu Gong's men, and they shot him in the jaw. The escort arrived, struck them down and killed them, but Sun Ce was badly hurt.

He summoned Zhang Zhao and others and said to them, "Central China is now in confusion. With the forces of Wu and Yue and the security of the Three Streams [the Yangzi], we can observe other men's success and failure without being involved. You must all do your best to assist my younger brother."<sup>23</sup>

Calling for Sun Quan, he put seal and tassel on his belt, and said to him, "To raise the forces east of the Yangzi, to decide the opportunities between two battle-lines and to fight for supremacy in the empire; in that you are not so good as I am. To raise the worthy and give appointment to able men, so that each gives all his efforts to keep the east of the Yangzi; in that I am not equal to you." On the day *bingwu* [5 May] Sun Ce died. He was then aged twenty-six.<sup>24</sup>

O Sun Quan wept for grief and would not attend to affairs. "Candidate,"<sup>25</sup> said Zhang Zhao, "is this a time for weeping?" He changed Sun Quan's

mourning clothes, helped him to mount a horse, and sent him out to inspect the army.

Zhang Zhao acted as head of the whole administration. Above he reported to the court, and below he gave orders to the cities, while the army commanders were all instructed to maintain their positions. Zhou Yu brought his troops from Baqiu to attend the funeral, and he then stayed in Wu to act as Protector of the Army at the Centre, sharing with Zhang Zhao in the government.<sup>26</sup>

Though Sun Ce had held Kuaiji, Wu commandery, Danyang, Yuzhang, Lujiang and Luling, there was still difficult country which had not been brought fully under control. And there were many refugees, who came or wandered away whenever they thought they would find good government and peace, and who had no sense of loyalty to any ruler.

2030 Zhang Zhao, Zhou Yu and their colleagues, however, believed that with their help Sun Quan could maintain the state. They gave him allegiance and served him.

P In the autumn in the seventh month the imperial son Liu Ping became King of Nanyang. On the day *renwu* [9 Aug] he died.

Q The Yellow Turban rebels of Runan, led by Liu Pi, turned from Cao Cao to support Yuan Shao. Yuan Shao sent Liu Bei to bring soldiers to help them, and many of the commanderies and counties joined him.

R Yuan Shao sent a messenger to appoint Li Tong, Chief Commandant of Yang'an, as General Who Subdues the South.<sup>27</sup> Liu Biao also sent him a secret summons, but Li Tong rejected both of them. Someone urged that he support Yuan Shao, but Li Tong put his hand to his sword and swore at him, "Lord Cao is wise and he will certainly settle the empire. Though Yuan Shao is strong, Cao Cao will take him in the end. I would not change for my life." He cut off the head of Yuan Shao's messenger and sent to Cao Cao the seal and tassel which he had been offered.

Li Tong kept particular check of the tax due in silk from each household.<sup>28</sup> Zhao Yan, Chief of Langling, went to him and said, "All the commanderies are in rebellion and only Yang'an remains obedient. If you press on with the collection of silk, however, men of mean spirit will be glad to make trouble. Surely this is a mistaken policy?"

"The Duke and Yuan Shao are in a critical fight," replied Li Tong, "and many commanderies and counties have turned away to rebellion. If the silk is not collected and sent to the capital, those who hear of it will surely claim that my loyalty is suspect and that I am waiting to see who wins."

"That is certainly a cause for concern," agreed Zhao Yan, "but we must consider how serious it is. If you will delay the tax just a little while, I can solve the problem for you."

Then he wrote to Xun Yu, "The people of Yang'an are poor and distressed, neighbouring cities are in rebellion, and the regime could easily be overthrown. Here is a time of crisis for the region. Moreover, the people of this commandery have held loyal, and even in time of danger they have never been uncertain. I believe the state should be showing some consideration, but we still impose the silk tax. What sort of encouragement is that?"

Xun Yu spoke to Cao Cao, and all the silk was returned to the people. Everyone was pleased and there was peace in the commandery. Li Tong attacked and defeated the various bandit groups led by Qu Gong and others, and he settled all the territory between the Huai and the Ru.

S At this time Cao Cao made new rulings on the collection of revenue, and orders were sent out to the provinces and commanderies. He increased the punishments for failure, and collection of the silk tax was strictly enforced. He Kui, Grand Administrator of Changguang,<sup>29</sup> said to Cao Cao, "The former kings distinguished the taxes of the nine tributaries, taking notice of distance, and they maintained three sets of regulations [for governing according to conditions] of recent pacification, good administration or rebellion.<sup>30</sup>

2031 "I believe that this commandery should come under the rules for distant areas and new states, so that minor affairs among the people are dealt with by chiefs and civil officials according to circumstance. Above, such a policy will follow the correct model, and below it will accord with the feeling of the people. Wait three years, until the people are following their occupations in peace; then you can apply the normal laws."<sup>31</sup> Cao Cao agreed.

T Liu Bei plundered between the Ru and the Ying. People to the south of Xu city were unsettled and Cao Cao was concerned about it.<sup>32</sup> Cao Ren said, "The southern districts know that our army is facing a crisis, and they

realise we cannot bring them help. If Liu Bei comes with a strong force it is quite understandable that they turn away from us. Liu Bei, however, has not long held command of Yuan Shao's soldiers and he has not had time to get used to them. If we attack him we can defeat him."

So Cao Cao sent Cao Ren with cavalry to attack Liu Bei. He defeated him and drove him away, took back all the counties that had rebelled, then returned.

U Liu Bei went back to Yuan Shao's army, but he secretly wanted to get away, so he urged Yuan Shao to make alliance with Liu Biao in the south. Yuan Shao sent Liu Bei back to Runan with his own men and he joined there with a group of bandits under Gong Du to collect a force of several thousand men. Cao Cao sent his officer Cai Yang against Liu Bei, but Liu Bei killed him.

V Yuan Shao's army came to Yangwu.<sup>33</sup> Ju Shou said to him, "Though our northern troops are many, their strength and spirit are not equal to the men of the south. The supplies of the southerners are few and their stores are not so plentiful as ours of the north. So the south will want to fight early, while delay will give advantage to the north. You should wait and do nothing for a few weeks." Yuan Shao would not agree.

2032

W In the eighth month Yuan Shao brought his forces gradually forward and established his position on some sand-dunes stretching several dozen li east and west. Cao Cao spread out his camps to face him.<sup>34</sup>

X In the ninth month on the day *gengwu* [26 Nov], the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.<sup>35</sup>

Y Cao Cao made a sally against Yuan Shao, but gained no success and was forced back to strengthen his own defences. Yuan Shao built high towers and raised hills of earth to shoot down into the camp. Everyone had to wear shields over them to move about. Then Cao Cao made 'thunder cars' to fire stones at Yuan Shao's towers and destroyed them all.<sup>36</sup> Yuan Shao made a tunnel to attack Cao Cao, but Cao Cao dug a long ditch inside his walls to block it.

Z Cao Cao's army was small, his supplies were exhausted, his troops were tired and ill, his people were troubled by the taxation and levies and many

had turned away to Yuan Shao. Cao Cao was worried, and he wrote to Xun Yu that he was thinking of a retreat to Xu city, so that Yuan Shao would be compelled to fight him there.

"Yuan Shao has all his army at Guandu," replied Xun Yu, "and he will settle victory and defeat with you there. You face great strength with great weakness, and if you cannot control him you will be taken. Here is a crisis for the empire.

"Furthermore, Yuan Shao is a very ordinary leader: he can collect men but he does not know how to use them. With your uncanny arts of war, your clear understanding, and the favour of Heaven; how can you fail?

"Your supplies may be low, but you are not in the straits of Chu and Han between Rongyang and Chenggao. At that time neither Liu nor Xiang were willing to retreat, for they knew that the first to abandon the field would lose everything.<sup>37</sup>

"Your force is only a tenth of his, yet you have marked the ground and hold it. You have him by the throat and he cannot get forward, and you have now maintained that position for half a year. It is obvious his strength is almost exhausted. Here is the decisive moment, and this is the occasion to surprise him. Do not miss your chance."

Recognising the truth of this, Cao Cao strengthened his defences and held on.

2033

AA Cao Cao went to welcome the men bringing up supplies. "Another fortnight and I shall have defeated Yuan Shao for you," he told them. "Then I need trouble you no more."<sup>38</sup>

Yuan Shao's transports came towards Guandu with several thousand waggons of grain. Xun You said to Cao Cao, "His supplies are on the way. Their commander Han Meng is brave, but he tends to underestimate his enemies. If we attack him he will be destroyed."

"Whom can we send?" asked Cao Cao.

"Xu Huang can do it," replied Xun You.

So they sent the Lieutenant-General Xu Huang of Hedong to go with Shi Huan and intercept Han Meng. They defeated him, put him to flight and burnt the baggage.<sup>39</sup>

In the winter, in the tenth month Yuan Shao brought up more carts with grain supplies, and he sent Chunyu Qiong and other commanders with over



ten thousand men as escort for them. They halted for the night forty *li* north of Yuan Shao's camp.<sup>40</sup> Ju Shou said to Yuan Shao, "You should send Jiang Qi out with a separate force to intercept Cao Cao's raids." Yuan Shao would not agree.

Xu You said, "Cao Cao has few soldiers, and he has brought his whole army to face us [at Guandu]. There cannot be many of his men left at Xu city. If we send a light force by night to make a surprise attack, Xu can be taken. Once Xu is captured, then we hold the Emperor and can attack Cao Cao in his name, while Cao Cao becomes an outlaw. Even if he is not destroyed, we can make him rush back and forth and we are sure to defeat him." Yuan Shao would not agree, saying, "The main thing is to take Cao Cao first."

About this time one of Xu You's family broke the law. When Shen Pei arrested him Xu You was angry and went to Cao Cao.

As Cao Cao heard that Xu You had come, he went barefoot to greet him, grasped him by the hand and laughed, "Ziyuan, you have come a long way.<sup>41</sup> Now I am sure to succeed." They went in and sat down, and Xu You said to Cao Cao, "Yuan has a strong army, how can you withstand him? And what supplies have you?" Cao Cao said, "We can still manage for a year."

"That is not right," replied Xu You, "tell it truthfully!" Cao Cao said, "We can last out half a year."

"Don't you want to defeat him?" asked Xu You. "Why won't you tell the truth?" "I was joking," said Cao Cao. "In fact we can hold out for just one more month. What shall I do?"

2034 "You are facing him alone with an isolated army," observed Xu You. "There can be no help from outside and your supplies are already exhausted. This is the critical situation.

"Now Yuan Shao has over ten thousand carts of supplies at Gushi and Wuchao,<sup>42</sup> and the escort which accompanies them is quite unprepared. If you move with light-armed troops and take them by surprise you can destroy their stores. No more than three days after that, Yuan will be defeated of himself."

Cao Cao was very pleased. Leaving Cao Hong and Xun You to hold the camp, he took personal command of five thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers, all with the Yuan army's flags. Gagging the men and tying the horses' mouths, they went out by night and moved by side-paths between the roads. The men carried bound firewood. If anyone questioned them,

they explained that, "Lord Yuan is afraid Cao Cao may attack his after-guard, so he is sending reinforcements to the defence." Those told this believed it, and they went on as before.<sup>43</sup>

When Cao Cao's force arrived they surrounded the enemy camp and raised a great fire, and those inside were startled and confused. As soon as it was light, Chunyu Qiong and the others saw how few men Cao Cao had with him, and they set out their line of battle before the gates of the camp. Cao Cao attacked at once. Chunyu Qiong retreated to the shelter of the camp, but Cao Cao followed up and attacked him again.

When Yuan Shao heard Cao Cao had attacked Chunyu Qiong, he said to his son Yuan Tan, "As Cao Cao is defeating Chunyu Qiong, I shall take his camp and he will have nothing to come back to." He sent his officers Gao Lan and Zhang He to attack Cao Cao's camp.

Zhang He said, "If Lord Cao's best troops have gone he is sure to defeat Chunyu Qiong. When Chunyu Qiong is defeated the affair is lost. I beg first to go and help him." Guo Tu argued firmly that they should attack Cao Cao's camp.

"Lord Cao's camp is strong," argued Zhang He. "If we attack it we shall certainly not succeed. If Chunyu Qiong and the others are taken then we shall all be captives."

Yuan Shao sent only light troops to aid Chunyu Qiong and he attacked Cao Cao's camp with his main force. They could not capture it.

As Yuan Shao's cavalry approached Wuchao,<sup>44</sup> some of Cao Cao's attendants said, "The enemy is coming closer, we ask to send soldiers to hold them off." Cao Cao was angry and said, "When they are behind our backs, then tell me."

Fighting for their lives, his men quickly defeated the enemy. They cut off the heads of Chunyu Qiong and others, burnt the supplies, and killed more than a thousand soldiers. They cut the noses from the men, and the lips and tongues from the cattle and the horses, and displayed them before Yuan Shao's army.<sup>45</sup>

Yuan Shao's men were now anxious and afraid. Ashamed that his plan had failed, Guo Tu now he spoke to Yuan Shao against Zhang He, saying, "Zhang He is pleased that our army has been defeated." Zhang He became

angry and frightened. Together with Gao Lan he burnt the engines of attack and went to Cao Cao's camp to surrender.

2035 Cao Hong, suspicious, was unwilling to receive them, but Xun You said, "Zhang He's plan was rejected. He is angry and he has come away. How can you have doubts?" So they let them in.

At this Yuan Shao's army was alarmed and upset and fell into utter confusion. Yuan Shao, with Yuan Tan and a few of their staff,<sup>46</sup> fled on horseback across the Yellow River with an escort of eight hundred cavalry. Cao Cao chased them but failed to catch them. He collected their baggage, maps and books, and their treasure. All the other men of the army that surrendered were buried alive by Cao Cao. More than seventy thousand men were killed from first to last.<sup>47</sup>

BB Ju Shou was unable to cross with Yuan Shao. He was caught by Cao Cao's men and cried out loud, "I do not surrender, I have been captured!" Cao Cao knew him from before, and greeted him, "We have been separated under different mansions of the stars, and it is long since our paths have crossed.<sup>48</sup> It is quite unexpected that we should have taken you today."

"Ji province [Yuan Shao] made bad plans," replied Ju Shou, "and he brought defeat upon himself. I was neither clever nor strong enough. It is fitting I should be taken."

"Yuan Benchu had no good ideas," said Cao Cao, "and he refused your advice. There is still disorder and confusion, and I should be glad of your assistance."

"My uncle, my mother, and my younger brother are all in Yuan's hands," answered Ju Shou. "I shall be obliged if you will kill me quickly."

Cao Cao sighed and said, "If I had had you earlier, the empire would have been no problem." He released him and treated him generously, but later Ju Shou tried to return to Yuan Shao, so Cao Cao killed him.

2036

CC Cao Cao collected Yuan Shao's papers, including letters from men at Xu city and within his army. He burnt them all, saying, "When Yuan Shao was strong, even I was not sure of myself. How much more is this true for my men."<sup>49</sup>

Many walled cities in Ji province surrendered to Cao Cao.

DD Yuan Shao fled to the north bank [of the Yellow River] by Liyang and went to the camp of his General Jiang Yiqu. He took him by the hand and said, "I entrust you with my head!" Jiang Yiqu gave up his tent, set him in place and asked him to take over command. When the soldiers heard where Yuan Shao was they gradually came back.

EE Someone said to Tian Feng, "You will now become important."

"Our lord may seem lenient," replied Tian Feng, "but he forgets nothing. He does not value my loyalty, and I have several times angered him with advice or warning. Had he won, he would have been pleased and might have forgiven me. But now the battle is lost and he is angry. It will bring back all his hidden resentment, and I do not expect to live."

Yuan Shao's men all beat their breasts and wept and said, "If Tian Feng had been here we should never have suffered such defeat." Yuan Shao said to Pang Ji, "The people of Ji province have heard my army is defeated and they should all remember [how they misled] me. My Aide-de-Camp Tian Feng was the only one who did not agree, but advised me not to go. I am still ashamed to face him."

"When Tian Feng heard you had retreated," replied Pang Ji, "he clapped his hands and laughed aloud. He was pleased things turned out as he foretold."

Yuan Shao said to his officers, "I did not use Tian Feng's advice, and so he laughs at me!" And he killed him.

Before this, when Cao Cao heard that Tian Feng had not followed on the campaign, he was pleased and said, "Yuan Shao will certainly be defeated." Later, when Yuan Shao had fled, he said again, "If Yuan Shao had accepted the advice of his Aide-de-Camp, everything would still be in the balance."

FF Two sons of Shen Pei were captured by Cao Cao. Yuan Shao's officer Meng Dai argued, "Shen Pei has a position of special authority and he belongs to a powerful clan. Now that his sons are in the south he will certainly plan to rebel." Guo Tu and Xin Ping agreed.

Yuan Shao made Meng Dai Supervisor of the Army, to take Shen Pei's place in command of the garrison at Ye.<sup>50</sup>

The Protector of the Army Pang Ji had long been Shen Pei's enemy. Yuan Shao asked him about the matter, and Pang Ji answered, "Shen Pei is

fiercely honest and always respects the examples of the ancients. He could not turn traitor just because his two sons are in the south. Have no doubts."

"But you have always disliked him?" asked Yuan Shao.

"Our earlier quarrel," replied Pang Ji, "that was private. We are talking now about matters of state."

"Excellent!" said Yuan Shao. He did not dismiss Shen Pei.

2037 After this, Shen Pei became friends with Pang Ji.

GG Yuan Shao attacked the cities of Ji province that had rebelled against him and steadily recaptured them.

HH As a man, Yuan Shao was generous and elegant. He was able, and neither pleasure nor anger would show on his expression. Yet he was proud, obstinate and self-satisfied, and seldom followed the best course. So he came to defeat.

II In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *xinhai* [6 Nov], there was a comet in the Great Dyke constellation.<sup>51</sup>

JJ The Grand Administrator of Lujiang, Li Shu, had attacked and killed the Inspector of Yang province Yan Xiang,<sup>52</sup> and Mei Qian, Lei Xu and Chen Lan of Lujiang each collected forces of several ten thousands between the Yangzi and the Huai.

Cao Cao recommended Liu Fu of Pei state as Inspector of Yang province. The province at that time controlled only Jiujiang, but Liu Fu rode alone to the empty city of Hefei and set up the provincial government there. He summoned Mei Qian, Lei Xu and the others to support him, and they all sent tribute and accepted alliance.

For several years Liu Fu acted with grace and honesty, and the wandering people that turned to him were numbered by the tens of thousands. He extended military colonies and repaired the embankments and dams. People were able to store up supplies, and he then brought in teachers and set up schools. He reinforced the walls of the cities and prepared great stocks of wood and stone, ready for defence in war.

KK When Cao Cao heard that Sun Ce had died, he thought to take the opportunity to attack. The Attendant Imperial Clerk Zhang Hong protested, "To gain advantage from another man's mourning does not accord with

traditional patterns of honourable conduct. If you fail, moreover, you will have made enemies and ended good feeling. Now is the time to behave generously."<sup>53</sup>

So Cao Cao recommended Sun Quan as General Who Exterminates Caitiffs, with command as Grand Administrator of Kuaiji.

2038

Cao Cao wanted Zhang Hong to go and persuade Sun Quan into a close alliance. He appointed him Chief Commandant of the Eastern Region of Kuaiji, and so Zhang Hong came to Wu.<sup>54</sup> The mother of Sun Quan [Lady Wu] believed that he was too young [to take full authority], so she commissioned Zhang Hong and Zhang Zhao to act together as his assistants.<sup>55</sup> Zhang Hong had no thought but to give help in the supervision and to make sure everything was done correctly.

LL Sun Quan's mother asked the Chief Commandant Who Manifests Firmness Dong Xi of Kuaiji, "Can we hold the east of the Yangzi?"

"The lands east of the Yangzi have security from mountains and rivers," replied Dong Xi, "while the good government and virtue of the General Who Exterminates Rebels [Sun Ce] have already attracted the people. The General Who Exterminates Caitiffs [Sun Quan] can build on these foundations, so that great and small follow his commands. Zhang Zhao can look after affairs of government, while others like me act as claws and teeth. With both strategic advantage and popular support, there is certainly nothing to worry about."

MM Sun Quan sent Zhang Hong to his territory. Because Zhang Hong had originally received his appointment from the north, some people suspected his ideas might go further. Sun Quan, however, refused to hear such suggestions.<sup>56</sup>

NN Lu Su was intending to return to the north,<sup>57</sup> but Zhou Yu persuaded him not to, then recommended him to Sun Quan, "Lu Su has ability which can be of value to us. You should look widely for men like him to assist your great work."

Sun Quan gave audience to Lu Su and was pleased with him. When the other guests had withdrawn he invited Lu Su to stay back, and they sat with their tables together and drank face to face. Sun Quan said, "The Han house

is in danger, and I have in mind to follow the great examples of Huan [of Qi] and Wen [of Jin].<sup>58</sup> How would you help in this?"

"In earlier times," answered Lu Su, "though Emperor Gao [of Han] wanted to honour and serve the Provisional Emperor, he could not manage it because he was under threat from Xiang Yu.<sup>59</sup> Now Cao Cao is like Xiang Yu, and how can you manage like Huan or Wen?"

"As I see it, the Han house is fallen forever and Cao Cao is here to stay. Your best plan is to hold the east of the Yangzi and watch the battles of the empire. Take advantage of the northerners' preoccupations, attack Huang Zu and drive him away, go forward against Liu Biao, then seize the full length of the Long River [the Yangzi]. Here is the task for a king."

Sun Quan replied, "Now I am putting all the strength of my domain to help and support the house of Han. What you propose is far beyond my ability."

Zhang Zhao spoke against Lu Su, saying that he was young and uncouth. Sun Quan, however, showed him increasing honour and respect, and granted him supplies so that Lu Su became as wealthy as he had been before.<sup>60</sup>

2039

OO Sun Quan held examination of those junior officers who had few soldiers and were therefore less useful, and combined their troops to make larger units. The Major with a Separate Command Lü Meng of Runan had his squadron looking fresh and drilled, and his men were well-trained. Sun Quan was impressed. He increased his command, promoted him and showed him favour.

PP The Officer of the Bureau of Merit Luo Tong urged Sun Quan to honour worthy men, to welcome scholars and to be diligent in seeking advice. On days when there were feasts and rewards each man should be allowed to come forward and have personal audience. He should enquire whether his lodgings were comfortable, show a personal interest, and encourage him to talk in order to find out what was on his mind. Sun Quan did this. Luo Tong was the son of Luo Jun.<sup>61</sup>

QQ The Grand Administrator of Luling, Sun Fu, was afraid Sun Quan would not be able to hold the east of the Yangzi, and he sent men in secret with letters to call Cao Cao. Someone reported it, and Sun Quan beheaded all

Sun Fu's close companions, redistributed his followers, and exiled him to the east.<sup>62</sup>

RR Cao Cao recommended that Hua Xin be called for appointment as Gentleman-Consultant and Adviser to the Army of the Minister of Works.<sup>63</sup>

SS Li Shu, Grand Administrator of Lujiang, refused to submit to Sun Quan and several times took in fugitives and rebels against him. Sun Quan reported the situation to Cao Cao and said, "Inspector Yan Xiang was earlier appointed by you, and Li Shu harmed him.<sup>64</sup> This was a wanton criminal act. He should be punished and destroyed quickly. Li Shu is sure to ask help from you on false pretences. You hold the position of an Aheng,<sup>65</sup> and you are respected by all within the seas. I request you tell your officers to pay him no attention."

Then he raised troops and attacked Li Shu in Huan city. Li Shu asked help from Cao Cao but Cao Cao sent none. They stormed the city, cut off Li Shu's head and exposed it. His forces, over twenty thousand men, were taken over and transferred elsewhere.

TT Liu Biao had attacked Zhang Xian,<sup>66</sup> but for several years he gained no headway. Then, while Cao Cao was facing Yuan Shao and had no opportunity to help him, Zhang Xian became ill and died.

2040 The people of Changsha set up his son Zhang Yi to succeed him, but Liu Biao attacked Zhang Yi and also Lingling and Guiyang and conquered all of them.

Liu Biao's territory now extended over several thousand li, and he had more than a hundred thousand men at arms. He no longer sent up tribute, he held state sacrifice and worship to Heaven and Earth and in his lodging and clothing he usurped the regalia of an emperor.<sup>67</sup>

UU Because Liu Zhang was dull and weak, Zhang Lu refused to accept his orders, but attacked his Major with a Separate Command Zhang Xiu, killed him and took over his army. Liu Zhang was angry and killed Zhang Lu's mother and younger brother.<sup>68</sup>

Then Zhang Lu seized Hanzhong and made war on Liu Zhang. Liu Zhang sent the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Pang Xi to attack him, but he had no success. Liu Zhang appointed Pang Xi as Grand Administrator



of Ba commandery, to camp at Langzhong and oppose Zhang Lu. Pang Xi, on his own authority, recruited the Zong people of Hanchang as soldiers.<sup>69</sup>

Someone spoke to Liu Zhang against Pang Xi and Liu Zhang became suspicious of him. Zhao Wei protested several times, but his advice was not heeded, and he too became angry and resentful.

Before this, tens of thousands of families from Nanyang and the Three Adjuncts had migrated into Yi province. Liu Yan had recruited them as soldiers, calling them the Dongzhou troops.<sup>70</sup> Liu Zhang was by nature tolerant and lenient, he maintained no authority, and when the Dongzhou troops plundered and oppressed the local people he could do nothing to prevent it.

Zhao Wei had gained the people's affections in the past. Taking advantage of local resentment in Yi province, he made a rebellion, bringing tens of thousands of soldiers to attack Liu Zhang. He gave large bribes to establish an alliance with [Liu Biao in] Jing province. Shu commandery, Guanghan and Jianwei all joined him.

### NOTES to Jian'an 5: 200

- A *HHJ* 29, 9b;  
*HHS* 9, 381 (45a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;  
*SGZ* 1, 18 (8a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao.
- 1 This month began on a *jiaxu* day (cyclical number 11), so it cannot have included a *renzi* day (cyclical number 49). *HHS* 9 has *renwu* (cyclical number 19), which would be correct. *HHJ* 29 miswrote *zi* for *wu*, and *ZZTJ* followed it.
- B *SGZ* 1, 18 (45a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*SGZ* 14, 423–24 (11a) PC quoting *Fuzi*.
- C *HHS* 74/64A, 2392 (13a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- D *SGZ* 1, 18 (45a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 875–76 (10a–b), the Biography of Liu Bei.
- 2 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that a fragment of *Wei shu*, the official history of Wei, quoted by *SGZ* 42, 876 PC, says Liu Bei was confident Cao Cao could not free himself from the defence of Guandu, and would not come against him in person (see also passage AA of Jian'an 4). When Cao Cao did come, however, Liu Bei abandoned his followers and fled.
- As Sima Guang notes, this is surely an exaggerated calumny of Liu Bei, and an example of the *Wei shu*'s partisan inaccuracy.

3 Despite this defeat, Chang Xi was evidently still able to maintain himself in Donghai commandery: passage E of Jian'an 6.

E *HHS* 74/64A, 2392–93 (13b–14a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 6, 200 (60a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

4 *ZZTJ* commentary here quotes from *Sunzi bingfa* 5, 5a; Ames, *Sun-tzu*, 119 (Griffith, *Art of War*, 91):

Generally in battle use the "straightforward" to engage the enemy and the "surprise" to win the victory.

Commentary to this passage by Cao Cao and others, interpreted by Griffith in a note, explains that the "straightforward" [Griffith: "normal"] force (*zheng*) is used to fix or distract the enemy, and the "surprise" [Griffith: "extraordinary"] forces (*qi*) act when and where their attacks are not anticipated.

5 *ZZTJ* commentary explains that the phrase used here, *miaosheng*, literally "success in the ancestral temple," abbreviates the expression "to settle plans in the temple, and determine victory at a distance of a thousand *li*: that is, far-sighted and sure strategy, because decisions are blessed by the ancestors when they are advised of the plan. See *Sunzi bingfa* 1, 31a; Ames, *Sun-tzu*, 105 (Griffith, *Art of War*, 71), and also *HHS* 1B, 87–88, the Eulogy to Emperor Guangwu with commentary quoting *Huainan zi*.

6 The text of Yuan Shao's proclamation is given by *SGZ* 6, 197–99 PC quoting *Weishi chungju*, and by *HHS* 74/64A, 2393–99. *Weishi chungju* ascribes the composition to Yuan Shao's adviser Chen Lin.

7 The date of Yuan Shao's advance is given by *SGZ* 1, 19.

F *HHS* 74/64A, 2399 (17b–18a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 6, 199–200 (57a) PC quoting *Xiandi zhuan*.

8 Bogui was the style of Gongsun Zan.

9 On Yang Xiong (53 BC – 18 AD), see Knechtges. This quotation comes from his "Model Sayings" (*Fa yan*), 10, 3b–4a. The six kingdoms were Han, Wei, Zhao, Yan, Qi and Chu of the Warring States period. Quarrelling amongst themselves, they weakened and destroyed the authority of the royal house of Zhou, and so fell prey to the new power of Qin. Ji was the family name of Zhou, Ying that of the rulers of Qin.

G *SGZ* 14, 428 (5a), the Biography of Cheng Yu.

10 Juancheng in Jiyin, near present-day Juancheng in Shandong, lay just south of the Yellow River, on the frontier of the territory controlled by Cao Cao and that of Yuan Shao: note 3 to Jian'an 3. It was, however, some eighty kilometres east of Liyang, so it was not on Yuan Shao's direct line of attack.

11 Meng Ben and Xia Yu were men of the Zhou period, famous for their strength and daring: *e.g.* *SJ* 79, 2407.

H *SGZ* 6, 199 (57a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

12 Boma county in Dong commandery was near present-day Huaxian in Henan. It lay south of the Yellow River some twenty kilometres southeast of Liyang.

- I *SGZ* 1, 19 (46a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*SGZ* 36 (Shu 6), 939 (2a), the Biography of Guan Yu.
- 13 The Yellow River at this time flowed considerably north of its present course, and the Yan Crossing is north of present-day Yanjin in Henan. See also notes 31 and 37 to Chuping 2.  
Cao Cao's direct line of advance from Xu city and Guandu to Boma would have taken him northeast through the region of present-day Kaifeng. At Xun Yu's suggestion, however, he marched due north to the Yellow River, made a feint across the Yan Crossing, southwest of Liyang, to draw Yuan Shao's attention, then brought his light troops along the south bank of the Yellow River directly past the front of Yuan Shao's main position at Liyang, eastwards to Boma.
- J *SGZ* 6, 200 (58a) PC quoting *Xiandi zhuan*;  
*HHS* 74/64A, 2399 (16a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- 14 As a result of Cao Cao's feint, described in passage I above, Yuan Shao has brought the advance-guard of his army southwest up the Yellow River from Liyang to the Yan Crossing. At that point he was almost due north of Cao Cao's defence positions at Guandu and his capital at Xu city.
- K *SGZ* 1, 19 (46b–47a), the Biography of Cao Cao.
- 15 Since the context indicates that Yuan Shao's troops could not see Cao Cao's, and Cao Cao had to send look-outs to tell him of the enemy movements, he evidently had his force concealed on the southern side of the major dyke south of the Yellow River. These great dykes are some distance from the regular stream, to make room for seasonal flood-waters. So Yuan Shao's army had been allowed to cross the River unhindered.
- 16 Again from the description of the action, it appears that the road along the Yellow River, which was being used by the baggage train from Boma, ran on the inner, northern, side of the major southern dyke which concealed Cao Cao and his men from the enemy. Having crossed the River, Yuan Shao's men were tempted to approach Cao Cao's position by the offer of plunder from the baggage-carts which they could see, apparently undefended, in the open below the dyke.
- L *SGZ* 36 (Shu 6), 939–40 (2a–b), the Biography of Guan Yu.
- M *SGZ* 8, 247 (16b), the Biography of Liu Yu.
- 17 Under Later Han, the Colonel Protector of the Wuhuan, with headquarters at Ning in Shanggu commandery, near present-day Zhangjiakou [Kalgan] was responsible for dealings with the Wuhuan and the Xianbi tribes of the north-western frontier. See, for example, *HHS* 118/28, 3626, the Treatise of Officials, *HHS* 90/80, 2982, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 37 and 383.  
Yan Rou had already established influence over the non-Chinese people of this region, and Yuan Shao had earlier granted him authority: passages SS of Xingping 2 and C of Jian'an 4.
- 18 During Later Han, the General Who Crosses the Liao, with headquarters at Manbo in Wuyuan, near present-day Baotou, was responsible for control of the frontier against the Xiongnu, including supervision of the dependent court of the Southern Shanyu. See, for

example, *HHS* 89/79, 2949, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 252–253 and 518–519. Though the Liao River flows through southern Manchuria, the title had long ceased to have such specific geographical relevance.

Xianyu Fu, based in Yuyang, was a colleague of Yan Rou in the north of the North China plain: passage SS of Xingping 2. He had earlier made contact with Cao Cao and had been appointed as a general with authority over the western half of You province: passage B of Jian'an 4. Appointment as a general of the trans-Liao command presumably gave him the right to deal with non-Chinese people, Xiongnu and others, in comparable fashion to Yan Rou.

*SGZ* 8 has this appointment as General Who Crosses the Liao River on the Left, but *ZZTJ* has changed it. (The parallel text of *HHS* 73/63, 2365, does not specify a side.) *ZZTJ* commentary suggests the designation "Right" defines Xianyu Fu's sphere of responsibility as You province, on the east of the frontier, excluding the Ordos region, which would be on the "Left." This was evidently the view of the Song period, viewing the northern frontier from a stand-point in the south of China. I observe, however, that from the point of view of a ruler of all under Heaven, sitting with his back to the north and his face to the south, the west is on his right and the east on his left. In particular, this equation of direction can be seen in the designation of the two capital commanderies Zuopingyi and Youfufeng, which were established east and west respectively of the Former Han capital Chang'an. I suspect, therefore, that *SGZ* was correct in identifying Xianyu Fu's appointment as being on the Left, and so responsible for the western part of the frontier, and the change by *ZZTJ* was mistaken.

N *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1109 (33b–36a), the Biography of Sun Ce;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1111 (34a–b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

19 Sheyang county was near present-day Huaian in Jiangsu, in the north of Guangling commandery.

Chen Deng was a long-time associate and trusted officer of Cao Cao (*e.g.* passage L of Jian'an 2) who had been appointed to his present position after Sun Ce drove away his cousin, the earlier agent Chen Yu: passages O of Jian'an 2 and K of Jian'an 3. His policy was the same as Chen Yu's: to encourage local opposition south of the lower Yangzi and so prevent Sun Ce from making plans too far afield.

20 On White Tiger Yan, see passages QQ of Xingping 2, R of Jian'an 1, O of Jian'an 2, and Y of Jian'an 4; the implication of the last is that White Tiger Yan was no longer significant. *Jiangbiao zhuan*, however, refers to Chen Deng sending seals and insignia to these allies as Chen Yu had before him (passage O of Jian'an 2). It is possible White Tiger Yan was not finally eliminated until this year.

21 Dantu in Danyang commandery, by present-day Dantu in Jiangsu, was on the border with Wu commandery just across the Yangzi estuary from Guangling.

There is a tradition, recorded by the main text of *SGZ* 46 and some other sources, that Sun Ce was planning to take advantage of Cao Cao's pre-occupation with Yuan Shao's attack at Guandu and strike north against Xu city, to kidnap the Emperor and then use him to control the empire. As the fourth-century scholar Sun Sheng and the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang have observed, and as I have argued in *Generals of the South*, 208–211, this is most unlikely.

- 22 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes the story in *Jiangbiao zhuan* that Xu Gong had sent a memorial to the court warning against Sun Ce; Sun Ce learnt of this, taxed Xu Gong with it, and killed him. Xu Gong had earlier taken refuge with White Tiger Yan: passage QQ of Xingping 2. Sima Guang suggests, likely enough, that Xu Gong was taken when Sun Ce destroyed White Tiger Yan or his associates, this year or last. See also de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 198–199.
- 23 The phrase *sanjiang* refers at this time to the Yangzi River. It is not certain whether the "Three Streams" should be identified as the upper, middle and lower Yangzi, being the reaches flowing through modern Sichuan, Hubei/Hunan and Jiangxi/ Anhui/ Jiangsu, or whether it is an description of three major branches flowing through the ancient delta region below present-day Nanjing (*e.g.* de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 47).
- 24 Sun Ce's age at death is given by the main text of *SGZ* 46. The date is given by *Yu lin*, quoted in *SGZ* 46, 1110 PC, as the fourth day of the fifth month, which was indeed a *bingwu* day.
- O *SGZ* 47 (Wu 2), 1115–16 (2a–b), the Biography of Sun Quan;  
*SGZ* 52 (Wu 7), 1220 (3a–b), the Biography of Zhang Zhao;  
*SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), 1260 (4b), the Biography of Zhou Yu.
- 25 Sun Quan's biography says that under the auspices of his elder brother Sun Ce he received two recommendations as a candidate for government office: Filially Pious and Incorrupt by his commandery, and Accomplished Talent by the provincial administration. Zhang Zhao addresses him by the former, less distinguished, title.
- 26 Zhou Yu had been stationed at Baqiu in Yuzhang, in charge of the major Sun forces in the west: passage V of Jian'an 4. Before that posting in the west, he had been Protector of the Army at the Centre under Sun Ce: *SGZ* 54, 1260. The appointment generally indicates disciplinary powers: for example, passage P and note 39 of Chuping 2, and de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 62 note 46.
- ZZTJ* commentary observes here that the state of Wu also had Protectors of the Army on the Right and on the Left, and suggests there were three divisions of the forces. In fact, however, Protectors of the Army on the Right and on the Left appear much later in the reign of Sun Quan (*SGZ* 52, 1237; 54, 1277; 56, 1306; 58, 1345; 60, 1382; 64, 1445 PC). Those later positions, moreover, do not appear to have any territorial significance, but were dual appointments to the same office. The present post held by Zhou Yu is the only reference to the Centre: he was evidently chief of staff of all Sun armies, with responsibilities comparable to those of Zhang Zhao in the civilian side of government.
- P *HHS* 9, 381 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.
- Q *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 876 (10b), the Biography of Liu Bei.
- R *SGZ* 18, 535 (3b–4a), the Biography of Li Tong;  
*SGZ* 23, 668 (18a–19a), the Biography of Zhao Yan.
- 27 On Li Tong's appointment in Yang'an, at the frontier of Cao Cao's territory with that of Liu Biao, see passage Z of Jian'an 2.

- 28 The traditional coinage of Han had been destroyed by Dong Zhuo (passage U of Chuping 1), so official levies were now collected by commodities, grain or silk. See also passage S below, and *JS* 26, 790, with Yang, "Economic History," 159 and 191.
- S *SGZ* 12, 380 (22a–b), the Biography of He Kui.
- 29 Changguang commandery had been lately established by Cao Cao in the south of the Shandong peninsula. Changguang county under Later Han was in Donglai commandery, near present-day Haiyang in Shandong. The new establishment represents an extension of Cao Cao's authority into the confused and disordered territories of the mountainous peninsula, and He Kui's biography describes how he had to deal with Yellow Turbans and other local rebels, and also with threats from Yuan Tan to the north.
- 30 *ZZTJ* commentary quotes from *Zhou li* 8, 27b–28a; Biot II, 276–277, describing the division of the empire into nine concentric regions, each more distant from the capital.  
Hu Sanxing quotes further from *Zhou li* 9, 9a–b; Biot II, 307–308, describing the three rules of governing: the lightest punishments were applied to those territories which had come newly under control; the medium range was for those which were settled and at peace; and the heaviest strictures should be applied only to those which were disordered and rebellious.
- 31 On the basis of the *Zhou li* models, He Kui is arguing that his commandery should be considered not as a settled region which has wilfully broken out in disorder, but as a new territory of Cao Cao, distant from his capital, for which lenient treatment is appropriate.
- T *SGZ* 9, 274 (13a), the Biography of Cao Ren.
- 32 The Ying River flowed just south of Xu city, and the Ru was roughly parallel, further south again. Passage R above has described how Li Tong in Yang'an settled the region from the Ru River southwards to the Huai basin, but this area of disturbance was closer and in that respect more dangerous.
- U *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 876 (10b), the Biography of Liu Bei.
- V *HHS* 74/64A, 2400 (18a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 6, 199 (58a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- 33 Yangwu county in Henan was near present-day Yuanyang, close to the course of the modern Yellow River, and just north of the canalised Ji River of Han. This city became Yuan Shao's headquarters for his attack on Cao Cao, whose defences were based on Guandu, immediately to the south.
- W *SGZ* 1, 19 (47a), the Biography of Cao Cao.
- 34 Guandu, where Cao Cao had established his main line of defences in the previous year (passage N of Jian'an 4), was just north of present-day Zhongmou in Henan. The Han city was on a slight terrace above the southern bank of the Bian Canal [a branch of the Vast or Grand Canal network: Needham, *Science and Civilization* IV.3, 270, de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 57–58, and note 32 to Chuping 1]. It was the last obstacle of any significance to an approach against Xu city from the north.

- X *HHS* 9, 381 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.
- 35 *HHS* 108/18, 3371, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this eclipse, but gives no astronomical details. The eclipse, Oppolzer 3372, mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 217, affected the far north of Manchuria and Mongolia.
- Despite the obvious confrontation at Guandu, the Treatise offers no prognostication. Commentary to the Treatise, however, quotes from *Qiantan ba*, apocryphal work on the *Chunqiu*, which says that an eclipse on a *gengwu* day foretells the destruction of a government army by fire. This would actually fit better with Cao Cao's defeat at the Red Cliffs in 208 than with the present engagement at Guandu: passage PP of Jian'an 13, and de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 267–269.
- Y *SGZ* 1, 19–20 (48b), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*HHS* 74/64A, 2400 (18a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 6, 199 (58b–59a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- 36 *SGZ* 6 and *HHS* 74/64A say that "thunder cars" (*pili*) was the name given by Yuan Shao's troops to these machines of Cao Cao. The text describes them as stone-throwers, and they must have been mobile ballistae. Thunder presumably referred to the crash as the firing arm of the machine reached its limit, and possibly to the effect of the stones as they arrived.
- Z *SGZ* 1, 20 (48b), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*SGZ* 10, 314 (15a–b), the Biography of Xun Yu.
- 37 Rongyang and Chenggao were west of Guandu, near the present-day places of the same names in Henan, by the junction of the Bian River and the Vast Canal system with the Yellow River. At the beginning of Han, this region was the site of critical campaigns between Liu Ji (later Liu Bang), future Emperor Gao of Han, and his rival Xiang Yu, King of Western Chu, with battles and sieges at both cities. See, for example, *SJ* 7, 324–30; Chavannes, *MH* II, 302–311, and *HS* 1A, 37–56; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 80–94.
- AA *SGZ* 1, 21 (49a–50b), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*SGZ* 10, 323–24 (30b–31a), the Biography of Xun You;  
*SGZ* 6, 199 (59a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*HHS* 74/64A, 2400–01 (18b–19b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 1, 21–22 (49b–50a) PC quoting *Cao Man zhuan*;  
*SGZ* 17, 525 (11b), the Biography of Zhang Ge.
- 38 In *SGZ* 1, this small incident is described after the first attack on Yuan Shao's supply trains, recommended by Xun You and described immediately below. That seems a slightly more likely order of events, and it is not possible to say why *ZZTJ* changed it.
- 39 The biography of Xu Huang in *SGZ* 17, 528, says that this raid was made against the supply base at Gushi.
- Gushi had been a county under Former Han, but was disestablished by Later Han. The town was northwest of present-day Zhengzhou in Henan, at the western edge of the sphere of operations about Guandu. See also note 42 below.
- 40 *SGZ* 6 and *HHS* 74/64A both identify this place as Wuchao. See note 42 below.

41 The style of Xu You was Ziyuan, but the text here reads. One suggestion is that Cao Cao addressed him as *qing* "minister" as a mark of compliment. The more probable alternative is that the character *yuan* has been mistakenly left out, and *qing* is here simply the courteous address for the second person: "you."

42 The Wuchao Marsh is now southeast of Yanjin in Henan. *SGZ* 6 says that Wuchao, forty *li* from Guandu, was where Chunyu Qiong was camped (note 39 above), and the area was indeed some twenty kilometres north of Guandu on Yuan Shao's line of communications to the Yellow River at Boma and the Yan Crossing. The marsh, moreover, was linked to the Ji River or Canal, a branch of the Vast Canal network (notes 33 and 34 above), which gave east-west access behind Yuan Shao's front line and would have aided distribution.

It thus appears that supplies for Yuan Shao's army were brought by land and water to the Boma and Yan crossings on the Yellow River, then transported in carts across the ridge between the Yellow River and the depression which forms the modern course of the stream, and which held the Bian Canal, the Puyang River, and other waterways near Guandu. At Wuchao the goods were gathered and stored for distribution, again to some extent by water, behind Yuan Shao's front line facing Guandu.

From the account below of a cavalry action at Wuchao, it is clear this was the chief objective of Cao Cao's second raid, and though we are told above that Chunyu Qiong halted overnight (*su*), it is more likely that he was in command of a semi-permanent supply depot.

Gushi had earlier been the object of Xu Huang's raid (see above and note 39 quoting *SGZ* 17). This place also lay on the Ji. It was probably the western terminus of the distribution system, and may also have received supplies directly across the watershed from the Yellow River.

Besides modern topographical maps, there are reconstructions of the scene of conflict in *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* II, 16 and 43, and *Zhongguo shi gao ditu ji* I, 47.

43 Tying up the horses' mouths and gagging the men was, of course, to ensure their silence, and carrying firewood was presumably to make the party appear as scavengers. But how a man gagged to silence and carrying a load of wood could explain successfully to an interested enquirer that he was actually part of a group of military reinforcements taxes the imagination. The raid was indeed carried out in secret and deception, but the historian has multiplied the clichés.

44 These were the reinforcements Yuan Shao had sent.

45 Surely another cliché (*cf.* note 43 above). The mind boggles at the work this would have entailed in the middle of a tight schedule, surrounded still by potentially overwhelming enemy forces; and how does one make a display of the lips and tongues of cattle and horses, let alone a thousand noses?

On the other hand, *Cao Man zhuan* has the sad story how Chunyu Qiong, the defeated commander, was captured alive and had his nose cut off. He was then brought before Cao Cao, who would have spared him. Xu You, however, urged his execution, and Chunyu Qiong died.

46 The text has the characters *fujin*. The *Fuzi* book by Fu Xuan of the third century, quoted here by *ZZTJ* commentary, explains that commanders and high officers wore silken cloth for elegance and distinction.



47 As the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes, *HHS* 74/64A and the *Han ji* of Zhang Fan (quoted in *SGZ* 6, 200 PC) say that eighty thousand men were killed. The figure of seventy thousand comes from the official report presented by Cao Cao to the Emperor, quoted from *Xiandi qijuzhu* by *SGZ* 1, 22 PC.

These figures are impossibly high: the total strength of Yuan Shao's army at the beginning of the campaign is given as only a hundred thousand (*e.g.* passage G above), and a seventy per-cent fatality rate cannot be credited.

It is nonetheless true that the losses of a defeated and broken army at this time could be quite disproportionate to those of the victors: pursuers had little difficulty in cutting down men running away from them, and generally small hesitation in doing so.

One sad reason for such slaughter was the difficulty of ensuring that a prisoner, left unattended, would not immediately take up arms again from the clutter of weapons which lay about any battle-field. After fire-arms were developed, it became easier to disarm a group of men and hold them in some form of control, but before that time an able-bodied, trained soldier, simply by grasping a spear or sword, could instantly change back from a surrendered captive to a dangerous enemy.

In this respect, the heavy Roman casualties after the defeat by Hannibal at Cannae were attributed to the problems the Carthaginians had in securing prisoners, and similar excuses have been offered for Henry V's order to slaughter his captives during the battle of Agincourt: see, for example, Keegan, *The Face of Battle*, 107–112. Even in the days of firearms, Keegan, at 194 and 48–50, describes vividly the difficulties of surrender at Waterloo and in modern times.

Furthermore, while the account of Cao Cao burying surrendered enemies alive (*keng*) appears again to be a horrific cliché, the fuller text of *HHS* 74/64A puts it in a slightly different light. There it is said that a number of men surrendered falsely (*wei*) to Cao Cao, but then attempted to rejoin Yuan Shao as he gathered his scattered troops together north of the Yellow River (passage DD below). These repeated turncoats were buried alive. By slight adaptation of the text, *ZZTJ* has turned a punishment designed to discourage desertion, and limited to those who sought to escape, into a classical atrocity. (But Cao Cao, after all, was pleased enough to boast of his enemies' dead.)

BB *HHS* 74/64A, 2402 (19b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 6, 199 (59b–60a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 6, 200 (59b–60a) PC quoting *Xiandi zhuan*;  
*HHJ* 29, 11a.

48 According to the "Starfield" astrological theory of Han times, the twenty-eight lunar mansions (*xiu*) were identified with different regions of the empire. See, for example, the astronomical discussion of *SJ* 27, 1330 and 1346; Chavannes, *MH* III, 384 and 405–406, the description of the Han empire in *HS* 28B, 1641–71, and the discussion by Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 121–126.

CC *SGZ* 1, 21 (51b), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*SGZ* 1, 22 (51b) PC quoting *Weishi chunqiu*.

49 *ZZTJ* commentary cites similar action by Emperor Guangwu, founder of Later Han, after the capture of Handan in 24 AD: *HHS* 1, 14–15; Bielenstein, *RHD* II, 77. The incident may be a

cliché or, as Hu Sanxing suggests, an example of great leaders following the same policy. As Bielenstein observes, one may doubt the documents really remained unread, but it was good propaganda.

- DD *HHS 74/64A*, 2401 (19a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- EE *HHS 74/64A*, 2402 (19b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ 6*, 200–01 (60b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- FF *HHS 74/64A*, 2402–03 (20a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.  
50 Shen Pei had been appointed Attendant Official at Headquarters when Yuan Shao first took over Ji province in 191: passage P of Chuping 2. It appears he remained at Ye thereafter, and did not accompany the expeditionary force against Cao Cao. We are told in passage AA above that Xu You resolved to desert Yuan Shao because one of his relatives had been arrested by Shen Pei: the offence and punishment presumably took place at Ye city.
- GG *HHS 74/64A*, 2403 (20b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ 6*, 201 (61b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- HH *HHS 74/64A*, 2402 (20a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ 6*, 201 (61b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- II *HHS 9*, 382 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.  
51 The Great Dyke constellation (*Daliang*) is the same as the Wei "Stomach" lunar mansion, the seventeenth, represented in Western astronomy by the small group Musca Borealis, east of Hamal in Aries: Schlegel, *Uranographie chinoise* I, 343, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 100 and Star Map 6.  
This comet is described in *HHS 102/12*, 3261, the Treatise of Astronomy. The constellation is linked to Ji province, so the portent is related to the death of Yuan Shao two years later and the conquest of his territory by Cao Cao.
- JJ *SGZ 15*, 463 (1a–2a), the Biography of Liu Fu.  
52 Li Shu had been appointed to Lujiang by Sun Ce: passage S of Jian'an 4.
- KK *SGZ 53* (Wu 8), 1243–44 (2b), the Biography of Zhang Hong;  
*SGZ 53* (Wu 8), 1244 (2a) PC quoting *Wu shu*.  
53 Sun Ce had sent Zhang Hong with tribute to the court two years earlier, and Zhang Hong had been appointed there as Attendant Imperial Clerk: passage W of Jian'an 3.  
54 Under Later Han, Chief Commandants could be appointed in border commanderies or territories of particular military emergency. Where more than one was appointed, the commandery was divided into Regions (*bu*).  
55 The phrase *taifuren* refers to the dowager Lady Wu, widow of Sun Jian, who is mentioned in the following passage.

- LL *SGZ* 55 (Wu 10), 1291 (11a), the Biography of Dong Xi.
- MM *SGZ* 53 (Wu 8), 1244 (3a) PC quoting *Wu shu*.
- 56 Though Zhang Hong, as Chief Commandant in Kuaiji, was formally the subordinate of Sun Quan as Grand Administrator, he did owe his appointment directly to the court under Cao Cao: passage KK above. On the conflict of loyalty caused Zhang Hong by his successive service to Sun Ce, to the imperial court under Cao Cao, and now to Sun Quan, see de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 223. Despite show of good faith by both Sun Quan and Zhang Hong, there remained some uncertainty.
- NN *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), 1268 (15a), the Biography of Lu Su.
- 57 Lu Su came originally from Dongcheng in Xiapi (also known as Linhuai), near the Huai River: note 21 to Jian'an 3.
- 58 On the hegemon rulers Duke Huan of Qi and Duke Wen of Jin, see note 30 to Chuping 3.
- 59 On the Provisional Emperor, see note 21 to Jian'an 1.
- 60 *SGZ* 54 says that Lu Su was a man of wealthy family, but their property had been lost in the troubles of the time.
- OO *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), 1273 (22a), the Biography of Lü Meng.
- PP *SGZ* 57 (Wu 12), 1335 (32b), the Biography of Luo Tong.
- 61 Luo Jun was the Chancellor of Chen assassinated at Yuan Shu's orders in 197: passage P of Jian'an 2.
- QQ *SGZ* 51 (Wu 6), 1211 (9b), the Biography of Sun Fu;  
*SGZ* 51 (Wu 6), 1212 (9b–10a) PC quoting *Dian lue*.
- 62 On Sun Fu's campaigns in Yuzhang and his appointment as Grand Administrator of Luling commandery, see passages S and V of Jian'an 4. *SGZ* 51 says that Sun Fu was not only exiled, but held in confinement.
- ZZTJ* here dates the disaffection of Sun Fu to the beginning of Sun Quan's reign, just after the death of Sun Ce. I have argued, however, in *Generals of the South*, 260–261, that Sun Fu was more likely to have been concerned in 208, on the eve of the Red Cliffs campaign, when Cao Cao controlled Jing province and there was serious debate whether or not to surrender. At present, Cao Cao was primarily engaged in the north. Luling commandery, in the south of present-day Jiangxi province, separated from the Yangzi by the rump of Yuzhang, was surely too far away for useful contact, and we see in passage JJ above that Cao Cao's officer Liu Fu had hardly begun to establish a position even south of the Huai.
- RR *SGZ* 13, 401–03 (19b–20a), the Biography of Hua Xin.
- 63 Hua Xin had surrendered to Sun Ce in the previous year: passage T of Jian'an 4.
- SGZ* 13 describes how Sun Quan was at first reluctant to let Hua Xin go, but was eventually persuaded to do so. The appointments Hua Xin were given are comparable to those awarded his colleague Wang Lang: passage Y and note 22 of Jian'an 3.

- SS *SGZ* 47 (Wu 2), 1116 (2b–3a), PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.
- 64 See passage JJ above.
- 65 Aheng was the name or title held by Yi Yin, chief minister at the beginning of the legendary Shang dynasty: see, for example, Chavannes, *MHI*, 178, and Legge, *CC* III, 199–200 (Couvreur, *Chou king*, 118).
- TT *HHS* 74/64B, 2421 (9a–b), the Biography of Liu Biao;  
*SGZ* 6, 211 (83b), the Biography of Liu Biao.
- 66 On the rebellion of Zhang Xian in the southern part of Jing province, distantly allied to Cao Cao, see passage V of Jian'an 3.
- 67 As Lu Bi has observed in *SGZJJ*, the clearest source for this last set of statements is the biography of Kong Rong, *HHS* 70/60, 2269, concerning a memorial which Kong Rong had sent to the court. There is further evidence scattered in other places: in discussion with Cao Cao, for example, after the surrender of Jing province in 208, Liu Xian described the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth: *SGZ* 6, 216 PC quoting *Lingling xianxian zhuan*. The usurpation of imperial honours, however, is not mentioned in Liu Biao's biographies of *HHS* 74/64B and *SGZ* 6: and *cf.* passage II of Jian'an 1.
- UU *HHS* 75/65, 2433 (2b–3a), the post-Biography of Liu Yan;  
*SGZ* 8, 263 (44a), the Biography of Zhang Lu;  
*SGZ* 31 (Shu 1), 868 (9b–10a), the Biography of Liu Zhang;  
*SGZ* 31 (Shu 1), 869 (10b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;  
*Huayang guo zhi* 5, 6a.
- 68 This first paragraph is based on *HHS* 75/65, but is in some disagreement with the two texts from *SGZ*. The biography of Zhang Lu says that he killed Zhang Xiu before the death of Liu Yan and the succession of Liu Zhang in 194, while both texts agree that Zhang Lu and Zhang Xiu were actually in rebellion against Han, so the killing of one by the other would hardly have been a matter of defiance to Liu Zhang: passage JJ of Chuping 2.  
It appears, indeed, that Liu Yan, and Liu Zhang after him, were for some time largely unconcerned at Zhang Lu's activities. Liu Yan used the physical break with the Han court to justify the establishment of his own regime, and members of Zhang Lu's family and following continued to reside at Liu Zhang's court in Chengdu. It is generally agreed that Liu Zhang was considered a weak ruler, but in this case, on the evidence of *SGZ*, it appears most probable that the final break took place because he attempted to enforce some authority by pressure against Zhang Lu's relatives. See also de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 363.
- 69 Pang Xi was an old supporter of Liu Zhang and his father Liu Yan: passage Y of Xingping 1.  
Langzhong city was near present-day Langzhong in Sichuan, on the Jialing Jiang; Hanchang county was on the next major valley to the east, near present-day Bazhong on a tributary of the Qu Jiang. The non-Chinese people of the hills and mountains on the eastern border of Yi with Jing province were commonly known as Zong, after the tribute of cloth which they were required to present each year: see *HHS* 86/76, 2831, and the discussion of Tang Changru in his *Wei-Jin nanbeichao shi luncong*, 4.  
*Hanmo yingxiong ji*, and *SGZ* 45, 1071 and 1089 (cited in passage G of Jian'an 6), describe Pang Xi as Grand Administrator of Baxi commandery rather than of Ba. In 194 Liu

Zhang divided Later Han Ba commandery to form three new commandery units, retaining the name Ba for the limited area about Langzhong. In 201, however, the name of the Langzhong region was changed to Baxi. Thus, without changing territory, Pang Xi could be Grand Administrator successively of Ba and of Baxi. On this complex administrative history see Wu Zengjin, *Sanguo junxian biao*, 2920–2922, and de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 364–366.

- 70 The Dongzhou troops obtained that name because many of them came from Nanyang, in the "eastern province" (*dongzhou*) of Jing.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

of works cited in the Notes to the Translation

### Part I: Early Chinese texts

Abbreviations:

*HHJ* *Hou Han ji* by Yuan Hong: see below

*HHS* *Hou Han shu* by Fan Ye and others: see below

*HS* *Han shu*: see below

*JS* *Jin shu*: see below

*QJHHS* *Qijia Hou Han shu* compiled by Wang Wentai, Taipei 1974

*SBBY* *Sibu beiyao*, Commercial Press

*SBCK* *Sibu congkan*, Commercial Press

*SGZ* *Sanguo zhi*: see below

*SGZPC* The Commentary of Pei Songzhi to *Sanguo zhi*: see below

*SJ* *Shi ji*: see below

*SJZ* *Shuijing zhu*: see below

*ZZTJ* *Zizhi tongjian*: see below

*Account of Zhongchang Tong* by Miao Xi (3rd century) quoted in *SGZPC*

*Bencao gangmu* by Li Shizhen (16th century), Shanghai 1954

*Bohu tong* compiled by Ban Gu (32–92) and others in *SBCK*

and see Tjan in Part II below

*Bing Yuan biezhu* quoted in *SGZPC*

*Cao Man zhuan* by an unknown writer of the 3rd century state of Wu  
quoted in *SGZPC*

*Chuguo xianxian zhuan* by Zhang Fang (4th century) quoted in *SGZPC*

*Chunqiu* with *Zuo zhuan* in Legge, *CCV*, in Part II below

and in Couvreur, *Chronique*, in Part II below

and in *Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde*, Shanghai 1983

*Daode jing* ascribed to Laozi, edited by Wang Bi (3rd century AD)

in *SBBY*, and see Lau, *Lao tzu*, in Part II below

*Dian lue* by Yu Huan (3rd century) quoted in *HHS* commentary and in *SGZPC*

*Dongguan Hanji* by various authors of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, in *SBBY*

*Fa yan* by Yang Xiong (53 BC – 18 AD) in *SBBY*

*Fuzi* by Fu Xuan (217–278) quoted in *SGZPC*

and see Paper in Part II below

Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu* [*q.v.*]

in *Chunqiu jingzhuan yinde*, Shanghai 1983

*Guanzi* ascribed to Guan Zhong of the 7th century BC in *SBBY*  
and see Rickett in Part II below

*Guo yu* in *SBCK*

*Hanguan dianzhi yishi xuanyong* [also as *Han yi*]

by Cai Zhi (*fl.* 175 AD) quoted in commentary to *HHS* treatises

*Hanguan yi* by Ying Shao (c. 140–c. 206)

quoted in commentary to *HHS* treatises

*Han ji* by Xun Yue (2nd century) in *SBCK*

*Han–Jin chungiu* by Xi Zuochi (4th century) quoted in *SGZ PC*

*Hanmo mingshi lu* quoted in *SGZ PC*

*Hanmo yingxiong ji* [also as *Yingxiong ji*], by Wang Can (177–217)

quoted in *HHS* commentary and in *SGZ PC*

*Han shu* [*HS*] by Ban Gu (32–92) and others

commentary by Yan Shigu (581–645) and others

Beijing 1962

*Han Xiandi chungiu* see *Xiandi chungiu*

*Han yi* see *Hanguan dianzhi yishi xuanyong* above

*Hou Han ji* [*HHJ*] by Yuan Hong (320–376) in *SBCK*

*Hou Han ji* by Zhang Fan (4th century) in *QJHHS*

*Hou Han shu* [*HHS*], Beijing 1965

annals 10 chapters and *liezhuan* 80 chapters by Fan Ye (396–446) with  
primary commentary by Li Xian and others of Tang

treatises 30 chapters from the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao (*q.v.*) with primary  
commentary by Liu Zhao (6th century)

[Chapters are cited first by order within the whole of *HHS*, then by order  
within each part of *HHS*: thus *HHS* 5 indicates the fifth chapter of *HHS*  
annals and of the whole work, *HHS* 68/58 indicates the fifty–eighth  
chapter of the *liezhuan* and the sixty–eighth of the whole work, while  
*HHS* 105/15 indicates the fifteenth chapter of the treatises, the one  
hundred and fifth chapter of this edition of *HHS*.]

also *Hou Han shu jijie* [*HHSJJ*] edition by Wang Xianqian and others,

Changsha 1915, facsimile by Yiwen Publishers, Taipei

see also Harvard–Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series No. 41

and *Gokanjo goi shusei*, 3 volumes, Kyoto 1960

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*Hou Han shu* by Xie Cheng (3rd century) in *QJHHS*

*Hou Han shu* by Yuan Shansong (4th century) in *QJHHS*

*Huayang guo zhi* by Chang Qu (4th century) and others in *SBCK*

*Jiangbiao zhuan* by Yu Pu (3rd century) quoted in *SGZ PC*

*Jin shu* [JS] by Fang Xuanling (578–648) and others

Beijing 1974

*Jin yangqiu* by Sun Sheng (4th century) quoted in *SGZ PC*

*Jiuzhou chunqiu* by Sima Biao (3rd century) quoted in *SGZ PC*

*Kongzi jiayu* in *SBCK*

and see Kramers in Part II below

*Kuaiji dianlu* by Yu Yu (4th century) quoted in *SGZ PC*

*Li ji* in Couvreur, *Mémoires*, in Part II below

*Lienü zhuan* by Huangfu Mi (3rd century) quoted in *SGZ PC*

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quoted in *SGZ PC*

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and see Lau, *Analects*, in Part II below

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*Sanguo zaji* by Sun Sheng (4th century) quoted in *SGZ PC*

*Sanguo zhi* [SGZ] by Chen Shou (233–297)

with Commentary [PC] by Pei Songzhi (372–451)

Beijing 1959

[Chapters are first identified by order within the whole of *SGZ*, then within one of the sections dealing with the states of Wei (30 chapters), Shu (15 chapters) and Wu (20 chapters); thus *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1) indicates the forty-sixth chapter of the whole work and the first chapter of the section dealing with Wu.]

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