

THE THREE KINGDOMS AND WESTERN JIN
A HISTORY OF CHINA IN THE THIRD CENTURY AD
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Sources and Common Abbreviations

Notes

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Part 1

The chief sources in Chinese for the history of the end of Han are chapters 59–68 of the *Zizhi tongjian* [ZTZ] of Sima Guang (1019–1086) [Beijing 1956], which chronicle the years 189 to 220 AD, drawing information chiefly from two standard histories:

Hou Han shu [HHS] compiled by Fan Ye (396–446) and others, 120 chapters *juan* [annals 10 chapters, biographies and accounts of non-Chinese peoples 80 chapters, treatises 30 chapters incorporated from the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao (240–306)]: reference edition Beijing 1965; modern commentary by Wang Xianqian, *Hou Han shu jijie* (HHSJ), Changsha 1915,

Sanguo zhi [SGZ] by Chen Shou (233–297), 65 chapters [Wei 30 chapters, Shu–Han 15 chapters, Wu 20 chapters] with commentary [PC] compiled by Pei Songzhi (372–451) citing many parallel works: reference edition Beijing 1959; modern commentary by Lu Bi, *Sanguo zhi jijie* (SGZJ), Mianyang 1936.

The relevant chapters of ZTZ are translated by Rafe de Crespigny, *The Last of the Han*, Canberra 1969 [since republished as *To Establish Peace*, Canberra 1996, and now available on the Internet].

Part 2

The chief sources in Chinese for the history of the Three Kingdoms period from the end of Han to the fall of Wei and Shu–Han are chapters 69–78 of ZTZ. These draw their information chiefly from SGZ, from the additional sources quoted in SGZ PC, and from *Jin shu* [JS], in 130 chapters: reference edition Beijing 1974. *Jin shu* was compiled, on the basis of a number of earlier works, by a committee of scholars headed by Fang Xuanling (578–648) under the auspices of the Tang Emperor Taizong.

The chapters of ZTZ dealing with the years 220 to 265 are translated by Achilles Fang, *The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms*, 2 volumes, Harvard UP, 1952 and 1965 [*Chronicle I* and II].

Part 3

The standard Chinese history for the Jin dynasty is *Jin shu* [JS], Beijing 1974. The work includes imperial annals, treatises, individual biographies, and parallel annals (*zaiji*) of rival non-Chinese states. On the historiography of JS, see "Notes on the economic history of the Chin dynasty," in Yang Lien-sheng, *Studies in Chinese Institutional History*, Harvard UP, 1963),.119–197 [first published in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 9 (1952),.107–185] at 119–123, and K.H.J. Gardiner, "Standard histories, Han to Sui," in *Essays on the Sources for*

Chinese History, edited by Donald D. Leslie, Colin Mackerras, and Wang Gungwu, Australian National University Press, Canberra 1973, 42–52 at 45–46.

There is unfortunately no substantial translation of the chronicle for the period of Western Jin in *ZZTJ* nor of its source texts.

Notes

1 There are biographies of Dong Zhuo (d.192) in *HHS* 72/62 and *SGZ* 6/Wei 6. For an account of events at Luoyang in September 189, see *ZZTJ* 59, 1900–04; de Crespigny, *Last of the Han*, 51–57, and B.J. Mansvelt Beck, "The Fall of Han," in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires 221 B.C.–A.D.220*, edited by Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, Cambridge UP, 1986 [*Cambridge Han*], 341–347.

2 The account of the brief reign of Liu Bian (176–190), "Young" Emperor of Later Han, is attached to the end of the annals of his father Emperor Ling in *HHS* 8.

Liu Xie (181–234) is known to history by his posthumous title of Emperor Xian. The annals of his reign are in *HHS* 9.

3 Biographies of Yuan Shao (d.202) are in *HHS* 74A/64A and *SGZ* 6/Wei 6; those of Yuan Shu (d.199) are in *HHS* 75/65 and *SGZ* 6/Wei 6. Biographies of earlier members of the Yuan family, who had held the highest offices of state since the time of Emperor He at the end of the first century, are in *HHS* 45/35. On the position of such families and their influence among local elites, see Patricia Ebrey, "The Economic and Social History of Later Han," in *Cambridge Han*, 608–648 at 636–643.

4 The biography of Cao Cao (155–220), posthumously honoured as Emperor Wu of Wei, is in *SGZ* 1/Wei 1.

5 Han Fu, Governor of Ji province which controlled the northern part of the Yellow Plain, put the question at first in simple and realistic terms: "Shall we support the Yuan clan or the Dong family?" His advisers, however, insisted that he had no such choice, and Han Fu accepted Yuan Shao's influence. A few months later, Han Fu was brushed aside and Yuan Shao took his place as Governor: *HHS* 74A/64A, 2376–78.

More drastically, as Sun Jian (155–192), Grand Administrator of Changsha, came north to join the rebellion, he killed his nominal supervisor the Inspector of Jing province and his formal colleague the Grand Administrator of Nanyang: see his biography in *SGZ* 46/Wu 1, at 1096, and de Crespigny, *Generals of the South: the foundation and early history of the Three Kingdoms state of Wu*, Canberra 1990, 112–117.

6 See *ZZTJ* 60, 1933–39; de Crespigny, *To Establish Peace*, 91–94. Biographies of Lü Bu (d.199) are in *HHS* 75/65 and *SGZ* 7/Wei 7.

7 Biographies of Tao Qian (d.194) are in *HHS* 63/53 and *SGZ* 6/Wei 6. The biography of Liu Bei (161–223), First Sovereign of Shu–Han, is in *SGZ* 32/Shu 2.

8 One major contingent of Cao Cao's early army was a group of remnant "Yellow Turbans," a peasant mass from Qing province in present-day Shandong, whom he persuaded to surrender and join his forces in 192.

9 During Han, the city was called Xu. The name was changed to accord with a prophecy that the empire would be restored at Xuchang.

10 This campaign, which led to the battle at White Wolf Mountain, is discussed in de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier: the policies and strategy of the Later Han empire*, Canberra 1984, 407–413.

11 The same system of warfare is described for the Ming period by Ray Huang, "The Lung-ch'ing and Wan-li reigns, 1567–1620," in *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 7, The Ming dynasty 1368–1644, part 1*, edited by Frederick W. Mote, and Denis Twitchett, 511–584 at 579–580, describing the armies sent against Nurhachi in Manchuria in the early sixteenth century.

12 Cao Cao's father, Cao Song (d.193), had been adopted by the high-ranking court eunuch Cao Teng.

13 The biographies of Gongsun Du (?150–204) and Gongsun Kang (d.c.220) are in *SGZ* 8/Wei 8. On Gongsun Du and his successors, see K.H.J. Gardiner, "The Kung-sun Warlords of Liao-tung 189–238," [2 parts] in *Papers on Far Eastern History* (Canberra), 5 (March, 1972), 59–107, and 6 (September 1972), 141–201.

14 On the situation in the north at this time, see de Crespigny *Northern Frontier*, 345–354.

15 On the rebellion in the northwest, see Gustav Haloun, "The Liang-chou rebellion 184–221 A.D." in *Asia Major* (New Series) 1 (1949–50), 119–138, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 146–152.

16 Biographies of Liu Yan (d.194) are in *HHS* 75/65 and *SGZ* 31/Shu 1. That of Liu Zhang (d.219) is in *SGZ* 31/Shu 1.

17 The biography of Zhang Lu is in *SGZ* 8/Wei 8. Among several discussions on the development of popular Taoism at this time, one may observe the work of Henri Maspero, *Le Taoïsme*, in *Mélanges posthumes sur les religions et l'histoire de la Chine*, Paris 1950; Paul Michaud, "The Yellow Turbans," in *Monumenta Serica* 17 (1958), 47–127; and Werner Eichhorn, "Bemerkungen zum Aufstand des Chang Chio und zum Staate des Chang Lu," in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 3 (1955), 292–327, "T'ai-p'ing und T'ai-p'ing Religion," in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 5 (1957), 113–140, and "Allgemeine Bemerkung über das Religiöse in alten China," in *Oriens Extremus* 26 (1979), 13–21; and Rolf A. Stein, "Religious Taoism and Popular Religion from the second to seventh centuries," in *Facets of Taoism: essays in Chinese religion*, edited by Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel, Yale UP 1979, 53–81.

18 The biography/annals of Sun Quan (182–252), posthumously titled Great Emperor [Dadi] of Wu, is in *SGZ* 47/Wu 2.

19 The biography of Sun Ce (175–200) is in *SGZ* 46/Wu 1.

20 In 193 Huang Zu had commanded the northern defences of Liu Biao against the attack of Sun Jian, in which campaign Sun Jian was killed. So the Sun family had a personal vendetta against him, as well as a strategic interest in the territory he controlled.

21 There are biographies of Liu Biao (d.208) in *HHS* 74B/64B and *SGZ* 6/Wei 6, followed by brief accounts of his sons Liu Zong and Liu Qi (d.209).

22 The biography of Guan Yu (d.219) is in *SGZ* 36/Shu 6.

23 The biography of Zhou Yu (175–210) is in *SGZ* 54/Wu 9.

24 The story of the Red Cliffs occupies chapters 43–50 of the *Romance*. There are a number of plays on the theme in the traditional repertoire of Chinese drama, and a modern composite work "Battle of the Red Cliffs," was prepared in 1958, at a time of increasing interest in the career and historical significance of Cao Cao.

The major historical account of the campaign is in the biography of Zhou Yu, *SGZ* 54/Wu 9, 1262–63, with commentary by Pei Songzhi quoting the late third-century work *Jiangbiao zhuan*. There is a chronicle history of the campaign in *ZZTJ* 65, 2081–94; de Crespigny, *To Establish Peace*, 388–397. For a recent discussion, see de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 263–275.

25 The biography of Zhuge Liang (181–234) is in *SGZ* 35/Shu 5.

26 There is a discussion of that campaign, culminating in the battle of Huayin, in de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 163–165.

27 The biography of Liu Fu (d.208) is in *SGZ* 15/Wei 15. On the *tuntian* system of Wei, see below.

28 The biography of He Qi (d.227) is in *SGZ* 60/Wu 15, and that of Lu Xun (183–245) is in *SGZ* 58/Wu 13.

29 The biography of Lü Meng (178–219) is in *SGZ* 54/Wu 9.

30 The annals/biography of Cao Pi (187–226), Emperor Wen of Wei (acceded 220), is in *SGZ* 2/Wei 2.

Though it does not appear to have had any direct effect upon the course of diplomacy, war or politics, we should note that in this year 217 a great pestilence was recorded throughout the empire, with many deaths. This outbreak may have begun among the armies on the Yangzi, but it also attacked the court and took many of the leading scholars of the day. It was, however, the last recorded of the many attacks that had afflicted China since the time of Emperor Ling in the 170s and 180s. See in particular *HHS* 9, 389, and *HHS* 107/17, 3351.

31 *SGZ* 1/Wei 1, 49, and *SGZ* 47/Wu 2, 1120, de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 383–384.

32 The biography of Xiahou Yuan is in *SGZ* 9/Wei 9.

33 The biography of Cao Ren (168–223), commander of the garrison at Fan city, is in *SGZ* 9/Wei 9, and that of Yu Jin (d.221), the field commander defeated and captured by Guan Yu, is in *SGZ* 17/Wei 17.

34 The biography of Lu Su (172–217) is in *SGZ* 54/Wu 9.

35 On the abdication of Emperor Xian, and the claim to succession by Liu Bei, see Mansvelt Beck, "Fall of Han," 355–356 and 369, and also Carl Leban, "Managing Heaven's Mandate: coded communication in the accession of Ts'ao P'ei, A.D. 220," in *Ancient China: studies in early civilization*, edited by David T. Roy and Tsuen-hsuei Tsien, Chinese UP, Hong Kong 1978, 315–341. A more recent discussion is presented by H L Goodman, *Ts'ao P'i Transcendent: the political culture of dynasty-founding in China at the end of the Han*, Seattle 1998.

36 Though it is in many respects only a question of translation and nomenclature, we should recognise that "Three Kingdoms" is not a very good way to render the Chinese phrase *sanguo*, for there was no time at which all the three rulers of the separate states held the title of "king" (*wang*): Sun Quan obtained the title King of Wu only after Cao Pi and Liu Bei

had proclaimed themselves as emperors in 221, and he took the imperial title for himself, in formal rivalry to the other two, in 229. On the rendering of the title *wang* as "king" or "prince," see note 95 below.

37 The figures of Former Han, dated 2 AD, are presented in chapters 28A–C of the *Han shu* by Ban Gu (32–92) [Beijing 1962], and those of Later Han, for the years about 140, are in *HHS* 109–113/19–23. Both texts list commandery units and counties of the empire, with population figures of commandery units; the treatise of *HHS* has the commandery units arranged by provinces.

The treatises of *HHS* were compiled by Sima Biao of the third century as part of his *Xu Han shu*. They were later incorporated into *HHS*: see Hans Bielenstein, *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty* I–IV, in *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* [*BMFEA*] 26 (1954), 31 (1959), 39 (1967), and 51 (1979), at I, 12 and 16–17. On Sima Biao's work, see also B.J. Mansvelt Beck, *The Treatises of Later Han: their author, sources, content and place in Chinese historiography*, Leiden 1989.

The figures are discussed by Bielenstein, "The Census of China during the period 2–742 A.D.," in *BMFEA* 19 (1947), 125–163, pointing out the movement and colonisation from north to south. See also his "Wang Mang, the Restoration of the Han Dynasty, and Later Han," in *Cambridge Han*, 223–290 at 240–242 and 271–272.

38 On Nanyue, see the accounts in chapter 113 of the *Shi ji* of Sima Qian (146–c.86 BC) [Beijing 1959], 2967–78, and in *HS* 95, 3847–59; also Keith Weller Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam*, California UP, 23–27, and Ying–shih Yü, "Han Foreign Relations," in *Cambridge Han*, 377–462 at 451–453.

39 Yü, "Han Foreign Relations," in *Cambridge Han*, 454.

40 The biography of Shi Xie (137–226) is in *SGZ* 49/Wu 4. For discussion of his career, see Taylor, *Birth of Vietnam*, 73–74, Jennifer Holmgren, *The Chinese Colonisation of Northern Vietnam: administrative geography and political development in the Tongking delta, first to sixth centuries A.D.*, Canberra 1980, 72–77, and de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 340–353.

On Longbian as a centre for overseas trade in Later Han, see Ying–shih Yü, *Trade and Expansion in Han China: a study in the structure of Sino-barbarian economic relations*, California UP, 1967, 178–179.

41 The biography of Bu Zhi (d.248) is in *SGZ* 52/Wu 7.

42 See Edward H. Schafer, *The Vermilion Bird: T'ang images of the south*, California UP 1963, 99. The name of Shi Xie is transcribed in Vietnamese as Si Nhiêp.

43 The biography of Lü Dai (161–256) is in *SGZ* 60/Wu 15.

44 Embassies from the three states Linyi, Funan, and Tangming are recorded in *SGZ* 60/Wu 15, 1385. On Linyi, a newly independent state on the southern frontier of China, see Rolf A. Stein, "Le Lin-yi: sa localisation, sa contribution à la formation du Champa et ses liens avec la Chine," in *Han-hiue: Bulletin du Centre d'Etudes Sinologiques de Pékin* 2.1–3 (1947), 130–147, and Kuwada Rokurô. "[On Rinan and Linyi]," in *Bulletin of History*, Imperial University of Taihoku/Taipei 7 (1942), 3–46. On Funan, see Paul Pelliot, "Le Fou-nan," in *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême Orient* 3 (1903), 248–303, and Kenneth R. Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia*. Hawaii UP 1985, 38 and 48–68. On

Tangming, see Stein, "Lin-yi," 131. On the trade to the south at this time, see Wang Gungwu, "The Nan-hai Trade: a study of the early history of Chinese trade in the South China Sea," in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 31.2 (1958), 1–135 at 16–34.

45 The text of the proclamation of Sun Quan is preserved in *SGZ* 47/Wu 2, 1135–36 PC quoting *Wu lu*.

For a summary of the question of legitimate succession to Han, see Mansvelt Beck, "The Fall of Han," 373–376, and on the particular position of Wu, see de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 448–450.

46 The biographies of the rebel generals Guanqiu Jian (d.255) and Zhuge Dan (d.258) are in *SGZ* 28/Wei 28. On the course of operations about Shouchun, see Fang, *Chronicle II*, 190–196, 259–264, and 290–294.

47 The title *dudu* appeared in a variety of uses during the civil wars at the end of Han, sometimes designating an administrative officer (e.g. *SGZ* 56/Wu 11, 1309 PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*), sometimes a subordinate commander in a large field army (e.g. *HHS* 74A/64A, 2391). Under the government of Sun Quan in Wu, a *dudu* held military command over one area of the frontier, and was normally subordinated to a *da dudu* "Area Commander-in-Chief". The arrangement of Wei and Jin was similar, though more closely associated with provincial administration.

48 The biographies of Sun Deng (209–241) and Sun He (224–253) are in *SGZ* 59/Wu 14.

49 The annals/biography of Sun Liang (243–260) are in *SGZ* 48/Wu 3. The biography of Zhuge Ke (203–253) is in *SGZ* 64/Wu 19. Zhuge Jin (174–241), father of Zhuge Ke, whose biography is in *SGZ* 52/Wu 7, was elder brother of Zhuge Liang the great minister of Shu-Han.

50 Fang, *Chronicle II*, 134–137, and 240. The biographies of Sun Jun (219–256) and of Sun Lin (231–258) are in *SGZ* 64/Wu 19.

51 The annals/biography of Sun Xiu (235–264) are in *SGZ* 48/Wu 3.

52 The annals/biography of Sun Hao (241–283) are in *SGZ* 48/Wu 3.

53 *SGZ* 48/Wu 3, 1177 PC quoting the *Jin yangqiu* by Sun Sheng of the fourth century. There were also reported stores of 2,800,000 *hu* (56 million litres) of grain, more than 5,000 ships, and 5,000 women in the imperial harem.

54 The comment of Deng Ai (c.200–264) is recorded in his biography, *SGZ* 28/Wei 28, at 777. Several scholars, including Tang Changru, in *Wei-Jin nanbeichao shilun cong*, Beijing 1955, 22–23, and Miyakawa Hisayuki, in *Rikuchô shi kenkyô, seiji shakai hen* [Studies in Six Dynasties history, volume on political and social problems], Tokyo 1956, 33, cite and discuss this passage.

55 The clearest statement on hostages is in *SGZ* 48/Wu 3, 1177 PC quoting the *Soushen ji* by Gan Bao of the early fourth century, where it is said that "Because Wu was a new state, it had not established a firm basis of trust. The administrators and military commanders of positions on the frontiers were all required to send their wives and children, and these were known as *baozhi*." Although this statement is only preliminary to an anecdote of the supernatural, there is no reason to doubt its basis of fact.

See also Yang Lien-sheng, "Hostages in Chinese History," in *Studies in Chinese Institutional history*, Harvard UP, 1961, 43–57 [first published in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic*

Studies, 15 (1952), 507–521], particularly at 50–53, and Pong Sing-wai, "Lun Sanguo shidai zhi dazhu" [On the great clans of the Three Kingdoms period] in *The New Asia Journal* [*Hsin-Ya hsüeh-pao*] 6.1 (1964), 141–204.

56 See, for example, *SGZ* 60/Wu 15, 1377–79 (the biography of He Qi), *SGZ* 58/Wu 13, 1344 (the biography of Lu Xun), and *SGZ* 64/Wu 19, 1431–33 (the biography of Zhuge Ke); Fang, *Chronicle* I, 441–442 and 519–520.

57 The accompanying Map, which shows the establishment of counties in Wu from the south of the Yangzi to the Red River in Vietnam, together with the contemporary situation in Shu-Han, is based upon research discussed in de Crespigny, "Prefectures and Population in South China in the first three centuries AD" in *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, Taipei 40 (1968), 139–154, and *Generals of the South*, 476–478. See also Hans Bielenstein, "The Chinese colonisation of Fukien until the end of T'ang," in *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren dedicata*, edited by Søren Egerod and Else Glahn, Copenhagen 1959, 98–112 at 103–106.

58 *Jin yangqiu*, cited in note 53 above, says that there were 43 commanderies and 313 counties in the surrendered territory of Wu. I prefer to rely, however, upon the list as presented formally and in detail.

59 An important article by Hsü Cho-yün, "Sanguo Wu de difang shil" [Local powers in the state of Wu during the period of Three Kingdoms], in *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*, Taipei 37.1 (1967), 185–200, contrasts the following of the Sun family in Wu with the wider base from which Liu Bei drew his officers and counsellors in Shu-Han. Hsü (at 200) finds this indicates greater central authority in Shu-Han, closer to the tradition of Han, and he contrasts this with the more limited ambition of the rulers of Wu. To my mind, however, his calculations basically reflect only the vagabond career of Liu Bei, gathering followers where he might.

60 For discussion of this concept, see Mansvelt Beck, "The Fall of Han," 373–375.

61 Several works discuss *Sanguo yanyi* from a literary and quasi-historical point of view. I have found one of the most helpful analyses to be that of Andrew H. Plaks, *Four masterworks of the Ming novel: Ssu ta ch'i-shu*, Princeton UP 1987, which deals with the work in its rightful form, as fiction. I have considered the novel as a source for history in *Generals of the South*, 578–589.

62 The annals/biography of Liu Shan (207–271), Later Sovereign of Shu-Han, are in *SGZ* 33/Shu 3.

63 The campaigns of Zhuge Liang against the chieftain Meng Huo are celebrated in the romantic tradition, occupying chapters 87 to 91 of the novel *Sanguo yanyi*, and providing the theme for a cycle of traditional dramas.

64 The biography of Sima Yi (179–251), retrospectively titled Emperor Xuan of Jin, is in *JS* 1.

65 The biography of Jiang Wan (d.246) is in *SGZ* 44/Shu 14.

66 The biography of Fei Yi is in *SGZ* 44/Shu 14.

67 The biography of Jiang Wei (202–264) is in *SGZ* 44/Shu 14.

68 The biography of Zhong Hui (207–246) is in *SGZ* 28/Wei 28.

69 *SGZ* 33/Shu 3, 901 PC quoting the *Shu ji* of Wang Yin of the late third and early fourth centuries.

70 *JS* 14, 436–40, on the three provinces Liang, Yi and Ning, which covered approximately the same territory as Yi province of Later Han. On the population statistics of the various dynastic histories, and the distinction between true census figures and those of taxation lists, see Bielenstein, "Census," particularly 154–155.

71 There is a telling remark by the historian Chen Shou, compiler of *SGZ*, who was himself an official of the state of Shu. In his Criticism (*Ping*) at the end of the annals/biography of Liu Shan, Chen Shou observes that the state did not employ historians, that there was no office responsible for collecting essential material, and that as a result there are many items of information, notably accounts of portents, which are missing. Chen Shou suggests that the military urgencies of the time had prevented the government from paying proper attention to that responsibility in Shu: *SGZ* 33/Shu 3, 902–03. It seems probable that although various items of information were recorded in such institutions as the Eastern Lodge, where Chen Shou himself held appointment, no regular archive was established. See also de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 544 note 20.

72 See *Huayang guo zhi*, compiled by Chang Qu and others about the middle of the fourth century [12 chapters. in *Sibu congkan*] 4, 1a and 4a, *SGZ* 43/Shu 13, 1045–46 PC, and *SGZJ* 41/Shu 11, 2a.

73 See above and Map 4.

74 See, for example, Ebrey, "Economic and Social History of Later Han," 558–559, and Chen Ch'i-yün, "Han dynasty China: economy, society and state power" in *T'oung Pao* 70 (1984), 127–148 [a review article on Hsu Cho-yün, *Han Agriculture: the formation of early Chinese agrarian economy (200 B.C. – A.D. 220)*, Washington UP, Seattle 1980].

74 In particular, at the beginning of Later Han in 39 AD, Emperor Guangwu attempted to carry out a full survey of cultivated land in the empire. Despite severe punishments for false or inadequate reporting, it appears the project was never successfully completed. See, for example, Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 55 and 210–212, and Bielenstein, *Restoration* IV, 136–137.

75 The Five Pecks of Rice sect under Zhang Lu in Hanzhong commandery was the most successful religious grouping of the time: note 18 above. Another was the remnant Yellow Turbans of Qing region, who joined Cao Cao early in his career: note 9 above.

One important collection of secular groups was the Black Mountain (*Heishan*) bandits of the Taihang Mountains, who became powerful after the Yellow Turban rebellion of 184, and were authorised to make their own nominations for candidates to government office: see the biography of Zhang Yan [or Flying Swallow Zhang] in *SGZ* 8/Wei 8, 261–62; de Crespigny, *Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling: being the chronicle of Later Han for the years 157 to 189 AD as recorded in chapters 54 to 59 of the Zizhi tongjian of Sima Guang*, 2 volumes, Canberra 1989, I, 192–193.

Among clan groupings, we are told particularly of those in the region of Poyang, south of the Yangzi: see *SGZ* 49/Wu 4, 1190 PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*; discussed by Nishijima Sadao. "The Economic and Social History of Former Han," in *Cambridge Han*, 545–607 at 629. The Sun family in the south also had dealings with less organised gatherings of refugees in the marsh country near the junction of the Han with the Yangzi: *SGZ* 51/Wu 6, 1206, and *SGZ* 54/Wu 9, 1260; de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 323–340.

76 One commonly-cited example is the community in the northern part of the Yellow plain which gathered under the leadership of Tian Chou (169–214), who is said to have controlled some five thousand families of refugees and set up a code of laws and government for them: *SGZ* 11/Wei 11, 341; de Crespigny, *To Establish Peace*, 124–125, and also Nishijima, "Economic and Social History of Former Han," 630 note 75. See also the discussion in Tanigawa Michio, translated by Joshua A. Fogel, *Medieval society and the local "community,"* California UP 1985, 102–103, on the development of the *cun*, Miyakawa, *Rikuchô shi kenkyû, seiji shakai hen*, 437–471, and Miyazaki Ichisada, "*Chûgoku ni okeru shûraku keitai no henshen ni tsuite*" [On changes in the configurations of centres of population in China], in *Otani shigaku* 6 (June 1957), 5–26.

77 *SGZ* 1/Wei 1, 14 and PC note 1 quoting *Wei shu*. The latter passage tells, by contrast, how at this time the soldiers of Yuan Shao in the north were reduced to scavenging for mulberries and jujubes, and those of Yuan Shu in the region of the Huai looked for oysters and clams. See also *JS* 26, 782; Yang, "Economic History," 158. Two years earlier, according to *SGZ* 1/Wei 1, 12, the price of a single *hu* of grain (about 20 litres) had reached more than half a million cash.

The term *tuntian* had been recognised since the time of Former Han, and the technique had been used to control marginal or non-Chinese territory in the north and northwest. In particular, during the first century BC, the general Zhao Chongguo had recommended and carried out a program of agricultural garrisons in the valley of the Xining River in present-day Gansu. The colonies were manned by Chinese troops, occupying ground formerly held by the non-Chinese Qiang. See, for example, de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 63–64, and Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 139–141 and 236–237.

There are indications that the technique had been used at earlier stages of the civil war. See, for example, *HHS* 73/63, 2363, and *SGZ* 7/Wei 7, 230 PC note 1 quoting *Xianxian xingzhuang* and see de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 314–316. The achievement of Cao Cao's government was to develop and apply the program widely and effectively.

A helpful discussion of the *tuntian* system may be found in William Gordon Crowell, "Government Land Policies and Systems in Early Imperial China," PhD dissertation of the University of Washington, Seattle 1979, 144–182.

78 *E.g.* Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 53–56, Chen, "Economy, Society and State Power," 147–148, Bielenstein, *Restoration IV*, 136–137 and 157–158.

79 Cao Cao's officer Han Hao was involved in the proposal for the establishment of the agricultural garrisons at this time. His biography from *Wei shu*, quoted in *SGZ* 9/Wei 9, 269 PC note 1 *bis*, refers to at least one formal assembly to discuss policy on this matter, and echoes of the discussion may be found in a eulogy issued by Cao Cao in honour of Zao Zhi, who died soon after the plan was put into effect. Zao Zhi has no individual biography in *SGZ*, but it was said that "the wealth of the army and the state [of Cao Cao] began with [the planning of] Zao Zhi and reached its fulfilment with [the work of] Ren Jun." See *SGZ* 16/Wei 16, 490 PC note 1 quoting *Wei-Wu gushi*; Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 319, and *JS* 47, 1321; Yang, "Economic History," 140.

80 The biography of Ren Jun is in *SGZ* 16/Wei 16. According to commentary to *HHS* 116/26, 3591, quoting a work entitled *Wei zhi*, probably a variant text of *SGZ*, a Commissioner for

Agriculture had rank and salary of 2000 *shi*, the same as the Grand Administrator of a commandery in the Han system.

81 E.g. *SGZ* 1/Wei 1, 26, and Zhang Weihua, "Shilun Cao-Wei tuntian yu Xi-Jin zhantian di mou xie wen" [A few problems concerning the system of military colonization during Wei and land occupation under Western Jin], in *Lishi yanjiu* 1956.9, 29-42 [reprinted in *Zhongguo lidai tudi zhidu wenti taolun ji*, Beijing 1957, 145-173], at 33-34; also *JS* 26, 782; Yang, "Economic History," 159 and 140.

82 Zhang Weihua, *Cao-Wei tuntian yu Xi-Jin zhantian*, 32, observes that agricultural garrisons were responsible primarily to the central or provincial governments which had established them, and were not subject to the local administration of the commanderies and counties in whose territory they were situated.

83 See Tang Changru, *Wei-Jin nanbeichao shilun cong*, 41 note 1, citing *SGZ* 15/Wei 15, 481, and *SGZ* 28/Wei 28, 761. Similarly, *SGZ* 12/Wei 12, 388-89, records a memorial from Sima Zhi about 230, protesting at the developing custom of agricultural garrisons engaging in trade and not concentrating upon farming: "Emperor Wu [Cao Cao] set up the agricultural garrisons specifically to concentrate upon agriculture and silk-farming." Much of the memorial is translated in Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 320.

A memorial of 243 presented by Deng Ai urges the extension of agricultural garrisons in the valley of the Huai, with the men serving both as farmers and as soldiers. The primary purpose of the garrisons, however, was to establish and protect supplies of grain for future offensives against Wu. We may note, moreover, that although Deng Ai spoke encouragingly of how "Wu would thus be conquered and [our] arms prevail everywhere" (*SGZ* 28/Wei 28, 775-76, translated by Mark Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*, London 1973, 37-38 citing He Changqun, *Han-Tang jian fengjian di guoyu tudi zhi yu juntian zhi* [Shanghai 1958], 68), the value of the settlements lay chiefly in their contribution to the defence of the Huai, and the general improvement of the economic resources of the state. The position of Wu, based on the Yangzi along this south-eastern front, was never seriously threatened by Wei, and we shall see later that Jin conquered Wu only when it had gained overwhelming naval dominance on the river and advanced by water from west to east, not by land from north to south.

Other discussions of the *tuntian* system, which should always be read with some caution and related to the particular political and strategic situation of the time, are provided by Chi Ch'ao-ting, *Key Economic Areas in Chinese History, as revealed in the development of public works for water control*, London 1936, 99-105, and Yang, "Economic History," 163-170, translating *JS* 26, 784-86.

84 The most comprehensive work on this subject is that of Miyazaki Ichisada, *Kyûhin kanjin hô no kenkyû: kakyo zenshi* [The mechanism of the aristocracy in China: installation of mandarins before the establishment of the competitive examination system], Kyoto 1956. Donald Holzman, "Les débuts du système médiéval de choix et de classement des fonctionnaires: les neuf catégories et l'Impartial et Juste," in *Mélanges de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises* I, Paris 1957, 387-414, has presented an excellent analysis. Among many works on the topic in Chinese and Japanese I note also the discussion by Miyakawa, *Rikuchô shi kenkyû, seiji shakai hen*, 263-314.

It is said that the system in its full form was established by the Minister of Finance Chen Qun (d.236), in the time of Cao Pi: *Taiping yulan* 265, quoting Fu Xuan (217–278). There is evidence, however, that the system had been developing for some years before this, and the biography of Chen Qun in *SGZ* 22/Wei 22 makes no mention of his contribution.

85 Holzman, "Système médiéval," 399–401. It was possible for a man to have his category varied on the basis of his performance in office, and it appears that the highest category, number one, was not awarded, being reserved for the emperor himself and perhaps his designated successor.

It should be observed that the category into which a man was classified, and the ranks of office in the bureaucracy, were both indicated by the Chinese term *pin*.

86 The biography of Liu Yi (d.285) is in *JS* 45. His memorial appears at 1273–77. It is translated by J. Li Dun, *The Civilization of China: from the formative period to the coming of the West, translations and introductions*. New York 1975, 122–130, where this extract is at 125. The quotation is rendered more accurately by Holzman, "Système médiéval," 413.

87 *Medieval Chinese Society and the Local "Community,"* 112.

88 Cao Cao made clear statements of his approach, first in an ordinance of 210, where he asked that people should only recommend men of talent, and promised that he would use them in office; and again in 217, when he observed that so long as he knew a man had ability in government, he had no concern for his personal conduct or background: *SGZ* 1/Wei 1, 32 and 49–50 PC quoting the *Wei shu* of Wang Shen; both texts are translated by Donald Holzman, "Les sept sages de la forêt des bambous et la société de leur temps," in *T'oung Pao* 44 (1956), 317–346 at 323.

On the trend towards an authoritarian political philosophy at the time of the fall of Han, see the seminal work of Etienne Balazs, "La crise sociale et la philosophie politique à la fin des Han," in *T'oung Pao* 39 (1949), 83–131, translated as "Political philosophy and social crisis at the end of Han," in *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy: variations on a theme*, translated by H.M. Wright, edited by Arthur F. Wright, Yale UP 1964, 187–225.

89 It is not appropriate to go into the details of this philosophic debate and contradiction here. The matter is discussed by Ch'en Ch'i-yün, "Confucian, Legalist and Taoist Thought in Later Han," in *Cambridge Han*, 766–807 at 783–794 and 802–804. See also the brief analysis of "Modernism" and "Reformism" by Michael Loewe, "The Former Han dynasty," in *Cambridge Han*, 103–222 at 104–106.

90 On the symbolism of the Powers and their associated colours in the cosmology and propaganda of this time, see, for example, Mansvelt Beck, "The Fall of Han," 360. Besides the obvious example of the Yellow Turban rebellion in 184, it is notable that Cao Pi chose the slogan *Huang chu* "Yellow Beginning" for his first reign title in 220, that when Sun Quan in Wu proclaimed his effective independence for Wei in 222 he chose *Huang wu* "Yellow Warfare," and when he took the imperial title in 229 he adopted the slogan *Huang long* "Yellow Dragon".

91 The text of the *Denglou fu* is preserved in a fragment of the *Wei ji* by Yin Fan, quoted in commentary to the biography of Cao Zhi (192–232) in *SGZ* 19/Wei 19, 558 PC note 1.

92 The annals/biography of Cao Rui (204–239), Emperor Ming of Wei (acceded 226) are in *SGZ* 3/Wei 3.

93 The biography of Wang Can (177–217), with supplementary biographies of other scholars and writers of Wei, is in *SGZ* 21/Wei 21. During the worst of the civil war in the north several of these men had been under the protection of Liu Biao, Governor of Jing province, and they joined Cao Cao's service after his take-over of that region in 208.

94 Cao Cao had at least twenty-five sons by thirteen different women. Cao Pi, Cao Zhang, and Cao Zhi were full brothers, born to the Lady Bian, chief wife of Cao Cao. The biography of Cao Zhang (d.223) is in *SGZ* 19/Wei 19.

On the rivalry between Cao Pi and Cao Zhi, largely determined by Cao Pi's appointment as Heir in 217, see, for example, de Crespigny, *To Establish Peace*, 511–514, translating *ZZTJ* 68, 2150–51. On the uncertainty at the time of Cao Cao's death, and Cao Zhang's interest in the succession, see Fang, *Chronicle* I, 1–2, translating *ZZTJ* 69, 2175–76.

95 After the death of Cao Zhang in 223, Cao Zhi composed the celebrated poem dedicated to his half-brother, Cao Biao the Prince of Boma, regretting this treatment, and he also sent in a memorial asking for reconsideration. In 231 he repeated his plea to the new Emperor Cao Rui, but neither case was approved. See also the Comment (*Jun*) of Chen Shou to *SGZ* 20/Wei 20, 591, and the translation and discussion by Fang, *Chronicle* I, 339–348 and 356–365.

The Chinese title *wang* is usually rendered as "king," but in cases such as this, where it refers not to an independent ruler such as Sun Quan, King of Wu, but to the restrictive enfeoffment of an emperor's brothers, it seems more appropriate to translate it by the variant "prince". *Cf.* note 36 above.

96 *SGZ* 2/Wei 2, 80; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 105–106 and 41.

97 The biographies of consorts of the rulers of Wei, with accounts of their origins and families, are in *SGZ* 5/Wei 5. The biography of the Lady Bian (160–230) is at 156–58, that of the Lady Guo (d.235) is at 164–66, and that of the Lady Mao (d.237) is at 167–68. A comprehensive translation of the whole chapter is provided by Robert Joe Cutter and William Gordon Crowell, *Empresses and Consorts: selections from Chen Shou's Records of the Three States with Pei Songzhi's commentary*, Hawaii UP 1999.

The first formal wife of Cao Pi was the Lady Zhen, widow of Yuan Xi the son of Yuan Shao, and a woman of good family. She was the mother of Cao Rui, but she was not appointed Empress when Cao Pi took the imperial title. For the protests of the official Zhan Jian against the appointment of the lowly Lady Guo as Empress at this time, see *SGZ* 5/Wei 5, 164–65; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 106–107 and 125–126, also *SGZ* 25/Wei 25, 718. One generation later, the Lady Yu, who had been the formal wife of Cao Rui up to the time of his accession, was likewise passed over in favour of the Lady Mao, and she commented scathingly on the decision: *SGZ* 5/Wei 5, 167; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 229.

98 The biography of Chen Qun (d.236) is in *SGZ* 22/Wei 22. The biographies of Cao Chen (d.231) and of Cao Xiu (d.228) are in *SGZ* 9/Wei 9. They are described as clansmen of Cao Cao, evidently from different lineage. Both achieved high military command.

99 On the status of the Sima family under the Han dynasty, see *JS* 1, 1 (which also, predictably, presents a lineage to legendary times), *SGZ* 15/Wei 15, 466 PC, quoting the third-century historian Sima Biao, and *SGZ* 12/Wei 12, 386.

100 The biography of Sima Lang (171–217) is in *SGZ* 15/Wei 15.

101 The romantic tradition reflected in the novel *Sanguo yanyi* makes great play of the military rivalry between Zhuge Liang, great minister of Shu-Han, and Sima Yi, with Sima Yi shown as the foil to Zhuge Liang's surpassing skill; many historians, however, have emphasised the military achievements of the founder of the house of Jin. In fact, though there was considerable military activity against both Shu-Han and Wu during this period, there was no substantial change of the frontier.

102 On this campaign, see Fang, *Chronicle* I, 569–575 and 585–598, and Gardiner, "Kung-sun Warlords" Part 2, 165–173.

103 On this campaign, see the biography of Guanqiu Jian in *SGZ* 28/Wei 28, 762, and K.H.J. Gardiner, *The Early History of Korea: the historical development of the peninsula up to the introduction of Buddhism in the fourth century A.D.*, Canberra 1969, 34. There is an account of the state of Koguryo in *SGZ* 30/Wei 30, 843–46.

104 The account of the people of Wo in *SGZ* 30/Wei 30, 854–58, has been translated by Tsunoda Ryûsaku, *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories: Later Han through Ming dynasties*, edited by L. Carrington Goodrich, South Pasadena 1951, 8–20. The embassies from Queen Pimiko are detailed at 857–58; Tsunoda, 14–16.

105 The annals/biography of Cao Fang (231–274), known to posterity as the Fei "Deposed" Emperor, or as Prince of Qi, the title he held before and after his term upon the imperial throne, are in *SGZ* 4/Wei 4. His origins are discussed at 117 and PC note 1 quoting the *Weishi chungju* by Sun Sheng of the fourth century.

The biography of Cao Shuang (d.249) is in *SGZ* 9/Wei 9. On the plans and manoeuvres of this time, see Fang, *Chronicle* I, 582–583.

106 See, for example, Paul Demiéville, "Philosophy and Religion from Han to Sui" with Postscript by Timothy Barrett, in *Cambridge Han*, 808–878 at 828–832; Etienne Balazs, "Nihilistic Revolt or Mystical Escapism: currents of thought in China during the third century A.D.," in Wright, *Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy*, 226–254 [first published as "Entre révolte nihiliste et evasion mystique: les courants intellectuels en Chine au IIIe siècle de notre ère," in *Etudes asiatiques* 2 (1948), 27–55]; and Howard L. Goodman, "Exegeses and exegeses of the Book of Changes in the third century: historical and scholastic contexts for Wang Pi," doctoral dissertation of Princeton University, 1985. There is a short account of Wang Bi (226–249) and an extended quotation from his biography compiled by He Shao (d.301) in *SGZ* 28/Wei 28, 795 and 795–96 PC.

An account of He Yan (d.249) is attached to the biography of Cao Shuang at *SGZ* 9/Wei 9, 292–93 and PC. He Yan's father was a nephew of the former Empress He of Emperor Ling of Han, and He Yan married his own half-sister, the daughter of Cao Cao. There are several anecdotes concerning him in *Shishuo xinyu*: see Richard B. Mather (translator), *Shih-shuo hsin-yü: a new account of tales of the world, by Liu I-ch'ing, with commentary by Liu Chün*, Minnesota UP 1976, 523–524. Though one cannot regard *Shishuo xinyu* as an authoritative historical source, the collection does reflect the manner in which the society of that time was remembered.

107 The formula of the Five Minerals Powder (*wushi san*) included calcium from ground stalactites and aconite. It was also known as the "Cold-eating Powder" (*hanshi san*), because one of its effects was to make the addict feverish, so that he sought to eat cold foods, and generally wore light clothing or none at all: Rudolph G. Wagner, "Lebenstil und Drogen im

chinesischen Mittelalter," in *T'oung Pao* 59 (1973), 79–178 at 110–112. On He Yan's addiction, see *Shishuo xinyu* II.6; Mather, *New Account*, 36. The excesses of "liberation and attainment" (*fangda*), which may also have included ostentatious homosexuality, are described in the *Baopu zi* of Ge Hong and discussed by Jay Sailey, *The Master who Embraces Simplicity: a study of the philosopher Ko Hung, A.D. 283–343*. Taipei 1977, 419–432.

108The biographies of Ruan Ji (210–263) and of Xi Kang (223–262), whose surname is also transcribed as Ji, are in *JS* 49. On the Seven Sages see Balazs, "Nihilistic revolt," also Donald Holzman's three works: "Sept sages," *La vie et la pensée de Hi Kang (223–262 ap. J.C.)*, Leiden 1957, and *Poetry and politics: The life and works of Juan Chi A.D. 210–263*, Cambridge UP 1976. At 81 of this last, Holzman discusses the friendship of Ruan Ji, Xi Kang, and the general "group, real or imaginary, of free-living intellectuals." He observes, however, that "the individual Seven Sages' political and even intellectual allegiance is hard to pin down with any precision" and it is not possible to identify them as supporters of the Cao court or of Sima Yi. Xi Kang, however, was regarded as a personal political enemy by Zhong Hui, close associate of Sima Zhao, who had Xi Kang executed on charges of treachery and lack of filial piety: Balazs, "Nihilistic Revolt," 241–242.

109Holzman, *Poetry and Politics*, 75–80, and particularly 82–87, where he analyses the debate in letters between Ruan Ji and a conservative Confucianist, Fu Yi.

110Balazs, "Nihilistic revolt," 234–235, and Holzman, *Poetry and Politics*, 13–14, discuss the slanderous propaganda presented by the Sima faction against Cao Shuang and He Yan.

111The biography of Sima Shi (208–255), posthumously honoured as Emperor Jing of Jin, is in *JS* 2.

112The annals/biography of Cao Mao (241–260), known to posterity by his earlier title, Duke of Gaogui District, are in *SGZ* 4/Wei 4. He was a grandson of Cao Pi, and thus first cousin once removed, in an elder generation, to Cao Fang.

113An account of the rebellion of Guanqiu Jian is in *SGZ* 28/Wei 28, 763–66; Fang, *Chronicle II*, 190–196 and 203–223.

114The biography of Sima Zhao (211–265), posthumously honoured as Emperor Wen of Jin, is in *JS* 2.

115The biography of Zhuge Dan (d.258) is in *SGZ* 28/Wei 28.

116The attempted coup and the death of Cao Mao is described in *ZZTJ* 77, 2453–54; Fang, *Chronicle II*, 335–336.

117The annals/biography of Cao Huan (245–302), last ruler of Wei, who is known to posterity as Emperor Yuan, are in *SGZ* 4/Wei 4. Cao Huan was a grandson of Cao Cao, and thus a cousin two generations senior to Cao Mao. His original personal name was Huang, but it was changed to avoid complications of taboo: *SGZ* 4/Wei 4, 147, and Fang, *Chronicle II*, 354.

118The annals of Sima Yan (236–290), Emperor Wu of Jin, are in *JS* 2. The ceremony of abdication and accession is described at 50–51.

119See note 26 above.

120The annals of *SGZ* 2/Wei 2, 79; Fang, *Chronicle I*, 98, record the arrival of envoys from Shanshan, Kucha and Khotan at the court of Cao Pi in 222, and the appointment of a Wuji

Colonel for the Western Regions, on the same model as Han: see, for example, Yü, "Han Foreign Relations," 415–418. Such embassies, of course, were useful propaganda for the new regime, and the envoys may have been just enterprising merchants. The trade routes were surely maintained, but it is unlikely that the protectorate was very effective.

The lands and routes of central Asia in this period were described by the *Wei lue* of Yu Huan in the middle of the third century, and substantial fragments of that text are preserved in *SGZ* 30/Wei 30, 858–62 PC.

121 The biography of Xu Miao (172–249) is in *SGZ* 27/Wei 27. His achievements in the northwest are described at 739–40; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 274–275.

122 Gardiner, "Kung-sun Warlords" 2, 173–176, and *Early History of Korea*, 37. On the Xianbi, the Murong clan and the early Murong state, see Gerhard Schreiber, "Das Volk der Hsien-pi zur Han-Zeit," in *Monumenta Serica* 12 (1947), 145–203, and "The History of the Former Yen Dynasty (285–370)," in *Monumenta Serica* 14 (1949–55), 374–480, and 15 (1956), 1–141.

123 See *HHS* 89/79, 2965, *SGZ* 1/Wei 1, 47, and *JS* 97, 2549, also de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 353 and 537 notes 48 and 50.

124 In preparing this part of the history, I was greatly assisted by my colleague Dr K.H.J. Gardiner, and I am extremely grateful for the advice and guidance he gave me.

125 The intrigues which surrounded the accession of Sun Hao to the throne of Wu in 264 have been discussed above. On the rebellion in the region of present-day Vietnam, which broke out in 263 and was put down only in 271, see, for example, *SGZ* 48/Wu 3, 1161 and 1168.

126 See Michael Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict in Han China*, London 1974, 11–13, and "The Former Han dynasty," in *Cambridge Han*, 104–105, also "The structure and practice of government," in *Cambridge Han*, 463–490 at 488–489.

127 The rise of the Sima family has been discussed above.

128 *JS* 3, 52, *ZZTJ* 79, 2492–93; Fang, *Chronicle* II, 506 and 516. The term prince here renders the Chinese *wang*, indicating the highest rank of a subordinate nobility: compare note 95 above.

Unlike Han and Wei, which established kings/princes (*wang*), marquises (*hou*), and then several lower orders of nobility, Jin introduced a five-rank system based upon the system attributed to the ancient Zhou dynasty: the change may be interpreted as another sign of their intention to return to the virtues of the ancients, before the centuries of imperial authority.

129 On Area Commanders and other regional military posts, see note 47 above and also below at note 157. For members of the Sima clan holding senior local and military positions, see for example the *Wei fangzhen nianbiao* compiled by Wan Sitong, in *Ershiwu shi bubian* [*ESWSBB*], Kaiming Shudian, Shanghai 1936–37/1957, II, 2617–23, and the two compilations entitled *Jin fangzhen nianbiao*, by Wan Sitong in *ESWSBB* III, 3385–97, and by Wu Tingxie in *ESWSBB* III, 3415–51.

Sima Zhou (227–283), for example, son of Sima Yi and half-uncle of the new emperor, had been appointed General and Inspector supervising all military affairs in Yan province in 263. In 266 he was enfeoffed as a prince, but continued in office, and was later transferred

to other senior military and administrative positions: see his biography in *JS* 38 at 1121, and note xxx below.

Sima Liang (d.291), brother of Sima Zhou, was Area Commander-in-Chief of Yong and Liang provinces in the northwest. He too was enfeoffed in 266, but remained in office and continued to further high positions of state: see his biography in *JS* 59 at 1591.

130 *JS* 38, 1121, *ZZTJ* 79, 2493: Fang, *Chronicle* II, 506–507.

131 The biography of Deng Ai (c.200–264) is in *SGZ* 28/Wei 28. On the disturbances among these non-Chinese people in the 270s, see *JS* 3, 58, and *ZZTJ* 79, 2509.

132 *JS* 3, 70, and *ZZTJ* 80, 2554 and 2559.

133 The biographies of Yang Hu (221–278) and of Du Yu (222–284) are in *JS* 34. The biography of Zhang Hua (232–300) is in *JS* 36; it is translated by Anna Straughair, *Chang Hua: a statesman-poet of the Western Chin dynasty*, Canberra 1973.

134 The biography of Sima Zhou (227–283), younger brother of Sima Zhao, is in *JS* 38. See also note 129 above.

135 The biography of Wang Jun (206–285) is in *JS* 42. The description at 1208–10 of his attack against Wu, including a pontoon raft more than six hundred feet square which acted as a floating fortress, is discussed and translated by Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, IV.3, Cambridge UP 1971, 694–695. A general account of the campaign is in the annals of *JS* 3, 70–71, and in *ZZTJ* 80–81, 2558–67. Besides Wang Jun's force, five armies were involved in the attack from the north, and the total number of soldiers is said to have been 200,000.

136 *SGZ* 4/Wei 4, 153; Fang, *Chronicle* II, 468, and *JS* 3, 55. The significance of these decrees is discussed by William Gordon Crowell, "Government land policies," 165–168.

137 There are references to agricultural garrisons and their separate military administration during the late 270s in *JS* 26, 787 and 789; Yang, "Economic history," 173 and 175.

138 See, for example, Crowell, "Government land policies," 181 note 82 quoting Guang Li'an, Yuan Shixing, Tang Changru, and Zhang Weihua.

139 *JS* 24, 731, the Treatise of Officials, says that there was a Bureau for Agricultural Garrisons among the six established within the Imperial Secretariat at the beginning of Jin, and this office was presumably responsible for some overall supervision of the garrisons throughout the empire. After the conquest of Wu in 280, the name of this bureau was changed to Bureau for Agriculture.

140 Under Chin, the area of a *mou* was about one-fifth of an English acre, so fifty *mou* would have been equivalent to some ten acres or four hectares.

141 The *ketian* system is described in *JS* 26, 790, translated and discussed by Yang, "Economic history," 179 and 135–140, and by Crowell, "Government land policies," 199–203. I am impressed by, and accept, Crowell's argument that the expression *ketian* refers to an actual allocation of land rather than to the amount a person should cultivate or be taxed upon.

142 *JS* 26, 790; Yang, "Economic history," 179. A *pi* was 40 *chi* feet, in Jin times equivalent to some 9.5 meters or 10½ yards English measure. A *jin* was about 225 grams, half a pound avoirdupois.

Cao Cao appears to have collected tax in the form of silk from an early period of his government (e.g. *SGZ* 12/Wei 12, 380, and *SGZ* 23/Wei 23, 668), and he applied a household levy (*hutiao*) of silk to the region of north China formerly held by the Yuan family after he had taken it over in the early years of the third century. Obviously, whether under Han, Wei or Jin, the actual commodity used for payment must have varied and been exchanged to meet the official requirement.

143 On the tax system of Han, see Nishijima Sadao, "The economic and social history of Former Han," in *Cambridge Han*, 595–601.

144 *SGZ* 2, 78, *SGZ* 3, 92, with *JS* 26, 782 and 794–795; Yang, "Economic history," 159 and 191–192. See also He Ziquan, "Early development of manorial economy in Wei and Ts'in" [originally published in full form as *Wei–Jin shiqi zhuangyuan jingji de chuxing*, in *Shihuo* 1.1 (1934), 6–10] in E-tu Zen Sun and John DeFrancis, *Chinese Social History, translations of selected studies* (Washington D.C. 1956), 137–141 at 140.

145 This process is well described by Yang Zhongyi, "Evolution of the status of dependents," in Sun and DeFrancis, *Chinese Social History*, 142–156 at 144–145 [original full form *Buqu yange luekao*, in *Shihuo* 1.3 (1935), 97–107.

146 See the report from the official Shu Xi to the minister Zhang Hua in the late 290s: *JS* 51, 1431–32, cited by Crowell, "Government land policies," 205.

147 A similar change may be observed during the decline of the Roman empire. In Britain, for example, where the former pattern of economy had supported and encouraged widespread trade through market-towns, the last period of Roman rule saw a contraction of commerce, a marked decline in the prosperity and the population of the towns and cities, and the development of the villa as a localised centre of economic activity. One notable reason for this was the vulnerability of the towns to the ravages of armed enemies and, equally important, to the demands of government taxation.

148 The *zhantian* regulations appear as one sentence in the passage of *JS* 26, 790; Yang, "Economic history," 179. The text is discussed by Yang at 132–140, and by Crowell, "Government land policies," 192–199. It has been a source of considerable debate among scholars, but I accept the interpretation of Yang as amended by Crowell.

149 The well-field (*jingtian*) system is described in the *Book of Mencius* 3A.3, translated by James Legge, *The Confucian Classics*, Hong Kong UP 1960, II, 243–245, and discussed by Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 9–10. On modern cartographical and topographical evidence for the reality of the system in pre-Qin times, see Frank Leeming, "Official landscapes in traditional China," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 23 (1980), 153–204.

Late Han proponents of the well-field scheme included Xun Yue (148–209): see Ch'en Ch'i-yün, *Hsün Yüeh and the mind of late Han China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 92ff.; and Zhongchang Tong (180–220): see Balazs, "Crise sociale," 126, and Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 213. The recommendation of Sima Lang, elder brother of Sima Yi, is recorded by his biography in *SGZ* 15/Wei 15, at 467–68.

150 *JS* 26, 790–91; Yang, "Economic history," 180–181.

151 *JS* 14–15. The total figures are given at *JS* 14, 415. The figures for Later Han, preserved in the Treatise of Administrative Geography of the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao (240–306), are

presented in *HHS* 113/23, 3533–34. The comparison is discussed by Bielenstein, "Census," 125–128.

152 Bielenstein, "Census," 125–132 and 153–155.

153 Analogous to this would be the value of a block of land as assessed by a modern government for tax or rating purposes: this formal and official value need have little to do with the price the property would fetch on open market.

The limited information available in the Treatise of Geography of *Jin shu* is not definitive proof of the inadequacy of Jin, for the treatises were not given their final form until Tang, and there may have been other, more detailed, records which were lost in the intervening centuries. On the other hand, the impression of superficial administration is reinforced by all sources, and it seems clear that the government relied for its revenues on a general estimate of yield rather than any attempt at a detailed survey and assessment.

154 On the change at the end of Han from Inspectors (*cishi*), who held primarily no more than reporting powers, to Governors (*mu*: also rendered as "Shepherds"), who had executive control over their provinces, see, for example, de Crespigny, "Inspection and surveillance officials under the two Han dynasties" in Dieter Eikemeier and Herbert Franke, eds, *State and Law in East Asia*, Wiesbaden 1981, 67, and *Generals of the South*, 61 and 116 note 53.

At the same time as he urged the adoption of the well-field system (note 149 above), Sima Lang spoke favourably of the five-rank system of nobility attributed to the Zhou dynasty, and he particularly emphasised the advantage of giving substantial military responsibility to local government officials.

155 As part of the general program of disarmament after the conquest of Wu, an edict removed formal military responsibility from the Inspectors, though it is evident that they retained some capacity in time of emergency. See *ZZTJ* 81, 2575, translated by Anthony Bruce Fairbank, "Kingdom and province in the Western Chin: regional power and the eight kings insurrection," MA dissertation of the University of Washington, Seattle 1986, 85, and Yen Keng-wang. *History of the regional and local administration in China: Part II The Wei, Tsin, Southern and Northern dynasties*, 2 vols, Taipei 1963 I, 112, citing and discussing the *Jin shu* of Wang Yin.

156 *JS* 24, 729, the Treatise of Officials, discussed by Yen, *Regional and Local Administration* 1, 87–111, and Fairbank, "Kingdom and province," 75–104. During the years of warfare against Shu–Han and Wu, some officers had been given responsibility as Area Commanders (*dudu*) or Area Commanders-in-Chief (*da dudu*), Commanders (*du*) or Supervisors (*jian*) of military affairs (*junshi*) in one or more provinces, and such appointments could be held in addition to a provincial inspectorate or as a separate command. Eventually, the position of Area Commander, with one form or another of special powers (*jie*), was established as a high substantive rank in the official hierarchy.

Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford UP 1985, renders *dudu* as "Commander-in-chief"; Fairbank, "Kingdom and province," has "Military Governor".

157 On the regional officers of Western Jin, see the compilations of Wan Sitong and Wu Tingxie cited in note 129 above. Based upon Wu Tingxie, Fairbank, "Kingdom and province," 109, observes that during Western Jin all senior posts in the northwest were held by the Sima family, as were two-thirds of the appointments in You, Ji, Qing and Xu provinces.

158 *JS* 36, 1069; Straughair, *Chang Hua*, 31–37. Zhang Hua's enemies suggested that he might imitate the rebellion of Zhong Hui immediately after the conquest of Shu–Han.

159 The annals of Emperor Hui (259–306) are in *JS* 4. Sima Yan had twenty–six sons. The eldest died in infancy, and Sima Zhong was the second (*JS* 64, 1719).

160 The biography of the Empress Jia (258–300) is in *JS* 31, and that of her father Jia Chong (d.282) is in *JS* 40. On the coup against Cao Mao, see 3K&WJ I, 35.

161 The biography of the Empress Yang Yan (238–274) is in *JS* 31.

162 The biography of Sima Yu (277–300) is in *JS* 53.

163 The biography of the Lady Yang Zhi (254–291) is in *JS* 31.

164 The biography of Yang Jun (d.291) is in *JS* 40.

165 *JS* 3, 80–81, and *ZZTJ* 82, 2599; on Sima Liang (d.291) see also note 129.

166 The biography of Sima Wei (271–291) is in *JS* 59, and those of Sima Yun (272–300) and Sima Jian (262–291) are in *JS* 64.

167 The biography of Sima Lun (d.301) is in *JS* 59.

168 The biography of Sima Yong (d.301) is in *JS* 38, and that of Sima Huang (d.296) is in *JS* 37.

169 One cause of his concern was the Lady Jia herself, who had killed several people with her own hand, including some rival concubines when they were pregnant: *JS* 31, 964.

170 *JS* 4, 89, and *ZZTJ* 82, 2600.

171 *JS* 4, 90, and *ZZTJ* 82, 2604–09. The biography of Wei Guan (220–291) is in *JS* 36.

172 The biography of Pei Wei (267–300) is in *JS* 35. On his position as a Confucianist opposed to the nihilism of his day, see Balazs, "Nihilistic revolt," 249–254].

173 The biography of Jia Mi (d.300) is in *JS* 40. He was the son of Jia Chong's daughter, adopted back into the Jia clan.

174 To take examples only from the second century AD: in the early 120s Emperor An destroyed the family of the Empress–Dowager Deng, and the family of his Empress Yan attempted to exclude his own son, Emperor Shun, from the succession. In the middle 140s, during the Liang clan hegemony, two young emperors died, and then Emperor Huan destroyed Liang Ji in 159. See, for example, Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, the restoration of the Han dynasty, and Later Han," in *Cambridge Han*, 284–286.

175 The biography of Sima Yung (d.306) is in *JS* 59. I have used a variant transcription of his personal name to distinguish him from Sima Yong, who died in 301 (note 168 above).

176 The biographies of Sima Ying (279–306), Sima Yih (277–304), and Sima Jiong (d.302), are in *JS* 59. Sima Jiong was the son of Sima You (248–283), younger brother of Sima Yan, Emperor Wu; Sima Ying and Sima Yih were younger sons of Emperor Wu and brothers of Emperor Hui.

I have used a variant transcription of Sima Yih's personal name to distinguish him from his great–grandfather Sima Yi (note 5 above).

177 The biography of Zhang Fang (d.306) is in *JS* 60.

178The biography of Sima Yue (d.311) is in *JS* 59. His father Sima Tai (d.299: biography in *JS* 37), a nephew of Sima Yi, held office at Luoyang under Emperor Wu, and Sima Yue had assisted in the coup of the Empress Jia against the Yang family in 291.

179The biography of Wang Jun (d.314) is in *JS* 39. He should be distinguished from the Inspector of Yi province who commanded operations against Wu in 280, and whose biography is in *JS* 42 (note 12 above).

180The annals of Sima Zhi (284–313), Emperor Xiaohuai of Jin, are in *JS* 5. The prefix *xiao* "filial" is attached to the posthumous title of Sima Zhi and that of his successor Sima Ye; the same custom had been observed by the Han dynasty.

181The term *Bawang zhi luan*, used to describe events of this time, may be variously translated as the "rebellion," "wars," or "troubles" of the eight kings or princes, and there is some disagreement about which were the eight referred to. *JS* 59 contains biographies of eight princes, but I agree with Fairbank, following the analysis of the Qing dynasty scholar Zhao Qi, that Sima Liang and Sima Wei, who appear in that chapter but who died in the struggle against the Empress Jia in 291, should not be listed among the troublesome eight. Zhao Qi's list, which is now generally followed, begins with Sima Lun, who first took arms against the central government in 300, and then includes Sima Yong, Sima Yun, Sima Jiong, Sima Ying, Sima Yung, Sima Yih, and finally Sima Yue, who completed his victory in 306.

At a conference on Military Culture in Imperial China, held at Christchurch, New Zealand, in January 2003, Edward L Dreyer presented a comprehensive paper on "Military Aspects of the War of the Eight Princes (300–307)." The conference papers are in course of publication.

182I have presented argument for these statements in *Northern Frontier*, where I discuss such matters as the policy of Wang Mang towards the Xiongnu and the Wuhuan, the campaigns of conquest by Dou Xian, and the oppression of the Qiang people in the region of present-day Gansu. In particular, in Chapter 10 I observe the contrast of policies between China and Rome: the Romans were prepared to establish a comparatively peaceful and stable relationship with client states on their eastern frontiers, and they were prepared to grant citizenship to alien peoples.

183de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 329–342, and K.H.J. Gardiner and R.R.C. de Crespigny, "T'an-shih-huai and the Hsien-pi tribes of the second century A.D.," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 15 (Canberra: March, 1977), 1–44.

184*SGZ* 30/Wei 30, 838–39.

185*HHS* 89/79, 2965–66, *SGZ* 1/Wei 1, 47, *JS* 97, 2548; de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 352–354, and Peter A. Boodberg, "Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 1 (1936), 283–307.

186Even before the trouble with Tanshihuai, there had been a withdrawal of Chinese administration from the Ordos region in the early 140s, after rebellion by the Qiang and the Xiongnu, and rebellion in Liang province from 184 destroyed Han government in the northwest: de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 123, 309–312, and 146–162, also Gustav Haloun, "The Liang-chou rebellion 184–221 A.D." *Asia Major* (New Series) 1 (1949–50), 119–138.

187See, for example, *JS* 4, 94–95, also *ZZTJ* 82, 2616 and 83, 2623.

188*JS* 97, 2549, also *ZZTJ* 81, 2575.

189The *Xi rong lun* appears in the biography of Jiang Tong (d.311) in *JS* 56, 1529–34; it is discussed and part rendered by de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 170–172.

190The biography of Liu Yuan (d.310) is in the Parallel Annals (*zaiji*), *JS* 101. He took the title of king in 304 and that of emperor in 308.

Liu Yuan's personal name was the same as that of the first emperor of Tang: to avoid the taboo, *JS* describes him by his style, Yuanhai.

191The biography of Sima Teng (d.307) is in *JS* 37.

192The biography of Liu Kun (271–318) is in *JS* 62. A recognised poet, he had been a member of the literary circle about Jia Mi in the 290s. His memorial describing the miseries of the province at the time he arrived is at *JS* 62, 1680–81.

193The biography of Shi Le (274–333) is in the Parallel Annals, *JS* 104–105.

194The biography of Liu Cong (d.318) is in the Parallel Annals, *JS* 102.

195*JS* 5, 123; Arthur Waley, "The fall of Lo-yang," *History Today* 1.4 (April 1951), 7–10.

196The annals of Sima Ye (300–317), Emperor Xiaomin of Jin, are in *JS* 5. See also note 57 above.

197The annals of Sima Rui (272–322), founding Emperor Yuan of Eastern Jin, are in *JS* 6.

198The history of this period is told also in the first chapter of the standard history *Wei shu* compiled by Wei Shou (506–572) and others, 104+26 chapters, Beijing 1974. See Jennifer Holmgren, *Annals of Tai: early T'o-pa history according to the first chapter of the Wei-shu*, Canberra 1982, especially 35–38 and 60–64.

199The biography of Murong Hui (268–333) is in the Parallel Annals, *JS* 108, and is discussed by Gerhard Schreiber, "The history of the Former Yen dynasty.(285–370)," *Monumenta Serica* 14 (1949–55), 374–480 at 391–424. A continuation of Schrieber's article was published in *Monumenta Serica* 15 (1956), 1–141.

200On Wu, see Part 2 above. The history of Eastern Jin is beyond the scope of the present work, but a recent study of the continuing dynasty is Charles Holcombe's *In the Shadow of the Han: literati thought and society at the beginning of the Southern Dynasties*, Hawaii UP 1994.

201This matter has been discussed in connection with each of the Three Kingdoms in Part 2 above. See also de Crespigny, *Generals of the south*, 515–524.

202On *xuanxue* "The Study of the Mysteries," see Balazs, "Nihilistic revolt," also note 106 above.

203The biography of Wang Yan (256–311) is in *JS* 43. This incident is described at 1238, and is cited by Balazs, "Nihilistic revolt," 248–249.

204*JS* 36, 1074; Straughair, *Chang Hua*, 56–57.

205On the Proscribed Party (*danggu*) of Later Han, see, for example, *ZZTJ* 56, 1820–23; de Crespigny, *Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling*, 110–117, and the particular praise of those men by Sima Guang in *ZZTJ* 68, 2173–74, de Crespigny, *op.cit.*, xvi–xvii.

206Western scholars who have written on questions of social structure over the whole Period of Division include Patricia Ebrey, particularly *The aristocratic families of early imperial China: A case study of the Po-ling Ts'ui family*, Cambridge UP 1978, David Johnson, *The medieval*

Chinese oligarchy: a study of the great families in their social, political, and ideological setting, Boulder 1977, Robert M. Somers, "The society of early imperial China: three recent studies," in *Journal of Asian Studies* 38.1 (November 1978), 127–143 [review article of Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure* (see note 207 following), Johnson, *Medieval oligarchy*, and Ebrey, *Aristocratic families*], and Denis Grafflin, "The great family in medieval South China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 41 (1981), 65–74. As Grafflin observes, at 65, much of the debate has been a reflection of the position taken by the Japanese scholar Naitô Konan, his disciples such as Miyakawa Hisayuki, and other theorists such as Tanigawa Michio and Kawakatsu Yoshio. A survey of that debate may be found in Joshua A. Fogel's Translator's Introduction to Tanigawa's *Medieval society and the local "community"*, California UP 1985.

207 Besides the chapters on Former and Later Han economy and society by Patricia Ebrey and Nishijima Sadao in *Cambridge Han*, the work of Ch'ü T'ung-tsu, *Han social structure*, edited by Jack L. Dull, Washington UP, Seattle 1980, is an important contribution to the field. As several reviewers have pointed out, however, Ch'ü's work gives little indication of changes and development during Han: see, for example, Somers, "Early Imperial China," 130, and the review by A.F.P. Hulsewé in *T'oung Pao* 62 (1974), 330–337. By contrast, Balazs, "Nihilistic revolt," Ch'en Ch'i-yün, *Hsün Yüeh and the mind of late Han China*, and Holzman, "Sept sages," *Hi Kang*, and *Poetry and politics*, have studied different aspects of the period from the end of Han to Wei.

208 Under Jin, as under Later Han and Wei, the fact that a man was enfeoffed as a prince or other lesser title gave him no more than a pension. His real authority depended upon his position in the imperial administration, whether as minister, military officer or area commander.

There was, however, as we have observed at note 128 above, a substantial difference in policy: where Han and Wei had deliberately excluded princes of the imperial clan from any executive post, the government of Jin allowed and encouraged them to hold such positions.

209 In the medieval West, when the Angevin King of England was also Duke of Normandy, a discontented baron could seek support from the Pope or from the King of France, and the quarrel was rapidly enmeshed in a complexity of suzerain relationships; in China, there was no way short of exile and treason to avoid the direct confrontation.

Similarly, in early modern times Eugene of Savoy could quit the court of Louis XIV to command the Hapsburg armies against France; even among the confusions of the Three Kingdoms there is no Chinese parallel to such a successful and accepted transfer of allegiance.

210 One should note, however, Grafflin's conclusion, in "Great families," 74, that "Famous names of the Chin dynasty were in circulation during the T'ang, not because their bearers had dominated the intervening centuries, but because the Sino-foreign hybrid aristocracy, developing out of the Northern Wei, had to look back to the Jin in order to claim Chinese ancestry for an upper-class society significantly alien in derivation."

211 In this I follow Ebrey, *Aristocratic families*, 10, distinguishing the "nobility," those families which gained wealth and prestige from association with the imperial throne, from the "aristocracy," super-élite families which were independently powerful enough to survive the withdrawal of imperial patronage.

212As above, and *mutatis mutandis*, I suggest a parallel with the English gentry or the French *noblesse* of early modern Europe. One may observe that for the *noblesse* of the *ancien régime*, and for the traditional concept of the British gentleman, it was membership of the class that was important, rather than any formality of ranks within it.