

# EMPEROR HUAN AND EMPEROR LING

Internet edition 2003

being the Chronicle of the Later Han dynasty  
for the years 157 to 189 AD  
as recorded in Chapters 54 to 59 of the *Zizhi tongjian* of Sima Guang  
translated and annotated by Rafe de Crespigny

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## FOREWORD

to the Internet edition 2003

Since the hard-copy of *Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling* 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 have other work at <http://www.anu.edu.au/asianstudies/decrespigny/>, and I am placing two volumes of the succeeding *To Establish Peace* on the Web.

The original English-language text of the 1989 edition has been preserved, with a few minor corrections, there are some changes in format.

Firstly, the original publication was in two volumes, the first containing the translation of the Chinese text, the second the notes. In this version, annotations are placed added, in a smaller font, to the end of each annual chronicle. Reference points are indicated by full-size numbers in the body of the main text.

Second, 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. Furthermore, given the convenience of searching electronic documents, I have not included an index.

Third, 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 *Yx2: 159* means that the text is rendering the chronicle for the second year of Yanxi, roughly equivalent to 159 AD.

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 and a few amendments, the present document gives the original text of the 1989 translation of the chronicle from 157 to 189.

One final point: a number of works have been published in the field of Han studies since 1989, including some of my own such as *Generals of the South* [1990], which deals with the history of the Sun family and their Three Kingdoms state of Wu, and *To Establish Peace* [1996], which is a continuation of *Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling* and which appears on a companion web-site. I have not attempted to incorporate this more recent material into the annotations, nor do they appear in the Bibliography. This work is primarily a reprint of 1989, not a fully revised edition, but I am still largely content with it.

Rafe de Crespigny

Canberra

October 2003

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD to this Internet edition

PREFACE to the 1989 hard-copy edition

### INTRODUCTION

Sima Guang and his Chronicle History

The Arrangement of the Translation and the Notes

An Outline of the Administration of the Later Han Empire

see [http://www.anu.edu.au/asianstudies/mil\\_org.html](http://www.anu.edu.au/asianstudies/mil_org.html)

The Political Situation of 157 AD

Notes to the Introduction

### TABLES

The Emperors of the Two Han dynasties

Chronology 157 TO 189 AD

### TRANSLATION AND NOTES

[pages of the 1996 edition]

#### CHAPTER 54

Yongshou 3: 157	1 [Notes at 265]
Yanxi 1: 158	4 [270]
Yanxi 2: 159	8 [278]
Yanxi 3: 160	25 [307]
Yanxi 4: 161	29 [311]
Yanxi 5: 162	33 [318]
Yanxi 6: 163	39 [325]

#### CHAPTER 55

Yanxi 7: 164	44 [330]
Yanxi 8: 165	55 [344]
Yanxi 9: 166	67 [367]

#### CHAPTER 56

Yongkang 1: 167	82 [389]
Jianning 1: 168	89 [401]
Jianning 2: 169	104 [423]
Jianning 3: 170	119 [453]
Jianning 4: 171	121 [457]

#### CHAPTER 57

Xiping 1: 172	123 [462]
Xiping 2: 173	130 [477]

Xiping 3: 174	131 [479]
Xiping 1: 175	132 [481]
Xiping 2: 176	135 [490]
Xiping 3: 177	137 [493]
Guanghe 1: 178	145 [505]
Guanghe 2: 179	154 [520]
Guanghe 3: 180	164 [531]
CHAPTER 58	
Guanghe 4: 181	167 [537]
Guanghe 5: 182	171 [542]
Guanghe 6: 183	174 [546]
Zhongping 1: 184	177 [549]
Zhongping 2: 185	191 [564]
Zhongping 3: 186	199 [574]
Zhongping 4: 187	201 [575]
CHAPTER 59	
Zhongping 5: 188	205 [577]
Zhongping 6: 189 [part only]	211 [582]

FINDING LIST of texts identified as sources for *Zizhi tongjian* 54–59

BIBLIOGRAPHY of works cited in the Notes to the Translation

MAPS of the Han empire in the time of Emperors Huan and Ling at the end

## PREFACE

to the 1989 edition

The present work offers an annotated translation of *Zizhi tongjian* Chapters 54–58, dealing with the years equivalent to 157–187 AD, and portion of *Zizhi tongjian* 59, to the death of Emperor Ling in 189. The first four of these chapters have not been translated before, but Chapters 58 and 59 were rendered in *The Last of the Han*, which I published some twenty years ago. The format of the present work, however, is slightly different, and it has seemed appropriate to complete the account of the reign of Emperor Ling in the new format.

I began work in this field under the guidance of Hans Bielenstein, Göran Malmqvist, Fang Chao-ying and Otto van der Sprenkel. Since that time I have also benefited greatly from the advice and assistance of many colleagues and friends, notably Igor de Rachewiltz, Ken Gardiner and Greg Young in Canberra, and Burchard Mansvelt Beck of Leiden.

Much of the typing for the present work was done by Fien Warouw and Pam Wesley-Smith. The characters have been written by May Wang, and the maps have been prepared by Winifred Mumford. I am most grateful to all of them for their competence and for their very great patience and tolerance.

In the course of the work, I have been given assistance from the Australian Research Grants Committee and from the Faculties' Research Fund of the Australian National University.

Above all, however, I must thank Liu Ts'un-yan, Emeritus Professor of Chinese at this University, and long-time guide and friend, who has given his time most generously to revision and discussion of this material. With the greatest admiration for the depth and breath of his scholarship, I am immensely grateful for the attention he has given to this project.

Rafe de Crespigny  
Canberra  
June 1989

## INTRODUCTION

*Sima Guang and his Chronicle History:*

*Zizhi tongjian* "The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government" was compiled by Sima Guang between the years 1067 and 1084, and was first printed at Hangzhou in 1086. The whole work comprises 294 chapters (*juan*), and it covers the period from 403 BC to 959 AD.<sup>1</sup>

Sima Guang, scholar and statesman of the Northern Song dynasty, was born in 1019 in present-day Shanxi province. His family was wealthy, and he obtained early success as a scholar and official. He passed the examination for the *jinshi* degree, highest in the empire, when he was barely twenty, and he spent the next several years in official positions.

In 1064, Sima Guang presented to Emperor Yingzong a book of five chapters, entitled *Linian tu* "Chronicle Table," a summary of events from 403 BC to 959 AD, which may be regarded as a first advertisement and request for sponsorship of his major project. The starting point was chosen from the year that the King of Zhou acknowledged the division of the ancient hereditary state of Jin between three great families, a recognition of usurpers which marked the beginning of the desperate and decisive wars that brought the end of Zhou and the establishment of the new-style empire of Qin. And the history was halted a hundred years before Sima Guang's own time, at the very beginning of the Northern Song dynasty which he served.<sup>2</sup>

Two years later, in 1066, Sima Guang presented a further and more detailed work, comprising eight chapters chronicling the period from 403 to 207 BC, and at this time an edict was issued for the work to be continued.<sup>3</sup> Sima Guang was granted full access to the imperial libraries, while the emperor undertook to cover all the costs of paper, writing brushes and other equipment required for the compilation. He also allocated funds for research assistants, including the experienced historians Liu Shu (1032–1078) and Zhao Junxi.

Early in the following year, 1067, Emperor Yingzong died, and in the tenth Chinese month Sima Guang attended a seminar at the palace to introduce the work in progress to Emperor Shenzong. The new ruler not only confirmed the interest his father had shown, but proclaimed the favour by a preface which changed the title from *Tong zhi* "Comprehensive Record" to the more ornamental and impressive *Zizhi tongjian*.<sup>4</sup> As several scholars have observed, the character *jian* "mirror" may be understood in this context as indicating a work of reference and guidance; so the emperor accepted Sima Guang as his mentor in the science

of history and its application to government, and for the seventeen years of his reign he maintained his support for the work.

Such loyalty is notable, for Sima Guang soon became a leader of the conservative faction at court, resolutely opposed to the reforming policies of Shenzong's minister Wang Anshi. He presented increasingly bitter memorials of criticism, and in 1070 he refused further appointment and withdrew from the court. In 1071 he took up residence in Luoyang, where he remained with an official sinecure, ample leisure and sufficient resources to continue the work. Indeed, though Sima Guang and his imperial master were in complete disagreement on policies for the present day, the enforced retirement proved essential for the historian to complete the project in full and final form.

We know a good deal about the technique of the compilation. The first stage was a "General Outline" (*Congmu*) of the major events of the period, and the text of this must have been very similar to that of the *Linian tu*, though we are told that the astronomer Liu Xisou, who had earlier assisted Ouyang Xiu in the compilation of the official *Xin Tang shu* "New History of the Tang Dynasty," also worked on the "General Outline."<sup>5</sup> Then a Long Draft (*Changpian*) was prepared, based about the framework of the Chronological Survey, including material gathered as widely as possible, and in this work of general collation Sima Guang received the particular assistance of Liu Bin (1022–1088), who was apparently in charge of the material up to the end of Later Han, Liu Shu, who was responsible for the drafting of the account of the period from the end of Han to the beginning of Tang, and Fan Zuyu (1041–1098), who prepared the third part of the chronicle for Tang and the Five Dynasties period.<sup>6</sup> When it was fully gathered, the material of the Long Draft is said to have filled two entire rooms.

The whole of this material was then edited by Sima Guang himself, and we are told, for example, that in dealing with the Tang section he reduced some six hundred chapters of Fan Zuyu's original collection down to no more than eighty. In the process, though the text of *Zizhi tongjian* followed closely the earlier histories from which the Long Draft had gathered its material, Sima Guang's revision gave the work a unity of style and a tightness of presentation seldom matched by the histories upon which he had based his work.

At the end of 1084, Sima Guang presented the completed work to the throne, claiming as he did so that he had "given his all" to the project.<sup>7</sup> By a quirk of fortune, however, the end of these labours in the field of history marked his return to the political arena of the court. Four months later Shenzong died to be succeeded by the young Emperor Zhezong under a regency of Shenzong's mother

the Empress–Dowager Gao. Within weeks of the change of government Sima Guang had been recalled to the capital and appointed Grand Councillor. For eighteen months, until his death in 1086, Sima Guang supervised the destruction of the reform programs which had been established by his rival Wang Anshi and his former patron Emperor Shenzong.<sup>8</sup>

When *Zizhi tongjian* was presented an edict ordered immediately that it should be printed, and the first edition was published in Hangzhou in 1086, the year of Sima Guang's death.<sup>9</sup> As evidence of the work's influence and popularity, we know of another eight editions during the remaining forty years of Northern Song, though only fragments of these remain. The earliest datable manuscript, published in the *Sibu congkan* collection, is identified as a late twelfth-century reprint of an edition originally collated and published in the 1130s, at the beginning of Southern Song.<sup>10</sup> The Beijing punctuated edition of 1956 is based upon that published in 1816 by Hu Kejia, which is in turn based upon that which was used by the commentator Hu Sanxing (1230–1287) of the Yuan dynasty, supplemented by other editions of Song, Ming and Qing.

Sima Guang himself compiled a supplementary thirty chapters of *Kaoyi*, "Examination of Differences," where he noted variations in the historical records and would often justify his own preferred reading. Two hundred years later, when Hu Sanxing compiled his commentary (*Yinzhu*), he placed the items of *Kaoyi* into their relevant positions as commentary to the main text, and he drew also upon the commentaries to the parallel texts of the standard histories, such as that compiled for the *Hou Han shu* of Fan Ye under the auspices of Li Xian, Heir–Apparent of Tang in the seventh century.

In the preface to this work, Hu Sanxing observed that Sima Guang had sought "to establish good action as the proper model, and to let evil deeds serve as their own warning." In that sense, *Zizhi tongjian* is a didactic as well as a historical text, and there is no question that this was indeed Sima Guang's intention. His technique, however, is the indirect, oblique approach of traditional Chinese historiography. Sometimes he offers specific statements of analysis and comment, and his judgements on these occasions are invariably forceful, clear and elegant. Most commonly, however, he prefers to let the facts, as selected, speak for themselves, and his philosophical approach may best be considered as that of the pragmatist: it is not so much that wrong–doing is bad; but it is an inevitable rule that weakness and wickedness will bring disaster as their natural consequence.

In this, one may observe a marked contrast with the approach of the Southern Song philosopher Zhu Xi, whose *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* "String and Mesh of the

Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government" presented a summary and re-interpretation of the earlier work, emphasising the importance of ethics in politics and, through his Foreword on the *fanli* rules, setting standards for historical judgement and for the rhetorical devices by which those judgements should be expressed, and indeed establishing a system of "praise and blame" on the lines alleged to have been used by Confucius in composing the *Chunqiu* "Spring and Autumn Annals" for the ancient state of Lu.<sup>11</sup>

For history of the period presently under discussion, one of the most obvious contrasts between the two works is in the treatment of the question of "Legitimate Succession" (*zheng tong*) between the Three Kingdoms which followed the fall of Han. Where Sima Guang maintained the dating of his chronicle from Han through the Wei empire of the Cao family to the Jin dynasty of the Sima, Zhu Xi insisted on the moral virtue and legitimate succession of the Shu-Han state in Sichuan, founded by Liu Bei and maintained by his son.<sup>12</sup>

In his own discussion of that matter, Sima Guang deliberately eschewed the concept of "praise and blame":

Your servant has limited himself to setting forth the rise and decline of different states, and to recording the changes of men's fortunes. I leave it for my readers themselves to draw lessons as to which is good and which is bad, which wise and which in error, and to take encouragement or warning therefrom. My intention is quite different to that of Chunqiu, which set up norms for praise and blame in order to rectify a disorderly age.<sup>13</sup>

Sima Guang, after all, was writing for the rulers of a reasonably successful dynasty, and his object was rather to instruct and to guide towards greater perfection than to criticise and purge contemporary disorders.

Nonetheless, the fact that Sima Guang rejected the full position of moral judgement later adopted by Zhu Xi does not mean that he did not have strong views, nor that he was reluctant to express them. At the end of Chapter 68, the last of the Chronicle of Han, Sima Guang presented an essay "On Teaching and Custom," which may be regarded as his epitaph upon that dynasty, and which refers very substantially to the history of Emperors Huan and Ling described and translated in this present volume.<sup>14</sup> He describes how Liu Xiu, founding Emperor Guangwu of Later Han, and his immediate successors of the first century AD, used the teaching of the Confucian classics as a means to restore the moral fibre of the court and to maintain good custom among the common people. In later generations, the government of the empire was corrupted by the influence of the imperial relatives by marriage and the eunuchs:

This may be called disorder.

Yet the reason the state continued and did not fall into destruction was that on the one hand there were excellencies, ministers and high officials such as Yuan An, Yang Zhen, Li Gu, Du Qiao, Chen Fan and Li Ying, who would argue in the imperial presence and struggled to support the state with justice and honour in its time of danger. And at the same time there were scholars of plain clothing such as Fu Rong, Guo Tai, Fan Pang and Xu Shao, who held private discussions to help in that time of chaos.<sup>15</sup>

And so, although the government was corrupted Custom was not in decline. Those officials and scholars went forward to face the axe and the halberd, and even when the first of them was killed, the example of their loyalty and honour was so great that others followed in their footsteps on the road to execution. They saw death as the necessary and natural path to follow.

Was it just the courage of these few worthy scholars? No. It was the inherited influence of Emperors Guangwu, Ming and Zhang that brought such sense of duty. And if only an understanding ruler had appeared at that time to support them, then the fortune of Han might yet be maintained without limit or measure.

Sadly, however, the ruinous disorder inherited by Emperors Huan and Ling was compounded by their own stupid tyranny. They protected and nourished the evil-doers and the vicious as if they were closer than their own flesh and blood. They killed and destroyed those who were loyal and true more diligently than if they had been rebels and enemies.

So the gentry stirred up in their anger, and hatred was bred within all four seas. Then He Jin called to fighting, Dong Zhuo took advantage of discontent, and men like Yuan Shao made trouble everywhere.<sup>97</sup> The Emperor became a homeless wanderer, the temples of the imperial clan were laid waste, the royal house was destroyed and all the people were in mud and ashes. The Mandate was broken, never to be restored.

Here is a powerful statement of Chinese conservatism, of the central importance of Confucian virtues and the essential role of the gentleman scholar. A ruler ignores such precedent at his peril.

From the time of the publication of the *Shi ji* of Sima Qian in the first century BC, *Zizhi tongjian* was the first major attempt at a chronicle study which extended over more than one dynastic period. The achievement of Sima Guang has dominated later treatment of the period from Han to Song, and it has become the model for an important genre of Chinese historical writing. One may criticise Sima

Guang as a conservative Neo-Confucianist, and we must observe that he represented the ideology and the interests of the landed gentry, but the breadth of vision and the scale of presentation have given a masterly picture of the years that are described, and it is by no means inappropriate to compare the achievement of Sima Guang with that of Edward Gibbon and his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. In the dramatic thrust of its narrative, and the elegance of its prose, *Zizhi tongjian* is a splendid work of history and a pleasure to read.

I hope this translation of a part of the chronicle of Han may serve as an introduction to the study of the history of China in the second century AD, and shed some light on the causes of the collapse of that great dynasty. A modern historian will find further questions to consider beyond the recital of facts so ably gathered and forcefully arranged by Sima Guang, and there is ample room for additional analysis and debate. As I have suggested above, however, and as I argued in the Preface to the earlier translation, for the beginning of a full discussion of the period, we should first take note how a great Chinese chose to describe its history.

#### *The Arrangement of the Translation and the Notes:*

The Chinese text which has been followed is that of the Beijing punctuated edition of 1956, published by the Guji Publishing House. This work includes notes on variant readings of the text compiled by Zhang Yu, and these readings have been noted where appropriate.

In the left-hand margin of the text of the translation are indications of the pagination of the Chinese text. The index to the present work is based upon that pagination, so that it serves both as an index to the translation and also as an index to the modern Chinese edition.

Also in the left-hand margin there are letters to identify "passages" of the translation and text. The notes contain identifications of the earlier sources from which Sima Guang took the basis for that item of his text. As he incorporated those passages, Sima Guang often made amendments to his chosen source, and he frequently shortened it by omitting some characters, or even whole sentences and paragraphs. In his translation of *The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms*, dealing with Chapters 69-79 of *Zizhi tongjian*, Achilles Fang presents a detailed study of Sima Guang's technique. The present work does not provide any such detailed analysis of the texts, but the Finding Notes assist readers to check the comparison for themselves. A summary is provided in the Finding List at the end.

In most cases, the identification of the original texts of the various passages is straightforward, and the overwhelming majority of the items are drawn from one part or another of the *Hou Han shu* of Fan Ye.<sup>16</sup> Sometimes, however, two earlier texts are so similar that it is not possible to be completely certain which was the basis for Sima Guang's selection, there are occasions where he prepared his text from a medley of different sources,<sup>17</sup> and there are a few places that I have been unable to identify a specific source, and have had to conclude that Sima Guang has composed the passage himself.<sup>18</sup> Essentially, however, Sima Guang acted as selector, compiler and editor rather than as writer of his own words; when he does have a comment, he identifies his remarks quite specifically.<sup>19</sup>

I have sought to present an English translation which reads as straightforwardly as possible, and have therefore avoided all but the minimum use of square brackets. These are used by many scholars to show passages of translation which cannot be identified precisely with characters in the Chinese text, but I believe that in most cases they tend rather to hinder comprehension than to aid understanding. In particular, 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 present the names always in their full form.

Unless it has appeared necessary to question and discuss the matter, for the identification of places I have accepted the interpretations of volume two of *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* "The Historical Atlas of China." During the period under our attention, there are few incidents which would benefit from a detailed geographical analysis, and most of those have been discussed in other writing, including my own work *Northern Frontier*. I provide only a general map of the provinces, commanderies and kingdoms of the time, but I believe this will prove sufficient for the present purpose.

For identification of dates, I follow the calculations of Xue Zhongsan and Ouyang Yi in *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 calendar, varies between late January and middle February of the Western system. The Western-style dates of the first and last days of the Chinese years appear at the beginning of the relevant section of the chronicle. For convenience of reference, however, I refer normally to a Chinese year as equivalent to a specific Western year: thus the third year of the Yongshou reign period, Yongshou 3, is usually described as 157 AD.

For translation of official titles, I generally follow the renderings of Hans Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, which are in turn based upon the system devised by H.H. Dubs for his *The History of the Former Han Dynasty by Pan Ku*.<sup>20</sup> For detailed discussion of the offices of Han, Bielenstein's work is essential, and I refer to it regularly in the notes. In the Introduction of 1989 I presented a summary of the administrative structure of Later Han. This appears separately under <http://www.anu.edu.au/asianstudies/decrespigny/lhca.html>.

*The political situation of 157 AD:*

Emperor Shun of Later Han died on 20 September 144 at the age of thirty *sui*, some twenty-nine years old by Western reckoning, and leaving a son, Liu Bing, who had been born the previous year to Emperor Shun's concubine the Lady Yu. In 132, Emperor Shun had established the Lady Liang Na as his Empress, and the Empress's father Liang Shang had been made General-in-Chief in 135. When Liang Shang died in 141, he was succeeded in that post by his son Liang Ji, and when Emperor Shun died Liang Ji took a dominant role in the government of the empire through association with his sister, now Empress-Dowager.

The infant Liu Bing died in 145, receiving posthumous title as Emperor Chong. Liang Ji and his sister chose another child of the imperial Liu clan, Liu Zuan, a great-great grandson of the first-century Emperor Zhang, who was brought to the throne at the age of eight *sui*. In the following year, however, he too had died, and there were rumours that he had been poisoned at the instigation of Liang Ji, whom he had described as over-powerful. His posthumous title was Emperor Zhi.

On 1 August 146 Liang Ji and the Empress-Dowager brought Liu Zhi, the third of the infant rulers under their patronage, to the throne. Liu Zhi was also a great-grandson of Emperor Zhang, he was fifteen *sui* at the time he came to the throne, and he is known to history by his posthumous title as Emperor Huan of Han.

Even before his accession, marriage had been arranged between Liu Zhi and the Lady Liang Nuying, younger sister of the Empress-Dowager and Liang Ji. The younger Lady Liang became Empress in 147, and although her sister the Empress-Dowager died in 150 the Liang family were able to maintain their influence while Liang Ji, in particular, continued to dominate the court.

By 157, Emperor Huan had been on the throne for a little over ten years, and he was aged in his middle twenties. He had not, however, played any effective role in the government of the empire, and he had for some time grown tired of

the charms of his Empress Liang. It appears that he was interested in building, in gardens, in some aspects of fringe religion such as were provided by popular Taoism and by Buddhism which was at this time being brought to China, and he had developed an increasing interest in women. His harem was large, and the eunuchs who guarded it were among his trusted associates – if only because he had little contact with other men of the court and the bureaucracy, so much under the control of Liang Ji. In the light of later events, we may also conclude that Emperor Huan was growing increasingly dissatisfied with his situation, and that he had developed larger ambitions: to rule, rather than merely to reign, over the empire of China.

### Notes to the Introduction

- 1 On the historiography of *Zizhi tongjian*, see the discussion by G. Lewin, with following articles on supplementary texts, in *A Sung Bibliography (Bibliographie des Song)*, initiated by Etienne Balazs and edited by Yves Hervouet, Chinese University Press, Hong Kong, 1978, 69–70 and ff; also the prefaces to de Crespigny, *Last of the Han*, xi–xxii, and to Fang, *Chronicle I*, xvii–xx.  
On more general aspects, see also E.G. Pulleyblank, "Chinese Historical Criticism: Liu Chih-chi and Ssu-ma Kuang," in *Historians of China and Japan*, edited by W.G. Beasley and E.G. Pulleyblank, London 1961, 135–166; Rafe de Crespigny, "Universal Histories," in *Essays on the Sources for Chinese History*, edited by Donald Leslie, Colin Mackerras and Wang Gungwu, Australian National University Press 1973, 64–70; and on the earlier and original histories of the period, see in particular, Bielenstein's Prolegomena in *RHD I*; A.F.P. Hulswé, "Notes on the Historiography of the Han Period," in *Historians of China and Japan*, 31–43; and K.H.J. Gardiner, "Standard Histories, Han to Sui," in *Sources for Chinese History*, 42–52.  
The biography of Sima Guang is in *Song shi* 336. *Sung Biographies*, edited by Herbert Franke, 4 volumes, Wiesbaden 1976, unfortunately contains no biography of Sima Guang.
- 2 A work entitled *Jigu lu* "Survey of Records of the Past" in 20 chapters was compiled later by Sima Guang. It presents a summary chronicle of Chinese history from the earliest mythical rulers, but from part-way through Chapter 11 to the end of Chapter 15 the text preserves the original *Linian tu*. Chapter 16 contains the memorial Sima Guang wrote upon the occasion of the presentation of *Linian tu*, and the remaining four chapters continue the chronicle outline through the Song period into Sima Guang's own time. It seems most probable that *Jigu lu* was also presented to the young Emperor Shenzong early in his reign, possibly at the same time as the seminar of 1067, mentioned below. On *Jigu lu*, see *Sung Bibliography*, 71–72 (de Crespigny).
- 3 207 BC was the last year of the Second Emperor of Qin, and the foundation of the Han dynasty is traditionally dated from 206, when the future Emperor Gao became King of Han after the destruction of Qin. The first eight chapters of the *Zizhi tongjian* itself cover precisely these years, and the chronicle of Han begins at Chapter 9. It seems clear that the work presented by Sima Guang in 1066, then entitled *Tong zhi*, was intended as a first sample of the style with which he proposed to continue, and it later formed the basis of these

first eight chapters of *Zizhi tongjian*. We must assume that Sima Guang had been working on the project for some few years before he began negotiations for imperial patronage in 1064 and 1066.

- 4 The preface of Emperor Shenzong is reprinted in the introduction to the Beijing 1956 edition, at 33–34.
- 5 A *Congmu* "General Outline" in thirty chapters was later published in conjunction with the major work *Zizhi tongjian*, to which it serves as a chronological summary.
- 6 *Sung Biographies* contains biographies of Liu Shu (II, 654–656: J. Kurata), Liu Bin (II, 649–652: H. Wilhelm) and Fan Zuyu (I, 338–345: M. Freeman).
- 7 Sima Guang's memorial of presentation is in the Beijing 1956 edition at 9607–08. It is dated to the eleventh month of the seventh year of the Yuanfeng period, generally equivalent to 1084 of the Western calendar. The annals of *Song shi* 16, however, record that the work was actually received on the *wuchen* day of the twelfth month, being the third day of that month, equivalent to 1 January 1085.
- 8 *Sung Biographies* contains biographies of Emperors Yingzong (III, 1257–1258: I. Miyazaki), and Shenzong (II, 865–868: T. Saeki) and of the Empress–Dowager Gao (II, 494–498: H. Chiba).
- 9 The edict and the record of printing is in the Beijing 1956 edition at 9609.
- 10 The analysis of the text critic Zhang Yu appears in the introduction to the Beijing 1956 edition, at 15–16.
- 11 On *Zizhi tongjian gangmu*, see *Song Bibliography*, 75–76 (J.W. Haeger). Two important Western discussions of the relationship between the two works are Otto Franke, "Das *Tse tschi t'ung kien* und das *T'ung kien kang mu*, ihr Wesen, ihr Verhältnis zueinander und ihr Quellenwert," in *Sitzungsberichten der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, Berlin 1930, 103–144, and Erich Haenisch, "Gedanken zum *T'ung-kien kang-muh*," in *Nachrichten der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Volkerkunde Ostasiens*, 79/80 (1956), 41–47.
- 12 For a recent discussion of this debate, with reference to the views of Zhu Xi and other scholars of the Chinese tradition, see *Cambridge China* I, 373–376: Mansvelt Beck, "The Fall of Han."
- 13 *ZZTJ* 69, 2187; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 46–47.
- 14 *ZZTJ* 68, 2173–74; de Crespigny, *Last of the Han*, 356–358 [and also at the end of *To Establish Peace*]. The text does not have the specific name I give it here, but appears merely as one of Sima Guang's occasional comments. The emphasis on Teaching (*jiaohua*) and Custom (*fengsu*), however, is very plain.
- 15 All the officials and scholars mentioned in this passage are described or mentioned in the Translation and Notes below.
- 16 In the Finding Notes, references are given to two editions of *Hou Han shu*, firstly to the full serial pagination of the punctuated Beijing edition of 1965/1982, secondly (in brackets) to the traditional pagination within chapters of the *Hou Han shu jijie* edition, Changsha 1915 reprinted Taipei 1955.
- 17 For example, passage D of Yongshou 3 and passage E of Yanxi 2.
- 18 For example, note 1 to Yanxi 7 and passage T of Yanxi 9.
- 19 Passages L and FF of Jianning 2, and passage C of Xiping 4.
- 20 There is a shorter account of the imperial civil service in *Cambridge China* I, 491–519: Bielenstein, "The Institutions of Later Han."

## CHRONOLOGICAL 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)] <sup>3</sup>	74	[59]
Xuan	74	49
Yuan	49	33
Cheng	33	7
Ai	7	1
Ping	I BC	AD 6
[Wang Mang] <sup>4</sup>	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 Wang Mang ruled at first formally as "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]

**LIST OF CHAPTERS AND TABLE OF EVENTS**  
157–189 AD

CHAPTER 54

**Yongshou 3: 157**

rebellion in Jiuzhen	1736
barbarian rising in Changsha	1738

**Yanxi 1: 158**

rebellion of the Xiongnu with the Xianbi and Wuhuan	1739
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**Yanxi 2: 159**

Xianbi raids against the northern frontier	1741–42
death of the Empress Liang	1742
alliance of Emperor Huan with the eunuchs	1746
destruction of Liang Ji and the Liang clan	1746
establishment of the Empress Deng	1747
arrest and execution of the critic Li Yun	1750–51

**Yanxi 3: 160**

death of the eunuch Shan Chao	1755
Duan Jiong drives the Western Qiang from the frontier	1756
barbarian rising in Changsha	1757
settlement of rebellion in Jiuzhen	1757
Huangfu Gui settles rebellion of Shusun Wuji in Taishan	1757

**Yanxi 4: 161**

salary reductions, levy of fief revenues, sale of offices	1759
rebellion of the Qiang; dismissal of Duan Jiong	1760
Huangfu Gui appointed to command in Liang province	1761

**Yanxi 5: 162**

Huangfu Gui settles the Qiang in Liang province	1762
rebellion in Changsha and the south	1761–62
Feng Gun settles the rebellion in the south	1762–63
disgrace of Huangfu Gui	1763–64

**Yanxi 6: 163**

Xianbi raiding in the north	1765
disgrace of Feng Gun	1765
Huangfu Gui and Zhang Huan hold command in the north	1766
Duan Jiong reappointed to command against the Qiang	1767

## CHAPTER 55

### Yanxi 7: 164

the moralist critic Guo Tai active at Luoyang	1769–72
Du Shang defeats rebels and bandits in Jing province	1773–74
disgrace of Kou Rong and his clan	1775–76

### Yanxi 8: 165

sacrifice to Laozi	1777
disgrace of Liu Kui, brother of Emperor Huan	1777–78
disgrace and dismissal of the eunuch Hou Lan	1778–79
disgrace and suicide of the eunuch Zuo Guan	1779
loss of favour of the eunuch party	1779
dismissal and suicide of the Empress Deng	1780
political struggle between the eunuchs and opponents	1780
edict for abolition of local shrines	1780
rebellion in Jing province put down by Du Shang	1781
Duan Jiong defeats the Western Qiang	1782
establishment of the Empress Dou, and rise of Dou Wu	1783
Li Ying, Colonel Director of Retainers, attacks eunuchs	1784–85

### Yanxi 9: 166

sacrifice to Laozi at the imperial palace	1787
attack in the north by the Xianbi, Wuhuan and Xiongnu	1787
rhyiming criticisms among students of the University	1788
attacks on eunuchs and associates in the provinces	1788–89
arrest of Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi	1788
Zhang Jian attacks Hou Lan; punishment of Zhai Zhao	1789
Xiang Kai submits his memorials of criticism	1791–93
execution of Cheng Jin and Liu Zhi	1793
arrest of Li Ying and other men of Faction	1794
the Xiongnu and the Wuhuan surrender to Zhang Huan	1796
Tanshihuai establishes a Xianbi empire in the north	1796

## CHAPTER 56

### Yongkang 1: 167

Duan Jiong finally settles the Western Qiang	1797
men of Faction released from prison, but proscribed	1799
Zhang Huan defeats the Xianlian Qiang	1801
Liu Kui restored as King of Bohai	1801
death of Emperor Huan	1801

Dou Wu and the Empress–Dowager select Liu Hong	1801
<b>Jianning 1: 168</b>	
Dou Wu as General–in–Chief and Chen Fan Grand Tutor	1802
Liu Hong, Emperor Ling, placed upon the throne	1803
Duan Jiong's campaign of extermination against Qiang	1804
second campaign of Duan Jiong	1806
Chen Fan and Dou Wu plan to destroy the eunuchs	1808
the eunuchs' coup destroys Dou Wu and Chen Fan	1810–11
Xianbi and allied raids in the north and northeast	1813
anti–Chinese coup in Shule kingdom in central Asia	1813
four kings among the Wuhuan	1813
<b>Jianning 2: 169</b>	
portents and protests against the eunuch government	1813–15
Duan Jiong's final massacre of the Xianlian Qiang	1816–17
rebellions among non–Chinese of Jiangxia and Danyang	1817
University students compile lists of political heroes	1818
arrest of Zhang Jian and associates: the Second Faction Incident; arrest of Li Ying and earlier men of Faction	1818
imprisonment and death of Li Ying and others	1819–20
Xianbi raids in the north	1824
raiding by Gaojuli against the northeast	1824
<b>Jianning 3: 170</b>	
surrender of the Wuhu people in the far south	1825
failure of Chinese expedition against Shule	1825
<b>Jianning 4: 171</b>	
establishment of the Empress Song	1826
Xianbi raids in the north	1826
<b>CHAPTER 57</b>	
<b>Xiping 1: 172</b>	
death of the Empress–Dowager Dou	1828
purge of anti–eunuch students of the University	1830
rebellion of Xu Sheng in Kuaiji	1831–32
Xianbi raid in the north	1832
<b>Xiping 2: 173</b>	
pestilence	1832
Xianbi raid in the north	1832

<b>Xiping 3: 174</b>	
Xianbi raids in the north	1834
<b>Xiping 4: 175</b>	
the Confucian classics inscribed upon stone	1834–36
Xianbi raid in the north	1838
Khotan destroys the Chinese allied state of Jumi in central Asia	1838
<b>Xiping 5: 176</b>	
extended proscription of the men of Faction	1838
Xianbi raid in the north	1839
<b>Xiping 6: 177</b>	
Xianbi raids in the north	1839
studies at the Gate of the Vast Capital	1840–41
disastrous expedition against the Xianbi	1842–43
<b>Guanghe 1: 178</b>	
rebellion of the Wuhu people in the far south	1844
the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital	1845
portents and memorials of protest	1845–48
dismissal of the Empress Song	1848
continual Xianbi raids in the north	1849
market for the sale of offices	1849–50
<b>Guanghe 2: 179</b>	
Yang Qiu, Colonel Director of Retainers, attacks the eunuchs; then transferred away	1851–52
memorials of protest against the government	1853–56
rebellion of the Banshun people in Yi province	1856
Xianbi raids in the north	1856
<b>Guanghe 3: 180</b>	
rebellion of non-Chinese people in Jiangxia	1856
Xianbi raids in the north	1857
establishment of the Empress He	1857
rebellion of the Banshun people in Yi province	1857
rebellion in the south of Jing province	1858
CHAPTER 58	
<b>Guanghe 4: 181</b>	
rebellions in the far south; settled	1859
Xianbi raids in the north; death of Tanshihuai	1860
Emperor Ling's private treasury in the Western Garden	1861

birth of Liu Xie, future Emperor Xian; murder of his mother, the Lady Wang, by the Empress He	1861
<b>Guanghe 5: 182</b>	
pestilence	1862
settlement of the Banshun rebellion in Yi province	1862–63
<b>Guanghe 6: 183</b>	
the teachings and organisation of Zhang Jue	1864–65
<b>Zhongping 1: 184</b>	
the rebellion of Zhang Jue and the Yellow Turbans	1865–66
amnesty for the men of Faction	1866
fighting in Yingchuan and Runan and in Guangyang	1868–69
rebellion in the far south; settled	1871
defeat of Yellow Turbans in Yingchuan, Runan and Chen	1871
rebellion of Zhang Xiu and Rice Rebels in Yi province	1872
Huangfu Song destroys the Zhang brothers and their forces of Yellow Turbans in Julu	1872–73
rebellion of Qiang, Chinese and others in Liang province	1873–74
siege and destruction of Yellow Turbans in Wan city in Nanyang by Zhu Jun	1874–75
<b>Zhongping 2: 185</b>	
pestilence	1876
fires, and tax levies to rebuild the imperial palaces	1876–77
the Black Mountain bandits	1878
the Liang province rebels attack the region of Changan	1879
disgrace of Huangfu Song for opposing the eunuchs	1880
Zhang Wen campaigns against the Liang province rebels	1881
Emperor Ling's private treasury and building program	1882
<b>Zhongping 3: 186</b>	
construction work in the palaces and the capital	1883
Xianbi raids in the north	
<b>Zhongping 4: 187</b>	
the Liang province rebels destroy Longxi and Hanyang	1884–85
mutiny and rebellion among the Wuhuan in the north	1885–86
<b>Zhongping 5: 188</b>	
rebellion of the Yellow Turbans of Bobo in Hexi	1887
first appointments of Governors in the provinces	1887–89
rebellion of the Xiongnu	1889

rebellion of Yellow Turbans in Yi province; put down	1889
the colonels of the Western Garden	1890–91
Gongsun Zan attacks the rebels in the northeast	1892
Huangfu Song attacks the Liang province rebels	1892
<b>Zhongping 6: 189</b>	
Huangfu Song defeats the Liang province rebels	1892–93
Liu Yu settles the rebellion in the northeast	1893
the death of Emperor Ling	1894