

## EMPEROR HUAN AND EMPEROR LING

### CHAPTER 56

being Chapter 48 of the Chronicle of Han  
[and Part 3 of the reign of Emperor Huan]  
[followed by Part 1A of the Reign of Emperor Ling]

#### Yongkang 1: 167 AD

[7 February 167 – 27 January 168]

1797

- A In the spring, in the first month the Xianlian group of the Eastern Qiang besieged Duoxu and plundered Yunyang.<sup>1</sup>
- B The various tribes of the Dangjian again rebelled. Duan Jiong attacked them at Luanjue and completely defeated them. So the Western Qiang were settled.<sup>2</sup>
- C Futai, the King of Fuyu, raided Xuantu. The Grand Administrator of Xuantu, Gongsun Yu, attacked him and defeated him.<sup>3</sup>
- D In the summer, in the fourth month the Xianlian Qiang ravaged the Three Adjuncts. They attacked and destroyed the two garrison camps [of the Tiger-tooth forces in Jingzhao and the camp at Yong in Youfufeng], killing more than a thousand men.<sup>4</sup>
- E In the fifth month on the day *renzi* [4 Jul], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.<sup>5</sup>

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- F After Chen Fan was dismissed, all the ministers at court became frightened, and none now dared to speak in favour of the men of faction.

1798 Jia Biao said, "The great misfortune will not be relieved unless I go to the west."<sup>6</sup> So he came into Luoyang, and spoke to the Colonel of the City Gates Dou Wu and to the Master of Writing Huo Xu of Wei commandery and others, persuading them to appeal for redress of the wrongs done to the men of faction.

- G Dou Wu sent in a letter, saying, "I have heard of no period of good government since the time that your majesty came to the throne. The Regular Attendants and the officials of the Yellow Gates conspire to deceive

and mislead you, and appointments are given irresponsibly to quite unworthy people.

"If you think back to the days of the Western Capital [under Former Han], it was through false ministers seizing power that the empire was brought to ruin.<sup>7</sup> And now, if you do not take warning from the failures of the past, but instead continue on the same track, then I fear the difficulties of the Second Emperor [of Qin] will certainly come again, and the treachery of Zhao Gao may re-appear at any moment.<sup>8</sup>

"Quite recently, your wicked subject Lao Xiu sent in an accusation of faction. As a result the former Colonel Director of Retainers, Li Ying, and others have been arrested and put to the question, and the matter now involves several hundred people. The case has now been under investigation for a whole year, but not a single piece of firm evidence has been discovered.

"I am quite convinced that Li Ying and the others are men of the most certain loyalty and steadfast honesty, with all ambitions centred upon your imperial house. Truly, these are the ministers who might serve your majesty like Hou [Ji], [the Minister over the Masses] Xie, Yi [Yin] and Lü [Shang].<sup>9</sup> Yet now they are falsely and wrongly accused by a criminal gang of wicked subjects. The empire is chilled at heart, and all within the seas are disappointed in their hopes.

"If only your majesty would pay heed, and apply your clear intelligence. Then everything would be brought to light, and the anxious feelings of both men and spirits would be allayed.<sup>10</sup>

"Now the new officials of the terrace and doors, the Masters of Writing Zhu Yu, Xun Kun, Liu You, Wei Lang, Liu Ju and Yin Xun are all worthy men of the state and good servants of the court.<sup>11</sup> The Gentlemen of the Masters of Writing Zhang Ling, Gui Hao, Yuan Kang, Yang Qiao, Bian Shao and Dai Hui are all men of the finest literary culture, with clear understanding of the laws. There is a host of talented men suitable for appointment to positions either inside the capital or outside. And yet your majesty has entrusted authority to inexperienced officials, and you have given responsibility to creatures like the Taotie.<sup>12</sup> Outside, they control the provinces and commanderies, inside they manage the personal affairs of your palace. You should dismiss each and every one of them, investigate their crimes and subject them to punishment.

"Give your trust to the loyal and honourable men, and make fair judgement between good and bad, so that right and wrong, praise and blame are each given their appropriate place. It is the golden rule that you should consider only the public interest, and that you make your judgements purely on the question of who is best, not upon personal favour. In this way, bad omens can be averted and you may expect to receive the favour of heaven.

1799 "There have lately been reports that the Auspicious Grain and the Zhi Plant have appeared,<sup>13</sup> and also a yellow dragon.<sup>14</sup> Now the beginnings of good fortune certainly depend upon a man being lucky, but their fulfilment in prosperity requires that he shall then prove to be of excellent character. If virtue is present, then we have the beginnings [of good fortune]; but if virtue is not present, those are signs of disaster. If your majesty's actions do not accord with the will of heaven, you cannot count these omens as a cause for rejoicing."<sup>15</sup>

When the letter was sent in, Dou Wu made excuse of ill health, and he returned the seals and ribbons of [his post as] Colonel of the City Gates and [his enfeoffment as] Marquis of Huaili.

H Huo Xun also sent in a memorial to plead for the prisoners,<sup>16</sup> and the Emperor became a little less angry.

I He sent the Regular Palace Attendant Wang Fu to go to the jail and make further enquiry of Fan Pang and the other men of faction. All of them were exposed [in the courtyard] below the steps in wooden stocks which held head, hands and feet, and with their heads covered over.<sup>17</sup>

Wang Fu questioned them one by one, saying, "Each of you supports the other, just like lips and teeth. What does this mean?"

Fan Pang replied, "Confucius said, 'Look upon good as if to an ideal; look upon evil as if you were asked to thrust your hand into boiling water.'<sup>18</sup> It is my wish to admire goodness and share its purity, and I am prepared to share the disgrace of those who hate evil. I have spoken of certain things which I believe the imperial government should be aware of. I do not understand why this should be considered as factionalism.

"In former times, a man who cultivated his virtue could expect to bring down upon himself a mass of good fortune. Now, however, a man who cultivates his virtue obtains nothing but death.

"When I die, I wish to be buried on the slopes of Shouyang Mountain. On the one hand, I shall not be turning away from heaven, and at the same time I shall feel no shame before [Bo]yi and [Shu]qi."<sup>19</sup>

Wang Fu had pity on him, he changed his attitude, and he had all the prisoners released from their fetters.

J Li Ying and the others had also implicated many relatives and clients of the eunuchs [in their confessions]. The eunuchs were alarmed at this, and they suggested to the Emperor that the time was ripe for an amnesty.<sup>20</sup>

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K In the sixth month on the day *gengshen* [12 Jul] there was an amnesty for the empire and the reign title was changed [to Yongkang].

All the men of faction, more than two hundred of them, were sent back to their home territories. Their names were written down at the offices of the Three Excellencies, and they were barred from appointment for the rest of their lives.<sup>21</sup>

L Fan Pang went to pay a courtesy call upon Huo Xu, but he did not make formal thanks [for Huo Xu's memorial of support]. Someone criticised him for this omission, but Fan Pang replied, "In ancient times, Shuxiang did not call upon Qi Xi.<sup>22</sup> How could I give thanks to Huo Xu?"

1800 Then Fan Pang went south to his home in Runan, and when the leading men of the commandery came out to welcome him their carriages were numbered in the thousands. Yin Tao and Huang Mu, men from his native village, acted as guards at his side, and helped in receiving his guests. Fan Pang said to Yin Tao and his companions, "If you follow me like this, it will only add to my misfortunes." He went hastily back to his home and remained there in retirement.

M Before this, when the imperial edict was issued calling for reports of those who were involved in faction, more than a hundred were reported from the commanderies and kingdoms. The Chancellor of Pingyuan, Shi Bi, was the only one who did not do so.

As the imperial letters became steadily more pressing, province and commandery officials would shave the head and bastinado members of their junior staff [in order to extort confessions].

An Attendant Official from the province came to the guest quarters [at Pingyuan]<sup>23</sup> and complained, "The imperial letters show a particular hatred

for the men of faction, and the instructions are clear and deliberate. Of the six commandery units in Qing province, five have men of faction. Is Pingyuan so well governed that it has none of them?"

Shi Bi replied, "The former kings established the proper bounds of the empire, and they drew borders to define each territory. Just as different geographical regions have different properties, so are local customs not the same.<sup>24</sup> It is perfectly possible that other commanderies may have [men of faction], and equally appropriate that Pingyuan does not have them. How can one make a meaningful comparison?"

"If all we did was consider the expectations of high officials, making false accusations against good and honest men, punishing people wrongfully on trumped-up charges, and acting unjustly to defy proper morality – then one could find men of faction in every household. But even if you put me to death, that is something I cannot do."

The Attendant Official was extremely angry. He had the junior officers of the commandery arrested and jailed, and he sent in a report about Shi Bi. About this time, however, the the faction affair was somewhat eased, and Shi Bi was able to buy his way out of the accusation by submitting money for redemption. He had saved a great number of people.

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N Of the men whom Dou Wu had recommended [in the memorial quoted above], Zhu Yu was a man from Pei, Yuan Kang came from Bohai, Yang Qiao was from Kuaiji and Bian Shao was a man from Chenliu.

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O Yang Qiao was a man of graceful carriage and great elegance. He sent in a number of comments about questions of government. The Emperor was delighted by his talents and good looks, and he wanted to marry Yang Qiao to a princess.<sup>25</sup> Yang Qiao, however, refused very firmly, and would not hear of the proposal. Then he went on a hunger strike, and after seven days he died.

P In the autumn, in the eighth month, a yellow dragon was reported to have appeared in Ba commandery.

Before this, some people in that commandery had gone to a pond to wash. They saw that the water was muddy, and then they said to one another in fun, pretending to be frightened, "There's a yellow dragon in this

pond." The word spread about, and the Grand Administrator, seeking to gain a good reputation, sent in a report.

Fu Jian, a junior officer of the commandery, objected, saying, "This is nothing but a joke among the yamen runners," but the Grand Administrator refused to listen.<sup>26</sup>

Q Six of the provinces had great floods, and the sea at Bohai flooded inland.<sup>27</sup>

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R In the winter, in the tenth month the Xianlian Qiang raided the Three Adjuncts. Zhang Huan sent his Majors Yin Duan and Dong Zhuo to counter-attack, and they thoroughly defeated them. They cut off the heads of their leaders and captured or killed more than ten thousand others. The three [northern] provinces were peaceful and settled.<sup>28</sup>

In discussion of Zhang Huan's achievement, it was held that he was worthy of being enfeoffed, but in the end, because he refused to submit to the eunuchs, he received no such reward. He was granted instead the sum of two hundred thousand cash, and the right to have one person from his family appointed as a Gentleman. Zhang Huan declined, but he asked instead for permission to transfer his official domicile to Hongnong.

According to the established regulations, the men from border regions were not permitted to migrate inwards. Because of Zhang Huan's particular merits, however, an imperial edict gave him special exemption.

S Dong Zhuo was appointed a Gentleman of the Palace. Dong Zhuo was a man from Longxi, a rough, fierce fellow, but cunning. The Qiang and the northern barbarians were afraid of him.

T In the twelfth month on the day *renshen* [20 Jan 168] Liu Kui, King of Yingtao, was re-established as King of Bohai.<sup>29</sup>

On the day *dingchou* [25 Jan 168] the Emperor died in the front section of the Hall of Virtuous Light.<sup>30</sup>

On the day *wuyin* [26 Jan 168] the Empress [Dou] was honoured as Empress-Dowager. The Empress-Dowager held court.<sup>31</sup>

U Before this, when the Empress Dou was appointed, the Emperor saw her very rarely, and it was the Chosen Lady Tian Sheng and others who received

his favours. The Empress had felt bitter resentment: while the Emperor's coffin was still in the front of the hall, the Lady Dou killed Tian Sheng.<sup>32</sup>

V The Colonel of the City Gates Dou Wu took part in discussions on the succession. He called the Attendant Imperial Clerk Liu Shu of Hejian, and asked him which members of the imperial clan in the empire were of good moral quality.<sup>33</sup> Liu Shu recommended Liu Hong, the Marquis of Jiedu Village.

Liu Hong was a great-grandson of the Filial King of Hejian. His grandfather Liu Shu and his father Liu Chang had held the fief of Jiedu Village in succession.<sup>34</sup>

1802 Dou Wu then went in to tell the Empress-Dowager, and they decided on the matter within the forbidden apartments of the palace.<sup>35</sup>

Liu Shu was given commission as Imperial Household Grandee.<sup>36</sup> With the Regular Palace Attendant Cao Jie, both bearing the Staff of Authority, and leading a thousand men of the Yellow Gates, Rapid Tiger and Feathered Forest guards, they received and escorted Liu Hong [to the capital]. At that time he was age twelve *sui*.<sup>37</sup>

### Notes to Yongkang 1: 167

A *HHS* 65/55, 2140 (8b), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

1 Duoxu and Yunyang were counties in Zuopingyi, one of the Three Adjunct commanderies. They lay some fifty kilometres north of the former capital, Chang'an.

For the pronunciation of the place-name, which would appear as Duiyu in modern standard Chinese, I follow the commentary of Yan Shigu to *HS* 28A, 1545–46.

On the pronunciation of the second character of the clan-name, I follow the commentary of the third century scholar Meng Kang to *HS* 28B, 1611: see also de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 471 note 14.

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B *HHS* 65/55, 2148 (14a), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

2 Luanjue was a county in Wuwei commandery, near the present-day city of Wuwei, in the Gansu Corridor north and west of the main stream of the Yellow River.

For the pronunciation of the place-name, where the second character would appear as *niao* in modern standard Chinese, see the commentary to *HHS* 65/55.

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C *HHS* 7, 319 (15a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

3 The Fuyu people inhabited the region north of present-day Shenyang, to the east of the Liao River in Manchuria. See note 78 to Yanxi 9.

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D *HHS* 65/55, 2140 (8b), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

4 The two camps of the Tiger-Tooth Chief Commandant near Chang'an and the garrison at Yong appear to have been maintained under Later Han as defence positions to guard the former capital, and as training camps for recruits: de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 50.

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E *HHS* 7, 319 (15a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

5 *HHS* 108/18, 3369, the Treatise of the Five Powers, lists this eclipse, noting that it took place in the *Yugui* constellation, also known as the Gui lunar mansion, being the central part of Western Cancer (Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 103 and Star Map 7). The eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3298. It is mapped in Stephenson and Houlden at 212b.

The Treatise records the prognostication that this eclipse, taking place on a *renzi* day, foretold the flooding which took place in the following eighth month (see passage Q below). On the other hand, the commentary of Liu Zhao quotes from *Qiantan ba*, which says that an eclipse on a *renzi* day indicates that the females of the harem are acting unrestrained, and that a woman plans to harm the ruler.

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F *HHS* 67/57, 2216 (22b), the Biography of Jia Biao in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

6 Jia Biao was a man from Yingchuan commandery, which lay southeast of Luoyang.

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G *HHS* 69/59, 2239–40 (1b–2b), the Biography of Dou Wu.

7 Western Capital refers to Former Han, when the capital of the empire was at Chang'an. The text in *HHS* identifies the reference specifically to the usurpation of power by Wang Mang at the end of that dynasty.

8 On Zhao Gao, the treacherous eunuch minister of the weakling Second Emperor of Qin, see note 15 to Yanxi 2.

9 Hou Ji was the minister of agriculture under Emperor Shun: see, for example, the *Shun dian* "The Canon of Shun" Chapter of *Shu jing*, II.1, 17 and 18; Legge, *CC* III, 43–44. The man's personal name was Xie; his title, sometimes rendered as "Prince Millet," refers to his status as Prince of Tai, combined with his responsibility for the grain which was the major staple of ancient China; cf. Karlgren, *Documents*, 7.

Xie was the name of the Minister over the Masses (*situ*: Legge: "Minister of Instruction") under Emperor Shun: see the *Shun dian* "The Canon of Shun" Chapter of *Shu jing*, II.1, 19: Legge, *CC* III, 44., also Karlgren, *Documents*, 7

Yi Yin was the chief minister of Tang, founder of the Shang dynasty. See, for example, the *Yi xun* "The Instructions of Yi" Chapter of *Shu jing*, IV.4.1; Legge *CC* III, 191, and *Mengzi* VA, 6.5 and 7.6, and VB, 1.2; Legge, *CC* II, 361–363 and 370 (Lau, *Mencius*, 145–146 and 149–150).

Lü Shang, known also by the title *Taigong* "Great Duke" of Qi was minister to Kings Wen and Wu, founders of the Zhou dynasty. See *SJ* 32, 1477–81; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 34–40.

10 Variant editions of *ZZTJ* suggest that the character *shen* in the text here should read *ren*. This would agree with the reading of *HHS*, and the translation follows that emendation.

11 The expression *taike* "terrace and doors" evidently refers to the office of the Masters of Writing, the imperial secretariat. The office was sometimes described as the "Inner Terrace" (*zhong tai* or *nei tai*): see, for example, the commentary of Li Xian to *HHS* 74A/64A, at 2396 note 2, quoting *Jin shu*; de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 68 note 65, and Ch'en, "*San t'ai chih-tu*."

The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHS* also lists Chen Fan as Prefect of the Masters of Writing and Hu Guang as Supervisor of the Masters of Writing. At this time, however, they did not hold those positions, and Sima Guang therefore omitted them from the list. Chen Fan had been dismissed from office in the previous year for his support of the men accused of Faction (passage DD of Yanxi 9); he had been Prefect of the Masters of Writing in 159 (passage U of Yanxi 2). Hu Guang was at that time Minister over the Masses (passage E of Yanxi 9); he had been Supervisor of the Masters of Writing about 130 (*HHS* 44/34, 1505).

It is hard to imagine why such a gross anachronism should have appeared. Several of the men praised by Dou Wu appear later in opposition to the eunuchs, and an early historian may have wished to emphasise Dou Wu's support for leading scholars. On the other hand, Hu Guang was not closely associated with, nor even particularly sympathetic to, the anti-eunuch cause.

- 12 The phrase *taotie* normally describes the formalised face that appears as a pattern of decoration on ancient bronzes and other traditional items. Here, however, Dou Wu is referring to the passage in *Zuo zhuan*, Wen 18; Legge, *CC V*, 283 (Couvreux, *Chronique I*, 555–556), which tells how

[The officer Jinyun] in the time of [Huangdi = the Yellow Emperor] had a descendant who was devoid of ability and virtue. He was greedy of eating and drinking, craving for money and property. Ever gratifying his lusts, and making a grand display, he was insatiable, rapacious in his exactions, and accumulating stores of wealth. He had no idea of calculating where he should stop, and made no exceptions in favour of the orphan and the widow, felt no compassion for the poor and the exhausted. All the people under heaven likened him to the three other wicked ones (who have been described immediately before), and called him Glutton [*Taotie*].

- 13 The Auspicious Grain (*jia he*) is variously described: as a plant with stem five feet long and thirty-five ears, each with two grains; as having three roots, one stalk and nine ears; as piercing the mulberry tree as it grows, and having an ear large enough to fill a carriage box. See Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions I*, 341 note 360, discussing *Bohu tong* 5, 3b and other sources.

The character *zhi* is used in present-day China as a generic term for the mushroom and other fungi (Stewart, *Materia Medica: Vegetable Kingdom*, 271). The Zhi Plant, however, is defined in the classics as the plant of long life, which usually comes out in the sixth month, but may vary its colour according to the season. It is said to grow when the ruler shows kindness and reverence to the aged. See Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions I*, 336 note 333, discussing *Bohu tong* 5, 2b, and other sources.

The Annals of *HHS* 7, 319, records that the Auspicious Grain, and also a fall of Sweet Dew (*gan lu*) was reported by Wei commandery in the eighth month of this year. There is no reference, however, to the Zhi Plant, which had last been recorded in the time of Emperor Ming of Later Han, in 74 AD, when one sprouted in the imperial palace (*HHS* 2, 121).

- 14 On the appearance of the yellow dragon, also recorded in the eighth month, see passage P below.

- 15 From the fact that the portents referred to by Dou Wu are dated in the eighth month, it seems clear that his memorial should have been presented in the latter part of the autumn.

Passage K below, however, states that the amnesty for the release of the men accused of faction took place in the summer: on this question, see note 21 below.

Dou Wu, it may be observed, is following the same line as that put forward by Xiang Kai in his memorials of the previous year (passage S and note 52 to Yanxi 9): even a so-called "good" omen, if it appears at an inappropriate time, can be a sign of misfortune. While this argument was used even by Confucius (see note 52 to Yanxi 9). It is, of course, circular and highly subjective, and provides the *reductio ad absurdum* to all political criticism based upon portents.

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H *HHS* 67/57, 2187 (3b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

16 The Biography of Huo Xun is in *HHS* 48/38, 1615–17. We are told that he was enfeoffed for his loyalty to the throne at the time of the hegemony of Liang Ji, and he later held various ministerial posts.

There is no mention of the memorial in favour of the men accused of faction in Huo Xun's biography, but in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction, though no text is given, Huo Xun's appeal is mentioned ahead of that from Dou Wu.

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I *HHS* 67/57, 2205–06 (15b–16a), the Biography of Fan Pang in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

17 The commentary of Li Xian (note 3 at *HHS* 67/57, 2206) explains the phrase *sanmu* as describing wooden fetters about the neck, the wrists and the ankles. The phrase *nangtou* indicates that the head was covered in some way.

18 *Lun yu* XVI.11; Legge, *CC* I, 314 (Lau, *Analects*, 141):

Confucius said, "Contemplating good, and pursuing it, as if they could not reach it; contemplating evil, and shrinking from it, as they would from thrusting the hand into boiling water: – I have seen such men, as I have heard their words."

19 According to legend, Boyi and Shuqi were the eldest and the youngest sons of the king of Guzhu. Their father intended to grant the succession to Shuqi, but Shuqi refused to take precedence over his elder brother, and Boyi in his turn would not disobey his father's wishes. They therefore left the state to the second brother, and went into exile.

Hearing how well the Lord of the West (later King Wen of Zhou ) cared for the elderly, the two brothers went to his court, but they disapproved of the plans of his son, King Wu, to attack Shang, and they withdrew to Shouyang Mountain, where they survived for a time on wild plants but eventually starved to death.

There is an account of the two brothers in *SJ* 61, 2123–28, and a record of the praise given them by Confucius in *Lun yu* V.23 and VII.14.2; Legge, *CC* I, 181 and 199 (Lau, *Analects*, 80 and 88 [as VII.15]), but for Mencius' opinion, see *Mengzi* IIA, 2.22; Legge, *CC* II, 193–194 (Lau, *Mencius*, 79). For a recent discussion of the perhaps less flattering reality behind the legend, see Vervoorn, "Boyi and Shuqi: Worthy Men of Old?"

There were and are several mountains named Shouyang. Vervoorn suggests that the one associated with Boyi and Shuqi was in the northeast of China, near their ascribed home country of Guzhu. There was, however, a peak of that name just northwest of Luoyang, among the hills surrounding the city. For the purposes of Fan Pang's rhetoric, that would have done very well.

[Yk1: 167]

J *HHS* 7, 319 (15a): commentary of Li Xian to the Annals of Emperor Huan.  
20 Li Xian gives no indication which earlier source he obtained this information from: it does not, however, appear an unlikely development.

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K *HHS* 7, 319 (15a), the Annals of Emperor Huan;  
and *HHS* 67/57, 2187 (3b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.  
21 It is from this time that the character *gu* "proscribed" becomes associated with the character *dang* "faction" or "party": hence the compound *dang gu* used as the common description of this anti-eunuch movement among the scholar-officials.

The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that the names of those who were proscribed were written down in the offices of the Three Excellencies (*san fu*: not, as both *HHS* 7, 318, and *HHS* 67/57, 2187, have it, *wang fu*).

If the release of the men accused of faction indeed took place in the sixth month, then the dating of Dou Wu's memorial, from passage G above, is all the more curious – as we have seen in note 15, Dou Wu's letter as quoted refers to portents which were reported only in the eighth month of this year. It seems certain that at least a part of the document ascribed to Dou Wu is false; and it may be that none of it was genuine, and the whole story of Dou Wu's intervention was invented later.

[*Yk1: 167*]

L *HHS* 67/57, 2206 (16a–b), the Biography of Fan Bang in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.  
22 *Zuo zhuan*, Xiang 21; Legge, *CCV*, 490–491 (Couvreur, *Chronique* II, 366–367), tells how Yangshe Xi, whose style was Shuxiang, was imprisoned by the ruler of Jin. The ruler's favourite offered to intercede for him, but he refused, saying that only the high minister Qi Xi could act. Qi Xi did indeed travel to the capital and spoke for Shuxiang, and Shuxiang was released. Qi Xi then went home without seeing Shuxiang, who for his part likewise sent no word of thanks but simply went to court.

The point made is that it is moral duty, not personal relationship, that should govern official relations.

[*Yk1: 167*]

M *HHS* 64/54, 2110 (8a–b), the Biography of Shi Bi.  
23 Attendant Officials (*congshi*) were locally-appointed officers under the Inspector of a province, and some were sent on tour to one area of the province or another, to supervise the administration of the commanderies and kingdoms on the spot. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 92.  
24 The *HHS* text, omitted by *ZZTJ*, reports that the Attendant Official remarked specifically that the neighbouring territory of Ganling had been an early centre of scholarly rivalry and factionalism (see passage H of Yanxi 9). It was all the more remarkable, then, that no sign of such activity had spread across the border into Pingyuan. For this reason, Shi Bi had a lot of explaining to do, and he accordingly emphasised the almost mystical importance of the established frontiers between the administrative units of the empire.

However, though Shi Bi is primarily concerned with the political debate, he is referring here to a basic tenet of Han cosmology: that individual regions of the empire have inherently distinctive customs. This theory of the relationship between the places where men live and their character is expressed most thoroughly in the introduction to the

Treatise of Geography (*dili zhi*) of *HS* 28A, and the parallel text of *SJ* 129, 3261–70, translated by Swann, *Food and Money*, 437–448.

The term rendered here as "custom" (*fengsu*), moreover, also held important moral significance for philosophy of the Han, referring in general terms to the nature of the state under proper administration. For example, Nylan, "A Note on 'Custom' in the Han Dynasty," discussing the *Fengsu tongyi* of the contemporary scholar Ying Shao.

[*Yk1: 167*]

N This passage has been collated by Sima Guang from a number of different texts.

[*Yk1: 167*]

O *HHS* 38/28, 1287 (11a), the Biography of Yang Xuan, younger brother of Yang Qiao.

25 From *HHS* 38/28, it appears that the family was one of ancient distinction, originally of Hedong in central China, which had moved southeast to Kuaiji commandery when an ancestor was awarded a marquisate in that region for his support of Emperor Guangwu at the beginning of Later Han.

[*Yk1: 167*]

P *HHS* 107/17, 3344 (2b–3a), the Treatise of the Five Powers.

26 The Treatise goes on to say that the false report was accepted by the office of recorders and incorporated into the imperial annals (and it indeed appears in *HHS* 7, 319). The Treatise further explains that because this report of what should have been a good omen proved to be false, the omen was in fact a bad one.

The prognostication is associated with the bad government of the time. The Treatise goes on to say, moreover, that there were numbers of favourable omens falsely reported at this time: "all of this kind." See also Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 151.

[*Yk1: 167*]

Q *HHS* 7, 319 (15a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

27 The text of *ZZTJ* has two errors here, which may be checked against the text of *HHS* and have been noted by other editors; the amendments have been followed by this translation:  
the character *yue* "month" is miswritten for the character *zhou* "province";  
the last clause has omitted one of the characters *hai*.

[*Yk1: 167*]

R *HHS* 65/55, 2140 (9a), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

28 Zhang Huan had been appointed commander-in-chief of operations in the three provinces of You, Bing and Liang during the autumn of the previous year (passage G of Yanxi 9).

[*Yk1: 167*]

S *HHS* 72/62, 2319 (1a), the Biography of Dong Zhuo.

[*Yk1: 167*]

T *HHS* 7, 320 (15b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

29 On the demotion of Liu Kui, the brother of Emperor Huan, some two years earlier, see passage B of Yanxi 8.

Liu Kui had formerly been King of Bohai. When he was made King of Yingtao, his fief was reduced to a single county unit. It seems most probable that the restoration of his former title entailed also the restoration of the royal fief to the same size and value as it had been before.

Though *ZZTJ* does not mention the fact, *HHS* Annals gives the day of this rehabilitation as *renshen*, being equivalent to 20 January 168, and five days before the death of Emperor

Huan (see immediately below). It is possible that Emperor Huan's forgiveness of his brother came at the time he was already mortally ill, and *HHS* 55/45 refers to a testamentary edict (*yizhao*), delivered as the emperor was dying. It was impossible, however, for Liu Kai to succeed to the imperial throne.

- 30 The Hall of Virtuous Light is described by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 35, as the major audience building of the Northern Palace. Emperor Huan evidently breathed his last in some publicity, though it seems more probable that this was in fact the place where his body was brought after his death.

The funerary rites of an emperor of Han, generally based upon the traditional prescriptions of *Li ji*, *Yi li* and similar texts, are described in *HHS* 96/6, the Treatise on Ceremonial. Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 75–79, has rightly criticised the detailed account of the ceremony as presented by Sima Biao, but it does appear that the body was prepared and placed in its coffin, and there was a period of lying in state, at least overnight, all of which was carried out in the presence of the full court.

- 31 The constitutional position of an empress-dowager of Han in these circumstances was now well established, and had been confirmed by quite recent examples, notably those of the Empress-Dowager Deng at the time of the death of Emperor He in 106, and that of the Empress-Dowager Liang, sister of Liang Ji, after the death of Emperor Shun in 144.

In accordance with this tradition, if the new succeeding emperor was a minor, the empress-dowager held the regency; and if no heir-apparent had been named, the empress-dowager had the right to decide upon the succession by choosing a member of the imperial clan. The Empress-Dowager Dou thus now held great power.

[*Yk1: 167*]

- U *HHS* 10B, 445–46 (7a–b), the Biography of the Empress Dou of Emperor Huan.

- 32 *HHS* 10B gives more detail. Firstly, the Lady Tian Sheng was regularly accompanied by eight other favourites: it seems possible that Emperor Huan sought to obtain some benefit (as well as pleasure) from association with the magical number of nine.

Secondly, we are told that in the last days of his life the Emperor promoted Tian Sheng and her colleagues all to be Honoured Ladies. This, however, did nothing to help them when he died without an heir and they came under the mercy of the vengeful Empress-Dowager.

[*Yk1: 167*]

- V *HHS* 69/59, 2241 (2b), the Biography of Dou Wu; and *HHS* 8, 327–28 (1a–b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

- 33 An Attendant Imperial Clerk was an officer of the censorate, and could be regarded as a trusted officer of the ruler. In this case, as Liu Shu came from Hejian he was in a position to know and to say something of the quality of possible candidates from that region.

For the pronunciation of the personal name, which can be written in variant forms, I follow the commentary of Hu Sanxing.

- 34 There is an account of Liu Gong, Filial King of Hejian, and his descendants, in *HHS* 55/45, 1808–09. He was a son of Emperor Zhang by a concubine. On his personal name, commonly but apparently mistakenly given as Kai, see note 3 to Yanxi 4.

Liu Gong/Kai had a large number of sons. One of them, Liu Yi, had been especially distinguished by the Empress-Dowager Deng, who dominated the court of Emperor An. In 120, shortly before her death, the Empress-Dowager had summoned the sons of the kings

of Jibei and of Hejian to the capital. (It was believed that she was dissatisfied with the performance of Emperor An, and she may even have considered replacing him: *e.g.* *HHS* 16, 616.) She was apparently most impressed with Liu Yi, and had him made King of Pingyuan, where the royal line had lately died out. In the following year, however, when the Empress–Dowager died, Emperor An obtained full power and Liu Yi was subject to suspicion of treason. He was reduced in rank to become the marquis of a chief district. Ten years later, in 130, at the request of Liu Yi's father, the county of Liwu was separated from the kingdom of Hejian to provide him with a better fief.

Liu Yi was the father of Emperor Huan. In 132, thirteen other sons of Liu Gong/Kai were enfeoffed as marquises of villages, and it seems probable that Liu Shu, grandfather of Liu Hong the future Emperor Ling, was one of those sons. Liu Shu's son, Liu Chang, father of the future Emperor, evidently died as a comparatively young man.

Since Emperor Huan had been chosen for the throne from this lineage, it was not unreasonable that his successor should also come from that branch of the imperial family. On the other hand, Emperor Huan's father Liu Yi was a little different to the others, and there must have been a considerable number of other male descendants of Liu Gong/Kai available for selection. It is difficult to appreciate how anyone could claim to recognise transcendent virtue in a boy eleven years old by Western reckoning (see note 37 below). More probably, Liu Hong was chosen for his youth and potential malleability as much as for his allegedly splendid character.

35 The phrase is the same as that used to describe the manner of selection of Emperor Huan, and of his short-lived predecessor Emperor Zhi, in the time of the Liang hegemony (*HHS* 7 287 and *HHS* 6, 276), and also of Emperor An, who had been placed upon the throne by the Empress–Dowager Deng in 106 (*HHS* 5, 203).

It was at this time that an empress–dowager had absolute authority to consult and decide as she pleased. (note 31 above).

36 Imperial Household Grandee was the highest rank of imperial adviser, without specific duties: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 25 and 29.

37 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that there is some confusion about the age at which Liu Hong, Emperor Ling ascended the throne.

*HHS* 8, 328, says that Liu Hong was aged twelve *sui* when he ascended the throne in the first month of the new year Jianning 1.

*HHS* 8, 357, says that Emperor Ling was thirty–four *sui* when he died in 189.

Sima Guang then observes that *HHJ* 22, 21a, states that Liu Hong was aged twelve *sui* in the twelfth month of Yongkang 1, at the time he was chosen for the throne.

Again, we are told that in Jianning 2, a year after his accession to the throne, when the men of faction were attacked for the second time, Liu Hong was aged fourteen *sui* (passage P of Jianning 2).

Finally, *HHS* 8 says that Emperor Ling was thirty–four *sui* when he died in Zhongping 6: 189.

From all this, Sima Guang concludes that Yuan Hong and *HHJ* are reliable. Liu Hong was born in Yongshou 2, generally equivalent to 156 AD. He was twelve *sui* when he was chosen for the succession at the end of Yongkang 1, and he would have been formally aged thirteen *sui* at the beginning of the following year, when he actually ascended the throne.

(The analysis is slightly confused by the fact that the present edition of *ZZTJ* cites Sima Guang as quoting *HHS* 8, 328, as giving Liu Hong's age at the time of accession as thirteen: the present text says that he was twelve, and this is, as Sima Guang observes, mistaken. It seems that the wording of the *Kaoyi* commentary has been altered to fit the correct interpretation: this means that Sima Guang's comments, as now recorded, make no sense.)

## Jianning 1: 168 AD

[28 January 168 – 14 February 169]

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *renwu* [30 Jan] the Colonel of the City Gates Dou Wu became General-in-Chief.<sup>1</sup> The former Grand Commandant Chen Fan became Grand Tutor,<sup>2</sup> and he, with Dou Wu and the Minister over the Masses Hu Guang, shared in the control of the imperial secretariat.<sup>3</sup>

B At this time, just after the Emperor's death, and when the succession to the throne had not yet been decided, the Masters of Writing were frightened and anxious, and many of them made excuses of illness and did not come to court.

Chen Fan sent in a letter of criticism against them, "The principles of the past required that duty should be maintained even when the ruler died. Now, as the new Emperor has not yet been established, the affairs of government are more urgent every day. How can you gentlemen "rest and loll upon your couches," abandoning your responsibilities in this time of trouble? Is this your sense of honour?"

The Masters of Writing were embarrassed and ashamed, and they all returned to work.

1803

C On the day *jihai* [16 Feb] the Marquis of Jiedu Village [Liu Hong] came to the Hostel at the Xia Gate.<sup>4</sup> Dou Wu, bearing the Staff of Authority, was sent with the royal dark-covered chariot to bring him into the palace.<sup>5</sup>

On the day *gengzi* [17 Feb] the Emperor took his position. The reign title was changed [from Yongkang to Jianning].

In the second month on the day *xinyou* [9 Mar] Emperor Xiaohuan was buried at Xuanling.<sup>6</sup> His temple name was Weizong.<sup>7</sup>

On the day *xinwei* [19 Mar] there was an amnesty for the empire.

[*Jn1: 168*]

D Before this, the Colonel Protector of the Qiang Duan Jiong had settled the Western Qiang,<sup>8</sup> but the Xianlian and other groups of the Eastern Qiang had still not submitted. The General Who Crosses the Liao Huangfu Gui and the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Zhang Huan had brought them in year after year, but every time they surrendered they would rebel again afterwards.<sup>9</sup>

Emperor Huan sent an edict to ask Duan Jiong, "The Xianlian and the [other tribes of the] Eastern Qiang act wickedly and rebelliously. Huangfu Gui and Zhang Huan have each held command of strong forces, but they have not been able to settle them in any reasonable time. I am thinking of giving you orders to move troops east for a new campaign, but I do not know whether this is a good idea. May I have your comments?"<sup>10</sup>

Duan Jiong replied, "In my humble opinion, although the Xianlian and other Eastern Qiang have often made rebellion, there are more than twenty thousand groups<sup>11</sup> which have surrendered to Huangfu Gui. Thus the good have been sorted from the bad, and the remaining bandits are no great number.

"Now if Zhang Huan has been dragging his feet and delayed going forward, that is because he is concerned at the possibility that [the barbarians] may outwardly be divided, but that in reality they represent a united force. In such case, once his soldiers made a move, everything would be disturbed. At the same time, moreover, from winter into spring, if they keep their camps together and do not spread out, men and their animals will waste and die, and they will be destroyed by their very strength. So [Zhang Huan] does nothing but encourage surrenders, for in this way a strong enemy can be kept under control without taking action.

In my view, however, wolves are wild by nature, and it is difficult to treat them gently. When their strength is exhausted they will submit, but once our soldiers leave they will stir again. The only way to handle them is with a long spear in the side and a sharp sword at the neck.

"According to my calculations, there are some thirty thousand Eastern [Qiang] groups which remain [not surrendered] close within the frontier. The communications present no serious barrier: it is not a situation of rival states like Yan, Qi, Qin and Zhao.<sup>12</sup> And yet they have long caused trouble to Bing and Liang provinces, and they raid and plunder the Three Adjuncts. The capitals of Xihe and Shang commanderies have been shifted back to the interior, while Anding and Beidi are once again isolated and in peril.<sup>13</sup>

For more than two thousand li from Yunzhong and Wuyuan west as far as Hanyang, the Xiongnu and the various Qiang have taken over territory. This is a hidden sore in our side which is festering and waiting to burst; if it is not cut away it will grow much worse.

'Now if I can have five thousand cavalry and ten thousand foot-soldiers, with three thousand carts [for the supply train], then in three winters and two summers I will crush them and settle them for good. There need be no fear that the expenses will go beyond 5,400 million cash.

1804 "If we do this, the Qiang will be completely broken, the Xiongnu will remain in submission, and the commandery and county administrations that have been shifted to the interior will be able to return to their original territory.

"I would estimate that when the Qiang rebelled during the Yongchu period [107–113], 24,000 million cash were spent in fourteen years. At the end of Yonghe [136–141] there were another seven years of costs totalling more than 8000 million cash.<sup>14</sup> After all that expense and waste, the Qiang are still not fully subjugated, and the evil that has been left will grow afresh. That is the root of the problem. Unless we put some short-term strain upon the people now, we can never hope for a long-lasting peace.

"Inadequate and worn-out as I am, I humbly await instructions."

The Emperor gave his assent and agreed to all that Duan Jiong had proposed.

[*Jn1: 168*]

At this, Duan Jiong took command of more than ten thousand soldiers, with supplies for fifteen days, and he went from Pengyang direct to Gaoping. He fought with the Xianlian tribes at Fengyi Mountain.<sup>15</sup>

The enemy were in great numbers, and Duan Jiong's men were all afraid. Then Duan Jiong set those with long javelins in the centre of the army, protected by three ranks of swordsmen and spearmen, with strong crossbowmen at the flanks. Light cavalry were drawn up on either wing. He exhorted his officers and men, "Now we are several thousand li from our homes. If we advance, everything is won. If we retreat, all of us will die. Do you all give your utmost, and we shall share in a glorious name."

Then he gave a great shout, and all his men joined in the cry and charged with him. The cavalry came on the enemy flanks, and they struck them and broke them. The enemy were thrown into complete disarray, and more than eight thousand of them were killed.

The Empress–Dowager Dou [who now controlled the court] awarded Duan Jiong an imperial letter of praise, saying, "When the Eastern Qiang are completely settled, we shall give double rewards to match the achievement. At the present time we grant Duan Jiong two hundred thousand cash, and the right to have a member of his family appointed a Gentleman of the Palace." Orders were given for the palace treasury to issue gold coins and silk as a bounty for the expenses of the army. Duan Jiong was appointed General Who Routs the Qiang.

E In the intercalary [third] month on the day *jiawu* [*jiazi*?: 11 May]<sup>16</sup> [Liu Shu] the grandfather of the Emperor was posthumously honoured as the Xiaoyuan Emperor, and his wife of the Xia family became the Xiaoyuan Empress. The Emperor's late father [Liu Chang] became the Xiaoren Emperor, and the Emperor's mother of the Dong family became the Honoured Lady of the Funerary Park of Circumspection.<sup>17</sup>

1805 In the summer, in the fourth month on the day *wuchen* [?]<sup>18</sup> the Grand Commandant Zhou Jing died. The Minister of Works Xuan Feng left office and the Commandant of the Guard of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, Wang Chang, became Minister of Works.<sup>19</sup>

In the fifth month on the day *dingwei* [23 Jun], first of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.<sup>20</sup>

The Grand Palace Grandee Liu Ju became Grand Commandant.

In the sixth month there were great floods in the capital district.<sup>21</sup>

[*Unl: 168*]

F On the day *guisi* [8 Aug] rewards were given for the selection of the Emperor. Dou Wu was enfeoffed as Marquis of Wenxi, and his son Dou Ji became Marquis of Weiyang. Dou Wu's nephews, Dou Shao and Dou Jing, were made marquises of Hu and of Xi District respectively.<sup>22</sup> The Regular Palace Attendant Cao Jie became Marquis of Chang'an District. Altogether eleven men were given fiefs as marquises.

G Lu Zhi of Zhuo commandery sent a letter to Dou Wu: "Your relationship to the court of Han is like that of Dan [the Duke of Zhou] and Shi [the Duke of

Shao] to the house of Zhou.<sup>23</sup> You have set a sage ruler upon the throne, and now all the world has a centre to rely upon. Those who consider the matter regard this as your most significant achievement so far.

"However, the succession of one man to another within the same lineage is just a matter of opening out the table and examining the records in order to discover who is next in line. What is so difficult about that? The work has been done by heaven; so how can you extend rewards on that account, and build up your own position by this means?<sup>24</sup>

"You should decline these great prizes and so keep your personal reputation intact."

Dou Wu could not agree.

Lu Zhi was eight feet two inches tall,<sup>25</sup> with a deep voice like a bell. By nature he was stern and upright, with a strong sense of morality. When he was young, he served Ma Rong, a great scholar of extravagant tastes, who had a constant supply of girls to sing and dance for him. Lu Zhi attended Ma Rong for many years, but he never turned his eyes in their direction. Ma Rong admired him for this.

H In consideration of Chen Fan's long record of virtue, the Empress–Dowager awarded him special enfeoffment as Marquis of Gaoyang District. Chen Fan wrote in to refuse, "I have heard that enfeoffment with a territory is the reward of good work and virtue. Although I would not claim that my actions are always faultless, I do admire the code of a gentleman: 'If you cannot obtain it by proper means, do not take it at all.'<sup>26</sup>

1806 "Should I be arrogant enough to accept this fief,<sup>27</sup> then even if I went there with my face hidden, it would still cause august heaven to shake with anger, and disasters would flow down upon the people. Where could I seek refuge from that?"

The Empress–Dowager would not agree, but Chen Fan maintained his refusal. At one time or another they exchanged as many as ten letters on the matter; and in the end Chen Fan did not receive the enfeoffment.

[*Jn1: 168*]

I Duan Jiong led light–armed troops to pursue the Qiang. He went out by the Qiao Gate,<sup>28</sup> marching day and night, and defeated them in a series of battles at Sheyan Marsh, Luochuan and on the banks of the Lingxian River. Then he fought them again at Lingwu Valley, and so the Qiang were utterly defeated.<sup>29</sup>

In the autumn, in the seventh month, Duan Jiong came to Jingyang, and the remaining bandits, about four thousand groups, scattered among the hills and valleys of Hanyang.<sup>30</sup>

Zhang Huan, the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Protector of the Xiongnu, sent in a message, "Though the Eastern Qiang have been defeated, it will be difficult to eliminate all their tribes. Duan Jiong is reckless and resolute, but he should consider the fact that he will find it difficult to defeat them every time. Now is the time to treat the Qiang leniently, so that we may have no worries in the future."

An edict with this argument was sent on to Duan Jiong for comment. Duan Jiong replied, "It was always my opinion that although the Eastern Qiang were very numerous they were nonetheless weak and easy to control. It was upon that basis I first put forward my humble plan, designed for a lasting peace. On the other hand, the General of the Gentleman of the Household [Zhang Huan] has argued that since the enemy are strong and difficult to conquer we should therefore be lenient and accept their surrender. It was through the clear decision of the sage-like court, accepting my foolish words, that my strategy was put into effect and Zhang Huan's advice was not taken.

"Zhang Huan is embarrassed by this, and so he harbours suspicion and hatred. He accepts the complaints of the rebellious Qiang, and he contrives sophistries. He says that my men have constantly suffered set-backs,<sup>31</sup> and he also says that since the Qiang are born from out of one of the elemental humours it is impossible to destroy them completely,<sup>32</sup> that the mountains and valleys are broad and high and cannot be fully cleared, that blood flows across the wilderness, and that an injured peace will bring disaster.<sup>33</sup>

"I humbly beg to recall the times of Zhou and Qin, when the Rong and Di barbarians were the cause of harm.<sup>34</sup> Since the time of the Restoration [of Later Han], the Qiang marauders have been extremely numerous. It has proved impossible to eliminate them, and even though they surrender, they only rebel again.

1807 "Now the various tribes of the Xianlian are constantly causing trouble. They attack and destroy our cities and towns, they kill and plunder our people and their property, they break open tombs and leave the corpses exposed: they are a misfortune to both the living and the dead.

"When heaven above shakes with anger, it uses the agency [of our ruler] to execute its punishments.<sup>35</sup> In ancient times, when the state of Xing was without the true Way, the state of Wey attacked it, and good rains fell as the army went forward.<sup>36</sup> I have been urging on our troops all this summer, and we have regularly received good rains, the harvest is abundant and plentiful and the people have no sickness or ills. One may observe above the will of heaven, which sends down no calamities; and one can see below, in human affairs, that our actions are harmonious and successful.

"West from the Qiao Gate, and east from Luochuan, the old frontier stations,<sup>37</sup> the cities and the towns, and communications are easy to maintain. This is not country which is deeply divided or dangerous. Carriages and horsemen can journey there easily and without interruption.

"Now Zhang Huan is an officer of Han with a military appointment. He has held command of an army for two years, but he has not been able to pacify the bandits. He has the vain hope that with extravagant words, and by laying down arms, he may cajole an evil foe into surrender. But he is full of false excuses and empty arguments, unreliable and without a single item of proof.

"Why do I say this? In former times, when the Xianlian were rebellious, Zhao Chongguo settled them inside the border. When the Jiandang troubled the frontier, Ma Yuan shifted them to the Three Adjuncts. At first, the Qiang submitted, but eventually they rebelled, and they have been a problem ever since.<sup>38</sup> All officials with foresight have been deeply concerned about this situation. Now the [Chinese] population of our border commanderies is small, and they are frequently injured by the Qiang. And yet some people want to allow [the Qiang] to surrender and transfer them to live amongst [the Chinese]. This is like planting brambles and thorns in a good field, or raising venomous snakes inside one's house.

"For these reasons, I serve the majesty of Great Han and I am establishing a long-term plan. I wish to cut out the problem by its root, so that it may never grow again.<sup>39</sup>

"My original estimate called for three years and 5,400 million cash. But now, after just one year, and with less than half that sum spent, the remnants of the enemy are no more than a few embers, and they are on the point of total destruction.

"Though I receive imperial letters [with all respect], an army in the field may not be directed from the capital.<sup>40</sup> I request that you put a halt to this

debate, and give me full authority to deal with matters on the spot, so that we may not lose our present advantage."

1808

J In the eighth month the Minister of Works Wang Chang left office and the Director of the Imperial Clan Liu Chong became Minister of Works.<sup>41</sup>

[*Jn1: 168*]

K Before this, when the Empress–Dowager had been established [as Empress in 165], Chen Fan had played a considerable role.<sup>42</sup> Now that she held the regency she consulted Chen Fan on every question of government, large or small. Chen Fan and Dou Wu were in complete agreement and co–operation with one another to support the imperial house. They recommended famous and worthy men from every part of the empire, such as Li Ying, Du Mi, Yin Xun and Liu Yu. All of them took place at court and shared in the affairs of government.<sup>43</sup>

As a result of this, all the gentlemen of the empire turned with hope to the new administration and looked forward to an era of Great Peace.<sup>44</sup>

However, the Emperor's wet–nurse, Zhao Rao, and the various clerks of the harem apartments were day and night by the side of the Empress–Dowager, while the Regular Palace Attendants Cao Jie and Wang Fu made a point of establishing good relations with her and insinuating themselves into her favour. The Empress–Dowager trusted them, and there were several occasions that she issued edicts of enfeoffment or appointment [at their behest]. Chen Fan and Dou Wu were annoyed at this.

There came an occasion that they met together at the court, and Chen Fan said privately to Dou Wu, "Cao Jie, Wang Fu and the rest of them have held power since the time of the late Emperor. They have confused and disturbed all the empire. Unless we execute them now, they will certainly upset things for us later."

Dou Wu expressed his full agreement, and Chen Fan, delighted, pushed himself up from his mat.<sup>45</sup> Then Dou Wu called up his close colleague the Prefect of the Masters of Writing Yin Xun and they consulted together and made plans.<sup>46</sup>

About this time [i.e. in the fifth month] there appeared the portent of an eclipse.<sup>47</sup> Chen Fan said to Dou Wu, "In former times Xiao Wangzhi was put into distress by the one fellow Shi Xian.<sup>48</sup> The situation will be still more difficult when you have to deal with scores of Shi Xians! At my age of eighty years, I wish to remove this danger from you. I recommend that you now

take the occasion of the eclipse as cause to dismiss the eunuchs, in order to avert the omen from heaven."

Then Dou Wu said to the Empress–Dowager, "It has been the ancient rule that Yellow Gates officials and Regular Attendants are responsible only for the protection of the doors to the harem apartments and for the control of the emperor's personal treasury and possessions. Yet now we have them involved in the government and holding positions of considerable power. Their relatives and dependents are everywhere, and they abuse their authority with violence and greed. The whole empire cries out, and for this reason alone you should punish them and remove them so as to purify the court."

1809 The Empress–Dowager replied, "There have been eunuchs since the very beginning of Han. It is only necessary to punish those who have committed crimes. How can we do away with all of them?"

At this time the Regular Palace Attendant Guan Ba, who was a man of considerable talent, had arbitrary authority within the palace. Dou Wu first reported [against him] and had Guan Ba arrested together with the Regular Palace Attendant Su Kang and some others. All of them were found guilty and put to death.

Then Dou Wu made further accusations, calling for the execution of Cao Jie and his associates. The Empress–Dowager hesitated, for she was too soft–hearted to bear with the consequences of such action. And so the matter dragged on without any decision.

Chen Fan sent in a memorial, "Now the capital district is in turmoil and the streets are full of shouting and hubbub.<sup>49</sup> People say that Hou Lan and Cao Jie, Gongsheng Xin, Wang Fu and Zheng Li, together with the Lady Zhao [Rao, the wet–nurse,] and other members of the harem staff<sup>50</sup> are all bringing the empire into disorder. Those who support this group rise and prosper, those who oppose them suffer injury. All the ministers of the court are like trees in the Yellow River, tossing east or west in the flood. They do nothing but draw their salaries and seek to avoid trouble.

"Unless your majesty hastens to execute the members of this group, there will certainly be trouble and change. The very nation and state is threatened with immeasurable misfortune.<sup>51</sup> I would wish that your majesty give open publication of my memorial to all your attendants, so that the evil–doers of the empire may know my hatred for them."

The Empress–Dowager would not accept this proposal.

In this [eighth] month the White Planet [Venus] encroached upon the Commanding General star of the House constellation and then entered the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure.<sup>52</sup> The Palace Attendant Liu Yu, who had long been an expert in astrology, was very concerned at this, and he sent in a letter to the Empress-Dowager, saying, "I note that according to books of divination<sup>53</sup> the gates of the palace should be kept closed. [This is a time when] military and civil officials are at a disadvantage, and evil men are at the side of the ruler. I would wish that you take urgent measures to guard against it."

He also wrote to Dou Wu and to Chen Fan, warning them that the stars and constellations were confused and misleading, they were not favourable to great ministers, and they should take swift action to determine their great plans.

At this, Dou Wu and Chen Fan appointed Zhu Yu as Colonel Director of Retainers, Liu You as Intendant of Henan and Yu Qi as Prefect of Luoyang. Dou Wu memorialised that the Prefect of the Yellow Gates Wei Biao should be dismissed, and that the Junior Attendant of the Yellow Gates Shan Bing, [a eunuch] who was his own personal supporter, should replace him. He had Shan Bing memorialise for the arrest of Zheng Li, Master of Writing of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, and he was sent to the Northern Prison [of the Yellow Gates].<sup>54</sup>

Chen Fan said to Dou Wu, "The only way to deal with these fellows is by arresting and killing them. What is the point of putting them further to the question?" Dou Wu would not agree. He ordered Shan Bing, together with Yin Xun and the Attendant Imperial Clerk Zhu Jin to examine Zheng Li by various methods, and his confession implicated Cao Jie and Wang Fu. Yin Xun and Shan Bing now recommended the arrest of Cao Jie and others, and Liu Yu was sent to take the memorial into the palace.

[*Unl: 168*]

1810 In the ninth month on the day *xinhai* [25 Oct]<sup>55</sup> Dou Wu had left the palace to spend the night at his own residence. Those who had charge of palace documents first advised Zhu Yu, [the eunuch who was] Clerk for All Purposes at the Palace of Prolonged Joy [about the memorial]. Zhu Yu opened the memorial in secret and without authorisation. He cursed and said, "Those of the palace officials who have abused power may certainly be executed. But what crime have we others committed? Yet we and all our families are now to be massacred!"

Then he called out loud, "Chen Fan and Dou Wu have sent in a memorial telling the Empress–Dowager to depose the Emperor. This is high treason!"<sup>56</sup>

That night he called to him seventeen eunuchs, old friends and physically strong, including the Clerks of the Attendant Office of the Palace of Prolonged Joy Gong Pu, Zhang Liang and others, and they smeared blood upon their mouths and swore an oath together to kill Dou Wu and his associates.<sup>57</sup>

Cao Jie told the Emperor, "There is trouble outside. I beg you to come to the front section of the Hall of Virtuous Light."<sup>58</sup> He had the Emperor hold a sword and hop along,<sup>59</sup> and the wet–nurse Zhao Rao and others acted as his escort. He took possession of the palace passes,<sup>60</sup> and barred the doors of the harem apartments. Then he called in the subordinate officers of the Masters of Writing, threatened them with naked weapons, and had them draw up the documents for an imperial edict to appoint Wang Fu as Prefect of the Yellow Gates with a Staff of Authority, that he might go to the Northern Prison and arrest Yin Xun and Shan Bing.

Shan Bing was suspicious and would not accept the edict, so Wang Fu struck and killed him. He also killed Yin Xun. Then he released Zheng Li and brought his soldiers back to seize the Empress–Dowager and take her seal and ribbon from her. He ordered the Palace Internuncios to guard the Southern Palace, to bar the gates and to close the Covered Way.<sup>61</sup>

Now Zheng Li and others were sent with a Staff of Authority, accompanied by attendant imperial clerks and internuncios, to arrest Dou Wu and his supporters.

Dou Wu refused to accept the edict, and he fled to the camp of the Regiment of Footsoldiers. With his nephew the Colonel of Footsoldiers Dou Shao he shot and killed some of the messengers [who were attempting to summons and arrest him]. Then he called together several thousand men from the five regiments of the Northern Army, and they set up camp at the Capital Hostel.<sup>62</sup> He issued an order to his troops, saying, "The Yellow Gate officials and the Regular Attendants have rebelled. Those who give their utmost strength in our cause will be enfeoffed as marquises and will have rich rewards."

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Chen Fan heard that there was trouble. He collected some eighty men from among the clerks of his office, and they came armed to attack the Gate of

Continuing Brightness. They broke through there and reached the Gate of the Masters of Writing.<sup>63</sup>

1811 Chen Fan bared his arms for the fight, and called out, "The General-in-Chief is loyal and protects the state! It is the Yellow Gates who are in rebellion! How can anyone say the the Dou clan is at fault?"

At this time, Wang Fu had come out to meet with Chen Fan. When he heard these words, he remonstrated, "When our late ruler had only just left this world, and even his tomb was not completed, what merit then had Dou Wu achieved that his son and his nephews should be enfeoffed with three marquisates? And they are constantly at pleasure with drinking and feasting, they have taken numbers of women from the Lateral Courts, and within the space of ten days or so their possessions and treasure have increased by the millions. If great ministers can behave in this way, what sort of morality do you call it? And you are the chief officer of the state, yet you have established an alliance with a gang like that! How can you side with such rebels?"

He ordered swordsmen to arrest Chen Fan. Chen Fan waved his sword and shouted at Wang Fu. His words and expression were fierce and desperate, but then he was captured and was sent to the Northern Prison.

One of the cavalymen of the attendant offices of the Yellow Gates kicked angrily at Chen Fan and said, "Die, you old devil! How will you cut down our numbers and our salaries now?" That same day, they killed him.

L At this time, the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Protector of the Xiongnu, Zhang Huan, had been called back to the capital.<sup>64</sup> Because he had only lately arrived and was not aware of the real situation, Cao Jie and his fellows pretended to have the authority to appoint the Privy Treasurer Zhou Jing as Acting General of Chariots and Cavalry bearing the Staff of Authority, and he went with Zhang Huan to lead the soldiers of the five regiments against Dou Wu.

M As the night water-clock was drawing to its end,<sup>65</sup> Wang Fu led a combined force of a thousand men from the Rapid Tiger and Feathered Forest Guards to set up camp outside the Vermilion Bird Lateral Gate and join with Zhang Huan and his forces.<sup>66</sup>

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As their army gathered below the palace wall they drew up their lines against Dou Wu, and as his men increased in number Wang Fu had them call out to their opponents, "Dou Wu is a rebel. You are the men of the

guard, and you should be protecting the imperial palace. Why are you following a rebel? The first to surrender will be given a reward." The soldiers of the regiments [of the Northern Army] had always been accustomed to fear the authority of the the palace officials, and so Dou Wu's followers gradually came over to Wang Fu.

Between dawn and the time of the morning meal<sup>67</sup> almost all Dou Wu's men changed sides. Dou Wu and Dou Shao fled, and the whole army chased after them and surrounded them. Then they both committed suicide, and their heads were displayed at the Capital Hostel of Luoyang. Dou Wu's kinsmen, clients and relatives by marriage were arrested and executed, and the Palace Attendant Liu Yu and the Colonel of the Garrison Cavalry Feng Shu were also killed, with all their clans.<sup>68</sup>

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N The eunuchs also accused the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers Liu Shu of Hejian, and the former Master of Writing Wei Lang of Kuaiji, saying that they had shared in the plots of Dou Wu and his associates. Both committed suicide.<sup>69</sup>

O The Empress–Dowager Dou was shifted to the Southern Palace,<sup>70</sup> and the [surviving] dependents of Dou Wu's family were exiled to Rinan.<sup>71</sup>

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P All officials, from the excellencies and ministers downwards, who had either been recommended by Chen Fan and Dou Wu or who had been former officers and students of theirs, were now dismissed and proscribed from office.

Q The Gentleman–Consultant Ba Su of Bohai had been involved at an early stage with Dou Wu's plans. Cao Jie and his colleagues did not know about this, and so he was only proscribed from office. Later, however, they found out, and orders were given for his arrest. Ba Su went of his own accord to the county office [of his home at Gaocheng in Bohai]. When the prefect saw him, he took him in to a side chamber, took off his own seal and ribbon [of office], and suggested that they should go away together.

Ba Su said, "If one man is the servant of another, when he makes plans he does not dare to keep them secret from him, and when there is fault he does not seek to avoid punishment. Since I did not keep [my association with] Dou Wu's plans a secret, how can I dare to avoid his punishment?" And so he was executed.

R Cao Jie was transferred to be Commandant of the Guard of the Palace of Prolonged Joy<sup>72</sup> and was enfeoffed as Marquis of Yuyang. Wang Fu was confirmed in his recent appointment as Regular Palace Attendant and Prefect of the Yellow Gates. Zhu Yu, Gong Pu, Zhang Liang and others, six in all, were enfeoffed as marquises, and a further eleven eunuchs were made marquises of the imperial domain.<sup>73</sup>

S In this way, the mob of mean men gained what they wished, and the scholars and gentlemen all lost heart.

T An old friend of Chen Fan, Zhu Zhen of Chenliu, collected Chen Fan's corpse and buried it, and he also gave refuge and concealed his son Chen Yi.

The matter was discovered, Zhu Zhen was arrested and imprisoned, and his whole family was put in chains. Zhu Zhen was most brutally tortured, but he would meet death rather than speak, and so Chen Yi was able to escape.

U Hu Teng of Guiyang had been a Senior Clerk in Dou Wu's office. He placed Dou Wu's corpse in a coffin and carried out the funeral ceremonies. For this he was proscribed.

Dou Wu's grandson Dou Fu was at this time aged two *sui*. Hu Teng pretended that Dou Fu was his own child, and with the Foreman Clerk Zhang Chang of Nanyang they went to hide him in Lingling commandery. So his life was also spared.

V Zhang Huan was appointed Grand Minister of Agriculture and was enfeoffed as a marquis for his good work. He was, however, extremely upset when he found out how he had been duped by Cao Jie and the eunuch party. He firmly refused and would not accept [the fief].

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W The Minister over the Masses Hu Guang was made Grand Tutor with control of the imperial secretariat. The Minister of Works Liu Chong became Minister over the Masses and the Grand Herald Xu Xu became Minister of Works.

1813 In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *jiashen* [17 Dec], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.<sup>74</sup>

In the eleventh month the Grand Commandant Liu Ju left office. The Grand Herald Wenren Xi of Pei kingdom became Grand Commandant.

In the twelfth month the Xianbi, together with the Hui and the Mo people, raided the two provinces You and Bing.

X In this year Hede, the younger uncle of the King of Shule, killed the king and took the throne for himself.<sup>75</sup>

Y Nanlou of Shanggu, a chieftain of the Wuhuan, had a following of more than nine thousand *luo* groups. Qiuliju of Liaoxi had a following of five thousand groups. Both men took title as kings. Supuyan of Liaodong, with a following of about a thousand groups, styled himself the Severe King, and Wuyan of Youbeiping, with rather more than eight hundred groups, called himself Hanlu King.<sup>76</sup>

### Notes to Jianning 1: 168

A *HHS* 8, 328 (1b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that *HHJ* 22, 11b, says Dou Wu was appointed General-in-Chief in Yanxi 9: 166, though he had been offered and had declined the honour several dozen times. Sima Guang, however, accepts the statement of *HHS* 8, and discounts the story in *HHJ* (which was probably invented just to show off Dou Wu's fine character).

2 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that the Annals record Chen Fan's appointment as Grand Tutor after Emperor Ling had been placed upon the throne, but Chen Fan's own biography, in *HHS* 66/56, 2164, quotes an edict of the Empress-Dowager appointing Chen Fan, which is attributed to the period before the accession of the young Emperor.

Immediately after this, the biography quotes the letter sent by Chen Fan to the office of the Masters of Writing (passage B below), which refers specifically to the fact that the new Emperor has not yet been enthroned. At the same time, since Chen Fan had been dismissed from office eighteen months earlier (passage DD of Yanxi 9), it seems unlikely that he would have been in an appropriate position to issue remonstrances until he had been given some senior appointment.

A Grand Tutor was named for each new emperor, as a formal guide to his conduct. His status was above the Three Excellencies, and it was usually a life-time position; after the death of a Grand Tutor, a replacement was not normally appointed. In the Later Han period,

the Grand Tutor was a senior statesman, and he could hold political power in the new government. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 5–7.

It was perhaps a little curious to appoint Chen Fan as Grand Tutor even before his formal pupil had been placed upon the throne, but the Empress–Dowager and Dou Wu were evidently anxious to have him involved in the government as early as possible.

"Control of the imperial secretariat" (*lu shangshu shi*) permitted an official to give instructions to the office of the Masters of Writing; which meant effective authority over the content of edicts and other *Documents* issued on behalf of the Emperor.

Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 153–155, discusses the appointment under the rendering "Intendant of the Masters of Writing." Established in Former Han as *ling shangshu shi* (see also note 15 to Yanxi 6), it was revived for Later Han in 75 AD, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Zhang, who came to the throne at the age of nineteen *sui* (*HHS* 3, 129), and was the first of the line of youthful emperors in the restored dynasty. The position was associated with the General–in–Chief, the Grand Tutor or one of the Three Excellencies, and gave direct power in the whole government, suitable to a situation of regency, when the Emperor was not in a position to control the administration himself.

The prefatory character *can* "shared in" (also understood specifically as "shared among three") is sometimes associated with the phrase *lu shangshu shi* in texts of this time. In fact, with the exception of the period of Liang Ji's dominance, specifically from 147 to his fall in 159, all appointments of *lu shangshu shi* were shared by two or more senior officials. On this occasion, there were three officials involved: Dou Wu the General–in–Chief, Chen Fan the Grand Tutor and Hu Guang the Minister over the Masses, but the expression *can*, when it appears, does not always indicate a triumvirate.

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B *HHS* 66/56 (7a–b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

3 As the commentary of Hu Sanxing observes, the first part of this sentence echoes phrases from the *Gu feng* and *Xiao bi Odes*, *Shi jing* I.3.10 and IV.1 [iii].4; Legge *CC* IV, 56 and 600 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 35 at 22 and 289 at 249–250). The last clause is a direct quotation from the *Bei shan* Ode, *Shi jing* II.6.1; Legge, *CC* IV, 361, and Karlgren, *Odes*, 205 at 157–158.

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C *HHS* 8, 328 (1b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

4 The Xia Gate was the westernmost of the northern wall of the city of Luoyang. There was a police and guard station there, with lodgings for official purposes. See Bielenstein, *Lo–yang*, 43.

The Hostel at the Xia Gate had also been used for the accommodation of Emperor Huan in the days before he was brought to the throne in 146 (*HHS* 7, 287).

5 The royal dark–covered chariot (*wang qinggai che*) is described by *HHS* 129/19, 3647, as a carriage appropriate to the Heir–Apparent or other imperial son. It was presumably so named because of its cloth roof covering.

This type of carriage had been used at the time of the accession of Emperor Huan in 146, and also for Emperor An in 106 (*HHS* 7, 287, and *HHS* 5, 203).

6 The Xuanling tomb "Mound of Comprehension" lay southeast of Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo–yang*, 84–85.

7 A temple name (*miao hao*) was traditionally awarded to an emperor of superior quality and achievements, giving the right to a special chapel in the Imperial Ancestral Temple (*zong*

*miao*): see Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 55, and Dubs, *HFHD* I, 249–250 note 5. Rulers of the common sort were recorded only by their posthumous dynastic names (*shi*), such as "Huan," which may be understood as "martial": see for example the work *Shi fa*, quoted in the commentary of Li Xian to *HHS* 7, 287.

The temple names of the two first emperors, Gaozu and Guangwu, contained the character zu "Founder": thus "Eminent Founder" (*taizu*: and see the Introductory Note to the List of Emperors of Han) and "Epochal Founder" (*shizu*). Later rulers had the suffix *zong* "Exemplar": Emperor Huan's temple name "Weizong" may be rendered as "Exemplar of Authority."

Though canonical tradition required that there should be only seven past rulers honoured by the title Founder or Exemplar, during the course of the Later Han dynasty it had become common for all rulers of any significant length of reign to receive the honour of such a temple name. Several years later, however, in 190, the scholar Cai Yong urged the dictator Dong Zhuo to deprive Emperors He, An, Shun and Huan of their undeserved distinction, and this was done: see *HHS* 9, 370, and *HHJ* 26, 7a–8b.

On the system of ancestral temples and sacrifices of Later Han, and the reforms brought about by Cai Yong, see Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 105–108.

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D *HHS* 65/55, 2148–49 (14a–15a), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

8 The campaigns of Duan Jiong against the Western Qiang, who occupied the frontier region west of the Yellow River, chiefly in Jincheng commandery and western Longxi, have been described earlier: *e.g.* passages LL of Yanxi 2 and T of Yanxi 8.

The account of this campaign of Duan Jiong, as recorded in his biography, has been translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 71–77, and is discussed by de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 134–140.

9 See, for example, passage H of Yanxi 1, also passages G and II of Yanxi 9.

On Zhang Huan's position as General of the Gentlemen of the Household Protector of the Xiongnu, see passage G and note 15 to Yanxi 9.

10 Hitherto, Duan Jiong has operated against the Western Qiang, troubling the frontier. Now, however, he is being asked to turn his attention to the Eastern Qiang people, who live within Chinese territory to the east of the Yellow River.

11 The term *luo* "groups" is understood here as indication of the basic household unit of nomadic people. See note 36 to Yanxi 8.

12 Yan, Qi, Qin and Zhao were the rival kingdoms in the north during the Warring States period of the fourth and third centuries BC. Qi was in the region of Shandong and the North China Plain, Yan was based about present-day Beijing, Zhao controlled northern Shanxi and Qin occupied present-day Shenxi. Duan Jiong's argument is that the Qiang are in no way so well matched against Han as those states were against each other, nor are they capable of maintaining a defence on fixed lines: the country is open, and the imperial armies will have no difficulty in reaching the enemy.

13 Xihe and Shang commanderies occupied the region of the Ordos within the northern loop of the Yellow River. Their administrative head-quarters, however, had been shifted to the south at the time of the First Qiang Rebellion of 107–118; they were then restored, but were again withdrawn in 140, as a result of further trouble with the Qiang and the Xiongnu. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 311.

Anding and Beidi commanderies, which lay between the Wei valley and the Yellow River, had been under similar pressure, and their capitals were also withdrawn to the south in 141.

- 14 The Yongchu period was the first of the reign of Emperor An. The First Qiang Rebellion broke out in 107, and was not fully ended until 118. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 90–114.

The major Qiang and Xiongnu disturbances which caused the second withdrawal of the northern commanderies, discussed above, had broken out in Yonghe 5: 140, during the reign of Emperor Shun. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 119–122.

- 15 On this first campaign against the Eastern Qiang, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 136–137 and Map 4 at 138. Fengyi Mountain is near Guyuan in present-day southern Ningxia.

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- E *HHS* 8, 328 (2a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

- 16 The intercalary month of this year began on a *wushen* day, cyclical no. 43, and thus could not have contained a *jiawu* day, cyclical no. 41. It seems possible that the characters *jiawu* have been miswritten for *jiazi*, cyclical no. 1: the *jiazi* day of that month would have been equivalent to 11 May.

- 17 These retrospective imperial ranks and posthumous titles are a courtesy comparable to that granted to the ancestors of Emperor Huan: *HHS* 7, 288.

The prefix *xiao* = "Filial" is common to all emperors of Han except the two founders. The title Ren given to Emperor Ling's father had not been used in the dynasty before. Yuan, however, was the dynastic title of a noted ruler of Former Han, who reigned 48–33 BC.

The Lady Dong, widow of Liu Zhang and natural mother of the new Emperor, was still alive, and it would naturally have been embarrassing for the party at court to give her imperial rank. She was therefore given title only as Honoured Lady. Moreover, the tomb of Liu Chang, which was presumably near his fief in Hejian, was now given the name Shenling: "Mound of Circumspection" (*HHS* 10B, 446, being the biography of the Lady Dong). The title of the Lady Dong thus implied that she should take up residence by the tomb of her late husband, and it does not seem that she accompanied her son to the capital at this time. See further, passages B and C of Jianning 2.

A similar system had been used by the Empress–Dowager Deng, after the death of Emperor He in 106, when she arranged for the palace concubines to reside by her late husband's tomb: see *HHS* 10A, 421, and the same procedure was followed for the Lady Yan, the mother of Emperor Huan, at the time of his selection for the throne in 146, when she was appointed Honoured Lady of the Funerary Park of Amplitude (Bo yuan), a title also derived from the renamed tomb of her late husband; she was given the title of Empress–Dowager later, after the death of the Empress–Dowager Liang in 150: *HHS* 10B, 441–42.

- 18 The fourth month of this year began on a *renshen* day, cyclical no. 9, and thus could not have contained a *wuchen* day, cyclical no. 5.

- 19 Palace of Prolonged Joy (*Changle*) was the name given to the residence of the Empress–Dowager Dou. As Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 38–39, remarks, the name was applied to the apartments within the imperial palace area where the Empress–Dowager was living: the apartments had a substantive name, but this was over-ridden for the period that the Empress–dowager had her residence there. See also notes 70 and 72 below.

20 This eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3300, and it is mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 213a.

The eclipse is recorded in *HHS* 108/18, 3369, the Treatise of the Five Powers, but the Treatise does not record the constellation in which the eclipse was observed, nor does it offer any prognostication. The commentary of Liu Zhao, however, quotes from *Qiantan ba*, which says that an eclipse on a *dingwei* day indicates the ruler will die.

21 These floods are not mentioned at the relevant place in the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 105/15, 3312.

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F *HHS* 69/59, 2241 (2b), the Biography of Dou Wu; and *HHS* 78/68, 2524 (12b), the Biography of Cao Jie in the Chapter on the Eunuchs; and *HHJ* 23, 1b.

22 Weiyang, north of the Wei River near Chang'an, had been the site of ceremonies to the five gods *di* during Former Han (*e.g.* Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 169–170 and 188), but there was no county of that name listed either in the Treatise of Geography of *Han shu*, nor in the Treatise of Administrative Geography of *Hou Han shu*. Hu Sanxing suggests that some county was renamed Weiyang was then granted as a fief to Dou Ji.

If this was done, the name may have been chosen to reflect the *Weiyang* Ode of *Shi jing* I.11.9; Legge, *CC* IV, 203 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 134 at 87), written in honour of a maternal uncle (*jiushi*), and attributed to Duke Kang of Qin (then only prince-in-waiting) recalling the brother of his mother, Duke Wen of Jin, whom he had escorted back to take power in his home state after years of exile. It would thus have represented a particular compliment to Dou Ji.

Hu was a county in Youfufeng, south of the Wei River and southwest of Chang'an. The fief of Xixiang "West District" was probably not of county rank. It would seem, therefore, that the Dou family were somewhat more restrained in their self-promotion than the Liang had been: though we are not told the value of the pensions associated with the fiefs, and this was, after all, only the beginning of their time in power. See also the comments of Lu Zhi in passage G and the criticism of Wang Fu in passage K (at 1811) below.

Besides the enfeoffments, *HHS* 69/59 remarks that members of the Dou family were also allocated important supernumerary and military posts about the capital. Dou Ji was made Palace Attendant (*shizhong*: see note 83 to Yanxi 2 and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59–60), Dou Shao became Colonel of the Footsoldiers, one of the five regiments of the Northern Army stationed at the capital, and Dou Jing was also made a Palace Attendant and Inspector of the Horse of the Right of the Feathered Forest, giving command of a force of the household guards.

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G *HHS* 64/54, 2113–14 (10a–11b), the Biography of Lu Zhi.

23 Dan was the given name of the sage Duke of Zhou, son of King Wen and younger brother of King Wu of Zhou, and loyal guardian of his young nephew King Cheng. Shi was the given name of the Duke of Shao, son of King Wen by a concubine, who served as a high minister in association with the Duke of Zhou. The biography of the Duke of Zhou is in *SJ* 33, 1515–22; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 88–99, and the biography of the Duke of Shao is in *SJ* 34, 1549–50; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 133–135. See also Legge, *CC* III, 352 note 3, and 420.

24 *HHS* 64/54 has a sentence at the beginning of this paragraph which *ZZTJ* has omitted. Lu Zhi cites the principles of the *Chunqiu*, which provide that

When the queen has no son, another, the eldest son of the king, should be selected. Where years are equal, the choice must fall upon the most virtuous. Where virtue is equal, the choice must be decided by [divination using] the tortoise-shell. (*Zuo zhuan*, Chao 26; Legge, *CCV*, 718, and Couvreur, *Chronique I*, 415–416.)

Lu Zhi is thus protesting not only the rewards which Dou Wu was granting himself, but the very basis of the selection of Emperor Ling for the throne: it was not a matter of asking advice of who was most virtuous, it should have simply been a matter of checking the genealogy of the imperial clan to find the most senior representative; if there was any question of qualifications, then the decision should be taken by divination. The process should have been purely mechanical, and there was no place for significant intervention by the Empress-Dowager and her family.

25 This was equivalent to 188 cm, or six feet two inches English measure. Expected normal height for men of that time appears to have been about seven *chi* feet, being some 162 cm or five feet four inches English measure. See note 3 to Yanxi 3.

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H *HHS* 66/56, 2168–69 (7b–8a), the Biography of Chen Fan.

26 *Lun yu* IV.5; Legge, *CC I*, 166 (Lau, *Analects*, 72):

The Master said, "Riches and honours are what men desire. If it cannot be obtained in the proper way, they should not be held."

27 From the fourth stanza of the *Juegong* Ode of *Shi jing* II.7.9; Legge *CC IV*, 405 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 223 at 177):

One gets a place, and shows no humility –  
Till they all come to ruin.

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I *HHS* 65/55, 2149–50 (15b–17b), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

28 The Qiao Gate was the name of a pass through the line of the old Great Wall of the state of Qin, south of the Ordos, near present-day Yulin in Shenxi. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 137 and 31, also Map 4 at 138.

This passage is a continuation of D above. The second stage of the campaign is discussed by de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 137–140, and the parallel text in the Biography of Duan Jiong is translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 74–77.

29 Lingwu Valley was probably in the hill country south of present-day Yinchuan in Ningxia (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 138 Map 4 and 490 note 15). Duan Jiong had thus driven his enemies westwards across the southern fringe of the Ordos.

30 From Lingwu Valley, the campaign had moved south towards the Wei. Jingyang county was in Anding commandery, and Hanyang commandery lay to the south and west, in the valley of the Wei.

31 The modern editors of *ZZTJ* insert quotation marks at two places here, implying that Duan Jiong is citing directly from passages in Zhang Huan's document. The parallel text in the modern edition of *HHS*, however, does not agree, and there is no specific indicator of direct speech.

- 32 This evidently reflects the position indicated by the introduction to the Account of the Western Qiang, *HHS* 87/77, 2869, which describes them as harsh and cruel, wild and rebellious, "animated by the spirit (*qi*) of Metal which pervades the western lands."
- 33 Zhang Huan's argument, rebutted by Duan Jiong in the next paragraph, is that the dishonourable conduct of breaking the peace with the Qiang when they were formally submitted to Han will bring down calamities from heaven.
- 34 Rong was the name given to the non-Chinese people of the west in classical times: *e.g.* the *Yu gong* chapter of *Shu jing* III.1, 83; Legge *CC* III, 127 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 17). Di was the name which described the non-Chinese people of the north: *e.g.* the *Zhonghui zhi gao* "The Announcement of Zhonghui" Chapter of *Shu jing*, IV.2, 7; Legge, *CC* III, 181.
- 35 From the *Yi xun* "The Instructions of Yi" Chapter of *Shu jing*, IV.4, 2; Legge, *CC* III, 194: "... great Heaven sent down calamities, employing the agency of our ruler, who had received its favouring appointment."
- 36 *Zuo zhuan*, Xi 19; Legge, *CC* V, 177 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 322–333), describes how the state of Wey was considering an attack upon the rival state of Xing. At this time there was a drought. The ruler of Wey was advised by one of his officers:  
Formerly there was a scarcity in [Zhou]; but after the conquest of [Shang/]Yin there ensued an abundant year. Now [Xing] acts without any regard to principle, and there is no leader among the princes. May not Heaven be wishing to employ [Wey] to punish [Xing]?
- The ruler followed his advice, and rain came as soon as the army set out on the march.
- 37 The text here has the character *gong*, but the modern editors of *HHS* 65/55 prefer the emendation *guan*. I have followed this, understanding *guan* "office" as referring to frontier posts, military agricultural colonies, and other government installations.  
If the character *gong* is accepted, then the phrase could be rendered "the cities and towns of the old dynasty": *i.e.* of Former Han.  
The region "west of the Qiao Gate and east of Luochuan" must refer to the territory south of the Ordos, where Duan Jiong has just completed the second stage of his campaign.
- 38 Zhao Chongguo was the general of Former Han who conquered the Qiang about the region of the Xining River in 61–60 BC. He established military colonies (*tuntian*), and he also compelled the migration of numbers of the tribesmen eastwards within the borders of the empire. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 65. Lianju was the major military base of that region, northwest of present-day Lanzhou (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 11 and 450–451 note 18, with discussion of its site and the pronunciation of its name).  
At the beginning of Later Han, in the period 33–37 AD, the general Ma Yuan had been responsible for the re-establishment and settlement of the frontier in the northwest. As part of that program, he forced the migration of a number of the Xianlian tribespeople, who had been troubling the territory west of the Yellow River, into the region of the Wei valley, where they might be better kept under imperial control and supervision. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 73–75.  
Both this memorial of Duan Jiong, and the Discussion (*Jun*) at the end of the Account of the Qiang, *HHS* 87/77, 2901, criticise bitterly this aspect of the policy of Zhao Chongguo and Ma Yuan. Though the dangers were indeed very great, and the end result was extremely serious for the empire, it seems clear that both texts are mistaken as to which

tribes were moved by the commanders concerned: in fact, Zhao Chongguo transferred people of the Han and Qian groups, and Ma Yuan was the person who brought the Xianlian to the east. As to the name Jiandang, it seems that this represents a mistaken transposition of the characters for the name of the Dangjian people; and these were still Western Qiang, who had been defeated and pacified by Duan Jiong only a year or so earlier: *e.g.* passage B to Yongkang 1. See de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 475 note 44.

39 *Zuo zhuan*, Yin 6; Legge *CCV*, 21 (Couvreur, *Chronique I*, 39):

The Head of a State or of a clan looks upon evil relations as a husbandman looks upon weeds or grass, which must be removed. He cuts down, kills them, collects them, and heaps them up, extirpating their roots that they may not be able to grow; and then the good grain stretches itself out.

40 *Huainan zi* 15, 16a:

...a state may not be governed from outside [its borders]; an army in the field may not be directed from within [the capital]."

[*Int: 168*]

J *HHS* 8, 329 (2a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

41 According to the Biography of Wang Chang, *HHS* 56/46, 1826, Wang Chang left office on account of a large number of portents from water. This presumably refers to the floods about the capital in the sixth month (passage E above).

[*Int: 168*]

K *HHS* 66/56, 2169–70 (8a–b), the Biography of Chen Fan; and *HHS* 69/59, 2241–44 (3a–4b), the Biography of Dou Wu.

42 Sima Guang here summarises a passage from *HHS* 66/56, which tells how Emperor Huan had intended to make the Lady Tian Sheng his Empress in succession to the Lady Deng Mengnü. Chen Fan, however, objected strongly, particularly on account of the poor family background of the Lady Tian, and he urged the claims of the well-born Lady Dou. Emperor Huan was compelled to accept. *Cf.* also passage U of Yongkang 1.

43 Li Ying became Privy Treasurer of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, responsible for the residence of the Empress–Dowager (*HHS* 67/57, 2196, and see note 19 above). Du Mi became Grand Coachman, a ministerial position (*HHS* 67/57, 2198). Liu Yu became a Palace Attendant (*HHS* 57/47, 1857).

The position held by Yin Xun under the new regime is not certain. According to *HHS* 69/59, 2241, the biography of Dou Wu cited here, and also *HHS* 57/47, 1857–58, which has a biography of Yin Xun supplementary to that of Liu Yu, Yin Xun was appointed Prefect of the Masters of Writing. According to the biography of Yin Xun in *HHS* 67/57, 2208, however, about this time he was Court Architect and then Grand Minister for Agriculture. Yin Xun had been Prefect of the Masters of Writing (passage L to Yanxi 2). It may be that the texts have mistakenly attributed Yin Xun's appointment in 159 to that which he held in 168; but it is also very possible that Dou Wu deliberately appointed him to the post of Prefect of the Masters of Writing because of his former experience in that position.

44 The expression "Great Peace" (*taiping*) could denote any form of good government. It had, for example been used as a title by Emperor Ai of Former Han in 5 BC, at a time when he sought to restore the power and virtue of his dynasty: *HS* 11, 340; Dubs, *HFHD* III, 30.

The phrase had also given its title to a work presented to court two years earlier by Xiang Kai at the time of his memorials (passage S of Yanxi 9, but see particularly *HHS*

30B/20B, 1084, a paragraph not included in *ZZTJ* but translated and discussed in de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest*, 31–32): in later times the concept of Great Peace became closely associated with religious or rebel doctrines, notably those of Zhang Jue, leader of the Yellow Turban rebellion in 184. (passage D of Guanghe 6).

45 *ZZTJ* and *HHS* here have the character *tui* "to push," but variant editions have the reading *chui* "to beat." Chen Fan had been sitting talking with Dou Wu, but when this decision was made he stood up forcefully, and may have slapped his hand on the ground as a sign of decisive approval.

46 The events of this time at the capital, including the attempted coup of Dou Wu and Chen Fan against the eunuchs, have been discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 95–98, and Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 484–490, translating from the biography of Dou Wu.

47 This eclipse of 23 June has been mentioned in passage E above.

48 Shi Xian, Prefect of the Palace Writers, was a trusted and favoured eunuch of Emperor Yuan of Former Han. He was opposed by the scholar official Xiao Wangzhi, who recommended that eunuchs should be dismissed from power. Shi Xian and his fellows accused Xiao Wangzhi of forming a clique; Xiao Wangzhi was dismissed and in 46 BC he was driven to commit suicide. See Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 430–433 and note 175.

49 This may have been literally true: passage K of Yanxi 9 records that the students of the Imperial University were in the habit of chanting slogans in favour of the leaders of the anti-eunuch party – there were very likely mass demonstrations at the time.

50 *ZZTJ* text here has the phrase "all the officials of the office of the Masters of Writing." *HHS* 66/56, however, includes the character *nü* before the characters, thus indicating the harem apartments and the eunuchs who served there.

51 This is thinly-concealed reference to rebellion or at least a coup-d'état: *bian* "change" and *luan* "disorder" are both synonymous with the fall of a government, and the phrase *sheji* indicates the national altars of the soil and of grain, and thus the state itself.

52 *Taibo* "Great White" describes the Western planet Venus, which in Chinese astrology is regarded as a fierce, harsh star, identified with the power of Metal. Its "encroachment" (*fan*: *i.e.* apparent movement to the near vicinity) upon a constellation is a warning sign.

The House (*Fang*) constellation, one of the lunar mansions, is the stars  $\beta$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\pi$  and  $\rho$  of Western Scorpio:  $\rho$  Scorpis, the lowest star of that group (*i.e.* the one closest to the horizon for an observer in the Northern Hemisphere) is called the Commanding General (*shangjiang*): *JS* 11, 300; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 96, and Star Map 3.

The Supreme Subtlety Enclosure (*Taiwei yuan*) is ten stars in Western Virgo and Leo which have the appearance of a circle. In astrology, it represents the court of the emperor: *JS* 11, 291–92; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 76–77, and Star Map 2.

These movements of the planet are described in *HHS* 102/12, 3258, the Treatise of Astronomy: the prognostication, predictably, identifies them as symbolising a threat to Dou Wu and Chen Fan.

There is, however, some confusion over the date and nature of the phenomenon.

In context, *ZZTJ* states that the movement of Venus in the House group and Supreme Subtlety Enclosure took place in the eighth month: that month has been identified in passage J above. The Treatise of Astronomy, however, says that Venus was in the western part of the sky and entered the Enclosure in the sixth month, encroaching upon the major star on the south of the western side ( $\sigma$  Leonis) This star, however, is also known as the

Commanding General: *JS* 11, 292; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 76–77 (curiously, another star in the Enclosure, being  $\alpha$  Coma Berenices, the northernmost star of the eastern wall, is also known as the Commanding General).

*HHS* 69/59, 2243, moreover, contains a memorial submitted by Dou Wu's supporter Liu Yu to the Empress–Dowager, following the movement of the planet Venus from the west in the eighth month. Liu Yu, an expert on astrology, reported that Venus had moved to the "Left–outside Horse" (*Zuocan*) star of the House constellation: in this, he is using another system of nomenclature for the four stars, identifying them with a quadriga (*JS* 11, 300; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 96). Liu Yu noted that this was the Commanding General star (*i.e.* of the House constellation). Liu Yu then observed that Venus had entered the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure. He described the combination of movements as a warning to the general and the minister, and urged that swift action should be taken. (In my interpretation of the text of his memorial describing astronomical movements, I do not entirely agree with the punctuation of the modern edition of *HHS*.)

It seems, therefore, that Venus had begun its movement from the west in the sixth month and, following along the ecliptic, had first approached the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure (XII Right Ascension), moving particularly close to  $\sigma$  Leonis, the Commanding General star. Its apparent movement then continued west along the ecliptic until in the eighth month it reached the House constellation (XVI R.A.), where it impinged upon  $\rho$  Scorpii, the Commanding General star of that constellation.

It may be observed at this point that Sima Guang does not pay a great deal of attention to the planetary portents listed in the Treatise of Astronomy of *HHS* 102/12, being the chapter concerned with events during the reigns of Emperors Huan and Ling.

In particular, from the fourth year of Yanxi: 161, Sima Biao recorded a number of signs and provided prognostications for them. From that authority, however, Sima Guang has selected only the comet of 161 (passage D of Yanxi 4); the only other references in *ZZTJ* to signs in the heavens, such as the movements of Venus in 167, are based primarily upon the memorials of Xiang Kai – and Sima Biao does not report by any means all of those which Xiang Kai adduced: compare, for example, passage S of Yanxi 9 and the text of *HHS* 30B/20B, as translated in de Crespigny, *Portents of Protest*. Again, in the present instance, the movements of Venus are noted by Sima Guang not so much because of the records in the Treatise, but because they were cited in the memorial of Liu Yu. Sima Guang, it appears, had reservations in using the material of Sima Biao's astrology.

53 *ZZTJ* here punctuates the phrase *zhan shu* as the title of a specific book. *HHS* 69/59, 2243, however, has the phrase *qi zhan* "its prognostication is...," and does not have the character *shu*.

54 The Palace of Prolonged Joy was the residence of the Empress–Dowager (note 19 above). Zheng Sa was evidently a senior clerical officer attached to her retinue.

This Prison of the Northern Office (*beisi yu*) is surely the same institution as the Prison of the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates (*huangmen beisi yu*) used for the detention of those arrested at the time of the First Faction Incident (note 69 to Yanxi 9).

55 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHS* 8, 329, has the date miswritten as the *dinghai* day, cyclical no. 24. The ninth month of this year, however, began on an *yisi* day, cyclical no. 42. *HHJ* 23, 3a, has the date as the *xinhai* day, and it is evident that *HHS* has miswritten ding for xin.

We see immediately below, however, that Dou Wu's threat was discovered and the eunuchs' counter-attack was planned at night. Since *HHJ* makes it clear that the actual activities of the coup by the eunuchs against Dou Wu took place on the *xinhai* day, the night it was planned must have been the night before, being that of 24–25 October. The preliminary moves, involving the replacement of Wei Biao as Prefect of the Yellow Gates by Dou Wu's nominee Shan Bing, and the subsequent arrest of Zheng Li, must have taken place the day before, being the *gengxu* day, equivalent to 24 October.

56 The phrase used is *dani*, literally "Great Refractoriness." On the use of this and other pejorative terms in Han, see Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 156–197.

57 It will be recalled that Emperor Huan and his eunuch allies had sworn in similar fashion to destroy Liang Ji in 159 (passage J and note 24 to Yanxi 2).

58 This was the chief hall of the Northern Palace, and the same building in which Emperor Huan had been laid in state (note 30 to Yongkang 1).

59 There is some uncertainty about the significance of the expression *bajian yongyue*. The first two characters mean "to draw a sword," and the second pair indicate dancing, leaping or skipping. It may be that Cao Jie presented the whole affair to the young ruler as a game, or, in contrast, that the boy was given a sword to encourage his interest in its importance, allowing him to demonstrate his valour and authority. Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 488, says that he jumped [as he went] to the Hall of Virtuous Light, but Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 96, interprets the text as indicating that Cao Jie not only gave his emperor a sword, but showed him how to skip about as in a fencing practice.

Indeed it is possible that the young man exercised himself with feint passes and sidesteps even as he and his eunuch guides hastened through the courts and corridors to their meeting place.

60 Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 33, discusses the system of passes which was used in the imperial palace. Persons who lived within the palace compound were issued with iron tallies for each gate they were permitted to use, keeping one half of the tally themselves while the other was held by the guard at the gate. Visitors on special errands were issued with wooden tallies. Senior officials could be announced by attendants.

Once the passes were withdrawn, then, everyone in the palace was restricted to the immediate area they happened to be in at the time.

61 The Covered Way (*fudao*) was an elevated passage-way which linked the Northern Palace and the Southern Palace, passing above the intervening area of the city of Luoyang. It gave direct access between the two imperial compounds, permitting the emperor and his attendants to move from one to the other without a procession through the streets. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 22.

As Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 97, observes, all the activity of the eunuchs had so far taken place within the Northern Palace. It appears that they now gave orders for the seizure of control in the Southern Palace and also, to ensure against any problem from that direction, they ordered that the Covered Way should be cut, perhaps merely by an enhanced guard, but very likely by the physical destruction of part of its span.

Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 57–58, also observes that the Palace Internuncios (*zhong yezhe*) who were sent to take up the guard positions were very probably eunuchs, indicating that Later Han reinstated the system of Former Han which used this group of

messengers for communication between the regular government and the imperial private apartments (*cf. Bureaucracy*, 49).

- 62 The Northern Army was the elite professional fighting force of the empire, normally stationed at the capital but available for military action in any region. As General-in-Chief, Dou Wu held formal command of the Northern Army, and his nephew Dou Shao, as Colonel of Footsoldiers, commanded one of the five regiments. The other regiments were those of the Garrison Cavalry, the Elite Cavalry, the Chang River and the Archers Who Shoot at a Sound. Each of them had an establishment of some eight hundred officers and men, with a total strength of about four thousand. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 117–118 and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 45–46.

The Capital Hostel (*duting*), is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 42. It was evidently the most important of the thirty-two official hostels in the city and the suburbs. It served as an occasional lodging house for officials, and also for the emperor, but its regular function was as a police station for local law and order. From this and other occasions where we are told troops were assembled at the Capital Hostel, there must have been an open area by the hostel which could be used as a parade ground or assembly point for troops.

Though Bielenstein says that the exact site of the Capital Hostel is not known, Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 489 note 404, observes that since Dou Wu was drawing up his troops here, and was soon afterwards confronted by the forces controlled by the eunuchs, who assembled outside the Vermilion Bird Gate, it seems likely the Capital Hostel was in that vicinity. Since the Vermilion Bird Gate was the main gate in the south wall of the Northern Palace (Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 33–34, it is possible that the Capital Hostel, and the open space associated with it, lay almost immediately to the south, either facing the Vermilion Bird Gate directly, or on the main avenue which ran north–south through the walled city. [Bielenstein, at 42–43, also mentions the custom by which, when the emperor returned from a tour of inspection or a hunt, he stopped briefly at the Capital Hostel in order that the Three Excellencies and the Nine Ministers could formally identify him before he re-entered the palace. Again, this suggests that the Capital Hostel lay close to the palace.]

- 63 The Gate of Continuing Brightness lay inside the Northern Palace, but it is not possible to identify its location more precisely, nor that of the Gate of the Masters of Writing: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 34.

As Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 97–98, observes, Chen Fan was attempting to gain access to the office of the imperial secretariat, to use his authority there to halt the stream of edicts issued by his eunuch opponents.

[*Int: 168*]

L *HHS* 65/55, 2140 (9a), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

- 64 Zhang Huan had just lately completed the pacification of the three northern provinces (passage R to Yongkang 1).

[*Int: 168*]

M *HHS* 69/59, 2244 (5a), the Biography of Dou Wu.

- 65 Needham, *Science and Civilisation* III, 319–322, and Needham, Wang and Price, *Heavenly Clockwork*, 85–94, discuss the water-clock, or clepsydra, of the Han period. The official system used two tanks for inflow, one for night and the other for the daytime, with the rate of flow checked and adjusted at dusk and at dawn.

66 The forces under the command of Zhang Huan were thus being recruited from the Northern Army in rivalry to Dou Wu. The Rapid Tiger and Feather Forest troops were palace guards, less well trained than the professionals of the Northern Army. *HHS* 69/59, 2244, says that among the thousand men or so that Wang Fu had collected there were not only Rapid Tiger and Feathered Forest soldiers, but also Grooms of the Stables for Fine Horses and Warriors with Swords and Lances under the Captains at the Capital. It was evidently something of a scratch force, comparable to that which had been used by Emperor Huan and his eunuch allies at the time of the coup against Liang Ji in 159: see note 30 to Yanxi 2.

The Vermilion Bird Gate was the main entrance to the Northern Palace, set in the southern wall of that compound. It was the tallest in the city of Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 33–34. The description of it here as a Lateral Gate (*ye men*), however, is confusing, for it would appear, as Bielenstein suggests at 34, that in the Northern Palace there were only two Lateral Gates, of the Left and the Right, which gave access to the harem apartments and were presumably established within the palace: at this time, however, it seems clear that the forces led by Wang Fu were coming out from the palace to confront those of Dou Wu based on the Capital Hostel. I suspect the text of *HHS* 69/59 may have been corrupted.

67 The Qing commentator Hui Dong explains the phrase *shi shi* "the time for eating" as the double-hour *si*, approximately 9 to 11 am.

68 *HHS* 69/59, 2241–42; Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 485, says that Liu Yu and Feng Shu had been given their appointments as Dou Wu's agents at the time of his plans to move against the eunuchs (on Liu Yu's appointment see passage K at 1808 above). Later, concerned at the inauspicious movements of Venus, Liu Yu had advised swift action. Feng Shu, as commander of one of the regiments of the Northern Army, had evidently been expected to provide support for Dou Wu and Dou Shao.

[*Int: 168*]

N Compiled by Sima Guang from *HHS* 67/57, 2190 and 2201, as in note 69 below.

69 Liu Shu's biography is in *HHS* 67/57, 2190, the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction. He was sent to prison and killed himself there. See also passage N and note 41 to Jianning 2.

[The Liu Shu mentioned here must be distinguished from the Liu Shu who advised Dou Wu and the Empress–Dowager on the virtues of the future Emperor Ling (passage V of Yongkang 1). That Liu Shu, however, also died at this time: *HHS* 56/46, 1834. He should also, of course, be distinguished from the Liu Shu, of identical name, who was the grandfather, now dead, of Liu Hong, the new Emperor (passage V of Yongkang 1).]

Wei Lang, with others, had been praised by Dou Wu in his memorial to Emperor Huan the year before (passage G of Yongkang 1). His biography is in *HHS* 67/57, 2200–01, the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction. He was a talented scholar and also an aggressive man: early in his career he was exiled from his home for fighting in a vendetta with naked weapons in the precincts of the county offices, and he served also as an energetic Chief Commandant of Jiuzhen commandery in the regions of present-day Vietnam. Emperor Huan admired him, but he was later implicated in the First Faction Incident with Li Ying and his colleagues. Since that time, he had remained out of office, but the favour of Dou Wu now served to condemn him. He took refuge at Niuzhu mountain by the Yangzi near present-day Nanjing, and there committed suicide.

[*Int: 168*]

- O *HHS* 10B, 446 (7b), the Biography of the Empress Dou.  
70 *HHS* 10B, and parallel texts in *HHS* 69/59, 2244, and *HHJ* 23, 4a, all say that the Empress–Dowager was transferred to the Cloud Terrace (*yun tai*), which was a group of buildings on a raised platform: Bielenstein, *Lo–yang*, 26–27. She was held there in house arrest.  
71 *HHS* 10B specifies the place of exile as Bijing county in Rinan commandery, the southernmost of the empire, about present–day Hué in Vietnam. This had also been designated as the place of exile for Liang Ji after his fall in 159 (passage L of Yanxi 2).

[*Int*: 168]

- P *HHJ* 23, 4a.

[*Int*: 168]

- Q *HHS* 67/57, 2203 (14b), the Biography of Ba Su in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

[*Int*: 168]

- R *HHS* 78/68, 2524 (12b), the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

72 The Palace of Prolonged Joy, as we have observed, was the name given to the residential apartments of the Empress–Dowager (note 19 above). The Empress–Dowager Dou had just been moved to the Cloud Terrace buildings of the Southern Palace (note 70 above), and so the Cloud Terrace buildings could now be described as the Palace of Perpetual Joy. Cao Jie, as Commandant of the Guard of that Palace, was thus responsible for her safety; or rather, in present circumstances, for her imprisonment.

73 For his part in the enthronement of Emperor Ling, Cao Jie had already been made Marquis of Chang'an District (passage F above). According to *HHS* 78/68, 2524, his pension at that time came from the tax revenue of six hundred households. His new marquisate increased the revenue by the receipts from another three thousand households, while Zhu Yu's fief was given an income from 1500 households, the other five marquises each received 300 households, and the marquises of the imperial domain had a combined annual pension of two thousand hu, some 40,000 litres. We have not been given comparable figures for the value of the fiefs awarded to Dou Wu and his associates earlier in the year, but it would appear that the eunuchs placed a higher value on their services.

Among this group of eunuch nobility, however, the name of Wang Fu is absent. He had been a long–time supporter and close associate of Cao Jie, and he played a vital role in the coup against Dou Wu and Chen Fan, but for the time being he appears to have been content simply with maintenance of his former rank as a Regular Palace Attendant, combined with the newly–acquired position as Prefect of the Yellow Gates which gave him close association with the Emperor and formal control over all the eunuchs in his service: see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64. He later received enfeoffment for his part in bring about the destruction of the unfortunate Liu Kui, brother of the late Emperor Huan (passage J of Xiping 1).

[*Int*: 168]

- S *HHS* 69/59, 2244 (5a), the Biography of Dou Wu.

[*Int*: 168]

- T *HHS* 66/56, 2171 (9a–b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

[*Int*: 168]

- U *HHS* 69/59, 2244–45 (5a–b), the Biography of Dou Wu.

[*Int*: 168]

- V *HHS* 65/55, 2140 (9a), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

[*Unl: 168*]

W *HHS* 8, 329 (2a–b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

74 This eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3301, and it is mapped by Stephenson and Houlden, 213b.

The eclipse is recorded in *HHS* 108/18, 3369, the Treatise of the Five Powers, but the Treatise does not record the constellation in which the eclipse was observed, nor does it offer any prognostication. The commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 108/18, 3361, however, discussing an eclipse in 70 AD [Yongping 13], quotes from *Qiantan ba*, which says that an eclipse on a *jiachen* day foretells a period of rain and floods.

[*Unl: 168*]

X *HHS* 88/78, 2927 (22b–23a), the Account of the Western Regions.

75 Shule was a city–state near present–day Kashgar which had lately been tributary to Han. *HHS* 88/78 provides further information: the King of Shule, who was an agent of China, was on a hunting expedition when he was shot and killed by Hede, who established an independent government. On the further history, see passage F of Jianning 3.

On the identification of Shule and its description in the time of Former Han, see Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 141–142.

[*Unl: 168*]

Y *HHS* 90/80, 2984 (4a), the Account of the Wuhuan.

76 On *luo* "household" groups, see note 36 to Yanxi 8. On the rise of these local chieftains in the northeast of the empire, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 396 and 549 note 79, where it is suggested that the phrase transcribed as *Hanlu* may have been a rendering of a Wuhuan title equivalent to Shanyu or Khan.

## Jianning 2: 169 AD:

[15 February 169 – 3 February 170]

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *dingchou* [?] there was an amnesty for the empire.<sup>1</sup>

B The Emperor brought [his natural mother] the Honoured Lady Dong from Hejian.

C In the third month on the day *yisi* she was respectfully presented with the title of Xiaoren Empress, and lodged in the Palace of Perpetual Joy.<sup>2</sup>

D Her elder brother Dong Chong was appointed Bearer of the Gilded Mace, and her nephew Dong Zhong became General of the Gentleman of the Household for All Purposes.<sup>3</sup>

E In the summer, in the fourth month on the day *renchen* [3 Jun] a dark snake appeared above the imperial throne. On the day *guisi* [4 Jun] there was a

great wind, rain and hail, and thunderbolts. More than a hundred large trees were uprooted.<sup>4</sup>

1814 It was ordered that the excellencies, ministers and junior officials should each send in sealed memorials.

F The Grand Minister of Agriculture Zhang Huan wrote in as follows: "In former times the burial of the Duke of Zhou was held without the proper rites, and heaven then showed its power.<sup>5</sup>

"Now Dou Wu and Chen Fan were loyal and upright, but they did not receive your imperial clemency, and this is the source of these evil omens. As a matter of urgency, they should be given a proper burial, the members of their households and their dependents should be brought back from exile, and all those who have been condemned to suffer proscription on their behalf should be released from that penalty.

"Moreover, although the Empress-Dowager has residence in the Southern Palace, she is not being treated with appropriate grace and courtesy. None of the ministers at court will raise this matter, but people everywhere are concerned and upset. Your majesty should give thought to the great obligations, and return past kindness and care."<sup>6</sup>

The Emperor was deeply impressed by Zhang Huan's words, and he questioned the eunuchs. These attendants, however, were utterly hostile to any such idea, and so the Emperor could not follow his inclinations.

Again, Zhang Huan joined with the Master of Writing Liu Meng and others in a joint recommendation that Wang Chang and Li Ying should take part in the selection of the Three Excellencies.<sup>7</sup> Cao Jie and his associates were still more resentful of his proposals, and so they had an edict sent down with a severe reprimand. Zhang Huan and his colleagues all bound themselves and reported to the Commandant of Justice. After a few days, they were set free, having each bought remission of sentence by payment of three month's salary.

[In2: 169]

G The Gentleman of the Palace Xie Bi of Dong commandery sent in a sealed memorial as follows: "I have heard that

The cobras and other serpents

Are the auspicious intimations of daughters.<sup>8</sup>

"Now it was the Empress-Dowager alone who decided the affairs within the inner apartments of the palace and brought your sage-like excellence to the throne. *The Book of Documents* says:

The crimes of father or son, younger or elder brother, do not reach beyond the individual himself.<sup>9</sup>

How can the crimes of Dou Wu be imputed to the Empress–Dowager? Hidden away in an empty palace, suffering as if under hail and storm, her miseries have touched the heart of heaven. How can your majesty face the world?

"Emperor Xiaohou did not cease his gracious treatment of the Lady Dou [after the destruction of Dou Xian],<sup>10</sup> and the people of former times approved his fine manner.

"According to the requirements of ritual, he who succeeds another takes position as his son.<sup>11</sup> Emperor Huan being thus in position to you as a father; how can you fail to treat the Empress–Dowager as your mother?

"I would wish that your majesty respect the influence of the moral teaching of Youyu [the sage Emperor Shun],<sup>12</sup> and take thought of the reminders offered by the Kaifeng Ode on the gentle treatment which is owed to a mother.<sup>13</sup>

1815 "I have also heard it said that: 'Men of mean spirit are of no use for developing the state or for maintaining a household.'<sup>14</sup>

"Now there are worthy subjects who have long been kept at a distance, and have received no appointments or positions. On the other hand, you have granted great fiefs to your wet–nurse<sup>15</sup> and to your personal favourites, and the great wind, the rain and the hail may also have appeared for this reason.

"Moreover, the former Grand Tutor Chen Fan gave all his strength for your imperial house, but then he was suddenly attacked by a horde of evil men and was cruelly and unlawfully destroyed. This was such a shock as to affect all the empire. And now his students and former subordinates are also suffering proscription. As the man himself is gone, another hundred lives cannot redeem him.<sup>16</sup> You should permit the return of his family and dependents, and you should release the bonds of proscription.

"Now the chief ministers are extremely important, and the fortunes of the state depend upon them. Among the four excellencies at the present time, only the Minister of Works Liu Chong is completely honest and worthy.<sup>17</sup> All the rest of them are false, men who encourage rebellion and who draw their stipend without working for it. Inevitably, they 'break the tripod of the cauldron and overturn the gruel'.<sup>18</sup> They should be dismissed on account of the ill omens. If you summon the former Minister of Works

Wang Chang, and the Privy Treasurer of the Palace of Prolonged Joy Li Ying, they are both worthy to guide the affairs of state, and this medley of disasters and dangers will cease. The prosperity of the state may be established for a long time to come."

The eunuch attendants intensely disliked these proposals, and Xie Bi was sent away to be Assistant in the office of Guangling commandery. He left that post and returned to his home. Cao Shao, nephew of Cao Jie, was Grand Administrator of Dong commandery, and he found some other pretext to arrest Xie Bi. Xie Bi was flogged to death in prison.

[Jn2: 169]

H The Emperor asked the Superintendent of the Imperial Household Yang Ci about the strange appearance of the snake. Yang Ci sent in a sealed memorial, saying: "Now good things do not come without cause, nor misfortune without reason. If the man who rules as king has some intention in his mind, even though this is not yet expressed in his countenance, nevertheless the planets are influenced by it, and the yin and yang are affected in their changes.

"Now sovereign perfection has not been achieved, and so there come the portents of dragons and snakes.<sup>19</sup> The Odes say that

The cobras and other serpents

Are the auspicious intimations of daughters.<sup>20</sup>

If only your majesty would meditate upon the true Way which, having the nature of the hexagram Qian,<sup>21</sup> is hard and enduring, and make proper distinction between your responsibilities within the palace and those toward your government. Restrain the power of those great ministers like Huangfu, and curb your affection for beautiful consorts.<sup>22</sup>

"If you do this, then the effects of the snake omen may be dispelled, and auspicious portents brought to take their place."<sup>23</sup>

1816 Yang Ci was the son of Yang Bing.

I In the fifth month the Grand Commandant Wenren Xi and the Minister of Works Xu Xu left office.<sup>24</sup> In the sixth month, the Minister over the Masses Liu Chong became Grand Commandant, the Grand Master of Ceremonies Xu Xun became Minister over the Masses, and the Grand Coachman Liu Ao of Changsha became Minister of Works.

J Liu Ao had always been a follower of the Regular Attendants, and it was for this reason that he came to rank among the Excellencies.<sup>25</sup>

[Jn2: 169]

K An imperial edict sent the Internuncio Feng Shan to persuade the rebel Qiang scattered about in Hanyang to surrender.

Duan Jiong argued that since it was the time of spring farming the people would be spread across the country-side, and although the Qiang had made a temporary surrender they would certainly recommence their ravages, as the county offices had no stores of grain. The best policy, therefore, was to take advantage of their present weakness and launch a further attack against them. Their power would then surely be smashed.

Accordingly, Duan Jiong took personal command, and he brought his positions forward to be some forty or fifty li from Fanting Mountain, where the Qiang were encamped.<sup>26</sup> He sent the Major of Cavalry Tian Yan and the Brevet Major Xia Yu,<sup>27</sup> leading five thousand men, to go forward in advance, attack them and defeat them. They scattered and fled to the east, but they gathered again at Shehu Valley, setting armed guards at the upper and lower entrances.

Duan Jiong planned to destroy every one of them, and he did not wish them to have any possibility of scattering and fleeing again.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, Duan Jiong sent a thousand men to Xi county to construct a barrier of trees against them, twenty feet across and forty li long.<sup>28</sup> Then he sent a detachment of seven thousand men under the command of Tian Yan, Xia Yu and other officers, all with gags in their mouths,<sup>29</sup> on a night march to climb the mountains to the west [of the valley]. There they set up camps and dug ditches about one li distant from the enemy. And he also sent the Major Zhang Kai and others, with three thousand men, to climb the mountains to the east.

Then the Qiang discovered this, and Duan Jiong thereupon joined Zhang Kai and his colleagues in an attack on the heights both east and west. In a full-scale assault, the enemy were defeated, and they were pursued [in both directions, from the middle of Shehu Valley] to the upper and lower passes, and through the mountains and the depths of the valleys.<sup>30</sup>

1817 In every place the Qiang were routed, and Duan Jiong's men took the heads of nineteen thousand people, from the leaders downwards.

Four thousand men had surrendered to Feng Shan and his mission, and they were resettled separately in the three commanderies of Anding, Hanyang and Longxi.

As a result of this, the Eastern Qiang were completely pacified.<sup>31</sup>

Altogether, Duan Jiong had fought one hundred and eighty engagements, had killed thirty-eight thousand of the enemy, and captured 427,000 head of various domestic and herding animals.<sup>32</sup> The expenses of the campaign were over 4,400 million cash,<sup>33</sup> and rather more than four hundred of the men in his army had died. Duan Jiong's enfeoffment was changed to Marquis of Xinfeng county, with an estate of ten thousand households.<sup>34</sup>

[Jn2: 169]

L Your servant Sima Guang remarks:

Heaven and earth are the parents of all creatures, and of all creatures man is the most highly endowed. The sincere, intelligent and perspicacious among men becomes the great sovereign, and the great sovereign is the parent of the people."<sup>35</sup>

Now the assorted barbarians in the various directions,<sup>36</sup> even though their natures are different [to the Chinese], they still seek for advantage and would avoid harm, they love life and they hate death. In this, they are the same as other men.

In governing them, if one follows the right way, then they will be submissive and obedient; if one follows the wrong way, they become rebellious and disturbed. This is quite appropriate and natural.

For this reason, the rule of the former kings provided that if the barbarians were rebellious, then they were punished; but if they were submissive, then they were treated with kindness. They were held in place on the four frontiers, and they were not permitted to disturb the [Chinese] nation of ceremony and right conduct. That is all there is to it.

But how can one speak of the attitude of a parent, if these people are regarded merely as animals or as grass and brambles; if no thought is taken as to whether or not they are behaving well, if no distinction is made between them, and if they are just mown down or slaughtered indiscriminately?

Now the reason for the rebellions of the Qiang was that they had been oppressed and wrongly persecuted by the administrators of the commanderies and counties. The reason that they had been able to rebel and had not been promptly suppressed was that the military commanders were incompetent.

If only good officers had been sent to drive them away and expel them beyond the frontiers, and if good officials had then been selected to shepherd them, there would surely have been no need for the ministers in

charge of border affairs to have taken such pleasure in that multitude of killings.

In government, the right way was not followed, so that even the true Chinese were stirred up like a swarm of bees and so brought to rebellion and banditry. Should they too have all been executed?<sup>37</sup>

In this respect, though Duan Jiming achieved good work in his victorious campaigns, his conduct as a military commander is not that which a true gentleman could approve.

[*Jn2: 169*]

M In the ninth month the barbarians of Jiangxia made a rebellion. The provincial and commandery forces attacked and pacified them.

The Shanyue hills people of Danyang commandery besieged the Grand Administrator Chen Yin. Chen Yin attacked and defeated them.<sup>38</sup>

1818

N Before this, although Li Ying and his colleagues had been dismissed and proscribed from office [in 167],<sup>39</sup> the scholars and gentlemen of the empire all paid the highest respect to their conduct and cast all the blame upon the court. They sought anxiously to emulate them, and were only concerned lest they fail to match their fine example.

Then people got together to publish lists which allocated titles [to the distinguished men of the empire]:<sup>40</sup>

Dou Wu, Chen Fan and Liu Shu were the Three Lords: "lord" describes a person whose example the whole world might follow.<sup>41</sup>

Li Ying, Xun Yi, Du Mi, Wang Chang, Liu You, Wei Lang, Zhao Dian and Zhu Yu were the Eight Heroes: "hero" means a courageous man.<sup>42</sup>

Guo Tai, Fan Pang, Yin Xun and Ba Su, together with Zong Ci of Nanyang, Xia Fu of Chenliu, Cai Yan of Runan and Yang Zhi of Taishan, were the Eight Exemplars: "exemplar" means a person who is able to influence others by his virtuous conduct.<sup>43</sup>

Zhang Jian, Zhai Chao, Cen Zhi and Yuan Kang, together with Liu Biao of Shanyang, Chen Xiang of Runan, Kong Yu of Lu kingdom and Tan Fu of Shanyang, were the Eight Guides: "guide" means a person who is able to lead others to follow those of good example.<sup>44</sup>

Du Shang, together with Zhang Miao and Wang Xiao of Dongping, Liu Ru of Dong commandery, Humu Ban of Taishan, Qin Zhou of Chenliu, Pi Xiang of Lu kingdom and Wang Zhang of Donglai, were the Eight

Treasurers: "treasurer" means a person who is able to rescue people by means of his wealth.<sup>45</sup>

When Chen Fan and Dou Wu came to power, Li Ying and the others were chosen once more for office. When Chen Fan and Dou Wu were destroyed, Li Ying and the others were again dismissed.<sup>46</sup>

[Jn2: 169]

O The eunuchs were full of anxiety and hatred for Li Ying and his associates, and edicts were sent down one after the other to confirm the proscription of the men of Faction.

P Hou Lan had a particular enmity for Zhang Jian.<sup>47</sup> Zhu Bing, a man from the same district as Hou Lan, who was always deceitful and corrupt, had been rejected by Zhang Jian.<sup>48</sup> With guidance from Hou Lan, he sent in a report that Zhang Jian and twenty-three others from his district had given themselves titles and had formed a factious association. They had elected Zhang Jian as their leader, and they planned to bring the nation into danger.<sup>49</sup>

By imperial decree, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Zhang Jian and his fellows.

In the winter, in the tenth month<sup>50</sup> the Grand Prolonger of Autumn Cao Jie<sup>51</sup> followed this up by arranging that senior ministers sent in a memorial saying, "We request that instructions be sent down to the provinces and commanderies that they should arrest and punish all the men allied in faction, being the former Minister of Works Yu Fang, together with Li Ying, Du Mi, Zhu Yu, Xun Yi, Zhai Chao, Liu Ru, Fan Pang and their colleagues."<sup>52</sup>

1819 At this time the Emperor was aged fourteen *sui*. He questioned Cao Jie and the others, "What does it mean, 'to form a clique?'"<sup>53</sup>

They replied, "The people who form cliques are men of Faction."

The Emperor asked again, "What harm do men of Faction do, that you should want to punish them?"

They replied, "They all get together to promote one another, and they seek to act outside the law."

The Emperor asked, "What do they want to do that is outside the law?"

The eunuchs replied, "They plan harm for the nation."

And then the Emperor agreed to the recommendations of the memorial.<sup>54</sup>

[Jn2: 169]

Q Someone said to Li Ying, "You can get away."

Li Ying replied, "If there are problems in affairs, one does not make excuses, and if one is at fault, one does not seek to evade punishment. That is the proper conduct of a minister. Now I am already sixty years old. Life and death are a matter of fate, and how can I escape?"

So he went to the Imperial Prison,<sup>55</sup> and he was there tortured to death. His students and former subordinates all suffered proscription from office.

Jing Gu, son of the Attendant Imperial Clerk Jing Yi, had become a pupil of Li Ying, but he had not [at that stage] registered his name.<sup>56</sup> As a result, he was not affected by the proscription.

Jing Gu, however, said with a sigh, "I regarded Li Ying as a worthy man, and I sent my son to study with him. How can I avoid the responsibility just because he failed to register his name?"

So he declared himself, left office, and returned to his home.

R Wu Dao, who was an Investigator in Runan commandery, received the imperial order to arrest Fan Pang. He took the document and went to Zhengqiang, but then closed the gates of the post-house [where he was lodging], took himself to bed and wept. No-one in the county could understand what was wrong.

Fan Pang, however, heard about this, and said, "This must be something to do with me." And so he went himself to the local gaol.

The Prefect of the county, Guo Yi, was extremely upset. He came out, took off his seal and ribbon of office, and proposed that they should flee away together: "The world is large, why should you stay here?"

"If I am to die," said Fan Pang, "then misfortune is ended. How can I involve you in my punishment, and also make my aged mother a fugitive?"

Then his mother came to say good-bye to him, and Fan Pang said to her, "Zhongbo is filial and respectful, and he will be able to look after you.<sup>57</sup> I shall follow my lord of Longshu to the Yellow Springs.<sup>58</sup> Those who live and those who die each have their appointed place. All I ask is that you restrain your natural sympathy, which is more than can be borne, and do not add on my account to your sense of distress."

1820 Zhongbo was a younger brother of Fan Pang. "Lord of Longshu" refers to Fan Pang's father, Fan Xian, who had been Chancellor of the marquise of Longshu.<sup>59</sup>

Fan Pang's mother replied, "You have now made your name rank with those of Li and Du. Even if you die for it, how can one have regret?60 If one achieves a glorious name, one cannot also expect a long life."

Fan Pang had knelt to receive his mother's instruction, and now he bowed to bid her farewell. He then turned to his sons and said, "If I should wish you to act wrongly, [you are good enough to know] not to do so. If should cause you to act well, then [you should know that] I have never done anything wrong."

All those who were passing by on the road heard this, and everyone wept at the scene.

[Jn2: 169]

S Altogether more than a hundred of the men of Faction died, and all their wives and children were sent to exile on the frontiers.61 The eunuchs made accusation of Faction against all in the empire who were men of powerful family or Confucian scholars that acted honorably. Any person who had a grudge against another would use the occasion to inform against him, and the slightest irritation was enough to involve a man in accusations of Faction. The province and commandery offices followed this lead, and there were some who had no connection with the matter but yet shared their miserable fate. From this additional inquisition, another six or seven hundred people died or were exiled or dismissed or proscribed from office.

T When Guo Tai heard of the deaths of the men of Faction, he mourned for them in private, saying, "*The Book of Poetry* says,

Good men are going away,

And the country will certainly fall into ruin.62

The House of Han is lost. They simply do not recognise the meaning of

I see a crow which will rest;

But upon whose house?"63

Though Guo Tai made skilled judgements of individual moral conduct, he never engaged in controversial discussion of the affairs of state. For this reason, though he lived in turbulent and corrupt times, the perils and misfortunes did not reach him.64

U Zhang Jian made his escape, but in the utmost distress. He sought lodging from house to house, and at each place, recognising his reputation and

conduct, the people endangered themselves in order to offer him assistance.

Then he came as a fugitive to Donglai and stayed at the house of Li Du. The Prefect of Waihuang, Mao Qin, came with troops to the gate.<sup>65</sup> Li Du brought Mao Qin inside to sit down and said, "Zhang Jian has fled from his punishment. Why should I shelter him? At the same time, if he should be here, it is my judgement that he is a celebrated scholar; is it really necessary for your honour to arrest him?"<sup>66</sup>

1821 Mao Qin got up and set Li Du's mind at rest, saying, "Qu Boyu was reluctant to act alone as a true gentleman. Why do you insist on the monopoly of good and honourable behaviour?"<sup>67</sup>

"I am planning to share it with you," replied Li Du, "and your honour may take half of the credit." Mao Qin sighed with satisfaction, and went away [without making an arrest].

Then Li Du brought Zhang Jian by side-roads to the house of Xi Ziran in Beihai, and from there he went to Yuyang and then across the frontier.<sup>68</sup>

Along all the route he had followed, scores of people were executed [for having given him shelter], and throughout all the empire people who had any involvement with him were arrested and tortured. Members of his family and clan were slaughtered, and the [houses in many] of the commanderies and counties were ruined.

[Jn2: 169]

V Kong Bao of Lu kingdom was an old acquaintance of Zhang Jian.<sup>69</sup> When Zhang Jian was making his escape he went to call upon him, but Kong Bao was not at home. Kong Bao's younger brother, Kong Rong, however, at that time aged sixteen, found him a hiding place.

Later, this was found out, and the Chancellor of [Lu] kingdom arrested both Kong Bao and Kong Rong, and sent them to prison without having determined who was the culprit.

Then Kong Rong said, "I am the person who received the fugitive into our household. I am the one who should be punished."

Kong Bao, however, claimed, "That man came to seek help from me. It is no fault of my younger brother."

An officer made enquiry of their mother, and she replied, "It is the oldest person in the household who holds responsibility. I am the one who must take the blame."

With everyone in the household competing for the death penalty, the local government offices could not come to a decision. The matter was referred to the court, and in the end, by imperial degree, it was determined that Kong Bao was responsible.

W When the proscription of the men of Faction was ended [in 184],<sup>70</sup> Zhang Jian returned to his native place [in Shanyang commandery]. Later he became Commandant of the Guards, and he died at the age of eighty-four.<sup>71</sup>

X When Xia Fu heard how Zhang Jian had escaped, he sighed and said, "He brought this misfortune upon himself, and then he pointlessly caused the involvement of other good and honest people. In order that one man might escape death, ten thousand households suffered misfortune. How could one live with that?"

He himself cut off his beard to change his appearance, and he went into the Linlu Mountains. He concealed his name and became the servant of a family of ironworkers, labouring in the coal and the smoke until he was broken and worn.<sup>72</sup> In two or three years no-one knew who he was.

Xia Fu's younger brother Xia Jing took silken cloth to go to look for him and take him supplies. Xia Fu refused to accept the offerings, saying, "How can you seek to offer gifts to one who would bring you misfortune?"

Before the proscription was lifted, Xia Fu had died.

[*Jn2: 169*]

Y Before this, the father of the Regular Palace Attendant Zhang Rang had died, and Zhang Rang went back to Yingchuan for the funeral. Though people came from all over the commandery, none of the well-known scholars made an appearance. Zhang Rang was extremely resentful. Chen Shi was the only person [of that gentry class] who paid his respects at the funeral.

Later, when the men of Faction were executed, Zhang Rang recalled Chen Shi's courtesy, and on his account there were many who were protected by him and pardoned.<sup>73</sup>

Z He Yong of Nanyang had formerly been a close friend of Chen Fan and of Li Ying. [At the time of their fall in 168] he was also due to be arrested, but he changed his name and went into hiding in Runan.

1822 Together with Yuan Shao, he [now] acted as a contact for those who sought had escaped, and he went frequently in secret into Luoyang. With advice from Yuan Shao, he gave help to well-known scholars who were in the toils of the Faction affair, and they prepared stratagems for them to escape and go into hiding. Great numbers of people were saved.<sup>74</sup>

AA Before this, the Grand Commandant Yuan Tang had three sons, Yuan Cheng, Yuan Feng and Yuan Wei. Yuan Cheng had a son Yuan Shao and Yuan Feng had a son Yuan Shu.<sup>75</sup> Both Yuan Feng and Yuan Wei became well known, and they held a number of high positions while they were still young.

At this time the Regular Palace Attendant Yuan She<sup>76</sup> wanted to obtain support from Yuan Feng and Yuan Wei, firstly because they came from a family of chief ministers, and secondly because he and they shared the same surname. As a result, the Yuan group became more prosperous and powerful than any others of the time, they were extremely wealthy and extravagant, quite different to any of the other families which had produced officials of Excellency rank.<sup>77</sup>

BB Yuan Shao was a man of strong build, with an air of authority. He admired men of breeding, and he acted as patron to those who were famous. Guests and clients assembled around him, and the cloth-covered carriages [of the wealthy] and the simple waggons [of the poor] filled the streets [which led to his gate].

CC Yuan Shu was also known for his gallant spirit.<sup>78</sup>

DD Yuan Feng's cousin Yuan Hong<sup>79</sup> was already a young man of strict principle. He studied while working on the land, and although Yuan Feng and Yuan Wei offered him presents of food on several occasions, he always refused them.<sup>80</sup> He observed how the times were falling into disorder and danger, yet his own family were prosperous and affluent, and he would sigh and rebuke his cousins, "Our excellent ancestor [Yuan An] was favoured and honoured, but later generations are lacking in the virtue which might enable them to maintain [that high position]. Instead, they contend in arrogance and extravagant living, and they struggle for power in an age of disorder. This is like the three Que of Jin."<sup>81</sup>

Later, when the Faction affair broke out, Yuan Hong intended to go into hiding in the depths of the forests. Because of his old mother, however, he felt that he could not go so far away. He therefore had a square building of earth constructed in the courtyard [of the family home], with no door, but a

window through which food could be sent in. When his mother came to pay him a visit, he would go to the window to see her, but when she had left he would close it up again. None of the other members of his family, nor his wife and children, were allowed to see him. He lived in this seclusion for eighteen years, and he died in that earthen house.<sup>82</sup>

[Jn2: 169]

EE Before this, when Fan Pang and his fellows criticised the imperial government, all the officials, from the Excellencies down, had humbly accepted their admonitions. The students of the Imperial University contended with one another to follow their example. They believed that an age of civil learning was about to dawn, and that scholars in retirement would be restored to positions in the official service.

1823 Shentu Pan was the only person who expressed concern about this, saying, "Long ago, in the period of the Warring States, there were scholars in retirement offering their opinions all over the place.<sup>83</sup> and it even came about that the rulers of the various kingdoms would sweep the ground before them in welcome.<sup>84</sup> And yet in the end there came the time of misfortune when scholars were buried and books were burned.<sup>85</sup> This is what we are looking at now."

And so he took refuge in the region of Liang and Tang, built a house in the trees, and lived in the same fashion as the labourers.<sup>86</sup>

He was there for two years, and then Fan Pang and his colleagues were indeed involved in the misfortunes of the Proscribed Faction. Shentu Pan was the only one who was preserved from the inquisition.

[Jn2: 169]

FF Your servant Sima Guang remarks:

If the empire is following the proper Way, true gentlemen assemble at the court of the ruler to correct the misbehaviour by the men of mean spirit, and there is no-one who dares not submit. When the empire has lost the Way, gentlemen retire into seclusion and do not speak out, hoping that they may avoid misfortune from the men of mean spirit; and yet it still happens that some of them fail to escape.<sup>87</sup>

The men of Faction lived in an age of confusion and disorder, when all things were out of place and the four seas were in turmoil. They sought to solve problems by the words of their mouths, giving judgements of good and bad so as to wipe out evil and restore purity. They sought to seize the snakes and vipers by the head, and trample<sup>88</sup> on the tails of the tiger and

the wolf. But it was they themselves who were injured and wrongfully punished, and the ill fortune reached their friends. Men of quality were destroyed, and the nation moved on to disaster. The pity of it!

Only Guo Tai had the insight and understanding to preserve his own life,<sup>89</sup> while Shentu Pan realised what would happen and took appropriate action, not waiting till the final day.<sup>90</sup> This is exceptional wisdom!

GG On the day *gengzi* [? *wuxu*: 6 Dec], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.<sup>91</sup>

In the eleventh month the Grand Commandant Liu Chong left office. The Grand Coachman Guo Xi of Fugou [in Chenliu] became Grand Commandant.<sup>92</sup>

1824

The Xianbi raided Bing province.

HH Cao Jie, the Grand Coachman of the Palace of Prolonged Joy,<sup>93</sup> became seriously ill. By imperial edict he was appointed General of Chariots and Cavalry. Soon afterwards, his condition improved, and he gave back the seal and ribbon [of that office].<sup>94</sup> He was again appointed Regular Palace Attendant, with position as Specially Advanced, and with salary at Fully Two Thousand shi.<sup>95</sup>

II King Bogu of Gaojuli raided Liaodong. Geng Lin, Grand Administrator of Xuantu, attacked him and compelled him to surrender.<sup>96</sup>

### Notes to Jianning 2: 169

A *HHS* 8, 330 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 The first day of this month was a *jiachen* day, cyclical number 41, and there was no *dingchou* day, cyclical number 14. There is evidently a miswriting.

*HHS* 8 describes this as a "great" amnesty, but Sima Guang has it simply as an amnesty. Cf. note 2 to Yongshou 3.

[*Un2*: 169]

B *HHS* 10B, 446 (7b), the Biography of the Empress-Dowager Dong.

[*Un2*: 169]

C *HHS* 8, 330 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

2 The grant of the title as Xiaoren Empress now matched the Lady Dong with her deceased husband, the father of Emperor Ling. For her former position and treatment, see passage E and note 17 to Jianning 1.

*HHS* 10B, 446, says that the Lady Dong took up residence in the Apartments of Excellent Virtue of the Southern Palace, and these were then named on her account as Palace of Perpetual Joy (*Yongle*): see Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 39 and compare note 19 to Jianning 1. The name of "Perpetual Joy" had been used formerly, in similar circumstances, for the residence of the Lady Yan, the mother of Emperor Huan: *HHS* 10B, 442.

[*ln*2: 169]

- D *HHS* 10B, 446 (8a), the Biography of the Empress–Dowager Dong; and *HHJ* 23, 5a.
- 3 The positions of Bearer of the Gilded Mace and General of the Gentlemen of the Household were frequently used for members of the family of imperial relatives by marriage. Liang Ji and his father Liang Shang, for example, had each been at some time Bearer of the Gilded Mace, and Liang Ji was also General of the Gentleman of the Household Rapid as Tigers (*HHS* 34/24, 1175 and 1178); Dou Shao, nephew of Dou Wu, had been General of the Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers (*HHS* 69/59. 2239)

[*ln*2: 169]

- E *HHJ* 23, 5a–b.
- 4 *HHS* 8, 330, the Annals of Emperor Ling, has no reference to the appearance of the snake. We are told, however, of the wind, rain and hail, and of the request for sealed memorials.

The wind, rain and hail are also recorded in *HHS* 106/16, 3335, the Treatise of the Five Powers, where it is specified that the trees uprooted by the storm included those along avenues leading to the various suburban cult sites: see Bodde, *Festivals*, 200. Bodde remarks that this misfortune could be, and no doubt was, interpreted as a sign of the loss of heaven's favour for the dynasty. This is not, however, stated explicitly by the Treatise.

As the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes, however, there is some confusion about the dating of the phenomenon of the snake.

Sima Biao, in *HHS* 107/15, 3345, the Treatise of the Five Powers, has recorded the appearance of a snake above [on?] the imperial throne for the *jiawu* day of the fourth month of Xiping 1, being 20 May 172: the prognostication for the omen refers in general terms to the power held by the eunuchs and the weakness of the imperial house. Similarly, *HHS* 54/44, 1776, the Biography of Yang Ci, tells how Yang Ci sent in a memorial on the occasion (passage H below), but dates the appearance of the snake to Xiping 1.

*HHS* 65/55, however, the Biography of Zhang Huan, cited in passage F below, and *HHS* 57/47, the Biography of Xie Bi, cited in passage G below, both date the snake portent to the summer of Jianning 2.

It would appear that we are dealing with a single apparition, which is dated either to this year, 169, or three years later, to 172. The memorials of Zhang Huan and Xie Bi refer particularly to the harshness with which Dou Wu and Chen Fan were regarded, and to the ill treatment of the Empress–Dowager Dou, the criticism was more topical in 169 than it was in 172. On the other hand, the Empress–Dowager died in 172, and there was a good deal of controversy about the treatment she had received and the question of whether she was entitled to be buried in the tomb of Emperor Huan her former husband (passages D to F of Xiping 1). In 172, however, it appears that Zhang Huan was under increasing political pressure for his opposition to the eunuchs, and he was perhaps less likely to have written in such terms (passage H of Xiping 1).

On the weight of the evidence,, Sima Guang has accepted the date of *HHJ* 23 for the strange appearance of the snake, being the occasion for the memorial of Yang Ci as well as those of Zhang Huan and Xie Bi. See also, however, note 23 below.

*ZZTJ*, however, like the Treatise in *HHS* 107/15 and the Biography of Yang Ci in *HHS* 54/44, describes the snake as appearing on or above the imperial throne (*yuzuo shang*). *HHJ* 23 and the Biography of Zhang Huan in *HHS* 65/55 say that it appeared by the railings of the dais.

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F *HHS* 65/55, 2140–41 (9a–b), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

5 Commentary to *HHS*, followed by that to *ZZTJ*, quotes a story from the *Shangshu dazhuan*, "The Great Commentary to the Book of Documents," 4, 3a. (This work, ascribed to the scholar Fu Sheng of the third and second centuries BC, survives only in fragments.) When the Duke of Zhou died, his nephew King Cheng intended to bury him at Luoyang (here described as Chengzhou), the future capital. Heaven, however, sent a great storm of wind, rain and hail, uprooting trees and terrifying the people. King Cheng then changed the burial site to Bi, the site of the tomb of King Wen: by this means the king showed that he regarded the late duke as a mentor rather than a subject.

A similar, rather more elaborate, version of the story appears in *SJ* 33, 1522; Chavannes, *MHIV*, 99–100.

6 The Empress–Dowager Dou was held under house arrest in the Southern Palace (passage O of Jianning 1). Zhang Huan is reminding the Emperor that he owes a duty to the lady as his titular "dynastic" mother, and also for arranging his accession.

As commentaries to *HHS* and *ZZTJ* observe, Zhang Huan's expression echoes the fourth stanza of the *Lu e* Ode, *Shi jing* II.5.8; Legge, *CC* IV, 352 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 202 at 153):

O my father, who begat me!

O my mother who nourished me!.....

Ye looked after me, ye never left me,

Out and in ye bore me in your arms.

7 Li Ying was well known as an opponent of the eunuchs.

On Wang Chang as an associate of Li Ying and a protégé of Chen Fan, see passage U of Yanxi 8 and passage K of Yanxi 9. On his oppression of powerful families, see passage V of Yanxi 8. He had been associated with the Dou family as Commandant of the Guard of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, and then served for a short time as Minister of Works during the time of the Dou hegemony in the previous year (passages E and J of Jianning 1).

*HHS* 65/55 says that Zhang Huan had been transferred from Grand Minister of Agriculture to another ministerial post as Grand Master of Ceremonies.

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G *HHS* 57/47, 1858 (14b–16a), the Biography of Xie Bi.

8 From the seventh stanza of the *Sigan* Ode of *Shi jing* II.4.5; Legge, *CC* IV, 306 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 189 at 131).

The commentary of Hu Sanxing cites this text as coming from the *Wuyang* Ode, which comes immediately after the *Sigan* Ode; this is a mistake.

9 Such a statement is ascribed to the *Kang gao* "The Announcement to the Prince of Kang" Chapter of *Shu jing* at two places in *Zuo zhuan*, being Xi 33; Legge, *CC* V, 226 and Chao 20; Legge, *CC* V, 682 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 436, and *Chronique* III, 315). It does not,

however, appear in the present text of *Shu jing*. The closest citation may be at *Shu jing* V.9, 16; Legge, *CC* III, 392 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 42), but that passage is really dealing with fathers and sons and brothers who fail to show proper family respect.

- 10 The Biography of the Empress Dou of Emperor Zhang, who, as Empress–Dowager, formally controlled the government in the early years of the reign of Emperor He, is in *HHS* 10A, 415–16, and that of her brother Dou Xian is in *HHS* 23/13, 813–21.

In 92 Emperor He arranged a coup which destroyed the Dou family, compelling Dou Xian and his brothers to commit suicide. The Empress–Dowager Dou, however, continued to be treated with respect. When she died in 97, moreover, it was revealed to Emperor He that she had been responsible for the death of his natural mother, the Honoured Lady Liang; Emperor He was advised by his senior officials that he should strip her of her title and bury her in a tomb apart from her husband the late Emperor Zhang. Emperor He, however, issued an edict rejecting this proposal, referring to the requirements of ritual and the great obligations (*da yi*), and the Lady Dou was buried with her husband under full funerary state: *HHS* 10A, 416.

- 11 The modern edition of *ZZTJ* punctuates this expression as a quotation from *Li [ji]*, but *HHS* 57/47 does not agree. Such a statement is found in the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*, Zheng 1, but not in *Li ji* itself. It may best be interpreted as a general statement of principle.

- 12 Youyu was a name borne by Emperor Shun, Yu being apparently his dynastic title (Legge, *CC* III, 29–31 note).

In the *Yao dian* "The Canon of Yao" Chapter of *Shu jing*, I.3, 12; Legge, *CC* III, 26 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 4), it is recorded that the Emperor Yao enquired about the character of Shun, and was told that his father, step–mother and half–brother were all of poor moral quality, but that because of his filial piety Shun had been able to live in harmony with them, and to lead them gradually to reform, so that they no longer acted wrongly.

The phrase *zhengzheng* used here by Xie Bi, which appears in *Shu jing* in an alternate form, is interpreted by Chinese commentators as indicating high moral quality based upon filial piety (see, for example, *HHS* commentary, which, however, ascribes the reference mistakenly to the *Shun dian* "The Canon of Shun" Chapter of *Shu jing*).

- 13 The *Kaifeng* Ode of *Shi jing*, I.3.7, is rendered by Legge, *CC* IV, 50–51, and by Karlgren, *Odes*, 32 at 20. It refers to seven sons concerned about the toil and pain suffered by their mother, and their own inability to bring her ease.

- 14 From *Yi jing*, hexagram Shi, sixth line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 36:

The Great prince issues commands,  
Founds states, vests families with fiefs.  
Inferior people should not be employed.

- 15 On the enfeoffment of the members of the eunuch party after the overthrow of Dou Wu and Chen Fan, see passage R of Jianning 1.

The expression Amu here indicates the wet–nurse (*rumu*) of Emperor Ling, the Lady Zhao Rao. On her influential position at court, see passage K of Jianning 1. Though there is no record of her title, it appears that she too had received a fief.

- 16 Xie Bi here presents an elegant reference to the *Huang niao* Ode of *Shu jing*, I.9.6; Legge, *CC* IV, 198–200 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 131 at 84). This "Yellow Bird" Ode tells how at the funeral of Duke Mu of Qin his senior officers were compelled to follow him to the grave. It

expresses sorrow at their fate, and it is generally interpreted as a criticism of an ancient barbaric custom.

The last lines of each stanza are rendered by Legge as

Could he have been redeemed,

We should have given a hundred lives for him.

Xie Bi is saying that Chen Fan, like the unfortunate ministers of Qin, was not redeemed and is now dead; but the government, through proscription, is nonetheless requiring the hundred [official] lives of his innocent associates.

17 The phrase "four excellencies" indicates the normal Three Excellencies, being Grand Commandant Wenren Xi, Minister over the Masses Liu Chong, and Minister of Works Xu Xu, plus the Grand Tutor Hu Guang: see note 2 to Jianning 1.

18 From *Yi jing*, hexagram Ding, fourth line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 209:

The legs of the cauldron are broken.

The prince's meal is spilled

And his person is soiled.

Misfortune.

The commentary of Li Xian identifies the cauldron (*ding*) as referring to the senior ministers.

The term *zhikou*, "encouraging rebels," also reflects *Yi jing*, hexagram Jie, third line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 167:

If a man carries a burden on his back

And nonetheless rides in a carriage,

He thereby encourages robbers to draw near.

Perseverance leads to humiliation.

This is explained by Wilhelm as referring to

a man who has come out of needy circumstances into comfort and freedom from want.

If now, in the manner of an upstart, he tries to take his ease in comfortable surroundings that do not suit his nature, he thereby attracts robbers. And if he goes on thus, he is sure to bring disgrace upon himself.

Read in this fashion, the reference becomes very pointed against the new Emperor Ling.

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H *HHS* 54/44, 1776 (12b–13b), the Biography of Yang Ci.

19 The *Hong fan* "The Great Plan" Chapter of *Shu jing* V.4, 9 to 16; Legge, *CC* III, 328–333 (Karlgren, *Documents*, 30), discusses how the sovereign (*huang*) may establish (*jian*) perfection (*ji*).

20 *Cf.* passage G and note 8 above, where this same quotation is used by Xie Bi. Xie Bi, however, used it to refer to the need to be more lenient to the Empress–Dowager Dou; Yang Ci, below, has it as a reference to the dangers of the harem.

21 From *Yi jing*, hexagram Qian; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 5:

The movement of Heaven is full of power,

Thus the superior man makes himself strong and untiring.

22 The *Shiyue zhi jiao* Ode of *Shi jing* II.4.9; Legge, *CC* IV, 320–325 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 193 at 138–140), represents a criticism of the government of the Zhou dynasty under King You of the eighth century BC.

In the first line of the fourth stanza there is reference to: "Huangfu the president" (or "prime minister") and in the last line to "the beautiful wife." Tradition interprets Huangfu (written in an alternative form in this memorial of Yang Ci) as being a favourite of the King, and the beautiful wife is his consort Baosi: both were regarded as responsible for the errors of his administration.

The first line of the fifth stanza is rendered by Legge simply as "This Huangfu," with the character *yi* understood as no more than an introductory particle. Yang Ci, however, echoing that line, advises that Emperor Ling using the alternative reading of *yi* as the verb "to repress, restrain."

- 23 Note 4 above discusses the dating of the snake omen which is said to have inspired this memorial of Yang Ci, as well as those of Zhang Huan and Xie Bi cited in passages F and G above.

If all three memorials were written at the same time, however, it is a little surprising that Zhang Huan and Xie Bi should have concentrated such attention upon the misfortunes of the Empress-Dowager, the Dou family and Chen Fan, while Yang Ci's memorial, more fully preserved in *HHS* 54/44, does not mention that topic but rather criticises the Emperor's favouritism for the eunuchs and his interest in his harem.

From that point of view, the memorial of Yang Ci fits better with a date of 172: on the one hand, the matter of the Empress-Dowager had largely ended with her death and burial the year before, while criticism of the Emperor for his interest in his harem seems more likely to have been warranted in 172, when he was aged 17 *sui*, than in 169, when he was 14 *sui*, only twelve or thirteen by Western reckoning.

All three memorials, however, concern themselves with a snake portent, and Sima Guang has assumed, quite reasonably, that such a phenomenon occurred only once at this time. It may be, however, that there were in fact two: one in 169, as recorded by *HHJ*, and inspiring the memorials of Zhang Huan and Xie Bi; and one similar incident in 172, recorded in the Treatise and giving occasion for the memorial of Yang Ci.

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I *HHS* 8, 330 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

- 24 In *HHS* 8, Wenren Xi's departure from office is described by the character *ba*, and that of Xu Xu by the character *mian*. Sima Guang's text appears to use the characters without distinction. and *bamian* is now a commonly used compound. The two characters may be interpreted as interchangeable.

It will be recalled that both these men, with the Grand Tutor Hu Guang, had been criticised in the memorial of Xie Bi (passage G and note 17 above).

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J From the *Fengsu tong* [*yi*] of Ying Shao, cited by the commentary of the Qing scholar Hui Dong to *HHSJ* 8, [330] 2b.

- 25 *HHS* 103/13, 3282, the Treatise of the Five Powers, lists a number of officials as close associates of the eunuch faction in the last years of the reign of Emperor Huan. The list includes Liu Ao, described as Privy Treasurer of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, the residence of the Empress-Dowager Dou (passage E and note 19 to Jianning 1): he must have taken up that post after the death of Emperor Huan.

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K *HHS* 65/55, 2152-53 (17a-18b), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

- 26 The account of this campaign in *HHS* 65/55 has been translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 78–80, and it is discussed in de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 140–141 and Map 4 at 138.
- 27 The military ranks of Duan Jiong's officers Tian Yan and Xia Yu have been given earlier in *HHS* 65/55, at 2150, describing the campaign of the summer of 168 which is summarised in passage I of Jianning 1.

The significance of the prefix *jia* to the title of Major (*sima*) held by Xia Yu is not entirely clear. Bielenstein, for example in *Bureaucracy*, 121, understands it as "Acting," comparable to the expression *xing*; while the Treatise of Officials in *HHS* 114/24, 3564, describes it as "Assistant" (*fu'er*).

It is my suggestion, however, that the term *jia* could be used to indicate an exceptional (and hence indeed short-term) appointment. The term "brevet," which was used in the British Army before the Second World War to indicate appointment above an officer's substantive position, may thus be an appropriate rendering.

- 28 The character here rendered as "barrier" is *zha*, which commonly refers to a fence or lattice work, and could here indicate a simple palisade. The thickness of the work, however, being some seven and a half feet and over 2.3 metres, indicates that it took the form of an abatis: a mass of felled trees with the branches pointing towards the enemy. This would be have been faster to construct and easier to defend than a single palisade.

Xi county in Hanyang commandery was on the south of the Wei River, while Fanting Mountain, the site of the recent defeat of the Qiang, is identified with a peak of the Liupan range north of the river on the border between present-day Gansu and Shenxi. The site of Shehu/Shoot Tiger Valley, however, has been a matter of some controversy.

In *Northern Frontier*, 491 note 18, I have argued that the valley probably lay south of the Wei: I have suggested that the abatis was intended to prevent the Qiang seeking further refuge in the mountain country of the Qin Ling, and if it had been to the north of the river such a barricade, even if it was more than twelve miles or twenty kilometres long, would not have blocked off a sufficient number of possible escape routes.

This interpretation requires the earlier statement, that the Qiang fled east from Fanting Mountain, be disregarded: but since Xi county certainly lay essentially southwest of Fanting Mountain, it is hard to see how the statement can be correct. If the Qiang had gone east, not only would they not have been anywhere near Xi county, but they would also have come closer to the main centres of Chinese power and to Duan Jiong's own base. (It might be suggested that the Qiang in fact fled east and that Duan Jiong then set the abatis to the "west," behind them; but the text and the commentary of *HHS* 65/55 both define the character *xi* as the name of the county, and that emendation seems less likely.)

- 29 It appears to have been quite common for troops on a march when secrecy was required to have gags put in their mouths in order to avoid the possibility of anyone breaking silence by accident or foolishness.

- 30 Curiously, though the text of *ZZTJ* has many of the same characters as the source in *HHS*, the end result of the description is rather different.

*HHS* 65/55, 2153; Young, *Three Generals*, 79–80, says that the Qiang sent men to block the tracks between Tian Yan's forces and the river below them, and so cut them off from their water supply. Duan Jiong then attacked along the river, and when the Qiang were driven back from their sortie they were exposed to attack from Tian Yan and from

Zhang Kai. *ZZTJ*, however, omits all reference to these preliminaries, and implies that Duan Jiong came immediately with his main force to join Zhang Kai.

As a result of this attack, it appears that the Qiang were defeated on the heights, and Duan Jiong's forces thus broke into Shehu Valley. They then rolled up the defences from the centre, taking the pickets which had been set up at the expected entrance passes from the rear: rather than a natural fortress, the valley became a well-enclosed killing ground.

31 Duan Jiong had been credited with the pacification of the Western Qiang, on the frontier past the Yellow River, after his campaigns two years earlier (passage B of Yongkang 1).

32 *HHS* 65/55 specifies these animals, here described by the general term of *chu*, as including cattle, horses, sheep, donkeys, mules and camels.

In a more accurate accounting, *HHS* gives the figure of 427,500 head of animals, and 38,600 heads of the enemy; one is impressed with the attention to detail of the early records, but Sima Guang was content with a rounder number.

33 The original budget for the operation, proposed to Emperor Huan and confirmed to the regency government, had called for expenditure of 5,400 million cash (passage D and also passage I of Jianning 1). Duan Jiong had also undertaken to complete the program in two and a half years ("three winters and two summers"): from the time of the original proposal to Emperor Huan in the latter half of 167 to the final massacre at Shehu Valley, just two years had elapsed.

34 The fief awarded Duan Jiong after his victory in the west had been the marquisate of a Chief District, with revenue based upon the taxation of five hundred households. Xinfeng was a full county, in Jingzhao, east of Chang'an, and the value of the new fief was twenty times that of the old.

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L Comment written by Sima Guang.

35 From the first part of the *Tai shi* "Great Declaration" Chapter of *Shu jing*, V.1A, 3; Legge, *CC* III, 283–284.

This is the first chapter of the Zhou section of the classic, and records the speech attributed to the future King Wu of Zhou, describing the wickedness of the government of King Zhou of Shang/Yin, and the justice of his campaign of conquest against that state.

36 Sima Guang here lists the traditional four groups of non-Chinese peoples: the Man of the south, the Yi of the east, the Rong of the west and the Di of the north: *e.g.* *Zuo zhuan*, Cheng 2; Legge, *CCV*, 343 and 349 (Couvreur, *Chronique* II, 33).

37 Sima Guang evidently refers here to the general uncertainty and discontent among the Chinese people of the northwest (here described as *huaxia*), which culminated in the great rebellion of Liang province in 184: passage DD of Zhongping 1, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 146–162.

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M *HHS* 8, 330 (2b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

38 The people known as Shanyue inhabited the hill country south of the Yangzi, in the region of present-day Zhejiang and southern Anhui and Jiangsu. The designation yue came from their position in the south and east, as in the kingdom of that name in the *Chunqiu* period, and the later states contemporary with Former Han, Minyue and Dongyue, in the region of present-day southern Zhejiang and Fujian province, and Nanyue, which controlled Guangdong and the far south through most of the second century BC. (See, for example, *SJ*

41, 1739; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 418–448, *HS* 95, 2859–63 and 2847–59). It appears that the term could be used as a general description of non-Chinese people inhabiting the south-eastern and southern seaboard.

The capital of Danyang commandery in Later Han was at Wanling, present-day Xuancheng in Anhui.

During the last years of Han, and notably at the beginning of the third century AD, there are increasingly frequent reports of disturbances from the Shanyue and of campaigns against them by Chinese forces. It seems most probable that this reflected a response by the hills people against developing pressure of Chinese immigration into this region of the lower Yangzi.

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N *HHS* 67/57, 2195–96 (10a–b), the Biography of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction;

and *HHS* 67/57, 2187 (4a–b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

39 On this First Faction Incident, see passages Y to FF of Yanxi 9, and passages J and K of Yongkang 1.

40 The interpolation is taken from *HHS* 67/57, 2187.

The compound expression *biaobang* appears to have indicated a list displayed on placards. In the categories given below, my translations render the following special terms in the original: "lord" = *jun*; "hero" = *jun*; "exemplar" = *gu*; "guide" = *ji*; "treasurer" = *chu*. The characters transcribed *jun* are pronounced in different tones in Modern Standard Chinese, and would have been sounded differently in Later Han times: see Karlgren, *GSR* 459a and 468t.

41 The biography of Liu Shu is in *HHS* 67/57, 2190. He was a man from Hejian, the same commandery as Emperor Ling's family. He must, of course, be distinguished from the grandfather of the Emperor, whose personal name was identical (passages V of Yongkang 1 and E of Jianning 1); and also from Liu Shu, also a man from Hejian, who had advised on the choice of the Emperor and then brought him to Luoyang (passage V of Yongkang 1). The Liu Shu praised as a "lord" made his reputation as a scholar of the classics, with skill interpreting portents. He became a Palace Attendant and General of the Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers, and in the time of the Dou regency he urged the elimination of the eunuchs. After the fall of Dou Wu and Chen Fan he was compelled to commit suicide (passage N of Jianning 1).

42 The personal name of Xun Yi regularly appears as Yu in *HHS* and in *HHJ* 23, 7b. *HHS* 8, 330, however, refers to him as Xun Yi, and Sima Guang evidently preferred to follow that reading. His biography is in *HHS* 62/52, 2050. A man from a great family of Yingchuan, he had been a firm opponent of the eunuchs and their clients when he was local administrator in Pei kingdom and in Guangling, and he was later associated with Dou Wu's plans for a coup against them.

The biography of Du Mi is in *HHS* 67/57, 2197–98. A man from Yingchuan, he had been implicated in the First Faction Incident (passages AA and FF of Yanxi 9), but he was restored to office during the Dou regency (passage K of Jianning 1).

The biography of Wang Chang is in *HHS* 56/46, 1823–26. A man from Shanyang, he had earlier been praised by the students of the Imperial University for his firm, even cruel, control of powerful groups in Nanyang commandery (passages V of Yanxi 8 and K of Yanxi

9). He was Minister of Works for a time during the Dou regency (passages E and J of Jianning 1). He died at home during the course of this year, Jianning 2.

The biography of Liu You is in *HHS* 67/57, 2199–2200. A man from Zhongshan, he had a wide official career in the provinces and at the capital, at one time impeaching a nephew of Liang Ji. In 165, as Grand Minister of Agriculture, he sent in a proposal for the confiscation of eunuch properties, but was imprisoned for his pains (passages L, Z and AA of Yanxi 8). He was appointed Intendant of Henan by the Dou group when they were preparing to move against the eunuchs (passage K of Jianning 1 at 1809) but was dismissed after the coup and died at home early in Jianning 2.

The biography of Wei Lang is in *HHS* 67/57, 2200–01. A man of family from Kuaiji, he had at one time been Grand Administrator in the southern commandery of Jiuzhen (passage B of Yongshou 3), and later become a Master of Writing at the capital. He was compelled to commit suicide after the overthrow of Dou Wu and Chen Fan (passage N of Jianning 1).

The biography of Zhao Dian is in *HHS* 27/17, 948–49. A man from Shu commandery, he was the son of a former Grand Commandant and successor to his fief as a marquis. He held several ministerial posts, and was celebrated for his sense of honour and direct admonitions. He was Privy Treasurer of the Palace of Prolonged Joy and then Commander of the Guard during the Dou regency, and was recommended for the post of Grand Tutor. About this time, however, he died. (Curiously, despite this information being available, the introduction to the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction, *HHS* 67/57, at 2190, says that nothing more is known of him than his name.)

Zhu Yu, a man from Pei kingdom, had been made Colonel Director of Retainers under the Dou regency at the time of the planned coup against the eunuchs (passage K of Jianning 1 at 1809).

43 The biography of Guo Tai is in *HHS* 68/58, 2225–27. A man from Taiyuan, he became a leader of the students at the capital, celebrated for his skill at judging character (passages B to L of Yanxi 7). He died in the spring of Jianning 2, at the age of forty-two *sui*.

The biography of Fan Pang is in *HHS* 67/57, 2203–08. A man from Runan, he made his reputation as an opponent of powerful families in the provinces (passage T of Yanxi 2). He was involved in the First Faction Incident as an opponent of the eunuchs (passage CC of Yanxi 9). Thereafter he remained in retirement (passage L of Yongkang 1).

Yin Xun was a man from a long-established official family of Henan. He was Prefect of the Masters of Writing at the time of Emperor Huan's coup against Liang Ji in 159, and was enfeoffed for his assistance at that time (passages L and Q of Yanxi 2). As Grand Administrator of Runan, he spoke in favour of Fan Pang and other men of the commandery involved in the First Faction Incident. He was a close associate of Dou Wu against the eunuchs, and was killed at the time of the coup: (passage K of Jianning 1). There is a biography of Yin Xun in *HHS* 67/57, 2208, and another is provided as supplement to that of Liu Yu in *HHS* 57/47, 1857–58. The authority of the main biography, however, appears questionable on some points: firstly, it describes Yin Xun as Grand Minister for Agriculture in the time of the Dou regency, where other sources, perhaps more convincingly, have him as Prefect of the Masters of Writing (note 43 to Jianning 1); secondly, it says that Yin Xun was sent to prison and committed suicide after the failure of the coup against the eunuchs, while the biography of Dou Wu, again more circumstantially, says that he was killed by the

eunuch Wang Fu during the course of that operation (passage K of Jianning 1, citing *HHS* 69/59, 2243).

The biography of Ba Su is in *HHS* 67/57, 2203. A man from Bohai, he had twice held positions as magistrate of a county, but on each occasion resigned because of his disapproval of the character of his superiors. He later took junior office at the capital, and he was involved in the planning of the coup by Dou Wu and Chen Fan against the eunuchs. After that failed, he shared the penalty of the leading conspirators (passage Q of Jianning 1). His biography adds that the Inspector Jia Zong was so impressed with his conduct that he erected a stele in his honour.

The biography of Zong Ci is in *HHS* 67/57, 2202–03. He was frequently recommended for office without accepting, and on the one occasion that he became a local magistrate in Henei, he resigned in protest at the corruption of the Grand Administrator. He later accepted an invitation to take a post at the capital, but died on the road. He had a high reputation for his sense of honour among the scholars and gentry of Nanyang.

The biography of Xia Fu is in *HHS* 67/57, 2201–02. He had a local reputation for scholarship and for independence from great families and the eunuchs.

The biography of Cai Yan is in *HHS* 67/57, 2208–09. He had a reputation as a scholar and as a good influence in his community. During the 150s he became Inspector of Ji province and opposed unlawful pressures from the eunuchs and from Liang Ji. Later, in 166 during Emperor Huan's government, he was dismissed for arguing on behalf of Cheng Jin, the Grand Administrator of Nanyang accused by the eunuchs (passage U of Yanxi 9). He was appointed again to court by the Dou regency, but died of illness soon afterwards.

The biography of Yang Zhi is in *HHS* 67/57, 2209. He was a man of old official family, who had first held office but then been proscribed after the fall of Li Gu in 147 (see notes 69 to Yanxi 2 and 1 to Yanxi 3). Later, he was Inspector of Ji province and then Prefect of the Masters of Writing. He refused association with the eunuchs' supporters, and later, as Intendant of Henan, he made enemies for his strict treatment of the powerful families. Dismissed from office at the time of the First Faction Incident in 166–167, he died at home.

44 The biography of Zhang Jian is in *HHS* 67/57, 2210–11. A man from Shanyang, he came to prominence as a local Investigator for his attack on the property of the eunuch Hou Lan (passage P of Yanxi 9).

Zhai Chao was the Grand Administrator of Shanyang who appointed Zhang Jian and then supported him against Hou Lan. He had been dismissed and sent to convict service in 166 (passages P, Q and R of Yanxi 9).

The biography of Cen Zhi is in *HHS* 67/57, 2212–13. A man from Nanyang, he had studied at Luoyang and was well-known among the leading scholars and officials there. He came to prominence as Officer of Merit in his own commandery for his strict and honest judgement of character (passages I and K of Yanxi 9). After the arrest of Cheng Jin, the Grand Administrator who had appointed and supported him, he fled into hiding (passage W of Yanxi 9).

The biography of Yuan Kang is in *HHS* 67/57, 2214. A man from Bohai, he was praised, with others on this list, by Dou Wu in his memorial of 167 (passage G to Yongkang 1). He was at that time a Gentleman of the Masters of Writing. Earlier, as Prefect of Yingyin, the home territory of the celebrated Xun family, he changed the name of their village to recognise their talents: *HHS* 62/52, 2050. (His surname is sometimes, mistakenly, written

as Fan). Then, as Grand Administrator of Taishan, he supported and co-operated in the attacks of Zhai Chao and Zhang Jian against the clients of the eunuch Hou Lan; for this he was dismissed, imprisoned and then exiled to the far south. He returned, however, and eventually died at home.

There is a biography of Liu Biao in *HHS* 74B/64B, 2419–25, and another in *SGZ* 6, 210–213. An associate of Zhang Jian, he traced his descent to the imperial house. Some thirty years later, during the civil wars at the end of Han, he became the effectively independent Governor of Jing province.

The biography of Chen Xiang is in *HHS* 67/57, 2213. A man of good family, he had, as Attendant Imperial Clerk, sought to impeach Liang Ji for abuse of power. Later he was Grand Administrator of Dingxiang commandery, close to the northern frontier, and then Inspector of Yang province, where he had two grand administrators of the eunuch party sent to prison for wrongdoing. He became Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk, the head of the censorate, but was implicated in the First Faction Incident (passage AA to Yanxi 9). After a period of detention and torture in the Northern Prison of the Yellow Gates, he was allowed free, and died at home.

The biography of Kong Yu is in *HHS* 67/57, 2213. Many members of his family had held official posts since the time of Former Han, and he himself had inherited a marquisate. He was recommended several times for office but refused to accept. Then he was implicated in the First Faction Incident and proscribed, but became Prefect of Luoyang during the Dou regency. He left office on account of mourning for his teacher, and then died at home.

The biography of Tan Fu is in *HHS* 67/57, 2215. He was a man of poor family who refused all offers of official appointment and established himself as a teacher, with hundreds of students from all parts of the empire. Eventually, in the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ling, he accepted appointment as a local magistrate in Liang state, but left office again because he disapproved of the Grand Administrator. He led a most frugal life, and died at home aged eighty *sui*.

45 The biography of Du Shang is in *HHS* 38/28, 1284–87. A man of poor family, he had served as Inspector of Jing province against rebels there from 162 to 165, but he was disgraced for making a false report (passage I of Yanxi 5, passage N of Yanxi 7 and passage R of Yanxi 8). He later became Grand Administrator of Liaodong and defeated the Xianbi in that region. He died at the age of fifty *sui* in 166.

The biography of Zhang Miao is in *SGZ* 7, 221–29. As a young man, he took pleasure in acting as a private redresser of wrong. In the civil war at the end of Han, he was first an associate of Cao Cao, but later turned against him to join the rival warlord Lü Bu and was killed on campaign.

The biography of Liu Ru is in *HHS* 67/57, 2215. He was admired by Guo Tai, and wrote to detailed criticism to Emperor Huan, which was, however, not accepted. He became Chancellor of Rencheng, and was then brought to the capital by the Dou regency. Then, however, he was implicated in the coup and died in prison.

Humu Ban became Bearer of the Gilded Mace about 190. At the beginning of the civil war he was sent by Dong Zhuo to negotiate with the rebels led by Yuan Shao, but was killed by them.

Apart from these, *HHS* 67/57, 2190, notes that Wang Xiao was Inspector of Ji province, Qin Zhou was Chancellor of Pei kingdom, Fan Xiang was a Gentleman of the Palace, and Wang Zhang held the ministerial post of Privy Treasurer.

46 Although it is only at this stage of the chronicle that we are told about the compilation of such a list of worthy men, it seems most probable that this particular collection was put together in the time of the Dou regency, during the first part of 168, or possibly as early as 166. It will be observed that a number of the men named died during 168, either through natural causes or as an immediate consequence of the success of the eunuchs against Dou Wu and Chen Fan; while the "Treasurer" Du Shang, as we have seen above, died in 166.

On the other hand, the men named in this particular list were probably living at the time: though Zhai Chao, the former Grand Administrator of Shanyang and his protégé Zhang Jian are included, and also Cen Zhi, who played a similar role to Zhang Jian in Nanyang, Cen Zhi's Grand Administrator Cheng Jin is not mentioned, for he had been executed in 166.

It seems certain, moreover, that there were a number of such lists in circulation, and that categories in them were based primarily on the number eight. It is a tradition which can be found in earlier texts and in other circumstances in Later Han.

The list given here is the only one whose record has survived in detail, but there must have been variant opinions among different compilers and, as we shall see below, there was certainly at least one more restricted list, of Zhang Jian and his comrades from Shanyang. See note 49 below and also de Crespigny, "Political Protest," 26–27.

[*Un2: 169*]

O *HHJ* 23, 7a.

[*Un2: 169*]

P *HHS* 67/57, 2188 (4b), the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction; and *HHS* 67/57, 2210 (18b), the Biography of Zhang Jian in that Chapter; and *HHJ* 23, 7a.

47 Hou Lan also came from Shanyang. Zhang Jian, as locally-appointed Investigator in the commandery, had confiscated land in that area from Hou Lan, and had also destroyed the tomb he had set up for his mother (passage P of Yanxi 9).

The biography of Hou Lan, in *HHS* 78/68, 2523, ascribes the incident of Zhang Jian's destruction of the tomb to this year, Jianning 2. Zhang Jian's own biography, however, dates his appointment to Yanxi 8, and we may note that his patron the Grand Administrator Zhao Chao had been dismissed by Yanxi 9 (passages Q and R of Yanxi 9, and also *HHS* 66/56, 2164). It would seem that at this time Zhang Jian was at the capital, and Hou Lan's hatred was inspired by the memory of what had occurred rather than by its immediacy.

48 *HHS* 67/57, 2188, says that Zhu Bing was a man from the same district as Zhang Jian, but at 2210 it is indicated that he came from the same district as Hou Lan, and this is the interpretation followed by Sima Guang.

In fact, since the accusation relates to men from the same district as Zhang Jian, it is rather more likely that Zhu Bing also came from that district, and his accusation was to some extent inspired by Zhang Jian's rejection of him.

49 *HHS* 67/57, 2188, actually lists the names and ranks of these men from Shanyang commandery: there were eight "heroes," eight "exemplars" and eight "guides," and we are told that they had their names inscribed on a stele as memorial of their association.

Of these men, only Liu Biao appears in the list which is cited in passage N above. The other man from Shanyang on that main list, Tan Fu, did not come from the same county and district as Liu Biao and Zhang Jian, though a certain Tan Bin, perhaps a distant clansman of Tan Fu, is listed as one of the "heroes." Otherwise, the members of this group do not appear to have become particularly distinguished politically. It was, in fact, probably little more than a local fraternity.

It may be observed also that evidence of other lists containing the name of Liu Biao have been preserved by different sources:

the biography of Liu Biao in *HHS* 74B/64B, 2419, refers to him as an "exemplar," presumably echoing this Shanyang list;

the biography of Liu Biao in *SGZ* 6, 210, however, refers to him as a "hero";

the commentary of Pei Songzhi to that reference in *SGZ* quotes first from the *Han ji* of Zhang Fan of the third century, which gives the list of "exemplars" from the Shanyang group, including Liu Biao;

but Pei Songzhi then also quotes the anonymous *Hanmo mingshi lu*, which contains another list of "associates" (*you*), being basically the eight "guides" of the main list, but with the name of Fan Pang replacing that of Zhai Chao. This may be a corruption of the main list, but it may also represent a version which omitted the more senior Grand Administrator Zhao Chao and included Fan Pang with his junior colleagues.

50 The Annals of Emperor Ling, *HHS* 8, 330, give a more precise date, being the *dinghai* day of the tenth month, equivalent to 25 November.

51 *HHS* 8, 330, ascribes this initiative solely to Hou Lan. It is *HHS* 67/57, 2188 which now gives the leading role to Cao Jie.

The Grand Prolonger of Autumn was the official in charge of the residence of the Empress: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 69–70. At this time, however, there was no Empress yet established. It seems likely that the title of Cao Jie has been miswritten here. Cao Jie had been appointed Commandant of the Guard of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, in charge of the residence of the Empress–Dowager Dou, after the success of the eunuchs' coup in the previous year (passage R of Jianning 1), and it appears that he still held that post or a similar one (passage HH below refers to him as Grand Coachman of the Palace of Prolonged Joy).

Cao Jie did become Grand Prolonger of Autumn (*HHS* 78/68, 2524–25), but that was probably after the establishment of Emperor Ling's Empress Song, which took place in 171 (passage A of Jianning 4).

52 While the records of Li Ying and the others have been discussed above, the appearance of Yu Fang at this point is a little surprising.

There is a short biography of Yu Fang, attached to that of his great-grandfather Yu Yan in *HHS* 33/23, 1154. A man from Chenliu, Yu Fang had been a student of the Grand Commandant Yang Zhen, who fell victim of the intrigues at the court of Emperor An in 124 (*HHS* 5, 238 and *HHS* 54/44, 1766–67) After the accession of Emperor Shun in the following year, Yu Fang argued for a posthumous rehabilitation of Yang Zhen. Later,

during the reign of Emperor Shun and the early years of Emperor Huan, Yu Fang became a protégé of the eunuch Cao Teng (*HHS* 78/68, 2519)

At the time of the overthrow of Liang Ji in 159, Yu Fang was a member of the Masters of Writing and he was one of the men rewarded with enfeoffment by Emperor Huan for his assistance in the coup (passage Q to Yanxi 2); this enfeoffment was cancelled in 165, at the time of the disgrace of Emperor Huan's eunuchs (passage F to Yanxi 8). Yu Fang was Minister of Works for a few months in 160 and 161 (passages G of Yanxi 3 and D of Yanxi 4). Since that period of prominence, however, almost ten years earlier, he is not mentioned as a protagonist in the controversies of the time. His biography, however, says that he was a fierce opponent of the eunuchs, and it was for this reason he was named among the men of Faction.

It would appear that Yu Fang was at this time sixty or seventy years old.

53 "To form a clique" here renders the expression *gou dang*.

54 "Outside the law" renders the expression *bugui*; "the nation," here as elsewhere, renders the expression *sheji*.

The commentator Hu Sanxing remarks sadly that although Emperor Ling asked these questions he was grossly deceived and kept ignorant of the true situation. He compares him to Emperor Yuan of Former Han, who also accepted blindly the advice of his eunuchs Shi Xian and others, and whose failure in this regard is seen as one of the factors which brought about the decline and fall of that government: *e.g.* Dubs, *HFHD* II, 294–297.

[*Un2: 169*]

Q *HHS* 67/57, 2197 (10b–11a), the Biography of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

55 As Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 50–52, remarks, there were at least two prisons at Luoyang, one under the Commandant of Justice and the other administered by the local Prefect of Luoyang. It is not specified which prison Li Ying went to, but it seems more likely that he attended to that of the Commandant of Justice, for a minister would have been responsible for the broader, more political, offences.

56 It was evidently the custom that a young man might become formally the student (*mensheng*) or, as here, pupil (*mentu*) of a senior scholar or official. In doing so, he appears to have been required to write his name on a tablet.

[*Un2: 169*]

R *HHS* 67/57, 2207 (16b–17a), the Biography of Fan Pang in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

57 As observed by Hu Sanxing's commentary and in the text below, Zhongbo was the style (*zi*) of a younger brother of Fan Pang. Fan Pang's own style was Mengbo.

58 The Yellow Springs (*huangquan*) is the traditional place of the dead, comparable to the Western Classical underworld kingdom of Hades. See *Zuo zhuan*, Yin 1; Legge, *CC* V, 6 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 8).

59 Longshu county was in Lujiang commandery. In 58 AD it was awarded as a fief to Xu Chang, cousin of Liu Ying, who was the son of Emperor Guangwu by a concubine and had been made King of Chu (*HHS* 42/32, 1428). The marquisate evidently continued for some generations.

As with kingdoms and commanderies, the title Chancellor (*xiang*) was given as courtesy to the official who governed a county marquisate. In all other respects, the position was the same as that of a Prefect or Chief: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 108.

60 Commentaries explain the reference to Li and Du as indicating Li Ying and Du Mi, colleagues of Fan Pang in the Proscribed Faction. Earlier, however, there had also been upright and respected protestors with the same combination of surnames: Li Gu and Du Qiao at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Huan, and Li Yun and Du Zhong in 159. See, for example, passage FF and note 69 to Yanxi 2.

[Jn2: 169]

S *HHS* 8, 330–31 (3a), the Annals of Emperor Ling; and *HHS* 67/57, 2188 (5a), the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

61 At this point in the text of *HHS* 8 we are told also that the proscription was extended to "the five degrees of kinship" (*wu shu*), which would have involved relatives as distant in the male lineage as third cousins. It seems probable, however, that this is an anachronism.

Where punishment was extended to relatives, it appears normally to have applied only to those within the third degree of kinship, not the fifth: see, for example, Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 138.

At passage B of Xiping 5: 176, moreover, we are told specifically that the proscription was at that time extended to five degrees of kinship; in 179 it was reduced again to three degrees (passage J of Guanghe 2).

I suspect, therefore, that when the proscription was first applied at this time in 172 it had effect only upon the three closest degrees of relationship, that it was extended four years later, but that a reference to this extension has crept into the text of *HHS* 8; there is no reference to it at this time in any other parallel text, such as *HHS* 67/57. Sima Guang therefore probably made a deliberate omission – or it is possible that his text of *HHS* did not contain that set of characters.

On the various degrees of relationship, see notes 6 to Xiping 5 and 41 to Guanghe 2.

[Jn2: 169]

T *HHJ* 23, 8b, and interpolation by Sima Guang.

62 From the fifth stanza of the *Zhan ang* Ode of *Shi jing*, III.3.10; Legge, *CC* IV, 563 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 264 at 236–238). The whole of the ode is a complaint against misery and oppression caused by the influence of women and eunuchs upon the government.

63 From the third stanza of the *Zheng yue* Ode of *Shi jing*, II.4.8; Legge, *CC* IV, 316 (Karlgren, *Odes*, 192 at 135). This ode is also a lamentation on the misfortunes of the kingdom dominated by eunuchs and a royal favourite.

Crows (or ravens) were said to perch upon the house of a man who was wealthy and fortunate. The implication of the verses is that the royal house is no longer prosperous, and one must wait to see where the favour of Heaven and the affections of the people will turn.

64 I cannot find a parallel and original for this last paragraph, and it seems to have been interpolated by Sima Guang. In his *Kaoyi* commentary, he notes that the remarks of Guo Tai are attributed by his biography in *HHS* 68/58, 2226, as occasioned by the fall of Chen Fan and Dou Wu in 168. Sima Guang preferred to follow *HHJ*, which refers to the arrests and proscription of 169.

*HHS* 68/58, however, says that Guo Tai died at home, aged forty-two *sui*, in the first Chinese month of Jianning 2, more than six months before the proscription. Having accepted that Guo Tai was in fact alive at the time, Sima Guang then evidently found it necessary to explain why he was not attacked with the other scholars and officials.

[*Un2: 169*]

U *HHS* 67/57, 2210 (18b–19a), the Biography of Zhang Jian in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

65 The commentary of Hu Sanxing argues that the name of Waihuang county, which was in Chenliu commandery, has been miswritten for that of Huang county, which was the capital of Donglai.

66 Li Du here addresses Mao Qin by the honorific *mingting* "Excellent Court," evidently a reference to his position as Prefect.

67 Qu Yuan, an official of the state of Wey whose style was Boyu, was host on two occasions to Confucius: *SJ* 47, 1920 and 1926; Chavannes, *MHV*, 334 and 353. He is also referred to in favourable terms by *Lun yu* XIV.26 and XV.6; Legge, *CC1*, 285–286 and 296.

The present reference does not seem to fit with any of these, and one must assume it is based upon some apocryphal account which is now lost. It was evidently used, however, as a catch-phrase in Han times: see *HHSJ* 67/57, 19a, and 56/46, 8b.

68 Zhang Jian had originally taken refuge with Li Du in Huang county, which was on the northern coast of the Shandong peninsula. From there he returned west to Beihai, at the base of the peninsula, and then travelled to Yuyang commandery, north of present-day Tianjin and east of Beijing. From there he escaped over the frontier into the region of present-day Chengde, an area inhabited by the Wuhuan and Xianbi peoples.

[*Un2: 169*]

V *HHS* 70/60, 2262 (4a–b), the Biography of Kong Rong.

69 Kong Bao and his younger brother Kong Rong claimed descent in the twentieth generation from the sage Confucius.

[*Un2: 169*]

W *HHS* 67/57, 2211 (19a), the Biography of Zhang Jian in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

70 On this, see passage F of Zhongping 1.

71 The biography of Zhang Jian has additional detail.

After his return from exile, he was offered many appointments at the capital, but he refused all of them. Some time after 196, however, he was called from retirement to take up the ministerial post of Commandant of the Guards, at the time when Emperor Xian, successor to Emperor Ling, had come under the control of the warlord Cao Cao (see, for example, *HHS* 9, 380, and de Crespigny, *Last of the Han*, 151). Zhang Jian could not avoid the appointment, but he refused to take any active role. He died at the city of Xu, where Cao Cao had established his capital.

[*Un2: 169*]

X *HHS* 67/57, 2202 (13b–14a), the Biography of Xia Fu in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

72 Linlu was a county in Henei commandery, now in the hill country of the Taihang Shan by Linxian in Henan. The Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 109/19, 3395, notes that iron was produced there.

[Jn2: 169]

Y *HHS* 62/52, 2066 (14a), the Biography of Chen Shi.

73 Chen Shi had been involved and gone to prison at the time of the First Faction Incident in 166–167 (passage BB of Yanxi 9). His biography in *HHS* 62/52 places the incident of his attendance at the funeral after his release from that period of imprisonment. He had served for a short time at the capital as a clerical officer under the government of Dou Wu and Chen Fan.

[Jn2: 169]

Z *HHS* 67/57, 2217 (23a), the Biography of He Yong in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

74 The biography of Yuan Shao, in *HHS* 74A/64A, 2373, indicates that Yuan Shao was at this time living in Luoyang. He came from a distinguished official family of Runan, and was acquiring a reputation as a young-tough-about-town. It seems that he provided information about conditions within the capital so that He Yong could plan appropriately for his Scarlet Pimpernel operations.

[Jn2: 169]

AA *HHS* 45/35, 1523 (6a), the account of Yuan Wei supplementary to the Biography of Yuan An.

75 The commentary of Hu Sanxing suggests that the personal name, which here follows the essential meaning, found in *Li ji*, of "a road," or "a way," should have been pronounced as *sui*. This may indeed be correct (the pronunciation of Hu Sanxing's own personal name is itself the result of a special reading in *Lun yu* 1.4: *e.g.* Legge, *CCI*, 139). The most common and accepted transcription, however, even for the character as it appears in *Li ji*, is *shu* (*e.g.* Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies* II, 807; Karlgren, *GSR* 497*d*), and I follow it.

76 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 24, 1b, gives the personal name of this eunuch as Lang, but that he has chosen to follow *HHS* 45/35.

The Regular Palace Attendant Yuan She was the neighbour of the Lady Xuan, mother of the Empress Deng of Emperor Huan, who gave the alarm at the time of the assassination attempt by Liang Ji just before the coup of 159 (passage I of Yanxi 2).

77 Yuan An, whose biography is in *HHS* 45/35, 1517–22, was a man from Runan. During the reign of Emperor Zhang he became Minister of Works in 86 and then Minister over the Masses in 87 (*HHS* 3, 156). He died in that office in 92, during the reign of Emperor He (*HHS* 4, 173). He was an opponent of the pretensions of the imperial consort Dou clan, and in particular of the aggressive policy of Dou Xian against the Northern Xiongnu.

From that time, members of the Yuan family were distinguished as scholars and officials. Yuan An's son Yuan Chang was Minister of Works for a little more than a year under the government of the Empress-Dowager Deng during the reign of Emperor An, but was disgraced and committed suicide in 117 (*HHS* 5, 224 and 226, and *HHS* 45/35, 1524). Yuan An's grandson Yuan Tang held position among the Three Excellencies from the time of the accession of Emperor Huan under the aegis of the Liang family in 146 (*HHS* 6, 282) until he left the office of Grand Commandant in 153 (*HHS* 298).

[Jn2: 169]

BB *HHS* 74A/64A, 2373 (1b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

[Jn2: 169]

CC *HHS* 75/65, 2438 (6a), the Biography of Yuan Shu.

78 The term *xia*, which I express here as "gallant," but which is by no means easy to translate, is discussed in Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, particularly 185–195, and also in Liu, *The Chinese Knight-Errant*.

In general terms, *xia*, or *youxia* refers to this patronage and to the gathering of clients, retainers or other dependents, outside the formal structures and conventions of government, and frequently accompanied by intimidatory or even violent conduct; which was often justified in terms of a superior, idealistic or simply aristocratic morality. Ch'ü observes (at 189) that "most of the *yu-hsia* were people of humble origin," but this is a judgement based upon the whole period of Han. At this time, it would seem that leaders in the capital, such as Yuan Shao and Yuan Shu, were generally of wealthy and privileged background, and the various acts of unlawful violence in the provinces were also often instigated by men of property: see, for example, passages L to Q of Yanxi 9.

[*Jn2: 169*]

DD *HHS* 45/35, 1525–26 (7a–8a), the Biography of Yuan Hong.

79 Yuan Hong was a grandson of Yuan Peng. Yuan Peng was the elder brother of Yuan Tang. Yuan Peng was thus the uncle of Yuan Feng and of Yuan Wei. Yuan Hong was therefore a first cousin once removed to Yuan Feng.

80 The biography of Yuan Hong in *HHS* 45/35 explains that he had deliberately chosen a life of humble obscurity, that he lived in poor circumstances, and he rejected offers of official appointment.

81 The Que clan, whose surname is also transcribed as Xi, was one of the great families of the state of Jin in the sixth century BC. Que Qi [whose personal name may also be transcribed as Yi], Que Chou and Que Zhi held high official rank, and Que Zhi, in particular, had gained a great victory over the rival state of Chu at the battle of Yanling. They were, however, put to death by Duke Li of Jin because were seen as a threat to his authority and they had made enemies of his personal favourites. See *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan*, Cheng 17; Legge, *CC* V, 403 and 404–405 (Couvreur, *Chronique* II, 159–163), and *SJ* 39, 1680–81; Chavannes, *MHIV*, 324–326.

82 *HHS* 45/35 adds an anecdote, telling how in the time of the Yellow Turban uprising of 184, Yuan Hong was so respected by the rebels for his love of and scholarship in the classics that they agreed not to attack his property: as a result, the people of the region came to take refuge with him, and they all escaped the general massacre.

[*Jn2: 169*]

EE *HHS* 53/43, 1752 (10b–11a), the Biography of Shentu Pan.

83 From *Mengzi* IIIB, 9.9; Legge, *CC* II, 282: "... sage sovereigns cease to arise, and the princes of the States give the reins to their lusts. Unemployed scholars indulge in unreasonable discussions..." (*cf.* Lau, *Mencius*, 114).

84 This refers to the manner in which it is recorded that King Zhao of Yan, received the scholar Zou Yan [whose surname is written in variant forms]: *SJ* 74, 2345, and see also *SJ* 34, 1558; Chavannes, *MHIV*, 144–145.

85 A reference, of course, to the celebrated persecution by the First Emperor of Qin: see, for example, *SJ* 6, 254–55 and 258; Chavannes, *MHII*, 169–174 and 178–182.

86 Tang was a county in Liang kingdom, near the borders of present-day Anhui, Shandong and Henan provinces. There is a mountain of the same name close by. The Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 110/20, 3426, notes that patterned stone was quarried

from the mountain. Liang kingdom was next to Chenliu commandery, Shentu Pan's home country.

The biography of Shentu Pan in the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 3, 4a, says that he constructed his hut using the trunk and branches of a large mulberry tree as upright and beams, filled in with brambles and grasses.

[Jn2: 169]

FF Comment written by Sima Guang himself.

87 Cf. *Yi jing*, hexagram Kun, fourth line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 14:

A tied-up sack. No blame, no praise.

The commentary explains that this refers to a dangerous time, when any man of quality should keep himself away from public affairs. Otherwise, he will attract overwhelming hostility from powerful enemies, or he will be compelled to accept unjustified celebrity for his complaisance in a false situation.

88 Other editions have the alternative reading for the character which appears in the text. I follow them.

89 As the commentary of Hu Sanxing points out, Sima Guang is here using the same words of praise as are applied to Zhong Shanfu, the minister who assisted King Xuan of Zhou in the early eighth century BC: see the fourth stanza of the *Zheng min* Ode of *Shi jing*, Legge, *CC* IV, 543 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 260 at 229):

Intelligent is he and wise,  
Protecting his own person;  
Never idle, day or night,  
In the service of the One Man.

Considering that Zhong Shanfu was praised as an active and energetic servant of the state, while Guo Tai is described specifically as avoiding direct discussion of any matters of state (e.g. passage T above), Sima Guang's allusion must have been restricted to the first two lines.

90 Cf. *Yi jing*, hexagram Yu, second line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes* I, 73:

Firm as a rock. Not a whole day.  
Perseverance brings good fortune.

The commentary explains that a superior man perceives the early traces of difficulties and discord and takes immediate action, not delaying even a single day.

[Jn2: 169]

GG *HHS* 8, 331 (3a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

91 This eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3303. It is recorded in *HHS* 108/18, 3369, the Treatise of the Five Powers. There, however, the day is recorded as *wuxu*, and a *wuxu* day was in fact the last day of the tenth month of this year. The Annals, followed by Sima Guang, must be mistaken.

The Treatise records that the eclipse was reported from Youfufeng, in present-day Shenxi; it was evidently not observed at that capital. The Treatise does not record in what constellation the eclipse was observed, nor does it offer any prognostication.

The commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 108/18, 3362, however, discussing the eclipse of 23 July 92 AD [Yongyuan 4], during the reign of Emperor He, quotes from *Qiantan ba*, the anonymous apocryphal work on the *Chunqiu*, which says that an eclipse on a *wuxu* day foretells the death of a ruler, and the whole nation will be in mourning, and Liu Zhao also

quotes from the book of prognostication by Jing Fang (on whom see note 51 to Yanxi 9), which relates such an eclipse specifically to the destruction of the imperial consort clan. Soon afterwards, Emperor He destroyed the power of the Dou family of his Empress-Dowager: *e.g.* *HHS* 4, 173, and see also note 5 to Yongshou 3.

- 92 *HHS* 111/21, 3448, lists Fugou county in Chenliu. It is unusual for *ZZTJ* to give the county, rather than the commandery, of origin of an Excellency: in this case, Sima Guang has taken the information from the commentary to *HHS* 8, which also tells us that the style of Guo Xi was Gongfang.

[*In2: 169*]

HH *HHS* 78/68, 2524 (13a), the Biography of Cao Jie in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

- 93 *HHS* 8, 331, the Annals of Emperor Ling, mentions this incident and describes Cao Jie as Grand Coachman of the Palace of Prolonged Joy, and Sima Guang has followed that. *HHS* 78/68, 2524, however, a little earlier in the biography of Cao Jie, says that he had been appointed Commandant of the Guard of the palace in the previous year (passage R of Jianning 1).

- 94 This exercise reflects the honours paid to the eunuch Shan Chao, assistant to Emperor Huan in the coup against Liang Ji of 159. When he became ill later in that year, he was appointed General of Chariots and Cavalry; he died early in 160 (passages JJ of Yanxi 2 and C of Yanxi 3).

- 95 On the status of Specially Advanced see note 52 to Yanxi 8.

The established rank/salary of a Regular Palace Attendant was Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi*: *HHS* 116/26, 3593. This higher level of emolument gave Cao Jie status equal to that of one of the Nine Ministers.

[*In2: 169*]

II *HHS* 85/75, 2815 (8a), the Account of Gaogouli in the Chapter on the Eastern Barbarians.

- 96 Gaogouli, a name which is also transcribed as Gaojuli, which also appears in the shorter form of Gouli, and which is known by the Korean pronunciation of Koguryo, later became one of the great states of the Korean peninsula. Its history during the Han period is discussed by Gardiner, *Early History of Korea*, 29–32. King Bogu [Korean: *Paekko*] appears to have come to the throne as a minor about 130 AD, and reigned for some sixty years.

*HHS* 85/75, 2814, describes the Gouli people as being originally a branch of the Mo. It seems likely that they had been incorporated into the confederacy of Tanshihuai (passage JJ of Yanxi 9), and it is thus possible that they had been involved in the raiding ascribed to the Xianbi, the Hui and the Mo at the end of the previous year (passage W of Jianning 1).

### Jianning 3: 170 AD

[4 February 170 – 22 February 171]

- A In the spring, in the third month on the day *bingyin* [3 May], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.<sup>1</sup>

B Duan Jiong was recalled to the capital and was appointed a Palace Attendant.<sup>2</sup>

Duan Jiong had served on the frontier for more than ten years, and not once had he slept in a comfortable bed. He shared in all the discomforts of his officers and men, and every one of them would willingly die for him. He had been successful on every campaign.

C In the summer in the fourth month the Grand Commandant Guo Xi left office. The Grand Palace Grandee Wenren Xi became Grand Commandant.

In the autumn in the seventh month the Minister of Works Liu Ao left office. In the eighth month the Grand Herald Qiao Xuan from Liang kingdom became Minister of Works.

D In the ninth month the Bearer of the Gilded Mace Dong Chong was found guilty of making unjustified requests on behalf of the staff of the Empress [of the Palace of] Perpetual Joy. He was sent to prison and died.<sup>3</sup>

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E In the winter, Gu Yong the Grand Administrator of Yulin, by his honest and gracious conduct, induced the surrender of more than a hundred thousand of the Wuhu people. All of them were brought into settlement within the borders of the empire, [their leaders] were granted caps and belts [as marks of official authority], and seven new counties were opened up and established.<sup>4</sup>

F Meng Tuo of [You]fufeng, the Inspector of Liang province, sent his Attendant Official Ren She, commanding five hundred troops from Dunhuang, to join with the Wu and Ji Colonel Cao Kuan and the Chief Clerk of the Western Regions Zhang Yan, with troops from Yanqi, Qiuci, and Nearer and Further Jushi, altogether more than thirty thousand men, to punish Shule [for turning against Han].<sup>5</sup>

They attacked the city of Zhenzhong, but after more than forty days they were still unable to capture the place, and so they retreated.

After this, there were successive kings of Shule who deposed and murdered one another, but the [Chinese imperial] court was not able to restore order.

[Jn3: 170]

G Before this, the Regular Palace Attendant Zhang Rang had a slave supervisor, who was responsible for all the affairs of his household and [as a result] had great influence and power.

Meng Tuo was an extremely wealthy man. He became a close friend of this slave, and he showered him and his fellows with presents. All the slaves were most grateful to him, and asked what they could do in return. Meng Tuo replied, "I would be pleased if you would all just bow to me."

At this time, there was always a queue of hundreds and thousands of carriages outside Zhang Rang's gate, bringing clients who sought to call upon him. When Meng Tuo went to visit Zhang Rang, he arrived late and could not get through. But then the supervising slave came, leading a group of the other slaves.<sup>6</sup> They bowed to him in welcome on the road, and then, all together, they led his carriage forward into the gate.

All the clients were amazed, and remarked how excellent must be Meng Tuo's relations with Zhang Rang. They competed in offering him valuable presents to gain his favour. Meng Tuo gave a share of these to Zhang Rang, and Zhang Rang was extremely pleased.

As a result of this, Meng Tuo was made Inspector of Liang province.

### Notes to Jianning 3: 170

A *HHS* 8, 331 (3b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 This eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3304. It is recorded in *HHS* 108/18, 3369, the Treatise of the Five Powers. The Treatise records that the eclipse was reported by the Chancellor of Liang kingdom, in the south of the North China plain; it was evidently not observed at that capital.

The Treatise does not record the constellation in which the eclipse was observed, not does it offer any prognostication. The commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 108/18, 3358, however, discussing an eclipse in 30 AD [Jianwu 6], quotes from the *Qiantan ba*, which says an eclipse on a *bingyin* day foretells a period of drought.

[*Jn3: 170*]

B *HHS* 65/55, 2153 (18a), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

2 *HHS* 65/55, 2153; Young, *Three Generals*, 81, gives a brief description of the triumphal procession. His army numbered some fifty thousand Chinese and auxiliaries, there was a group of the celebrated "blood-sweating" horses from Ferghana in central Asia (on which see, for example, Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 132–134 note 332), and more than ten thousand prisoners. They were met west of Chang'an by the Grand Herald bearing the Staff of Authority, and escorted thence to Luoyang.

[*Jn3: 170*]

C *HHS* 8,331 (3b), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

[*Jn3: 170*]

- D *HHS* 8, 332 (3b), the Annals of Emperor Ling,  
and *HHS* 10B, 446 (8a), the Biography of the Empress–Dowager Dong.
- 3 The Empress–Dowager Dong, natural mother of Emperor Ling, had been given lodging in apartments named the Palace of Perpetual Joy. Dong Chong was the elder brother of the Empress–Dowager and thus an uncle of the Emperor (passages B, C and D of Jianning 2).

[*Un3: 170*]

- E *HHS* 86/76, 2839 (8b), the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.
- 4 The Later Han commandery of Yulin occupied the western and northern part of present-day Guangxi, being the basin of the West River and its major tributaries. The capital of the commandery was at Bushan, by present-day Guiping (*HHSJ* 113B/23B, 25a–26a, and *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* II, 63–64).

The Wuhu barbarians apparently gained their name from (or perhaps gave it to) a mountain now in Hengxian in Guangxi, and their territory was officially under the control of the commandery of Yulin. *HHS* 86/76, 2834, tells us that the Wuhu people were also referred to as the Danren, and that they practised cannibalism. Their main centre at this time appears to have been the hill country west of the Bay of Canton, extending along the coast past the Leizhou peninsula to the region of the Gulf of Tongking: this being the area of Later Han Hepu and Jiaozhi commanderies (*e.g.* *HHS* 8, 340 and 345). The new territory brought under the control of the imperial government would thus have been related rather to Hepu commandery than to Yulin. It seems possible that the influence of Gu Yong had extended south across the West River and beyond his formal borders.

*JS* 15, 464, the Treatise of Geography, says that Emperor Huan established a commandery called Gaoxing in this region, and under Emperor Ling the name was changed to Gaoliang. The Qing scholar Shen Qinhan, in commentary to *HHSJ* 86/76, 8b, suggests that the seven counties referred to here formed the territory of this new commandery. There is, of course, a slight anachronism involved, since this massive surrender is dated to the time of Emperor Ling, and there thus appears no good cause for a full commandery to have been established any earlier. Most interpretations place the commandery of Gaoliang in the third century AD as controlling the sea coast between the Bay of Canton and the Leizhou peninsula (*e.g.* *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* III, 31–32).

If a new commandery of Gaoxing/Gaoliang was indeed established at this time, it is not certain that it continued to function for long. Neither name is mentioned in *HHS*, and we observe that there was evidently a considerable rebellion of the Wuhu people in 178 (*e.g.* *HHS* 8, 340 and 345, also passages A of Guanghe 1 and B of Guanghe 4). Quite possibly the territory was abandoned, or resubordinated to Hepu and the other neighbouring and longer-established commanderies. It does appear to have been re-established under the government of the southern state of Wu about 220: see, for example, Wu and Yang, *Sanguo junxian biao fu kaozheng*, 147c.

[*Un3: 170*]

- F *HHS* 88/78, 2927 (23a), the Chapter on the Western Regions.
- 5 The disturbance in Shule is referred to in passage X of Jianning 1: during the year 168 an uncle of the Chinese-allied ruler had deposed and killed his nephew and taken the throne for himself.

It appears that the Inspector of Liang province was taking the initiative in this attempt to restore Chinese authority, though the bulk of the forces involved were drawn from the

Chinese-controlled states of central Asia: the troops from Dunhuang commandery were certainly Chinese, presumably from the local garrison; the others would have been levied from the various states, possibly with a stiffening of Chinese officers.

The Wu and Ji Colonel was the chief commander in the Western Regions since the abolition of the position of Protector-General in 107, and he was also responsible for general political supervision: Yü, *Trade and Expansion*, 142-144, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 110 and 112-113.

At various times, there could be two positions: a Wu Colonel and a Ji Colonel, but it seems clear that in this instance there was only one. The title itself was based upon the fact that *wu* and *ji* were the fifth and sixth of the Ten Celestial Stems, and as such have a cosmological meaning, indicating their position in the centre, with influence generally, in the Western Regions. During Former Han such officers had been responsible for the establishment and maintenance of agricultural colonies for Chinese settlers: see, for example, Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 79; the Chinese presence in central Asia at this time, however, was not nearly so energetic.

The Chief Clerk of the Western Regions had earlier been a leading assistant to the Protector-General. With the disestablishment of that office, it appears that the Chief Clerk was maintained, most likely primarily concerned with civil matters, in some fashion as an assistant or junior associate to the Wu and Ji Colonel. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 113.

Yanqi was situated in the region of present-day Karashahr: Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 178 and 177 note 588. Qiuci is usually identified with present-day Kucha: Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 163. Nearer and Further Jushi were in the region of present-day Turfan: Hulsewé and Loewe, *China in Central Asia*, 183-184. The auxiliaries were thus drawn from the region about present-day Urumqi and the north-eastern part of the Tarim basin, and would then have advanced along the Northern Silk Road against Shule, near present-day Kashgar. It seems most probable that the headquarters of the Chinese commanders at this time were also in the region of Turfan.

[Jn3: 170]

G HHS 78/68, 2534 (18b-19a), the Biography of Zhang Rang in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

6 This story is translated by Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 494.

Ch'ü identifies the phrase *cang tou* (literally, "dark-green heads"), as a reference to slaves, particularly male slaves with special skills or particular responsibilities in the government or, as here, in a great household. See his note 160 on page 366, citing both contemporary records and modern Japanese scholars.

It seems that the expression "dark-green heads" distinguished slaves from free people, who were "black heads" (*li min* or *qian shou*), and they were in some circumstances actually required to wear a dark green cloth on the head.

## Jianning 4: 171 AD

[23 February 171 – 11 February 172]

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *jiazi* [25 Feb], the Emperor took the cap of manhood.<sup>1</sup> There was an amnesty for the empire, but the men of Faction were excluded from its benefits.

In the second month on the day *guimao* [4 Apr] there was an earthquake.<sup>2</sup>

In the third month on the day *xinyou* [23 Apr], first of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.<sup>3</sup>

The Grand Commandant Wenren Xi left office. The Grand Coachman Li Xian of Runan became Grand Commandant.

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There was a great pestilence.<sup>4</sup>

The Minister over the Masses Xu Xun left office. The Minister of Works Qiao Xuan became Minister over the Masses.

In the summer in the fourth month the Grand Master of Ceremonies Lai Yan of Nanyang became Minister of Works.

In the autumn in the seventh month the Minister of Works Lai Yan left office.

On the day *guichou* [?] the Honoured Lady Song was established as Empress.<sup>5</sup> She was the daughter of the Bearer of the Gilded Mace Song Feng.<sup>6</sup>

The Minister over the Masses Qiao Xuan left office. The Grand Master of Ceremonies Zong Ju of Nanyang was made Minister over the Masses, and the former Minister of Works Xu Xu became Minister over the Masses.<sup>7</sup>

[*Jn4: 171*]

B The Emperor recalled how the Empress–Dowager Dou had brought him to the throne and, as recognition of this, in the winter in the tenth month on the day *wuzi* [16 Nov], first of the month, he brought all the officials to pay their respects to the Empress–Dowager in the Southern Palace. The Emperor himself gave gifts and offered her good wishes for long life.

Following this initiative, the Prefect of the Yellow Gates Dong Meng spoke on several occasions about the injustices suffered by the Empress–Dowager. The Emperor was deeply affected by his arguments, and he gave her increasing quantities of supplies and provisions.

Cao Jie and Wang Fu were concerned about this, and they made false accusation against Dong Meng, claiming that he had spoken improperly of the Empress–Dowager [Dong, the natural mother of Emperor, who resided in the] Palace of Perpetual Joy. Dong Meng was sent to prison and died there.

C The Xianbi raided Bing province.

### Notes to Jianning 4: 171

A *HHS* 8, 332 (3b–4a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.

1 The phrase used here, *jia yuanfu*, was a term adopted by the Han dynasty to refer to the ceremony of coming of age. A literal translation, taking the character *yuan* as representing the character *xuan*, would be "to put on a black robe."

There are traditional descriptions of this ceremony in *Yi li* 1: Couvreur, *Cérémonial*, 1–24, and in *Li ji* 9 and 10; Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies*, 602–605 and 690. A reconstruction of the ceremony as it was performed for rulers of Later Han appears in *HHS* 94/4, 3105, the Treatise on Ceremonial: it apparently entailed the young emperor receiving four different kinds of cap, followed by a formal presentation at the Temple of the Eminent Founder. Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 86–88, however, analysing the transmission and content of this text, concludes that it represents a complicated ritual, devised on the basis of ancient authorities by the scholar Cao Bao (biography in *HHS* 35/25, 1201–05). This full ceremonial was used only on the occasions of the capping of Emperors He and Shun in 91 and 129. Procedures for the other rulers were certainly different and simpler.

According to tradition, and also to the theories of the *Bohu tong*, Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 613, a man should be capped when he is twenty *sui*. During Later Han, however, though several emperors went through this ceremony after their ascent to the throne, all of them were substantially younger than the prescribed age: Emperor He was capped at thirteen *sui* (*HHS* 4, 171), Emperor An at sixteen (*HHS* 5, 213), Emperor Shun at fifteen (*HHS* 6, 256) and Emperor Huan at seventeen (*HHS* 7, 292).

Emperor Ling was at this time sixteen *sui* (note 37 to Yongkang 1), which was obviously an acceptable age for the rulers of Later Han. The ceremony was very likely related to the establishment of the Empress Song later in this year (see below), though it may be observed that Emperor Huan had actually had his Empress Liang established in 147, the year before he took the cap of manhood (*HHS* 7, 291 and 292): this, however, was presumably a matter of decision and priority for the hegemon Liang Ji.

The Treatise of Ceremonial, *HHS* 94/4, 3105, says that the auspicious days for the ceremony were a *jiazi* or *bingzi* day in the first month. All the emperors appear to have followed this rule except Emperor An, whose ceremony took place on a *gengzi* day: he appears to have conformed to an earlier principle, which required only that a suitable day be divined for (*e.g.* *Yi li* 1; Couvreur, *Cérémonial*, 1–3, and commentary to *HHS* 5, 212).

The Annals in *HHS* 8 also record that donations were given at this time to the various officials, and that an amnesty was issued for all subjects of the empire, excluding only the men of Faction.

2 This earthquake is also recorded in *HHS* 106/16, 3331, the Treatise of the Five Powers, where the prognostication is associated with the dominant position in the government held by the eunuchs Cao Jie and Wang Fu. We are not told what areas of the empire were affected.

3 This eclipse is identified as Oppolzer 3306. It is recorded in *HHS* 108/18, 3359, the Treatise of the Five Powers, but the Treatise does not record the constellation in which the eclipse was observed, nor does it offer any prognostication.

The commentary of Liu Zhao, however, quotes from the *Qiantan ba*, which says that an eclipse on a *xinyou* day indicates that a woman is plotting against the ruler, and the commentary also states that the official Gu Yong, evidently the same man as had lately arranged the submission of the Wuhu people during the previous year (passage E of Jianning 3), sent in a memorial criticising Emperor Ling for behaving towards his inferiors without proper reserve.

4 This renewed outbreak of disease is recorded also in *HHS* 107/17, 3351, the Treatise of the Five Powers. It is probably connected to the earlier epidemic recorded in 161 (passage A of Yanxi 4), and it will be followed by similar occurrences throughout the reign of Emperor Ling.

5 The short history of the Empress Song has been translated and discussed by Goodrich, "An Empress of the Later Han." In Part I of that article, Goodrich particularly translates and describes the ceremony of installation, as recorded by the contemporary scholar-official Cai Zhi, and preserved in the commentary of Liu Zhao to *HHS* 95/5, 3121–22, the Treatise on Ceremonial.

As Goodrich discusses in his note 9 of that article, there is a good deal of uncertainty about the exact date of the ceremony. All sources are agreed that it took place in the seventh month: *HHS* 8, followed by Sima Guang, has the *guichou* day (cyclical no. 50), and so does *HHJ* 23, 15b. The record of Cai Zhi, however, has the *yiwei* day (cyclical no. 32). In fact, all calculations indicate that the seventh month began on a *jiwei* day (cyclical no. 56): so there should have been neither a *guichou* day nor an *yiwei* day in that month.

Moreover, as Goodrich observes, the account of the ceremony says that a leading role was played by the Grand Commandant Wenren Xi; but Wenren Xi had left that office in the third month of that year (see above). Goodrich raises the possibility that the character for "seven" has been miswritten for "two," and that the ceremony actually took place in the second month of that year: the second month did contain both a *guichou* and an *yiwei* day. On the other hand, the agreement of the texts and the manner in which the event is listed in chronological order within *HHS* 8 and *HHJ* 23 presents problems for such a textual amendment.

6 The biography of the Empress Song, in *HHS* 10B, 448–49, is translated and discussed by Goodrich in Part II of his article "An Empress of the Later Han."

The family of the Lady Song came from Youfufeng commandery, and we are told that she was great-granddaughter of a paternal uncle of the Honoured Lady Song of Emperor Zhang of Later Han: her family had thus some precedent in the upper ranks of the harem, though it was certainly rather a distant relationship, and there is no record of any male members of her clan distinguishing themselves in the imperial service.

The Lady Song had been brought into the harem in the previous year as a result of the regular annual selection procedure (*HHS* 10A, 448), and she was at that time made an Honoured Lady. Her biography says that it was only after her establishment as Empress that her father Song Feng was given the position as Bearer of the Gilded Mace. This position had been granted to Dong Zhong, maternal uncle of Emperor Ling, in 169 (passage D of Jianning 2), and it appears to have been used quite frequently as a courtesy position for male relatives of consort families (note 3 to Jianning 2).

Song Feng was also enfeoffed as Marquis of the District of Buqi. It is notable that, while he received appointment and enfeoffment comparable to those awarded to members of consort families, neither was of particularly high rank, and the Song family itself, while of acceptable lineage, did not have great prestige. Naturally enough, the eunuch officials of Emperor Ling were reluctant to encourage the development of political power in the hands of another clan of the relatives by marriage.

7 Since the end of Jianning 2, after the overthrow of Dou Wu, there had now been multiple changes in the membership of the Three Excellencies: nine dismissals or resignations and eleven new appointments, involving a total of ten men. The longest period of continuous office had been held by Xu Xun, Minister over the Masses for twenty-two months from Jianning 2.6 to Jianning 4.3, and only one other man, Liu Ao as Minister of Works from Jianning 2.6 to Jianning 3.7, had held the same post for more than a year. Two men, Liu Chong in Jianning 2.6, and Qiao Xuan in Jianning 4.3, had been transferred to higher position within the triumvirate and each had thus held Excellency rank for just over a year, while besides Xu Xu, who was now appointed Minister of Works after having formerly been Minister over the Masses, Wenren Xi had twice held the position of Grand Commandant.

There are, of course, individual explanations for some of the changes of appointment, but it is clear that there was a serious lack of continuity among these most senior, and traditionally most respected, positions at the head of the imperial civil service. It does not seem impossible that the eunuchs were to some degree involved in these frequent changes, for they would certainly have hindered the development of an authoritative party of opposition to their dominance of the court.

For the most part, the men themselves were not particularly distinguished: the majority of them appear in the history only on account of their appointment among the Excellencies, though they were often men of good official and gentry lineage. Liu Ao was known as an associate of the eunuchs (passage J of Jianning 2), but Li Xian firmly opposed them in the dispute about the burial of the Empress–Dowager Dou in the following year (passage E of Xiping 1). Only two of the ten, however, could be described as had having notable careers before their appointment to the highest rank: Liu Chong, a member of the imperial clan who had held been Minister of Works in the time of Dou Wu and Chen Fan, was known as a scholar and has a biography as a lenient official in *HHS* 76/66, 2477–79, while Qiao Xuan,

who has a biography in *HHS* 51/41, 1695–97, came from an old-established official family and himself had a distinguished and varied official career. It would not be fair, therefore, to claim that all these senior officials were chosen merely for their family prestige and their personal complaisance with the eunuch-dominated court; yet taken as a group, and given the circumstances of the political situation, they were unlikely to present a united and coherent centre of opposition.

The one exception to this pattern of frequent changes at the top of the bureaucratic hierarchy is the Grand Tutor Hu Guang. He had been appointed immediately after the destruction of the Dou clan in 168, with concomitant authority over the affairs of the imperial secretariat (passage W of Jianning 1), and he held that position until his death in 172 (passage B to Xiping 1).

[*Jn4: 171*]

B *HHS* 10B, 446 (7b), the Biography of the Empress-Dowager Dou.

[*Jn4: 171*]

C *HHS* 8, 333 (4a), the Annals of Emperor Ling.