

## TO ESTABLISH PEACE

### CHAPTER 63

being Chapter 55 of the Chronicle of Han  
[containing Part 5 of the reign of Emperor Xian]

#### Jian'an 4: 199 AD

[14 February 199 – 2 February 200]

2012

A In the spring, in the third month,<sup>1</sup> Zhang Yan, leader of the Black Mountain bandits, joined Gongsun Xu and brought a hundred thousand soldiers by three routes to the relief [of Gongsun Zan in Yi].

Before they arrived Gongsun Zan had secretly sent a messenger with a letter to Gongsun Xu, telling him to lead five thousand armoured cavalry into the marshes to the north and light a fire as a signal. Then Gongsun Zan would make a sortie from inside the city.<sup>2</sup>

One of Yuan Shao's sentries intercepted the message, and at the appointed time Yuan Shao's army lit the fire. Believing the relief had arrived, Gongsun Zan came out to fight. Yuan Shao laid an ambush to surprise him, and Gongsun Zan was heavily defeated. He went back to take refuge behind the walls.

Yuan Shao made a tunnel, with wooden supports, under one of the towers. When they judged it was in the centre, they set fire to it. The tower collapsed, and some of the ruins fell even into the citadel. Realising he was doomed, Gongsun Zan strangled his sisters, his wives and his children, and prepared his own funeral pyre. Yuan Shao pressed his men forward to climb the terraces, and they cut off Gongsun Zan's head. Tian Kai died in the battle.

2013 Guan Jing sighed and said, "Had I not persuaded the general to stay here, he might have saved himself. I have heard that when a gentleman brings another into danger he must share the misfortune. Can I be the only one to survive?" He spurred his horse against Yuan Shao's army and died.

Gongsun Xu was killed by the Chuge [group of the Xiongnu].<sup>3</sup>

B Tian Yu of Yuyang said to his Grand Administrator Xianyu Fu, "Cao Cao supports the Son of Heaven and so commands the lords. In the end he will settle the empire. You should be among the first to join him." So Xianyu Fu and all his associates sent messages of allegiance. An edict appointed him

General Who Establishes Loyalty and Chief Controller of six commanderies in You province.<sup>4</sup>

- C Before this time, King Qiuliju of the Wuhuan had died. His son Louban was young, and his nephew Tadun, a warlike man, took his place and held command of the chieftains Nanlou from Shanggu, Supuyan from Liaodong and Wuyan from Youbeiping. When Yuan Shao attacked Gongsun Zan, Tadun brought the Wuhuan to help him, and when Gongsun Zan was destroyed Yuan Shao took the occasion to grant seals and ribbons as Shanyu to Tadun, Nanlou, Supuyan and Wuyan.<sup>5</sup>

Knowing Yan Rou had gained the affections of the Wuhuan,<sup>6</sup> Yuan Shao granted him favours and good treatment so that he might keep the northern borders at peace. Later Nanlou and Supuyan appointed Louban as Shanyu and Tadun became a king, but Tadun still kept control of policy.

- D Sui Gu was camped at Shequan. In the summer, in the fourth month Cao Cao brought his army forward to the Yellow River, and sent his generals Shi Huan and Cao Ren across to attack him. Cao Ren was a cousin of Cao Cao.

Sui Gu led some of his troops north to Yuan Shao to ask for help, but Shi Huan and Cao Ren intercepted him at Quancheng, attacked and beheaded him. Then Cao Cao crossed the Yellow River to besiege Shequan. Shequan surrendered and Cao Cao brought his army back to the Ao Granary.<sup>7</sup>

Before this, when Cao Cao was in Yan province he had Wei Chong recommended as Filially Pious and Incorrupt. Yan province rebelled and Cao Cao said, "Wei Chong is the one man who will not desert me." Then he heard that Wei Chong had fled, and he was angry and said, "Chong, unless you run as far south as the Yue tribes or as far north as the Hu barbarians, you will never escape me!"

- 2014 When he captured Shequan Wei Chong was taken alive. "But he's too valuable to kill!" said Cao Cao. He took off his bonds and appointed him Grand Administrator of Henei, with responsibility for the north of the Yellow River.

- E The General of the Guards Dong Cheng was made General of Chariots and Cavalry.<sup>8</sup>

F After Yuan Shu named himself emperor, he acted most extra-vagantly His concubines and attendants were numbered by the hundreds, and they swathed themselves in silk and stuffed themselves with millet and meat. The poor people were hungry and distressed, but he had pity for none of them. Then his treasury was empty and he could no longer hold his position. Burning his palace buildings, he fled to his followers Chen Jian and Lei Bo in the Qian hills, but they turned him away.<sup>9</sup>

At the end of his resources, with all his troops scattered, he was sad and depressed with no idea what to do. He sent a messenger to offer the imperial title to his cousin Yuan Shao, saying: "Heaven has long withdrawn prosperity from the house of Han. The Yuan have received the mandate to rule; auspicious influences shine out in splendour. You hold four provinces with a population of a million families. I respectfully hand over this great trust, so that you may bring it to fulfilment."<sup>10</sup>

Yuan Tan came from Qing province to receive Yuan Shu and planned to escort him north by way of Xiapi. Cao Cao sent Liu Bei and his general Zhu Ling of Qinghe<sup>11</sup> to intercept them. Yuan Shu could not get through and was forced back towards Shouchun.

In the sixth month Yuan Shu came to Jiangting.<sup>12</sup> He sat on a stretcher-bed and sighed, "So Yuan Shu is come to this!" Groaning in anger, he became ill, spat blood and died.

G For fear of Cao Cao, Yuan Shu's cousin Yuan Yin dared not remain at Shouchun. With his followers, carrying Yuan Shu's coffin and bringing his wife and children, he fled to Liu Xun, Grand Administrator of Lujiang, at Huan city.<sup>13</sup>

H Xu Qiu, former Grand Administrator of Guangling, obtained the Great Seal of State and sent it to the Emperor.<sup>14</sup>

I When Yuan Shao had overcome Gongsun Zan his heart became still more proud, and his tribute to the Emperor was infrequent and small. His Master of Records Geng Bao suggested privately that he should follow the will of Heaven and man and take the imperial title. Yuan Shao repeated Geng Bao's suggestion to his officers in council, but they all said Geng Bao was out of his mind and should be punished. Yuan Shao was forced to kill Geng Bao in order to clear himself.

J Yuan Shao chose a hundred thousand good troops and ten thousand horse to make an attack on Xu city. Ju Shou objected,<sup>15</sup> "You have only just dealt with Gongsun Zan, and your army has been away several years. The people are sick and distressed and the granaries and storehouses are empty. You should not move now, but rather pay attention to farming and give your people a rest.

"First of all, send a messenger to present captives to the court. If he cannot get through, then report that Cao Cao is blocking our access to the Emperor. Go forward to Liyang to camp, and gradually develop fortified positions south of the Yellow River.<sup>16</sup> Build more boats, put weapons and equipment in repair, and send detachments of good cavalry to raid the borders, so the enemy has no peace and our men can take their ease. This way, we can settle the business at leisure."

Guo Tu and Shen Pei argued, "With your spiritual warfare, if you lead the mighty armies of the north against the Yellow River to attack Cao Cao, that is easy as turning your hand. Why should you act as he says?"

"Troops that give aid against rebels and punish oppression," replied Ju Shou, "they are called loyal. Those that rely on numbers and trust to their strength, they are called proud. The loyal man has no match, but the proud man is soon defeated. Now Cao Cao holds the Emperor and so gives orders to the empire. If you raise an army against the south, you put yourself in the wrong.

"To plan a campaign, moreover, requires more than a simple count of numbers. Cao Cao's laws and orders are strict, his men are fresh and drilled. This is not Gongsun Zan, who sat and waited for our attack. If you disregard the plans of security and safety, and raise an army without good cause, then I am anxious for you."

"When King Wu [of Zhou] attacked Zhou [of Shang]," responded Guo Tu and Shen Pei, "that was no disloyalty.<sup>17</sup> How much more is this true of fighting against Cao Cao. Yet you claim there is no good cause!

"Besides, our lord is strong and his troops in high heart. If we fail to settle the affair now, that can be described as 'Heaven gives it and we do not take it. Disaster will come in return.' This is how Yue became hegemon and Wu was destroyed.<sup>18</sup> The Supervisor of the Army [Ju Shou]<sup>19</sup> is too conservative. He fails to appreciate opportunity, and he can-not judge how affairs will develop."

Yuan Shao accepted Guo Tu's arguments.

Encouraged by this, Guo Tu and his associates spoke further against Ju Shou, saying, "Ju Shou supervises everything, with authority inside and out. His power overawes the army. If he becomes too mighty, how will you keep him under control? When a minister wields the same power as his ruler, disaster is sure to come. This is what the Yellow Stone [book] warns against.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, the man who controls the army outside should not be privy to decisions taken at the inner council."

So Yuan Shao divided Ju Shou's authority and appointed three Chief Controllers, with Ju Shou, Guo Tu and Chunyu Qiong each commanding one army.<sup>21</sup>

K The Chief Commandant of Cavalry Cui Yan of Qinghe objected [to the proposed campaign], "The Son of Heaven is in Xu city, and all the people look to him. You cannot attack." Yuan Shao would not agree.

2016

L When the officers in Xu city heard Yuan Shao was coming, they were all afraid. Cao Cao said, however, "I know what sort of man Yuan Shao is: his ideas are big, but he has little wisdom; he looks stern, but his courage is slight; he is envious and malicious and has small power of command. His soldiers are many but his plans are confused, his leaders are proud but his government is not united. Though his lands are broad and his supplies are plentiful, that simply makes it more worth while to take him over."

M Kong Rong said to Xun Yu, "Yuan Shao's lands are broad and his troops are strong. Tian Feng and Xu You are wise men to plan for him, Shen Pei and Pang Ji are loyal ministers acting in his affairs, Yan Liang and Wen Chou are brave generals in command of his troops. Here are serious problems."

"Yuan Shao has many soldiers," replied Xun Yu, "but his government is not well-ordered. Tian Feng is stubborn and insubordinate; Xu You is greedy and ill-disciplined. Shen Pei is self-opinionated and lacks original ideas; Pang Ji is too adventurous and independent. People like that find it hard to co-operate, and they will certainly disrupt his councils. Yan Liang and Wen Chou have the bravery of common fellows. One battle will be enough to deal with them."

N In the autumn, in the eighth month Cao Cao brought an army forward to Liyang, and sent Zang Ba and others to lead picked men into Qing province to guard the east. He then set Yu Jin in camp by the Yellow River, and in the

ninth month, with another division of his army left in garrison at Guandu, he returned to Xu city.<sup>22</sup>

- O Yuan Shao sent messengers to call on Zhang Xiu, and he also wrote to Jia Xu to suggest an alliance. Zhang Xiu was prepared to agree, but Jia Xu stood over Zhang Xiu as he sat and said openly to Yuan Shao's messenger: "Go back and present our apologies to Yuan Benchu. If he could not remain on good terms with his own cousin, how can he cope with the leaders of the empire?"<sup>23</sup>

Zhang Xiu was startled and frightened, and said, "There was no call to go so far as that!" He whispered to Jia Xu, "What do we do now?"

"The best thing is to go to Lord Cao," replied Jia Xu.

"Yuan Shao is strong," observed Zhang Xiu. "Cao Cao is weak, and I have quarrelled with him. How can we join him?"

- 2017 "These are the reasons you should follow him," explained Jia Xu. "Lord Cao holds the Son of Heaven and so commands the empire, that is one. Yuan Shao is strong, and if we offer support with our small force he will certainly not treat us with respect. Cao Cao is weak, so if he gets us he will certainly be pleased; that is a second reason. A man with the ambition of a ruler will certainly forget private enmities in order to display his virtue before all the four seas; that is a third reason for us to join him. Don't you worry."

In the winter, in the eleventh month Zhang Xiu brought his troops to submit to Cao Cao.<sup>24</sup> Cao Cao took Zhang Xiu by the hand, gave a banquet, arranged for his son Cao Jun to marry Zhang Xiu's daughter, and appointed Zhang Xiu General Who Manifests Firmness. He recommended Jia Xu as Bearer of the Gilded Mace, and enfeoffed him as marquis of a chief village.<sup>25</sup>

- P The leaders within the passes stayed neutral as Cao Cao and Yuan Shao fought, watching to see what would happen. The Governor of Liang province, Wei Duan, sent his Attendant Official Yang Fu of Tianshui to Xu city. When he came back the leaders west of the passes asked, "Between Yuan and Cao, who will win and who will lose?"

"Lord Yuan is lenient," replied Yang Fu, "but has no power of decision. He is fond of planning but cannot make up his mind. Without decision he will have no authority, and if he is slow to make up his mind he cannot

keep abreast of events. He is the stronger now, but he will never gain the empire.

"Lord Cao is brave and thinks a long way ahead, he seizes opportunity without hesitation. His rules are consistent, his soldiers are well trained, he can appreciate exceptional men, and each one he appoints will give all his effort to serve him. He is the man to carry out great plans."

Q Cao Cao sent the [Attendant] Imperial Clerk Preparer of Documents Wei Ji of Hedong to keep the lands within the passes quiet.<sup>26</sup> At this time there were many refugees seeking to return to their former homes, but the leaders within the passes compelled them to enter their service.

Wei Ji wrote to Xun Yu, "The rich lands within the passes have quickly turned to a wilderness, and more than a hundred thousand families are wandering in Jing province. When these people hear their homeland is at peace they will all be eager to come back. Those who do return, however, are prevented from attending to their own affairs, for local chieftains compete with one another, taking them and pressing them into service.<sup>27</sup> The commandery and county administrations are too weak to deal with the situation, so the fighting men are getting stronger. If they should suddenly turn against us, they will certainly cause trouble.

"Now, salt is the great treasure of the state, but since the rebellion it has been left untended. You should appoint commissioners to supervise its sale as in former times,<sup>28</sup> and use the profit from this to buy ploughs and cattle so that we can supply them to the people when they come back. If we encourage farming, then grain can be collected to make the land prosper. When people hear about it far away, they will surely travel day and night to return as quickly as they can.

"And send the Colonel Director of Retainers to establish administration there and bring the people under his control. Then the military men will become weaker every day and the civilian officials and people will become stronger. This is the way to strengthen ourselves at the expense of our enemies."

2018 Xun Yu told Cao Cao of this program, and Cao Cao followed it. Now for the first time he sent a Supervisor of the Internuncios to oversee the salt office and had the Colonel Director of Retainers set his administration at Hongnong.<sup>29</sup> By this means the lands within the passes were brought to submit and follow Cao Cao.

R Yuan Shao sent men to ask help from Liu Biao. Liu Biao made promises but he never actually sent anything. Neither would he help Cao Cao. His Gentleman of the General Staff Han Song of Nanyang and his Aide-de-Camp Liu Xian of Lingling said to him, "Now two warriors are at grips with one another and the balance of the empire rests in you. If you want something for yourself, you can rise up and take advantage of their difficulties. Even if you have no ambitions of your own, you should certainly choose one of them to follow.

"How can you command a hundred thousand men at arms and sit to watch the result of their contest? They ask for help and you refuse to help them. You know which man is right, but you do not want to turn to him. As a result, both sides will be angry with you, and we are concerned that you will not be able to maintain a neutral position.

"Cao Cao is skilled at using soldiers and many of the worthy and brave men turn to him. He will certainly defeat Yuan Shao. After that, if he moves his men against the Yangzi and the Han we fear you will not be able to deal with him.

"The best policy now is to bring Jing province to join Cao Cao. He will certainly treat you with respect and favour, you will enjoy fortune and honour for a long time to come, and you will be able to hand it on to your descendants. This is the perfect plan." Kuai Yue also urged this policy.

Liu Biao was uncertain and could not make up his mind. He sent Han Song to go to Xu city, saying, "We cannot tell how the empire will be settled, but Cao Cao holds the Emperor in his capital at Xu. Go and see what weaknesses he may have, then tell me."

"A sage can manage any commission at any time," replied Han Song, "but a lesser man keeps to his duty. I keep to my duty.<sup>30</sup> Once the name of master and servant has been settled, it must be held to the death. At this time my name appears upon your service-list, I have handed in my pledge, and you are the only person to command me.<sup>31</sup> You may send me through fire and water and I shall die without complaint.

"It is my firm opinion, however, that Lord Cao will achieve his design for the empire. If you wish to support the Son of Heaven above and Lord Cao below, then send me. If, however, you are undecided, and if when I come to the capital the Son of Heaven grants me a single post and I am compelled

to accept, then I shall become a servant of the Son of Heaven, and my relationship to you will be no more than that of a former officer.

2019 "When I have a master, I work for him. So if I hold appointment from the Son of Heaven, I can no longer serve you to the death. Please remember this, and do not turn against me."<sup>32</sup>

Liu Biao thought only that Han Song was reluctant, and he insisted that he go.

Then Han Song came to Xu city, and the Emperor appointed him Palace Attendant and Grand Administrator of Lingling. When he returned he praised the Emperor and the virtue of Lord Cao, and he urged Liu Biao to send his sons to enter service.<sup>33</sup> Liu Biao, very angry, called him a traitor. He summoned a great assembly of his officials, drew up soldiers, held his Staff of Authority and intended to execute him. Accusing him, he said, "Han Song, how dare you betray me?" Everyone was afraid and pressed Han Song to apologise.

Han Song, quite unmoved, said to Liu Biao slowly and seriously, "It is you who have turned against me; I never turned from you." Then he explained what he had said before.

Liu Biao's wife of the Cai clan protested, "Han Song is the hope of the state of Chu.<sup>34</sup> He is perfectly correct, and you have no right to execute him."

Liu Biao was still angry. He took the men that had accompanied Han Song and examined them by torture until they died. Then he realised Han Song had never intended treachery, so he did not kill him but only put him in prison.

S Zheng Bao, bandit leader of Yang province, planned to force the people living there to go to the south of the Yangzi. Because Liu Ye of Huainan<sup>35</sup> was a well-known man from a leading family he wanted to force him to set an example. Liu Ye was worried.

About this time Cao Cao sent a messenger to the province to hear court cases. Liu Ye invited him to his house, and Zheng Bao came to pay his respects to the messenger. Liu Ye kept them for a feast, but then he seized a sword and killed Zheng Bao, cut off his head and gave orders to his troops, "Lord Cao has given instructions that if any dare to make trouble they will share Zheng Bao's punishment." The whole army, several thousand men, was frightened and submitted and accepted Liu Ye as their leader.

Liu Ye turned the army over to the Grand Administrator of Lujiang, Liu Xun. Liu Xun asked him why, and Liu Ye explained, "Zheng Bao ruled lawlessly and his army found profit in plunder. I had no real authority but I have set them in order. They certainly hate me and I shall not be able to maintain my command of them for long. So I pass them to you."

Liu Xun had a great number of Yuan Shu's former followers, but he could not feed them. He sent his cousin Liu Xie to ask for rice from the clan leaders of Shangliao, but they would not give him enough. Liu Xie urged Liu Xun to attack them.<sup>36</sup>

2020 Sun Ce was concerned that Liu Xun had acquired such a strong army.<sup>37</sup> He pretended humility and wrote to Liu Xun to say, "The clan people of Shangliao have often invaded my commandery. I would like to attack them, but the approach is not easy. Shangliao is extremely rich. I ask you to deal with it, and I shall bring my own troops to act in your support." He presented Liu Xun with pearls and jewels and Yue cloth.<sup>38</sup>

Liu Xun was pleased, and everyone congratulated him, all except Liu Ye. Liu Xun asked him why. "Shangliao may be small," he replied, "but the walls are strong and the moat is deep. It is difficult to attack and easy to defend, and it will take at least ten days before we have any hope of taking it. If the soldiers are worn out from fighting beyond their borders and the state has been left empty behind them, and then Sun Ce takes the opportunity to attack us, we shall not be able to manage alone. You will have taken the offensive but gained no success, and you will seek to retreat and have no place to go. If the army goes out, disaster is coming."

Refusing to listen, Liu Xun marched on Shangliao. The clan leaders, however, knew before his troops reached Haihun. They left their positions and fled, and Liu Xun gained nothing.

Sun Ce was at this time leading his soldiers west to attack Huang Zu.<sup>39</sup> Just as he reached Shicheng, he heard that Liu Xun was at Haihun. He sent his cousins Sun Ben and Sun Fu with eight thousand men to camp at Pengze,<sup>40</sup> while he himself led Zhou Yu, acting Grand Administrator of Jiangxia, with twenty thousand men in a surprise attack on Huan city.<sup>41</sup> They captured the place, and Sun Ce made prisoners of Liu Xun's family, together with that of Yuan Shu and over thirty thousand of their followers. He recommended Li Shu of Runan as Grand Administrator of Lujiang, gave

him three thousand soldiers to hold Huan city, and brought all the people he had captured east to Wu.

As Liu Xun came back to Pengze, Sun Ben and Sun Fu intercepted and defeated him. Liu Xun retreated to Liuyi and asked help from Huang Zu.<sup>42</sup> Huang Zu sent his son She with a fleet and five thousand men to help Liu Xun, but Sun Ce attacked again and completely defeated him. Liu Xun went north to Cao Cao and Huang She also fled.

2021 Sun Ce collected over two thousand of Liu Xun's men and a thousand ships. He went forward again to attack Huang Zu.

In the twelfth month on the day *xinhai* [11 Jan 200]<sup>43</sup> he came to Shaxian.<sup>44</sup> Liu Biao sent his nephew Liu Hu and Han Xi of Nanyang with five thousand spearmen to help Huang Zu.

On the day *jiayin* [14 Jan] Sun Ce fought and completely defeated them, cutting off the head of Han Xi. Huang Zu managed to escape, but his family was captured, and six thousand ships, while several ten thousand of his men were killed or drowned.

T Sun Ce brought heavy reinforcements to attack Yuzhang, setting camp at Jiaoqiu.<sup>45</sup> He said to his Officer of the Bureau of Merit, Yu Fan, "Hua Ziyu [Hua Xin]<sup>46</sup> has a fine reputation, but he is no match for me. Unless he opens his gates and surrenders the city, people will surely be killed and wounded in the fighting. Go and tell him how I feel."

Yu Fan went to see Hua Xin and said, "I know that both you and former Magistrate Wang [Lang] of my own commandery are men of wide renown in the central provinces.<sup>47</sup> All within the seas have heard your name, and although you have come down to the east everyone regards you with respect."

"I am not equal to Wang of Kuaiji," replied Hua Xin.

"Have you examined the wealth and resources, the tools and weapons of Yuzhang?" continued Yu Fan. "And the bravery of the people, how do they compare with my commandery?"

"Considerably worse," answered Hua Xin.

"You say that you are not the equal of Wang of Kuaiji," observed Yu Fan, "and that is extravagant modesty. But it is true that your best troops are not so good as those of Kuaiji.

"Sun, General Who Exterminates Rebels, is the finest strategist in the world, a military genius. He has already put Liu [Yao] of Yang province to

flight, and that you have seen for yourself. In the south he has settled my own commandery, and you have heard about that too. Now you are hoping to hold a single city against him, but you know your-self that your resources are too limited. Unless you make a decision soon, it will be too late for regrets.

"Our army is camped at Jiaoqiu. I am leaving now. If we have no reply to our summons by midday tomorrow, then this is goodbye."

"I have long been south of the Yangzi," replied Hua Xin, "and I have always wanted to return to the north. If Sun of Kuaiji comes, I shall leave." That night he drafted a proclamation, and next morning he sent some of his officers to take it with them and to welcome Sun Ce.

2022 Sun Ce brought his army forward and Hua Xin received him in a head-dress of fine cloth.<sup>48</sup> Sun Ce said to him, "Your reputation for virtue has long been respected and people everywhere admire you. I am only young, and I should act as a son or a younger brother." He bowed to Hua Xin and treated him with the utmost courtesy.

U Sun Sheng says:<sup>49</sup>

Hua Xin lacked the spirit of [Bo]yi and the Four Greybeards, for [while he made no attempt to avoid responsibility] he failed to maintain his honour as a royal minister.<sup>50</sup> He lost heart at the words of a false scholar [Yu Fan] and he linked arms with a follower of oppression and plunder [Sun Ce]. His position was taken and his reputation was lost. What could be more shameful?

V Sun Ce divided Yuzhang to make Luling commandery. He appointed Sun Ben as Grand Administrator of Yuzhang and Sun Fu as Grand Administrator of Luling. Tong Zhi was sick, and so Sun Fu went forward and took Luling, leaving Zhou Yu to hold Baqiu.<sup>51</sup>

W When Sun Ce captured Huan city he looked after Yuan Shu's family,<sup>52</sup> and when he entered Yuzhang he collected Liu Yao's coffin and treated his family well.<sup>53</sup> Gentlemen and scholars praised him for it.<sup>54</sup>

X Wei Teng, Officer of the Bureau of Merit in Kuaiji, offended Sun Ce, and Sun Ce was going to kill him. Everyone was anxious and at a loss what to do. Sun Ce's mother of the Wu clan took her stand by a great well and said to

him, "You are building up the south of the Yangzi, and the task is not complete. This is the time you should treat your worthy men well and be polite to your officers, forget their faults but record their good work. Merit Officer Wei was simply doing his duty. If you kill him today, people will turn from you tomorrow. Before I see such disaster come I would first jump into this well." Sun Ce, very startled, immediately set Wei Teng free.

2023

Y Before this, the Grand Administrator of Wu commandery, Sheng Xian of Kuaiji, had recommended Gao Dai as Filially Pious and Incorrupt. When Xu Gong came to take over the commandery Gao Dai brought Sheng Xian to take refuge with the household of Xu Zhao, leader of an encampment.<sup>55</sup>

Zou Tuo and Qian Tong of Wucheng, Wang Sheng of Jiaying<sup>56</sup> and other leaders each collected thousands of men, some as many as ten thousand, and they refused to submit to Sun Ce. Sun Ce brought up his soldiers and defeated them all.

He went on to attack White Tiger Yan. Yan's soldiers were defeated and he fled to Yuhang and went to Xu Zhao. Cheng Pu asked permission to attack Xu Zhao. Sun Ce said, "Xu Zhao is acting right by his former lord and is faithful to his old friend. This is the heart of a true man." So he left him alone.

Z Cao Cao returned to the camp at Guandu. Cao Cao's attendants Xu Tuo and others planned to kill him. As they entered his tent, they met the colonel Xu Chu. Their faces changed expression. Realising their intention, Xu Chu killed them.

AA Before this, the General of Chariots and Cavalry Dong Cheng had a secret edict from the Emperor which he hid in his clothing, and he made plans with Liu Bei to kill Cao Cao.<sup>57</sup> Cao Cao, speaking casually with Liu Bei, observed, "You and I are the only brave men in the empire. People like Benchu [Yuan Shao] simply don't count." Just then Liu Bei was eating, and he dropped his spoon and chopsticks [in his flurry]. At that moment there was thunder in the sky, and Liu Bei said, "The sage has it, 'On a sudden clap of thunder, or a violent wind, he would change composure.' Very much like me."<sup>58</sup>

Liu Bei made plans with Dong Cheng, with the Colonel of the Chang River Regiment Chong Ji and the generals Wu Zilan and Wang Fu.<sup>59</sup>

Then Cao Cao sent Liu Bei with Zhu Ling to intercept Yuan Shu.<sup>60</sup> Cheng Yu, Guo Jia and Dong Zhao all objected, "You must not send Liu Bei." Cao Cao changed his mind and called him back, but the messenger could not catch him.

When Yuan Shu turned back to the south Zhu Ling returned. Then Liu Bei killed Che Zhou, the Inspector of Xu province. He left Guan Yu to hold Xiapi and attend to the responsibilities of the Grand Administrator, while he himself went back to Xiaopei.<sup>61</sup>

2024

Chang Xi the bandit from Donghai,<sup>62</sup> joined by many of the commanderies and counties, rebelled against Cao Cao and turned to Liu Bei. Liu Bei's troops amounted to several ten thousand men, and he sent messengers to contact Yuan Shao with a view to joint operations. Cao Cao sent the Chief Clerk to the Minister of Works Liu Dai of Pei state and the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Wang Zhong of [You]fufeng to attack him, but they had no success. Liu Bei said to Liu Dai and his fellows, "I can deal with you and a hundred like you, but if Lord Cao comes himself I could not be so certain."

#### NOTES to Jian'an 4: 199

- A *HHS* 73/63, 2364–65 (9a–b), the Biography of Gongsun Zan;  
*SGZ* 8, 244 (15b–16a), the Biography of Gongsun Zan;  
*SGZ* 8, 247 (16a) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;  
*SGZ* 8, 247 (16a) PC quoting *Han-Jin chunqiu*.
- 1 Some editions omit the reference here to the third month. It appears, however, in the earliest texts of *ZZTJ*, and is given by *HHS* 9, 381.
- 2 The text of the letter appears in *HHS* 73/63, and also in an extract from *Dian lue*, quoted by *SGZ* 8, 246–47 PC.
- 3 On the Chuge, see note 18 to Chuping 4.
- B *SGZ* 26, 726 (8a), the Biography of Tian Yu;  
*SGZ* 8, 247 (16b), the Biography of Gongsun Zan.
- 4 Xianyu Fu, a man from Yuyang, was a former supporter of Liu Yu who had driven Gongsun Zan's forces from the north in 195: passage SS of Xingping 2. One might have expected that he would be an ally of Yuan Shao, but he was now persuaded to link himself to the more distant authority of Cao Cao and the formal imperial court.
- Chief Controller (*dudu*) is here a substantial appointment with authority as a military area commander, though evidently not as high as an Inspector: passage B and note 7 of Jian'an 7. Elsewhere (*e.g.* passage JJ of Xingping 2) the title has described a comparatively

low administrative rank in an army, while in passage J below it designates the commander of a major division in Yuan Shao's army.

The title does not appear in the system described by the Treatise of Officials of *HHS*, and there was at this time obviously a wide range of possible significance to an appointment with this style. Later, during the third century, holders of the title *dudu*, rendered as Area Commander, held as here high military and territorial responsibility. On this development, see for example de Crespigny, "Three Kingdoms and Western Jin" II, 144 and 152.

Five of the six commanderies thus entrusted to Xianyu Fu would have been Dai, Shanggu, Guangyang, Yuyang and Youbeiping, being the western half of You province along the frontier. The sixth commandery may have been Zhuo, also in You province but inside the frontier in the north of the North China Plain, or it could have been Liaoxi, which extended along the coast northeast towards the territory of Gongsun Du in Manchuria: see passage Y of Chuping 1. In any event, from his base in Yuyang it is doubtful if Xianyu Fu controlled more than a small part of his broader, but nominal, command.

- C *HHS* 90/80, 2984 (4b), the Account of the Wuhuan;  
*SGZ* 30, 834–35 (7b–9a), the Account of the Wuhuan.
- 5 Qiuliju had been a leader of the Wuhuan during the time of Emperor Ling. At one time he and his colleagues had joined rebels against Han, but they later made peace with Liu Yu. See de Crespigny, Huan and Ling I, 203 and 211, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 396–397. On the titles of these chieftains and the pronunciation of the name of Subuyan, who also called himself the Qiao Severe" King, see note 86 to Xingping 2 and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 549 note 79. On Wuyan, possibly also known as Nengchendizhi, see note 11 to Jian'an 12.
- 6 On Yan Rou, see passage SS of Xingping 2.
- D *SGZ* 1, 17 (42b–43a), the Biography of Cao Cao.
- 7 According to the Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 109/19, 3395, Shequan was in Yewang county of Henei, north of the Yellow River about present-day Qinyang in Henan. On the Ao Granary, a fortified establishment just south of the Yellow River near present-day Sishui in Henan, see note 33 to Chuping 1.
- Sui Gu, sometime a leader of the Black Mountain bandits, had taken over the former troops of Zhang Yang and led them to join Yuan Shao: passage L of Jian'an 3. His base at Shequan in Henei commandery thus represented the western edge of Yuan Shao's interest. For Cao Cao's concern about the possibility of Yuan Shao's expansion in this direction, see his comments in passage E of Jian'an 2 at 1996.
- E *HHS* 9, 381 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Xian.
- 8 Dong Cheng, a cousin of the Emperor (note 30 to Xingping 2) had been one of the leaders who brought the Emperor back from Chang'an, and he assisted Cao Cao to reach Luoyang and bring the Emperor to Xu city: passages N and O of Jian'an 1.
- F *HHS* 75/65, 2443 (9a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shu;  
*SGZ* 6, 209–10 (77a–78a), the Biography of Yuan Shu;

- with PC quoting *Wei shu* and *Wu shu*.
- 9 Qian county in Jiujiang was about present-day Huoshan in Anhui, some 120 kilometres south of Yuan Shu's former capital at Shouchun. The hills of that region, south of Huoshan and north of Qianshan in Anhui, are an eastern extension of the Dabie range between the Yangzi and the Huai.
- 10 *Wei shu*, followed by *HHS* 75/65, says that Yuan Shao agreed with this statement of the family claim to the empire. This may be a political libel against Cao Cao's chief rival. but *cf.* passage I below.
- 11 Qinghe was the name of a kingdom in Ji province from the beginning of Later Han until 148, when it was renamed Ganling. The name Qinghe was restored about 220, but the reference at this time is an anachronism.
- 12 The plan was for Yuan Shu to escape from Lujiang by travelling east of Shouchun, crossing the Huai in Xiapi, then going north through Xu province.  
*Wu shu* says that Jiangting, the "Village on the River" was some eighty *li*, forty kilometres, from Shouchun. There was a well-known site named Jiangting in Anyang county of Runan commandery (*HHS* 110/20, 3424, and *SJZ* 30, 3a-b), but this was 250 kilometres west of Shouchun, upstream on the Huai. It does not appear likely Yuan Shu travelled so far, and the Jiangting where he died was presumably a village of the same, common, name somewhere in Jiujiang or Pei.
- G *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1108 (29a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.
- 13 Liu Xun had been appointed Grand Administrator of Lujiang by Yuan Shu in 194: passage BB of Xingping 1.  
The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that the main text of *SGZ* 46 claims the remnant of Yuan Shu's court was actually coming to Sun Ce, but they were abducted and their treasure was stolen by Liu Xun. As Sima Guang observes, however, the biographies of Yuan Shu in *HHS* 75/65 and *SGZ* 6 both say the refugees were going to Liu Xun, who was, in any case, an old follower of Yuan Shu, as opposed to Sun Ce, who was a declared enemy. *SGZ* 46 is presumably echoing a propaganda story put about by Sun Ce at this time.
- H *HHS* 48/38, 1621 (17b), the Biography of Xu Qiu.
- 14 The Great Seal of State had been lost at Luoyang in 189. It was found by Sun Jian in 191, then taken from him by Yuan Shu. See passages W of Zhongping 6, D of Chuping 2, and I of Jian'an 1, also note 17 to Chuping 2.  
Xu Qiu's biography says that he was a man from Guangling. He held positions as Grand Administrator and Chancellor, but never in his native commandery. *ZZTJ* has evidently misread the source text.
- I *SGZ* 6, 195 (50b) PC quoting *Dian lue*;  
*HHS* 74/64A, 2390 (12a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- J *HHS* 74/64A, 2390–91 (12a–13a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 6, 196–97 (52a–53a) PC quoting *Xiandi zhuan*.
- 15 *Xiandi zhuan* attributes this argument to Tian Feng as well as to Ju Shou.

- 16 Liyang county was in Wei commandery, near present-day Xunxian in Henan, on the northern bank of the Han time course of the Yellow River. During Later Han, Liyang had been the major base for military recruits in north China: see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 50 and 253, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 118–119.
- 17 The conquest of the wicked king Zhou, last ruler of the Shang/Yin dynasty, by King Wu of the Zhou dynasty, is the traditional example of the just war in China. In *Mengzi* IB.8.3; Legge *CC* II, 167 (Lau, *Mencius*, 68) Mencius said, "I have heard how the common fellow [Zhou] was punished, but I have not heard [that case] described as the killing of a true sovereign.
- 18 In 494 BC, at the battle of Fujiao, King Fuchai of Wu, whose state was based on the region between the Yangzi estuary and the Bay of Hangzhou, defeated Goujian the ruler of Yue, whose territory was on the southern shore of Hangzhou Bay. The army of Wu pursued the remnants of the Yue forces to Kuaiji (or Huiji) Mountain, and held them completely at mercy. Goujian, however, managed to beg peace and escape his predicament and, with the advice of his minister Fan Li, he awaited the occasion for revenge.
- After twenty years, when Wu had been weakened by wars to the north, Yue made a great attack and in 473 BC the army of Goujian conquered Wu. Fuchai now asked for quarter, but Fan Li replied that when Heaven had given Yue into the hands of Wu at Huiji Mountain, Wu had rejected the offer. Now Heaven had put Wu into the hands of Yue; if Yue refused this good fortune, it would meet once more with disaster. So the state of Wu was destroyed.
- See *SJ* 41, 1740–41 and 1745; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 421–424 and 429–431; also *SJ* 31, 1469 and 1475; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 25–26 and 32.
- 19 "Supervisor of the Army" (*jianjun*) refers to Ju Shou's earlier appointment as Supervisor and Protector (*jianhu*) over all the officers of Yuan Shao's army: passage P of Chuping 2.
- 20 Zhang Liang, a man of the state of Han in the late third century BC, made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the First Emperor of Qin. He fled to Xiapi, where he met an old man, who tested him for his courtesy and patience, then gave him a book entitled "The Grand Duke's Art of War" *Taigong bingfa*. With this work as his guide, Zhang Liang became a leading adviser to the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han.
- Thirteen years after the first meeting, the old man was revealed to Zhang Liang in the form of a yellow stone (*huang shi*) at the foot of Mount Gucheng (or Huang Shan) in present-day Shandong. Zhang Liang worshipped the stone and had it placed in his tomb.
- See the biographies of Zhang Liang in *SJ* 55, 2034–35 and 2048; Watson, *RGHI*, 135–136 and 150, and *HS* 40, 2024 and 2038.
- 21 Chief Controller (*dudu*) here describes the high-ranking head of an army group. Ju Shou's original appointment as Supervisor and Commissioner had entailed responsibility for administration and discipline, and the office of Chief Controller was used at various levels in other troops as an administrative position: see, for example, passage JJ of Xingping 2, and passage B with note 4 above. In this instance, however, it appears that Chief Controllers in Yuan Shao's army could also hold strategic and tactical authority: see passage AA of Jian'an 5, describing the active service of Chunyu Qiong and the advisory position of Guo Tu.

K *SGZ* 12, 367 (2a–b), the Biography of Cui Yan.

L *SGZ* 1, 17 (43a), the Biography of Cao Cao.

M *SGZ* 10, 214 (14b–15a), the Biography of Xun Yu;  
*HHS* 70/60, 2285–86 (18b), the Biography of Xun Yu.

N *SGZ* 1, 17 (43b), the Biography of Cao Cao.

22 The direct line of Yuan Shao's approach to Xu city was slightly east of the modern Beijing–Zhengzhou railway, and the major crossing point was at Liyang. The Yellow River at this time ran well north of its present course, and from Liyang it flowed generally northeast.

Cao Cao therefore established a first line of defence under Yu Jin at Liyang, and sent a detachment under Zang Ba northeast to patrol the line of the River and guard against indirect approach on that flank. He then returned to his capital, leaving a second line of defence at Guandu, ninety kilometres north of Xu city and a hundred kilometres southwest of Liyang.

Guandu was in Zhongmou county in Henan commandery, just north of present-day Zhongmou in Henan. The Han city lay well south of the Yellow River, on a slight terrace above the Bian Canal, chief waterway connecting the capital, Luoyang, with the southern part of the North China plain.

O *SGZ* 10, 239–30 (38b–39a), the Biography of Jia Xu;  
*SGZ* 8, 262 (42a), the Biography of Zhang Xiu.

23 Zhang Xiu was an ally of Liu Biao, guarding the area of Nanyang, and had been repeatedly attacked by Cao Cao. See, for example, passages B to F of Jian'an 3.

24 The date is given by *SGZ* 1, 17.

25 The Bearer of the Gilded Mace commanded the imperial palace police: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 78–79.

A chief village (*duting*) was the administrative centre of a district (*xiang*), sub-division of a county. Enfeoffment with a chief village was one level higher than marquisate of a village.

P *SGZ* 25, 700 (7b), the Biography of Yang Fu.

Q *SGZ* 21, 610 (33a–b), the Biography of Wei Ji.

26 Attendant Imperial Clerks, members of the censorate, were trusted agents of the emperor, and were on occasion sent to take administrative or even military responsibilities in sensitive areas. Imperial Clerks Preparers of Documents were senior members of that corps. See de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 71, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 58 (rendering *shiyushi* as "Attending Secretary").

*SGZ* 21 says that Wei Ji had originally been sent as an envoy to Liu Zhang in Yi province, to persuade him to threaten Liu Biao on the west and keep him from intervening against Cao Cao in support of Yuan Shao. The roads from Chang'an, however, were blocked, so Wei Ji stayed there.

27 Great numbers of people had fled the region of Luoyang and Chang'an during the disturbances of Dong Zhuo and his associates at the beginning of the 190s, many of them, as appears below, taking refuge in Jing province. When they sought to return, however, they were often compelled to join the troops of the petty warlords who now competed for control in the region.

The term used for these warlord forces is *buqu*, which was used in Han to refer to regular military formations, but which later developed to describe household slaves and serfs. See note 66 to Zhongping 6 and Yang Chung-yi, "Evolution of Dependents."

28 Salt, used as a savoury and a preservative, was an essential commodity in all early societies. In Former Han, the official salt monopoly was directly controlled by the central government, but under Later Han this responsibility had been delegated to local administration. See *HHS* 116/26, 3590; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 98–99.

29 The Colonel Director of Retainers at this time was Zhong Yao, appointed to that post by Cao Cao in 197: passage F of Jian'an 2. The capital city of Hongnong commandery was Hongnong, south of the Yellow River by present-day Lingbao in Henan.

There was a salt lake in the south of Anyi county in Hedong commandery, by present-day Yuncheng in Shanxi. This had been the site of a salt office (*yan guan*) under Former Han, and was still recognised as a major source of the mineral under Later Han: *HHS* 109/19, 3397. Though separated by the Zhongtiao hills from the Yellow River, the lake was only thirty kilometres north of Hongnong. Cao Cao thus arranged that this area was now taken under the direct control of his officers.

R *HHS* 74/64B, 2422 (9b–10b), the Biography of Liu Biao;  
*SGZ* 6, 212–13 (84b–85b), the Biography of Liu Biao;  
with PC quoting *Fuzi*.

30 From *Zuo zhuan*, Cheng 15; Legge, *CCV*, 388 (Couvreur, *Chronique* II, 116):

It is contained in the books of an earlier time, that a sage is equal to the duties of all positions; that a man of the second class maintains the dignity of his position; and that one of the lowest class fails in the duties of his.

31 *Zuo zhuan*, Xi 23; Legge, *CCV*, 186 (Couvreur, *Chronique* I, 339):

The ancient rule was that when a son was fit for official service, his father should enjoin him to be faithful. The new officer, moreover, wrote his name on a tablet, and gave the pledge of a dead animal to his lord, declaring that any wavering in his fidelity should be punished with death.

32 Hitherto, Han Song has been a locally-appointed officer under Liu Biao. His loyalty was therefore owed and given to Liu Biao directly, with no direct obligation to the imperial government. Even though the court is dominated by Cao Cao, should Han Song be granted a post in the formal service of the Emperor, then he must regard himself as having no longer any direct relationship to Liu Biao; he will, however, treat Liu Biao with the courtesy owed to a former patron.

A similar situation was faced by Zhang Hong, an officer of the Sun family: note 20 to Jian'an 3.

33 *SGZ* 6 makes it clear that the sons would go to Xu city as hostages (*baozhi*), to confirm Liu Biao's alliance and guarantee his good behaviour.

34 Chu is here a literary/archaic reference to the territory of the middle Yangzi, taken from the great state of that name in the time of the Zhou dynasty.

S *SGZ* 14, 443 (22a–23a), the Biography of Liu Ye;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1104 (28b–29a), the Biography of Sun Ce;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1108 (29a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

35 Huainan refers to Jiujiang commandery of Later Han. The name was changed by Yuan Shu in 197, when he claimed the imperial title: passage G and note 11 of Jian'an 2. Though the new name was rejected by others at this time, the text here reflects that variation.

36 On the independent people of Shangliao, in the county of Haihun, see passage AA and note 34 of Jian'an 3.

37 We are told also that Liu Xun had been appointed to Lujiang by Yuan Shu after Yuan Shu has actually promised the post to Sun Ce: passage BB of Xingping 1.

38 Yue cloth (*ge Yue*): a light cloth woven in south China from the dolichos plant. See, for example, the *Ge tan* Ode, *Shi jing* I.1.2, in the collection "Odes of Zhou and the South;" translated and discussed by Legge, *CC* IV, 6 (Karlgrén, *Odes*, 2–3).

39 Huang Zu, now Grand Administrator of Jiangxia in the service of Li Biao, controlled the east of Jing province, on the Yangzi downstream from present-day Wuhan, and was in the line of Sun Ce's expansion up-river from Yang province. Furthermore, Huang Zu had been the commander of Liu Biao's army when Sun Ce's father Sun Jian was killed in 192; so there was a family motive for attacking him. See passages JJ of Jian'an 1 and DD of Chuping 2.

40 Sun Ben and Sun Fu were sons of Sun Qiang, elder twin brother of Sun Jian the father of Sun Ce: *SGZ* 51, 1209 and 1211.

41 Shicheng county in Danyang was near present-day Ma'anshan in Anhui, more than three hundred kilometres downstream from the Poyang marshes and the Pengli Lake. Pengze county was on the Yangzi by present-day Hukou in Jiangxi, and Huan city was west of present-day Anqing in Anhui.

Sun Ce thus moved with considerable speed to attack his rival's headquarters, while sending a substantial detachment to guard the route by which Liu Xun must bring his main forces to the rescue.

42 *ZZTJ* commentary identifies Liuyi as a settlement on the Yangzi near Xisai Mountain, on the borders of Jing and Yang provinces by present-day Huangshi in Hubei. Cut off from Lujiang, Liu Xun was forced west up the Yangzi towards Jing province, and Huang Zu was a natural ally.

43 The dates are in the memorial sent by Sun Ce to Xu city, announcing his victory over Huang Zu. The text was preserved by *Wu lu*, quoted in *SGZ* 46, 1108 PC. The memorial gives the dates as the eighth and eleventh days of the twelfth month, but *ZZTJ* has converted them to the cyclical system.

44 Shaxian county in Jiangxia was southwest of present-day Wuhan, on the Yangzi upstream from the junction with the Han River.

*ZZTJ* commentary quotes a Jin dynasty authority for sounding the second character of this place-name as *yi*, but I follow the modern pronunciation.

T *SGZ* 57 (Wu 12), 1318–19 (3b–4a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*;  
*SGZ* 13, 402 (18b) PC quoting *Wu li*;

*SGZ* 13, 402–03 (19a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

45 *SJZ* 39, 16b, says that Jiaoqiu was on the Gan River, downstream and north of Nanchang. Nanchang, the capital of Yuzhang commandery of Han, was present-day Nanchang in Jianxi. So Sun Ce, having defeated Liu Xun and Huang Zu in two battles, and extended the range of his operations into the middle Yangzi, returned east to mop up the last substantial local power, that of Hua Xin.

46 Ziyu was the style of Hua Xin..

47 Yu Fan, a man from Kuaiji, had held local appointment under Wang Lang when he was Grand Administrator there, then transferred his service to Sun Ce: passages S and T of Jian'an 1.

Wang Lang came from Donghai commandery. His biography in *SGZ* 13, 406 and 414, and that of Zhang Zhao in *SGZ* 52 (Wu 7), at 1219, describe his early recognition and later achievements as a scholar.

48 The term *gejin* describes a shawl made of light cloth, probably Yue cloth (note 38 above), draped about the head. This was elegant, but not part of any official costume: Hua Xin wore it to show that he was meeting Sun Ce as a private gentleman, and was now in retirement from public life.

U *SGZ* 13, 403 (19a–b) PC.

49 Though Pei Songzhi does not specify which work of Sun Sheng this comment is taken from, it was probably part of his "Miscellaneous Essays" *Zaji*.

Sun Sheng (c 302–373), whose biography is in *JS* 82, 2147–49, wrote several books and essays on the history of the Three Kingdoms period. See de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 566 and note.

50 Boyi and the Four Greybeards of the Shang Mountains were famous for their rejection of the world.

Boyi was the eldest son of the king of Guzhu. His father proposed to leave the throne to the third son, Shuqi, but Shuqi refused to take it from his elder brother and Bo Yi, for his part, would not disobey his father's wishes. So they left the state to their brother the second son, and retired to the wilderness together. Later, Boyi and Shuqi went to the court of the Lord of the West (posthumously King Wen of Zhou), but they disapproved of the plans of his son, King Wu, to attack his overlord of Shang/Yin, and withdrew to Shouyang Mountain, where they eventually starved to death. See *SJ* 61, 2123–28; also de Crespigny, *Huan and Ling II*, 393–394, and Vervoorn, "Boyi and Shuqi," and *Men of the Cliffs and Caves*, 35–37.

The Four Greybeards of the Shang Mountains were Lord Dongyuan, Lord Xiahuang, Qi Liji, and Scholar Luli. At the end of the Qin dynasty they retired as hermits into the mountains north of Shang county in present-day Shenxi, though sources disagree whether they were avoiding the disorders of Qin or expressing disapproval for the uncouth conduct of Emperor Gao, founder of Han. Emperor Gao, however, was known to admire them, and at the end of his reign, through a plan of the minister Zhang Liang and the Empress Lü, they were persuaded to come to court and support the Heir-Apparent, the future Emperor Hui, against rivalry from one of his half-brothers. See *SJ* 55, 2044–47; Watson, *RGH I*, 146–147; *HS* 40, 2033–36, and Vervoorn, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves*, 96–100.

Sun Sheng is saying that an honourable man in Hua Xin's position had two courses open to him: either he could follow the example of Boyi and Shuqi and the Four Old Men by retiring from the world or, if he maintained an official position, he should accept fully its responsibilities.

The reference to Hua Xin's failure to maintain honour as a royal minister comes from *Yi jing*, hexagram 39: Jian [Obstruction], second line; Wilhelm, *Book of Changes*, 152:

The king's servant is beset by obstruction upon obstruction,

But it is not his own fault.

This is explained as an instance where a man is required by duty to face difficulty and danger, even though it is no advantage to him to do so, nor is it his fault that he has encountered such a situation. Hua Xin failed to reach such a standard.

- V *SGZ* 51 (Wu 6), 1210 (6b–7a) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.
- 51 It seems likely the capital of Luling commandery was at Luling county on the upper Gan River, near present-day Ji'an in Jiangxi, so the commandery controlled the upper valley of the Gan and the far south of present-day Jiangxi. This was the region which had been taken over by the local warlord Tong Zhi: passage AA of Jian'an 3. Baqiu county in Yuzhang was on the Gan River near present-day Xiajiang in Jiangxi, just north of the border with Luling.
- W *HHS* 75/65, 2444 (9b), the Biography of Yuan Shu;  
*SGZ* 6, 210 (78a), the Biography of Yuan Shu;  
*SGZ* 49 (Wu 4), 1185 (5a–b), the Biography of Liu Yao.
- 52 Yuan Shu's daughter was taken into the harem of Sun Quan, Sun Ce's younger brother, his son Yao held office at the court of Wu, and Yuan Yao's daughter became a concubine of one of Sun Quan's sons. There was a time that Yuan Shu's daughter was considered for position as Sun Quan's principal wife, but she was passed over because she had borne him no children: see *HHS* 75/65 and *SGZ* 6, also *SGZ* 50, 1200 PC quoting *Wu lu*.
- 53 Liu Ji, eldest of Liu Yao's three sons, who was fourteen at the time of his father's death, later held high rank and favour at the court of Sun Quan. Both his two younger brothers held official posts: *SGZ* 49, 1186.
- 54 This sentence is apparently based upon a letter written by Wang Lang to Sun Ce, recorded in *SGZ* 49, 1185–86.
- X *SGZ* 50 (Wu 5), 1196 (2a–b), PC quoting *Kuaiji dianlu*.
- Y *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1109 (32a) PC quoting *Wu lu*;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1105 (22b–23a) PC quoting *Wu lu*.
- 55 Xu Gong had been Grand Administrator of Wu commandery in 195, when he was deposed by Sun Ce's ally Zhu Zhi: passage QQ of Xingping 2.  
The expression *yingshuai* "leader of an encampment" indicates that Xu Zhao controlled a small private army of family retainers and refugees.
- 56 Several commentators point out that the name Jiaxing is an anachronism. The county, in Wu commandery by present-day Jiaxing in Zhejiang, was known as Youquan under Qin and Han. In 232, after a fortunate omen was reported from there, Sun Quan changed the name

to Hexing "Grain Springs Up." In 242 he changed it again to Jiaxing "Fortune Arises" so as to avoid tabu on the personal name of the new Heir-Apparent Sun He. See *SGZ* 47, 1136, and 1145. [Song shu 35, 1031, mistakenly ascribes the change to Sun He's son Sun Hao.]

*Wu lu*, cited by *SGZ* 46, 1105 PC, says that Wang Sheng was a former Grand Administrator of Hepu commandery in the far south. Some of these local opponents of Sun Ce were men of social rank above that of the Sun family: Sun Ce's father Sun Jian was a man of humble origin: see de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 72-74, 170-171 and 183-185.

Z *SGZ* 18, 542 (14b), the Biography of Xu Chu.

AA *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 875 (8a-10a), the Biography of Liu Bei;  
with PC quoting *Huayang guo zhi*,  
*SGZ* 14, 428 (4b), the Biography of Cheng Yu.

57 Dong Cheng was a cousin of the Emperor: note 8 above and note 30 to Xingping 2.

58 This phrase describing the conduct of Confucius appears in *Lun yu* X.16.5; Legge, *CC* I, 236. Liu Bei was startled at Cao Cao's words, firstly because he evidently regarded him as a potential rival, and second because of his guilty knowledge of Dong Cheng's plot. (Lau, *Analects*, 95, numbering this passage as X.25, has Confucius assuming "a solemn attitude," but Legge's interpretation fits better with Liu Bei's circumstance.)

59 The main text of *SGZ* 32 gives the personal name of Wang Fu as, but *Xiandi qijuzhu*, quoted by PC, and the parallel texts *HHS* 9, 381, and *HHS* 72/62, 2343, all omit the character *zi*. It is presumably dittography from the name of Wu Zilan immediately preceding.

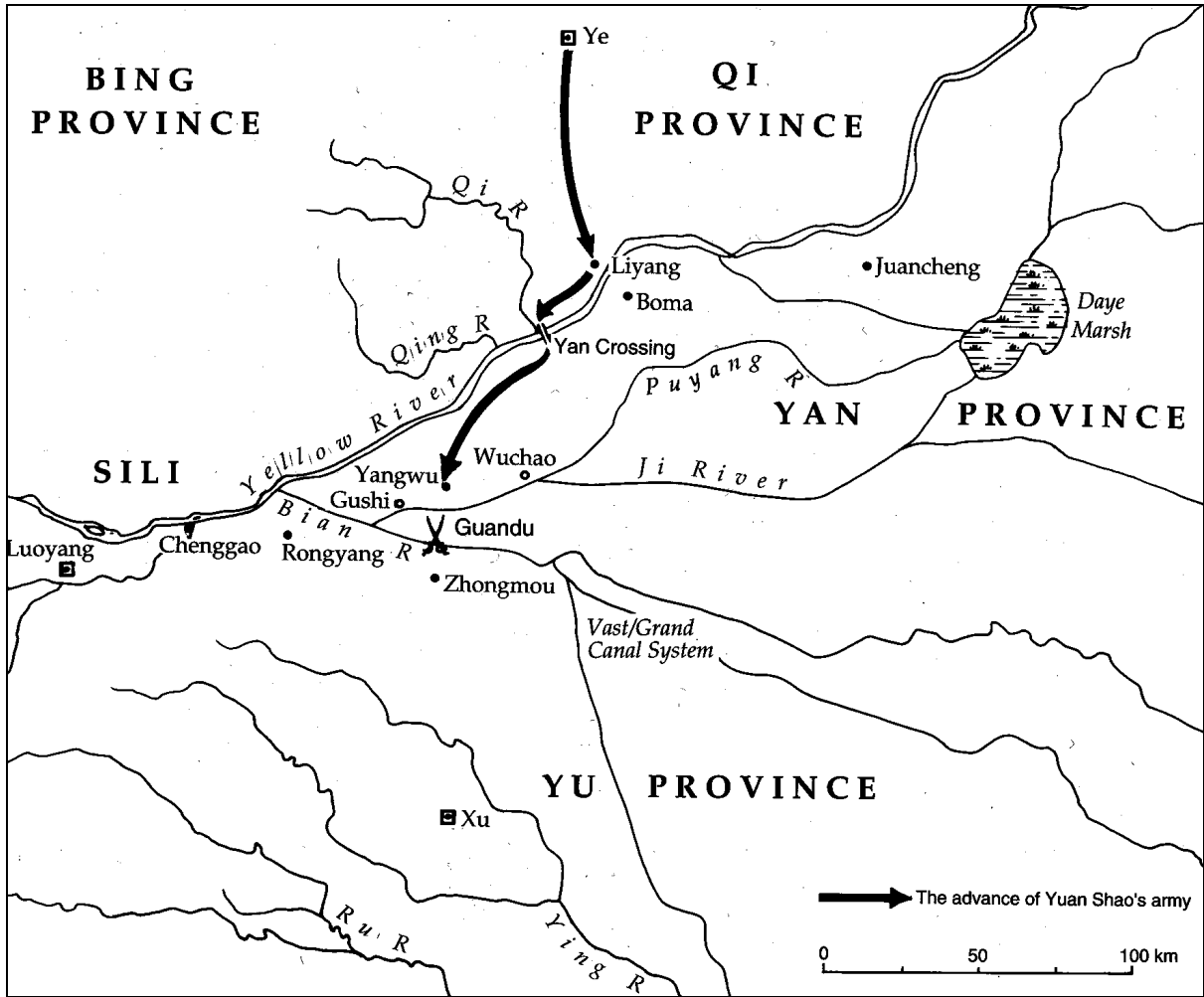
60 See passage F above.

61 That is, Pei county in the north of Pei commandery, near present-day Pei in Shandong: note 6 to Xingping 1.

62 *SGZ* 32 has this name as Chang Ba, not Chang Xi. *SGZ* 1, 18, however, refers to Chang Xi in alliance with Liu Bei at this time, and *ZZTJ* accepts that version.

Chang Xi has appeared earlier as one of the bandit leaders associated with Zang Ba about Mount Tai: passage I of Jian'an 3. (And it may be from this we have the confusion in personal names.) Most of these men were persuaded to take allegiance to Cao Cao after the destruction of Lü Bu: passage S of Jian'an 3. Chang Xi now turned once more against Cao Cao.

Map 13: Operations about Guandu 200



## Jian'an 5: 200 AD

[3 February 200 – 20 February 201]

A In the spring, in the first month Dong Cheng's plan was found out. On the day *renzi* [miswritten for *renwu*, 10 Feb]<sup>1</sup> Cao Cao killed Dong Cheng, Wang Fu, Chong Ji and all their families.

B Cao Cao wanted to go in person to attack Liu Bei, but his officers all advised him, "It is Yuan Shao who is fighting you for the empire, and he may make his move any time. If you turn east, and he comes in behind you, what happens then?"

"Liu Bei is among the bravest of men," argued Cao Cao. "If I leave him now he will surely cause trouble later."

"Yuan Shao is slow and hesitant," observed Guo Jia. "He will not come quickly. Liu Bei made his rebellion just a short time ago, so he cannot have his troops under full control. If you move promptly you will surely defeat him." So Cao Cao went east.

C Tian Feng, Aide-de-Camp of Ji province, said to Yuan Shao, "Cao Cao has engaged Liu Bei and he cannot break off easily. If you take the army against his rear, you can settle things at once." Yuan Shao replied that his son was sick, and he would not go. Tian Feng beat the ground with his staff, "Alas, in the critical moment he throws away opportunity for the sake of a sick child. The pity of it, the chance is lost."

D Cao Cao defeated Liu Bei and took his wife and children.<sup>2</sup> He went on to storm Xiapi and captured Guan Yu. He attacked Chang Xi and defeated him.<sup>3</sup>

2025 Liu Bei fled to Yuan Tan in Qing province and so joined Yuan Shao.

When Yuan Shao heard Liu Bei was coming, he went out two hundred li from Ye to greet him. Liu Bei stayed at Ye for a month, and the men he had lost gradually returned to him.

E Cao Cao brought his army back to Guandu, and Yuan Shao now considered an attack on Xu city. "Since Cao Cao has destroyed Liu Bei," observed Tian Feng, "the area about Xu city will no longer be undefended. Cao Cao,

moreover, is extremely good at using soldiers, and you can never tell what he will do next. Though his army is small he cannot be taken lightly.

"The best policy is to keep him at a distance and make him wait. You occupy the strong places of the hills and rivers and you command the troops of four provinces. Keep contact with leaders outside and encourage farming in your own lands.

"When all is ready, choose your best soldiers and send out raiding parties.<sup>4</sup> Take advantage of his weak points to break through in one place or another so as to trouble the territory south of the Yellow River. If he relieves the right, you attack the left; if he sends help to the left, you attack him on the right. The enemy will be marching backwards and forwards and his people will have no peace. We shall not be tired, but they will be exhausted. In no more than three years success will come as you wait.

"If, on the other hand, you do not follow this plan of certain victory,<sup>5</sup> but prefer to trust the result of a single battle, you may find affairs go against you. It will then be too late for regrets."

Yuan Shao refused this advice, but Tian Feng pressed his argument. Believing he would upset the morale of the army, Yuan Shao had him chained up.

Then Yuan Shao sent summons for war to the provinces and commanderies, listing Cao Cao's crimes and wrong-doing,<sup>6</sup> and in the second month he brought his army forward to Liyang.<sup>7</sup>

F As Ju Shou was about to leave, he called his clansmen together, divided his possessions among them and said, "If we survive, my authority will certainly be recognised every-where. If we lose, I shall not escape with my life. The pity of it." His younger brother Ju Zong said, "Cao Cao's men and horses are no match for ours. Why are you afraid?"

"Because Cao Cao has clear plans," replied Ju Shou, "and he controls the Son of Heaven. Though we have defeated Bogui [Gongsun Zan],<sup>8</sup> our soldiers are exhausted, our master is proud and his officers arrogant. This will bring our army to destruction.

"Yang Xiong observed, 'The six kingdoms were foolish and stupid. They weakened the Ji [family of the Zhou dynasty] for the Ying [family of Qin].' These are words for today."<sup>9</sup>

G The General Who Inspires Awe Cheng Yu was at Juancheng with a garrison of seven hundred men. Cao Cao wanted to send him two thousand soldiers as reinforcement, but Cheng Yu refused, "With his army of a hundred thousand men, Yuan Shao is confident that nothing can stand before him. If he sees that I have very few, he will pay little attention and will not attack. On the other hand, if you add to my troops, then if he passes by he is sure to attack, and if he attacks he will certainly win. You and I would thus both lose strength. Please have no doubts."<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, when Yuan Shao heard how few soldiers Cheng Yu had, he did not move against him. Cao Cao said to Jia Xu, "Cheng Yu is braver than Meng Ben or Xia Yu."<sup>11</sup>

H Yuan Shao sent his officer Yan Liang to attack Liu Yan, Grand Administrator of Dong commandery, at Boma.<sup>12</sup> Ju Shou said, "Yan Liang is careless and impatient. He is brave, but he can-not manage alone." Yuan Shao would not agree.

I In the summer, in the fourth month Cao Cao went north to help Liu Yan. Xun You said, "Our soldiers are too few to match the enemy. In order to win, you must divide our opponents' strength. When you come to the Yan Crossing, pretend to send men across the river against his rear. Yuan Shao will certainly turn west to deal with them. If you then send light troops to Boma and surprise the enemy there, Yan Liang can be taken." Cao Cao followed this plan.

As soon as Yuan Shao heard that enemy troops had crossed the Yellow River he immediately detached men west to intercept them. Then Cao Cao led his army on a forced march against Boma. They were still more than ten li away when Yan Liang, very startled, came out to fight.

Cao Cao sent Zhang Liao and Guan Yu to go ahead and begin the attack. Guan Yu saw Yan Liang's standard in the distance. Whipping his horse, he broke through to Yan Liang among the ten thousand men of his army, took off his head and came back. No-one could withstand him. So the siege of Boma was broken, and the people were shifted west up the Yellow River.<sup>13</sup>

J Yuan Shao crossed the Yellow River to follow them,<sup>14</sup> but Ju Shou objected, saying, "When you are fighting a war, you must be careful to think of every possibility. The best plan now is to stay in camp at the Yan Crossing and send an advance guard towards Guandu. If they can capture the place you will still have time to join up with them. If, however, you go

forward now and something goes wrong, none of the army will be able to get back." Yuan Shao would not agree.

Ju Shou came to the crossing and sighed, "The master is too confident; his servants too ambitious. Oh, distant Yellow River, why do I cross?" He pleaded sick and asked to leave. Yuan Shao would not approve and became angry with him. He abolished Ju Shou's command and gave it to Guo Tu.

2027

K As Yuan Shao's army came south from the Yan Crossing, Cao Cao had his soldiers in camp under the southern slope.<sup>15</sup> He sent men to look out, and they reported, "Some five or six hundred horsemen." After a short time they reported again, "Horsemen gradually increasing; too many foot-soldiers to count." "No more reports," ordered Cao Cao.

He had his cavalry get down from their saddles and let the horses go. The baggage from Boma was still on the road, and the officers thought that since there were so many enemy horsemen it would be better to go back and guard the camp. Xun You said, "This is a trap for the enemy, how can we leave?" Cao Cao looked at him and smiled.

Wen Chou and Liu Bei, commanders of Yuan Shao's cavalry, came up together with five or six thousand horsemen. The officers said again, "Now we can mount." "Not yet," said Cao Cao. There was a pause, the enemy approached in greater numbers, and some split off to go for the baggage. "Now!" said Cao Cao, and they jumped on their horses.<sup>16</sup>

They were fewer than six hundred, but they charged at speed, they completely defeated the enemy, and they took Wen Chou's head.

Wen Chou and Yan Liang had been Yuan Shao's most celebrated captains, and in just two engagements they had both been killed. Yuan Shao's army was discouraged.

L Before this, Cao Cao had always admired Guan Yu, but he saw on his face that he would not stay long. He sent Zhang Liao to ask Guan Yu about it, and Guan Yu sighed and said, "I know very well how generously Lord Cao has treated me, but I have received favours from General Liu [Bei] and I swore to die with him. I cannot turn away [from that commitment], and eventually I must leave here. I want to offer Lord Cao some assistance in return [for the generous treatment he has given me], and then I shall go."

Zhang Liao reported to Cao Cao what Guan Yu had said and Cao Cao saw the justice of it. Then Guan Yu killed Yan Liang and Cao Cao knew that

he was sure to go. He had given him great rewards, but Guan Yu sealed up everything he had received. Then he wrote to make his excuses, and he fled to Liu Bei in Yuan Shao's army. Some of the attendants wanted to chase after him, but Cao Cao said, "That man has chosen his master. Let him go."

2028

M As Cao Cao brought his army back to Guandu, Yan Rou sent messengers to him, and Cao Cao appointed him Colonel Protector of the Wuhuan.<sup>17</sup> Xianyu Fu came in person to meet Cao Cao at Guandu, and Cao Cao made him General Who Crosses the Liao on the Right and sent him back to settle the territory of You province.<sup>18</sup>

N Chen Deng, Grand Administrator of Guangling, had his capital at Sheyang.<sup>19</sup> When Sun Ce went west to attack Huang Zu, Chen Deng encouraged the remnants of White Tiger Yan's following to make trouble behind Sun Ce.<sup>20</sup> Now Sun Ce came back to attack Chen Deng. His army came to Dantu and he waited there a short time for supplies.<sup>21</sup>

Before this, Sun Ce had killed Xu Gong the Grand Administrator of Wu commandery,<sup>22</sup> and Xu Gong's retainers had hidden amongst the people in hope of avenging him. Sun Ce loved hunting and often went out riding. His horse was a very good one, and none of his escort could keep up.

2029 Suddenly he met with three of Xu Gong's men, and they shot him in the jaw. The escort arrived, struck them down and killed them, but Sun Ce was badly hurt.

He summoned Zhang Zhao and others and said to them, "Central China is now in confusion. With the forces of Wu and Yue and the security of the Three Streams [the Yangzi], we can observe other men's success and failure without being involved. You must all do your best to assist my younger brother."<sup>23</sup>

Calling for Sun Quan, he put seal and tassel on his belt, and said to him, "To raise the forces east of the Yangzi, to decide the opportunities between two battle-lines and to fight for supremacy in the empire; in that you are not so good as I am. To raise the worthy and give appointment to able men, so that each gives all his efforts to keep the east of the Yangzi; in that I am not equal to you." On the day *bingwu* [5 May] Sun Ce died. He was then aged twenty-six.<sup>24</sup>

O Sun Quan wept for grief and would not attend to affairs. "Candidate,"<sup>25</sup> said Zhang Zhao, "is this a time for weeping?" He changed Sun Quan's

mourning clothes, helped him to mount a horse, and sent him out to inspect the army.

Zhang Zhao acted as head of the whole administration. Above he reported to the court, and below he gave orders to the cities, while the army commanders were all instructed to maintain their positions. Zhou Yu brought his troops from Baqiu to attend the funeral, and he then stayed in Wu to act as Protector of the Army at the Centre, sharing with Zhang Zhao in the government.<sup>26</sup>

Though Sun Ce had held Kuaiji, Wu commandery, Danyang, Yuzhang, Lujiang and Luling, there was still difficult country which had not been brought fully under control. And there were many refugees, who came or wandered away whenever they thought they would find good government and peace, and who had no sense of loyalty to any ruler.

2030 Zhang Zhao, Zhou Yu and their colleagues, however, believed that with their help Sun Quan could maintain the state. They gave him allegiance and served him.

P In the autumn in the seventh month the imperial son Liu Ping became King of Nanyang. On the day *renwu* [9 Aug] he died.

Q The Yellow Turban rebels of Runan, led by Liu Pi, turned from Cao Cao to support Yuan Shao. Yuan Shao sent Liu Bei to bring soldiers to help them, and many of the commanderies and counties joined him.

R Yuan Shao sent a messenger to appoint Li Tong, Chief Commandant of Yang'an, as General Who Subdues the South.<sup>27</sup> Liu Biao also sent him a secret summons, but Li Tong rejected both of them. Someone urged that he support Yuan Shao, but Li Tong put his hand to his sword and swore at him, "Lord Cao is wise and he will certainly settle the empire. Though Yuan Shao is strong, Cao Cao will take him in the end. I would not change for my life." He cut off the head of Yuan Shao's messenger and sent to Cao Cao the seal and tassel which he had been offered.

Li Tong kept particular check of the tax due in silk from each household.<sup>28</sup> Zhao Yan, Chief of Langling, went to him and said, "All the commanderies are in rebellion and only Yang'an remains obedient. If you press on with the collection of silk, however, men of mean spirit will be glad to make trouble. Surely this is a mistaken policy?"

"The Duke and Yuan Shao are in a critical fight," replied Li Tong, "and many commanderies and counties have turned away to rebellion. If the silk is not collected and sent to the capital, those who hear of it will surely claim that my loyalty is suspect and that I am waiting to see who wins."

"That is certainly a cause for concern," agreed Zhao Yan, "but we must consider how serious it is. If you will delay the tax just a little while, I can solve the problem for you."

Then he wrote to Xun Yu, "The people of Yang'an are poor and distressed, neighbouring cities are in rebellion, and the regime could easily be overthrown. Here is a time of crisis for the region. Moreover, the people of this commandery have held loyal, and even in time of danger they have never been uncertain. I believe the state should be showing some consideration, but we still impose the silk tax. What sort of encouragement is that?"

Xun Yu spoke to Cao Cao, and all the silk was returned to the people. Everyone was pleased and there was peace in the commandery. Li Tong attacked and defeated the various bandit groups led by Qu Gong and others, and he settled all the territory between the Huai and the Ru.

S At this time Cao Cao made new rulings on the collection of revenue, and orders were sent out to the provinces and commanderies. He increased the punishments for failure, and collection of the silk tax was strictly enforced. He Kui, Grand Administrator of Changguang,<sup>29</sup> said to Cao Cao, "The former kings distinguished the taxes of the nine tributaries, taking notice of distance, and they maintained three sets of regulations [for governing according to conditions] of recent pacification, good administration or rebellion.<sup>30</sup>

2031 "I believe that this commandery should come under the rules for distant areas and new states, so that minor affairs among the people are dealt with by chiefs and civil officials according to circumstance. Above, such a policy will follow the correct model, and below it will accord with the feeling of the people. Wait three years, until the people are following their occupations in peace; then you can apply the normal laws."<sup>31</sup> Cao Cao agreed.

T Liu Bei plundered between the Ru and the Ying. People to the south of Xu city were unsettled and Cao Cao was concerned about it.<sup>32</sup> Cao Ren said, "The southern districts know that our army is facing a crisis, and they

realise we cannot bring them help. If Liu Bei comes with a strong force it is quite understandable that they turn away from us. Liu Bei, however, has not long held command of Yuan Shao's soldiers and he has not had time to get used to them. If we attack him we can defeat him."

So Cao Cao sent Cao Ren with cavalry to attack Liu Bei. He defeated him and drove him away, took back all the counties that had rebelled, then returned.

U Liu Bei went back to Yuan Shao's army, but he secretly wanted to get away, so he urged Yuan Shao to make alliance with Liu Biao in the south. Yuan Shao sent Liu Bei back to Runan with his own men and he joined there with a group of bandits under Gong Du to collect a force of several thousand men. Cao Cao sent his officer Cai Yang against Liu Bei, but Liu Bei killed him.

V Yuan Shao's army came to Yangwu.<sup>33</sup> Ju Shou said to him, "Though our northern troops are many, their strength and spirit are not equal to the men of the south. The supplies of the southerners are few and their stores are not so plentiful as ours of the north. So the south will want to fight early, while delay will give advantage to the north. You should wait and do nothing for a few weeks." Yuan Shao would not agree.

2032

W In the eighth month Yuan Shao brought his forces gradually forward and established his position on some sand-dunes stretching several dozen li east and west. Cao Cao spread out his camps to face him.<sup>34</sup>

X In the ninth month on the day *gengwu* [26 Nov], the first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.<sup>35</sup>

Y Cao Cao made a sally against Yuan Shao, but gained no success and was forced back to strengthen his own defences. Yuan Shao built high towers and raised hills of earth to shoot down into the camp. Everyone had to wear shields over them to move about. Then Cao Cao made 'thunder cars' to fire stones at Yuan Shao's towers and destroyed them all.<sup>36</sup> Yuan Shao made a tunnel to attack Cao Cao, but Cao Cao dug a long ditch inside his walls to block it.

Z Cao Cao's army was small, his supplies were exhausted, his troops were tired and ill, his people were troubled by the taxation and levies and many

had turned away to Yuan Shao. Cao Cao was worried, and he wrote to Xun Yu that he was thinking of a retreat to Xu city, so that Yuan Shao would be compelled to fight him there.

"Yuan Shao has all his army at Guandu," replied Xun Yu, "and he will settle victory and defeat with you there. You face great strength with great weakness, and if you cannot control him you will be taken. Here is a crisis for the empire.

"Furthermore, Yuan Shao is a very ordinary leader: he can collect men but he does not know how to use them. With your uncanny arts of war, your clear understanding, and the favour of Heaven; how can you fail?

"Your supplies may be low, but you are not in the straits of Chu and Han between Rongyang and Chenggao. At that time neither Liu nor Xiang were willing to retreat, for they knew that the first to abandon the field would lose everything.<sup>37</sup>

"Your force is only a tenth of his, yet you have marked the ground and hold it. You have him by the throat and he cannot get forward, and you have now maintained that position for half a year. It is obvious his strength is almost exhausted. Here is the decisive moment, and this is the occasion to surprise him. Do not miss your chance."

Recognising the truth of this, Cao Cao strengthened his defences and held on.

2033

AA Cao Cao went to welcome the men bringing up supplies. "Another fortnight and I shall have defeated Yuan Shao for you," he told them. "Then I need trouble you no more."<sup>38</sup>

Yuan Shao's transports came towards Guandu with several thousand waggons of grain. Xun You said to Cao Cao, "His supplies are on the way. Their commander Han Meng is brave, but he tends to underestimate his enemies. If we attack him he will be destroyed."

"Whom can we send?" asked Cao Cao.

"Xu Huang can do it," replied Xun You.

So they sent the Lieutenant-General Xu Huang of Hedong to go with Shi Huan and intercept Han Meng. They defeated him, put him to flight and burnt the baggage.<sup>39</sup>

In the winter, in the tenth month Yuan Shao brought up more carts with grain supplies, and he sent Chunyu Qiong and other commanders with over

ten thousand men as escort for them. They halted for the night forty *li* north of Yuan Shao's camp.<sup>40</sup> Ju Shou said to Yuan Shao, "You should send Jiang Qi out with a separate force to intercept Cao Cao's raids." Yuan Shao would not agree.

Xu You said, "Cao Cao has few soldiers, and he has brought his whole army to face us [at Guandu]. There cannot be many of his men left at Xu city. If we send a light force by night to make a surprise attack, Xu can be taken. Once Xu is captured, then we hold the Emperor and can attack Cao Cao in his name, while Cao Cao becomes an outlaw. Even if he is not destroyed, we can make him rush back and forth and we are sure to defeat him." Yuan Shao would not agree, saying, "The main thing is to take Cao Cao first."

About this time one of Xu You's family broke the law. When Shen Pei arrested him Xu You was angry and went to Cao Cao.

As Cao Cao heard that Xu You had come, he went barefoot to greet him, grasped him by the hand and laughed, "Ziyuan, you have come a long way.<sup>41</sup> Now I am sure to succeed." They went in and sat down, and Xu You said to Cao Cao, "Yuan has a strong army, how can you withstand him? And what supplies have you?" Cao Cao said, "We can still manage for a year."

"That is not right," replied Xu You, "tell it truthfully!" Cao Cao said, "We can last out half a year."

"Don't you want to defeat him?" asked Xu You. "Why won't you tell the truth?" "I was joking," said Cao Cao. "In fact we can hold out for just one more month. What shall I do?"

2034 "You are facing him alone with an isolated army," observed Xu You. "There can be no help from outside and your supplies are already exhausted. This is the critical situation.

"Now Yuan Shao has over ten thousand carts of supplies at Gushi and Wuchao,<sup>42</sup> and the escort which accompanies them is quite unprepared. If you move with light-armed troops and take them by surprise you can destroy their stores. No more than three days after that, Yuan will be defeated of himself."

Cao Cao was very pleased. Leaving Cao Hong and Xun You to hold the camp, he took personal command of five thousand horsemen and foot-soldiers, all with the Yuan army's flags. Gagging the men and tying the horses' mouths, they went out by night and moved by side-paths between the roads. The men carried bound firewood. If anyone questioned them,

they explained that, "Lord Yuan is afraid Cao Cao may attack his after-guard, so he is sending reinforcements to the defence." Those told this believed it, and they went on as before.<sup>43</sup>

When Cao Cao's force arrived they surrounded the enemy camp and raised a great fire, and those inside were startled and confused. As soon as it was light, Chunyu Qiong and the others saw how few men Cao Cao had with him, and they set out their line of battle before the gates of the camp. Cao Cao attacked at once. Chunyu Qiong retreated to the shelter of the camp, but Cao Cao followed up and attacked him again.

When Yuan Shao heard Cao Cao had attacked Chunyu Qiong, he said to his son Yuan Tan, "As Cao Cao is defeating Chunyu Qiong, I shall take his camp and he will have nothing to come back to." He sent his officers Gao Lan and Zhang He to attack Cao Cao's camp.

Zhang He said, "If Lord Cao's best troops have gone he is sure to defeat Chunyu Qiong. When Chunyu Qiong is defeated the affair is lost. I beg first to go and help him." Guo Tu argued firmly that they should attack Cao Cao's camp.

"Lord Cao's camp is strong," argued Zhang He. "If we attack it we shall certainly not succeed. If Chunyu Qiong and the others are taken then we shall all be captives."

Yuan Shao sent only light troops to aid Chunyu Qiong and he attacked Cao Cao's camp with his main force. They could not capture it.

As Yuan Shao's cavalry approached Wuchao,<sup>44</sup> some of Cao Cao's attendants said, "The enemy is coming closer, we ask to send soldiers to hold them off." Cao Cao was angry and said, "When they are behind our backs, then tell me."

Fighting for their lives, his men quickly defeated the enemy. They cut off the heads of Chunyu Qiong and others, burnt the supplies, and killed more than a thousand soldiers. They cut the noses from the men, and the lips and tongues from the cattle and the horses, and displayed them before Yuan Shao's army.<sup>45</sup>

Yuan Shao's men were now anxious and afraid. Ashamed that his plan had failed, Guo Tu now he spoke to Yuan Shao against Zhang He, saying, "Zhang He is pleased that our army has been defeated." Zhang He became

angry and frightened. Together with Gao Lan he burnt the engines of attack and went to Cao Cao's camp to surrender.

2035 Cao Hong, suspicious, was unwilling to receive them, but Xun You said, "Zhang He's plan was rejected. He is angry and he has come away. How can you have doubts?" So they let them in.

At this Yuan Shao's army was alarmed and upset and fell into utter confusion. Yuan Shao, with Yuan Tan and a few of their staff,<sup>46</sup> fled on horseback across the Yellow River with an escort of eight hundred cavalry. Cao Cao chased them but failed to catch them. He collected their baggage, maps and books, and their treasure. All the other men of the army that surrendered were buried alive by Cao Cao. More than seventy thousand men were killed from first to last.<sup>47</sup>

BB Ju Shou was unable to cross with Yuan Shao. He was caught by Cao Cao's men and cried out loud, "I do not surrender, I have been captured!" Cao Cao knew him from before, and greeted him, "We have been separated under different mansions of the stars, and it is long since our paths have crossed.<sup>48</sup> It is quite unexpected that we should have taken you today."

"Ji province [Yuan Shao] made bad plans," replied Ju Shou, "and he brought defeat upon himself. I was neither clever nor strong enough. It is fitting I should be taken."

"Yuan Benchu had no good ideas," said Cao Cao, "and he refused your advice. There is still disorder and confusion, and I should be glad of your assistance."

"My uncle, my mother, and my younger brother are all in Yuan's hands," answered Ju Shou. "I shall be obliged if you will kill me quickly."

Cao Cao sighed and said, "If I had had you earlier, the empire would have been no problem." He released him and treated him generously, but later Ju Shou tried to return to Yuan Shao, so Cao Cao killed him.

2036

CC Cao Cao collected Yuan Shao's papers, including letters from men at Xu city and within his army. He burnt them all, saying, "When Yuan Shao was strong, even I was not sure of myself. How much more is this true for my men."<sup>49</sup>

Many walled cities in Ji province surrendered to Cao Cao.

DD Yuan Shao fled to the north bank [of the Yellow River] by Liyang and went to the camp of his General Jiang Yiqu. He took him by the hand and said, "I entrust you with my head!" Jiang Yiqu gave up his tent, set him in place and asked him to take over command. When the soldiers heard where Yuan Shao was they gradually came back.

EE Someone said to Tian Feng, "You will now become important."

"Our lord may seem lenient," replied Tian Feng, "but he forgets nothing. He does not value my loyalty, and I have several times angered him with advice or warning. Had he won, he would have been pleased and might have forgiven me. But now the battle is lost and he is angry. It will bring back all his hidden resentment, and I do not expect to live."

Yuan Shao's men all beat their breasts and wept and said, "If Tian Feng had been here we should never have suffered such defeat." Yuan Shao said to Pang Ji, "The people of Ji province have heard my army is defeated and they should all remember [how they misled] me. My Aide-de-Camp Tian Feng was the only one who did not agree, but advised me not to go. I am still ashamed to face him."

"When Tian Feng heard you had retreated," replied Pang Ji, "he clapped his hands and laughed aloud. He was pleased things turned out as he foretold."

Yuan Shao said to his officers, "I did not use Tian Feng's advice, and so he laughs at me!" And he killed him.

Before this, when Cao Cao heard that Tian Feng had not followed on the campaign, he was pleased and said, "Yuan Shao will certainly be defeated." Later, when Yuan Shao had fled, he said again, "If Yuan Shao had accepted the advice of his Aide-de-Camp, everything would still be in the balance."

FF Two sons of Shen Pei were captured by Cao Cao. Yuan Shao's officer Meng Dai argued, "Shen Pei has a position of special authority and he belongs to a powerful clan. Now that his sons are in the south he will certainly plan to rebel." Guo Tu and Xin Ping agreed.

Yuan Shao made Meng Dai Supervisor of the Army, to take Shen Pei's place in command of the garrison at Ye.<sup>50</sup>

The Protector of the Army Pang Ji had long been Shen Pei's enemy. Yuan Shao asked him about the matter, and Pang Ji answered, "Shen Pei is

fiercely honest and always respects the examples of the ancients. He could not turn traitor just because his two sons are in the south. Have no doubts."

"But you have always disliked him?" asked Yuan Shao.

"Our earlier quarrel," replied Pang Ji, "that was private. We are talking now about matters of state."

"Excellent!" said Yuan Shao. He did not dismiss Shen Pei.

2037 After this, Shen Pei became friends with Pang Ji.

GG Yuan Shao attacked the cities of Ji province that had rebelled against him and steadily recaptured them.

HH As a man, Yuan Shao was generous and elegant. He was able, and neither pleasure nor anger would show on his expression. Yet he was proud, obstinate and self-satisfied, and seldom followed the best course. So he came to defeat.

II In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *xinhai* [6 Nov], there was a comet in the Great Dyke constellation.<sup>51</sup>

JJ The Grand Administrator of Lujiang, Li Shu, had attacked and killed the Inspector of Yang province Yan Xiang,<sup>52</sup> and Mei Qian, Lei Xu and Chen Lan of Lujiang each collected forces of several ten thousands between the Yangzi and the Huai.

Cao Cao recommended Liu Fu of Pei state as Inspector of Yang province. The province at that time controlled only Jiujiang, but Liu Fu rode alone to the empty city of Hefei and set up the provincial government there. He summoned Mei Qian, Lei Xu and the others to support him, and they all sent tribute and accepted alliance.

For several years Liu Fu acted with grace and honesty, and the wandering people that turned to him were numbered by the tens of thousands. He extended military colonies and repaired the embankments and dams. People were able to store up supplies, and he then brought in teachers and set up schools. He reinforced the walls of the cities and prepared great stocks of wood and stone, ready for defence in war.

KK When Cao Cao heard that Sun Ce had died, he thought to take the opportunity to attack. The Attendant Imperial Clerk Zhang Hong protested, "To gain advantage from another man's mourning does not accord with

traditional patterns of honourable conduct. If you fail, moreover, you will have made enemies and ended good feeling. Now is the time to behave generously."<sup>53</sup>

So Cao Cao recommended Sun Quan as General Who Exterminates Caitiffs, with command as Grand Administrator of Kuaiji.

2038

Cao Cao wanted Zhang Hong to go and persuade Sun Quan into a close alliance. He appointed him Chief Commandant of the Eastern Region of Kuaiji, and so Zhang Hong came to Wu.<sup>54</sup> The mother of Sun Quan [Lady Wu] believed that he was too young [to take full authority], so she commissioned Zhang Hong and Zhang Zhao to act together as his assistants.<sup>55</sup> Zhang Hong had no thought but to give help in the supervision and to make sure everything was done correctly.

LL Sun Quan's mother asked the Chief Commandant Who Manifests Firmness Dong Xi of Kuaiji, "Can we hold the east of the Yangzi?"

"The lands east of the Yangzi have security from mountains and rivers," replied Dong Xi, "while the good government and virtue of the General Who Exterminates Rebels [Sun Ce] have already attracted the people. The General Who Exterminates Caitiffs [Sun Quan] can build on these foundations, so that great and small follow his commands. Zhang Zhao can look after affairs of government, while others like me act as claws and teeth. With both strategic advantage and popular support, there is certainly nothing to worry about."

MM Sun Quan sent Zhang Hong to his territory. Because Zhang Hong had originally received his appointment from the north, some people suspected his ideas might go further. Sun Quan, however, refused to hear such suggestions.<sup>56</sup>

NN Lu Su was intending to return to the north,<sup>57</sup> but Zhou Yu persuaded him not to, then recommended him to Sun Quan, "Lu Su has ability which can be of value to us. You should look widely for men like him to assist your great work."

Sun Quan gave audience to Lu Su and was pleased with him. When the other guests had withdrawn he invited Lu Su to stay back, and they sat with their tables together and drank face to face. Sun Quan said, "The Han house

is in danger, and I have in mind to follow the great examples of Huan [of Qi] and Wen [of Jin].<sup>58</sup> How would you help in this?"

"In earlier times," answered Lu Su, "though Emperor Gao [of Han] wanted to honour and serve the Provisional Emperor, he could not manage it because he was under threat from Xiang Yu.<sup>59</sup> Now Cao Cao is like Xiang Yu, and how can you manage like Huan or Wen?"

"As I see it, the Han house is fallen forever and Cao Cao is here to stay. Your best plan is to hold the east of the Yangzi and watch the battles of the empire. Take advantage of the northerners' preoccupations, attack Huang Zu and drive him away, go forward against Liu Biao, then seize the full length of the Long River [the Yangzi]. Here is the task for a king."

Sun Quan replied, "Now I am putting all the strength of my domain to help and support the house of Han. What you propose is far beyond my ability."

Zhang Zhao spoke against Lu Su, saying that he was young and uncouth. Sun Quan, however, showed him increasing honour and respect, and granted him supplies so that Lu Su became as wealthy as he had been before.<sup>60</sup>

2039

OO Sun Quan held examination of those junior officers who had few soldiers and were therefore less useful, and combined their troops to make larger units. The Major with a Separate Command Lü Meng of Runan had his squadron looking fresh and drilled, and his men were well-trained. Sun Quan was impressed. He increased his command, promoted him and showed him favour.

PP The Officer of the Bureau of Merit Luo Tong urged Sun Quan to honour worthy men, to welcome scholars and to be diligent in seeking advice. On days when there were feasts and rewards each man should be allowed to come forward and have personal audience. He should enquire whether his lodgings were comfortable, show a personal interest, and encourage him to talk in order to find out what was on his mind. Sun Quan did this. Luo Tong was the son of Luo Jun.<sup>61</sup>

QQ The Grand Administrator of Luling, Sun Fu, was afraid Sun Quan would not be able to hold the east of the Yangzi, and he sent men in secret with letters to call Cao Cao. Someone reported it, and Sun Quan beheaded all

Sun Fu's close companions, redistributed his followers, and exiled him to the east.<sup>62</sup>

RR Cao Cao recommended that Hua Xin be called for appointment as Gentleman-Consultant and Adviser to the Army of the Minister of Works.<sup>63</sup>

SS Li Shu, Grand Administrator of Lujiang, refused to submit to Sun Quan and several times took in fugitives and rebels against him. Sun Quan reported the situation to Cao Cao and said, "Inspector Yan Xiang was earlier appointed by you, and Li Shu harmed him.<sup>64</sup> This was a wanton criminal act. He should be punished and destroyed quickly. Li Shu is sure to ask help from you on false pretences. You hold the position of an Aheng,<sup>65</sup> and you are respected by all within the seas. I request you tell your officers to pay him no attention."

Then he raised troops and attacked Li Shu in Huan city. Li Shu asked help from Cao Cao but Cao Cao sent none. They stormed the city, cut off Li Shu's head and exposed it. His forces, over twenty thousand men, were taken over and transferred elsewhere.

TT Liu Biao had attacked Zhang Xian,<sup>66</sup> but for several years he gained no headway. Then, while Cao Cao was facing Yuan Shao and had no opportunity to help him, Zhang Xian became ill and died.

2040 The people of Changsha set up his son Zhang Yi to succeed him, but Liu Biao attacked Zhang Yi and also Lingling and Guiyang and conquered all of them.

Liu Biao's territory now extended over several thousand li, and he had more than a hundred thousand men at arms. He no longer sent up tribute, he held state sacrifice and worship to Heaven and Earth and in his lodging and clothing he usurped the regalia of an emperor.<sup>67</sup>

UU Because Liu Zhang was dull and weak, Zhang Lu refused to accept his orders, but attacked his Major with a Separate Command Zhang Xiu, killed him and took over his army. Liu Zhang was angry and killed Zhang Lu's mother and younger brother.<sup>68</sup>

Then Zhang Lu seized Hanzhong and made war on Liu Zhang. Liu Zhang sent the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Pang Xi to attack him, but he had no success. Liu Zhang appointed Pang Xi as Grand Administrator

of Ba commandery, to camp at Langzhong and oppose Zhang Lu. Pang Xi, on his own authority, recruited the Zong people of Hanchang as soldiers.<sup>69</sup>

Someone spoke to Liu Zhang against Pang Xi and Liu Zhang became suspicious of him. Zhao Wei protested several times, but his advice was not heeded, and he too became angry and resentful.

Before this, tens of thousands of families from Nanyang and the Three Adjuncts had migrated into Yi province. Liu Yan had recruited them as soldiers, calling them the Dongzhou troops.<sup>70</sup> Liu Zhang was by nature tolerant and lenient, he maintained no authority, and when the Dongzhou troops plundered and oppressed the local people he could do nothing to prevent it.

Zhao Wei had gained the people's affections in the past. Taking advantage of local resentment in Yi province, he made a rebellion, bringing tens of thousands of soldiers to attack Liu Zhang. He gave large bribes to establish an alliance with [Liu Biao in] Jing province. Shu commandery, Guanghan and Jianwei all joined him.

### NOTES to Jian'an 5: 200

- A *HHJ* 29, 9b;  
*HHS* 9, 381 (45a), the Annals of Emperor Xian;  
*SGZ* 1, 18 (8a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao.
- 1 This month began on a *jiaxu* day (cyclical number 11), so it cannot have included a *renzi* day (cyclical number 49). *HHS* 9 has *renwu* (cyclical number 19), which would be correct. *HHJ* 29 miswrote *zi* for *wu*, and *ZZTJ* followed it.
- B *SGZ* 1, 18 (45a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*SGZ* 14, 423–24 (11a) PC quoting *Fuzi*.
- C *HHS* 74/64A, 2392 (13a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- D *SGZ* 1, 18 (45a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 875–76 (10a–b), the Biography of Liu Bei.
- 2 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes that a fragment of *Wei shu*, the official history of Wei, quoted by *SGZ* 42, 876 PC, says Liu Bei was confident Cao Cao could not free himself from the defence of Guandu, and would not come against him in person (see also passage AA of Jian'an 4). When Cao Cao did come, however, Liu Bei abandoned his followers and fled.

As Sima Guang notes, this is surely an exaggerated calumny of Liu Bei, and an example of the *Wei shu*'s partisan inaccuracy.

3 Despite this defeat, Chang Xi was evidently still able to maintain himself in Donghai commandery: passage E of Jian'an 6.

E *HHS* 74/64A, 2392–93 (13b–14a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 6, 200 (60a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

4 *ZZTJ* commentary here quotes from *Sunzi bingfa* 5, 5a; Ames, *Sun-tzu*, 119 (Griffith, *Art of War*, 91):

Generally in battle use the "straightforward" to engage the enemy and the "surprise" to win the victory.

Commentary to this passage by Cao Cao and others, interpreted by Griffith in a note, explains that the "straightforward" [Griffith: "normal"] force (*zheng*) is used to fix or distract the enemy, and the "surprise" [Griffith: "extraordinary"] forces (*qi*) act when and where their attacks are not anticipated.

5 *ZZTJ* commentary explains that the phrase used here, *miaosheng*, literally "success in the ancestral temple," abbreviates the expression "to settle plans in the temple, and determine victory at a distance of a thousand *li*: that is, far-sighted and sure strategy, because decisions are blessed by the ancestors when they are advised of the plan. See *Sunzi bingfa* 1, 31a; Ames, *Sun-tzu*, 105 (Griffith, *Art of War*, 71), and also *HHS* 1B, 87–88, the Eulogy to Emperor Guangwu with commentary quoting *Huainan zi*.

6 The text of Yuan Shao's proclamation is given by *SGZ* 6, 197–99 PC quoting *Weishi chunqiu*, and by *HHS* 74/64A, 2393–99. *Weishi chunqiu* ascribes the composition to Yuan Shao's adviser Chen Lin.

7 The date of Yuan Shao's advance is given by *SGZ* 1, 19.

F *HHS* 74/64A, 2399 (17b–18a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 6, 199–200 (57a) PC quoting *Xiandi zhuan*.

8 Bogui was the style of Gongsun Zan.

9 On Yang Xiong (53 BC – 18 AD), see Knechtges. This quotation comes from his "Model Sayings" (*Fa yan*), 10, 3b–4a. The six kingdoms were Han, Wei, Zhao, Yan, Qi and Chu of the Warring States period. Quarrelling amongst themselves, they weakened and destroyed the authority of the royal house of Zhou, and so fell prey to the new power of Qin. Ji was the family name of Zhou, Ying that of the rulers of Qin.

G *SGZ* 14, 428 (5a), the Biography of Cheng Yu.

10 Juancheng in Jiyin, near present-day Juancheng in Shandong, lay just south of the Yellow River, on the frontier of the territory controlled by Cao Cao and that of Yuan Shao: note 3 to Jian'an 3. It was, however, some eighty kilometres east of Liyang, so it was not on Yuan Shao's direct line of attack.

11 Meng Ben and Xia Yu were men of the Zhou period, famous for their strength and daring: *e.g.* *SJ* 79, 2407.

H *SGZ* 6, 199 (57a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.

12 Boma county in Dong commandery was near present-day Huaxian in Henan. It lay south of the Yellow River some twenty kilometres southeast of Liyang.

- I *SGZ* 1, 19 (46a–b), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*SGZ* 36 (Shu 6), 939 (2a), the Biography of Guan Yu.
- 13 The Yellow River at this time flowed considerably north of its present course, and the Yan Crossing is north of present-day Yanjin in Henan. See also notes 31 and 37 to Chuping 2.  
Cao Cao's direct line of advance from Xu city and Guandu to Boma would have taken him northeast through the region of present-day Kaifeng. At Xun Yu's suggestion, however, he marched due north to the Yellow River, made a feint across the Yan Crossing, southwest of Liyang, to draw Yuan Shao's attention, then brought his light troops along the south bank of the Yellow River directly past the front of Yuan Shao's main position at Liyang, eastwards to Boma.
- J *SGZ* 6, 200 (58a) PC quoting *Xiandi zhuan*;  
*HHS* 74/64A, 2399 (16a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- 14 As a result of Cao Cao's feint, described in passage I above, Yuan Shao has brought the advance-guard of his army southwest up the Yellow River from Liyang to the Yan Crossing. At that point he was almost due north of Cao Cao's defence positions at Guandu and his capital at Xu city.
- K *SGZ* 1, 19 (46b–47a), the Biography of Cao Cao.
- 15 Since the context indicates that Yuan Shao's troops could not see Cao Cao's, and Cao Cao had to send look-outs to tell him of the enemy movements, he evidently had his force concealed on the southern side of the major dyke south of the Yellow River. These great dykes are some distance from the regular stream, to make room for seasonal flood-waters. So Yuan Shao's army had been allowed to cross the River unhindered.
- 16 Again from the description of the action, it appears that the road along the Yellow River, which was being used by the baggage train from Boma, ran on the inner, northern, side of the major southern dyke which concealed Cao Cao and his men from the enemy. Having crossed the River, Yuan Shao's men were tempted to approach Cao Cao's position by the offer of plunder from the baggage-carts which they could see, apparently undefended, in the open below the dyke.
- L *SGZ* 36 (Shu 6), 939–40 (2a–b), the Biography of Guan Yu.
- M *SGZ* 8, 247 (16b), the Biography of Liu Yu.
- 17 Under Later Han, the Colonel Protector of the Wuhuan, with headquarters at Ning in Shanggu commandery, near present-day Zhangjiakou [Kalgan] was responsible for dealings with the Wuhuan and the Xianbi tribes of the north-western frontier. See, for example, *HHS* 118/28, 3626, the Treatise of Officials, *HHS* 90/80, 2982, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 37 and 383.  
Yan Rou had already established influence over the non-Chinese people of this region, and Yuan Shao had earlier granted him authority: passages SS of Xingping 2 and C of Jian'an 4.
- 18 During Later Han, the General Who Crosses the Liao, with headquarters at Manbo in Wuyuan, near present-day Baotou, was responsible for control of the frontier against the Xiongnu, including supervision of the dependent court of the Southern Shanyu. See, for

example, *HHS* 89/79, 2949, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 252–253 and 518–519. Though the Liao River flows through southern Manchuria, the title had long ceased to have such specific geographical relevance.

Xianyu Fu, based in Yuyang, was a colleague of Yan Rou in the north of the North China plain: passage SS of Xingping 2. He had earlier made contact with Cao Cao and had been appointed as a general with authority over the western half of You province: passage B of Jian'an 4. Appointment as a general of the trans-Liao command presumably gave him the right to deal with non-Chinese people, Xiongnu and others, in comparable fashion to Yan Rou.

*SGZ* 8 has this appointment as General Who Crosses the Liao River on the Left, but *ZZTJ* has changed it. (The parallel text of *HHS* 73/63, 2365, does not specify a side.) *ZZTJ* commentary suggests the designation "Right" defines Xianyu Fu's sphere of responsibility as You province, on the east of the frontier, excluding the Ordos region, which would be on the "Left." This was evidently the view of the Song period, viewing the northern frontier from a stand-point in the south of China. I observe, however, that from the point of view of a ruler of all under Heaven, sitting with his back to the north and his face to the south, the west is on his right and the east on his left. In particular, this equation of direction can be seen in the designation of the two capital commanderies Zuopingyi and Youfufeng, which were established east and west respectively of the Former Han capital Chang'an. I suspect, therefore, that *SGZ* was correct in identifying Xianyu Fu's appointment as being on the Left, and so responsible for the western part of the frontier, and the change by *ZZTJ* was mistaken.

N *SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1109 (33b–36a), the Biography of Sun Ce;  
*SGZ* 46 (Wu 1), 1111 (34a–b) PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.

19 Sheyang county was near present-day Huaian in Jiangsu, in the north of Guangling commandery.

Chen Deng was a long-time associate and trusted officer of Cao Cao (*e.g.* passage L of Jian'an 2) who had been appointed to his present position after Sun Ce drove away his cousin, the earlier agent Chen Yu: passages O of Jian'an 2 and K of Jian'an 3. His policy was the same as Chen Yu's: to encourage local opposition south of the lower Yangzi and so prevent Sun Ce from making plans too far afield.

20 On White Tiger Yan, see passages QQ of Xingping 2, R of Jian'an 1, O of Jian'an 2, and Y of Jian'an 4; the implication of the last is that White Tiger Yan was no longer significant. *Jiangbiao zhuan*, however, refers to Chen Deng sending seals and insignia to these allies as Chen Yu had before him (passage O of Jian'an 2). It is possible White Tiger Yan was not finally eliminated until this year.

21 Dantu in Danyang commandery, by present-day Dantu in Jiangsu, was on the border with Wu commandery just across the Yangzi estuary from Guangling.

There is a tradition, recorded by the main text of *SGZ* 46 and some other sources, that Sun Ce was planning to take advantage of Cao Cao's pre-occupation with Yuan Shao's attack at Guandu and strike north against Xu city, to kidnap the Emperor and then use him to control the empire. As the fourth-century scholar Sun Sheng and the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang have observed, and as I have argued in *Generals of the South*, 208–211, this is most unlikely.

- 22 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes the story in *Jiangbiao zhuan* that Xu Gong had sent a memorial to the court warning against Sun Ce; Sun Ce learnt of this, taxed Xu Gong with it, and killed him. Xu Gong had earlier taken refuge with White Tiger Yan: passage QQ of Xingping 2. Sima Guang suggests, likely enough, that Xu Gong was taken when Sun Ce destroyed White Tiger Yan or his associates, this year or last. See also de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 198–199.
- 23 The phrase *sanjiang* refers at this time to the Yangzi River. It is not certain whether the "Three Streams" should be identified as the upper, middle and lower Yangzi, being the reaches flowing through modern Sichuan, Hubei/Hunan and Jiangxi/ Anhui/ Jiangsu, or whether it is an description of three major branches flowing through the ancient delta region below present-day Nanjing (*e.g.* de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 47).
- 24 Sun Ce's age at death is given by the main text of *SGZ* 46. The date is given by *Yu lin*, quoted in *SGZ* 46, 1110 PC, as the fourth day of the fifth month, which was indeed a *bingwu* day.
- O *SGZ* 47 (Wu 2), 1115–16 (2a–b), the Biography of Sun Quan;  
*SGZ* 52 (Wu 7), 1220 (3a–b), the Biography of Zhang Zhao;  
*SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), 1260 (4b), the Biography of Zhou Yu.
- 25 Sun Quan's biography says that under the auspices of his elder brother Sun Ce he received two recommendations as a candidate for government office: Filially Pious and Incorrupt by his commandery, and Accomplished Talent by the provincial administration. Zhang Zhao addresses him by the former, less distinguished, title.
- 26 Zhou Yu had been stationed at Baqiu in Yuzhang, in charge of the major Sun forces in the west: passage V of Jian'an 4. Before that posting in the west, he had been Protector of the Army at the Centre under Sun Ce: *SGZ* 54, 1260. The appointment generally indicates disciplinary powers: for example, passage P and note 39 of Chuping 2, and de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 62 note 46.
- ZZTJ* commentary observes here that the state of Wu also had Protectors of the Army on the Right and on the Left, and suggests there were three divisions of the forces. In fact, however, Protectors of the Army on the Right and on the Left appear much later in the reign of Sun Quan (*SGZ* 52, 1237; 54, 1277; 56, 1306; 58, 1345; 60, 1382; 64, 1445 PC). Those later positions, moreover, do not appear to have any territorial significance, but were dual appointments to the same office. The present post held by Zhou Yu is the only reference to the Centre: he was evidently chief of staff of all Sun armies, with responsibilities comparable to those of Zhang Zhao in the civilian side of government.
- P *HHS* 9, 381 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.
- Q *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 876 (10b), the Biography of Liu Bei.
- R *SGZ* 18, 535 (3b–4a), the Biography of Li Tong;  
*SGZ* 23, 668 (18a–19a), the Biography of Zhao Yan.
- 27 On Li Tong's appointment in Yang'an, at the frontier of Cao Cao's territory with that of Liu Biao, see passage Z of Jian'an 2.

- 28 The traditional coinage of Han had been destroyed by Dong Zhuo (passage U of Chuping 1), so official levies were now collected by commodities, grain or silk. See also passage S below, and *JS* 26, 790, with Yang, "Economic History," 159 and 191.
- S *SGZ* 12, 380 (22a–b), the Biography of He Kui.
- 29 Changguang commandery had been lately established by Cao Cao in the south of the Shandong peninsula. Changguang county under Later Han was in Donglai commandery, near present-day Haiyang in Shandong. The new establishment represents an extension of Cao Cao's authority into the confused and disordered territories of the mountainous peninsula, and He Kui's biography describes how he had to deal with Yellow Turbans and other local rebels, and also with threats from Yuan Tan to the north.
- 30 *ZZTJ* commentary quotes from *Zhou li* 8, 27b–28a; Biot II, 276–277, describing the division of the empire into nine concentric regions, each more distant from the capital.  
Hu Sanxing quotes further from *Zhou li* 9, 9a–b; Biot II, 307–308, describing the three rules of governing: the lightest punishments were applied to those territories which had come newly under control; the medium range was for those which were settled and at peace; and the heaviest strictures should be applied only to those which were disordered and rebellious.
- 31 On the basis of the *Zhou li* models, He Kui is arguing that his commandery should be considered not as a settled region which has wilfully broken out in disorder, but as a new territory of Cao Cao, distant from his capital, for which lenient treatment is appropriate.
- T *SGZ* 9, 274 (13a), the Biography of Cao Ren.
- 32 The Ying River flowed just south of Xu city, and the Ru was roughly parallel, further south again. Passage R above has described how Li Tong in Yang'an settled the region from the Ru River southwards to the Huai basin, but this area of disturbance was closer and in that respect more dangerous.
- U *SGZ* 32 (Shu 2), 876 (10b), the Biography of Liu Bei.
- V *HHS* 74/64A, 2400 (18a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 6, 199 (58a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- 33 Yangwu county in Henan was near present-day Yuanyang, close to the course of the modern Yellow River, and just north of the canalised Ji River of Han. This city became Yuan Shao's headquarters for his attack on Cao Cao, whose defences were based on Guandu, immediately to the south.
- W *SGZ* 1, 19 (47a), the Biography of Cao Cao.
- 34 Guandu, where Cao Cao had established his main line of defences in the previous year (passage N of Jian'an 4), was just north of present-day Zhongmou in Henan. The Han city was on a slight terrace above the southern bank of the Bian Canal [a branch of the Vast or Grand Canal network: Needham, *Science and Civilization* IV.3, 270, de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 57–58, and note 32 to Chuping 1]. It was the last obstacle of any significance to an approach against Xu city from the north.

- X *HHS* 9, 381 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.
- 35 *HHS* 108/18, 3371, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this eclipse, but gives no astronomical details. The eclipse, Oppolzer 3372, mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 217, affected the far north of Manchuria and Mongolia.
- Despite the obvious confrontation at Guandu, the Treatise offers no prognostication. Commentary to the Treatise, however, quotes from *Qiantan ba*, apocryphal work on the *Chunqiu*, which says that an eclipse on a *gengwu* day foretells the destruction of a government army by fire. This would actually fit better with Cao Cao's defeat at the Red Cliffs in 208 than with the present engagement at Guandu: passage PP of Jian'an 13, and de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 267–269.
- Y *SGZ* 1, 19–20 (48b), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*HHS* 74/64A, 2400 (18a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 6, 199 (58b–59a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- 36 *SGZ* 6 and *HHS* 74/64A say that "thunder cars" (*pili*) was the name given by Yuan Shao's troops to these machines of Cao Cao. The text describes them as stone-throwers, and they must have been mobile ballistae. Thunder presumably referred to the crash as the firing arm of the machine reached its limit, and possibly to the effect of the stones as they arrived.
- Z *SGZ* 1, 20 (48b), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*SGZ* 10, 314 (15a–b), the Biography of Xun Yu.
- 37 Rongyang and Chenggao were west of Guandu, near the present-day places of the same names in Henan, by the junction of the Bian River and the Vast Canal system with the Yellow River. At the beginning of Han, this region was the site of critical campaigns between Liu Ji (later Liu Bang), future Emperor Gao of Han, and his rival Xiang Yu, King of Western Chu, with battles and sieges at both cities. See, for example, *SJ* 7, 324–30; Chavannes, *MH* II, 302–311, and *HS* 1A, 37–56; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 80–94.
- AA *SGZ* 1, 21 (49a–50b), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*SGZ* 10, 323–24 (30b–31a), the Biography of Xun You;  
*SGZ* 6, 199 (59a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*HHS* 74/64A, 2400–01 (18b–19b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 1, 21–22 (49b–50a) PC quoting *Cao Man zhuan*;  
*SGZ* 17, 525 (11b), the Biography of Zhang Ge.
- 38 In *SGZ* 1, this small incident is described after the first attack on Yuan Shao's supply trains, recommended by Xun You and described immediately below. That seems a slightly more likely order of events, and it is not possible to say why *ZZTJ* changed it.
- 39 The biography of Xu Huang in *SGZ* 17, 528, says that this raid was made against the supply base at Gushi.
- Gushi had been a county under Former Han, but was disestablished by Later Han. The town was northwest of present-day Zhengzhou in Henan, at the western edge of the sphere of operations about Guandu. See also note 42 below.
- 40 *SGZ* 6 and *HHS* 74/64A both identify this place as Wuchao. See note 42 below.

41 The style of Xu You was Ziyuan, but the text here reads. One suggestion is that Cao Cao addressed him as *qing* "minister" as a mark of compliment. The more probable alternative is that the character *yuan* has been mistakenly left out, and *qing* is here simply the courteous address for the second person: "you."

42 The Wuchao Marsh is now southeast of Yanjin in Henan. *SGZ* 6 says that Wuchao, forty *li* from Guandu, was where Chunyu Qiong was camped (note 39 above), and the area was indeed some twenty kilometres north of Guandu on Yuan Shao's line of communications to the Yellow River at Boma and the Yan Crossing. The marsh, moreover, was linked to the Ji River or Canal, a branch of the Vast Canal network (notes 33 and 34 above), which gave east-west access behind Yuan Shao's front line and would have aided distribution.

It thus appears that supplies for Yuan Shao's army were brought by land and water to the Boma and Yan crossings on the Yellow River, then transported in carts across the ridge between the Yellow River and the depression which forms the modern course of the stream, and which held the Bian Canal, the Puyang River, and other waterways near Guandu. At Wuchao the goods were gathered and stored for distribution, again to some extent by water, behind Yuan Shao's front line facing Guandu.

From the account below of a cavalry action at Wuchao, it is clear this was the chief objective of Cao Cao's second raid, and though we are told above that Chunyu Qiong halted overnight (*su*), it is more likely that he was in command of a semi-permanent supply depot.

Gushi had earlier been the object of Xu Huang's raid (see above and note 39 quoting *SGZ* 17). This place also lay on the Ji. It was probably the western terminus of the distribution system, and may also have received supplies directly across the watershed from the Yellow River.

Besides modern topographical maps, there are reconstructions of the scene of conflict in *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji* II, 16 and 43, and *Zhongguo shi gao ditu ji* I, 47.

43 Tying up the horses' mouths and gagging the men was, of course, to ensure their silence, and carrying firewood was presumably to make the party appear as scavengers. But how a man gagged to silence and carrying a load of wood could explain successfully to an interested enquirer that he was actually part of a group of military reinforcements taxes the imagination. The raid was indeed carried out in secret and deception, but the historian has multiplied the clichés.

44 These were the reinforcements Yuan Shao had sent.

45 Surely another cliché (*cf.* note 43 above). The mind boggles at the work this would have entailed in the middle of a tight schedule, surrounded still by potentially overwhelming enemy forces; and how does one make a display of the lips and tongues of cattle and horses, let alone a thousand noses?

On the other hand, *Cao Man zhuan* has the sad story how Chunyu Qiong, the defeated commander, was captured alive and had his nose cut off. He was then brought before Cao Cao, who would have spared him. Xu You, however, urged his execution, and Chunyu Qiong died.

46 The text has the characters *fujin*. The *Fuzi* book by Fu Xuan of the third century, quoted here by *ZZTJ* commentary, explains that commanders and high officers wore silken cloth for elegance and distinction.

47 As the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes, *HHS* 74/64A and the *Han ji* of Zhang Fan (quoted in *SGZ* 6, 200 PC) say that eighty thousand men were killed. The figure of seventy thousand comes from the official report presented by Cao Cao to the Emperor, quoted from *Xiandi qijuzhu* by *SGZ* 1, 22 PC.

These figures are impossibly high: the total strength of Yuan Shao's army at the beginning of the campaign is given as only a hundred thousand (*e.g.* passage G above), and a seventy per-cent fatality rate cannot be credited.

It is nonetheless true that the losses of a defeated and broken army at this time could be quite disproportionate to those of the victors: pursuers had little difficulty in cutting down men running away from them, and generally small hesitation in doing so.

One sad reason for such slaughter was the difficulty of ensuring that a prisoner, left unattended, would not immediately take up arms again from the clutter of weapons which lay about any battle-field. After fire-arms were developed, it became easier to disarm a group of men and hold them in some form of control, but before that time an able-bodied, trained soldier, simply by grasping a spear or sword, could instantly change back from a surrendered captive to a dangerous enemy.

In this respect, the heavy Roman casualties after the defeat by Hannibal at Cannae were attributed to the problems the Carthaginians had in securing prisoners, and similar excuses have been offered for Henry V's order to slaughter his captives during the battle of Agincourt: see, for example, Keegan, *The Face of Battle*, 107–112. Even in the days of firearms, Keegan, at 194 and 48–50, describes vividly the difficulties of surrender at Waterloo and in modern times.

Furthermore, while the account of Cao Cao burying surrendered enemies alive (*keng*) appears again to be a horrific cliché, the fuller text of *HHS* 74/64A puts it in a slightly different light. There it is said that a number of men surrendered falsely (*wei*) to Cao Cao, but then attempted to rejoin Yuan Shao as he gathered his scattered troops together north of the Yellow River (passage DD below). These repeated turncoats were buried alive. By slight adaptation of the text, *ZZTJ* has turned a punishment designed to discourage desertion, and limited to those who sought to escape, into a classical atrocity. (But Cao Cao, after all, was pleased enough to boast of his enemies' dead.)

BB *HHS* 74/64A, 2402 (19b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 6, 199 (59b–60a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ* 6, 200 (59b–60a) PC quoting *Xiandi zhuan*;  
*HHJ* 29, 11a.

48 According to the "Starfield" astrological theory of Han times, the twenty-eight lunar mansions (*xiu*) were identified with different regions of the empire. See, for example, the astronomical discussion of *SJ* 27, 1330 and 1346; Chavannes, *MH* III, 384 and 405–406, the description of the Han empire in *HS* 28B, 1641–71, and the discussion by Mansvelt Beck, *Treatises*, 121–126.

CC *SGZ* 1, 21 (51b), the Biography of Cao Cao;  
*SGZ* 1, 22 (51b) PC quoting *Weishi chunqiu*.

49 *ZZTJ* commentary cites similar action by Emperor Guangwu, founder of Later Han, after the capture of Handan in 24 AD: *HHS* 1, 14–15; Bielenstein, *RHD* II, 77. The incident may be a

cliché or, as Hu Sanxing suggests, an example of great leaders following the same policy. As Bielenstein observes, one may doubt the documents really remained unread, but it was good propaganda.

- DD *HHS 74/64A*, 2401 (19a–b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- EE *HHS 74/64A*, 2402 (19b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ 6*, 200–01 (60b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- FF *HHS 74/64A*, 2402–03 (20a), the Biography of Yuan Shao.  
50 Shen Pei had been appointed Attendant Official at Headquarters when Yuan Shao first took over Ji province in 191: passage P of Chuping 2. It appears he remained at Ye thereafter, and did not accompany the expeditionary force against Cao Cao. We are told in passage AA above that Xu You resolved to desert Yuan Shao because one of his relatives had been arrested by Shen Pei: the offence and punishment presumably took place at Ye city.
- GG *HHS 74/64A*, 2403 (20b), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ 6*, 201 (61b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- HH *HHS 74/64A*, 2402 (20a), the Biography of Yuan Shao;  
*SGZ 6*, 201 (61b), the Biography of Yuan Shao.
- II *HHS 9*, 382 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Xian.  
51 The Great Dyke constellation (*Daliang*) is the same as the Wei "Stomach" lunar mansion, the seventeenth, represented in Western astronomy by the small group Musca Borealis, east of Hamal in Aries: Schlegel, *Uranographie chinoise* I, 343, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 100 and Star Map 6.  
This comet is described in *HHS 102/12*, 3261, the Treatise of Astronomy. The constellation is linked to Ji province, so the portent is related to the death of Yuan Shao two years later and the conquest of his territory by Cao Cao.
- JJ *SGZ 15*, 463 (1a–2a), the Biography of Liu Fu.  
52 Li Shu had been appointed to Lujiang by Sun Ce: passage S of Jian'an 4.
- KK *SGZ 53* (Wu 8), 1243–44 (2b), the Biography of Zhang Hong;  
*SGZ 53* (Wu 8), 1244 (2a) PC quoting *Wu shu*.  
53 Sun Ce had sent Zhang Hong with tribute to the court two years earlier, and Zhang Hong had been appointed there as Attendant Imperial Clerk: passage W of Jian'an 3.  
54 Under Later Han, Chief Commandants could be appointed in border commanderies or territories of particular military emergency. Where more than one was appointed, the commandery was divided into Regions (*bu*).  
55 The phrase *taifuren* refers to the dowager Lady Wu, widow of Sun Jian, who is mentioned in the following passage.

- LL *SGZ* 55 (Wu 10), 1291 (11a), the Biography of Dong Xi.
- MM *SGZ* 53 (Wu 8), 1244 (3a) PC quoting *Wu shu*.
- 56 Though Zhang Hong, as Chief Commandant in Kuaiji, was formally the subordinate of Sun Quan as Grand Administrator, he did owe his appointment directly to the court under Cao Cao: passage KK above. On the conflict of loyalty caused Zhang Hong by his successive service to Sun Ce, to the imperial court under Cao Cao, and now to Sun Quan, see de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 223. Despite show of good faith by both Sun Quan and Zhang Hong, there remained some uncertainty.
- NN *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), 1268 (15a), the Biography of Lu Su.
- 57 Lu Su came originally from Dongcheng in Xiapi (also known as Linhuai), near the Huai River: note 21 to Jian'an 3.
- 58 On the hegemon rulers Duke Huan of Qi and Duke Wen of Jin, see note 30 to Chuping 3.
- 59 On the Provisional Emperor, see note 21 to Jian'an 1.
- 60 *SGZ* 54 says that Lu Su was a man of wealthy family, but their property had been lost in the troubles of the time.
- OO *SGZ* 54 (Wu 9), 1273 (22a), the Biography of Lü Meng.
- PP *SGZ* 57 (Wu 12), 1335 (32b), the Biography of Luo Tong.
- 61 Luo Jun was the Chancellor of Chen assassinated at Yuan Shu's orders in 197: passage P of Jian'an 2.
- QQ *SGZ* 51 (Wu 6), 1211 (9b), the Biography of Sun Fu;  
*SGZ* 51 (Wu 6), 1212 (9b–10a) PC quoting *Dian lue*.
- 62 On Sun Fu's campaigns in Yuzhang and his appointment as Grand Administrator of Luling commandery, see passages S and V of Jian'an 4. *SGZ* 51 says that Sun Fu was not only exiled, but held in confinement.
- ZZTJ* here dates the disaffection of Sun Fu to the beginning of Sun Quan's reign, just after the death of Sun Ce. I have argued, however, in *Generals of the South*, 260–261, that Sun Fu was more likely to have been concerned in 208, on the eve of the Red Cliffs campaign, when Cao Cao controlled Jing province and there was serious debate whether or not to surrender. At present, Cao Cao was primarily engaged in the north. Luling commandery, in the south of present-day Jiangxi province, separated from the Yangzi by the rump of Yuzhang, was surely too far away for useful contact, and we see in passage JJ above that Cao Cao's officer Liu Fu had hardly begun to establish a position even south of the Huai.
- RR *SGZ* 13, 401–03 (19b–20a), the Biography of Hua Xin.
- 63 Hua Xin had surrendered to Sun Ce in the previous year: passage T of Jian'an 4.
- SGZ* 13 describes how Sun Quan was at first reluctant to let Hua Xin go, but was eventually persuaded to do so. The appointments Hua Xin were given are comparable to those awarded his colleague Wang Lang: passage Y and note 22 of Jian'an 3.

- SS *SGZ* 47 (Wu 2), 1116 (2b–3a), PC quoting *Jiangbiao zhuan*.
- 64 See passage JJ above.
- 65 Aheng was the name or title held by Yi Yin, chief minister at the beginning of the legendary Shang dynasty: see, for example, Chavannes, *MHI*, 178, and Legge, *CC* III, 199–200 (Couvreur, *Chou king*, 118).
- TT *HHS* 74/64B, 2421 (9a–b), the Biography of Liu Biao;  
*SGZ* 6, 211 (83b), the Biography of Liu Biao.
- 66 On the rebellion of Zhang Xian in the southern part of Jing province, distantly allied to Cao Cao, see passage V of Jian'an 3.
- 67 As Lu Bi has observed in *SGZJJ*, the clearest source for this last set of statements is the biography of Kong Rong, *HHS* 70/60, 2269, concerning a memorial which Kong Rong had sent to the court. There is further evidence scattered in other places: in discussion with Cao Cao, for example, after the surrender of Jing province in 208, Liu Xian described the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth: *SGZ* 6, 216 PC quoting *Lingling xianxian zhuan*. The usurpation of imperial honours, however, is not mentioned in Liu Biao's biographies of *HHS* 74/64B and *SGZ* 6: and *cf.* passage II of Jian'an 1.
- UU *HHS* 75/65, 2433 (2b–3a), the post-Biography of Liu Yan;  
*SGZ* 8, 263 (44a), the Biography of Zhang Lu;  
*SGZ* 31 (Shu 1), 868 (9b–10a), the Biography of Liu Zhang;  
*SGZ* 31 (Shu 1), 869 (10b) PC quoting [*Hanmo*] *yingxiong ji*;  
*Huayang guo zhi* 5, 6a.
- 68 This first paragraph is based on *HHS* 75/65, but is in some disagreement with the two texts from *SGZ*. The biography of Zhang Lu says that he killed Zhang Xiu before the death of Liu Yan and the succession of Liu Zhang in 194, while both texts agree that Zhang Lu and Zhang Xiu were actually in rebellion against Han, so the killing of one by the other would hardly have been a matter of defiance to Liu Zhang: passage JJ of Chuping 2.  
It appears, indeed, that Liu Yan, and Liu Zhang after him, were for some time largely unconcerned at Zhang Lu's activities. Liu Yan used the physical break with the Han court to justify the establishment of his own regime, and members of Zhang Lu's family and following continued to reside at Liu Zhang's court in Chengdu. It is generally agreed that Liu Zhang was considered a weak ruler, but in this case, on the evidence of *SGZ*, it appears most probable that the final break took place because he attempted to enforce some authority by pressure against Zhang Lu's relatives. See also de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 363.
- 69 Pang Xi was an old supporter of Liu Zhang and his father Liu Yan: passage Y of Xingping 1.  
Langzhong city was near present-day Langzhong in Sichuan, on the Jialing Jiang; Hanchang county was on the next major valley to the east, near present-day Bazhong on a tributary of the Qu Jiang. The non-Chinese people of the hills and mountains on the eastern border of Yi with Jing province were commonly known as Zong, after the tribute of cloth which they were required to present each year: see *HHS* 86/76, 2831, and the discussion of Tang Changru in his *Wei-Jin nanbeichao shi luncong*, 4.  
*Hanmo yingxiong ji*, and *SGZ* 45, 1071 and 1089 (cited in passage G of Jian'an 6), describe Pang Xi as Grand Administrator of Baxi commandery rather than of Ba. In 194 Liu

Zhang divided Later Han Ba commandery to form three new commandery units, retaining the name Ba for the limited area about Langzhong. In 201, however, the name of the Langzhong region was changed to Baxi. Thus, without changing territory, Pang Xi could be Grand Administrator successively of Ba and of Baxi. On this complex administrative history see Wu Zengjin, *Sanguo junxian biao*, 2920–2922, and de Crespigny, *Generals of the South*, 364–366.

- 70 The Dongzhou troops obtained that name because many of them came from Nanyang, in the "eastern province" (*dongzhou*) of Jing.