

## EMPEROR HUAN AND EMPEROR LING

### CHAPTER 54

being Chapter 46 of the Chronicle of Han  
[and Part 1B of the reign of Emperor Huan]

#### Yongshou 3: 157 AD

[28 January 157 – 15 February 158]

1736

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *jiwei* [*yiwei*?:9 Feb],<sup>1</sup> there was an amnesty for the empire.<sup>2</sup>

B The Prefect of Jufeng [in Jiuzhen commandery] was greedy and oppressive and acted without restraint. Zhu Da and other men of the county joined forces with the local barbarians to make a rebellion, and they attacked the prefect and killed him. They gathered together as many as four or five thousand men. In the summer, in the fourth month they went on to attack [the capital of] Jiuzhen commandery. Ni Shi, Grand Administrator of Jiuzhen, died in battle.<sup>3</sup>

An imperial edict ordered the Chief Commandant of Jiuzhen, Wei Lang, to attack the rebels and destroy them.<sup>4</sup>

C In the intercalary [fifth] month on the day *gengchen* [24 Jul], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.<sup>5</sup>

D There was a plague of locusts in the capital district.

E Someone suggested to the government, "The people are in distress and difficulty because the currency is considered to be of inferior value, and the coinage is short weight. The mint should issue larger coins."

1737 The matter was referred for debate to officials of the Four Offices<sup>6</sup> and scholars of the Imperial University competent to discuss the issue.

Liu Tao, a scholar of the University, spoke as follows:<sup>7</sup> "The misfortunes of the present time are not a problem caused by the currency. It is a question of the people starving.

"According to my humble observations, for the last several years, every sprout of grain has been consumed by locusts and other pests, and every scrap of cloth<sup>8</sup> is taken away by the demands of government [taxation] or

by private [landlords and usurers]. How can one possibly say that the miseries of the people are caused only by the relative values of the currency, or the varying weights of the coinage?

"Even if you could transform gravel and sand into metals from the south,<sup>9</sup> or change tiles and stones into pieces of jade like those of Bian He,<sup>10</sup> the common people would still be thirsty because they would have nothing to drink, and they would still be hungry because they would have nothing to eat.

"In a situation like this, even if the ruler possessed the perfect virtue of the Heavenly Emperor and Fuxi,<sup>11</sup> or the cultivated understanding of Tang and Yu,<sup>12</sup> he would not be able to protect what he held within the walls of the palace.<sup>13</sup>

"It is obvious that the people could manage a hundred years without a currency of exchange, but they cannot last a single day if they are starved. The question of food is by far the most important.

"Those who have discussed this question have been talking a great deal about the advantages of some coinage policy, but they have failed to deal with the basic problems of agriculture.

"It is obvious that even if there were ten thousand people coining money, so long as one man was taking it all, there could never be enough to go round. How much more does this apply when only one man produces the money, and ten thousand snatch it away

" Even if you 'took the Yin and Yang as your fuel, and the myriad things of the world as your metal',<sup>14</sup> while all the work is being done by ordinary people who need nothing to eat, and the supervision is carried out by officials who never go hungry, you can still not satisfy the unending demand.

"If you want the people to flourish, with abundant prosperity, then the first requirement must be to put a stop to the demands on public labour services and to prohibit private extortion. Should you do that, the people would obtain sufficient for their needs without great effort.

"Your majesty shows sympathy for the miseries of all within the four seas, and you wish to relieve distress by regulating the currency and coining money in sufficient quantities; but that is like keeping a fish in a cauldron of boiling water or causing a bird to perch above a roaring fire. Water and wood are indeed places where fish and birds may live, but if they are used inappropriately, the creatures will be burnt and dead.

"I ask your majesty to relax prohibitions against light coinage and put behind you all this debate about the currency. Listen to the songs of the people, ask an old man by the roadside about his troubles,<sup>15</sup> watch the bright patterns of the sun, the moon and the stars, and take note of changes in the divisions of the hills and the currents of the rivers.<sup>16</sup>

1738 "The minds of the people of the empire, and the great affairs of state, all will appear clearly [in these signs] and one should never neglect them or doubt them.

"In my humble opinion, it is the situation at present that wide regions of land are not being cultivated, and great numbers of the people have nothing to eat. A horde of petty men have come forward together, and they now hold power in the state. They prey upon the empire like ravening birds seeking their food,<sup>17</sup> gobbling up bones and flesh, and never satisfied in their greed.

"Indeed, I am afraid that the day may suddenly come when a few *corvée* labourers or helpless artisans will rise up from the work-place where they have been held confined, will cast aside their tools and bare their arms for battle, will climb up high and call out afar; and then all the people who are angry and distressed will respond to them like the gathering of clouds. Even if your coins were a whole foot square, how would they be any help in such a time of danger?"

And so there was no change made to the coinage.

[*Ys3: 157*]

F In the winter, in the eleventh month<sup>18</sup> the Minister over the Masses Yin Song died in office.

The barbarians of Changsha made a rebellion and ravaged Yiyang county.

The Minister of Works Han Yan became Minister over the Masses.<sup>19</sup>

The Grand Master of Ceremonies Sun Lang of Beihai became Minister of Works.

### NOTES to Yongshou 3: 157

A *HHS* 7, 302 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

1 The first day of this month was *guiwei* (cyclical no. 20), and there was no day *jiwei* (cyclical no. 56).

It seems most likely that the character *ji* has been miswritten for *yi*: the *yiwei* day (cyclical no. 32), was the thirteenth day of the first month of Yongshou 3, equivalent to 9 February 157 by the Julian reckoning.

- 2 On the significance of the amnesty (*she*) and its function in Han China, see Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 225–250, and the general work of McKnight, *Quality of Mercy*, 12–36.

Though it is clear that the proclamation gave some general remission of punishment throughout the empire, the effect of any one amnesty is generally impossible to determine with precision. As Hulsewé has remarked, at 244–245:

Of course we should not forget that we are dealing with historical works, not collections of documents, and that when the historian notes that on a certain date there was an amnesty, he actually summarises in very few words a complete edict of a form and content which may have been current knowledge among the historian's contemporaries and which it therefore was unnecessary to quote literally.

Hulsewé considers the possibility of distinguishing between "great amnesties" (*dashe*) and simple amnesties, but comes to the conclusion, in agreement with the late Qing scholar Shen Jiaben, that there was probably no definite pattern which was invariably followed (*RHL* I, 247). McKnight, *Quality of Mercy*, 31, suggests that ordinary amnesties did not prevent prosecution for prior crimes, whereas great amnesties did. Sima Guang, however, evidently considered the distinction unimportant: *HHS Annals* have this occasion as a great amnesty, but *ZZTJ* describes it as a simple amnesty.

In earlier years, amnesties had been relatively uncommon, but in this period they become almost an annual event, and their value was very possibly debased by this frequency.

[*Ys3: 157*]

- B *HHS* 86/76, 2839 (8b), the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.  
3 *HHS* notes that the family of the unfortunate Ni Shi was awarded 600,000 cash, and two of his sons were appointed Gentlemen, being probationary offices at the capital which gave expectation of later substantive appointment as officials.  
4 *HHS* adds that Wei Lang killed two thousand of the rebels, but the ringleaders escaped. They maintained themselves and their band in Rinan commandery, where they continued to cause trouble and increased again in strength. See passage I of Yanxi 3.

[*Ys3: 157*]

- C *HHS* 7, 302 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.  
5 *HHS* 108/18, 3368, the Treatise of the Five Powers, lists this eclipse, noting that it was not observed at the capital, but was reported from the provinces.

The eclipse is identified as no. 3274 in von Oppolzer, *Canon der Finsternisse*.

The Treatise notes further that the eclipse took place in the *Qixing* constellation, also known as the Xing lunar mansion, being seven stars in the Western constellation Hydra (Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 104 and Star Map 7). This was the same position as an earlier eclipse, observed in the reign of Emperor He on 23 July 92 (*HHS* 108/18, 3362), Oppolzer 3114.

The Treatise implies that the eclipse of 92 foreshadowed the fall of the Dou family of the Empress–Dowager, who had held power over the government of Emperor He, and the interpretation of the present eclipse has it as a sign of the death of the Empress Liang and the destruction of Liang Ji.

[Ys3: 157]

- D HHS 7, 303 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Huan;  
cf. HHS 105/15, 3319 (8a), the Treatise of the Five Powers.

[Ys3: 157]

- E HHS 57/47, 1845–48 (5a–7a), the Biography of Liu Tao;  
and JS 26, 793–94, the Treatise of Economics.

- 6 The Four Offices (*si fu*) were clerical bureaux of the central government.

During most of Later Han, there were only three offices, one under each of the Three Excellencies, being the Grand Commandant, the Minister over the Masses and the Minister of Works. There was, however, provision for the senior member of the consort clan to be given comparable authority. This privilege had been granted to Liang Shang at the time of his appointment as General-in-Chief in 135, and it was continued under his son and successor Liang Ji.

See also Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 124 and 11–17.

- 7 Liu Tao, despite his low position at this time, had already shown himself to be an energetic critic of the government. He had presented a memorial two years earlier suggesting that Emperor Huan was himself responsible for the problems of the state simply through his isolation from the affairs of the world, and putting forward a list of worthy men for official appointment. As he himself had predicted, his proposals were ignored. See HHS 57/47, 1843–45, and ZZTJ 53, 1731–32, discussed and summarised by *Cambridge China* I, 312–313: Loewe, "Conduct of Government."

Liu Tao's discussion as recorded in JS 26 is translated by Yang, "Economic History," 189–191.

- 8 The characters echo lines from the second stanza of the *Da dong* Ode, *Shi jing* II.5.9, rendered by Legge, CC IV, 353, as

In the states of the east, large and small,  
The looms are empty.

See also Karlgren, *Odes*, 203 at 154.

The poem is traditionally interpreted as a complaint against the exactions of government.

- 9 The phrase *nan jin* appears in the eighth stanza of the *Pan shui* Ode, *Shi jing* IV.2.3, as one of the tribute items from the peoples of the Huai to the rulers of Lu; Legge, CC IV, 620, also Karlgren, *Odes*, 299 at 257.

The *Yu gong* "The Tribute of Yu" Chapter of *Shu jing* III.1A, 44 and 52, refers to "three categories of metal" (*jin sanpin*) as tribute items from Yang and Jing provinces, on the Huai and lower Yangzi and the middle Yangzi respectively. Legge, CC III, 110 and 115, renders the phrase as "gold, silver and copper" and his note at 110 cites the comment of the Grand Historian to SJ 30, 1442, being the Balance of Commerce treatise; Chavannes, *MH* III, 603, which notes that in ancient times there were three categories of metal, the yellow (gold), white (silver) and red (copper): cf. also the *Suoyin* commentary to that passage, and Karlgren, *Documents*, 14 and 15, who renders the phrase as "bronze of three [colours =] qualities."

- 10 The text here reads *He yu*. The reference is to the well-known story of Bian He, who sought to present a piece of jade to the ruler of the ancient state of Chu. On each of the first two occasions that he offered it, he was accused of false pretences, and suffered the

amputation of a foot as punishment. At last, on his third devoted attempt, the stone was properly examined, and was discovered to be indeed superb jade. See *SJ* 83, 2471.

- 11 The commentary of Hu Sanxing here identifies the character *huang* as referring to the mythical Emperor of Heaven (*tianhuang shi*), first ruler of the universe.

Fuxi, first of the Sovereigns (*di*), who followed the emperors of heaven, was said to have devised the eight trigrams which form the basis of *Yi jing*.

The enumeration of these mythological rulers is complex and contradictory: see Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 232–233, and 307–309 notes 206–218.

- 12 Tang was the founder of the Shang dynasty, attributed to the eighteenth century BC.

Yu was founder of the Xia dynasty, which preceded Shang. He was celebrated for his conquest of the floodwaters which had ravaged the Chinese world, and the *Yu gong* "The Tribute of Yu" Chapter of *Shu jing* purports to record the work of the hero and the offerings which were brought to him from the various regions (*e.g.* note 9 above).

- 13 The phrase used here is *xiao qiang*, which is found in *Lun yu* XVI.1.13; Legge, *CC* 1, 309. The commentary to that passage by the Han scholar Zheng Xuan of the second century AD, quoted here by Hu Sanxing, interprets *xiao* as *su* "reverent" and *qiang* as meaning a screen, though modern translators interpret *qiang* by the more usual rendering of a wall (*e.g.* Lau, *Confucian Analects*, 139.) The expression thus refers to the ruler, screened within his court or guarded by the walls of his palace.

- 14 As commentary to *HHS* 57/47 points out, this expression comes from the "Rhapsody on the Owl" by Jia Yi of the second century BC (*SJ* 84, 2499; Watson, *Chinese Rhyme-Prose*, 27).

- 15 *Liezi* 4, 7b; Graham, *Lieh-tzu*, 90, tells how the legendary Emperor Yao, after ruling the empire for fifty years, sought to determine what the people thought of his rule. His courtiers and official guests could not tell him, so he wandered in disguise along the roads. Then he heard a boy singing,

You raised us up, we multitudes,  
All observe your standards,  
Unknowing, unremembering,  
We obey the laws of God.

Yao, content that his work was done, abdicated in favour of Shun, his chosen successor.

*Hanshi waizhuan* 9, 2a–b; Hightower, *Han shih wai chuan*, 291–293, tells how when Confucius was travelling he met a man weeping by the roadside. Stopping his carriage, he asked him the source of his grief. The man replied that he had made three great mistakes: he had neglected his parents to serve his political ambitions, and now his parents were dead; his service to his ruler had been unsuccessful; and he had now lost his friends and had no-one to whom he could turn. A similar story is told in *Kongzi jiyu* 2, 6b–7a; Kramers, *School Sayings*, 235–236, and *Shuo yuan* 10, 17b–18b.

- 16 The term "Three Luminaries" (*san guang*) traditionally refers to the sun, the moon and the stars.

Commentaries to *HHS* and to *ZZTJ* likewise identify the "divisions and currents" (*fen liu*) with such ominous events as landslides in the mountains or rivers running dry.

- 17 The commentary of the Qing scholar Hui Dong, quoted in *HHSJJ*, notes that the phrase *niao chao* is evidently related to *Zhou li* 7 (30), 32a; Biot, *Rites* II, 210–211, describing the killing of birds of ill omen, where the character appearing here as *niao* "birds" is written as

wu "crows," and the commentary of Zheng Xuan of the second century AD explains that "crows and kites take pleasure in snatching and stealing."

[*Ys3: 157*]

F *HHS* 7, 303 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

18 The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 21, 11a, has the death of Yin Song, and the promotion of Han Yan mentioned below, as taking place in the sixth month. Sima Guang preferred to follow *HHS* Annals.

19 For the pronunciation of the character, normally rendered as *yin* in modern standard Chinese, I follow the commentary of Hu Sanxing to this passage and that of Li Xian to *HHS* 7, 301.

## Yanxi 1: 158 AD

[16 February 158 – 5 February 159]

A In the summer, in the fifth month on the day *jiaxu* [13 Jul], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.<sup>1</sup>

B Through an initiative of the Junior Attendant of the Yellow Gates Xu Huang, the Prefect Grand Astrologer Chen Shou presented the interpretation that "The ill omen of the sun is the responsibility of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji."<sup>2</sup>

When Liang Ji heard about this, he arranged that the authorities in Luoyang should arrest Chen Shou and examine him by torture, and Chen Shou died in jail.

For this reason, the Emperor was angry with Liang Ji.

C There was a plague of locusts in the capital district.

1739

D In the sixth month on the day *wuyin* [17 Jul] there was an amnesty for the empire, and the reign-title was changed [from Yongshou to Yanxi].

A great sacrifice was held to pray for rain.<sup>3</sup>

In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *jiazi* [1 Sep], the Grand Commandant Huang Qiong left office and the Grand Master of Ceremonies Hu Guang became Grand Commandant.

In the winter, in the tenth month the Emperor engaged in a competitive hunt<sup>4</sup> at Guangcheng, and then proceeded to visit the Shanglin Park.<sup>5</sup>

[Yx1: 158]

E In the twelfth month, several divisions of the Southern Xiongnu rose together in rebellion, and they joined with the Wuhuan and the Xianbi to ravage nine commanderies along the frontier.

F The Emperor appointed Chen Gui, the Intendant of Jingzhao, as General Who Crosses the Liao.<sup>6</sup>

When Chen Gui left to take up his post, he sent in a report saying, "I have heard that when the courses of the sky are out of order,<sup>7</sup> one should promote an ordinary gentleman to become chancellor; and when the barbarians fail to show proper respect, one may raise a common soldier to command. I myself am lacking in ability, whether for civil affairs or matters of war, and I am quite unworthy of this high position.<sup>8</sup> Though I give my life in your service, I cannot make adequate recompense [for this honour and trust].

"Now, in the frontier regions of the western provinces the soil is poor and barren, and the people turn more and more to banditry and plunder. The houses and farms are in ruins, and although there may still be some people living there, they are really no more than dead bones.

"In Bing province recently, year after year there have been floods, and plagues of insects have followed one upon the other. The farmlands have fallen into wilderness, and the tax returns are dwindling to nothing.

"If your majesty looks upon the common people as your children, why do you not extend to them the grace of your soothing and comfort? It was the gentle government of the Ancient Duke and the Lord of the West that attracted all the empire;<sup>9</sup> would they have needed to send carts laden with gold, and carriages of treasure, as a favour to the people?

"Your majesty has inherited dominion from the restoration of Han, and you maintain the rule of Emperor Guangwu. You hold court, and you attend to the government, but you have not yet made full use of your sage-like understanding.

1740 "Indeed, the governors and administrators are not good men. Some of them have been appointed through recommendations of the eunuchs, they are afraid to disobey the instructions they receive from above, and they follow them quite thoughtlessly. It is the cries of misery from the people that bring down disasters from nature. The renegade barbarians, cruel and violent, take advantage of our weak position to act disobedient on even the smallest excuse. The stores and supplies are exhausted for the



mouths of these wildcats and wolves, and the labours and efforts made in the past receive not the smallest reward.<sup>10</sup> All this is happening because the leaders and commanders are not truly loyal, and a host of wicked men has gathered here.

"The former Inspector of Liang province, Zhu Liang, when he was first appointed and came to that territory, presented impeachments of many offenders, being grand administrators, prefects and chiefs, and at least half of them were dismissed from office. Within a very short period under his government, the results were well displayed. Rewards and distinctions should be given him for his merit, in order that able men and good work may be encouraged.<sup>11</sup>

"If we change the appointed governors and administrators, dismissing the wicked and corrupt men; and if we also choose new generals of the gentlemen of the household and colonels for the Xiongnu, the Wuhuan and the Qiang,<sup>12</sup> selecting both the civil and the military appointments with care, and giving them clear instructions; and if we relieve the tax requirements and corvée services of the current year for Bing and Liang provinces, showing leniency and forgiveness to those who have run foul of the law, to clear everything away and make a new beginning – then good officials will know that it is worth while to support the state, and wrongdoers will realise the dangers that they run by their private plunder of public property. The barbarian horsemen can be prevented from their spying along the Great Wall, and the men who keep watch on the frontier will have no further cause to fear harm."

Then the Emperor did choose new inspectors for You and Bing provinces, and great numbers of officials, being garrison commanders, commandery administrators, chief commandants and below, were replaced. An edict was sent down authorising General Chen to relieve the taxation and labour service of Bing and Liang provinces for one year, as a grant to the people.

Chen Gui went to his post, and the people of the provinces and commanderies all stood in awe of him. He gave the people some time of rest, he reduced the expenditure, and by careful planning he saved thousands of millions of cash every year.

[Yx1: 158]

G An imperial edict appointed Zhang Huan, Chief Commandant of the Dependent State of Anding, as General of the Gentlemen of the Household

of the North,<sup>13</sup> to attack the Xiongnu, the Wuhuan and the other barbarians.

H The Xiongnu and the Wuhuan burnt the gates [of the fortress] of the General Who Crosses the Liao [at Manbo city in Wuyuan commandery], and the camp was withdrawn to Chikeng.<sup>14</sup> There was smoke and flame in every direction, the soldiers were terrified, and each sought to flee for his own safety. Zhang Huan sat quietly in his quarters with his attendants, talking and reading aloud from texts, as if nothing out of the ordinary was taking place, and his men gradually lost their panic.

Then Zhang Huan made private contact with the Wuhuan, persuading them to change sides and enter into a secret alliance with him. He then arranged that they cut off the heads of the Xiongnu and Chuge leaders,<sup>15</sup> and he made a surprise attack to destroy the enemy forces. All the barbarians now begged to surrender.<sup>16</sup>

I Zhang Huan observed that the Southern Shanyu, Jucheer, had proved incapable of keeping his state in order, so he took him into custody and sent in a recommendation that the Luli King of the Left should become Shanyu.<sup>17</sup>

The edict in reply said: "Since the very beginning of our reign, Juche'er has been loyal and obedient, and according to the principles of the Chunqiu we should show special consideration to him [as a ruler who shared our first year]<sup>18</sup>

1741 "What crime has he committed that might warrant his disgrace? Let him return to his tents."

[Yx1: 158]

J The General-in-Chief Liang Ji had an old quarrel with Chen Gui, and he slandered him as a man who had harmed the dignity of the state, taken false credit for his achievements, and had actually given the Xiongnu no cause to fear him. So Chen Gui was recalled, and Chong Gao was made General Who Crosses the Liao.<sup>19</sup>

Chen Gui therefore asked permission to retire to his home on account of age, but he was summoned once again to take position among the Masters of Writing.

Liang Ji's oppression and tyranny were becoming worse every day. Chen Gui sent in an account of his crimes and called for his execution, but the Emperor would not approve.

Chen Gui realised that he would himself be harmed by Liang Ji. He refused food for seven days, and so he died.

K Chong Gao came to the place where the army was camped, and the first thing he did was to announce the grace and good faith [of the imperial government], to encourage the barbarians to surrender. He promised that he would attack only those who failed to submit, and he sent back all Qiang prisoners who had been held as hostages by the commandery and county offices. Those who had proved loyal were well and gently treated, and rewards were granted clearly and reliably.

As a result, the Qiang and the northern barbarians all came to offer their submission. Then Chong Gao removed the beacon-fires and observation posts, and the frontier regions were peaceful and free from fear.

Chong Gao was called back to the capital to become Grand Minister of Agriculture.<sup>20</sup>

### NOTES to Yanxi 1: 158

A *HHS* 7, 303 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Huan

1 *HHS* 108/18, 3368, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records this eclipse, and notes that it took place in the Liu lunar mansion, being part of the Western constellation Hydra (Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 103–104 and Star Map 7). The eclipse is Oppolzer 3276. It is mapped in Stephenson and Houlden at 212a.

The Treatise observes that the Liu constellation was identified with the region of the capital: it thus implies, though it does not state explicitly, that the omen could be related to the overthrow of the Liang family in the following year (passage L of Yanxi 2). *Cf.* however, passage B and note 2 below.

[Yx1: 158]

B *HHS* 34/24, 1185 (15b), the Biography of Liang Ji.

2 The commentary of Liu Zhao to the record of the eclipse in the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 108/18, 3368, quotes from the Additional Biography (*biezhuan*) of Liang Ji, which writes the personal name of Chen Shou as Yuan, and has a rather more detailed account.

Xu Huang apparently complained that the astronomy office had failed to give them proper emphasis to the eclipse and to other portents, including the movement of the planet Jupiter (*taisui*). At his instigation, Chen Shou/Yuan was summoned and questioned, and it was under this pressure that his advice implicated Liang Ji.

[Yx1: 158]

C *HHS* 7, 303 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Huan;

*cf.* also *HHS* 105/15, 3319 (8b), the Treatise of the Five Powers.

[Yx1: 158]

- D *HHS* 7, 303 (8a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.
- 3 The form of the ceremony of praying for rain (*qing yu*, or *yu*), is described in *HHS* 95/5, 3117, the Treatise of Ceremonial. It could be carried out at provincial, commandery or even more local level, but the great ceremony mentioned here must indicate a function at court.

*HHS* 103/13, 3280, the Treatise of the Five Powers, remarks that there was a drought in the sixth month of this year. The commentary of Liu Zhao to that passage refers to a memorial of Chen Fan which relates floods and droughts to the problems of the imperial harem. For the fuller version of that memorial, see *HHS* 66/56, 2161, the Biography of Chen Fan.

- 4 On the hunt of Han times, see Bodde, *Festivals*, 381–386, who transcribes the phrase as *jiaolie*. At 383 he discusses various interpretations and expresses preference for the rendering "competitive hunt." Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 82, transcribes it as *xiaolie* and takes the alternative interpretation of "hunting within an enclosure."

In a difficult passage, Mencius accepts that Confucius himself took part in competitive hunts held in Lu; the activity may have been associated with the offering of sacrifices. See *Mengzi* 5B, 4.5; Legge, *CCII*, 381–382 (Lau, *Mencius*, 154).

Hughes, *Vignettes*, 33, 71, 101–103 and 147–148, summarises and compares the poetic accounts of the imperial hunt in Former and Later Han from the rhapsodies on the capitals of Han by Ban Gu and Zhang Heng. The texts of these works are translated in full by Knechtges, *Wen xuan* I, 93–309; see in particular his pages 135–141, 157–163, 213–227 and 285–291.

- 5 On the hunting parks of Han, see Schafer, "Hunting Parks and Animal Enclosures," and also Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 80–83.

The Guangcheng Park (Schafer: "Broadly Protected Park"; Bielenstein: "Park of Extending Achievement") was southeast of the capital Luoyang, near present-day Linru in Henan.

Shanglin ("Supreme Forest") had been the name of the great hunting park established by the First Emperor of Qin and restored by Emperor Wu of Former Han. It extended westwards from Chang'an, along the south of the Wei River (and west of present-day Xi'an in Shanxi). That was the place celebrated in the *Shanglin fu* of Sima Xiangru, and by other writers. See, for example, Watson, *Chinese Rhyme-Prose*, 37–51, and Hervouet, *Chapitre 117 de Che-ki*, 57–142.

The rulers of Later Han, however, had established another Shanglin Park in the vicinity of Luoyang: the "Rhapsody on the Two Capitals" by Ban Gu refers to the establishment of a hunting park, on a notably more modest scale, close to the new capital (*HHS* 40B/30B, 1363; Schafer, "Hunting Parks and Animal Enclosures," 331, Knechtges, *Wen xuan* I, 157 and Hughes, *Vignettes*, 52). Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 81–82, discusses the parks, quoting the story of the Grand Physician Pi Xun, who was taken ill on his way back to Luoyang from the Shanglin Park, which was evidently near the capital (*Dongguan Hanji* 8, 2a).

The commentary of Hu Sanxing to the present passage says that the Shanglin Park of Later Han lay west of the capital, and *Zhongguo gujin diming dacidian*, 42/4, states that it was east of present-day Luoyang, which would mean it was very close to the ancient city.

Bielenstein notes the possibility that the Shanglin Park of Former Han, in the region of Chang'an, was also maintained under the same name during Later Han (*Lo-yang*, 118 note 376). There seems no question that this is so, for there are a number of references to a

Shanglin Park during Later Han that can be shown to refer to the one near Chang'an. For example:

in the winter of 124, Emperor An visited the western capital, Chang'an, and on that occasion he went to the Shanglin Park (*HHS* 5, 240);

in 182, Emperor Ling engaged in a competitive hunt at the Shanglin Park, and then held another hunting party (*xunshou*) at Guangcheng (*HHS* 8, 347); for this occasion the chronicle tells us that he travelled through the Hangu Pass. Since the Hangu Pass, now in the area of present-day Lingbao in Henan, was on the road between Chang'an and Luoyang, it appears that Emperor Ling must have moved between those two capital districts.

On the present occasion, however, it seems most likely that Emperor Huan visited the Shanglin Park by Luoyang.

[*Yx1: 158*]

E *HHS* 89/79, 2963 (18a), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

[*Yx1: 158*]

F *HHS* 51/41, 1692–1693 (8a–9b), the Biography of Chen Gui.

6 Though *ZZTJ* sets the appointment of Chen Gui at this time, during the disturbances of the later 150s, the present passage seems to fit rather badly with the problems of rebellion which were apparently settled by Zhang Huan (see passage H below).

The dating of the appointments of General Who Crosses the Liao during this period is a little uncertain. My own interpretation, however, would set Chen Gui's tenure of office some few years earlier, in the late 140s or early 150s, at a time when a series of rebellions of the northern tribes had been temporarily settled, and the Chinese were embarking on another attempt at reform and reconstruction: de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 314, also the discussion of Zhu Yidun, 1832/1, in commentary to the tables for Later Han constructed by Xiong Fang of the Song dynasty, but *cf.* Qian Dazhao, 1895/1. See further, note 20 below.

7 The phrase *san chen* refers to the sun, the moon and the stars, in similar fashion to *san guang* (note 16 to *Yongshou* 3).

8 The expression *ying yang* comes from the eighth stanza of the *Da ming* Ode, *Shi jing* III.1.3, rendered by Legge, *CC* IV, 436, as "like an eagle on the wing," being a description of the minister Shangfu (*i.e.* Lü Shang) who assisted King Wu of Zhou in the defeat of the Shang (or Yin) empire. See also Karlgren, *Odes*, 236 at 188.

9 According to tradition, the grandfather of King Wen of Zhou, whose personal name was Tanfu, was known by the title of "Ancient Duke" (*Gugong*) and was posthumously honoured as "Grand King" (*Tai wang*). In the face of attacks from the northern barbarians, he abandoned his territory of Bin and settled again at the foot of Mount Qi, south across the Liang mountains. He did this primarily in order to spare his people the miseries of war in defence of his fief.

See, for example, *Mengzi* IB, 15.2; Legge, *CC* II, 176 (Lau, *Mencius*, 72), where we are told that

the people of [Bin] said, "He is a benevolent man. We must not lose him." Those who followed him looked like crowds hastening to market.

See also Chavannes, *MHI*, 213–215 and 222, translating and discussing *SJ* 4, 113–114.

"Lord of the West" (*Xibo*) was the title held by King Wen of Zhou under the Shang/Yin dynasty. Traditions differ whether he was granted the title of king during his life-time or whether it was awarded posthumously, after his son King Wu had conquered Shang/Yin and established the rule of the Zhou house over all the empire: see Chavannes, *MHI*, 217–221, translating and discussing *SJ* 4, 116–119, particularly his note 3 to page 221.

Earlier in this memorial, recorded in *HHS* 51/41, 1693, but not included in *ZZTJ*, Chen Gui refers to the ideal feelings of a ruler for his subject in terms of the Chapter "Avoiding Luxurious Ease" (*Wu yi*) of *Shu jing* V.15, 10; Legge, *CC* III, 469, also Karlgren, *Documents*, 58, which tells how King Wen was mild and humble, cherished and protected the poor and weak, and showed kindness to the widower and the widow.

The commentary of Hu Sanxing also quotes from the *Diwang shiji* by Huangfu Mi of the third century AD, which tells the story of the withdrawal from Bin by the Ancient Duke, and also describes the manner in which the common people were attracted to King Wen because of his benevolence.

10 The expression used here is *wu shu liang*. The commentary of Hu Sanxing notes that a *shu* was one twenty-fourth of a *liang* "ounce," which latter weight was a little more than fifteen grams.

11 Zhu Liang was a man from Changsha commandery. During the reign of Emperor Shun, in 137, he was Inspector of Bing province, and was transferred from there to put down a rebellion of the non-Chinese peoples of Jiaozhi and Jiuzhen commanderies; he was appointed Grand Administrator of Jiuzhen (*HHS* 86/76, 2838). By the following year the rebellion had been crushed (*HHS* 6, 268).

Zhu Liang also appears in the position of Prefect of Luoyang about 134, when he was involved in a controversy with the former Grand Commandant Pang Can. He appears to have acted harshly, but he was popular with the people (*HHS* 51/41, 1691). There are no other references to him in *HHS*.

Since Zhu Liang had been Inspector of Bing Province, with rank expressed by the nominal salary of 600 *shi*, and was then promoted to be Grand Administrator of Jiuzhen (rank/salary of 2000 *shi*), it is unlikely that he was again appointed as an inspector in the northern frontier region. It seems most probable that Chen Gui is referring to Zhu Liang's term in Bing province, and the text has been miswritten as Liang province.

If this is correct, then Zhu Liang was an inspector in the north between about 134 and 137; and the reference to his achievements by Chen Gui is indirect evidence to support the suggestion that Chen Gui's appointment and memorial should be dated earlier than *ZZTJ* has them here (see note 7 above).

12 The General of the Gentlemen of the Household Emissary to the Xiongnu was the Chinese resident at the court of the Southern Shanyu, responsible for supervising his government (*HHS* 89/79, 2944–2945, *HHS* 118/28, 3626, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 238–239).

The Colonel Protector of the Wuhuan was responsible for relations with the Wuhuan and Xianbi people of the north and northeast; the Colonel Protector of the Qiang was responsible for dealings with the Qiang people of the northwest (*HHS* 118/ 28, 3626, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 383 and 82 *ff.*)

[*Yx1: 158*]

G *HHS* 89/79, 2963 (18a), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

- 13 Though the Account of the Southern Xiongnu, as quoted here, describes the appointment of Zhang Huan as General of the Gentlemen of the Household of the North, both his biography (*HHS* 65/55, 2139) and the Annals (*HHS* 7, 304) give him the regular title of General of the Gentlemen of the Household Emissary to the Xiongnu (see note 12 above). This seems the more probable.

The text of *HHS* 89/79 is confusing and in some respects misleading at this part of the chronicle. See notes 16 and 17 below.

[*Yx1: 158*]

H *HHS* 65/55, 2139 (8a), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

- 14 The site of Chikeng (literally "Red Hollow") cannot be identified. It was evidently quite close to the fortress at Manbo.

- 15 The Chuge, also known as the Xiuchuge, were a clan group of the Xiongnu. This is their first citation in the history of the time, but they later rose to considerable importance in the frontier region. See passage D of Xiping 3 and note 6, also de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 346–347 and 351–352.

On the various forms of the name of this people, and its pronunciation, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 529–531 note 3.

- 16 It may be pointed out that this whole extract from the Biography of Zhang Huan in *HHS* 65/55 is set immediately before the reference to the attacks of the Xianbi in Yanxi 1 (*cf.* passage E above).

[*Yx1: 158*]

I *HHS* 89/79, 2963–64 (18a–b), the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

- 17 Once again, this incident appears to be misplaced.

The Biography of Zhang Huan, in *HHS* 65/55, 2139, refers to a rebellion by the Shanyu of the Southern Xiongnu only in the ninth year of Yanxi, being 166.

At this earlier period, about the first year of Yanxi, *HHS* 65/55 says that the troubles were caused by the Xianbi, some Wuhuan, and the rebel Chuge or Xiuchuge group of the Xiongnu.

Moreover, in dealing with these disturbances of the first year of Yanxi, we are told specifically that Zhang Huan was able to obtain the assistance of the Southern Shanyu.

I have therefore argued that the chronicle of the Account of the Southern Xiongnu in *HHS* 89/79 has miswritten *yuannian* "first year" for *junian* "ninth year" (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 531–532 note 6).

If this is correct, then the proposal to depose the Shanyu should be dated to Yanxi 9: 166, when Zhang Huan was again in command in the north, dealing with a different pattern of rebellion (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 323–324 and 329, and *cf.* *ZZTJ* 55, 1787 and 1796 below).

In his *Kaoyi* commentary to this passage, Sima Guang notes that the chronicle of *HHJ* 22, 19b, sets this incident in the fourth month of Yuankang 1: 167. This year would be perfectly possible, on the basis that the rebellion of the Southern Shanyu took place in Yanxi 9: 166, that it was settled by Zhang Huan, and after the settlement, in the following year, Zhang Huan decided to propose the dismissal of the Shanyu. Unfortunately, however, Sima Guang decided to follow the Account of the Xiongnu from *HHS* 89/79.

Among the Xiongnu, the Luli King of the Left, a member of the royal family, was the second in succession to the Shanyu. *HHJ* 22 gives the personal name of Zhang Huan's nominee as Dugan.

- 18 The name of the Shanyu is given by *HHS* 89/79, 2963 and 2964, as Juche'er; *ZZTJ* has mistakenly omitted the first character.

The Shanyu Juche'er had come to the throne in 147, the same year as Emperor Huan. By tradition, a ruler was supposed to be lenient at the beginning of his reign, and this consideration was naturally extended to a vassal who had shared the time of his accession.

[*Yx1: 158*]

- J *HHS* 51/41, 1694 (9b), the Biography of Chen Gui.

- 19 This clause is adapted from the Biography of Chong Gao in *HHS* 56/46, 1828. See passage K immediately below.

*HHS*, however, does not say that Chen Gui was succeeded directly by Chong Gao. The Biography of Chong Gao states that he was appointed at a time when disturbances of the Xiongnu were troubling Bing and Liang provinces. See further, note 20 below.

[*Yx1: 158*]

- K *HHS* 56/46, 1828 (11a), the Biography of Chong Gao.

- 20 Again, it appears that the *ZZTJ* chronicle is mistaken in its dating for the term of office of Chong Gao.

Firstly, the Biography of Chong Gao states that after his term as Grand Minister of Agriculture he was appointed Minister over the Masses, one of the Three Excellencies, in Yanxi 4: 161; and this is confirmed by the Annals, *HHS* 7, 308, where the promotion is dated in the second month of that year. From the context of the biography, it seems clear that Chong Gao's series of appointments, first as General Who Crosses the Liao, then Grand Minister of Agriculture, then Minister over the Masses, all took place in the early years of the Yanxi period.

Secondly, however, *HHS* 67/57, 2191–2192, being the Biography of Li Ying in the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction, says that Li Ying was appointed General who Crosses the Liao in Yongshou 2: 156 and that in Yanxi 2: 159 he was transferred from that post to become Intendant of Henan.

It therefore seems clear that Chong Gao succeeded Li Ying as General Who Crosses the Liao in Yanxi 2; not, as *ZZTJ* has it here, in Yanxi 1. Moreover, the appointment of Chen Gui should be dated earlier than Yongshou 2, and it is most improbable that he was the direct predecessor of Chong Gao (*cf.* passage J and see note 7 above).

## Yanxi 2: 159 AD

[6 February 159 – 25 January 160]

- A In the spring, in the second month the Xianbi raided Yanmen.

The barbarians of Shu commandery raided Canling.



In the third month, it was once again ordered that inspectors and officials of two thousand *shi* and above should not carry out the three-year mourning period.<sup>1</sup>

1742

In the summer, there were great floods in the capital district.<sup>2</sup>

In the sixth month the Xianbi raided Liaodong.

B The Empress Liang [Nüying] placed great store upon the support she received from her elder brother [Liang Ji] and her elder sister [Liang Na, the Empress of Emperor Shun, now Empress-Dowager]. She was quite unrestrained in her conduct and was very extravagant, more so than any of her predecessors. She was also exceedingly jealous, so that [at first] none of the women of the palace could gain access to the Emperor.<sup>3</sup>

When the Empress-Dowager [her elder sister] died [in 150], the Empress lost favour. She herself had produced no heirs, and when a woman of the palace became pregnant, it was seldom she came to full term. The Emperor was afraid of Liang Ji, and so did not dare to express his anger [against the Empress], but he seldom had intercourse with her. The Empress became increasingly resentful and angry.

C In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *bingwu* [9 Aug], the Empress Liang died.<sup>4</sup>

On the day *yichou* [28 Aug] the Gentle and Generous Empress was buried at Yiling.<sup>5</sup>

1743

D From the single family of Liang Ji, at one time or another there had come seven marquises, three empresses, six honoured ladies, two generals-in-chief, seven wives or daughters who were granted fief cities and given the title of "Lady," three men who married princesses, and fifty-seven other men who became ministers and generals, intendants and colonels.<sup>6</sup>

E Liang Ji himself usurped power and authority, while his evil and excessive behaviour grew worse every day. He set his own relatives and clients in the close positions of the palace guard, and so he knew all the details of everything that happened in the private apartments.

Anything that was sent to the court from any part of the empire, and also the annual tribute, all was brought first to Liang Ji, and after that the

Emperor had second choice. The roads [to Liang Ji's mansion] bore a steady stream of officials and commoners bearing gifts, whether to seek for some office or to ask pardon for a crime. When an official was transferred or summoned to the capital, it was first required that he should go to Liang Ji's gateway, to inscribe his name as a means of showing gratitude for the favour, and only then would he venture to attend the office of the Masters of Writing [to receive a formal document of commission].

[Yx2: 159]

F When Wu Shu of Xiapi was named Prefect of Wan, he went to pay his respects to Liang Ji before he left for his new post. There were numbers of Liang Ji's clients in Wan county,<sup>7</sup> and Liang Ji asked Wu Shu to treat them kindly.

Wu Shu replied, "Wicked men and corrupt officials may be found everywhere, and they should always be punished. Your excellency, as General-in-Chief, holds position above all others. It is your natural duty to bring forward men of worth and excellence to fill the positions of government. However, since the moment I came here, I have heard no praise for any good man. On the contrary, you give your support to the wrong-doers. This is really not the sort of request that I had hoped to hear from you." Liang Ji made no reply, but he was privately very annoyed.

When Wu Shu arrived in his territory, he executed a score or more of Liang Ji's clients for the harm they had done to other people.

Later, Wu Shu was appointed Inspector of Jing province. When he went on that occasion to make his farewells to Liang Ji, Liang Ji gave him wine which had been poisoned. Wu Shu went out, and then he died in his carriage.

When Hou Meng was first appointed as Grand Administrator of Liaodong, he refused to pay a courtesy call upon Liang Ji. Liang Ji found some other excuse to attack him, and he was executed by being cut in two at the waist.

The Gentleman of the Palace, Yuan Zhu of Runan, who was aged nineteen, went to the palace gates and sent in a letter which said, "Like the cycle of the four seasons, good work comes to its fulfilment and then declines,<sup>8</sup> and it is rare that high rank and great favour do not bring down misfortune [upon those who hold them too long].

"At the present time, the General-in-Chief holds the highest position, and his good work has reached its fulfilment; this could become a cause of very great danger. It would be appropriate for him to follow the ceremony of hanging up his carriage; then he could rest soundly on a high pillow.<sup>9</sup>

"There is a tradition which tells us, 'When the fruit is too plentiful, it damages the branches and may harm the heart of the tree.'<sup>10</sup> If the General does not accept some reduction in his authority, it is possible that he will not escape even with his life."

Liang Ji heard about this, and he sent men in secret to arrest Yuan Zhu. Yuan Zhu changed his name, and pretended that he had taken ill and died. He made the figure of a man out of rushes, bought a coffin, and had a public funeral performed. Liang Ji, however, found out about the deception, he hunted for Yuan Zhu and caught him, and then he had him flogged to death.

1744 Hao Jie and Hu Wu, both men from Taiyuan, enjoyed high principles and forthright argument, and they had been very good friends with Yuan Zhu. On a later occasion they sent in to the offices of the Three Excellencies a list which they had prepared jointly, with the names of good scholars from all over the empire whom they recommended for office. They never paid a courtesy call on Liang Ji.

Liang Ji heard about this, and he was furious. He had the office of the capital<sup>11</sup> put out a summons for the arrest of the two men. Hu Wu's whole household was punished, and more than sixty people died. Hao Jie had already fled, but he realised that he was not going to get away. So he took a carriage with a coffin to Liang Ji's gateway, and there he handed in a letter. When the letter was taken inside, Hao Jie took poison and died. By this means, his family was saved.

[Yx2: 159]

G The Honoured Lady Geng, official mother of Emperor An, died.<sup>12</sup> Liang Ji asked her nephew, the Marquis of Linlü Geng Cheng, for her jewellery. When he refused, Liang Ji became angry, and he had the family executed, more than ten people.

H Cui Qi of Zhuo commandery was greatly admired by Liang Ji for his ability as a writer, but when Cui Qi composed his "Admonitions to the Consort

Clan" and "Rhapsody on the White Crane," which criticised and satirised him, Liang Ji became angry.<sup>13</sup>

Cui Qi said to him, "In former times, when Guan Zhong was Chancellor of Qi, he was pleased to hear words of criticism, and when Xiao He assisted [Emperor Gaozu, founder of] Han, he actually appointed officials with responsibility to record things which were wrong.<sup>14</sup>

"Now you, my general, hold a long-established position as chief support of the state, comparable to that of Yi [Yin] or [the Duke of] Zhou. Yet we hear nothing of your virtues in government, and the people are suffering in mud and ashes.

"You cannot bring yourself to associate with those upright men who might give help in time of misfortune and danger, but instead you seek to block their mouths. You have deceived and misled our sovereign, so that black and yellow change colours, and a deer is confused with a horse!"<sup>15</sup>

1745 Liang Ji could make no reply to this, and then Cui Qi was sent away. He became afraid and fled into hiding. Liang Ji caught him and killed him.<sup>16</sup>

I Liang Ji had held control of the government for almost twenty years, and his authority was recognised both inside [the palace] and out. The Emperor's hands were tied, and there was nothing he could do of his own initiative. The Emperor was increasingly dissatisfied with this situation, and when Chen Shou died he was even more angry.<sup>17</sup>

The Lady Xuan, wife of the Gentleman of the Palace Deng Xiang, who was a cousin of the Fortunate Empress [Deng] of Emperor He, had a daughter named Meng.<sup>18</sup> Deng Xiang died, and Xuan remarried, this time to Liang Gi,<sup>19</sup> who was the maternal uncle of [Liang Ji's wife] Sun Shou.<sup>20</sup>

The girl Meng was extremely good-looking, so Sun Shou had her brought into the side apartments of the palace, and she became an Honoured Lady.

Liang Ji wanted to have Meng recognised as his daughter, and he changed her surname to Liang.<sup>21</sup> He was afraid that the Gentleman-Consultant Bing Zun, who was husband to Meng's elder sister, might persuade Xuan [his mother-in-law] to turn the proposal down, so he sent some of his retainers and they killed Bing Zun. He also intended to kill Xuan.

Xuan's house was next door to that of the Regular Palace Attendant Yuan She, and Liang Ji's men climbed into Yuan She's house to get at Xuan's. Yuan She discovered them, and he called out and beat on a drum to gather a crowd and to warn Xuan. The Lady Xuan ran to the palace and told the Emperor, and the Emperor was furious.

J Then the Emperor went to the lavatory, and he spoke there alone with Tang Heng, a Junior Attendant of the Yellow Gates,<sup>22</sup> asking him, "Which among my attendants are on bad terms with the consort family?"

Tang Heng replied, "The Regular Palace Attendant Shan Chao and the Junior Attendant of the Yellow Gates Zuo Guan had a quarrel with Liang Buyi.<sup>23</sup> The Regular Palace Attendant Xu Huang and the Prefect of the Yellow Gates Ju Yuan have often expressed themselves privately about the way in which the Empress's clan have acted against the law, but they do not dare to speak out."

So the Emperor called Shan Chao and Zuo Guan to come to him, and said, "General Liang and his brothers have taken all power at the court, and they are aggressive and oppressive both inside and out. From the excellencies and ministers on down, all the officials follow their instructions and accept their influence. Now I want to punish them. What do you, my palace attendants, think of this?"

Shan Chao and his colleagues replied, "Indeed there are wicked men and criminals in the state, and the day of their punishment is long due. But we ourselves are weak, and of small ability, and we do not fully comprehend your majesty's sage-like thoughts."

The Emperor said, "If we are agreed, then, you plan it in secret."

They replied, "There is no difficulty about planning the affair. We are only concerned that your majesty may yet have some doubts of your own."

"When wicked ministers oppress the state, and the time for their punishment is come," said the Emperor, "how can there be any doubts?"

1746 And at this he called in Xu Heng and Ju Yuan, and together those five settled the agreement. The Emperor bit Shan Chao on the arm, drawing blood, to make the covenant.<sup>24</sup>

K Shan Chao and the others said, "Now your majesty's plans are decided, we shall speak no more on the matter. Otherwise we may give others some cause for suspicion."

L Liang Ji did become suspicious of Shan Chao and his fellows, and in the eighth month, on the day *dingchou* [9 Sep] he sent the Palace Attendant of

the Yellow Gates Zhang Yun to take up residence in the private apartments and keep watch against any trouble. Ju Yuan had guards arrest Zhang Yun on the charge that he had entered the palace without proper authorisation and was planning some act of rebellion.

Then the Emperor went to the Front Hall [of the Southern Palace],<sup>25</sup> where he summoned all the officers of the Masters of Writing<sup>26</sup> and advised them of the situation. He had the Prefect of the Masters of Writing, Yin Xun, bearing the Staff of Authority,<sup>27</sup> take direct command of his subordinates, and the gentlemen and other junior officials held weapons to guard the doors.<sup>28</sup> [It was ordered that] all seals and tallies were to be collected and sent to the palace.<sup>29</sup>

Then Ju Yuan led [a party of] grooms from the imperial stables, Rapid Tiger and Feathered Forest guards, and Warriors with Swords and Lances of the Captains at the Capital,<sup>30</sup> a thousand men altogether, to join the Colonel Director of Retainers Zhang Biao and surround Liang Ji's lodgings. The Superintendent of the Imperial Household, Yuan Xu, was sent in with the Staff of Authority to take away Liang Ji's seal and ribbon as General-in-Chief,<sup>31</sup> and to transfer his fief to the marquissate of the chief district of Bijing.<sup>32</sup>

Liang Ji and his wife Sun Shou both committed suicide on that same day. Liang Buyi and Liang Meng had died earlier. All other members of the Liang and Sun clans, both inside and outside, were arrested and sent to the imperial jails, and they then suffered public execution. No consideration was given to age or youth. Of others who were implicated, excellencies, ministers, colonels, provincial inspectors and other senior officials, scores of them died.<sup>33</sup>

M The Grand Commandant Hu Guang, the Minister over the Masses Han Yan and the Minister of Works Sun Lang were all found guilty of subservience to the Liang clan and of failing to protect the throne. They were detained at the Hostel of Long Life,<sup>34</sup> then sentenced to the death penalty remitted by one degree, and were dismissed to become commoners.<sup>35</sup>

N More than three hundred of [Liang Ji's] former subordinates and clients were dismissed.<sup>36</sup> The court was empty.

During this time, as news of the coup spread outward, and couriers dashed here and there on their several missions, the high officials had lost their authority, and there were rumours and confusion in the offices and

the yamens, in the markets and the streets. After a few days, however, everything became quiet again, and the ordinary people were quite delighted. The whole of Liang Ji's property was confiscated, and the local county offices sold off his goods. Altogether they raised three thousand million cash, which was paid into the official treasury. The annual taxation from the empire [for that year] was reduced by half, and all Liang Ji's parks and pleasure-grounds were divided for the benefit of the poor.

1747

O On the day *renwu* [14 Sep] the Honoured Lady Liang [Meng] was established as Empress. The Yiling Tomb [of the late Empress Liang Nüying] was demoted to be the tomb of an Honoured Lady.

[Yx2: 159]

P The Emperor hated the Liang clan, and the surname of the [new] Empress was changed to Bo. Some time later, when it was realised that she was the daughter of Deng Xiang, her surname was changed back again to Deng.<sup>37</sup>

Q An edict proclaimed rewards for the successful destruction of Liang Ji. Shan Chao, Xu Huang, Ju Yuan, Zuo Guan and Tang Heng were all made marquises of counties. Shan Chao had the income from twenty thousand households, while Xu Huang and the others each had more than ten thousand households. They were known by the people of the time as "the five marquises."

Zuo Guan and Tang Heng were also appointed Regular Palace Attendants. The Prefect of the Masters of Writing Yin Xun and six other men became marquises of villages.<sup>38</sup>

R The Grand Minister of Agriculture Huang Qiong became Grand Commandant,<sup>39</sup> the Grand Palace Grandee Zhu Tian of Zhongshan became Minister over the Masses, and the Grand Herald Sheng Yun of Liang kingdom became Minister of Works.

S At this time, when Liang Ji had just been overthrown, the people held great expectations of the new government. As the man at the head of the bureaucracy, Huang Qiong now sent in a memorial with the names of officials who had made themselves notorious among the provinces and commanderies for their oppression and dishonesty. More than ten men were executed or banished, and all the empire approved.

[Yx2: 159]

T Huang Qiong recommended Fan Pang of Runan for office.

When Fan Pang was still young, he was already admired by the people of his neighbourhood for his strict and absolute honesty.

On one occasion he was commissioned as a Messenger with a Pure Edict and sent to inspect Ji province.<sup>40</sup> When he mounted the chariot and grasped the reins, he carried himself as boldly as if he had the ambition to clear away all the iniquity from the whole of the empire. Any grand administrator or prefect with something to hide abandoned his seal and ribbon and fled away as soon as he heard Fan Pang was coming. In every memorial and report that he sent in, Fan Pang gave full expression to the opinions of the people.

About this time an imperial edict commanded that the clerical officials of the offices of the Three Excellencies should report upon rumours and sayings among the people.<sup>41</sup>

1748 Fan Pang sent in a memorial against twenty and more inspectors, administrators and chancellors, and men of powerful family, who had formed factions to abuse their power. The Masters of Writing then criticised Fan Pang for attacking so many, and suggested that he was making his accusations out of personal malice.

Fan Pang replied, "When I make a report, it is not because I enjoy dealing in the dirt of oppression and corruption. These are matters which are a source of great harm to the people. Why else should I deface an official report with such unpleasantness?"

"Since the Day of Assembly was near,<sup>42</sup> I have sent in the most important items first. In cases where I have not yet made detailed enquiry, I shall start the investigations as soon as possible.

"I have heard it said, when a farmer removes the weeds, good grain is sure to flourish; and if loyal ministers remove all evil, then the royal way shall be made clear. If anything I have said casts doubt upon my loyalty, I shall be only too pleased to offer myself for execution."

The Masters of Writing could bring no further complaint against him.

U Chen Fan, Prefect of the Masters of Writing,<sup>43</sup> recommended five scholars living in retirement: Xu Zhi of Yuzhang, Jiang Gong of Pengcheng, Yuan Hong of Runan, Wei Zhu of Jingzhao and Li Tan of Yingchuan. The Emperor sent a special "comfortable carriage,"<sup>44</sup> with black and crimson



harness and with full ceremonial, to invite each of them, but they all declined.

Xu Zhi was a man from a poor family. He worked in the fields, and he would eat only the food he had grown through his own labours. He was respectful and frugal, honest and self-effacing, and all his neighbours admired his virtue. He was frequently invited to take up a post in the offices of the Three Excellencies, but he would never accept.

When Chen Fan was Grand Administrator of Yuzhang, he very politely requested Xu Zhi to become his Officer of the Bureau of Merit.<sup>45</sup> Xu Zhi could not [flatly] decline, but he called only once, and then he went home. Chen Fan was harsh and strict by nature, and he seldom gave a welcome to clients or dependent guests; when Xu Zhi came, however, he prepared a special couch for him, and when he went away he hung it up again.<sup>46</sup>

Later, Xu Zhi was recommended as "Knowing the Way," and messengers were sent to his house offering him the post of Grand Administrator of Taiyuan, but he again refused to go.<sup>47</sup>

1749 Nevertheless, though Xu Zhi would not accept appointments from any of the Three Excellencies, he still recognised their deaths with the rituals of mourning as if for a patron, and he would travel to the funeral carrying his own baggage. At his house he kept a chicken ready broiled, together with an ounce of floss silk which had been soaked in wine, then dried in the sun and wrapped around the bird. He would go to the outer entrance of the tomb, soak the cloth in water so that the fragrance of the wine came out, and with one dou of rice<sup>48</sup> and some white reeds spread underneath, he would present the chicken. When the libation was ended, he would leave his card and depart, and he did not seek to call upon the chief mourners.<sup>49</sup>

[Yx2: 159]

V Jiang Gong and his two younger brothers, Jiang Zhonghai and Jiang Jijiang, were celebrated for their filial affection and their personal friendship. They would sleep under the same coverlet, and they would none of them accept invitations to office.

On one occasion Jiang Gong and his brother Jiang Jijiang were travelling to the commandery capital [of Pengcheng] and at night on the road they were captured by bandits. The bandits were going to kill them, but Jiang Gong said, "My brother is still young, the apple of his parents' eyes, and

he is not yet betrothed. Please kill me and let him go." Jiang Jijiang said, "My elder brother's virtues and his age are far greater than mine. He is the treasure of our family and a leader of the nation. Let me receive your blows, but I beg that you spare my brother's life." So the bandits let both of them go, and they only took their clothes and their goods.

When the two men arrived at the commandery capital, all the people saw that they had no clothes, and they naturally asked why. Jiang Gong gave some excuse, but he made no mention of the bandits.

When the bandits heard about this they were very impressed, and they went to the brothers' lodging to pay their respects to "their lord who has received an imperial summons."<sup>50</sup> They kowtowed and apologised for their behaviour, and they returned all they had taken. Jiang Gong, however, refused to accept the goods, he treated the bandits generously with wine and food, and then sent them away.

When the Emperor summoned Jiang Gong and was refused, he sent orders to Pengcheng that an artist should paint Jiang Gong's likeness. Jiang Gong, however, lay in bed in the dark with the covers over his face. He explained that he had a dizzy sickness, so bad he could not come out. And so the artist was not able to see him.

- W Yuan Hong was the great-great grandson of Yuan An. He would mortify his flesh as a means to maintain his conduct, and he would respond to no recommendations or summons.
- X Wei Zhu lived in seclusion and taught. He paid no attention to the concerns of the world.
- Y Li Tan had a most tyrannical and fussy stepmother, but he treated her with the utmost respect, he obtained for her the most costly products of each of the four seasons, and every time he brought them to her he would always bow first. People of that district took his conduct as a model for their own.
- Z The Emperor also called Wei Huan of Anyang [in Runan].<sup>51</sup> His fellow villagers all urged him to go, but Wei Huan said, "Now if I seek a salary and look for advancement, that would satisfy my personal ambition.

"The women of the harem, however, are now more than a thousand; can their numbers be reduced? The horses in the stables are in the tens of thousands; can their numbers be diminished? The attendants of the Emperor are powerful and oppressive; can they be removed?"

1750 All replied, "That is not possible."

Then Wei Huan sighed and said, "So you are asking that I go alive [to the court] and come back dead [because I would be compelled to speak out against abuses and would inevitably meet with execution for making such criticisms]. What is the point?"

So he went into hiding and he would not appear again in public.

[Yx2: 159]

AA Now that the Emperor had destroyed Liang Ji, he was able to take account of old favours and private friendships, and he awarded a number of enfeoffments and titles.

BB He gave the posthumous appointment of General of Chariots and Cavalry to the Empress' father Deng Xiang, with enfeoffment as Marquis of Anyang. He changed the fief of the Empress' mother, the Lady Xuan, to be Lady of Kunyang, and Deng Kang and Deng Bing, sons of the Empress' elder brother, both became marquises.<sup>52</sup> Other members of the family became colonels, or generals of the gentlemen of the household, and they were granted enormous rewards and presents, calculated by the tens of thousands.

CC The Regular Palace Attendant Hou Lan presented five thousand rolls of silk, and the Emperor awarded him enfeoffment as a Marquis Within the Imperial Domain.<sup>53</sup> Then the Emperor made it known that Hou Lan had taken part in the arrangements for the overthrow of Liang Ji, and he was raised in fief to become Marquis of Gao District.<sup>54</sup>

DD The Junior Attendants of the Yellow Gates Liu Pu, Zhao Zhong and six others were also enfeoffed as marquises of districts.

As a result of this, power and authority was concentrated in the hands of the eunuch officials.

EE The "five marquises" [Shan Chao, Xu Huang, Ju Yuan, Zuo Guan and Tang Heng] were particularly greedy and lawless, and the repercussions [of their abuse of power] were felt both at the capital and in the provinces.

[Yx2: 159]

FF Many disasters and portents appeared at this time.

Li Yun of Ganling, the Prefect of Boma [in Dong commandery], sent in an open memorial, with a copy to the offices of the Three Excellencies, saying, "Though Liang Ji had arrogated power and usurped authority for himself, and his tyranny extended throughout the empire, the punishment for his crimes was carried out by a few servants of the [imperial] household upon orders issued for his arrest and execution [so it was not a particularly complex and dangerous affair].

"Since then, however, several enfeoffments have been granted to assorted eunuchs, each valued at ten thousand households or more. Had Emperor Gaozu heard of this, he would never have approved.<sup>55</sup> And the generals of the northwest must surely be disturbed.<sup>56</sup>

"Confucius said, 'To be an emperor is to be a judge.'<sup>57</sup> But at the present time, official positions are mistaken and confused; petty men gain advancement through flattery; wealth and property are publicly misused, and every day the good influence of government is brought further into decline. When the documents [of imperial decrees] one foot long are issued without proper care,<sup>58</sup> this shows that the Emperor does not want to act as a judge!"

When the Emperor received this memorial, he absolutely shook with anger. He ordered the high officials to have Li Yun arrested, and he issued an edict that the Warriors with Swords and Lances of the office of the Masters of Writing should escort him to the Prison of the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates.<sup>59</sup>

1751 The Palace Regular Attendant Guan Ba, together with [Attendant] Imperial Clerks and the Commandant of Justice, were all sent at various times to examine Li Yun [by torture].<sup>60</sup>

At this time, the Senior Clerk for All Purposes in Hongnong,<sup>61</sup> Du Zhong, resenting the fact that Li Yun was under-going such punishment for his loyal words, sent in a letter to say, "I wish to die on the same day as Li Yun." The Emperor's fury knew now no bounds, and he ordered that Du Zhong should also be arrested and held by the Commandant of Justice.

Chen Fan, [now] Grand Herald, sent in a memorial saying, "Though Li Yun's words show no regard for proper form and deference, and they are opposed to higher authority and they disobey orders, nevertheless he did have the good intention of showing loyalty to the state. In earlier times, Emperor Gaozu tolerated the criticisms of Zhou Chang, even when they

were sacrilegious,<sup>62</sup> and Emperor Cheng pardoned Zhu Yun, though he was worthy of the neck and waist execution.<sup>63</sup> If you kill Li Yun now, I fear that the people of the empire may rather compare you to [Zhou Xin] who cut out the heart [of his minister Bi Gan]."<sup>64</sup>

The Grand Master of Ceremonies Yang Bing, the Chief of the Market in Luoyang Mu Mao, and the Gentleman of the Palace Shangguan Zi all sent in memorials to plead for Li Yun.<sup>65</sup> The Emperor again flew into a rage.

The chief officials now reported that [their conduct could be considered] Great Iniquity,<sup>66</sup> and an edict was issued to reprimand Chen Fan and Yang Bing most severely, and to dismiss them and banish them to their home territories. Mu Mao and Shangguan Zi were each reduced two grades in rank and salary.

At this time, the Emperor was by the Lake of the Shining Dragon [in the pleasure ground near the Northern Palace].<sup>67</sup> Guan Ba came to report on the question of Li Yun and his supporters. He knelt down and said, "Li Yun is a silly scholar from the country-side, and Du Zhong is a petty official in a commandery. They just got excited and carried away. They're not worth punishing."

The Emperor said to Guan Ba, "'The Emperor does not want to act as a judge', what sort of talk is that? And you want me to pardon them?" He turned to tell one of his Junior Attendants of the Yellow Gates that the recommendation [sent in by the chief officials] was approved. Li Yun and Du Zhong both died in jail.

GG As a result of this incident, the influence of the Emperor's personal favourites became all the greater.

[Yx2: 159]

HH The Grand Commandant Huang Qiong felt that he was not strong enough to keep things under control, so he declared that he was sick and dying, and he sent in a memorial to say,<sup>68</sup> "Since your majesty came to the throne, the government has not surpassed [the achievements of former rulers].

"The Liang family usurped power, but now it is eunuchs that dominate the court. Because they dared to speak out loyally, Li Gu and Du Qiao were pointlessly and brutally destroyed. And now Li Yun and Du Zhong, following in their footsteps, have also been punished for holding to the right way of action.<sup>69</sup> All within the seas are distressed and fearful, and

they are increasingly resentful. It has now come to pass that men from both the court and from the country regard loyalty as something taboo.

"The Master of Writing Zhou Yong was formerly subservient to Liang Ji, and he used Liang Ji's authority for his own purposes. Later, when he saw Liang Ji was in danger, he made great show of abusing him in order to demonstrate loyalty to you. As a result, by an immoral piece of trickery, he has also gained a marquise.

1752 "Besides this, the officials of the Yellow Gates maintain their wicked ways, and they all join in faction. From the time that Liang Ji came to power, they cleaved to him like back to belly, they plotted day and night, and they involved each other ever further in evil doings. When Liang Ji was about to meet his punishment, since they had no more clever schemes, they advertised his wrongdoing in order to obtain rewards and rank for themselves.

"Unless your majesty applies your clear understanding, to examine and distinguish true from false – if you grant these people the same ranks and enfeoffments as you award your loyal ministers, so that black and white are mixed<sup>70</sup> – then this may be described as casting gold and jade amongst sand and gravel, and throwing the *gui* and *bi* insignia<sup>71</sup> into the dust and mud. All the people will hear of it, and everyone will sigh with indignation.

"I and my family have received favour from the state for generations. I think little of my own person, but I regard the position which I hold as very important. Facing death, I present these comments, albeit they are less than respectful"

When the document was sent in, it was not accepted.

II In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *renshen* [3 Nov] the Emperor paid a visit to Chang'an.

JJ The Regular Palace Attendant Shan Chao was ill. [In the eleventh month] on the day *renyin* [3 Dec]<sup>72</sup> he was appointed General of Chariots and Cavalry.<sup>73</sup>

[Yx2: 159]

KK In the twelfth month on the day *jisi* [30 Dec] the Emperor returned from Chang'an.

LL The Shaodang, Shaohe, Dangjian, Lejie and four other groups of the Qiang raided the border defences of Longxi and Jincheng. The Colonel Protector of the Qiang Duan Jiong attacked and defeated them. He pursued them as far as Luoting,<sup>74</sup> and cut off the heads of more than two thousand chieftains, leaders and others. He captured over ten thousand of their people alive.

MM An edict re-appointed Chen Fan Superintendent of the Imperial Household and Yang Bing became Intendant of Henan.<sup>75</sup>

NN Shan Kuang, son of the elder brother of Shan Chao, became Grand Administrator of Jiyin. He took advantage of his power to show his greed, and the Inspector of Yan province, Diwu Zhong, sent his Attendant Official Wei Yu to investigate him. He discovered fifty or sixty million [cash] taken [by Shan Kuang].

1753 Diwu Zhong then reported against Shan Kuang, and extended the charge to implicate Shan Chao.

OO Shan Kuang, now in considerable anxiety and distress, gave money to his retainer Ren Fang to kill Wei Yu, but Wei Yu found out about it, put Ren Fang under arrest, and sent him in bonds to Luoyang.

Shan Kuang realised that Yang Bing would investigate the whole affair in full detail, so he secretly arranged for Ren Fang and some others to break out of jail and make their escape.

The Masters of Writing summoned Yang Bing to answer [for this failure of security], but Yang Bing replied, "The misdeeds of Ren Fang and his fellows have all been ordered by Shan Kuang. I ask to send a cage cart to bring Shan Kuang to account. If we examine him thoroughly, we can trace the origins of the whole wicked business."

In the end, however, Yang Bing was found guilty, and he was sentenced to convict labour in the Enclosure of the Left.<sup>76</sup>

PP At this time, moreover, the bandit of Taishan, Shusun Wuji, was ravaging Xu and Yan provinces, and neither the commandery nor the provincial offices could bring him to book. Shan Chao used this as a means to get Diwu Zhong into trouble, and Diwu Zhong was sentenced to exile in Shuofang.

Dong Yuan, a junior relative of Shan Chao who was Grand Administrator of Shuofang, was waiting for Diwu Zhong to come into his power so that he could take revenge. Sun Bin, a former officer under Diwu Zhong,

realising that Diwu Zhong would certainly be killed, collected a group of supporters to go after him. They caught up with the party in Taiyuan, freed Diwu Zhong and brought him back.

Diwu Zhong stayed in hiding for several years, and then there was an amnesty and he was freed from the threat.

QQ Diwu Zhong was a great-grandson of Diwu Lun.<sup>77</sup>

[Yx2: 159]

RR At this time, the enfeoffments and rewards were passing all bounds, and the harem favourites of the Emperor were becoming more and more numerous. Chen Fan sent in a memorial, saying, "It has been the principle that feudal lords should match the territories in the heavens which number four times seven, and they should be a screen to protect the ruler.<sup>78</sup>

"It was Emperor Gaozu's promise that no man should be made a marquis unless he had performed some worthy service,<sup>79</sup> and yet I have heard that Deng Zun, father of the Intendant of Henan Deng Wanshi, has been granted posthumous honours for very minor achievements,<sup>80</sup> and the broken inheritance of the fief once held by the ancestors of the Prefect of the Masters of Writing Huang Jun is now being restored.<sup>81</sup> Close companions receive fief cities without good cause, attendants are handed rewards without good work, and within a single family there may be several men with marquisates.

1754 "In this way the patterns of nature lose their true measure, and the Yin and the Yang fall into disarray.

"I realise that the processes for these enfeoffments are already under way, and it is at this stage too late to reconsider them, but I really hope that your majesty will now call a halt.

"Besides this, the number of ladies chosen for your harem has reached the thousands; they eat meat and they wear fine silk, while their cosmetics, powder and eye-shadow are more costly than anyone can measure. The common people have the saying, 'No robber will ever trouble a family with five daughters', and by this they mean that women can impoverish a household. The women of your household may even be enough to impoverish the state!"

The Emperor accepted some part of these words. He dismissed five hundred women from his palace, and he enfeoffed Huang Jun only as a marquis of the imperial domain. He did, however, enfeoff Deng Wanshi as Marquis of Nan District.<sup>82</sup>



[Yx2: 159]

SS One day, in a casual conversation with his Palace Attendant Yuan Yan of Chenliu,<sup>83</sup> the Emperor asked, "What sort of a ruler am I?"

Yuan Yan replied, "Your majesty is among the middle range of Han."

"Why do you say that?" asked the Emperor.

Yuan Yan replied, "When the Prefect of the Masters of Writing Chen Fan has authority in the management of affairs, then there is good government. When the Regular Palace Attendants and the Yellow Gates officials are allowed to take part in administration, then there is disorder. This way, your majesty's rule is sometimes good and sometimes bad."

The Emperor said, "Some time ago, Zhu Yun broke the railings at the audience hall. Now you have criticised me to my face. I must respect and accept your rebuke on my shortcomings."<sup>84</sup>

He appointed Yuan Yan General of the Gentlemen of the Household for All Purposes, and later transferred him until he became Grand Herald.

About this time, a comet crossed the constellation of the Emperor's Seat,<sup>85</sup> and the Emperor privately asked Yuan Yan about it. Yuan Yan sent in a sealed reply, saying, "Your majesty has chosen to treat the Intendant of Henan Deng Wanshi, old companion of the years before you came to the throne, with favour greater than that of the excellencies and ministers, and with grace more abundant than that shown to your own family. He is now enfeoffed as a marquis.<sup>86</sup> When he attends court, you receive him [like an equal] and play the Bose game with him.<sup>87</sup> In this way, the proper courtesies of rank are disrupted and you do harm to your prestige and authority.

"I have heard it said that the attendants of an emperor are the sources of the virtues of his government. If good men have their place about him, then every day he will have good instruction; but if bad men are permitted in his company, then every day they will encourage his evil traits. If only your majesty would keep slanderers and men of flattery at a distance, and hold close to men that are honest. Then the omen of disaster may be averted."

The Emperor could not accept this advice. Yuan Yan pleaded illness and left office to return home.

### NOTES to Yanxi 2: 159

A *HHS* 7, 304 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

1 The traditional Confucian requirement of "three-year mourning" (*sannian sang*) called for the maintenance of mourning for two complete years after the burial of the deceased parent or ruler: that is, it was mourning "into the third year," and a ceremony at the twenty-fifth month after the burial marked the end of the mourning period. See, for example, *Li ji* 35.3; Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies* II, 581, and the commentary of Yan Shigu to *HHS* 4, 133–34 note 16; HSBZ 4, 20a–b; Chavannes, *MH* II, 490 note 1.

The three-year mourning period had been the ancient rule until the time of Emperor Wen of Former Han. When he died in 157 BC, his testamentary edict ordered that the court mourning period should be limited to a period of thirty-six days after the burial, and public mourning should be even further restricted (*SJ* 10, 433–34; Chavannes, *MH* II, 487–90, *HS* 4, 132; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 268–270). From this time on, for most of the Han dynasty, official mourning followed the limited period set by Emperor Wen (Dubs, *HFHD* I, note 3 to 270).

In 116, when the Empress–Dowager Deng controlled the government of Emperor An, the Minister over the Masses Liu Kai argued that this set a bad example to the common people, and that the old, full custom should be restored (*HHS* 39/29, 1307, abbreviated in *ZZTJ* 50, 1597). As a result, an edict provided that in future all the highest officials (*da chen*: presumably indicating the Excellencies and Ministers), officials with rank/salary of two thousand *shi* (which included grand administrators and chancellors of commanderies and kingdoms) and inspectors of provinces would be permitted to follow the tradition of three-year mourning.

In 121, however, after Emperor An had taken over government following the death of the Empress–Dowager Deng, the Prefect of the Masters of Writing Zhu Feng (whose surname is also given as Dai) and the Master of Writing Meng Bu recommended that the permission for extended mourning should be withdrawn. After some debate, and despite an eloquent memorial from another Master of Writing, Chen Zhong, the Emperor followed their advice (*HHS* 46/36, 1560–61, also *HHJ* 17, 3b–4b, summarised in *ZZTJ* 50, 1618–19).

Again, in 154, permission for the extended mourning was granted once more to inspectors and to Two-Thousand-*shi* officials: perhaps referring here only to grand administrators and chancellors, and not to officials of that rank at the capital (*HHS* 7, 299, cited in *ZZTJ* 53, 1730). The withdrawal of the privilege, described in this passage, represents the cancellation of this second attempt to restore the ancient customs.

Curiously, we are told by *HHS* 7, 302, that in 156 the same right, or requirement, or mourning was extended to the eunuchs of the palace, and there is no record of the withdrawal of that provision. For a time, at least, it appears that Confucian officials were not permitted to carry out these important filial obligations, but eunuchs could.

The arguments in the debates on this question were generally based upon precedent and the example of good morality. One has the suspicion, however, that the full mourning privilege for senior officials had serious effect upon the efficiency of administration, and it was perhaps for this reason the orders were withdrawn in each case a few years after they were brought into effect. On the varying policy, see *Cambridge China* I, 300–301: Loewe, "Conduct of Government."

Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 619–622, records the theories of Han New Text Confucianism concerning the requirements of mourning. In this and other such cases, however, the theories were not matched by the actual practices of the Han government.

At the same time, there was strong feeling in philosophical circles that the mourning rituals should be maintained and enforced. In 166, for example, Xun Shuang, a man of celebrated family who had been recommended by special nomination as a candidate "Of the Utmost Filial Piety" (*zhixiao*), presented a memorial expressing bitter criticism of the reduced mourning obligations, and then declined the appointment (*HHS* 62/52, 2051–56, cited by Chen, "Thought in Later Han," 802–803).

Again, at the end of Han, the scholar Xu Gan argued for the restoration of the three-year mourning period as a means to restore public morality. See, for example, the fragmentary chapter of his *Zhong lun* "Discourse on the Mean," entitled *Fu sannian sang* "Reinstitute the Three-Year Mourning Period," with chapter title attested by the *Zhenguan zhengyao* of Wu Jing (670–749) [Shanghai 1978, at 206], and text evidently preserved in *Qunshu zhiyao* compiled by Wei Zheng (540–643) [*SBCK*] 46, 22b–24a.) The debate in this latter part of the second century may be seen as one aspect of the general emphasis on family loyalty and responsibility, and particularly on the teaching of the Classic of Filial Piety, *Xiao jing*.

For a general discussion of Han mourning practice, see Yang Shuda, *Handai hun sang lisu kao*, and on periods of mourning, see especially his 267–268.

- 2 *HHS* 103/13, 3270, the Treatise of the Five Powers, notes that there was continual rain for more than fifty days. Predictably, the Treatise relates the rain to the fall of Liang Ji in the eighth month of this year.

[*Yx2*: 159]

- B *HHS* 10B, 444 (6a–b), the Biography of the Empress Liang.

[*Yx2*: 159]

- C *HHS* 7, 304 (8b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

- 3 The phrase *liugong* (literally, "the six palaces") here refers to the women of the imperial harem. The commentator Hu Sanxing quotes at some length from the commentaries to *Zhou li* 2 (7), 24b; Biot, *Rites* I, 141 ff, by Zheng Zhong of the first century AD and Zheng Xuan of the second century AD. According to one interpretation, *liugong* was a term for the empress herself, as head of the females of the palace, but it was also used for the six ranks of concubines.

- 4 The Biography of the Empress Liang, *HHS* 10B, 444, notes that she had been on the throne for thirteen years (actually a little more than twelve years by Western count), since her marriage to Emperor Huan in 147, just after his accession. She was probably about thirty years old when she died; her biography suggests that she suffered from grief and resentment at being neglected by the Emperor.

- 5 Commentary to *HHS* 10B, 443, quotes from the *Shi fa* "Systems for Posthumous Titles," a work ascribed to the Zhou period, which explains *yi* as referring to the late Empress' gentleness and sage-like qualities, and *xian* to her intelligence and wisdom.

It was customary in Han for empresses and concubines, and some other favoured persons, to be buried in the vicinity of the tomb of their emperor. The Yiling tomb of his Empress Liang was therefore presumably in the area of the funerary park and tomb being prepared for Emperor Huan, some twenty kilometres southeast of Luoyang (commentary to *HHS* 8, 328).

[*Yx2*: 159]

- D *HHS* 34/24, 1185 (15a), the Biography of Liang Ji.

6 The commentary of Hu Sanxing lists seven enfeoffments as marquis, beginning with Liang Ji's grandfather Liang Yong, to whose fief Liang Ji succeeded, as well as receiving an additional one of his own, and noting that Liang Ji's son Yin, Yin's son Tao, two of Liang Ji's younger brothers, Buyi and Meng, and Buyi's son Ma, were also granted fiefs. Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 475 note 346, however, lists another five marquises, from earlier generations of the family.

The three empresses were the Honoured Lady Liang of Emperor Zhang, who was the natural mother of Emperor He, and who was given posthumous title as empress in 97 (*HHS* 4, 184, and *HHS*10A, 416–17), and the two sisters of Liang Ji, being Liang Na who was Empress to Emperor Shun and then Empress–Dowager to Emperor Huan (*HHS* 10B, 438–40), and Liang Nüying who was Empress to Emperor Huan (*HHS* 10B, 443–44).

It is difficult to identify the six women who became honoured ladies. We may observe that all three empresses listed above held that rank before their final promotion (and the mother of Emperor He, of course, died with the rank of honoured lady). Moreover, a sister of the mother of Emperor He entered the harem of Emperor Zhang at the same time, and appears to have become an honoured lady (*HHS* 10A, 416), and an aunt of the future Empress Liang of Emperor Shun was selected with her into the imperial harem, and also became an honoured lady (*HHS* 10B, 438–39). See also Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 475 note 438.

The two generals-in-chief were Liang Shang, who had been appointed to that office in 135 (*HHS* 6, 264, and the Biography of Liang Shang in *HHS* 34/24, 1175), and Liang Ji himself, who succeeded to Liang Shang's position in 141 (*HHS* 6, 271, and *HHS* 34/24, 1179).

As in the case of the honoured ladies discussed above, it is not possible to make a full list of the other men and women who received favours or married into the imperial family. For example, the list of princesses (*gongzhu*), at the end of the chapter of the biographies of empresses, *HHS* 10B, 458–62, mentions the marriage of only one princess to a member of the Liang family: a daughter of Emperor Guangwu, she married Liang Song, a son of the powerful Liang Tong, founder of the fortunes of the family at the beginning of Later Han (*HHS* 34/24, 1170); there are, however, several other princesses of the imperial Liu house for whom no marriages are recorded.

[Yx2: 159]

E *HHS* 34/24, 1183 (13b), the Biography of Liang Ji; with extract from *HHS* 34/24, 1181 (12a).

[Yx2: 159]

F *HHS* 34/24, 1183–84 (13b–14b), the Biography of Liang Ji.

7 The Liang family came from Wan, which was the capital of Nanyang commandery, and the home country of Emperor Guangwu, founder of Later Han. The city of Wan, after Luoyang, was one of the greatest in the empire. See, for example, Knechtges, *Wen xuan* I, 311–336, translating the "Southern Capital Rhapsody" (*Nanjing fu*) by Zheng Xuan of the second century AD.

8 Such a sentiment is not uncommon, but the commentary of Hu Sanxing points out that the passage here is close to the words of the counsellor Cai Ze of the state of Yan of the Warring States period at the end of Zhou, recorded in his biography in *SJ* 79, 2419. See also note 10 below.

9 The expression *xuan che* "to hang up the carriage," or, as Tjan renders it in *White Tiger Discussions* II, 480, "to hang up the harness," refers to an officer's retirement from the service of the state. To some extent it may have been a literal description: *HS* 71, 3048, tells how Xie Guangde of Former Han, who had served the founding Emperor Gaozu, hung up the "comfortable carriage" *an che*: see note 44 below) which he had been granted, and passed it on for the use of his sons (see also the commentary of Yan Shigu to this passage, which observes the action as a sign of honourable retirement).

Besides the reference in *Bohu tong* 4, 15b translated by Tjan as above (where it is associated with retirement at the age of seventy), the expression was also used in texts of and relating to the second and third centuries: for example *HS* 73, 3105, where the phrase appears and is explained by the commentary of Ying Shao as retirement on account of age, and *HHS* 62/52, 2067, the Biography of Chen Shi, and *HHS* 67/57, 2211, the Biography of Zhang Jian, both referring to deliberate retirement from political affairs.

The phrase *gao zhen* "a high pillow" appears frequently in texts of this time as the description of a life of ease, comfort and security. It has the same significance today.

10 The commentary of Hu Sanxing attributes a quotation in similar terms to Fan Ju, a celebrated debater of the state of Wei during the period of the Warring States. See *SJ* 79, 2411; and *cf.* note 8 above. It appears that Yuan Zhu was citing the works of the two sophists, whose biographies occupy the same chapter of *Shi ji*, in tandem.

11 The commentary of Hu Sanxing identifies this "office of the capital" (*zhongdu guan*) with the Bureau for the Officials at the Capital" (*duguan cao*) under the Colonel Director of Retainers. The Colonel was chief officer of the censorate for the capital province, and the Bureau had censorial authority within Luoyang. See *HHS* 117/27, 3614, with commentary note 5 quoting Cai Zhi, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 85.

[Yx2: 159]

G *HHS* 19/9, 714 (9b), the Biography of Geng Bao.

12 The Lady Geng had been the senior concubine of Liu Qing, King of Qinghe, who died in 107 (*HHS* 5, 205). The son of Liu Qing, Liu Hu, the future Emperor An, was brought to the throne by the Empress-Dowager Deng in 106, though the Empress-Dowager continued to control the government until her death in 121.

After the death of the Empress-Dowager, however, the Emperor's father Liu Qing was given posthumous title as an emperor, and his tomb was named Ganling "Mound of Contentment." The natural mother of Emperor An, the Lady Zuo, concubine of Liu Qing, was given title as Empress, and the Lady Geng was made Greatly Honoured Lady of the Gan[ling] Funerary Park (*Ganyuan da guiren*).

The Geng were one of the great families of Later Han: Geng Yan had been one of the chief supporters of Emperor Guangwu, and his relatives in later generations had frequently married into the imperial clan. The elder brother of the Lady Geng, Geng Bao, played a leading role in the politics of the court at the end of the reign of Emperor An, but was later disgraced and committed suicide; the family was restored to some favour after the accession of Emperor Shun in 125. His son, Geng Cheng, had been made a marquis after he married an imperial princess (*HHS* 19/9, 714.)

[Yx2: 159]

H *HHS* 80A/70A, 2619–22 (13a–15b), the Biography of Cui Qi  
in the Chapter on Literary Men.

13 The text of the "Admonitions to the Consort Clan" (*Waiqi zhen*) is preserved in Cui Qi's biography, *HHS* 80A/70A, 2619–22. The "Rhapsody on the White Crane" (*Baigu fu*) has not survived. The Biography of Cui Qi tells us that he wrote the rhapsody to emphasise the warnings given in the "Admonitions."

14 On the legendary minister Guan Zhong, who served Duke Huan of the state of Qi in the seventh century BC, see for example *SJ* 32, 1486 ff; Chavannes, *MH* IV, 48–49 ff. and Rickett, *Guanzi* I, particularly 8–14.

On the minister Xiao He of the founding Emperor Gaozu of Han, see *SJ* 53; Watson, *RGH* I, 125–133.

15 The reference to a deer being confused with a horse concerns the story of the treacherous eunuch Zhao Gao, Chancellor to the weakling Second Emperor of Qin at the end of the third century BC.

Zhao Gao was planning a coup d'état, but wanted to discover which officials were still loyal to the Emperor. So he had a deer brought to the court, and announced it as a horse. The Emperor corrected him, but Zhao Gao insisted, and he asked the opinion of each of the officials: those who supported him on this ridiculous point could be assumed to support him on all else; those who disagreed with him were soon afterwards eliminated. See *SJ* 6, 273; Chavannes, *MH* II, 211.

The commentary of Hu Sanxing also observes that black (*xuan*) and yellow (*huang*) are the colours attributed to Heaven and Earth; to change them implies the overturning of the natural order of the universe.

16 The last two sentences of the text of *ZZTJ* do not follow closely the text of *HHS*.

According to the Biography of Cui Qi, he was later appointed to a county office, but he was concerned that there would be trouble made for him and he left the post. So Liang Ji sent a retainer to kill him, but the man admired Cui Qi and warned him instead. It was only then that Cui Qi actually ran away, and was caught and killed.

The abbreviated version of *ZZTJ* seems to present Cui Qi in a rather less impressive light than the fuller account in *HHS*.

[*Yx2*: 159]

1 *HHS* 34/24, 1185–86 (15a–b), the Biography of Liang Ji.

17 See passage B of Yanxi 1.

18 The Empress Deng was the wife of Emperor He. After the death of her husband in 106, the Lady Deng acted as regent Empress–Dowager and controlled the government of the short-lived infant Emperor Shang (106). She then chose Emperor An for the throne and continued to hold effective power for most of his reign (106–125) until her own death in 121. Her biography is in *HHS* 10A, 418–30.

Hexi Empress was the posthumous title of the Lady Deng. The character he comes from the posthumous title of her husband. Commentary to *HHS* 10A, 418, quotes the citation by the second century scholar Cai Yong of the *Shi fa* "Systems for Posthumous Titles" (see also note 5 above), which explains the character *xi* as referring to her achievement in giving peace to the people.

The biography of the young woman who became Empress to Emperor Huan is in *HHS* 10B, 444–45. That text gives her personal name as Mengnü; there is no way to tell whether Meng or Mengnü is the correct form.

- 19 I have here used the variant transcription Gi for the personal name of the Lady Meng's step-father, written, as a means to distinguish him from the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. In Archaic and Ancient Chinese, the final and tonal values of the characters were different: Karlgren, *GSR* 953*i* and 603*a*.
- 20 It is possible that Liang Gi's original surname was indeed Liang (we do not know the surname of Sun Shou's mother), but we may observe that some members of Sun Shou's family had changed their surname to Liang, in order to share in the prosperity of that great clan (*HHS* 34/24, 1181).
- 21 Despite the remarriage of her mother, it appears the Lady Meng had continued to hold the Deng surname of her natural father.

[Yx2: 159]

J *HHS* 78/68, 2520 (9b–10a), the Biography of Shan Chao and his colleagues in the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

22 Junior Attendant of the Yellow Gates (*xiao huangmen*) was a regular eunuch post, so-called from the colour of the doors to the private apartments of the imperial palace. The additional character *shi* presumably indicates that Tang Heng (and Zuo Guan introduced below) had particular secretarial duties with the Emperor. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 57 and 65.

23 Liang Buyi, younger brother of Liang Ji, was Intendant of Henan, and then Superintendent of the Imperial Household, retired into private life in 152. He had since died.

*HHS* 78/68 quotes Tang Heng as explaining further, that Shan Chao and Zuo Guan had called upon Liang Buyi at the time he was Intendant of Henan. They had shown some lack of respect to him, and Liang Buyi then arrested their brothers and held them in jail until the two eunuchs returned and apologised. See Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 477.

It would be a little surprising if such an old quarrel, with a man who was now dead, was the only reason that Shan Chao and Zuo Guan disliked the Liang clan. This was, however, a very private conversation, and the record is not necessarily reliable or complete.

24 The spilling of blood was regarded as essential to a solemn oath or covenant *meng*, in contrast to a simpler agreement. See, for example, *Li ji* 1B.12; Couvreur, *Bienséances et Cérémonies* I, 92:

"Une convention faite entre les princes s'appelle pacte confirmé par le serment; si l'on immole une victime, elle s'appelle pacte solennel et sacré."

See also Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 477 note 361.

25 The Front Hall (*Qian dian*), also known as the Main Hall (*Zheng dian*) was the chief audience hall of the Southern Palace: see Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 24–25.

Other compounds within the Northern or Southern Palaces also had "front halls," but on this occasion a specific building is described.

[Yx2: 159]

K *HHJ* 21, 16a.

[Yx2: 159]

L *HHS* 34/24, 1186 (15b–16a), the Biography of Liang Ji.

26 The Masters of Writing was the office of the imperial secretariat, one of whose chief functions was to prepare the formal drafts of imperial edicts and other orders. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 55–57, and note 28 below.

27 The Staff of Authority (*jie*) was a bamboo eight Han feet (*chi*) tall (about 185 cm), with three yaks' tails fastened to the top as tassels (*HHS* 1A, 10, commentary quoting the *Han guan yi* of Ying Shao of the second century AD). In theory, at least, it gave the bearer plenipotentiary powers to act on behalf of the emperor, taking his own initiative and reporting only afterwards. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 50.

28 The office of the Masters of Writing was headed by a Prefect (*ling*), whose deputy was the Supervisor (*puye*). Under Later Han, the work of the office was divided among six bureaux (*cao*), each headed by a Master of Writing (*shangshu*), assisted by six Gentlemen-in-Attendance (*shilang*) and three Foreman Clerks (*lingshi*). Besides the Gentlemen-in-Attendance, there were also more junior, probationary and apprentice officials, being the Acting Gentlemen of the Palace of the Masters of Writing (*shou shangshu langzhong*) and the Gentlemen of the Masters of Writing (*shangshu lang*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 56–57.

At this time, on the direct orders of Emperor Huan and under the supervision of the Prefect, Yin Xun, it appears that the drafting of documents was carried out personally by the Masters of Writing and their immediate assistants, while the Gentlemen and the Acting Gentlemen performed basic security duty.

29 Besides the office of the Masters of Writing, who prepared official documents, there was also an office of Insignia and Credentials, under a Prefect (*fujie ling*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 58. It seems that this was also taken over by Emperor Huan and his allies to ensure that Liang Ji could not issue rival authorities. Moreover, as we observe immediately below, orders were issued that all authorities, and particularly those held by the Liang group, should now be surrendered.

30 The phrase is interpreted by the commentators as describing the grooms of the two Stables for Fine Horses (*jun jiu*) of the Left and of the Right (*HHS* 115/25, 3582, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 37).

The Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers (*huben zhonglang*) and the Gentlemen of the Household of the Feathered Forest (*yulin*) were units of the palace guards. They were possibly military cadets. See *HHS* 115/25, 3575–76; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 27–28; and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 47).

*HHS* 115/25, 3579, refers to the Captains at the Capital of the Left and the Right (*zuoyou duhou*), who commanded men at arms (*jianji shi*: rendered more literally by Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 33, as "Warriors with Swords and Lances"), who had patrol duties within the palace, and also held powers of arrest over any of the residents, even including the heir apparent.

31 The essential insignia of office under the Han was the seal (*yin*) and the coloured ribbon (*shou*) by which it was attached to the bearer's belt. The seal of the General-in-Chief was made of gold, and the ribbon was purple (*zi*). See *HHS* 114/24, 3563, with commentary quoting Cai Zhi of the second century; also *HHS* 120/30, 3674.

32 In the local administration of Han, counties (*xian*) were subdivided into districts (*xiang*), and the district which contained the county capital was known as the chief district (*5*).

Up to this time, Liang Ji's enfeoffments had been as marquis at county level, so this new title represented a significant reduction in rank. Moreover, the value of Liang Ji's pension had been based on the income from the tax of 30,000 households, far above a normal stipend (*HHS* 34/24, 1179). We are not told the value of the new fief, but it was surely very small.



Finally, we may observe that the county of Bijing was the southernmost territory of the empire, being in the south of Rinan commandery, somewhere near present-day Hué in Vietnam (*e.g.* *HHSJJ* 113B/23B, 30a.) It had formerly been used as a place of exile for the families of unsuccessful politicians, notably the consort Yan clan, which had attempted to control the government after the death of Emperor An but had been overthrown by the eunuch-led coup which put Emperor Shun upon the throne in 125 (*e.g.* *HHS* 10B, 437). In this respect, the analogy with the position of the Liang family was very close.

Under the system of Han, the holder of the fief of a marquis was required to live at his fief territory unless he was given special permission to remain at the capital (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 108–109). So Liang Ji was being sent into exile, and the grant of a derisory fief was designed as no more than an extra turn of the screw.

33 *HHS* 34/24, 1186, and *HHS* 7, 304–305, list the following members of the Liang group who had held high office and who were now arrested and executed:

Liang Yin, son of Liang Ji, who had been Intendant of Henan;

Liang Shu, a cousin, who had held the ministerial post of Commandant of the Guards;

Liang Rang, uncle of Liang Ji, who had been Colonel of the Garrison Cavalry (*tunji*);

Liang Zhong and Liang Ji, two more cousins, who had been colonels of the Elite Cavalry (*yueji*) and the Chang River regiments.

The Commandant of the Guards was responsible for the security of the imperial palace (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 31), and the men at arms under the Captains at the Capital were formally under his orders (see note 30 above).

The Garrison Cavalry, Elite Cavalry and Chang River regiments were three of the five which composed the Northern Army (*bei jun*), a regular force of professional soldiers (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 117–118, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 45–46).

The Intendant of Henan had regular administrative and also police powers in the commandery about Luoyang, including the capital itself (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 88–89).

Under the general authority of Liang Ji, therefore, the Liang clan seemed to have acquired a dominating position in the military command and civil government of the immediate vicinity of the capital. The control, however, was more apparent than real, and it is interesting to observe how rapidly their position collapsed when opposed by a resolute emperor, with effective allies inside the palace, access to the imperial secretariat, and only a small band of armed men.

For other descriptions of this coup of 159, see Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 93–95, and Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 476–477.

[Yx2: 159]

M *HHS* 7, 305 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Huan;

with commentary quoting *Dongguan Hanji* 3, 4b;

and *HHS* 44/34, 1509 (10b), the Biography of Hu Guang;

and *HHS* 61/51, 2036 (17a), the Biography of Huang Qiong.

34 Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 41 and 95, argues that this official "Hostel of Prolonged Life" (*changshou ting*) lay on an avenue (*jie*) of that name in the city, but there is no more precise indication where it was situated.

Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 95, suggests that the three ministers were charged with having sat out the coup at the hostel. My own interpretation of the character zhi in this context is that the ministers were held under temporary arrest at the hostel, and that the charge

against them, of failing to support the throne, was general, based upon their previous subservience to Liang Ji, not upon their immediate conduct at the time of the coup itself. In support of this interpretation, I observe that *Dongguan Hanji* 3,4b, and the biography of Hu Guang, *HHS* 44/34, 1509, says that he and his colleagues were found guilty of failing to protect the imperial government:.

- 35 The main text of *HHS* 7 says that Hu Guang was only dismissed, while the other two were sent to prison, but *HHS* 44/34 and *Dongguan Hanji* both state that all Three Excellencies were arrested and sentenced to death remitted by one degree.

Hu Guang had been made marquis of a district as reward for his assistance with the accession of Emperor Huan under the Liang hegemony in 146 (*HHS* 44/34, 1509). No enfeoffments are recorded for the other two, but it is possible that they had been made marquises in connection with their promotion to the highest offices of the civil service, and they would also have been the recipients of grants of lower noble ranks awarded generally or possibly specifically during their lifetime: on this, see Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank."

Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 129, discusses the punishment of "the death penalty remitted by one degree," and suggests that this sentence was the same, or had the same effect as, the penalty of shaving the head and applying an iron collar (*chengdan*), being the heaviest form of hard labour, which began in any case with a bastinado and was aggravated by an iron collar and leg chains.

It seems likely, however, that these three senior officials may have escaped the full rigour of this penalty, possibly by commutation of their noble ranks. Hu Guang, for example, although his biography in *HHS* 44/34 does not mention it, was evidently restored to some office within a very short time: at the beginning of Emperor Huan's period of personal rule, he was joining in recommendations, as Supervisor of the Masters of Writing, for worthy scholars to be appointed to office at court (*HHS* 53/43, 1746). A few years later, he was again appointed to be one of the Three Excellencies.

[Yx2: 159]

N *HHS* 34/24, 1186–87 (16a–b), the Biography of Liang Ji.

- 36 Among those affected by this proscription was the northern commander Zhang Huan (passages G and H of Yanxi 1), who was regarded as a "former subordinate" (*gu li*) of Liang Ji (passage G of Yanxi 6).

[Yx2: 159]

O *HHS* 7, 305 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

[Yx2: 159]

P *HHS* 10B, 444 (6b), the Biography of the Empress Deng.

- 37 The expression *zhi* "realised" does not seem appropriate to this situation. One must assume that Emperor Huan was capable of discovering the original surname of his Empress: at the least, he could have found it out from her mother-in-law the Lady Xuan, with whom he was in some contact; we are told, moreover, that he had been a friend since childhood of the Empress' cousin Deng Wanshi (see passage RR below).

*HHS* 10B, 444, gives rather more detail. It is said that Emperor Huan disliked the Liang surname (an understandable position, in the circumstances), and he therefore ordered that the Lady Meng's surname be changed to Pu. Two years later, however, in Yanxi 4: 161, the senior ministers memorialised that since the Empress was really the daughter of Deng Xiang, her original surname should be restored. This was done.

The Empress–Dowager Pu of Former Han was the mother of Emperor Wen. She has biographies in *SJ* 49, 1970–72; Chavannes, *MH* VI, 32–38, and *HS* 97A, 3941–42. She had been a concubine of Emperor Gaozu, and was honoured as Empress–Dowager after her son had been brought to the throne in 180 BC: *HS* 4, 110; Dubs, *HFHDI*, 231.

The Empress–Dowager Pu is described as a worthy woman, who gave good advice in appropriate circumstances. Perhaps the point which appealed most to Emperor Huan, however, is that we are told, although she was loyal to her family and gave them generous presents, only one member of her clan received enfeoffment as a marquis. This is in some contrast to the Liang clan, and to the Empress–Dowager Deng in the time of Emperor An.

Moreover, from the point of view of the Emperor himself, the modesty of the Empress Pu presented a most satisfactory contrast to the ambition and arrogance of the Empress Lü, the formal wife of Emperor Gaozu, who dominated the reign of her son Emperor Hui and eventually usurped all power for herself: see, for example, Dubs, *HFHDI*, 167–210.

The re-naming of the Lady Meng, now Empress, was most likely designed not only to remove the memory of the Liang family, but also to warn her relatives of the Deng family that their positions were held only on sufferance, and they should not become too ambitious or greedy.

Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 95, says that the name of the whole Liang clan was changed to Pu, and understands the character with the significance of "mean = of low quality." It is possible to interpret the text of *HHS* 10B, 444, in this way, but there is no reference to such a change in the Biography of Liang Ji at *HHS* 34/24, 1187. It seems more probable that it was the surname of the new Empress that was changed, and that it was intended as analogy with the past rather than insult to the present.

*HHJ* 31, 170a, and *HHS* 104/14, 3295, both give the surname of the new Empress as Bo. The two alternative characters were homonyms at that time: Karlgren, *GSR* 771*p* and 773*a*, says that they could be interchanged.

[Yx2: 159]

Q *HHS* 78/68, 2520 (10a), the Chapter on the Eunuchs;  
and *HHS* 7, 305 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

38 The commentary to *HHS* 7 lists the enfeoffments of Yin Xun and his colleagues: they were in fact marquises of chief districts, districts and chief villages (*i.e.* the chief place of a district: see note 32 above); none were as low as simple *ting* villages.

[Yx2: 159]

R *HHS* 7, 306 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

39 *HHS* 61/51, 2036, the Biography of Huang Qiong, says that he was also enfeoffed as marquis of a district after the destruction of Liang Ji.

[Yx2: 159]

S *HHS* 61/51, 2036 (17b), the Biography of Huang Qiong.

[Yx2: 159]

T *HHS* 67/57, 2203–04 (14b–15a), the Biography of Fan Pang  
from the Chapter on the Proscribed Faction.

40 Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 14, renders the term *qingzhao shi* as "Messenger with a Pure Edict," and explains the office as referring to a staff member from the offices of one of the Three Excellencies, dispatched to the provinces on a special errand.

The Biography of Fan Pang tells us that Fan Pang had been recommended as a Filially Pious and Incorrupt candidate by his commandery, and had then been approved by the Superintendent of the Imperial Household, apparently at the highest level for all four categories considered (on this, see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 135–136). It is quite possible that he was then recruited to the staff of one of the Three Excellencies, though we are not told which (*HHS* 67/57, 2203 and commentary note 2 on 2204).

The only other reference to a commission of *qingzhao shi* in *Hou Han shu* is in the Biography of Diwu Zhong in *HHS* 41/31, 1403. Diwu Zhong was a clerical officer under the Minister over the Masses when he was sent as *qingzhao shi*, also to Ji province, during the Yongshou period (155–157).

Commentary to *HHS* 41/31 also quotes *Fengsu tongyi*, by the contemporary scholar Ying Shao, which tells of a similar commission to investigate Jing province, entrusted to a member of the Grand Commandant's staff.

It would appear that the position of *qingzhao shi* was more investigatory than Bielenstein's translation of "Messenger" gives it credit for. *HHS* 67/57 observes that Ji province had been suffering famine and banditry, and Fan Pang was given a commission of investigation and adjudication (*ancha*) rather than just sent as a messenger. *HHS* 41/31 says that Diwu Zhong's powers of investigation were very considerable, with authority to report upon the conduct of the Inspector, of the grand administrators, and of all officers below them, and the reaction of these officials was just as fearful as that reported for the visitation of Fan Pang.

On the other hand, it would seem that Fan Pang and Diwu Zhong were both investigating similar problems in the same place at about the same time (it is not possible to decide who was sent to Ji province first) so at least one of them had only limited long-term success.

- 41 The commentary of Hu Sanxing here quotes a passage from the *Han guan yi* of Ying Shao, explaining the expression *ju yaoyan* as referring to the collection of sayings from among the people by members of the staff of the offices of the Three Excellencies, this being a means to judge the quality of the administration of senior officials.

*Han guan yi* also describes a ceremony when the various clerks gathered together to hear declaimed the comments upon each provincial and commandery administration: when comments were favourable, they were greeted with cheers, when they were not good, they received a condemnatory silence. This was evidently the Day of Assembly (*hui ri*) referred to by Fan Pang below.

- 42 On this term, see note 41 above.

[Yx2: 159]

U *HHS* 53/43, 1746–47 (6a–b), the Biography of Xu Zhi.

- 43 As the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang observes, the first sentence of this passage is based upon *HHJ* 22, 172a, where, however, the recommendation by Chen Fan is dated in Yanxi 5: 162. The date of Yanxi 2, as in *HHS* 53/43, appears more likely.

On the other hand, *HHS* 53/43 says that Hu Guang, as Supervisor of the Masters of Writing, took part with Chen Fan in this recommendation. Hu Guang, as we have seen in passage M above, had been dismissed in disgrace a short time earlier for his past subservience to the Liang clan, and Sima Guang evidently finds it hard to believe he could have been so quickly restored even to a lesser office.

As I suggest in note 35 above, however, it is possible that Hu Guang's dismissal was made rather for form's sake than as a serious punishment, and it may be that he had in fact been restored to the government.

44 There is a description of the splendidly decorated ceremonial carriages, including the Comfortable Carriage (*an che*), in *HHS* 119/29, 3644, the Treatise on Carriages and Raiment. The Comfortable Carriage appears to have been a large four-wheeled cart, fitted with seats, and covered with a canopy and curtains.

45 The Officer of the Bureau of Merit (*gong cao*) was one of the senior locally-appointed officers of a commandery. He was primarily responsible for making recommendations for office, both local appointments and nominations to the capital of Filially Pious and Incorrupt candidates (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 85–86 and 96).

46 The text here refers to a *ta*, being a couch or bed, and the term is explained by the commentary as a couch for sitting on (*zuo ta*). It was obviously light, and was perhaps an early example of what was later known as the "barbarian bed" (*huchuang*), probably the fore-runner of the chair in China. See Fitzgerald, *Barbarian Beds*, particularly at 9 and 20–21.

47 "Knowing the Way" was a special nomination called for by specific imperial order. The commentary of Hu Sanxing suggests that the nomination of Xu Zhi took place in 121, during the reign of Emperor An (*HHS* 5, 233). No more recent call for such nominations appears in the annals, and it seems probable that this is correct.

From the fact that Xu Zhi was offered a very senior post, as a grand administrator, it appears that the nomination was of a different category to the regular "Filially Pious and Incorrupt" or even "Flourishing Talent" candidacies.

48 The *dou*, a measure of capacity, was a little less than two litres. See, for example, Loewe, "Measurement of Grain."

49 The *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, 3, 2b, also records this custom of Xu Zhi; see also Mather, *New Account*, 2–3. Passage B of Yanxi 7 records the occasion that Xu Zhu attended the funeral of Huang Qiong and paid his respects in this manner.

[Yx2: 159]

V *HHS* 53/43, 1749–50 (8a–9a), the Biography of Jiang Gong.

50 Commentary to *HHS* 53/43 explains the phrase *zhengjun* as reference to the fact that Jiang Gong had at some time received an invitation to the imperial court.

[Yx2: 159]

W *HHS* 45/35, 1525 (7a–b), the Biography of Yuan Hong.

[Yx2: 159]

X *HHJ* 22, 3b.

[Yx2: 159]

Y *HHS* 53/43, 1748 (8a), the Biography of Li Tan;  
with commentary quoting the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng.

[Yx2: 159]

Z *HHS* 53/43, 1741 (2a–b), an anecdote of Wei Huan.

51 The county marquisate of Anyang was in the commandery of Runan, near present-day Zhengyang in south-eastern Henan. The modern city of the same name, in north-eastern Henan, was not a county-level administration during Later Han.

The story of Wei Huan is not presented by Fan Ye as a formal biography, but rather as a part of his introductory remarks to this chapter *HHS* 53/43, which deals with worthy men unwilling to take office under an imperfect government.

[Yx2: 159]

AA *HHS* 7, 305 (9a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

[Yx2: 159]

BB *HHS* 10B, 444–45 (6b), the Biography of the Empress Deng.

52 Xuan had been made Lady of Chang'an immediately after her daughter became Empress

Deng Yin, elder brother of the Empress, had been enfeoffed as Marquis of Nandun soon after his sister entered the palace and received the Emperor's favour. Then he died, and succession to the fief was granted to his eldest son Kang. Then Kang was enfeoffed again as Marquis of Biyang and given a vast donation.

Deng Bing was also enfeoffed as Marquis of Yuyang, but *ZZTJ* has omitted to mention here two other enfeoffments: a middle brother, Deng Tong, became Marquis of Kunyang after the death of the Lady Xuan; and a cousin, Deng Hui, became Marquis of Anyang, evidently in putative succession to the late Deng Xiang. Deng Hui also became General of the Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers.

*HHS* 10B, 444–45, dates the enfeoffments and awards to Yanxi 4, after the surname of the Empress had been recognised as Deng, and this certainly seems more logical (see passage P and note 37 above). *HHJ* 21, 170a, however, chronicles the enfeoffments in Yanxi 2, and Sima Guang evidently preferred to follow that tighter schedule.

[Yx2: 159]

CC *HHS* 78/68, 2522 (11b), the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

53 Marquis Within the Imperial Domain, (*guannei hou*: Bielenstein renders the title more literally as "Marquis Within the Passes"), the nineteenth of the twenty orders of aristocratic rank, was next below that of a full marquis, which was itself the highest that could be obtained by a commoner under the Han dynasty.

In theory, it might have appeared that a Marquis Within the Imperial Domain should have had no specific territory as his fief, since the region of the Land Within the Passes (*guannei*: being the ancient heartland of Qin in the region of the valley of the Wei in present-day Shenxi) had been the domain of the emperor under Former Han, and the tradition of the past implied that no subject could hold a fief in that inner territory. See, for example, the *Yu gong* "The Tribute of Yu" Chapter of *Shu jing* III.1B,.18 and 19; Legge, *CC* III, 142–144, also Karlgren, *Documents*, 18.

Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank," 152–154, however, observes that there were a number of occasions that a Marquis of the Imperial Domain was granted an estate. Such estates could be of varying value, and held in one region of the empire or another. It is likely that they were not so advantageous as those awarded to a full marquis, and it seems possible that in many instances only a pension was awarded. There are some instances of succession of the title from father to son, but it appears that the rank was normally not hereditary.

54 Gaoxiang was evidently the name of a district (*xiang*); it is not known where the place was.

[Yx2: 159]

DD *HHS* 78/68, 2520 (10a), the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

[Yx2: 159]

EE This passage appears to have been compiled by Sima Guang from a variety of texts.

[Yx2: 159]

- FF *HHS* 57/47, 1851–52 (9b–11a), the Biography of Li Yun.
- 55 The commentary of Hu Sanxing explains this as an allusion to the undertaking given by Emperor Gaozu, founder of Former Han, that fiefs would be given only to those who had shown merit in the service of the state. See note 79 below.
- 56 This, of course, is a reference of the military commanders such as Zhang Huan, Huangfu Gui and Duan Jiong, who were defending the frontiers of the empire against the barbarian Qiang, Xiongnu and Xianbi. Although such men were sometimes enfeoffed as a reward for their services, they certainly received no favours comparable to those granted the Emperor's associates at court.
- 57 This text is related to a passage in the apocryphal text, *Chunqiu yundou shu*, "Pivot of the Celestial Rotation of the Spring and Autumn [Annals]" which was circulated at this time. It is quoted more extensively in the commentary of Hu Sanxing, but the work as a whole is now lost.
- 58 The phrase *chiyi* refers to the imperial edicts drafted onto the standard size wooden strip documents of one foot in length, about 23 cm. See *HHS* 57/47, 1853 commentary note 7 quoting the *Hanguan yi* of Ying Shao, also Loewe, *Records of Han Administration* I, 11 and 28, and *HHS* 66/56, 2162 with commentary.
- 59 The Prison of the Northern Office of the Yellow Gates appears to have been a new establishment at this time. It was evidently associated with the private apartments of the palace, and was closely under the control of the Emperor, and of the eunuchs (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64–65).
- The name of the guards involved in the arrest is given here as *shangshu duhu jianjishi*: Warriors with Swords and Lances of the Chief Controller of the Masters of Writing. The commentary of Hu Sanxing notes the suggestion that the phrase *duhu* "Chief Controller" should be interpreted as *duhou*, referring to the Captains of the Capital who were responsible for security within the palace: see note 30 above and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 33. As we have seen, these guards had formed part of the force which went to arrest Liang Ji at the time of the coup. It is possible that there was a special detachment allotted to the protection of the office of the Masters of Writing, and this small force, responsive to his personal command, was used again by Emperor Huan on a lesser occasion.
- 60 Imperial Clerks were officers of the censorate, and often used as agents of the emperor: de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 67–74.
- The Commandant of Justice was the minister responsible for legal judgement and administration: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 38–39.
- 61 The Senior Clerk (*yuan*) in the Bureau for All Purposes (*wuguan cao*) was the locally-appointed officer of a commandery responsible for supervision of all matters of administration: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 96–97.
- 62 *SJ* 96, 2577, and *HS* 42, 2095, being biographies of Zhou Chang a counsellor of Emperor Gaozu of Han, tells of an occasion that he interrupted the Emperor when he was engaged with his favourite concubine. He compared Gaozu to the legendary vicious last rulers Jie of the Xia dynasty and Zhou of Shang/Yin. Gaozu was kind enough to take the matter as a joke.
- 63 *HS* 67, 2915, the Biography of Zhu Yun, tells how he launched a most arrogant attack on the scholar Zhang Yu, the former teacher of Emperor Cheng who had been appointed

Chancellor. The Emperor was furious, and determined to have him executed, but was persuaded to show tolerance.

The phrase "neck and waist execution" (*yao ling*), may be taken to refer to the regular form of execution by chopping off the head and to the more exceptional method of cutting in two at the waist, which was normally applied to cases of extreme cases of sacrilege or treason. See Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 110–111.

- 64 On this legendary account of the wicked last ruler of Shang/Yin, Zhou Xin (or simply Zhou, as in note 62 above), who had the heart torn out of his critic Bi Gan, to find out whether there was something exceptional about the heart of a sage, see for example *SJ* 3, 108; Chavannes, *MHI*, 206.

At one point, Zhu Yun (note 63 above) had also compared himself to Bi Gan.

- 65 The Biography of Yang Bing, in *HHS* 54/44, 1771, which contains a brief account of this incident, dates it to the third year of Yanxi, and certainly *HHS* 7, 307, records the death of Li Yun in Yanxi 3.

It is possible that the affair began in Yanxi 2 but was not resolved until the following year.

- 66 "Great Iniquity" (*da bujing*) appears as a term of category for certain most serious crimes and wrongful actions. Any person found to have behaved in such a way was liable to the heaviest penalties. See Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 156–158 and *ff* (who renders the term as "*nefas*"), where *bujing* is noted, however, as generally a slightly less serious category than "impiety" (*budao* or *wudao*).

- 67 The Garden of the Shining Dragon was a pleasure ground constructed by Emperor Huan in the area of the Northern Palace of Luoyang. It had been in existence earlier, but Emperor Huan was evidently particularly pleased and interested in the place, and seems to have remodelled and rebuilt it. See *HHS* 7, 320, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 38, where it is rendered as "Garden of the Sleek Dragon."

[*Yx2: 159*]

GG This passage appears to have been compiled by Sima Guang from related texts.

[*Yx2: 159*]

HH *HHS* 61/51, 2036–38 (17b–19b), the Biography of Huang Qiong.

- 68 *ZZTJ* agrees with *HHJ* 21, 171a–b, in dating this memorial to Yanxi 2, but *HHS* 61/51 gives a more detailed chronology, which is supported by the annals of *HHS* 7. According to the Biography of Huang Qiong, he claimed to be ill and at death's door (*bu qi*) at the time he was Grand Commandant in Yanxi 2 or Yanxi 3.

It was only in Yanxi 4, however, that he left office, and that was apparently on account of the banditry affecting the empire. In the same year, he was once more appointed as one of the Three Excellencies, this time as Minister of Works, only to be dismissed again within a few months, this time on account of earthquakes.

The memorial in question here was actually presented in Yanxi 7: 164, when Huang Qiong was still in retirement. He was again seriously ill at that time, and he died later in that year at the age of 79 *sui*.

So it would seem that both *ZZTJ* and *HHJ* are anachronistic on this matter: though the events are quite appropriately linked, Huang Qiong was able to spend some more years in office before he gave full expression to his indignation.



- 69 The Biography of Li Gu is in *HHS* 63/53, 2073–89, and that of Du Qiao is in *HHS* 63/53, 2091–94.

Li Gu was a man of high official family, who was Grand Commandant and shared in the government with Liang Ji during the brief reign of Emperor Chong, son and successor to Emperor Shun. After the death of the infant ruler in 145, Li Gu urged Liang Ji to establish a mature member of the imperial clan, the King of Qinghe, Liu Suan. Liang Ji would not agree, and the following year, when the new young Emperor Zhi was also dead, Liang Ji again forced the enthronement of the fifteen-year-old Emperor Huan in spite of Li Gu's protests and the claims of Liu Suan.

In 147 there was an abortive attempt to replace Emperor Huan by Liu Suan. Liu Suan was then compelled to commit suicide and his supporters were executed. Soon afterwards, Liang Ji managed to have Li Gu convicted of being involved in the plot, and after some delays he too was executed.

Du Qiao had also held the position of Grand Commandant, for a few months in 147. He was then dismissed for the support of Li Gu and his opposition to Liang Ji and the eunuchs, and he was later executed with Li Gu. See also *HHS* 6, 275–*HHS* 7, 291 and *ZZTJ* 53, 1700–13.

It was a curious coincidence, of some political embarrassment for Emperor Huan, that the two irritating junior officers whom he had executed, Li Yun and Du Chong, should have had the same surnames as the senior officials who suffered under Liang Ji. Li Gu, however, came from Hanzhong commandery and Li Yun from Ganling, while Du Qiao was a man from Henei and Du Chong came from Hongnong; none of them, therefore, were closely related.

- 70 From other editions of *ZZTJ*, and in accordance with the text of *HHS* 61/51, 2038, it appears that the characters "causing the vermilion and purple of nobility to be mixed with other hues" should be included at this point.

Vermilion (*zhu*) and purple (*zi*) were the colours of nobility; the black gloss (*fen mo*) implies a false veneer and the assorted (*zanui*) hues are the ordinary colours of common fellows.

- 71 In ancient China the *gui*, a baton of jade, and the *bi*, a disc of jade, were symbols of noble rank and authority.

[Yx2: 159]

II *HHS* 7, 306 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

- 72 There was no *renyin* day (cyclical no. 50) in the tenth month of this year, which ended on a *bingshen* day (cyclical no. 33). The parallel text in *HHS* 7, however, has earlier chronicled the beginning of the eleventh month: this should be interpolated into *ZZTJ*.

[Yx2: 159]

JJ *HHS* 7, 306 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Huan; and *HHS* 78/68, 2521 (10a–b), the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

- 73 The post of General of Chariots and Cavalry ranked second only to that of the General-in-Chief in the military ranks of the empire. Like the office of General-in-Chief, however, which had remained vacant since the overthrow of Liang Ji, the position of General of Chariots and Cavalry was rather one of formal command than of practical military service (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 122–124), and it was commonly reserved for a member of the

family of the imperial relatives by marriage. The appointment of Shan Chao, a eunuch, was exceptional, and was made as a sign of special favour at the time of his approaching death.

As the commentary of Hu Sanxing observes, in 132 the title General of Chariots and Cavalry had been given posthumously by Emperor Shun to the eunuch Sun Cheng (*HHS* 78/68, 2517). Sun Cheng had been the leader of the eunuch group which overthrew the Yan clan and placed Emperor Shun upon the throne in 125. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 91–93, and Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 464–470.

[Yx2: 159]

KK *HHS* 7, 306 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

[Yx2: 159]

LL *HHS* 65/55, 2146 (12b–13a), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

74 Luoting was a frontier post of the empire, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River above present-day Lanzhou in Gansu; see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 127.

[Yx2: 159]

MM *HHS* 66/56, 2161 (2b), the Biography of Chen Fan;  
and *HHS* 54/44, 1771 (9a), the Biography of Yang Bing.

75 *HHS* 54/44 dates this re-appointment to the winter of Yanxi 3 (160–161), after the conclusion of the Li Yun incident.

[Yx2: 159]

NN *HHS* 41/31, 1404 (7a), the Biography of Diwu Zhong.

[Yx2: 159]

OO *HHS* 54/44, 1771 (9b), the Biography of Yang Bing.

76 The Enclosure of the Left (*zuoxiao*), which was in the charge of a Prefect (*ling*), was an organisation for convict labour under the Court Architect.

Besides regular convicts, the unit could also be used, as in this instance, as a place of hard labour for regular officials who had incurred disgrace. They were possibly treated more leniently than the regular prisoners. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 81–82, Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 52, and Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 132, who renders the term as "Colonelcy of the Left."

[Yx2: 159]

PP *HHS* 41/31, 1404–05 (7a–9a), the Biography of Diwu Zhong.

[Yx2: 159]

QQ *HHS* 41/31, 1402 (6a), the Biography of Diwu Lun.

77 Diwu Lun was an official of the beginning of Later Han. In the time of Emperor Guangwu he was a local administrator in several regions and was responsible for inculcating Confucian principles among restless people. He became Minister of Works under Emperor Ming.

[Yx2: 159]

RR *HHS* 66/56, 2161–62 (2b–3b), the Biography of Chen Fan.

78 In Chinese astrology, there are twenty-eight lunar mansions (*xiu*) or zodiacal constellations, and each of them can be related to a traditional fief territory of the empire. There is implication that the number of fiefs should be limited accordingly, while the feudal lords themselves should act as the screen and support of the ruler.

79 The most celebrated undertaking by Emperor Gaozu in this regard was the oath to his supporters that no kings should be created in the empire unless they were of his imperial Liu family. This is mentioned specifically in *SJ* 9, 401; Chavannes, *MH* II, 414, at the time the Empress-Dowager Lü was seeking to appoint kings from her own family, and it was

referred to again when the Lü family were overthrown after the death of the Empress-Dowager in 180 BC (*HS* 3, 100; Dubs, *HFHD* 1, 201).

Yan Shigu, in commentary to that passage of *HS* 3, identifies the oath with two clauses:

No kings who are not members of the Liu family;

No marquises who have not achieved good work.

This latter principle is then followed in the analysis of Sima Qian, in his introductions to *SJ* 18 (at 877–78) and *SJ* 19 (at 977), being the tables of "meritorious subjects enfeoffed as marquises" under Emperor Gaozu and simply "marquises" of the reigns from Emperor Hui to Emperor Jing. Sima Qian points out that numbers of the latter held their titles as grace from the throne, in memory of their forefathers' rank and achievement, not through personal merit. See Chavannes, *MH* III, 120–126 and 146–148.

80 This seems a little unfair of Chen Fan. Deng Zun, a cousin of the regent Empress-Dowager Deng in the time of Emperor An, had served as General Who Crosses the Liao on important campaigns against the Qiang, Xiongnu and Xianbi: de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 109–111, 288–289 and 298–299. At the end of the great rebellion of the Qiang, in 118, Deng Zun was enfeoffed as Marquis of Wuyang, and although it might be said that he had gained from the relationship with the Empress-Dowager, his achievements were considerable.

After the death of the Empress-Dowager in 121, however, when Emperor An destroyed the power of the Deng family, Deng Zun and others of his relatives were compelled to commit suicide (*e.g.* *HHS* 16/6, 617); his marquise of Wuyang was presumably abolished at that time.

Emperor Huan now sought to revive the marquise in favour of Deng Zun's son. Admittedly, he was showing favouritism. On the other hand, the fall of Deng Zun had come about through imperial hostility, so Emperor Huan could be regarded as restoring the balance after the over-reaction of his predecessor Emperor An. In any event, the achievements of Deng Zun were not so slight as Chen Fan asserted.

From passage SS below, it appears that Deng Wanshi owed his fief as much to personal friendship with the Emperor as to his relationship with the new Empress.

81 The commentaries do not inform us, and it does not seem possible to ascertain, which ancestor of Huang Jun had held enfeoffment as a marquis. Evidently, the main line of descent and inheritance had died out, and the Emperor was planning to revive the fief on Huang Jun's behalf.

82 The marquise of Nan "Southern" District (Nanxiang) would not have had the rank or the value of a county enfeoffment, so Deng Wanshi had not succeeded to the full status of his father.

[Yx2: 159]

SS *HHS* 48/38, 1618–19 (15b–17a), the Biography of Yuan Yan.

83 A Palace Attendant was a close personal adviser and companion of the emperor: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59–60.

The chronology of the career of Yuan Yan is difficult to relate to the course of the politics in which he was apparently engaged at court. There are a number of clues, but they are frequently contradictory.

According to his biography, Yuan Yan was a scholar, renowned for his moral qualities and influence in his home district, who was appointed Erudit at the Imperial University. We are told that he was then recommended by the Grand Commandant Yang Bing and others

as Capable and Good, Sincere and Upright (*xianliang fangzheng*), this being a special nomination which gave entry to the senior ranks at court.

Yang Bing, however, was Grand Commandant only between the winter of Yanxi 5: 162–163 (*HHS* 7, 311) and his death in office in the summer of Yanxi 8: 165 (*HHS* 7, 314). Two calls are recorded for the nomination of Capable and Good, Sincere and Upright during the reign of Emperor Huan, but only the first of these, in the first month of Yanxi 8, took place when Yang Bing was in office (*HHS* 7, 314); the other was in Yongkang 1: 167 (*HHS* 7, 319). It would appear, therefore, that Yuan Yan came to significant rank only in Yanxi 8.

On the other hand, the Emperor's friend Deng Wanshi, whom Yuan Yan is recorded as criticising in the passage below, was evidently enfeoffed not much later than Yanxi 4, and may have received the grant as early as Yanxi 2 (see passage RR above); and he was in any case out of favour and dead by the latter part of Yanxi 8. It is hard to see how Yuan Yan could have held the several posts ascribed to him, and gained the confidence of the Emperor, as he appears to have done, in the time available.

There is other evidence, some of which will be discussed in the notes following, but none of it conclusive. In its small way, this is typical of the problems which Sima Guang, compiling a chronicle history, encountered when attempting to interpolate material from individual biographies based primarily upon anecdotes and worthy admonitions.

84 On Zhu Yun, see note 63 above: his example was raised in the memorial of Chen Fan at the time of the Li Yun incident.

*HS* 67, 2915, says that when Zhu Yun was being led away from the audience hall after his intemperate speech, he grasped some railings of a balustrade and held on so firmly that they broke. Emperor Huan is evidently showing that he is now more tolerant than when he was dealing with Li Yun.

One may observe again that there is something of a problem in the timing or wording of this discussion: it would appear to have taken place after the death of Li Yun, but Chen Fan is referred to by Yuan Yan as Prefect of the Masters of Writing; he had, however, been transferred from that post to become Grand Herald some time before the matter of Li Yun arose (passage FF above and *HHS* 66/56, 2161).

85 The Imperial Throne (*Di zuo*) is the chief star of Western Hercules. In Chinese astronomy it lies within the Heavenly Market Enclosure (*Tianshi yuan*), and its brightness or weakness was regarded as an omen for the ruler (*JS* 11, 295; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 84).

The Treatise of Astronomy records only one comet (*ke xing*) during this period of the reign of Emperor Huan: that was in Yanxi 4, but it does not appear to have been close to the area of the Imperial Throne star (*HHS* 102/12, 3256). The list, however, is not necessarily complete.

86 The enfeoffment of Deng Wanshi had also been criticised by Chen Fan: see passage RR and note 80 above.

*HHS* 10B, 445, refers to Deng Wanshi as a paternal uncle (*zongfu*) of the new Empress Deng, and he was evidently involved with her fate.

Apart from this intriguing passing reference by Yuan Yan, there are no further details of the early relations between the future Emperor Huan, who came to the throne in 146 at the age of fifteen sui (*HHS* 7, 287), and his boyhood friend Deng Wanshi.

87 The commentary of Hu Sanxing explains the characters *dui bo* as referring to the playing of *bo*, also known as *bose* or *boyi*, a board game popular in Han times (see, for example,

the two articles by Yang Lien-sheng, "A Note on the So-called TLV Mirrors and the Game Liu-po," and "An Additional Note on the Ancient Game Liu-po." Use of the character *dui* presumably reflects the fact that the game was played face to face.

### Yanxi 3: 160 AD

[26 January 160 – 12 February 161]

1755

A In the spring, in the first month on the day *bingshen* [26 Jan] there was an amnesty for the empire.

B An edict was issued seeking for the heirs of Li Gu.

Before this, when Li Gu was formally dismissed [in 147],<sup>1</sup> he realised that he could not escape disaster, and he sent his three sons Ji, Zi and Xie, back to their home country [of Hanzhong commandery]. At this time Xie was thirteen.

Li Xie's elder sister Wenji was the wife of Zhao Boying, a man from the same commandery. When she saw the two elder brothers come back, she got the whole story from them. Then she sighed to herself and said, "The Li family will be destroyed. Since the time of the Grand Excellency [Li He],<sup>2</sup> we have accumulated virtue and maintained benevolence. How could things come now to such a pass!"

With her two elder brothers, she quietly made plans to prepare a hiding place for Li Xie. They spread it abroad that he had returned to the capital, and everyone believed the story.

Soon afterwards, when trouble did strike, the provincial and commandery offices arrested Li Ji and Li Zi, and they both died in prison. Then Wenji said to Wang Cheng, a client of her father [Li Gu], "You served our late father well, and you possess the ancient code of loyalty. Now I entrust you with an orphan boy, [a stripling] of only six feet.<sup>3</sup> The preservation or destruction of the Li family rests in your hands!"

So Wang Cheng took Li Xie away to the east, down the Yangzi into Xu province.<sup>4</sup> Li Xie changed his name and became a servant in a wine shop, while Wang Cheng told fortunes in the market-place. Each pretended to be a stranger to the other, and they would visit only in secret.

When ten years and more had passed, Liang Ji was destroyed, and then Li Xie told the whole story to the keeper of the wine shop. The wine shop keeper prepared carriages [and baggage] to give him a most generous

farewell present, but Li Xie refused to accept. He returned to his native place, and now carried out the mourning ceremonies and put on funeral clothes. When the brother met the sister, their sadness touched even the people standing by.

Li Xie's sister warned him, "Our family has been almost wiped out, and the ancestral sacrifices discontinued. By great good fortune you have been saved, and this is surely heaven's doing. You should avoid all contact with people in general, have no erratic comings and goings, and be very careful not to say one word about the Liang clan. Talking about the Liang clan will lead to talk about the Emperor, and that may bring disaster once again. We must accept the misfortune that is past, and take present responsibility upon ourselves." Li Xie carefully followed her instructions.

Later, Wang Cheng died, and Li Xie arranged his funeral with full ceremony. At each of the four seasons he held sacrifices appropriate to one who was a most respected guest.

[Yx3: 160]

C On the day *bingwu* [5 Feb] the Marquis of Xinfeng, Shan Chao, died.

He was granted funerary items from the imperial workshops of the Eastern Garden, and in his coffin he had adornments of jade.<sup>5</sup> His funeral cortege was escorted by cavalry from the five regiments [of the Northern Army], and the Court Architect supervised the raising of the tumulus.

The four marquises who remained [of the five eunuch allies of Emperor Huan against Liang Ji] continued their misrule and disorder. The empire had a saying,

Zuo Guan has power to change heaven,  
Ju Yuan sits in solitary pride,

1756 Xu Huang is a sleeping tiger,

Tang Heng rains evil upon us.<sup>6</sup>

All of them competed in the building of their mansions with splendour and extravagance. Even their servants and retainers rode in carriages drawn by oxen [like imperial officials] and were attended by troops of cavalry. Their brothers and relatives by marriage were given power over provinces and the government of commanderies, and they exploited and oppressed the common people like robbers.

D Their tyranny covered all the empire. It was more than the people could bear, and many of them turned to banditry.

The Palace Regular Attendant Hou Lan and the Junior Attendant of the Yellow Gates Duan Gui both had farm properties near the borders of Jibei, where their retainers and clients robbed and plundered over a wide territory around. Teng Yan, Chancellor of Jibei, arrested them all together, killed several dozens of them and laid out the bodies along the road. Hou Lan and Duan Gui reported this to the Emperor. Teng Yan was found guilty. He was ordered to report to the Commandant of Justice and was then dismissed from office.

[Yx3: 160]

E Zuo Sheng, elder brother of Zuo Guan, was Grand Administrator of Hedong. Zhao Qi of Jingzhao, who was Chief of Pishi county, felt ashamed [to have such a man as his superior officer], and on that same day he left his position and returned homewards to the west.

Tang Xuan, elder brother of Tang Heng, who was Intendant of Jingzhao, had an old quarrel with Zhao Qi. He arrested the family and dependents of Zhao Qi, and several more distant members of his clan, accused them with the utmost severity of the law, and killed every one of them.

Zhao Qi fled these troubles, and wandered through many regions of the empire. He never stayed for long in the same place, and he concealed his real name. He was selling cakes in the market-place at Beihai when Sun Hao of Anqiu saw him and noticed him. He took Zhao Qi home and cared for him, concealing him in the wall of his house. When the Tang group were dead, and an edict of amnesty was issued, then Zhao Qi ventured to emerge from hiding.<sup>7</sup>

F In the intercalary [first] month,<sup>8</sup> the remaining groups of the Western Qiang again joined with the leaders of the Shaohe to attack Zhangye. At dawn, they came upon the army of Duan Jiong the Colonel [Protector of the Qiang].

Duan Jiong got down from his horse to join in the battle, and the fighting continued until midday. His sword was broken, and the arrows were exhausted, but the enemy, for their part, also began to draw back.

Duan Jiong pursued them, and they kept up a running fight day and night. Duan Jiong rationed the food, and his men took snow to drink, and after more than forty days they came to Jishi Mountain, more than two thousand li beyond the frontier.<sup>9</sup> They took the heads of the great chiefs

of the Shaohe tribe, and they compelled the rest of them to surrender. Then they returned.

1757

G In the summer, in the fifth month on the day *jiaxu* [2 Jul], there was a landslide in Hanzhong commandery.<sup>10</sup>

In the sixth month on the day *xinchou* [29 Jul] the Minister over the Masses Zhu Tian died in office.

In the autumn, in the seventh month the Minister of Works Sheng Yun became Minister over the Masses, and the Grand Master of Ceremonies Yu Fang became Minister of Works.

[*Yx3: 160*]

H The barbarians of Changsha rebelled, and camped at Yiyang. The barbarians of Lingling raided Changsha.<sup>11</sup>

I The remnant rebels of Jiuzhen had established a camp in Rinan, and their forces were growing steadily stronger.<sup>12</sup>

An imperial edict reappointed the Grand Administrator of Guiyang, Xia Fang, to be Inspector of Jiaozhi. Xia Fang was known for his authority and his gentleness. In the winter, in the eleventh month, more than twenty thousand of the rebels in Rinan came together to him and surrendered.<sup>13</sup>

J The Qiang tribes Lejie and Lianyu<sup>14</sup> besieged Yuanjie. Duan Jiong attacked and destroyed them.

Shusun Wuji, the bandit of Taishan, attacked and killed the Chief Commandant Hou Zhang. The General of the Gentlemen of the Household Zong Zi was sent to attack and destroy him.<sup>15</sup>

K An edict summoned Huangfu Gui for appointment as Grand Administrator of Taishan. When Huangfu Gui came to office, his policies were broadly based and well prepared, and all the troubles were settled.<sup>16</sup>

### NOTES to Yanxi 3: 160

A *HHS* 7, 306 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

[*Yx3: 160*]

B *HHS* 63/53, 2089–90 (12b–13b), the Biography of Li Xie.



1 On Li Gu, see note 69 to Yanxi 2.  
2 Li He, father of Li Gu, had been Minister over the Masses on two occasions in the middle 120s, at the end of the reign of Emperor An and at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shun. His biography is in *HHS* 82A/72A, 2717–18.

The use of the term "Grand Excellency" (*taigong*) by Wenji as a reference to her grandfather appears as both a mark of family respect and as a sign of his position among the Three Excellencies of the imperial bureaucracy.

3 The foot (chi) measure of this time was about 23 cm, or 9.25 inches English measure. Six chi feet would therefore have been the equivalent of 138 cm, or four feet seven inches. Expected normal height for men of that time appears to have been about seven chi feet, being some 162 cm, or five feet four inches English measure: see Bielenstein, RHD III, 18.

Wenji's words therefore indicate that Li Xie was not yet fully grown to manhood.

4 Hanzhong commandery was on the upper reaches of the Han River, the major tributary of the Yangzi from the northwest. Xu province extended over the region of the lower Huai, north of the Yangzi in the east of the empire.

[Yx3: 160]

C *HHS* 78/68, 2520 (10b), the Biographies of the Eunuchs;  
and *HHS* 7, 306 (9b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

5 Bielenstein, Lo–yang, 78–80, discusses the Eastern Garden. It was the manufacturing office for coffins and other funerary items of the emperor, his relatives, and honoured officials.

Following the commentary of Hu Sanxing I identify the phrase *yuju* with the jade suit or shroud now well-known from the discovery of the tombs of the King of Zhongshan, Liu Sheng (who died in 113 BC) and his wife Dou Wan, found at Mancheng, Hebei, in 1968.

6 In this verse, of four lines each with three characters, the final characters of the second and fourth lines rhyme: *zuo* and *duo* (Karlgren, *GSR* 12 and 11). Each of the four eunuchs is referred to in the text by his surname only: the personal name has been interpolated into the translation.

The description of Xu Huang as a sleeping tiger is explained as an indication that no-one dared to ruffle him.

*HHS* 78/68, 2521, has the last line as *Tang liang duo* instead of *Tang yu duo*. The last characters are interchangeable, but the use of the character *liang* would give the meaning that "Tang [Heng] gives unjust measures." Commentary to *HHS* notes that the various editions are undecided which reading is correct.

[Yx3: 160]

D *HHS* 78/68, 2522–23 (11a–b); the Chapter on the Eunuchs.

[Yx3: 160]

E *HHS* 64/54, 2122–23 (15b–16a): the Biography of Zhao Qi.

7 Tang Heng died in Yanxi 7: 164, the same year as Xu Huang. In the following year, the two survivors of the five eunuch allies of Emperor Huan, Zuo Guan and Ju Yuan, were impeached and punished, and the power of their party was for the time broken (passages D to F of Yanxi 8). In the third month of Yanxi 8, just after these events, an amnesty was issued: this was presumably the one referred to here (*HHS* 7, 314).

Zhao Qi was the author of the *Mengzi zhangju* "The Book of Mencius Arranged by Chapters and Sentences," being a commentary to the classic of the Confucian school. His

compilation is often referred to as "the old commentary" (*guzhu*). In the preface to that work, Zhao Qi refers to his flight and escape from the hostility of the eunuchs. See Legge, CC II, 4–7.

[Yx3: 160]

F *HHS* 65/55, 2146 (13a); the Biography of Duan Jiong.

8 The text in *HHS* 65/55, gives the date only as being in the spring, but *HHS* 76, 306, identifies the intercalary month.

9 Jishi Mountain is identified as the peak of the Amne Machin range, in present-day Qinghai, on the upper waters of the Yellow River. On this campaign, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 128, and Young, *Three Generals*, 66–67.

[Yx3: 160]

G *HHS* 7, 307 (10a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

10 The landslide is also recorded in *HHS* 106/16, 3334, the Treatise of the Five Powers. The Treatise ascribes this ominous portent to the favours shown the eunuchs by Emperor Huan.

*HHS* 7, 307, also refers to a report of "sweet dew" (*gan lu*) in Shang commandery in the previous month. This, however, as a favourable portent, is not included in the treatises; and it is also not picked up by Sima Guang.

[Yx3: 160]

H *HHS* 86/76, 2833–34 (4a–b); the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

11 *HHS* 86/76 in fact says that the barbarians of Changsha had been in rebellion since Yongshou 3: 157, and about this time the barbarians of Lingling also became active. One version of the text of *ZZTJ* suggests that the character *yu* should be inserted here, indicating that the Changsha and Lingling groups were operating together.

*HHS* 7, 303, in the chronicle for Yongshou 3, mentions the rebellion of Changsha in exactly the same terms as in this passage of *ZZTJ*, and it is quoted by *ZZTJ* at passage F of Yongshou 3.

Four pages later, *HHS* 7, 307, notes that in the autumn of Yanxi 3 the Changsha barbarians were plundering the commandery; that citation, however, has no mention of invaders from Lingling.

There was evidently a disturbance in this region which had lasted some years, and which now flared up. *HHS* 86/76 remarks that the Changsha rebels numbered more than ten thousand, and that they were attacking government officers; they were then joined by the rebels from Lingling and later by rebels from Wuling commandery.

On the further course of the rebellion, see passages C to I of Yanxi 5. On the text history of the rebellion, see also note 13 to Yanxi 5.

[Yx3: 160]

I *HHS* 86/76, 2839 (8b); the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

12 These were remains of the band which had rebelled in Jiuzhen in 157: passage B of Yongshou 3.

13 The dating in the eleventh month comes from the parallel passage in *HHS* 7, 307.

[Yx3: 160]

J *HHS* 7, 307 (10a); the Annals of Emperor Huan.

14 The inclusion of the name of the Lianyu tribe follows the parallel passage in the Biography of Duan Jiong, *HHS* 65/55, 2147.

On the pronunciation of the character, normally read as wu but here as yu, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 476 note 2.

- 15 *HHS* 7, 307, gives the appointment of Zong Zi as being in the twelfth month. For some reason this citation has been omitted from the present text of *ZZTJ*.

[*Yx3: 160*]

- K *HHS* 65/55, 2132 (3a); the Biography of Huangfu Gui.

- 16 *HHS* 7, quoted in passage J above, implies that Zong Zi had settled the rebellion himself.

The text of Huangfu Gui's biography, however, immediately before the present passage, says that Zong Zi had not been able to bring about the submission of all the rebels, and Huangfu Gui was sent to complete the work of pacification.

#### Yanxi 4: 161 AD

[13 February 161 – 1 February 162]

- A In the spring, in the first month on the day *xinyou* [14 Feb], there was a fire in the Hall of Excellent Virtue in the Southern Palace. On the day *wuzi* [13 Mar] there was a fire in the C-Office.<sup>1</sup>

There was great pestilence.<sup>2</sup>

In the second month on the day *renchen* [17 Mar] there was a fire in the Arsenal.<sup>3</sup>

The Minister over the Masses Sheng Yun left office. The Grand Minister of Agriculture Chong Gao became Minister over the Masses.

- 1758 In the third month the Grand Commandant Huang Qiong left office. In the summer, in the fourth month the Grand Master of Ceremonies, Liu Ju of Pei kingdom, became Grand Commandant.

- B Before this, Liu Ju had been Prefect of Yongqiu, and he acquired influence over the people by reason of his courtesy and his humility. When anyone came with a case for litigation, he would always have them brought to him for a personal interview. He would listen to their complaints and then advise them of his belief that it was better to settle even the most bitter quarrels by agreement, rather than let a formal case go to his official tribunal. Then he would tell the antagonists to go back and think the matter over again. All those who came with litigation were affected by his efforts for them, and each would go his way and abandon his dispute.

C On the day *jiayin* [7 Jun] the Marquis of Canhu Village, Liu Bo, who was the son of the [late] Filial King of Hejian [Liu Gong/Kai], was enfeoffed as King of Rencheng in order that he might maintain the succession of the Filial King [of Rencheng, Liu Shang].<sup>4</sup>

[Yx4: 161]

D In the fifth month on the day *xinyou* [14 Jun] there was a comet in the Heart constellation.<sup>5</sup>

On the day *dingmao* [20 Jun] there was a fire at the Gate of Prolonged Life at the Yuanling [tomb of Emperor Guangwu].<sup>6</sup>

On the day *jimao* [2 Jul] there was rain and hail in the capital district.<sup>7</sup>

In the sixth month there were earthquakes in Jingzhao, in [You]fufeng, and in Liang province.<sup>8</sup>

On the day *gengzi* [23 Jul] Mount Tai and [the neighbouring peak of] Youlai Mountain in Bo county both split and cracked open.<sup>9</sup>

On the day *jiyou* [1 Aug] there was an amnesty for the empire.

The Minister of Works Yu Fang left office. The former Grand Commandant Huang Qiong became Minister of Works.

1759

The barbarians of Jianwei Dependent State attacked and plundered the Chinese settlers there. Shan Yu, the Inspector of Yi province, attacked and destroyed them.<sup>10</sup>

The Lianyu Qiang and all the people of the Xianlian Qiang made a rebellion. They plundered the Three Adjuncts.<sup>11</sup>

In the autumn, in the seventh month a special sacrifice was held to pray for rain in the capital district.<sup>12</sup>

The salaries of the excellencies, ministers and lesser officials were reduced, and a forced loan was made of half the year's tax income from royal fiefs and marquisates.

The noble rank of Marquis Within the Imperial Domain, together with positions in the Rapid Tiger and Feathered Forest regiments, as Cavalryman Dressed in Red and as Warrior in the Encampments, and also the noble rank Quintuple Grandee, were all offered for sale by inscription, with prices at different levels.<sup>13</sup>

In the ninth month the Minister of Works Huang Qiong left office. The Grand Herald, Liu Chong of Donglai, became Minister of Works.

[Yx4: 161]

E Liu Chong had formerly been Grand Administrator of Kuaiji. He cleared away all vexatious and cruel measures, he prohibited and checked all that was unlawful, and the commandery became extremely well ordered. Then he was summoned to the capital, to become Court Architect.

In Shanyin county there were five or six old and venerable men who came down from the hill country of Ruye,<sup>14</sup> each of them bringing one hundred cash as a farewell gift for Liu Chong. They said to him, "Simple people from the hills, such as we, know nothing of the government of a commandery. When other administrators were here, however, officials came all the time to demand things from us: even at night they would not stop, the dogs were constantly barking, and our people were never left in peace.

"But since the moment your excellency alighted from your carriage, the dogs no longer bark at night, and the people never see an official. At last, in our old age, we have had the fortune to experience your sage-like understanding; and now we hear that we must lose you. For this reason, we offer you a gift in parting."

"How can my administration have been worthy of such kind words," replied Liu Chong. "You have given yourselves far too much trouble." He consented to accept just one large coin from each of them.

1760

F In the winter, the Xianlian, Shendi and other groups of the Qiang made attacks on the two provinces Bing and Liang.<sup>15</sup> The Colonel [Protector of the Qiang] Duan Jiong led the Loyal Auxiliary of Huangzhong to attack them.<sup>16</sup>

The Inspector of Liang province, Guo Hong, was envious of Duan Jiong's achievements, and he wanted to share in the merits of the campaign. He delayed Duan Jiong's army, and prevented him from going forward. The Auxiliary troops had already been under arms for a long time in their current service, they were missing their homes, and so they all joined in a mutiny and deserted en masse.

Guo Hong put the blame for this onto Duan Jiong, and Duan Jiong was found guilty and summoned to imprisonment. He was then sent to the labour battalion of the Enclosure of the Left.<sup>17</sup>

G Hu Hong, Chancellor of Jin'an, took Duan Jiong's place as Colonel Protector.

Hu Hong, however, had no personal authority and no ability in military planning, and so the Qiang made continual raids, and they overran and destroyed camps and defence points. They formed an alliance together, attacking all the commanderies of the region, and their raids became increasingly destructive.

H Huangfu Gui, Grand Administrator of Taishan, sent in a memorandum, saying,<sup>18</sup> "The most difficult bandits have been eliminated, and Taishan is largely pacified. Now, however, I hear reports that the Qiang have joined together once more in rebellion.

"I was born and brought up in Bin and Qi,<sup>19</sup> and I am now fifty-nine years old. In former times, when I was a junior officer in my home commandery, and there were several instances of rebellion by the Qiang, I was able to predict events with a fair degree of accuracy.<sup>20</sup>

"For some time now, I have been in constant ill health, and I fear I may be old and useless, unable to return the grace and kindness you have shown me.

"I ask that you give me some minor appointment, and let me have just a single carriage to travel to the Three Adjuncts. Then I would display the majestic influence of the nation, and from my experience in warfare and my knowledge of the country I could give assistance to our armies.

"I am used to isolation and danger, and from my humble observation of commandery leadership over the last twenty or thirty years, from Niaoshu to Dongdai the problem of rebellion is always the same:<sup>21</sup> if one is planning to deal with a fierce enemy, no weapon is ever so effective as honest and peaceful administration; and diligent study of the arts of war taught by Sun and Wu<sup>22</sup> is in no way equal to regular maintenance of the law.

"It is only a short time now since the last rebellion [of the Qiang], and this is a matter I am truly concerned about. That is why I have ventured to overstep my proper responsibilities, and offer my humble services."

An edict appointed Huangfu Gui as General of the Gentlemen of the Household, bearing the Staff of Authority, to supervise all military

operations west of the passes for the suppression of the Lianyu and the other tribes.<sup>23</sup>

1761 In the eleventh month Huangfu Gui attacked the Qiang and defeated them, taking eight hundred heads. The Xianlian and other tribes of the Qiang all respected Huangfu Gui for his authority and good faith, and more than a hundred thousand agreed together to accept his words, and came to surrender.<sup>24</sup>

### NOTES to Yanxi 4: 161

A *HHS* 7, 308 (10a–b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

1 The Hall of Excellent Virtue is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 25. It appears to have been an audience hall.

The "C-Office" (*Bingshu*) was staffed by eunuchs, responsible for maintenance of part of the palace (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 64).

2 This outbreak of illness is listed also in *HHS* 107/17, 3351, the Treatise of the Five Powers. It is the first so recorded since the spring of 151, ten years earlier. The next such epidemic was in 173: passage A of Xiping 2.

Commentary by Liu Zhao to the Treatise quotes from the *Taigong liutao* "The Six Concealments of the Grand Excellency," a work attributed to the legendary minister Lü Shang (see note 9 to Yanxi 1), which states that such a pestilence is brought about through the impositions of heavy taxation by the ruler in order to construct great palaces and pleasure grounds.

3 The Arsenal (*wuku*) is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 57. It evidently lay just inside the Upper East Gate of the city.

The three fires mentioned in this passage, and those in passage D below, are referred to also in *HHS* 104/14, 3295, the Treatise of the Five Powers. The Treatise relates the incidents to the award of unjustified enfeoffments to members of the family of the new Empress Deng, and to the execution of Li Yun (passage FF of Yanxi 2).

[*Yx4: 161*]

B *HHS* 76/66, 2476 (12b–13a), the Chapter on the Lenient Officials.

[*Yx4: 161*]

C *HHS* 42/32, 1444 (16a), the Chapter on the Fiefs of the Sons of Emperor Guangwu; and *HHS* 7, 308 (10b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

4 Liu Shang was a son of Liu Cang, a son of Emperor Guangwu.

Liu Cang had been enfeoffed as King of Dongping in 41. When Liu Cang died in 83, he was given the posthumous title Xiao "Filial," and he was succeeded as King of Dongping by his son Liu Zhong: *HHS* 42/32, 1433–42.

In 84, however, Liu Shang, another son of Liu Cang, was enfeoffed as King of Rencheng, with territory of three counties taken from part of the fief of Dongping. That line died out in 151, and the state of Rencheng was abolished: *HHS* 42/32, 1443–44. The appointment of Liu Bo thus restored the fief.

The main lineage of the kings of Dongping continued in that place until the abdication of Han to the power of Wei in 220, when they were demoted to become marquises.

The first King of Hejian was a son of Emperor Zhang, and was enfeoffed as King of Hejian in 90. He died in 131 and was given the posthumous title "Filial": *HHS* 4, 170, *HHS* 6, 258, and *HHS* 55/45, 1808.

This Filial King of Hejian may have had the personal name Gong, though he is generally referred to as Liu Kai. On this question see, for example, Qian Dazhao, 1854/2: Qian notes that a descendant of the Filial King of Hejian had the personal name of Kai (*HHS* 55/45, 1810: this Liu Kai had inherited the kingdom of Ji'nan during the last years of Han; when Han abdicated in favour of the Wei, the fief was reduced to that of a marquis). Since a descendant should not have taken the same personal name as his ancestor, Qian Dazhao therefore accepts the variant reading of Gong which appears in *HHS* 42/32, 1444.

The father of Emperor Huan, Liu Yi, was a son of Liu Gong/Kai: he had at one time been King of Pingyuan, but he was later demoted and eventually re-enfeoffed as Marquis of Liwu. Other sons of Liu Gong/Kai were enfeoffed as marquises of villages in 132 (*HHS* 55/45, 1808–09). Liu Bo, Marquis of Canhu ting [or perhaps Sanhu ting: "Three Household Village"], was thus an uncle of Emperor Huan.

[Yx4: 161]

D *HHS* 7, 308–09 (10b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

5 The Heart (*Xin*) constellation, one of the twenty-eight lunar mansions, is comprised by Antares and the other two central stars of Western Scorpio (Schlegel, *Uranographie*, 113, Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 96 and Star Map 3).

This comet is described and discussed in *HHS* 102/12, 3256, the Treatise of Astronomy. The Treatise relates the portent to the death of the Empress Deng four years later.

6 Yuanling "Mound of Beginning," the tomb of Emperor Guangwu, discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 83, was situated some six kilometres southeast of the capital. The funerary park was surrounded by a wall, and the Gate of Prolonged Life (*Changshou men*) was probably the main entrance.

7 The parallel passage in *HHS* 105/15, 3314, the Treatise of the Five Powers, says that the hailstones were big as chickens' eggs. The Treatise ascribes this portent to the excessive number of executions carried out by Emperor Huan and to the favours he was showing to men of poor quality (*xiaoren*).

8 *HHS* 106/16, 3331, the Treatise of the Five Powers, notes this series of events. The Treatise ascribes the portent, and another earthquake in the following year, to the general political change and upheaval at the capital, including the overthrow of Liang Ji, the appointment and subsequent dismissal of the Empress Deng.

9 *HHS* 106/16, 3334, the Treatise of the Five Powers, notes these events. The Treatise makes no specific comment, though it has ascribed the avalanche in Hanzhong in the previous year to the imperial favour shown to the eunuchs (note 10 to Yanxi 3).

10 The parallel text in *HHS* 86/76, 2857, adds that Shan Yu killed 1400 of the enemy, and the remainder scattered in flight.

11 This activity appears to have been preliminary to the major attacks described in passage F below. The Three Adjuncts, however, is a term for the three commanderies about Chang'an,



capital of Former Han: Jingzhao, Youfufeng and Zuopingyi; so the disturbance was affecting the lower Wei valley.

- 12 The ceremonies for seeking rain are described in *HHS* 95/5, 3117, the Treatise of Ceremonial. They could evidently be arranged for local or national significance, and varied according to whether the problem was a simple shortage of rain or a serious drought. See also note 4 to Yanxi 1.

In the present case, the problem appears to have been only a local shortage of rain, and one must assume that the rain and hail reported for the capital district in the previous month had been sudden and of limited value for the crops.

*HHS* 103/13, 3280, which would have been the appropriate place in the Treatise of the Five Powers, contains no reference to a drought in this year.

- 13 Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 141, discusses the sale of offices, a measure first applied at the time of the Qiang emergency in 109 (*HHS* 5, 212).

On the noble rank of Marquis Within the Imperial Domain, the highest below that of a full marquis, see note 53 to Yanxi 2. Though it was not necessarily associated with a specific county or lesser fief territory, it seems most probable that the honour, at least on this occasion, included a state pension.

Quintuple Grandee (*wu dafu*) was the ninth noble rank. This, and the other noble ranks, gave also the possibility of redemption from full legal punishments. On noble ranks in Han, see Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank," and Hulswé, *RHL* I, 214–218.

The Gentlemen of the Household Rapid as Tigers and the Gentlemen of the Household of the Feathered Forest were two corps of the bodyguards of the emperor under the Superintendent of the Imperial Household: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 28. The other corps of gentlemen were cadet civilian officials on formal probation, and I have suggested that the Feathered Forest regiment, at least, may have had a similar role for military officer cadets (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 47).

The Cavalrymen Dressed in Red (*tiqi*) were troopers under the command of the Bearer of the Gilded Mace, chief of the police about the capital (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 79).

The term *yingshi* "Warrior in the Encampments" is interpreted by Bielenstein as a reference to soldiers in the encampments of the regiments of the Northern Army, the central strategic reserve of the empire, and its elite fighting force (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 117–118; de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 45–46).

These latter two categories of appointment seem somewhat surprising as the object of a sale of offices and ranks: neither the position of a cavalryman nor that of a warrior appear to have offered high rank or notable opportunity for promotion. If compulsory purchase extended to such low positions, this would seem to represent an attempt to extract money from ordinary people of the middle classes. There may have been some advantage to the purchaser; perhaps, as for the corps of gentleman, a form of cadetship was involved, which could lead to higher and substantive commissions, or at least there was opportunity for informal, but nonetheless useful and influential contacts and possibilities for the future.

The expression *zhanmai* in this context presents some difficulty and uncertainty. However, in a personal communication, based upon wide reading in *Shi ji*, *Han shu* and *Hou Han shu*, Dr Mansvelt Beck of Leiden has suggested that the character *zhan* should be understood as indicating either an estimate or a listing. So *zhanmai* appears to describe a

process by which those who wanted the positions inscribed their names on some official roll, with indication of the amount they were prepared to pay for the honour or privilege.

On the later development of purchases of offices and noble ranks under Emperor Ling, see passage M and note 48 to Guanghe 1.

[Yx4: 161]

E *HHS* 76/66, 2478 (13b–14a), the Chapter on the Lenient Officials.

14 Shanyin was the capital of Kuaiji commandery in Later Han, and the site is now Shaoxing in Zhejiang. Ruyé describes part of the hill country south of the city.

[Yx4: 161]

F *HHS* 65/55, 2147 (13b), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

15 For this incident, see de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 129.

16 The Auxiliary of Loyal Barbarians from Huangzhong (*Huangzhong yicong hu*), or the Loyal Auxiliary, was a force recruited for the most part from the Little Yuezhi people of the region about the Huang River (or Xining River) in present-day Qinghai. See *HHS* 87/77, 2899, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 86.

17 On the Enclosure of the Left, being a convict labour force at the capital, see note 76 to Yanxi 2.

[Yx4: 161]

G *HHS* 87/77, 2897–98 (22a–b), the Account of the Qiang.

[Yx4: 161]

H *HHS* 65/55, 2132–33 (3b–4a), the Biography of Huangfu Gui.

18 The text of this memorial is also translated, with some variants, by Young, *Three Generals*, 27–28.

19 Bin and Qi are ancient names for places in the northwest. Bin was the name of the state of the Ancient Duke of the house of Zhou, which he abandoned in the face of barbarian pressure, and then settled at the foot of Mount Qi (note 9 to Yanxi 1).

The ancient site of Bin is identified as being west of present-day Xunyi in Shenxi. Mount Qi lies northwest of the county city of Qishan in Shenxi. Both sites were in the territory of the Three Adjunct commanderies about Chang'an during the Han period.

Huangfu Gui was actually a man of Anding commandery, further to the northwest, in the area of present-day Gansu; his father had been Chief Commandant in Youfufeng (*HHS* 65/55, 2129).

20 *HHS* 65/55, 2129–30, tells how in 141, at the time of the second great Qiang rebellion, Huangfu Gui protested at the conduct of the campaign by the Han general Ma Xian, and later, after Ma Xian was killed, he sent in a memorial offering his services; which were not at that time accepted. See Young, *Three Generals*, 23–24, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 322.

[Yx4: 161]

21 Huangfu Gui had held only the official post of Grand Administrator in Taishan, to which he had been appointed the year before (passage K of Yanxi 3). Before that, after a short time at the capital, when he had incurred the enmity of Liang Ji by his out-spoken criticism, he had lived as a scholar in retirement. Here, however, he is referring not so much to his brief term of office, but to his long consideration of the problems of government.

Niaoshu is a mountain near present-day Weiyuan in Gansu, on the upper Wei river. Dongdai is a reference to Mount Tai, in present-day Shandong province. Huangfu Gui is

saying that the problems with the western people, the Qiang, and with the eastern rebels such as Shusun Wuji, are the same.

- 22 Sun Wu was a celebrated general of the state of Wu during the Warring States period: his biography is in *SJ* 65, 2161–65. The work entitled *Sunzi bingfa* is ascribed to him, and has been translated by Griffith, *Sun Tzu: The Art of War*.

Wu Qi was a celebrated general of the state of Wei during the Warring States period: his biography is in *SJ* 65, 2165–68. A work entitled *Wuzi* is ascribed to him.

- 23 This appointment and achievement of Huangfu Gui is mentioned also in *HHS* 7, 309, and *HHS* 87/77, 2898, though neither of those sources mentions his overall command of troops in the west.

Generals of the Gentlemen of the Household were normally officials in charge of one of the contingents of formal guards about the palace (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 24), and there was also a General of the Gentleman of the Household Emissary to the Xiongnu, who was the resident at the court of the Southern Shanyu (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 238–239, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 112). This present appointment, however, was evidently for active campaign.

A similar position had been given to the military commander Ren Shang against the rebel Qiang in 115 (*HHS* 87/77, 2889–90, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 108), and the same system was used again a few years later, when Du Shang was given command against rebels in Jing province (passage R and note 31 to Yanxi 8).

- 24 Despite the reported success of Huangfu Gui, it will be observed that there was further rebellion in the next and following years. See, for example, passage B of Yanxi 5.

## Yanxi 5: 162 AD

[2 February 162 – 20 February 163]

- A In the spring, in the first month on the day *renwu* [2 Mar] there was a fire in the C–Office of the Southern Palace.<sup>1</sup>

- B In the third month the Shendi Qiang raided Zhangye and Jiuquan.

Huangfu Gui raised the tribes of the Xianlian and other Qiang people to join in a campaign west of the Long Mountain.<sup>2</sup> The roads and communications, however, were under attack and broken, there was widespread sickness in the army, and three or four out of every ten died.

Huangfu Gui himself took up quarters in a simple hut, and he made regular inspection of his officers and men. All the troops appreciated his concern.

Then the Eastern Qiang sent messengers, asking to surrender, and Liang province was once again in proper communication [with the rest of the empire].

Before this, the Grand Administrator of Anding, Sun Jun, had been greedy and avaricious; the Chief Commandant of the Dependent State [of Anding] and the Imperial Clerk Commanding the Army, Li Xi and Zhang Bing, had both killed great numbers of Qiang people when they came to surrender; while Guo Hong the Inspector of Liang province and Zhao Xi the Grand Administrator of Hanyang were old and feeble and could not cope with their responsibilities. Each of them relied entirely upon the power and honour of his position, and they paid no attention to the laws or to proper principles.

When Huangfu Gui arrived, he sent in reports with detailed accounts of their crimes, and some were punished and others dismissed.<sup>3</sup> When the Qiang people heard about this, they were quite reformed, and the chieftains of the Shendi Qiang, Dianchang, Jitian and others, came once again with more than one hundred thousand followers to surrender to Huangfu Gui.

- C In the summer in the fourth month some bandits of Changsha made a rising and plundered in Guiyang and Cangwu.

On the day *yichou* [13 Jun?]<sup>4</sup> there was a fire at the eastern tower of Gongling [the tomb of Emperor An].<sup>5</sup>

On the day *wuchen* [16 Jun?] there was a fire at the side-gate of the office of the guards Rapid as Tigers.<sup>6</sup>

In the fifth month there was a fire in a pavilion of the park of Kangling [the tomb of Emperor Shang].<sup>7</sup>

[Yx5: 162]

- D The bandits of Changsha and Lingling entered Guiyang, Cangwu and Nanhai commanderies. The Inspector of Jiaozhi and the Grand Administrator of Cangwu took flight at the news of their coming.

The Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk Sheng Xiu was sent to take command of the troops called up from the province and commanderies and to attack the enemy. He had no success.<sup>8</sup>

1762

- E On the day *yihai* [28 Jun] there was an earthquake in the capital district.

On the day *jiashen* [2 Jul?]<sup>9</sup> there was a fire in the office of the Assistant for Salaries of the Palace Treasury.

In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *jiwei* [6 Aug] there was a fire at the Door of Continuing Excellence in the Southern Palace.<sup>10</sup>

The Niaoyu Qiang attacked Hanyang, Longxi and Jincheng, but the soldiers of the three commanderies attacked and defeated them.

The bandits of Ai county [in Yuzhang commandery] attacked the commandery and county offices of Changsha. They killed the Prefect of Yiyang [county in Changsha], and their numbers rose to more than ten thousand.<sup>11</sup>

F The Internuncio Ma Mu, taking command over the Inspector of Jing province Liu Du, attacked them. The [imperial] army was defeated and Ma Mu and Liu Du both took to flight.

G The barbarians of Lingling also rebelled.<sup>12</sup>

In the winter, in the tenth month the barbarians of Wuling rebelled and raided Jiangling [capital of Nan commandery].<sup>13</sup>

H Li Su, the Grand Administrator of Nan commandery, ran away. In protest, his Master of Records Hu Shuang seized the bridle of his horse, saying, "The barbarians can see that the commandery has no preparations for defence against them, so they are only too eager to take advantage of such an opportunity, and they will certainly attack.

"Your excellency, you are a great official of the state, with cities under your government for the distance of a thousand li. If you raise your banner and sound the war-drum, a hundred thousand men will respond to your call.

"How can you now abandon the responsibilities of your insignia and your office, and become a fugitive?"

Li Su threatened Hu Shuang with a sword, saying, "Get out of my way, sir! I'm in a hurry. How can I spare the time for all this?" Hu Shuang held on to the horse, and continued his protest. So Li Su killed him and then rode away.

The Emperor heard about this, and Li Su was summonsed and publicly executed. Liu Du and Ma Mu were both sentenced to death, commuted by one degree.<sup>14</sup> Hu Shuang's household was granted exemption from taxes, and one man of his family was appointed as a Gentleman.<sup>15</sup>

[Yx5: 162]

I The Master of Writing Zhu Mu recommended the Prefect of the Enclosure of the Right, Du Shang of Shanyang, as Inspector of Jing province, and on the day *xinchou* [16 Nov] the Grand Master of Ceremonies Feng Gun became General of Chariots and Cavalry and led more than a hundred thousand soldiers to attack the barbarians of Wuling.

1763

J Before this, when military commanders had been sent on campaign, it happened quite frequently that the eunuchs had accused them of wasting or losing part of the army supplies, and very often they were punished for this. Feng Gun therefore made a request that one of the Palace Regular Attendants should act as supervisor of the supplies for his army. The Master of Writing Zhu Mu memorialised, "On this matter of the army supplies, Feng Gun is showing himself to be unduly concerned in clearing himself of suspicion. This is not the proper way for a high officer to behave."<sup>16</sup> An edict was issued that the criticism [of Feng Gun] should be considered no further, and Feng Gun then asked that Ying Feng, former Grand Administrator of Wuling,<sup>17</sup> should accompany him, with title as Attendant Gentleman of the Household.<sup>18</sup>

In the eleventh month, Feng Gun's army came to Changsha. The rebels heard of it, and they all came to the camp and asked to surrender. He then went forward to attack the Wuling barbarians, and took more than four thousand heads. He received the surrender of more than a hundred thousand enemy, and Jing province was pacified and settled. An imperial letter offered Feng Gun the reward of a hundred million cash, but he firmly refused it. He brought his army in triumph back to the capital.

Feng Gun gave special praise to the good work of Ying Feng during the campaign, and he recommended him as Colonel Director of Retainers. He also sent in a letter asking to be relieved of his duties on account of age,<sup>19</sup> but the court would not allow this.

K The Dianna Qiang raided Wuwei, Zhangye and Jiuquan.

The Grand Commandant Liu Ju left office. The Grand Master of Ceremonies Yang Bing became Grand Commandant.

[Yx5: 162]

L Huangfu Gui held the Staff of Authority as military commander, and he now returned to take control in his own home country.<sup>20</sup>

He never took any private favours, but there were many people whom he had reported against or impeached. Moreover, he hated the eunuchs and would have no dealings with them. As a result, he had enemies both inside and outside the court, and they joined together to accuse him of bribing the Qiang in order to bring about their pretended surrender. The Emperor sent a series of letters under seal to reprimand him.

Huangfu Gui wrote back in his own defence: "In the autumn of the fourth year [of Yanxi: i.e. last year], the western tribes were actively disobedient, and the ancient capital [Chang'an] was in fear and trembling. The court itself looked anxiously to the west.

"[Then, however,] as I wielded the authority and spiritual power of the state, the Qiang bowed to the ground before us. The expenses we saved were more than a hundred million cash.

"It is part of the code of honour for a loyal minister that he should not allot praises to his own achievements, and I therefore find it embarrassing to offer even a few words on my own behalf. On the other hand, if you compare my success with the way things were managed before, [you will find that] I may be excused from any accusations or criticism.<sup>21</sup>

1764 "When I first arrived in the province I sent in reports for the impeachment of Sun Jun, Li Xi and Zhang Bing,; and when I went on campaign to the south I again sent in reports against Guo Hong and Zhao Xi, setting out their errors and wrongdoing.<sup>22</sup> On the evidence presented, they were duly executed.

"These five, moreover, had partisans and supporters spread across half the empire, with every rank from the black seal-ribbon down to the most junior official. More than a hundred of them were implicated by association.<sup>23</sup>

"Junior officials do their best to avert any attack against their superior, just as sons are concerned about their fathers' shame. So [rich men's] carriages have hastened to bring presents, and [poor] men have come on foot carrying their own provisions, and they gather and plot together with men of powerful family, combining in the spread of slander and accusations.

"Now they say that I made private agreements with the Qiang, and that I bought them off with cash and goods.

"If I had used my own resources, my household would now be in the most abject poverty.<sup>24</sup> If I had used government funds, the records would be easy to trace.

"In former times, a concubine from the imperial palace was sent away in marriage to the Xiongnu, and a princess was given to pacify the Wusun.<sup>25</sup> Even if I had been foolish enough to do what I am accused of doing, it was only a matter of paying a few thousands or tens of thousands of cash, and by that means we have kept the rebel Qiang quiet. Such a program represents a possible plan of action for a competent minister, and I personally hold the respect of men with military experience. What fault is there to be found, either in neglect of honour or in disregard of policy?<sup>26</sup>

"Since the time of the Yongchu period [107–113], there have been many military commanders sent out on campaign, and five armies have been completely defeated.<sup>27</sup> The cost has been counted in the billions, and the supply carts that were brought back [laden with treasure] have been sealed up intact and taken into the houses of the great families. Nevertheless, those generals achieved a reputation, they were respected for their good work, and they were granted most generous rewards and enfeoffments.

"For my own part, however, I have simply returned to my home country.

"I have impeached commandery administrators, I have broken up personal connections and family relationships, and I have put old friends to death and shame. It is not at all surprising that so many people have conspired to malign and slander me."

Then the Emperor gave orders that Huangfu Gui should return [to the capital]. He appointed him a Gentleman–Consultant, and considered whether his achievements might be worthy of some enfeoffment.

The Regular Palace Attendants Xu Huang and Zuo Guan hoped to gain profit from the affair, and on several occasions they sent clients and retainers to ask further details about his good work.<sup>28</sup> Huangfu Gui, however, refused to respond to them.

Then Xu Huang and his fellows became angry, and they raised again the former questions [of the slanders against Huangfu Gui]. He was sent down for judicial enquiry.

Other clerks in the offices tried to persuade Huangfu Gui to offer bribes and ask forgiveness, but Huangfu Gui swore that he would do no such thing. He was taken before the Commandant of Justice, and on the ground



that the disturbances [in the west] were still continuing he was sentenced to convict service in the Enclosure of the Left.

All the Excellencies, and more than three hundred university students, led by Zhang Feng, came to the palace gates to petition for him. Soon afterwards, there was an amnesty and he returned to his home.<sup>29</sup>

### NOTES to Yanxi 5: 162

A *HHS* 7, 309 (10b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

1 A fire in this office had also been reported in the first month of the preceding year (passage A to Yanxi 4).

This, together with the fires mentioned in passages C and E below, are listed also in *HHS* 104/14, 3295–96, the Treatise of the Five Powers, which gives, however, no particular interpretation.

[Yx5: 162]

B *HHS* 65/55, 2133 (4a–b), the Biography of Huangfu Gui.

2 This passage is translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 29–30.

3 Guo Hong, it may be noted, was the man who had been responsible for the false accusation which brought about the dismissal of Duan Jiong in the previous year (passage F of Yanxi 4, and also note 22 below).

[Yx5: 162]

C *HHS* 7, 309–10 (10b–11a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

4 Both *HHS* 7 and *HHS* 104/14, 3295 give the dates of these fires as occurring in the fourth month. Modern calculations, however, indicate that the fourth month of Yanxi 5 had no day *yichou* (cyclical no. 2) nor a day *wuchen* (cyclical no. 5): the month began on a *guiwei* day (cyclical no. 20) and the last day was *renzi* (cyclical no. 49).

Similarly, though the earthquake referred to in passage D below is satisfactorily dated to the *yihai* day (being cyclical no. 12), the fifth month of Yanxi 5 ended on a *xinsi* day (cyclical no. 18), and thus should not have contained a *jiashen* day (cyclical no. 21).

Given the consistent series of false dates, it seems likely that the identifications of the months have been misplaced.

I have therefore suggested Western dates for the days *yichou* and *wuchen* as if they were in the fifth month, and for the day *jiashen* as if it was in the sixth month.

5 The Gongling tomb of Emperor An lay northwest of Luoyang. Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 84, renders the name as "Mound of Respectfulness."

6 The offices of the guards Rapid as Tigers, and of the other corps of the Gentlemen of the Household, were in the southern suburbs of Luoyang, in the vicinity of the Imperial University: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 72.

7 Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 84 and 118–119 note 389, considers the argument that this tomb should in fact be described as Gengling "The Geng Mound," rather than Kangling "The Mound of Ease." The tomb complex lay southeast of Luoyang.

[Yx5: 162]

D *HHS* 38/28, 1285 (8b), the Biography of Du Shang.

8 There is a parallel text to this item in *HHS* 7, 310, and another account in *HHS* 86/76, 2834. See also passages E, F, G and H below.

These bandits of Changsha and Lingling were evidently the same group as those who have been mentioned earlier, in Yongshou 3 (passage F) and Yanxi 3 (passage H): see also note 11 to Yanxi 3.

Changsha and Lingling commanderies were in Jing province, north of the Nan Ling divide, as was Guiyang. Nanhai and Cangwu were in Jiao or Jiaozhi province to the south.

The disturbance in this region, which had first been reported five years earlier, and which had become more serious in Yanxi 3, now expanded very considerably, and the government could no longer leave the situation to the resources of the local administration.

The Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk was a surveillance official, effectively the head of the censorate at the capital. There were, however, occasions when such officers were appointed to the command of troops in the field. See de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 73–74, and de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 99 and 482 note 37.

On this occasion, it appears that Sheng Xiu may have been appointed in the first instance because the disturbance extended across provincial borders; an official of his rank would have the authority to raise troops and carry out operations without concern for the niceties of local administration.

Similar appointments, of court officials to hold military command against provincial disorders, may be seen at this time in the cases of Zhang Bing, who is described in passage B above as Imperial Clerk Commanding the Army (*dujun yushi*) in Liang province, and Ma Mu in passage F below, who was Internuncio (*yezhe*) in command of the Inspector of Jing province. Such arrangements had been useful in previous times of trouble, but they had a poor record this year.

[Yx5: 162]

E *HHS* 7, 310 (11a), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

9 Neither *HHS* nor *ZZTJ* show any reference for the beginning of the sixth month of this year, but this *jiashen* day, cyclical no. 21, was most probably the third day of that month, which began on a *renwu* day, cyclical no. 19.

10 The Door of Continuing Excellence (*Chengshan ta*) has not been further identified.

11 Ai county was in present-day Jiangxi, close to the borders of present-day Hunan. Yiyang county was in present-day Hunan province, west of the Xiang River. These people had therefore extended their activities a considerable distance from their base. *HHS* 38/28, 1285, says that the number of this group at the beginning was only six hundred men. They had been called up for military service, but had not been paid, and so they mutinied. They may, therefore, have already been stationed in the region of Changsha. We can observe, moreover, that Yiyang county had been a centre of rebellion among the barbarians of Changsha a few years before (passage F of Yongshou 3).

[Yx5: 162]

F *HHS* 38/28, 1285 (8b), the Biography of Du Shang.

[Yx5: 162]

G *HHS* 7, 310–11 (11a–b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

12 *HHS* 7 adds that the rebels of Lingling also attacked Changsha.

[Yx5: 162]

H *HHS* 86/76, 2834 (4b), the Chapter on the Southern and Southwestern Barbarians.

- 13 The texts and chronology at this point are somewhat confused, to some extent because of the frequent and repeated rebellions by the non-Chinese people of the region.

*HHS* 7, 307, records that the non-Chinese people of Wuling commandery attacked Jiangling in the winter of Yanxi 3, and says that they were attacked and defeated by the General of Chariots and Cavalry Feng Gun, while Du Shang, the Inspector of Jing province, pacified Changsha. However, *HHS* 7, 311, records another rising by the Wuling people in the winter of Yanxi 5, and says again, though in slightly different terms, that they were put down by Feng Gun.

Sima Guang, in his *Kaoyi* commentary to *ZZTJ* 54, 1763, notes that the first entry is a mistaken and misplaced copy of the second.

The history is confused further, however, by the wording of *HHS* 86/76, 2833–34, which also implies that the rebellion of the Wuling people took place in the winter of Yanxi 3, immediately following the rising of the Changsha and Lingling barbarians in that year; and that it was on this occasion the Grand Administrator of Nan commandery, Li Su, made his cowardly flight.

*HHS* 38/28, 1285, however, dates the appointment of Du Shang as Inspector of Jing province to deal with the widespread rebellion firmly in Yanxi 5; and *HHS* 38/28, 1281, also describes the affair, including the flight of Li Su, as taking place in Yanxi 5. *HHS* 7, 311, moreover, tells of the execution of Li Su for his cowardice in the winter of Yanxi 5.

It would seem, then, that the trouble with the non-Chinese people in this region had begun in Yongshou 3: 157, that it expanded considerably in Yanxi 3: 160, and then reached its peak, with notable Chinese defeats and the requirement of a major army from the capital, in Yanxi 5: 162.

Finally, one may note that any historian must find it difficult to sort out the repeated disturbances among different groups of non-Chinese peoples, identified only vaguely by reference to the (often ill-defined) commandery territory which they are described as inhabiting. Thus it is said here that the barbarians of Lingling "also rebelled"; but we have noticed in passage D that barbarians from Lingling were already up in arms. The two statements presumably refer to two different groups, both described simply as "barbarians from Lingling."

- 14 On the death penalty diminished by one degree, see note 35 to Yanxi 2.

- 15 The position of a Gentleman was that of a cadet on probation for the executive ranks of the government service. This was normally obtained by recommendation as "Filially Pious and Incorrupt" from the man's local commandery; in this case, however, one member of Hu Shuang's family was granted exemption from such formality.

A similar award had been granted to the family of the deceased loyal official Ni Shi some years earlier: note 3 to Yongshou 3.

[*Yx5*: 162]

- I *HHS* 38/28, 1285 (8b), the Biography of Du Shang;  
also *HHS* 7, 311 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Huan;  
also *HHS* 38/28, 1281 (5b), the Biography of Feng Gun.

[*Yx5*: 162]

- J *HHS* 38/28, 1283 (6b–7a), the Biography of Feng Gun.

16 The text of *ZZTJ* and *HHS* at this point is somewhat abbreviated, and the thrust of the debate is clearer in the parallel passage of *HHJ* 22, 4a–b, which quotes more extensively from the memorial of Zhu Mu.

Feng Gun, of course, was nominating a high eunuch official to look after the supplies in order that, should any prove to be missing, the responsibility would fall upon the eunuchs and not upon himself. Zhu Mu is arguing that if Feng Gun was a truly honest official he would never even think of the possibility that he might need to defend himself in this way.

There is a biography of Zhu Mu in *HHS* 43/33, 1461–74. See also passage I and note 11 to Yanxi 6.

17 There is a biography of Ying Feng, father of the celebrated scholar Ying Shao, in *HHS* 48/38, 1606–09. As Grand Administrator of Wuling in 153, he had settled a rebellion of non-Chinese people there.

18 A Gentleman of the Household in Attendance (*congshi zhonglang*) was one of two second-level officers on the staff of a general (*HHS* 114/24, 3564; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 124).

19 On the use of the phrase *haigu* (literally, "my bones [which need to be buried soon]") as a term for retirement or resignation from service, see for example the Annals of Xiang Yu, *SJ* 7, 325; Chavannes, *MH* II, 303, and Watson, *RGH* I, 64.

[Yx5: 162]

K *HHS* 7, 311 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

[Yx5: 162]

L *HHS* 65/55, 2133–34 (4b–5b), the Biography of Huangfu Gui.

20 This passage is also translated, with some variants, by Young, *Three Generals*, 30–33.

21 Huangfu Gui is saying, politely, that his conduct has been faultless.

22 In passage B above, we have been told that Sun Jun and Li Xi had held office in Anding Commandery and that Zhang Bing was an officer in command of the army (and see note 8 above). Guo Hong had been the Inspector of Liang province and Zhao Xi was Grand Administrator of Hanyang.

From Huangfu Gui's description here, it appears that he began his campaign by attacking and settling the non-Chinese people of Anding, and then turned south to deal with the region of the upper Wei valley, including Hanyang.

23 A black (*hei*) seal-ribbon was part of the insignia of officials of the middle range, with rank/salary of 1000 and 600 *shi* (*HHS* 120/30, 3675).

When a senior was disgraced, his former subordinates and clients might be proscribed from holding office. See, for example, Hulsewé, *RHL* I, 135–140. In the present case, we are not told specifically that such penalty had been applied, but one may imagine that association with the convicted men would have been embarrassing and damaging to their juniors' careers.

24 The expression *wu danshi* describes a household without a single measure of grain.

25 The Lady Wang Zhaojun was given in marriage to the Huhanye Shanyu of the Xiongnu in 33 BC, to seal his alliance with Han. See, for example, de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 189 and 510 note 31.

In the time of Emperor Wu, at the end of the second century BC, the Han court sent the Lady Xi, a daughter of the King of Jiangu, to be wife to the ruler of the Wusun people,

who inhabited the region of the Ili River in central Asia. See Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 216, and *HS* 96B, 3904.

Though Huangfu Gui does not appear to refer to the incident, he could have cited an even higher authority. In *SJ* 110, 2895; Watson, *RGH* II, 166, we are told that Emperor Gaozu sent a princess of the imperial Liu family to marry the great Shanyu Modun.

26 Huangfu Gui's argument here is that bribery with money is surely no worse than handing over Chinese ladies of the imperial court and family. In dealing with barbarians, there are good precedents for a policy of generous conciliation.

27 The commentary of Hu Sanxing identifies these five defeats as follows:

in 108 the General of Chariots and Cavalry Deng Zhi was defeated by rebel Qiang west of Ji in Hanyang commandery (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 95–96);

later in the same year the general Ren Shang was also defeated by the Qiang at Pingxiang in Hanyang commandery (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 96);

in 115 a Chinese army led by Sima Jun was defeated by the Qiang near Dingxi city in the north of Beidi commandery (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 108);

in 141 the general Ma Xian was defeated and killed by rebel Qiang in Beidi commandery (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 120);

in 144 the Colonel Protector of the Qiang Zhao Chong was killed fighting rebel Qiang (de Crespigny, *Northern Frontier*, 121).

28 These repeated visits were evidently designed to encourage Huangfu Gui to pass the men some money in order that they might report more enthusiastically on his behalf.

29 It seems probable that this refers to the amnesty of the third month of the following year (passage A to Yanxi 6).

## Yanxi 6: 163 AD

[21 February 163 – 10 February 164]

1765

A In the spring, in the second month on the day *wuwu* [2 Apr] the Minister over the Masses Chong Gao died.

In the third month on the day *wuxu* [12 May] there was an amnesty for the empire.

The Commandant of the Guards, Xu Xu of Yingchuan, became Minister over the Masses.

In the summer, in the fourth month on the day *xinhai* [25 May] there was a fire in the Eastern Office of Kangling.<sup>1</sup>

In the fifth month the Xianbi ravaged the Dependent State of Liaodong.

In the autumn, in the seventh month on the day *jiashen* [26 Aug], there was a fire in a pavilion of the park of Pingling [the tomb of Emperor Zhao of Former Han].<sup>2</sup>

Li Yan, the rebel and bandit of Guiyang, with his followers, ravaged the territory of that commandery

The barbarians of Wuling commandery made another uprising. The Grand Administrator Chen Feng attacked them and pacified them.<sup>3</sup>

[Yx6: 163]

B The eunuchs had an old enmity for Feng Gun. In the eighth month, Feng Gun was adjudicated for the fact that the rebels and bandits [of Wuling] had rebelled again after he had brought his army back. Feng Gun was dismissed.

C In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *bingchen* [26 Nov], the Emperor went hunting at the Guangcheng Park, and then proceeded to visit the Hangu Pass and the Shanglin Park.<sup>4</sup>

D The Superintendent of the Imperial Household Chen Fan sent in a written remonstrance: "Even in times of peace and security, it is still appropriate to maintain restraint in travelling and the chase. How much more strongly should this apply in times such as the present, when we suffer from the three forms of emptiness: the fields and countryside are empty; the court is empty; and the granaries and storehouses are empty.

"Add the facts that military affairs are not yet resolved, while in every part of the world are scattered homeless refugees, then this is the occasion that a ruler should bear an anxious heart and a care-worn countenance, sitting up [into the small hours] and waiting on the developments each day may bring.

"How can it be right to raise the banners and display the panoply of war, exciting the heart with the show of horses and chariots?

"Besides this, last autumn there were heavy rains,<sup>5</sup> and only now are the people beginning to plant their wheat. Instead of allowing them the time to sow their grain, you have arranged that they take part in the hunt, using corvée labour to drive the birds and clear the roads. This is not the policy of a worthy sage who cares for his people."

The memorial was sent in, but it was not accepted.

1766

E In the eleventh month the Minister of Works Liu Chong left office. In the twelfth month the Commandant of the Guards Zhou Jing became Minister of Works.

Zhou Jing was the grandson of Zhou Rong.<sup>6</sup>

[Yx6: 163]

F At this time, the eunuchs wielded considerable power. Zhou Jing sent in a memorial jointly with the Grand Commandant Yang Bing: "Among the men holding office in the palace and the bureaucracy, there are many who are unworthy of their position.

"According to the ancient regulations, the relatives of servants in the palace are not permitted to occupy official posts or hold power [in the regular government structure]. At the present time, however, clansmen and clients [of eunuchs] are being openly appointed to office. Some young men without experience, have been given important responsibilities. Everyone is angry and resentful, and all the empire is anxious and perturbed.

"Nevertheless, it is still possible, by use of the ancient statutes, to eliminate greed and extortion and put a stop to violence and slander. We ask that orders be sent to the Colonel Director of Retainers, the [Ministers with rank/salary at] Fully Two Thousand *shi*, the Colonels of the City Gates and of the Five Regiments, and the Captain of the Centre of the Northern Army, that each should make careful investigation within his particular area of responsibility, to find out who should be dismissed from his appointment.<sup>7</sup> The reports should be sent to the offices of the Three Excellencies, and subsidiary comments should be prepared if there are any cases which have not been fully considered."

The Emperor approved this. Then Yang Bing [also] sent in reports on governors and administrators [in the provinces]. The Inspector of Qing province, Yang Liang, and more than fifty other men were either put to death or dismissed from office.<sup>8</sup>

Everyone in the empire was impressed.

G An edict summoned Huangfu Gui to appointment as General Who Crosses the Liao.

Before this, because he was a former subordinate of Liang Ji, Zhang Huan had been dismissed from office and proscribed. Among all his

friends and comrades from earlier times, not one dared speak on his behalf, excepting only Huangfu Gui. He sent in appeals for him, seven times in all, and it was on his account that Zhang Huan became Grand Administrator of Wuwei.<sup>9</sup>

Then Huangfu Gui was made General Who Crosses the Liao, and after a few months in that station he sent in a memorial recommending Zhang Huan: "His ability and strategic sense are both of the highest order, and he is worthy of the highest command. Everyone is waiting for such a man.

"If you still feel that I should hold an appointment here, then I ask for some secondary post, so that I may act as Zhang Huan's assistant."

The court approved this. Zhang Huan took Huangfu Gui's place as General Who Crosses the Liao, and Huangfu Gui became General of the Gentlemen of the Household Emissary to the Xiongnu.

[Yx6: 163]

H A great many officials and people of the western provinces, and the local garrison commanders, had sought justice on behalf of Duan Jiong, the former Colonel Protector of the Qiang.

1767 About this time, the Dianna Qiang were growing steadily more powerful, and Liang province was almost lost. So Duan Jiong was once more appointed Colonel Protector.<sup>10</sup>

I The Master of Writing Zhu Mu<sup>11</sup> objected to the eunuchs' abuse of power, and he sent in a letter, saying: "I note that in the old system of Han some of the Regular Palace Attendants were chosen from full gentlemen. It is only since the Jianwu period [25–55, in the time of the founding Emperor Guangwu of Later Han], that all these positions have been given to eunuchs.<sup>12</sup>

"Since the Yanping period [of Emperor Shang, 106],<sup>13</sup> they have steadily increased their power and influence. With ornaments of jewellery and furs, they occupy formal positions of close attendance,<sup>14</sup> and everything at court passes through their hands.

"Their authority affects the whole of the world, their honour and prestige have no limit, and the members of their families all flourish in office. No-one can restrain their extravagance and their pride; they impoverish the empire and exhaust the people.

"In my humble opinion, all the eunuchs [in such high positions] should be dismissed, and we should return to the system as it was before. We



should select gentlemen of virtue, from every part of the empire, men who understand matters of state, and they should be used to take the place of the eunuchs [as Regular Palace Attendants]. All the people would be affected by your sage influence."

The Emperor would not accept this.

Later, Zhu Mu took the opportunity of his presence in audience, and made a speech on the same theme: "I have heard that the ancient regulations of the house of Han provided for only one man to be appointed to each post of Palace Attendant and Regular Palace Attendant, to control the affairs of the imperial secretariat [the Masters of Writing]. Another man was appointed as Gentleman in Attendance of the Yellow Gates, and his responsibility was to transmit memorials and messages. All these officers were selected from men of respectable family.<sup>15</sup>

"In the time of the Fortunate Empress–Dowager [Deng, regent from 106 to 121], a woman held control of the government. She had no direct contact with the excellencies and ministers, and for that reason eunuchs were appointed as Regular Attendants and Junior Attendants of the Yellow Gates, to communicate between the inner and outer palaces.<sup>16</sup>

"Since that time, their power has tended to subvert the rulers' good judgement, and they have impoverished and oppressed the empire.

"They should all be dismissed and sent away, and there should be wide search to find senior scholars of established virtue who could take part in the government."

The Emperor was angry and made no reply. Zhu Mu remained on his knees and was unwilling to get up, but those in attendance ordered him, "Go!" After some considerable time, he went out, walking quickly.

As a result of this incident, the eunuchs found several occasions for edicts to criticise and reprimand Zhu Mu. He was a plain, upright man, and became bitter at such treatment. Before very long his anger and frustration caused an ulcer to break out, and he died.<sup>17</sup>

### NOTES to Yanxi 6: 163

A *HHS* 7, 311–312 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

1 On the Kangling/Gengling tomb of Emperor Shang, see note 7 to Yanxi 5.

The parallel passage in *HHS* 104/14, 3296, the Treatise of the Five Powers, gives no specific prognostication for this event.

2 The Pingling "Mound of Pacification," tomb of Emperor Zhao of Former Han (reigned 86–74 BC), was northwest of Chang'an, on the northern bank of the Wei River, in the

neighbourhood of the Maoling "Mound of Abundance" tomb of Emperor Wu (*Sanfu huangtu* 6, 52).

*HHS* 104/14, 3296, gives no specific prognostication for this event.

- 3 *ZZTJ* here has the personal name of the Grand Administrator as Ju. Other editions, however, have it as Feng, and both *HHS* and *HHSJJ* agree.

[*Yx6: 163*]

- B *HHS* 38/28, 1283 (7a), the Biography of Feng Gun.

[*Yx6: 163*]

- C *HHS* 7, 312 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

- 4 On the "competitive hunt," see note 4 to Yanxi 1. On the sites of the parks, see note 5 to Yanxi 1.

It seems clear that the Shanglin Park which the Emperor visited on this occasion was the one dating from Former Han, in the neighbourhood of Chang'an.

[*Yx6: 163*]

- D *HHS* 66/56, 2162–63 (3b–4a), the Biography of Chen Fan.

- 5 The relevant passage of the Treatise of the Five Powers, *HHS* 103/13, has no reference to ominous exceptionally heavy rain in this year.

[*Yx6: 163*]

- E *HHS* 7, 312 (11b), the Annals of Emperor Huan.

- 6 This is a comment added by Sima Guang. The Biography of Zhou Rong is in *HHS* 45/35, 1536–37.

[*Yx6: 163*]

- F *HHS* 45/35, 1538 (16b), the Biography of Zhou Jing;  
and *HHS* 54/44, 1772 (10a–b), the Biography of Yang Bing.

- 7 The investigation proposed here would have concerned most of the officials and military officers of the capital district. The Colonel Director of Retainers was inspector of the seven commanderies in Sili province, about Luoyang and Chang'an; the ministers had authority over the clerks in their offices; the Colonel of the City Gates controlled the guards at the gates of the walls of Luoyang; the five regiments here refers to the Northern Army, and the Captain of the Centre of the Northern Army was an inspectorial official, of comparatively low rank, but with powers of investigation and impeachment.

- 8 *HHS* 54/44 notes also that the Grand Administrator of Liaodong commandery and the General of the Gentlemen of the Household Emissary to the Xiongnu were among those impeached by Yang Bing in this purge of officials outside the capital.

The phrase *mushou* "governors and administrators" must be taken as a general reference to inspectors and grand administrators. The position of mu "Governor" or "Shepherd" did not exist in the provinces at that time. See de Crespigny, "Inspection and Surveillance," 67, Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 90–91, and passage B of Zhongping 5: 188.

[*Yx6: 163*]

- G *HHS* 65/55, 2135 (5b), the Biography of Huangfu Gui;  
and *HHS* 65/55, 2139 (8a–b), the Biography of Zhang Huan.

- 9 These passages from *HHS* 65/55 have been translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 33 and 47–48.

The Biography of Zhang Huan tells us that his administration of Wuwei commandery had been noted for humane reforms of barbaric local customs, and the people, in gratitude, erected shrines in his honour.

We may note that all three generals appear to have suffered unjust punishment at various stages of their careers: Zhang Huan was dismissed for his past connection with Liang Ji (passage G of Yanxi 6); Duan Jiong had been sentenced to convict labour because of a false report by an official later shown to be incompetent (passage F of Yanxi 4 and passage B of Yanxi 5); and Huangfu Gui, in the previous year, had been convicted as a result of private slanders and eunuch interference (passage L of Yanxi 5). One must admire the sense of public duty held by these men, that they continued to serve after such treatment; Huangfu Gui, at least, could have afforded to remain in retirement on his estates.

[Yx6: 163]

H *HHS* 65/55, 2147 (13b), the Biography of Duan Jiong.

10 This passage has been translated by Young, *Three Generals*, 68–69.

Duan Jiong had been sentenced to convict labour two years earlier (passage F of Yanxi 4), and the appeals of the officers and people from the west had been in some part responsible for his release. He was then appointed to a series of posts at the capital, and later transferred to be Inspector of Bing province. It was from that position that he was re-appointed Colonel Protector of the Qiang.

Duan Jiong's biography also tells us that when the government learnt of Guo Hong's wrong-doings, the Emperor summoned Duan Jiong to enquire further about his ill treatment. Duan Jiong, however, made no further complaint, and would only apologise for his personal errors of judgement. He was widely admired for his sense of honour.

[Yx6: 163]

I *HHS* 43/33, 1472 (11b–12a), the Biography of Zhu Mu.

11 Zhu Mu was a scholar-official, of strongly Confucian persuasion, from an old-established family. Some years earlier, in 153, as Inspector of Ji province, he had made a name for himself as a resolute opponent of eunuch associates. His activities in this line came to a climax when he broke open the tomb and desecrated the body of the father of the eunuch Zhao Zhong, who had been given special imperial permission for a burial with ritual ornaments including the jade shroud: see note 5 to Yanxi 3. For this, Zhu Mu was sentenced to convict service and then lived in retirement. He had lately been recalled to office.

12 On this change, see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 63. During Former Han, the position of Regular Palace Attendant had been a supernumerary position, awarded to full men who held other substantive appointments. The post itself had no formal associated duties. In Later Han, it became the highest position which could be held by eunuchs, and in rank/salary was close to ministerial status. There were still no formal duties or powers associated with the post, but the holders were effectively the leaders of the eunuchs and had great influence within the palace and the government.

13 In fact, it would seem that the importance of the Regular Palace Attendants had already begun to increase rather earlier, in the time of Emperor He (89–106), when their permitted numbers were raised from four to ten; it was possibly also at this time that their

rank/salary, which had been fixed by Emperor Ming at One Thousand *shi*, was raised to Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi* (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 63).

Zhu Mu, however, is evidently relating the influence of the eunuchs to the time of the regency of the Empress Deng of Emperor He who, after the death of her husband, controlled the government of Emperor Shang and then that of Emperor An until her death. For a regular emperor, eunuchs were useful as messengers who could enter the harem when the ruler was engaged there, and they gained and maintained great influence through this; for the regent Empress-Dowager, however, as a woman, eunuch intermediaries were essential for her dealings with the full men of the regular administration; it would have been quite improper for her to meet them directly.

14 Commentary to *HHS* 43/44 explains the character *dang* (literally, "gong") as an ear-ring, also the badge of a eunuch.

The commentary also interprets the phrase *changbo*, which I have rendered here as "formal positions of close attendance," as a reference to the official position of Palace Attendant (*shizhong*), a high court position, held by a full man, with the right and responsibility to give guidance and advice to the emperor (Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59–60).  
15 *HS* 19A, 739, lists the supernumerary titles of the Former Han system, of which the first two are the Palace Attendant and the Regular Attendant, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 50 and 26, discusses the status of these appointments in Former Han.

The Palace Attendants and Regular Palace Attendants and the Gentlemen in Attendance of the Yellow Gates (*huangmen lang*) were all full men. There is, however, no specific evidence to support the statement of Zhu Mu that the first two posts were only held by one man at a time. It is possible that this was so, but *HS* 19A, at the end of the list of supernumerary posts, says only that the total number of people holding such positions could be in the scores.

As to responsibility for the affairs of the imperial secretariat (*xing shangshu shi*, where the first character is identified by *HHS* commentary as meaning *lan* "to read"), there is no evidence to show that this position was directly associated with the position of Palace Attendant or Regular Attendant during Former Han. There may, perhaps, have been some general entitlement for a person with such high supernumerary rank to interest himself in the work of the office of the Masters of Writing, but the only formal position of importance in this regard during Former Han was that of the Intendant of the Masters of Writing (*ling shangshu shi*).

Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 153–154, has discussed the office (or status) of Intendant of the Masters of Writing, a position which was granted irregularly from 87 BC, and he has identified the offices with which it was associated. The most common of these was the Commander-in-Chief (*da sima*), which title Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 151, identifies with the regency after 87 BC.

*HS* 19A, however, does note that while the Palace Attendant and the Regular Palace Attendant had the right to enter the inner apartments of the palace, two other high-ranking supernumerary positions, the Bureau Heads of the Left and of the Right (*zuoyou cao*) were authorised to deal with matters of the imperial secretariat (*shou shangshu shi*). The commentary of the Qing scholar Shen Qinhan, cited in *HSBZ* 19A, 24b, suggests that these Bureau Heads may have been connected to the intendency of the Masters of Writing (and see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 26).

In general terms, therefore, though the evidence we have does not support every detail of Zhu Mu's statements, the thrust of his argument, that these high-ranking supernumerary officials were probably limited in number, reserved for full men, and had special access to the emperor and to the secretariat, appears correct.

- 16 On the Empress-Dowager Deng, who controlled the imperial government from 106 to 121, see note 13 above and also note 17 to Yanxi 2.
- 17 *HHS* 43/33 adds that after Zhu Mu's death, at the age of 64 *sui*, a joint petition from the highest officials was presented, extolling his personal virtues and his loyalty. An imperial edict was then issued, praising Zhu Mu and awarding him posthumous appointment as Grand Administrator of Yizhou commandery.

