

A Century
of Cathay

漢

Being the Chronicle of the Later Han dynasty
for the years 57 to 156 AD as recorded in
Chapters 44 to 53 of the
Zizhi tongjian of Sima Guang
translated and annotated
by
Rafe de Crespigny

VOLUME ONE
Chapters 44 to 47
57 to 91 AD

世貢軍於磧口訶利至不得度其大酋長皆帥衆
降世勦虜五萬餘口而還斥地自陰山北至大漠
露布以聞甲寅以克突厥赦天下 三月戊辰
又那思摩爲右武侯大將軍
帥衆四萬來降丙子以突利
之平郡王初始畢可汗以啓
野羅設督部落五萬家牙直
靈州西北及頡利政亂蘇尼失所部獨不携貳空
利之來輯也頡利立之爲小可汗及頡利敗走往
夜之乎拜土上軍大司首于盧忽營王成王首宗

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TO MICHAEL LOEWE
A VERY FINE SCHOLAR
AND A MOST GENEROUS FRIEND

PREFACE

Sixty years ago, when I first began my study of early imperial China, I was chiefly interested in the fall of Han and the establishment of the Three Kingdoms, and I started with a translation of chapters 58 to 68 of *Zizhi tongjian*, the chronicle of the years 189 to 220. The standard histories *Hou Han shu* and *Sanguo zhi*, divided as they are into annals, biographies and treatises, are awkward to deal with coherently, and though *ZZTJ* was compiled many hundreds of years after the events it describes, Sima Guang and his assistants paid close respect to the earlier texts and produced an impressively coherent narrative. I have a discussion of their work in the Introduction to *Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling*, in this Open Research collection.

My first essay, *Last of the Han*, published in 1969, has long been superseded by *Huan and Ling* (1989) and *To Establish Peace* (1996), which between them offer an account of the period from 157 to 220. It is my intention to present an annotated translation – on the same lines as those two later works – for the preceding hundred years, from 57 to 156. The present volume is thus planned as the first of three.

I have chosen to start with 57, partly for the neatness of discussing just one hundred years, but chiefly because I believe that the reigns of Wang Mang and his victorious successor Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu of Later Han, have been well dealt with by other scholars; Guangwu in particular by the late Hans Bielenstein: in his four volumes of *The Restoration of the Han Dynasty* he presents a detailed account of the life of Liu Xiu, the years of civil war which followed the overthrow of Wang Mang, and the nature of the early government of Later Han. There is naturally room for disagreement with some of Bielenstein's interpretations, but to cover the period again seems excessive, and there is more immediate benefit in an account of the later course of the dynasty.

I was fortunate to begin work in this field with the guidance of Hans Bielenstein, Göran Malmqvist, Fang Chao-ying, Otto van der Sprenkel and Wang Ling. Over the many years since, I have benefited from the advice and assistance of many colleagues and friends, notably Liu Ts'un-yan, Igor de Rachewiltz, Mark Elvin, Ken Gardiner and Greg Young in Canberra, Herbert Franke, Wolfgang Bauer and Hans van Ess of Munich, Hans Stumpfelt of Hamburg, Antony Hulsewé and Burchard Mansvelt Beck of Leiden, and Michael Loewe of Cambridge University. I am most grateful to all of them, and I give particular thanks to Drew Gibson of Carolina, who has read my draft manuscript with utmost care and helped me with many difficult passages.

Rafe de Crespigny
Lilli Pilli, NSW
August 2022

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INTRODUCTION

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE TRANSLATION AND THE NOTES

The basic text for the translation is the Beijing punctuated edition of 1956, published by Guji Publishing House 古籍出版社, and reprinted several times by *Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局. That edition has notes on variant readings to the text, and these are cited as appropriate. In the left-hand margin of the translation are indications of the pages of the Chinese text. The Index is based upon that pagination, so it serves as a guide both to the translation and to the modern Chinese edition.

Letters identifying "passages" of the translation and the text are also shown in the left-hand margin, while the annotations contain Finding Notes: identifications of the sources used as the basis for each passage. Sima Guang adapted those original sources, shortening them and combining them with others, and he sometimes drew upon as many as four or five different texts for the composition of a single passage. I do not offer a character-by-character discussion, and on several occasions I have relied upon personal judgement to decide which texts were sources of a particular passage. Readers may make the comparison for themselves: the Finding Notes will help them to do so, and will also enable them to check the various modern commentaries to those parallel texts in the standard histories. A summary of the Finding Notes is given in the Finding List at the end of this work.

Seeking to present a translation into English which reads as straightforwardly as possible, I avoid all but the minimum of square brackets. These are used by many scholars to show words which cannot be precisely identified with characters in the Chinese text, but I believe that in most cases they tend to hinder comprehension rather than aid understanding. Furthermore, though it is traditional Chinese practice to someone's surname and personal name only on the first appearance in a passage and to refer to them thereafter only by the personal name, this can cause confusion in the translated text when different characters are transcribed in the same way. I normally present names in their full form.

I use Pinyin as the system for transcription, with some variations. Notably, I refer to the province transcribed by the cumbersome and non-regular style of Shaanxi as Shenxi, echoing the old Post Office system and distinguishing it from neighbouring Shanxi. Unless there is reason to question and discuss the matter, I accept the identifications of places given by The Historical Atlas of China, *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji*.

For dates, I follow the calculations of Xue Zhongsan and Ouyang Yi, *A Sino-Western Calendar for the First Two Thousand Years A.D.*, which equates Chinese dates with the contemporary Julian calendar of the West. As is well known, the traditional Chinese New Year, based upon a lunar cycle, varies between late January and middle February of the Western system. For convenience, I normally refer to a Chinese year as equivalent to a specific Western year: thus the fifth year of the Yongping 永平 period of Emperor Ming, Yongping 3, is usually described as 60 AD. Western-style dates of the first and last days of each Chinese year appear at the beginning of the relevant sections of the chronicle.

My translations of official titles are based upon the renderings given by Hans Bielenstein, particularly in *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*. For his part, Bielenstein generally accepts the system devised by Dubs for his translation of *The History of the*

Former Han Dynasty by Pan Ku. In the first edition of this work, published in 1996, I followed the Dubs-Bielenstein system very closely, but in compiling *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms* I found some renderings unduly clumsy and sometimes confusing, so I developed some shorter and more systematic variants which I have used in the present publication; major changes are noted and cross-referenced in the Index.

THE REIGN OF EMPEROR GUANGWU¹

*The Restoration of the Han dynasty:*²

Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, was born in 5 BC in Chenliu, where his father was a county magistrate. Though the family claimed descent from Emperor Jing of Former Han, and some members had held fiefs, they were essentially no more than prosperous local gentry of Nanyang commandery.

Wang Mang, leader of a great family of imperial relatives by marriage, was at this time developing his authority in the government, and in 9 AD he formally deposed the infant Liu Ying, nominal heir of Han, and proclaimed himself emperor of a new Xin dynasty. There was some resistance and attempts at insurrection by members of the Liu clan, but they were put down without difficulty, and as Liu Xiu came of age he was chiefly occupied with the administration of his family estates.

By 15 AD, however, Wang Mang's "usurping" regime was faced with increasing problems. The Yellow River had burst its banks in 11 AD, flooding much of the North China plain, and this disaster was accompanied by plagues of locusts. As the government could offer no adequate assistance, many people were forced from their homes and gathered in bands for self-protection. By the early 20s such troops were numbered in the tens of thousands, challenging the structures of local power, and in 22 the main horde, known as the Red Eyebrows, was strong enough to defeat imperial armies.

At the same time, moreover, Wang Mang's mistaken policies on the northern frontier had led him into a major quarrel with the Shanyu of the Xiongnu, nominal tributary of Han. He was obliged to raise a great army on the frontier, and while the troops remained on indefinite station they were a drain upon the economy and a distraction from troubles within the empire.

As disturbance on the North China plain spread south to the region of the Yangzi, more bandit groups were formed, and when the so-called Troops from the Lower Yangzi moved west into the middle basin of that river, two local bands rose to join them. And at this point the Liu clan of Nanyang, dispossessed kin of the former imperial lineage, joined with other Han loyalists in alliance with the bandit troops to rebel against the now weakened power of Wang Mang.

The enterprise was initially unsuccessful, but in the summer of 23 the revived Han forces were able to lay siege to the city of Wan, capital of Nanyang and proclaimed their own emperor. Wan city was taken, and after the rebels had gained a major success at

¹ Bielenstein, *RHD* I-IV, provides a thorough discussion of the rise to power of Liu Xiu and the nature of his government. DeC, *LH3K*, has an account of his life at 557-566, with a survey of events at this time at xvi-xxx.

² Bielenstein, *RHD* I, has a detailed account of Liu Xiu's family background and the loyalist rebellion which destroyed Wang Mang.

Kunyang in Yingchuan their armies continued to advance. In the winter of that year Chang'an was taken and Wang Mang was killed.

Liu Xiu's elder brother Liu Bosheng had been a founder and leader of the enterprise, but he did not live to enjoy its success. The commoner troops at the core of the alliance chose his cousin Liu Xuan as their imperial candidate, to be known from his reign-title as the Gengshi Emperor. Liu Xuan had had Liu Bosheng killed soon after the victory at Kunyang and, his main rival thus eliminated, he now established a restored Han dynasty at the former capital.

*Civil war:*³

Liu Xiu had been slow to join his brother's enterprise, but in the winter of 22 he played a role in consolidating an alliance with another family group, and he was later engaged in the battle at Kunyang. Despite the circumstances of his brother's rejection and death, he maintained a relationship with Liu Xuan and the leaders of the peasant Troops, and as the new regime was established at Chang'an Liu Xiu was north sent as a commissioner to Ji province. There was a local rebellion in the winter of 23, but the disturbance had been crushed by the following summer and Liu Xiu held a strong position. He developed his power further by dealing with various bandit groups, including some groups of Red Eyebrows, and incorporate many of them into his own following: as often in civil war, many rebels and bandits were seeking little more than a secure and successful leader to whom they could offer allegiance.

In the mean time Liu Xuan the Gengshi Emperor had been trapped in Chang'an by the main forces of the Red Eyebrows and by the peasant leaders who now turned against him. He was obliged to surrender at the end of 25 – but Liu Xiu, realizing the situation, had already taken the imperial title for himself and proclaimed his own reign period of Jianwu 建武 "Establishing Military Authority." He was thirty years old.

There followed another ten years of fighting, during which Liu Xiu and his forces steadily expanded and consolidated their territory. The Red Eyebrows were faced and defeated as they attempted to break out from Chang'an, and many were resettled about the new imperial capital Luoyang. It took five years to eliminate opposing groups and rivals across the North China plain and the middle Yangzi, with occasional setbacks due to mutiny or rebellion, but by 30 AD these territories had been brought to submission, and the marginal regions of the lower Yangzi and the far south fell into line. In the northwest, Wei Ao of the upper Wei valley presented further opposition, but Guangwu was aided by the accession of Dou Rong, warlord of the further northwest and the Gansu corridor, and that of Ma Yuan, also a local magnate, who became one of Guangwu's chief generals. Wei Ao was eliminated in 33, and the separatist regime of Gongsun Shu in present-day Sichuan, with his capital at Chengdu, was finally conquered in 36.

Non-Chinese peoples and the frontiers:

In 40 AD the Zheng [Tr'ung] sisters led a rebellion in the north of present-day Vietnam. It was put down by Ma Yuan in 43, but inside imperial territory a more intractable problem

³ Bielenstein, *RHD* II, has a detailed account of the warfare which followed the destruction of Wang Mang.

was presented by the non-Chinese hills people of Wuling, east of present-day Dongting Lake in Hunan, who rebelled in 48. The territory was difficult of access, a major army was defeated, and though there was eventual success in 49, the region continued to be troublesome throughout the dynasty, exacerbated by the steady migration of Han people to the south and the pressure which this movement placed upon the original inhabitants. For the most part, however, such colonisation caused only local resentment, and that could be dealt with by local authority.⁴

The situation in the north, however, was very different. Trouble with the Qiang people of the northwest during the 30s had put down by Ma Yuan, but steady numbers of Chinese left the region to seek easier conditions in the south, and Ma Yuan's policy of bringing surrendered Qiang to settle within the frontiers would bring trouble later.⁵

The Xiongnu were of more immediate concern. The Shanyu Yu, enemy of Wang Mang, had supported the pretender emperor Lu Fang in the region of the northern loop of the Yellow River, and though Lu Fang was eventually driven to take refuge with his sponsor in 42 the Xiongnu continued to press their own attacks. Imperial troops could make no headway against them, so large areas were abandoned and the northern plain was obliged to rely upon a network of hastily constructed walls.

Fortunately for China, the Shanyu Yu died in 46, and even as the steppe suffered from drought the state fell into a succession dispute. At the end of 49, resentful at being excluded from the succession, the prince Bi claimed title as Shanyu. He had no success against his established rival, however, and took refuge in the Ordos region under Chinese protection. In 50 he was established in a puppet court in Xihe, with an undertaking to assist in the defence of the borders of Han.⁶

This division of their enemy allowed imperial forces to re-occupy all but the most distant territories which had been held by the Former dynasty. The Northern Xiongnu were no longer a major threat, and their eastern neighbours on the steppe, the Wuhuan and the Xianbi in the east, became at least nominal allies, with subsidies to encourage their loyalty. From further afield, various tribal states of Korea sent tribute, and in the last year of his life Guangwu received a mission from a ruler of distant Japan.⁷

Government and the court:

The government of Emperor Guangwu restored most of the structures and systems of Former Han. In the empire at large, the territories of the provinces and commanderies were largely the same, and previous arrangements for local administration were maintained. There were two major changes: control of salt and iron was removed from the central government and given to local authorities; and the Former Han system of conscription and military training was ended for all except the commanderies of the frontier. Though men could be called up for emergency service, they were not formally skilled in weapons. The

⁴ On Han migration south of the Yangzi see, *inter alia*, Chapter One of deC, *Generals of the South*; on the Wuling rebellion, see Bielenstein, *RHD III*, 67-73.

⁵ Dealings with the Qiang are discussed by deC, *Northern Frontier*, 68-75, and Bielenstein, *RHD III*, 136-139 [as Tibetans].

⁶ The relations between Wang Mang and then Guangwu with the Xiongnu are discussed by Bielenstein, *RHD III*, 101-122, and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 194-242.

⁷ *HHS 85/75:2821*; Tsunoda/Goodrich, *Japan*, 7. The text is not noted by *ZZTJ*.

threat of internal rebellion was reduced, but levies from the interior of the empire were now of limited value in dealing with foreign incursions. Henceforth the defence of China would rely largely upon professional fighting men, paid for by scutage, reinforced by convict conscripts and aided by non-Chinese auxiliaries, Wuhuan, Qiang and Southern Xiongnu.

At the court and capital, the system of ministries, offices and secretaries was largely that of Former Han, but the highest level of government was no longer controlled by a single Chancellor responsible to the emperor. Instead, following an initiative from the end of the Former dynasty, there was a triumvirate of three Excellencies, each with rough equivalence of power. For a strong and active ruler, this was convenient and practicable, but it was less successful when the throne was occupied by a man less competent or interested. The Imperial Secretariat, moreover, which had authority to receive reports and prepare decrees and orders, gained greatly from its access to the sovereign; though lower in rank, an energetic Director of the Secretariat could exercise influence comparable to that of an Excellency.

Local landed gentry provided the vast majority of the officials who governed the empire. Social status and economic power ensured that men of family received the education which qualified them for clerical positions in the county, commandery or provincial administrations, and they could likewise be nominated for commissioned office in the imperial service. The magistrates, administrators and inspectors who controlled the major units of local government were commissioned officials, appointed by the capital from regions other than the one that they ruled, but of similar background and interest. So there was a natural sympathy between the heads of government in the provinces and the local gentry leaders of their communities, and the imperial government made repeated and generally unsuccessful efforts to interrupt this natural alliance. Even at the beginning of the dynasty, Emperor Guangwu had great difficulty in establishing a proper land survey for taxation purposes,⁸ largely due to the reluctance of local officials to enforce regulations against men of their own class and kind, and the situation did not improve over the years.

At the same time, like the Wang clan at the end of Former Han, some families held political influence through their relationship to the throne. Guangwu's first empress, the Lady Guo Shengtong, came from a leading family of the north at a time when he needed support in that region; his second, Yin Lihua, was a woman from his home country of Nanyang. In subsequent reigns, however, only a few families were accepted as suitable for marriage with the imperial house: they included the kinfolk of Deng Yu, an early comrade of Guangwu, of Dou Rong the warlord ally in the northwest, and of the leading general Ma Yuan, together with the Liang family of Anding, and the Geng and the Song of Youfufeng. Of thirteen empresses from the early first century to the end of the second, eleven came from these aristocratic clans, and their prestige, contacts and patronage gave these relatives by marriage an authority beyond even the highest official families of the empire.

The contest at court and in the harem was never easy and could be dangerous, but the rewards could be great, and in some circumstances an imperial consort and her family

⁸ See, for example, Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 136-137. The situation improved later, but tax collection was always difficult: deC, *Fire*, 194-198.

could obtain the highest power. When an emperor died, his widow became empress-dowager (*huang taihou* 皇太后) and it was recognised by precedent from Former Han that if the heir was under-age, the dowager acted as regent. In addition, if the ruler died without formally naming his heir, the dowager had the right to choose any of his sons for the succession. If he had left no sons, the dowager could choose any member of the imperial clan, with no concern for seniority. This rule did not have immediate effect, but from the accession of Liu Zhao, Emperor He, in 88, to that of Liu Xie, Emperor Xian, in 189, every sovereign of Later Han came to the throne as a minor and was subject to regency government.

In 57 AD, however, second year of the Middle Beginning of his Establishing Military Authority reign-period, such matters lay well in the future. After more than thirty years Liu Xiu had well earned his imperial honour: the empire was largely at peace and the frontiers under control; the nation was recovering steadily from the disruption brought by Wang Mang and the civil war which had followed; and Liu Xiu himself had been able to offer triumphant sacrifices at sacred Mount Tai to confirm his imperial Mandate before Heaven and Man. As sovereign ruler, Liu Xiu had dismissed his first consort the Lady Guo and replaced her with his Empress Yin; and he had likewise deposed his son Liu Qiang, born to the Lady Guo, from his former position as Heir and set his new empress' son Liu Zhuang in his place. His authority in that regard was absolute, and with a mature and competent successor his restored dynasty of Han could look to the future with a high degree of hope and expectation.

TABLES

I

THE EMPERORS OF HAN

PART I: FORMER HAN⁹

<i>Dynastic name</i>	<i>personal name</i>	<i>acceded</i>	<i>died</i>
Gao 高 ¹⁰	Ji 季/Bang 邦 ¹¹	202	195
Hui 惠 ¹²	Ying 盈	195	188
[Empress-Dowager Lü 呂 of Emperor Gao] ¹³		187	180
Wen 文	Heng 恆	180	157
Jing 景	Qi 啓	157	141
Wu 武	Che 徹	141	87
Zhao 昭	Fuling 弗陵	87	74
Xuan 宣	Bingyi 病已	74	49
Yuan 元	Shi 奭	49	33
Cheng 成	Ao 驚	33	7
Ai 哀	Xin 欣	7	1
Ping 平	Jizi 箕子; later Kan 衍	1 BC	AD 6
[Wang Mang 王莽]		AD 6/9 ¹⁴	AD 23

⁹ All dates in Part I are BC unless otherwise specified.

¹⁰ The first emperor of Han is commonly referred to as Gaozu 高祖, a combination of his dynastic title Gao "High" and his temple name Taizu 太祖 "Grand Founder."

¹¹ The personal name/*agnomen* of Emperor Gao was Ji, a generic name for the third or a younger son. To avoid problems of taboo for his subjects, who were required to avoid the personal name of their ruler, he used his style/*praenomen* Bang "Nation/State" after he had taken the throne. See Nienhauser, *GSR* II, 1-2 note 3.

¹² The posthumous dynastic names of all emperors of Han except the two founders Gaozu and Guangwu had the prefix *Xiao* 孝 "Filial." It is customary to ignore this common factor.

¹³ Formally speaking, the Dowager Lü of Emperor Gao exercised her power on behalf of two puppet emperors, *Shaodi* "Little Emperor" Gong 少帝弘 and *Shaodi* Hong 恭, putative sons of Emperor Hui by concubines.

¹⁴ Wang Mang initially took title as "Acting" 假 or "Regent" 攝 Emperor on behalf of the infant Liu Ying 劉嬰 (AD 5-25), who was declared Heir in AD 6, but never reigned. In 9 Wang Mang demoted Liu Ying and proclaimed his own Xin 新 dynasty.

PART II: LATER HAN¹⁵

<i>Dynastic name</i>	<i>personal name</i>	<i>born</i>	<i>acceded</i>	<i>died</i>
Gengshi 更始 Emperor	Xuan 玄	[?]	11 Mar 23	Dec 25
Guangwu 光武	Xiu 秀	5 BC	5 Aug 25	29 Mar 57
Ming 明	Zhuang 莊 ¹⁶	28	29 Mar 57	5 Sep 75
Zhang 章	Da 烜	57	5 Sep 75	9 Apr 88
He 和	Zhao 肇	79	9 Apr 88	13 Feb 106
Shang 殤 "Young" ¹⁷	Long 隆	105	13 Feb 106	21 Sep 106
An 安	You 祐 ¹⁸	94	23 Sep 106	30 Apr 125
Shao 少 "Little" ¹⁹	Yi 懿	[?]	18 May 125	10 Dec 125
Shun 順	Bao 保	115	16 Dec 125	20 Sep 144
Chong 沖	Bing 炳	143	20 Sep 144	15 Feb 145
Zhi 質	Zuan 纘	138	6 Mar 145	26 Jul 146
Huan 桓	Zhi 志	132	1 Aug 146	25 Jan 168
Ling 靈	Hong 宏	156	17 Feb 168	13 May 189
Shao 少 "Little" ²⁰	Bian 辯	176	15 May 189	26 Mar 190
Xian 獻 ²¹	Xie 協	181	28 Sep 189	21 April 234

¹⁵ All dates in Part II are AD unless otherwise specified.

¹⁶ Emperor Ming initially had the personal name Yang 陽, but it was changed after he became Heir in 43.

¹⁷ Liu Long reigned for just over seven months, but his reign commenced in one Chinese year and ended in another: *cf.* Liu Yi and Liu Bian; notes 36 and 37 below. The term *Shang* "Young" describes such a minor ruler; it was not strictly a dynastic title.

¹⁸ *HHS* 5:203 has the given name of the Emperor An as You 祐, but the Qing commentator Hui Dong 惠棟, cited in *HHSJJ* 5:195, observes that the *Shuowen* dictionary identifies the character 祐 *hu* as the taboo personal name of the emperor, so *HHS* is mistaken. Most scholars, however, still follow *HHS*, and I accept the common form.

¹⁹ Liu Yi reigned for less than seven months, and his reign was confined within a single Chinese year: *cf.* Liu Long in note 9 above. The term *Shao* "Little" describes such a minor ruler; it was not strictly a dynastic title.

²⁰ On 28 September 189 Dong Zhuo deposed Liu Bian in favour of his half-brother Liu Xie. He had therefore reigned for less than four months and – like Liu Yi above – his reign was confined within a single year: *cf.* Liu Long and note 9 above.

²¹ On 25 November 200 Liu Xie abdicated the throne in favour of Cao Pi 曹丕, ruler of Wei. He was then styled Duke of Shanyang 山陽公 until his death, but was awarded posthumous title as an emperor of Han.

II

TABLE OF EVENTS 57-91 AD

CHAPTER 44

Zhongyuan 2: 57

Inauguration of the Northern Altar at Luoyang by Emperor Guangwu	1428 ²²	1
Death of Emperor Guangwu	1428	1
Accession of Liu Zhuang, Emperor Ming	1429	3
Emperor Ming's brother Liu Jing attempts a coup	1429	3-4
The Qiang leader Dianyu troubles the western frontier	1430	6

Yongping 1: 58

Defeat of the Qiang in the west	1432	10
Liu Jing, brother of the emperor, again considers rebellion; he is exiled to the distant fief of Guangling	1432	10
Zhai Tong in Liaodong has the Xianbi defeat the Wuhuan	1432	11
Liu Cang, brother and close adviser to the emperor, recommends rituals for the restored dynasty, including the new ancestral Temple to Emperor Guangwu	1433	11

Yongping 2: 59

Inaugural ceremonies at the Sacred Hall and the Hall of the Circular Moat: Great Archery and Entertaining the Aged	1433-34	13-15
Imperial tour to Chang'an	1436	17-18
Dou Rong and his family out of favour	1436	18-19

Yongping 3: 60

Appointment of the Lady Ma as Empress	1437	20
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CHAPTER 45

Yongping 4: 61

The Northern Xiongnu extend their influence in the Western Regions	1443	29
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Yongping 5: 62

Imperial tour to Ye in Wei commandery	1443	31
Northern Xiongnu raids in the north repelled	1444	31
program to encourage people who had withdrawn from the frontier to return to their former homes	1444	31
Disgrace of the Dou family	1444	32

Yongping 6: 63

Imperial tour to Lu on the North China plain	1445	34
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Yongping 7: 64

Northern Xiongnu raids on the frontier; the emperor approves a trade agreement in the hope of halting them	1445	35
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²² The first column gives the relevant page of *Zizhi tongjian* in the Beijing edition; the second column gives the pagination of the current translation.

Yongping 8: 65

Establishment of the Trans-Liao command north of the Ordos; conscription of reprieved convicts to serve there	1446-47	38
Emperor Ming praises Liu Ying's concern for Buddhism	1447	39
Continued trouble with the Northern Xiongnu	1448-49	41-42

Yongping 9: 66

Establishment of the Palace School for Noble Families	1450	44
Liu Jing the King of Guangling, brother of the emperor, again considers rebellion; it is recommended he be executed	1450	44-46

Yongping 10: 67

Liu Jing kills himself	1450	47
Imperial tour to Nan commandery	1450-51	47-48

Yongping 11: 68**Yongping 12: 69**

Accession of the Ailao people in the far southwest	1452	51
After more than sixty years of flooding across the northern plain, the Yellow River is at last being brought under control	1452-53	51-53
General prosperity across the empire	1453	53

Yongping 13: 70

The work to control the Yellow River flooding is completed	1453	54
The emperor makes a tour to inspect the work	1453	54
The emperor's brother Liu Ying, King of Chu, meets with men of magic; accused of plotting treason, he is demoted and exiled south of the Yangzi	1454	55

Yongping 14: 71

Liu Ying kills himself; the "affair of Chu" leads to widespread arrests and persecution	1454-57	56-60
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Yongping 15: 72

Imperial tour across the North China plain	1457-58	62-63
Enfeoffments of the sons of Emperor Ming	1458	63-64
The emperor approves an attack on the Northern Xiongnu	1459	66

Yongping 16: 73

A great campaign against the Northern Xiongnu achieves limited success, but occupies the territory of Yiwulu [Hami]	1459-60	67-69
Ban Chao is sent as an imperial agent to the Western Regions; he establishes authority in Shanshan	1460-61	69-71
Ban Chao is sent on a second mission and establishes control over Yutian and other states of the Southern Road	1461-62	71-72
Liu Yan, the King of Hanyang, half-brother of the emperor, is accused of treasonous conduct; he is demoted and exiled south of the Huai; another extensive inquisition is held	1462	72-73
The Northern Xiongnu attack Yunzhong, but are driven away	1463	73

Yongping 17: 74

A second accession [very large but probably exaggerated] of non-Chinese people in the far southwest	1464	75-76
Ban Chao takes control of Western Regions state of Shule	1464-65	76
A Chinese army defeats the Northern Xiongnu and compels the rulers of Nearer and Further Jushi to submit	1465-66	77-78
Establishment of the office of the Protector-General of the Western Regions	1466	78-79

Yongping 18: 75

A counter-attack by the Northern Xiongnu regains Further Jushi and besieges the local garrison commanded by Geng Gong	1466-67	80-81
Death of Emperor Ming	1467	81
Accession of Liu Da, Emperor Zhang	1469	82
The Western Region states of Yanqi and Qiuqi destroy the Chinese Protectorate	1469	84
As the Northern Xiongnu press the siege of Geng Gong, the court eventually resolves to send help	1469-70	84-85
The brothers of the Empress-Dowager Ma increase their influence	1470	86

CHAPTER 46

Jianchu 1: 76

Drought across the North China plain; rations issued to those in need	1472	88
Driving the Northern Xiongnu away, Chinese forces re-take Nearer Jushi and relieve the remnants of Geng Gong's garrison in the Further state	1474	91
Ban Chao is recalled from the Western Regions but local people persuade him to remain	1475	92
A proposal to restore the system of county establishments at the imperial tombs is rejected; influence of the emperor's uncle Liu Cang	1475-76	93-94
Rebellion among the Ailao people of Yongchang commandery in the far southwest	1476	95
Further accusations against the emperor's uncle Liu Yan; he is demoted from king to be marquis of a single county	1476	95

Jianchu 2: 77

The territory of Yiwulu is abandoned and re-occupied by the Northern Xiongnu	1477	97
The Ailao rebellion in the southwest is put down by local troops and allied tribes of non-Chinese	1477	97
End of the persecution of those alleged to have been involved in the treasonous plotting of Liu Ying and Liu Yan in Chu and Hanyang	1477	97
The emperor wishes to enfeoff the brothers of the Dowager Ma, but she dissuades him	1477-79	97-102

Jianchu 2: 77 [continued]

Rebellion and raiding by the Qiang people under the Shaodang leader Miyu in alliance with the Fengyang tribe	1481	104-105
Two daughters of the disgraced Dou Xun enter the imperial harem	1482	106

Jianchu 3: 78

The Qiang leader Buqiao is defeated and several tribes surrender	1483	108
The Honoured Lady Dou is proclaimed Empress	1483	109
Ban Chao leads allied states to attack Gumo in the Western Regions	1484	110
Rebellion in Wuling commandery	1484	110

Jianchu 4: 79

The imperial son Liu Qing, born to the Honoured Lady Song, is named Heir	1484	111
The brothers of the Dowager Ma are granted fiefs; the dowager objects: they keep their fiefs but resign their offices	1484-85	111-112
Death of the Dowager Ma	1485	112
Imperial Conference on Confucian learning at the White Tiger Hall	1486	113-114

Jianchu 5: 80

The rebellion in Wuling is put down by local troops	1486	115
Ban Chao puts forward a plan to take over all the Western Regions; Emperor Zhang approves	1487-88	115-117

Jianchu 6: 81**Jianchu 7: 82**

The imperial Heir Liu Qing is dismissed on account of allegations against his mother the Honoured Lady Song; he is replaced by Liu Zhao, son of the Honoured Lady Liang but foster-child of the Empress Dao	1489	121-122
Imperial tour to Henei and Wei commandery	1490-91	123-124
Imperial tour to Chang'an	1491	124-125

Jianchu 8: 83

Thirty thousand Northern Xiongnu come to surrender at Wuwei	1491	126
Imperial tour of the North China plain	1491	126
The Liang family is accused of treason and disgraced; the Lady Liang, mother of the Heir Liu Zhao, "dies of grief"	1492	127
The Ma family of the late Empress-Dowager is disgraced	1492	128
The Dou family of the empress rises in favour and influence	1492-93	129
Dou Xian is reprimanded and disgraced for cheating a princess	1493-94	129-130
Difficulties with the arrogant conduct of the Dou family	1494	131-132
Ban Chao appointed as Chief Clerk in Command of Troops in the Western Regions	1494	132
Construction of an internal land route for communication with the far south, avoiding the dangers of the coastal sea voyage	1495	134-135
Widespread drought in the northern border regions; official granaries distribute grain to the poor	1495	135

Yuanhe 1: 84

An edict restricts the application of the bastinado in questioning and limits criminal court cases to autumn and winter	1497	138
Imperial tour to the south	1497	138-139
Reduction in the penalty of proscription from office for kinsmen of those found guilty of criminal conduct	1499	142
The Northern Xiongnu seek peaceful trade; this is approved, but Southern raiders raid the Northern caravans	1500	143-144
Ban Chao attacks Suoju [Yarkand]	1500	144

CHAPTER 47

Yuanhe 2: 85

As the Northern Xiongnu are weak and surrounded by enemies, seventy-three chieftains bring their people to submit to Han	1502	146
Reform of the calendar	1502	146
Imperial tour of the North China plain	1502-03	147-150
The Southern Xiongnu attack the North at Zhuoye Mountain	1504	151
The Northern Shanyu complains of the Southern attacks on their trading parties; after debate, the Han court agrees to ransom prisoners and pay blood money for the dead	1504-05	152

Yuanhe 3: 86

Imperial tour to the north	1505	153-154
Criticism of Dou Xian's increasing influence at court	1505-06	154-155
Imperial tour to Hedong	1506-07	156
Brief raiding by the Shaodang Qiang led by Miyu	1507	156
Ban Chao traps and kills the king of Suoju and defeats his troops; the Southern Road is now largely under control	1507	156
A reduction in the severity of more than forty legal penalties	1507	157
The Academician Cao Bao urges a general reform of ceremonial	1508	157

Zhanghe 1: 87

Cao Bao receives an imperial commission to revise official ritual and ceremonies	1508	158
The Protector Fu Yu attacks the Shaodang Qiang but is defeated and killed by the chieftain Miyu; he is replaced by Zhang Yu	1508-09	158
The Xianbi defeat the Northern Xiongnu and kill their Shanyu	1509	159
The Qiang leader Miyu is defeated and comes to submit; but after he and many of his followers are treacherously killed by the Protector Zhang Yu, his son Mitang continues the war	1509	159-160
Imperial tour to the southeast	1510	159-160
As the Northern Xiongnu fall into confusion, hundreds of thousands come to the frontier to submit	1510	162
Cao Bao presents his New Rituals to the throne; the document is received but not formally endorsed	1510	163
Ban Chao captures Suoju; he now influences all the Western Regions	1511	163

Zhanghe 2: 88

Criticism of the emperor for excessive generosity to his family and his ministers in time of drought and flood and for allowing royal kinsmen to stay over-long at the capital	1511-12	164-166
Death of Emperor Zhang	1513	166
The Heir Liu Zhao takes the throne at the age of ten <i>sui</i> ; the Empress-Dowager Dou holds regency power; her brother Dou Xian exercises authority and her other brothers have office and influence	1513	167
Ending of the state monopolies on salt and iron	1514	171
As the Northern Xiongnu are in disarray, the Southern Shanyu proposes an expedition to restore the unified state; the plan meets with some opposition at the Han court	1515	171-173
Dou Xian arranges the murder of Liu Chang, associate of the dowager; his involvement is revealed and he is arrested	1516-17	173-175
The regent dowager appoints Dou Xian to command the expedition against the Northern Xiongnu	1517	175
Deng Xun replaces Zhang Yu as Protector of the Qiang; he supports the Little Yuezhi against attack by Mitang; Mitang withdraws beyond the frontier	1517-18	175-176

Yongyuan 1: 89

Mitang is again defeated and withdraws far to the west; other Qiang tribes submit to Deng Xun	1518-19	177
Strong opposition at court to Dou Xian and the attack on the Northern Xiongnu, rejected by the regent dowager	1519-20	177-179
Further protests against the Dou likewise rejected and punished	1520-21	179-181
Successful attack on the Northern Xiongnu: the Shanyu is driven away to the northwest and Dou Xian leads his army to their former homeland by Mount Yanren	1521-22	181-182
The Northern Shanyu agrees to surrender, but Dou Xian rejects his hostage	1522	182-183
Dou Xian appointed General-in-Chief, with rank above the Excellencies ;his brothers abuse power at the capital	1522-23	183

Yongyuan 2: 90

Chinese forces re-occupy the territory of Yiwulu, and the rulers of Nearer and Further Jushi submit and sent hostages	1525	188
The Great Yuezhi [Kushans] attack Ban Chao in the Western Regions, but he defeats their army by guarding the local grain supply	1525	189-190
The Dowager Dou creates an extravagant tomb for her grandfather Liu Yan, King of Donghai	1526	189-190
The Northern Shanyu again asks to surrender, but is attacked and defeated by a raiding party from the South	1526	192-193

Yongyuan 3: 91

Emperor He takes that Cap of Manhood in accordance with the New Rituals devised by Cao Bao; he is now formally of age and entitled to rule without a regency	1527	194
Dou Xian orders a final attack on the North; the Shanyu is driven away "no-one knew where"	1527	194
Dou Xian holds great authority and influence, but is resented and opposed by many senior officials; they are silenced	1527	195-196
Imperial tour to Chang'an, where the emperor receives Dou Xian	1528	196
As the Western Region states of Qiuzi, Gumo and Wensu submit to Ban Chao, the office of Protector-General is revived for him	1529	197
Yuchujian, younger brother of the defeated Northern Shanyu, claims the title in his stead	1529	197
Dou Xian recommends Yuchujian be recognised; though many at court argue the Xiongnu state should be united under the Southern ally of Han, his policy is approved	1529	198-199

III

IMPERIAL OFFICIALS OF THE LATER HAN DYNASTY

The table which follows is concerned with the major offices of the imperial government and those mentioned most frequently in the *Zizhi tongjian* chronicle for this period.

Chief authority for the administrative structure of Later Han is the Treatise of Officials (百官志 *boguan zhi*) of *HHS* 114/24-118/28, discussed in detail by Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*.

Renderings of official titles are those used in *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms* [LH3K]. The system follows that of Bielenstein, based upon H H Dubs in his *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, with some adjustments for clarity and brevity. A more detailed survey is given in LH3K at 1216 to 1241, and a summary is provided by *An Outline of the Administration of the Later Han Empire* in the OpenResearch edition of *Emperor Huan and Emperor Ling* at xvii-xxiv, companion piece to the present publication.

The rank of an official was expressed in terms of his official salary in *shi* 石 "bushels" of grain; one *shi* was just less than twenty litres. In practice, the amount was paid partly in cash and partly in grain, and varied with time and circumstance: see, for example, Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 125-131. The nominal figure, however, identified a formal hierarchy.

The highest rank was that of the Three Excellencies at Ten Thousand *shi* (萬石 *wanshi*), followed by Fully Two Thousand *shi* (中二千石 *zhong erqian shi*) Two Thousand *shi* (二千石 *erqian shi*), Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi* (比二千石 *bi erqian shi*), One Thousand *shi* and on down. Where appropriate, figures in square brackets [] indicate this rank/salary.

A IN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

THE THREE EXCELLENCIES (三公 *SANGONG*) [10,000]

Grand Commandant (太尉 *taiwei*)

Excellency over the Masses (司徒 *situ*)

Excellency of Works (司空 *sikong*)

and Grand Tutor (太傅 *taifu*): appointed for life at the beginning of each reign

THE NINE MINISTERS (九卿 *JIUQING*) [FULLY 2000]

Minister of Ceremonies (太常 *taichang*)

responsible for imperial temples and tombs, altars and ceremonies

subordinates included:

Court Astronomer (太史令 *taishi ling*) [600]

Academicians (博士 *boshi*) [Eq.600] at the Imperial University (太學 *taixue*)

Minister of the Household (光祿勳 *guangluxun*)

responsible for guarding the emperor within the public areas of the palace

and outside; also for members of the imperial court

subordinates included:

Counsellors (大夫 *dafu*):

Household Counsellors (光祿 *guanglu dafu*) [Eq. 2000]

Palace Counsellors (太中 *taizhong dafu*) [1000]

Attendant Counsellors (中散 *zhongsan dafu*) [600]

Counsellors Remonstrant (諫議 *jianyi dafu*) [600]

Consultants (議郎 *yilang*) [600]

- Commandants (都尉 *duwei*) [Eq.2000]:
 Commandants of Cavalry (騎 *ji duwei*),
 Commandants of Attendant Cavalry (鮒騎 *fujū duwei*)
 Commandants of the Equipage (奉車 *fengju duwei*)
- Generals of the Household (中郎將 *zhonglang jiang*) [Eq.2000]:
 GofH for All Purposes (五官 *wuguan zhonglang jiang*)
 GofH of the Left (左 *zuo*)
 GofH of the Right (右 *you*)
 each in charge of Gentlemen (郎 *lang*) [Eq.300> Eq.400> Eq.600]
 on probation for commission in the imperial civil service
 GofH Rapid as a Tiger (虎賁 *huben*)
 GofH of the Feathered Forest (羽林 *yulin*),
 each in charge of officer cadets serving as guards on imperial property
- Internuncios (謁者 *yezhe*): *see under* Imperial Agencies *below*
- Minister of the Guards** (衛尉 *weiwei*)
responsible for: guards at the gates and walls of the imperial palaces
subordinates included:
 Majors (司馬 *sima*) [1000], in charge of each gate to the imperial palaces
 Prefects of the Guards (衛士令 *weishi ling*) [600]
 for the Northern Palace and for the Southern Palace
 Prefect of the Majors [at the Gates] for Official Carriages
 (公車門司馬令 *gongju [men] sima ling*) [600]
- Minister Coachman** (太僕 *taipu*)
responsible for: the carriages and horses of the imperial stables and
 supply of cavalry mounts from horse-parks (馬苑 *mayuan*) of the northwest
- Minister of Justice** (廷尉 *tingwei*)
responsible for: the administration of justice
subordinate offices included: an Imperial Prison (詔獄 *zhaoyu*) at Luoyang²³
- Minister Herald** (大鴻臚 *dahonglu*)
responsible for: visitors to the imperial capital, including members of the
 imperial clan, messengers from provinces and commanderies, and non-
 Chinese embassies; maintaining order at court ceremonies and sacrifices
subordinate offices included: a bureau of interpreters
- Minister of the Imperial Clan** (宗正 *zong zheng*)
responsible for: supervision of all members of the extended imperial family
- Minister of Finance** (大司農 *da sinong*)
responsible for: the government treasury and stores; financial policy
- Minister Steward** (少府 *shaofu*)
responsible for: all aspects of the emperor's personal life
subordinates included:
 Court Physician (太醫令 *taiyi ling*) [600]
 Court Provisioner (太官令 *taiguan ling*) [600]

²³ There were two imperial prisons at Luoyang: one, as here, was under the authority of the Minister of Justice; the other, listed below, was under the Prefect of Luoyang. There appears to have been no significant difference between the clientele of the two institutions; incarceration in one or the other depended on circumstances and availability of space.

Minister Steward [continued]*subordinates included:*

- Insignia and Credentials, Prefect (符節令 *fujie ling*)
responsible for issuing official seals and other emblems of authority
- Prefect of the Shanglin hunting park (上林令 *shanglin ling*) [600]
 and offices of other hunting grounds and pleasure parks
- Imperial libraries (祕書 *bi/mishu*):
 Orchid Terrace (蘭臺 *lantai*), headquarters of the Censorate:
see Imperial Agencies *below*
- Eastern Pavilion (東觀 *dongguan*)
 Hall of All-Embracing Brightness (宣名殿 *xuanming dian*)
 Stone House (石室 *shishi*)
- supernumerary appointments:*
 Palace Attendants (侍中 *shizhong*) [2000 *or* Eq.2000]
 Gentlemen at the Yellow Gates (黃門侍郎 *huangmen shilang*) [600]
 officials Serving within the Yellow Gates (給事黃門 *jishi huangmen*)
 officials Serving within the Palace (給事中 *jishi zhong*)
- Imperial Secretariat (尚書 *shangshu*): *see* Imperial Agencies *below*
 Imperial Harem and Private Apartments *see below*

OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS

Bearer of the Mace (執金吾 *zhijinwu*) [Eq.2000]

responsible for police in the city of Luoyang outside the imperial palaces

Colonel of the City Gates (城門校尉 *chengmen xiaowei*) Eq.2000]

responsible for garrisons at each of the twelve gates of the capital

Court Architect (將作大匠 *jiangzuo dajiang*) [2000]

responsible for the construction, maintenance and repair of imperial and official buildings, and for roads about the capital

subordinates included:

Prefect of the Enclosure of the Left (左校令 *zuoxiao ling*)

Prefect of the Enclosure of the Right (右校令 *youxiao ling*)

in charge of convict labourers

Director of Retainers (司隸校尉 *sili xiaowei*) [Eq.2000]²⁴

responsible for the capital province, comprising the seven commanderies Henan, Henei and Hedong, Hongnong, Jingzhao, Youfufeng and Zuopingyi

subordinates included

Intendant (尹 *yin*) of Henan 河南 commandery [2000]

responsibilities included

general civil administration of the capital commandery;

transport to the capital from the Ao Granary 敖倉 in Rongyang 滎陽 county, twenty-five kilometres east of the capital

subordinates included

Chief of the Markets of Luoyang (洛陽市長 *Luoyang shuzhang*) [400]²⁵

²⁴ Beside general administrative powers comparable to their counter-parts in regular local government across the empire (Section B below), the Director of Retainers and his subordinates had authority to supervise imperial officials and members of the imperial family.

²⁵ See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 58-59, and *Bureaucracy*, 88; also deC, *Fire*, 48-50

Prefect (令 *ling*) of Luoyang 洛陽 county [1000]

subordinate offices included

Watch-houses (亭 *ting*) controlling the walled Wards (里 *li*)

an Imperial Prison (詔獄 *zhaoyu*)²⁶

The duties of these officials were comparable to those of regular local government, as at xxxi below, but they were given greater powers in order to deal with officials and members of the imperial house.

THE IMPERIAL AGENCIES²⁷

The Imperial Secretariat (尚書 *shangshu*)²⁸

Director (令 *ling*) [1000]

Deputy Director (僕射 *puye*) [600]

Masters of Writing (尚書 *shangshu*) [600]

Gentleman of the Masters of Writing (郎 *shangshu lang*) [400>500]

Foreman Clerk (令史 *lingshi*) [200]

The Censorate²⁹

Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk (御侍中丞 *yushi zhongcheng*) [1000]

Imperial Clerk Preparer of Documents (治書 *zhishu shiyushi*) [600]

Imperial Clerk (侍御史 *shiyushi*) [600]

Foreman Clerk at the Orchid Terrace (蘭臺令史 *lantai lingshi*) [600]

The Internuncios³⁰

Supervisor (謁者僕射 *yezhe puye*) [Eq.1000]

Internuncio (謁者 *yezhe*) [300>400> Eq.600]

²⁶ See also under the Minister of Justice with note 1 above.

²⁷ Though the three offices listed below were formally under individual ministers, their officials had a special relationship with the emperor and were effectively independent of them. I therefore list them separately.

²⁸ Though formally under the Minister Steward, as the essential source for official documents, including appointments to office, the Secretariat had great potential power, reflected in the authority to control the Secretariat (錄尚書事 *lu shangshu shi*), granted to certain high officials in special circumstances. On occasion, moreover, matters of discipline were referred to the Secretariat for investigation and judgement.

²⁹ The Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk and his subordinates the Imperial Clerks checked memorials for possible offences and supervised the conduct of state ceremonies. They could charge any official with an offence, and Imperial Clerks Preparers of Documents advised the ruler on cases referred by the Minister of Justice. Though the Excellencies exercised a general supervision and the Secretariat could be called upon to investigate and adjudicate, the Imperial Clerks had the right to take the initiative, and the office performed the essential functions of an Imperial Censorate.

Imperial Clerks also acted as agents of the emperor, representing him or taking action on his authority, while Imperial Clerks and the Palace Assistant could also take command of troops

For further discussion, see deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 68-74.

³⁰ Formally under the Minister of the Household, Internuncios were in charge of court ceremonies and served as envoys of the emperor to feudatories and non-Chinese peoples. They could also act as imperial agents for special projects, such as water control of the Yellow River and frontier defence-works. Like Imperial Clerks, Internuncios could take command of troops in the field, and the camp at Liyang in Wei commandery, reserve for the General on the Liao (see below) was commanded by an Internuncio.

THE IMPERIAL HAREM AND THE PRIVATE APARTMENTS³¹**Women of the Harem**

Empress-Dowager (*huang taihou* 皇太后)

apartments styled Palace of Prolonged Joy (長樂宮 *Changle gong*)

Empress (太后 *taihou*)

apartments styled Palace of Prolonged Autumn (長秋宮 *Changqiu gong*)

head of the household: Grand Prolonger of Autumn (大長秋 *da changqiu*)*

concubines:

Honoured Ladies (貴人 *guiren*)

Beauties (美人 *meiren*)

Chosen Ladies (采女 *cainü*)

Officials of the Private Apartments and the Imperial Harem³²

Regular Attendants (中常侍 *zhong changshi*) [Eq.2000]*

Attendant at the Yellow Gates (小黃門 *xiao huangmen*) [600]*

personal attendants and agents of the emperor

Steward of the Palace of Prolonged Joy (少府 *Changle shaofu*) [Fully 2000]

head of the household of the Empress-Dowager

subordinates included:

Coachman (太僕 *taipu*) [2000]

Commandant of the Guards (衛尉 *weiwei*) [2000]

Grand Prolonger of Autumn (大長秋 *da changqiu*) [2000]*

head of the household of the Empress

Prefect of the Lateral Courts (掖庭令 *yiting ling*) [600]*

responsible for the women of the harem

subordinates included:

Assistant for the Drying House (*pushi cheng* 暴室丞)*

*in charge of the harem hospital, which could also serve
as a prison for a disgraced empress or concubine*

Prefect of the Long Lanes (永巷令 *yongxiang ling*) [600]*

responsible for the serving women of the harem

Prefect of the Yellow Gates (黃門令 *huangmen ling*) [600]*

responsible for the eunuchs of the harem

Prefect of the Palace Gardens (鉤盾令 *goushun ling*) [600]*

Prefect of the Imperial Wardrobe (御府令 *yufu ling*) [600]*

Supervisor of the Retinue (中黃門冗從僕射 *zhong huangmen rongcong puye*)

[600]*: *commanded guards and escorts*

³¹ Though the administration of the harem and the emperor's private apartments was formally under the authority of the Minister Steward, he had limited direct access and it is more appropriate to consider it separately.

³² Naturally enough, most officials of the harem were eunuchs; they are indicated by an asterisk.* Servants, cleaners, guards *etc* were either women or eunuchs.

B THE ARMYSENIOR GENERALS:³³**General-in-Chief** (大將軍 *da jiangjun*)**General of Agile Cavalry** (驃騎將軍 *piaoji jiangjun*)**General of Chariots and Cavalry** (車騎將軍 *juji jiangjun*)**General of the Guards** (衛將軍 *wei jiangjun*)**General of the Van** (前將軍 *qian jiangjun*)**General of the Rear** (後將軍 *hou jiangjun*)**General of the Left** (左將軍 *zuo jiangjun*)**General of the Right** (右將軍 *you jiangjun*)

OTHER SPECIAL APPOINTMENTS:

Normally sinecures at court, their incumbents could hold command in the field.

Commandant of Cavalry (騎都尉 *ji duwei*) [Eq.2000]**Commandant of Attendant Cavalry** (鮒騎都尉 *fuji duwei*) [Eq.2000]**Commandant of the Equipage** (奉車都尉 *fengju duwei*) [Eq.2000]

AT THE CAPITAL

The Northern Army (北軍 *beijun*)*The Northern Army was a professional force of five regiments, which were normally stationed at the capital but were available for service in any part of the empire or beyond the frontier.*³⁴**Adjutant** (北軍中候 *beijun zhonghou*) [600] *responsible for general administration*³⁵**Colonel of the Chang River Regiment** (長水校尉 *Changshui xiaowei*) [Eq.2000]*Second in command: Major* (司馬 *sima*) [1000]*also Major of Barbarian Cavalry* (胡騎司馬 *huji sima*) [1000]³⁶**Colonel of the Elite Cavalry** (越騎 *yueji xiaowei*) [Eq.2000]*Second in command: Major* (司馬 *sima*) [1000]**Colonel of the Garrison Cavalry** (屯騎 *tunji xiaowei*) [Eq.2000]*Second in command: Major* (司馬 *sima*) [1000]**Colonel of the Archers Who Shoot at a Sound** (射聲 *shesheng xiaowei*) [Eq.2000]*Second in command: Major* (司馬 *sima*) [1000]**Colonel of Footsoldiers** (步兵 *bubing xiaowei*) [Eq.2000]*Second in command: Major* (司馬 *sima*) [1000]

³³ These appointments were not made regularly, and were often held by an imperial relative by marriage.

³⁴ The guards about the imperial palace under the Minister of the Household and the Minister of Guards were known during Former Han as the Southern Army (南軍 *nanjun*), but this term fell out of use in Later Han.

³⁵ As may be seen from a comparison of rank/salary, though the Adjutant was formally responsible for the general administration of the Army, he was outranked by the colonels of the component regiments.

³⁶ The Chang River Regiment was made up of auxiliary troopers, very likely horse-archers, recruited from the Wuhuan 烏桓 tribes of the northeast. The Major of Barbarian Cavalry was responsible for their care.

FIELD COMMANDS

General (將軍 *jiangjun*)³⁷

*clerical and advisory staff headed by a Chief Clerk (長史 *zhangshi*) [1000]*

Lieutenant-General (偏將軍 *pian jiangjun*)³⁸

Major-General (裨將軍 *pi jiangjun*)

Colonel (校尉 *xiaowei*) [Eq.2000]: *commanded a regiment (營 *ying*)*

*chief assistant or deputy: Major of the Army (軍司馬 *jun sima*) [Eq.1000]³⁹*

Chief Clerk in Command of Troops (將兵長史 *jiangbing zhangshi*)

could hold an independent command in the field

Senior Major (別部司馬 *biebu sima*): *could be given command of a detached unit*

for some particular purpose; size depending on circumstances

Major (司馬 *sima*) [1000]

Captain (候 *hou*): *commanded a company (曲 *qu*)*

Platoon commander (屯長 *tunzhang*)

STATIC CAMP OR GARRISON COMMANDS:

Commandant (都尉 *duwei*) [Eq.2000]

*held command of a territory, garrison or camp (營 *ying*)*

Captain (候 *hou*): *held command of a company on station (候官 *houguan*)*

Platoon commander (候 *hou*)

Section commander (隧長 *suizhang*)

SPECIAL AND REGIONAL COMMANDS:

General Who Crosses the Liao (度遼 *du-Liao jiangjun*) [the Trans-Liao command]

based in Wuyuan on the Ordos loop of the Yellow River

*supported by the Camp at Liyang 黎陽營 in Wei commandery, for recruitment and training; commanded by an Internuncio (謁者 *yezhe*)*

Emissary to the Xiongnu (使匈奴中郎將 *shi Xiongnu zhonglang jiang*) [Eq.2000]

Resident at the court of the Southern Shanyu at Meiji 美稷 in Xihe; with a small guard escort, he was responsible for liaison and control

Protector of the Qiang (護羌校尉 *hu-Qiang xiaowei*) [Eq.2000]

political officer dealing with the non-Chinese of the west; he commanded a small contingent of troops and had authority to raise local levies

Protector of the Wuhuan (護烏桓校尉 *hu-Wuhuan xiaowei*) [Eq.2000]

political officer dealing with the non-Chinese of the northeast, including the Wuhuan and the more difficult Xianbi; he commanded a small contingent of troops and had authority to raise local levies; he also controlled trade through the Wall at Ning 寧 in Shanggu

Commandants (都尉 *duwei*) of the **Camp at Yong** 雍營 in Youfufeng

and of the **Tiger Tooth Encampment** (虎牙營 *huya ying*) at Chang'an

recruitment, training and defence establishments for the northwest, established in 110 at a time of threat from the non-Chinese Qiang

³⁷ Generals were normally appointed for specific campaigns, or for special purposes such as the Trans-Liao Command below.

³⁸ Lieutenant- and Major-Generals are recorded only during the wars at the beginning and end of the dynasty.

³⁹ It is unclear from the texts whether the difference in rank/salary of a Major [1000 *shi*] compared to that of a Major of the Army [Eq.1000] was significant, or whether the two were largely interchangeable.

Protector-General of the Western Regions (西域都護 *xiyu duhu*)

political officer dealing with central Asia; he commanded a small contingent of troops and had broad authority to raise local levies and negotiate with the various states of the region; not a regular appointment

assisted by a Senior Colonel (副校尉 *fu xiaowei*)

other officers in the region, appointed on occasion:

Wu and Ji Colonels (戊己校尉 *wu-ji xiaowei*)

Chief Clerk in Command of Troops (將兵長史 *jiangbing zhangshi*)

Major (司馬 *sima*)

C REGIONAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The territory of Han was administered by thirteen **provinces** (州 *zhou*), each supervising a number of commandery units – being regular **commanderies** (郡 *jun*) or **kingdoms** (王國 *wangguo*). Commandery units in turn were divided into **county** units, the lowest level of local government controlled by a commissioned imperial official (官 *guan*); on these, see below.

The heads of all these units were appointed from the capital, but their subordinates (吏 *li*) were recruited locally and were not formally commissioned.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

Inspector (刺史 *cishi*) [600]

supervised the commanderies and kingdoms in his territory, but was out-ranked by the heads of those units and could only report wrong-doing; action was the prerogative of the central government

when banditry or rebellion affected more than one commandery unit, however, the Inspector was authorised to take command of local troops – heads of commandery units were forbidden to engage in military activity beyond their own borders

staff included:

Registrar (主簿 *zhubu*) *secretary to the administration*

Attendant Officer (別駕 *biejia congshi*) *aide-de-camp*

Headquarters Officer (治中 *zhizhong congshi*) *responsible for appointments and recommendations for imperial commissioned office*

Assistant Officers (從事 *congshi*):

Some Assistant Officers were sent out to check on the administration of the subordinate commandery units

Because of its distance from the capital, the **Inspector of Jiaozhi** 交趾 in the far south had special authority to take action without first reference to the throne.⁴⁰

The capital province Sili 司隸 was also to some extent exceptional

It was headed by the **Director of Retainers** (司隸校尉 *sili xiaowei*) [Eq.2000]

The Director has been mentioned at xxiv above, together with his subordinates the Intendant of Henan the capital commandery, and the Prefect of Luoyang.

Beside their responsibilities for local government about the capital, they had special authority to deal with potential offenders of high rank.

⁴⁰ Confusingly, the provincial unit named Jiaozhi contained a commandery of the same name, on the delta of the Red River about present-day Hanoi. [The same difficulty is encountered in western Yi province 益州, where one of the subordinate commanderies was called Yizhou 益州.]

Director of Retainers [continued]

staff included: Assistant Officers (從事 *congshi*) [100]:

Registrar (主簿 *zhubu*) *secretary to the administration*

Attendant Officer (別駕 *biejia congshi*) *aide-de-camp*

Office for the Officials at the Capital (都官曹 *duguan cao*)

Office of Merit (功曹 *gongcao*) *responsible for local appointments and for recommendations of candidates for imperial commissioned office*

COMMANDERY UNITS:

Some commandery units were held as royal fiefs by members of the imperial clan: though designated as **kingdoms** (王國 *wangguo*), they were governed by imperial officials in the same fashion as regular commanderies, and the kings had no independent authority. When the fief ended, the kingdom reverted to commandery status.

Arrangements for **commanderies** within the empire and on the frontiers varied slightly, while from the early first century some **dependent states** (屬國 *shuguo*) on the frontiers were ranked at commandery level.

The Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 109/19-113/23 lists 103 commandery units in the early 140s, during the reign of Emperor Shun.

COMMANDERIES WITHIN THE EMPIRE:

Administrator (太守 *taishou*) [2000] *head of a commandery*

Assistant (丞 *cheng*) [600]

staff included:

Registrar (主簿 *zhubu*) *secretary to the administration*

Office for All Purposes (五官曹 *wuguan cao*) *general supervision*

Office for Investigation (都郵曹 *duyou cao*) *arranged for regional*

Investigators (都郵 *duyou*) *to inspect the subordinate counties*

Officer of Merit (功曹 *gongcao*) *responsible for appointments and recommendations for imperial commissioned office*

other offices and officers were responsible for grain storage, population registers, legal matters and banditry, ritual ceremonies, schools *etc*

KINGDOMS

Chancellor (相 *xiang*) [2000] *chief administrator of a kingdom*

staff included:

Chief Clerk (長史 *zhangshi*) [600]

Commandant of the Capital (中尉 *zhongwei*) [600]

subordinate staff similar to that of a commandery

in addition, officers of the royal court included:

Prefect of the Gentlemen of the Palace (郎中令 *langzhong ling*) [1000]

commanded guards, court attendants and messengers

Coachman (僕 *pu*) [1000] *responsible for horses and carriages*

Masters of Writing (尚書 *shangshu*) [Eq.600] *royal secretaries*

Chief of the Guards (衛士令 *weishi zhang*) [Eq.400]

Chief of Ritual Music (裡樂長 *liyue zhang*) [Eq.400]

Chief Invocator (祠祀長 *cesi zhang*) [Eq.400]

Chief of Physicians (醫工長 *yigong zhang*) [Eq.400]

COMMANDERIES ON THE FRONTIER:

During Former Han, all male subjects of the empire had been required to undergo military training and service, and a Commandant (都尉 *duwei*) was appointed to each commandery to make the arrangements and to command local levies in battle if necessary.

Later Han, however, maintained this conscription system only in frontier commanderies, where the chief civil assistant of the Administrator was the **Chief Clerk** (長史 *zhangshi*), performing the same function as the Assistant in an internal commandery, while and a **Commandant** (都尉 *duwei*) was responsible for military recruitment, conscription and training.

When a commandery within the empire was seriously affected by banditry or rebellion a Commandant could be appointed for the period of the emergency.

DEPENDENT STATES AT COMMANDERY LEVEL:

A quasi-military regime, separated for defensive purposes from its original base commandery but still to some degree dependent on it.

Commandant (都尉 *duwei*) [Eq.2000] *chief administrator*

staff included:

Assistant (丞 *cheng*)

Registrar (主簿 *zhubu*)

COUNTY UNITS:

The Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 119/29-118/28 lists 1,577 county units in the early 140s, during the reign of Emperor Shun.

Counties proper (縣 *xian*) were in two categories: those with a large population were administered by Prefects (令 *ling*); smaller counties were headed by Chiefs (長 *zhang*); such distinctions were not always observed, however, and I regularly refer to such officials by the generic term "magistrate."

Some counties, were granted as **marquisates** (侯國 *houguo*) to members of the imperial clan or to worthy subjects; a few were granted to princesses of the imperial house; they were referred to as *yi* 邑: *HHS* 118/28:3623 and Tang commentary to *HHS* 10A:423. In all cases, administration was carried out by officials appointed by the central government: the nominal feudatory had no authority in the territory but received a pension from the tax revenue.

Where there were significant numbers of non-Chinese people, the county was identified as a **march** (道 *dao*), and there are also references to **dependent states** (屬國 *shugu*) at this level.

COUNTY

more than 10,000 households:

Prefect (令 *ling*) [1000 or 600] *generally referred to as Magistrate*

fewer than 10,000 households:

Chief (長 *zhang*) [400 or 300] *generally referred to as Magistrate*

Assistant (丞 *cheng*) [400-200] *in charge of civil matters*

one or two Commandants (尉 *wei*) [400-200] *to deal with banditry*

plus clerks and officers responsible for grain storage, population registers, police and legal matters, ritual ceremonies, schools etc

The Magistrate, his Assistant and the Commandant/s were often referred to collectively as Senior Officers (長吏 *changli*).

MARQUISATE

fief held by a marquis (侯 *hou*) with no direct authority; required to reside in his fief unless he had special permission to be at the capital

Chancellor (相 *xiang*) *head of administration*

[*salary depending upon the population of the county, as above*]

All subordinate offices were arranged in the same fashion as a regular county
 Ⅱ 邑: fief of a princess (公主 *gongzhu*) who held no direct authority;⁴¹ she was not normally required to reside in her fief territory

Magistrate (*ling* or *zhang*) *depending on the size of the county*

MARCH (道 *dao*) and/or DEPENDENT STATE (屬國 *shuguo*)

territories of county level with substantial number of non-Chinese, marches were probably administered by magistrates (*ling* or *zhang*);

dependent states may have been administered by commandants (尉 *wei*)

Sub-county administration:

County units were divided into **districts** (鄉 *xiang*) each of which contained a number of **villages** (亭 *ting*). The district which contained the county seat was known as the **chief district** (都鄉 *duxiang*) and the village which held the headquarters of the district administration was likewise called the **chief village** (都亭 *duting*).

A **district** was formally headed by a **Thrice Venerable** (三老 *sanlao*), an elder who provided moral leadership.

In a district of more than a thousand households, a **Petty Officer** (有秩 *youzhi*) [100] was appointed by the commandery administration; in a smaller district, the county appointed a **Bailiff** (嗇夫 *sefu*). Both such officers were responsible for the general government of the community, including tax collection, corvée labour and basic legal matters; they were aided by **District Assistants** (鄉佐 *xiangzuo*).

In addition, each district had a **Patrol Leader** (游徼 *youjiao*), who was chief of police and responsible for dealing with local banditry.

A **village** had a Headman (亭長 *tingzhang*), who was primarily concerned with police and good order, and for maintaining the relay stations of the imperial post (郵亭 *youting*) which could also provide overnight accommodation for official travellers.

The Headman's police duties echoed those of the officers in the watch-houses (亭) at the imperial capital [as above] and in other cities of the empire. In similar fashion, below the level of a village, smaller settlements or **hamlets** (里 *li*) resembled the wards (里 *li*) in the city. There was a degree of local autonomy, but it was controlled by a system of local and mutual responsibility, with groups of families responsible for one another's behaviour and some obligation to report misconduct – that at least was the ideal, and it was surely to some degree effective; there is a long Chinese tradition.

⁴¹ A Princess ranked with a marquis, a Senior Princess (長公主 *zhang gongzhu*) with a king: HHS 10B:457. There is no record, however, of a Senior Princess holding the equivalent of a royal fief at commandery-level; all such fiefs were county-grade.

CHAPTER 44

continued

*being Chapter 36 of the Chronicle of Han
containing Part 3 of the reign of Emperor Guangwu
and Part 1 of the reign of Emperor Ming*

Zhongyuan 中元 2: 57 AD¹

23 February 57 – 12 February 58

1428

A In the spring, in the first month, on the day *xinwei* [2 Mar], the Northern Altar was inaugurated with a sacrifice to Sovereign Earth.²

In the second month, on the day *wuxu* [29 Mar], the emperor died in the Front Hall of the Southern Palace.³ He was sixty-two *sui*.⁴

The late emperor Guangwu would hold court every morning at dawn and did not close it until the afternoon. On many occasions he would then invite senior ministers, Gentlemen of the Household and their leaders to debate and discuss the classics and matters of morality;⁵ and he did not go to bed until half the night was done.

¹ ZZTJ 44 begins on page 1405 with the chronicle for the year Jianwu 建武 23 of Guangwu, roughly equivalent to 47 AD.

The reign-title Jianwu "Establishing Military Authority" had been proclaimed by Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, when he laid claim to the imperial title on 5 August 25 AD. It was maintained until 56, but in the spring of that year the emperor carried out the Feng 封 and Shan 禪 sacrifices on sacred Mount Tai 太山 in present-day Shandong to acknowledge and celebrate the success of his government. On 14 May, a few days after his return to the capital, he changed the reign-title to Jianwu zhongyuan 建武中元 "Establishing Military Authority, Middle Beginning," commonly abbreviated to Zhongyuan: HHS 1B:82 and 97/7:3161-70 at 3170; Chavannes, *Tai chan*, 158-169, Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 172-180 at 179, and deC, *Fire*, 33.

A HHS 1B:84-85, the Annals of Emperor Guangwu.

² The Northern Altar (北郊 *Bei jiao*), the Altar of Earth, was probably situated at the northwest corner of the walled city: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 75-76. Orders for its construction had been given at the same time as those for the Three Enclosures (三雍 *San yong*): the Spiritual Terrace (靈臺 *Ling tai*), the Sacred Hall (明堂 *Ming tang*) and the Hall of the Circular Moat (辟雍 *Biyong*). These latter commissions, however, had not yet been completed: Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 180-181.

The Southern Altar (南郊 *Nan jiao*), the Altar of Heaven, together with the Temple of the Eminent Founder (高祖廟 *Gaozu/Gao miao*) and the Altar to the Gods of the Soils and Grains (社稷 *Sheji*), had been established in 26, soon after Guangwu took the imperial title: they were important to imperial legitimacy: HHS 1A:27 and 97/7:3159-60, with 99/9:3193-96 and 3200; Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 164-165 and *Lo-yang*, 54-55; also de C, *Fire*, 29-30 and 33-34. The emperor had held his annual sacrifice at the Altar of Heaven just a few days before this inauguration of the Altar of Earth: HHS 98/8:3102.

³ The Front or Main Hall (前/正殿 *Qian/Zheng dian*) of the Southern Palace had been completed for Emperor Guangwu in 38: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 24, deC, *Fire*, 29. It is probable that Guangwu – and his successors in similar circumstances – met their end in some privacy, and that the body was then brought out to lie in state.

⁴ In traditional Chinese count, a person is one *sui* 歲 old at birth, and adds one *sui* each New Year. Fan Ye's Discussion (贊 *lun*) of Liu Xiu, Emperor Guangwu, at HHS 1B:87, says that he was born on the *jiazi* 甲子 day of the twelfth month of the first year of the Jianping 建平 reign period of Wang Mang, 13 January 5 BC in the Julian/Christian calendar. By Western reckoning he had just passed his sixtieth birthday.

⁵ I interpret *langjiang* 郎將 as referring to Gentlemen of the Household (*lang*), being nominees for imperial commissioned office attending the capital on probation, and the Generals of the Gentlemen of the House-

Observing the emperor's unceasing toil, the Imperial Heir [Liu Zhuang] ventured to criticise him,⁶ "Your majesty has the wisdom of Yu and Tang,⁷ but you lack the resources of Huang-Lao which could nourish your spirit.⁸ I wish you would take greater care of yourself and find time to rest."

"But I enjoy it," replied the emperor. "I never get tired.⁹ Though I have achieved the grand design by means of war, now that the world is settled it is appropriate that I give second place to my men of military achievement and bring forward those of learning and scholarship. By this means I give clarity and caution to the affairs of government and hold the reins of power with a proper understanding. Measuring my time and my strength and being careful not to exceed my capacity, I can restore my original energy and attain Great Peace."¹⁰

B The Grand Commandant Zhao Xi held charge of the funeral. After the disorders of the time of Wang Mang the ancient rituals had been lost, and the Heir and the kings [his brothers]¹¹ stood or sat at random while members of their staff wandered in and out of the palace and private apartments, with no attention to rank or order.

hold (中郎將 *zhonglang jiang*), their formal commanders. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 24 and 27 [*zhong-lang jiang* as General of the Gentlemen-of-the-Household].

⁶ In 41 AD Guangwu had divorced his first Empress, the Lady Guo Shengtong 郭聖通, and took the Lady Yin Lihua 陰麗華 as his consort. The Lady Guo died in 52.

The biography of the Lady Guo is at *HHS*10A:402-03; that of the Empress/Dowager Yin is at *HHS* 10A:405-407.

Liu Qiang, eldest son of Guangwu by the Lady Guo, had been named as Heir in 26, but in 43, two years after he had taken the Lady Yin as his consort, Guangwu dismissed him in favour of his half-brother Liu Yang 陽, his eldest son by his new empress. As the personal name of an emperor was taboo and the character *yang* was in frequent use, the new Heir's personal name was changed to the more unusual Zhuang 莊.

Liu Qiang was soon afterwards made King of Donghai, the fief formerly held by Liu Yang.

On these arrangements, see *HHS* 1B:68 and 71; discussed by Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 27-29, who also describes the enfeoffments of Guangwu's other sons. Biographies of the sons of Guangwu other than Liu Yang/Zhuang, future Emperor Ming, are in *HHS* 42/32.

⁷ Yu 禹 and Tang 湯 were two of the legendary sage rulers of China: Yu cleared the land from floods and became the founder of the Xia 夏 dynasty; Tang – also known as Cheng-Tang 成湯 "Tang the Victorious" – established the Shang/Yin 商/殷 dynasty, possibly about the middle of the second millennium BC. See, for example, *SJ* 2:49-83; Chavannes, *Mémoires* I, 97-163 and Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 21-36, and *SJ* 4:92-98; *Mémoires* I, 176-187 and *GSR* I, 42-45; also Keightley, "Environment," 3, and "The Shang," 248.

⁸ The deity Huang-Lao 黃老 represented a combination of the mythical legendary Yellow Emperor 黃帝 and the legendary Laozi 老子, putative author of the Taoist classic *Daode jing* 道德經. It was believed that the sage manifested himself from time to time, and his non-Confucian cult was popular in the Han period.

⁹ The punctuated edition of *ZZTJ*, and that of the original source at *HHS* 1B:85, both indicate the conclusion of Guangwu's reply at this point. I believe, however, that the rest of the passage was also part of his direct speech.

The *HHS* text is complex, and Sima Guang has re-arranged and adjusted it. The phrase *Taiping*, as discussed in note 10 immediately following, is a later interpolation.

¹⁰ *Taiping* 太平 "Great Peace" is most commonly found as the description of an ideal state of government, sometimes, though not always or necessarily, to be achieved by rebellion. At a personal level, it was a desirable condition of contented achievement.

B *HHS* 26/16:914-915, the Biography of Zhao Xi.

¹¹ Liu Zhuang, eldest son of Guangwu by his Empress Yin, had been named Heir in 43: note 6 above. The other sons of Guangwu were:

- Liu Qiang 彊 the King of Donghai, son of the Lady Guo (biography at *HHS* 42/32:1423-25);
- Liu Fu 輔 the King of Pei, son of the Lady Guo (*HHS* 42/32:1427);

- 1429 With a firm expression on his face, Zhao Xi took stand on the steps of the hall. Drawing a sword, he ordered the kings into their proper ranks and had Internuncios guide the officials to their correct positions. The kings were then despatched to their residences,¹² and were permitted to attend and pay their respects [to the late sovereign] only at dawn or in the late afternoon. Ritual and ceremony were set in order, the gates were strictly guarded, and all was managed with reverence.¹³
- C The Heir [Liu Zhuang] now took the imperial throne.¹⁴ The Empress [nee Yin] was honoured as Empress-Dowager.
- D Though Liu Jing the King of Shanyang carried out the formalities of mourning, he was not sincere.¹⁵ He prepared an urgent letter which he had a slave deliver to Liu Qiang the King of Donghai, saying falsely that it had been sent by the Minister Herald Guo Kuang.¹⁶

- Liu Ying 英 the King of Chu, son of a concubine, the Lady Xu 許 (*HHS* 42/32:1428-29);
- Liu Kang 康 the King of Ji'nan, son of the Lady Guo (*HHS* 42/32:1430-31);
- Liu Cang 蒼 the King of Dongping, son of the Empress Yin (*HHS* 42/32:1433-42);
- Liu Yan 延 the King of Huaiyang, son of the Lady Guo (*HHS* 42/32:1444-45);
- Liu Jing 荆, currently the King of Shanyang, son of the Empress Yin (*HHS* 42/32:1446-48);
- Liu Yen 焉 the King of Zhongshan, son of the Lady Guo (*HHS* 42/32:1444-45);
- Liu Jyng 京 the King of Langye, son of the Empress Yin (*HHS* 42/32:1451).

One other son, Liu Heng 衡, had been made Duke of Linhuai, but died young: *HHS* 42/32:1449.

For distinction I vary the transcription of the personal name of the younger brother of Liu Jing as Jyng and that of the younger brother of Liu Yan as Yen.

In 52 the emperor ordered all his sons other than those by the Lady Yin, and Liu Yen, his youngest by the former Empress Guo, to leave the capital and reside in their fiefs: *HHS* 1B:80. In 57, however, following the Feng and Shan ceremonies at Mount Tai, the former Heir Liu Qiang, King of Donghai, had been permitted to accompany him back to the capital and to remain there: *HHS* 42/32:1424.

At the time of Guangwu's death, therefore, Liu Zhuang and his full brothers Cang, Jing and Jyng, together with his half-brothers Liu Yen and the former Heir Liu Qiang, were all at the capital.

¹² Each prince at the capital had an official Residence (邸 *di*), a mansion in the body of the city, separate from the imperial palaces.

C *HHS* 2:95, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

¹³ DeC, *Fire*, 73-75 and MBeck, *Treatises*, 75-77, reviewing *HHS* 96/6:2141-50, discuss the procedure, which became a basic model for the dynasty.

¹⁴ The Annals give the date as the *wuxu* day of the second month. This day, 29 March in the West, was the same day that Emperor Guangwu had died.

Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 183-184 notes that in Former Han, with the exception of Emperor Wu, each new ruler had taken his position one or more days after the death of his predecessor. Under Later Han, however, if there was an appointed Heir the ceremony of succession was held on the day of death. [Bielenstein claims that Liu Bian 辯, the Little (Shao 少) Emperor, who was brought to the throne in 189, was an exception, but in fact he was never named as Heir: e.g. deC, *Fire*, 440-441.] Bielenstein suggests that there may have been some sense of economy. Given the confusion described above, and the presence of several other sons of the late emperor still at the capital, it is more likely that Zhao Xi and his colleagues were anxious to get the situation clarified as quickly as possible – and this prompt procedure became a tradition of the new dynasty.

D *HHS* 42/32:1446-48, the Biography of Liu Jing.

¹⁵ As in note 11 above, Liu Jing was a son of the Empress-Dowager Yin and full brother to Liu Zhuang the new emperor. *HHS* 42/32 claims that he was talented and enjoyed literary composition but that he was secretly resentful – presumably at not having been chosen for the succession. Discussing the current incident and his later conduct, Bielenstein suggests that he may have been somewhat mad: *RHD* III, 31-33.

¹⁶ Liu Qiang, King of Donghai, was appointed Heir in 26 but had been dismissed in 43 in favour of Liu Zhuang, now emperor: note 6 above. His biography is in *HHS* 42/32.

Guo Kuang was a brother of the Lady Guo, former empress of Guangwu, and an uncle of Liu Qiang.

The letter asserted that Liu Qiang had been dismissed without cause from his position as Heir and that [his mother] the Empress Guo had suffered the same fate. Urging him to turn to the east and raise troops to seize the empire, it went on to say, "Gaozu arose from the position of a village headman and [his late] Imperial Majesty rose from [the marquisate of] Boshui.¹⁷ Such an achievement is yet more possible for Your Royal Majesty, the eldest son and formerly the adjunct ruler!¹⁸

"You should not accept your fate like a fenced-in sheep, but take action with the severity of a frost in autumn. Now that the ruler of men has passed away, village gangs are still acting as robbers and bandits, hoping to take what they want. If they can act like this, surely a king can do even more!"

When Liu Qiang received this letter he was both startled and frightened. He immediately arrested the messenger, sealed the document and sent it to the throne. Since Liu Jing was his full brother by the same mother, Emperor Ming kept the affair secret; but he sent him away to a palace in Henan county.

E In the third month, on the day *dingmao* [27 Apr], Emperor Guangwu was buried in the Yuanling "Mound of Beginning."¹⁹

In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day *bingchen* [15 Jun], an edict proclaimed that, "Just at this time, with no Son of Heaven above and no firm governor below, my situation is like that of a man crossing a deep river without a boat. I may command over ten thousand chariots, but I am personally weak and indecisive, and I must rely upon men of virtue to assist me.

The bearer of this message is identified as 蒼頭 *cangtou* "Dark-Green Head," a term used for slaves. Ch'ü, *Social Structure*, 336 has a lengthy footnote on the origins of the term, which appears to have referred to their traditional coloured head-dress. At 142-159 he provides a general discussion of slavery in the period, observing that – unlike the contemporary Roman empire – slaves in China were not used in agriculture but were primarily domestic or personal servants, often with some ability in clerical work; some government slaves, moreover, were skilled in handicraft and manufacture: Nishijima, "Economic and Social History of Former Han," 583, also Wilbur, *Slavery*.

¹⁷ The founder of Former Han began his rise to power as no more than the headman of a village. He was given posthumous dynastic title as Emperor Gao 高, with the temple-name Taizu 太祖; the two are commonly conflated as Gaozu 高祖. [Emperor Gao's original personal name was Ji 季, commonly given to a third or younger son. To save general problems with taboo, when he came to power he took the personal name Bang 邦: cf. Liu Yang/Zhuang in note 6 above.]

Emperor Guangwu's family had held the district marquisate of Boshui 白水, also named Chongling 舂陵, in Caiyang 菜陽 county of Nanyang commandery, now Zaoyang in Hubei: Bielenstein, *RHD* I, 96. Guangwu had changed the name of Chongling to Zhangling 章陵 in 26: *HHS* 1B:47.

¹⁸ The phrase 副主 *fuzhu* "adjunct ruler" is identified with the position of the Heir, closely associated with the sovereign.

The *ZZTJ* text of this passage is confused by the use of the phrase 陛下 *bixia* "His/Your Majesty. On the first occasion, above, it refers to the late Emperor Guangwu. It is repeated here, but refers in this context to Liu Qiang himself. The text of *HHS* makes the difference clear by identifying Liu Qiang as *wang* 王 *bixia*, and I follow it.

E *HHS* 2:95-96, the Annals of Emperor Ming, *HHS* 42/32:1433, the Biography of Liu Cang.

¹⁹ The Mound of Beginning (原陵 *Yuanling*), tombland of Emperor Guangwu, lay six kilometres southeast of Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 83 and 86; deC, *Fire*, 67-68. *HHS* 2 adds that Guangwu was awarded the temple-name (廟號 *miaohao*) of Shizu 世祖 "Epochal Founder." DeC, *Fire*, 75-78, describes the ritual.

"Deng Yu the Marquis of Gaomi is a leader among men of achievement, and Liu Cang the King of Dongping has wide learning and is skilled at planning. Let Deng Yu be appointed Grand Tutor and Liu Cang General of Agile Cavalry."²⁰

1430 Liu Cang protested most earnestly, but the emperor was adamant. He also decreed that the General of Agile Cavalry should have a staff of forty men, both senior and junior officers, and should rank above the Three Excellencies.

F Liu Cang introduced Wu Liang of Qi kingdom, his senior clerk in the Department of the West, to the emperor.²¹ The emperor remarked that, "It is the duty of a high official to recommend worthy men who may assist the state. When Xiao He presented Han Xin [to Emperor Gao] an altar was prepared and the appointment made without any further examination.²² I now appoint Wu Liang as a Consultant.²³

G Before this, Dianliang the chieftain of the Shaodang Qiang had attacked and heavily defeated the Xianlian tribe and seized their territory.²⁴

²⁰ One of Guangwu's earliest and most loyal followers, Deng Yu had served as a general and was now a respected figure at court. His biography is in *HHS* 16/6.

In 37, after the defeat of Guangwu's last major rival Gongsun Shu 公孫術, Deng Yu was enfeoffed as Marquis of Gaomi county in Beihai, with a pension based upon the revenue from four counties.

A Grand Tutor (太傅 *taifu*) was appointed at the beginning of each reign to serve as formal mentor to the new sovereign. Chosen from among the most senior members of the court, he was ranked above the Excellencies and held office for life – when he died he was not replaced. [There would be later exceptions to this general rule: see, for example, Chen Fan in the late 160s at time of Emperor Ling: deC, *Huan and Ling*, 176, 198 and 202.]

Second son of the Empress Yin, Liu Cang was full brother to Emperor Ming. He had been enfeoffed as Duke of Dongping in 39 and raised to be a king in 41. A student of the classics, he was admired for his intelligence and elegance. As in note 11 above, he was one of the imperial sons who were at the capital at the time of Guangwu's death and he was close to his brother the new emperor.

During Former Han some Generals of Agile Cavalry (驃/票驥將軍 *piaoji jiangjun*) had served as military commanders. Later Han also used the title for active service, but it was more commonly a court appointment; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 122, citing *HHS* 8:356.

F *HHS* 27/17:943, the Biography of Wu Liang.

²¹ Wu Liang was a respected scholar with reputation as an outspoken and honest local officer, and Liu Cang had invited him into his service.

Under an Excellency, the Department of the West was responsible for personnel while the Department of the East controlled finances: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 13 [as Bureau].

²² The biographies of Han Xin 韓信 in *SJ* 92 at 2610-11 (Watson, *RGH* Han I, 164-167) and in *HS* 34 at 1862-63 tell how he came to join Gaozu, founder of the Han dynasty, but was initially treated with small concern. He went away, but was pursued and persuaded to return by the Chancellor Xiao He 蕭何. Gaozu was angry at Xiao He for leaving his post, but Xiao He insisted that Han Xin was worthy of command as his senior general. Accepting his advice, Gaozu set up an altar and held formal ceremony of appointment. Han Xin did indeed become a most successful military commander.

Han Xin was later enfeoffed as Marquis of Huaiyin 淮陰侯 and is often referred to by that title in order to distinguish him from his namesake contemporary, known as Han Wang Xin 韓王信, who was a descendant of the rulers of the pre-Qin kingdom of Han 韓; his biographies are in *SJ* 93 and *HS* 33: Loewe, *QHS*, 146-147 and 147-149.

²³ With rank/salary of Six Hundred *shi*, Consultant (議郎 *yilang*) was the most junior of the Counsellors (大夫 *dafu*) at the imperial court: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 30 [as Gentleman Consultant]. Though the position was frequently used as a holding appointment for a man in waiting for higher office, Wu Liang later offended the emperor and had a chequered career: deC, *LH3K*, 872.

G *HHS* 87/77:2879, the Account of the Qiang of the West.

²⁴ This campaign took place about 40 AD. Dianliang was a descendant of Shaodang 燒當, who had been leader of the Yan 研 Qiang in the mid-first century BC; the tribe changed its name in his honour. The Shaodang later become weaker than their neighbours, but revived under Dianliang's leadership. They were

When Dianliang died, his son Dianyu took his place,²⁵ and there was a steady growth in the number of households under their leadership.²⁶

In the autumn Dianyu and his younger brother Dian'an led their troops to attack Longxi, and they defeated the Administrator Liu Xu at Yuanjie.²⁷ At this, all the Qiang along the frontier rebelled.

An edict ordered the Internuncio Zhang Hong to take charge of the troops of all the local commanderies.²⁸ There was a battle at Yuanya,²⁹ and Zhang Hong's army was heavily defeated.

H In the winter, in the eleventh month, the General of the Household Dou Gu was sent as supervisor over Ma Wu the General Who Catches Caitiffs and one other, with forty thousand men to attack the Qiang.³⁰

now based in the Greater and Lesser Yu valleys 大小榆谷, south of the upper stream of the Yellow River by present-day Guide in Qinghai: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 78, and see note 17 to Yonghe 3 at 156.

The second character of the name of this tribe, 先零, is normally transcribed as *ling*. At *HS* 28B:1611, however, the commentator Meng Kang 孟康 of the third-century states that the character 令 (normally *ling*) was sounded as 連 *lian*, while Yan Shigu 顏師古 of Tang says that 零 and 令 were homonyms. Yan Shigu is followed by the Tang commentary to *HHS* 87/77 at 2877 note 2. It appears that in the Han period, at least in this north-western territory, both 零 and 令 had the alternative pronunciation of *lian*: see also Karlgren, *GSR*, 823a and *u*. I follow this variant both for the name of the tribe – as here – and for the name of the city of Lianju 令居 in Wuwei, and in other instances: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 471 note 14.

²⁵ In *Northern Frontier*, 476 note 2, I suggest that the character 吾 (modern Mandarin *wu*) in this name is a homonym for 虞 (modern Mandarin *yu*): see *JS* 116:2959 and Karlgren, *GSR* 58f and 59h.

²⁶ The term *luo* 落, commonly rendered as "village" or "hamlet," may best be understood in this non-Chinese context as describing a clan or family grouping, part of a tribe. See deC, *Northern Frontier*, 179 and note 16 at 508-509, citing Vladimirtsoff, *Régime sociale des Mongols*, 44 *et saepe*, who identifies the social units of *ayil* "campfires" and the larger *küriyän*.

²⁷ Yuanjie was a county in Jincheng commandery, now Yongdeng in Gansu, north of Lanzhou. Pronunciation of the character 允, normally *yun*, is given by commentary to *HS* 28A:1611, citing Ying Shao 應劭 of the second century and Meng Kang 孟康 of the third century; Tang commentary to *HHS* follows, and I make the adaptation to all names in this region.

²⁸ In the system of the Han dynasty, the heads of commandery units were forbidden to use their troops outside the borders of their territories. If – as in this case – disorder was too widespread to be dealt with by a single commandery, broad military command was commonly given to the provincial Inspector. On this occasion, however, an Internuncio (謁者 *yezhe*) was sent from the capital.

As the translated title indicates, Internuncios were normally responsible for the conduct of matters relating to envoys and ambassadors from non-Chinese peoples and from feudatory states within the empire: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 26 and 30-31. They could, however, be act as agents of the emperor to deal with specific projects such as water control, defence works and – as in this case – with military operations.

²⁹ Yuanya, east of present-day Lanzhou in Gansu between the Yellow River and the Xining River, was the capital of Jincheng commandery. On the pronunciation of the character 允, see note 26 above; pronunciation of the character 吾 (normally *wu*) follows the commentary of the second-century scholar Ying Shao 應劭 to *HS* 28B:1610-11, followed by Tang commentary to *HHS* 2:97 at 98 note 3 (but *cf.* note 24 above).

H *HHS* 2:97, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

³⁰ Dou Gu was a nephew of Dou Rong, a leading supporter of Guangwu who had brought the northwest under control. Married to a sister of Emperor Ming, Dou Gu currently held command of the Feathered Forest (羽林 *yulin*) corps of palace guards: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 28. His biography is in *HHS* 23/13.

Ma Wu from Nanyang, the home commandery of Emperor Guangwu, had joined the Han rebellion against Wang Mang at an early stage and became a leading general. Though Dou Gu was interested in military affairs and was respected for his ability, it is likely that his supervision (監 *jian*) of Ma Wu was rather formal than real.

- I In this year the Southern Shanyu Mo died. His younger brother Han succeeded him; he fwas the Yifa yulü di Shanyu.³¹

I *HHS* 89/79:2948, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

³¹ Mo was a younger brother of the first Southern Shanyu Bi 比, who had accepted alliance and support from Han. A successful commander against the rival regime of the north, he succeeded Bi when he died in 56. He died, however, just one year later.

The titles of Shanyu are rendered phonetically by the Chinese and their meaning in the Xiongnu language is unknown. According to commentary to *HHS* 89/79:2939, however, the character *di* 鞮 reflects the prefix *xiao* 孝 "Filial" which was used for the posthumous title of all Han emperors except the two founders Gaozu and Guangwu.

Part 1 of the Reign of Emperor Ming
[Temple name Xianzong 顯宗 "Illustrious Exemplar"]

Yongping 永平 1: 58 AD

13 February 58 – 1 February 59

1431

A In the spring, in the first month, the emperor brought the Excellencies, Ministers and lower-ranking officials to hold court at the Yuanling tomb [of the late Emperor Guangwu]. The ceremonial was similar to that for the New Year.¹

Having paid his respects to the spirit tablet, the emperor withdrew to the eastern side-room. Attendant officials and guards took position behind the tablet as the Court Provisioner offered food and the Minister of Ceremonies presented music.² The Reporting Officers from the commanderies and kingdoms then came forward in order, advancing to the railings before the tablet to render account of the grain supplies in their territories and the circumstances of the people.³

In later generations this became a regular ceremony.⁴

B In the summer, in the fourth month, Deng Yu the Foremost Marquis of Gaomi died.⁵

A *HHS* 2:99, the Annals of Emperor Ming;

HHS 94/4:3103, the Treatise of Ceremonial.

¹ As in passage E at 4 above, the Yuanling tomb was the burial place of Guangwu.

The ceremonial for the Court Audience at the beginning of each New Year (大朝受賀 *dachao shouhe*) is described in Part II of the Treatise of Ceremonial, *HHS* 95/5:3139.; it is translated by Bodde, *Festivals*, 140, and further discussed by MBeck, *Treatises*, 81-82.

² The Court Provisioner (太官令 *taiguan ling*), an officer under the Minister Steward (少府 *shaofu*: Bielenstein: Privy Treasurer), was responsible for the imperial food; he had seven assistants and thousands of slaves under his command: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 60-61 [as Prefect Grand Provisioner].

The Minister of Ceremonies had charge of state rituals: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 18-23 [as Grand Master of Ceremonies]. His staff included almost four hundred Musicians (樂人 *yueren*): *Bureaucracy*, 52.

In an echo of the contemporary observer Cai Yong (note 4 following), Hu Sanxing remarks that the ceremony served the dead sovereign as if he was still alive.

³ Heads of commandery units and of provinces were required to present accounts to the court each New Year, and the local officer sent to do so was known for that purpose as the Reporting Officer (上計吏 *shangji li*): e.g. Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 92 [as Official in Charge of Accounts], also deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 19, and *Fire*, 258. Beside the presentations at court and at the relevant office at the capital, they also took part in this ritual.

⁴ This last sentence was added by Sima Guang.

The description of the ceremony of Ascending the Tomb/s (上陵 *shangling*) by the Treatise of Ceremonial at *HHS* 94/4:3103 follows closely upon that of the *Du duan* 獨斷 "Solitary Decisions" of the scholar-official Cai Yong 蔡邕; he attended the ceremony in 172, during the reign of Emperor Ling, and was so impressed that he wrote a description for posterity: the story is told by a fragment of the *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng, quoted by commentary to the Treatise at 3103-04; MBeck, *Treatises*, 74.

B *HHS* 2:99, the Annals of Emperor Ming;

HHS 16/6:605, the Biography of Deng Yu.

⁵ Deng Yu had been appointed Grand Tutor in the previous year: passage E of Zhongyuan 2 at 5 above. His biography says that he was fifty-seven *sui*, so he was born in 2 AD.

The Annals describe Deng Yu as Grand Tutor and do not mention his marquisate. His posthumous title Yuan 元 is explained variously as referring to his personal qualities and to his service to the new dynasty.

C Liu Qiang, Respectful King of Donghai, became ill.⁶ The emperor sent envoys post-haste with the Court Physician to attend him, and received constant reports of his condition,⁷ while Liu Fu the King of Pei, Liu Kang the King of Ji'nan and Liu Yan the King of Huaiyang were all ordered to go to Lu and attend the sickbed.⁸

On the day *wuyin* [2 July] Liu Qiang died.⁹ As he approached the end, he sent a letter of gratitude to the emperor. It read:

As my life is cut short, I entrust my children and grandchildren to the care of your majesty and the empress-dowager; I am truly grieved and ashamed!

My son Zheng is a man of poor quality, unworthy to succeed to my fief, and he should not be allowed to receive its full benefit. I therefore wish to return the commandery of Donghai.¹⁰

Now that the world has lately encountered a time of sorrow,¹¹ your majesty is the only person who can provide for and support the empress-dowager. Inadequate as I am, my words cannot express my full emotions. I am grateful to my royal brothers, and regret that we cannot all meet again.

When the emperor received the letter he was deeply affected. He went out from the palace with the empress-dowager to the watch-house at the Jin Gate to make a public display of grief.¹²

C *HHS* 42/32:1424, the Biography of Liu Qiang;
HHJ 9:105.

⁶ Liu Qiang was the elder half-brother of the emperor and had for a time been the Heir to their father Guangwu: note 6 to *Zhongyuan* 2 at 2. He was at the capital when Emperor Ming succeeded to the throne (passage D of *Zhongyuan* 2 at 3-4), but returned to his fief in the winter of that year.

Though Liu Qiang had been enfeoffed as King of Donghai, in 51 Emperor Guangwu had added the territory of Lu to his fief so that he could reside in the Lingguang Palace 靈光宮, which had been constructed for Liu Yu 餘, King of Lu under Former Han in the mid-second century: *HHS* 42/32:1423-24. On Liu Yu and his extravagant building work, see Loewe, *QHX*, 402; the original building was now two hundred years old but had presumably been refurbished.

Lu and Donghai were actually in separate provinces, Yu and Xu (*HHS* 110/20:3429 and 111/21:3458), and the Treatise of Administrative Geography at refers to Donghai as a commandery. Both territories, however, were headed by Chancellors, as for a kingdom. It is probable that this was a formality, reflecting the fact that the title of the fief was Donghai, even though the territory was Lu.

⁷ The Court Physician (太醫令 *taiyi ling*) is discussed by Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 50-51 [as Prefect Grand Physician]. *ZZTJ* refers only to "envoys" (使者 *shizhe*) being sent; *HHS* 42/32 identifies them as eunuch officials, including a Regular Attendant (中常侍 *zhong changshi*), most senior of the emperor's personal staff: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 63 [as Regular Palace Attendant].

⁸ As imperial princes were normally required to reside at their fiefs, this was a special sign of favour.

Liu Fu, Liu Kang and Liu Yan were sons of Guangwu by his former empress the Lady Guo and full brothers of Liu Qiang. Their biographies are in *HHS* 42/32 at 1427, 1431 and 1444-45.

Liu Yan 延 was the fourth son of the Lady Guo. Her fifth and youngest son, Liu Yen 焉 the King of Zhongshan, was still at the capital: note 11 to *Zhongyuan* 2 at 3.

⁹ The date of Liu Qiang's death is given by the Annals, *HHS* 2:99. His biography at *HHS* 42/32:1425 says that he was thirty-four *sui* when he died, so he was born in 25 AD. He was awarded the posthumous title Gong 恭 "Respectful."

¹⁰ The brief account of Liu Zheng at *HHS* 42/32:1425 describes him as a man of depraved tastes and conduct. As in note 6 above, Liu Qiang's fief included both Donghai and Lu, but he did not want his unworthy son to benefit from such wealth and sought to cede the territory of Donghai before he could inherit it.

¹¹ This refers to the recent death of Emperor Guangwu.

¹² The Jin or Jincheng Gate 津門/津城門, the Ford Gate, also called the Jinyang Gate 津陽門, was the western-most of four on the southern wall of Luoyang: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 14, and Map 1 above at 12. Each gate had a watch-house (亭 *ting*) which served primarily as a police station: deC, *Fire*, 47-49.

1432 He sent the Excellency of Works, bearing the Staff of Authority, to arrange that the funeral be carried out with especial honour.¹³ Liu Ying the King of Chu, Liu Xu the King of Zhao and Liu Xing the King of Beihai,¹⁴ together with imperial kinsmen and relatives by marriage in the capital district, were all commanded to attend the ceremony.

Considering Liu Qiang's great modesty and restraint, the emperor had no desire to ignore his wishes by arranging an extravagant funeral. He therefore sent particular instructions: "The funerary arrangements should be simple and plain, the body clothed in simple garments, with a chariot made of wicker, utensils of pottery, and other grave-goods of comparable economy. By this means we may demonstrate the late king's exceptional quality."¹⁵ The Court Architect was sent to arrange the construction of Liu Qiang's tomb and temple.¹⁶

D In the autumn, in the seventh month, Ma Wu and others attacked the Shaodang Qiang. They gained a complete victory and the enemy surrendered or scattered.

E Liu Jing the King of Shanyang secretly called in astrologers and held discussions with them, hoping there might be changes in the empire. The emperor heard of it; he transferred Liu Jing's fief to Guangling and sent him to reside there.¹⁷

¹³ The Annals at *HHS* 2:99 give the name of the Excellency as Feng Fang 馮魴, a gentleman of Nanyang, native commandery of Emperor Guangwu. His biography is in *HHS* 33/23; deC, *LH3K*.

The Staff of Authority (節 *jie*) was a length of bamboo (竹 *zhu*) eight 尺 *chi* feet, about 1.85 metre, with an oxtail pennon: *HHS* 1A:10-11 note 1*bis* quoting *Hanguan yi*. A sign of imperial trust, it gave special powers. Depending on details of the commission, these could include the right to make senior appointments and to order executions without prior reference to the throne.

The Annals also list some of the honours the emperor awarded. They included foreriders with feathered hair (旄頭 *maotou*) bearing standards displaying the insignia of a Rising Dragon (升龍 *shenglong*) and a carriage hung with bells (鑾輅 *luanlu*) and dragon flags (龍旗 *longqi*). All were imperial prerogatives.

¹⁴ Liu Ying was a son of Guangwu by his concubine the Lady Xu 許: *HHS* 42/32:1423 and 1428-29.

Liu Xu was a first cousin of Guangwu, being the son of Liu Liang 良, elder brother of Guangwu's father Liu Qin 欽. Liu Liang had cared for Guangwu and his siblings after Liu Qin's death and Guangwu had enfeoffed him as Duke of Zhao. Liu Xu inherited the fief when his father died in 41 and was raised to royal rank in 43: *HHS* 14/4:559; Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 19-29, and deC, *LH3K*, 556.

Liu Xing was a son of Liu Yan/Yin 纘, generally referred to by his style Bosheng 伯升, who was the elder brother of Guangwu. Liu Bosheng was the initial leader of the revolt against Wang Mang but was killed by his fellows in 23. In 26, soon after Guangwu had taken the imperial title, he enfeoffed Liu Bosheng's elder son Zhang 章 as King of Taiyuan, a fief later transferred to Qi. He also enfeoffed Liu Xing with the kingdom of Lu, to maintain the lineage of Guangwu's second elder brother Zhong 仲, who had died in battle in 22; Liu Xing was transferred to Beihai in 51 (note 6 to Yongping 1 at 9): *HHS* 14/4:549, 553, 555; Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 19-29; deC, *LH3K*, 487-489, 557, 603-604.

¹⁵ The phrase 卓爾 *zhuo'er* appears in the Confucian *Analects*, *Lun yu* IX.x.3, as a description of honourable and upright conduct: Legge, *CC* I, 220.

¹⁶ With excellent intentions, Emperor Ming is following two slightly contradictory policies. On the one hand, he arranges that Liu Qiang's funeral is marked by symbols commonly identified with the sovereign and has the imperial architect supervise the construction of the tomb and funerary temple. At the same time, however, he honours his late half-brother's modest conduct by ordering that his grave-goods are to be plain and simple – a regular royal tomb, such as that of Liu Sheng 劉勝, King of Zhongshan, who died in 141 BC and whose resting-place was excavated in 1968, contained treasures of gold, silver and bronze, while the body was arrayed in the celebrated "jade armour."

D *HHS* 22/12:786, the Biography of Ma Wu.

E *HHS* 42/32:1448, the Biography of Liu Jing.

- F Zhai Tong the Administrator of Liaodong had [the Xianbi chieftain] Pianhe attack the Red Mountain Wuhuan.¹⁸ He thoroughly defeated them and took the heads of their leader. The lands beyond the frontier trembled in fear, and all peoples from Wuwei in the west to Xuantu in the east came to submit. There were no further disturbances on the borders and the troops and the camps were stood down and disbanded.¹⁹
- G Noting that it was more than thirty years since the restoration of Han and that there was now no cause for anxiety in any direction,²⁰ Liu Cang the King of Donghai believed there should be some revision of ritual and music. He held discussions with the Excellencies and Ministers to determine the system of caps and crowns, carriage and robes, for the ceremonies at the Southern and Northern Altars,²¹ and for the songs and the eight-row dances offered at the Temple to Emperor Guangwu.²² The proposals were presented to the emperor.

¹⁷ Liu Jing had sought to stir up trouble soon after Emperor Ming had taken the throne: passage D of *Zhongyuan* 2 at 3-4. According to his biography, he was hoping that the current difficulties with the Qiang might offer an opportunity of deposing the new ruler.

The earlier enterprise had been partially glossed over, though he was sent away to a detached residence outside the capital. This second venture attracted more severe treatment: Liu Jing was now banished to his new fief territory, six hundred kilometres from the capital just north of the Yangzi estuary.

F *HHS* 90/80:2986, the Account of the Xianbi.

¹⁸ Zhai Tong was a younger cousin of Zhai Zun, who had been a leading supporter of Emperor Guangwu: passage C of *Yongping* 3 at 21. His biography at *HHS* 20/10:744 describes how he was appointed Administrator of Liaodong when the Xianbi, the Xiongnu and the Wuhuan were ravaging the borders. Having defeated a raiding party of Xianbi, he managed to turn their leader Pianhe into an ally of China, and in the late 40s, as the Xiongnu split into rival Northern and Southern states – the latter now protégés of Han – Zhai Tong paid bounty money for every Northern head: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 290-291 [as Bianhe].

The Red Mountain Wuhuan occupied the territory outside the frontiers of Yuyang and Shanggu and were troublemakers of long standing. It appears that the Xianbi now took over their territory.

¹⁹ *ZZTJ* omits to mention that the peace was purchased. From this time on the Xianbi received an annual subsidy of 270 million cash, levied on the two provinces of Qing and Xu: *HHS* 90/80:2986: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 240, and *Fire*, 162.

G *HHS* 42/32:1433, the Biography of Liu Cang.

²⁰ Trusted brother of the emperor, Liu Cang had been appointed General of Agile Cavalry in the previous year: passage E to *Zhongyuan* 2 at 5.

The phrase *zhongxing* 中興 "Middle Rising" refers here to the restoration of the Liu family to imperial power under Emperor Guangwu after the interregnum of Wang Mang. The trope of dynastic revival is found in both ancient and modern Chinese history, but this was one of the most successful.

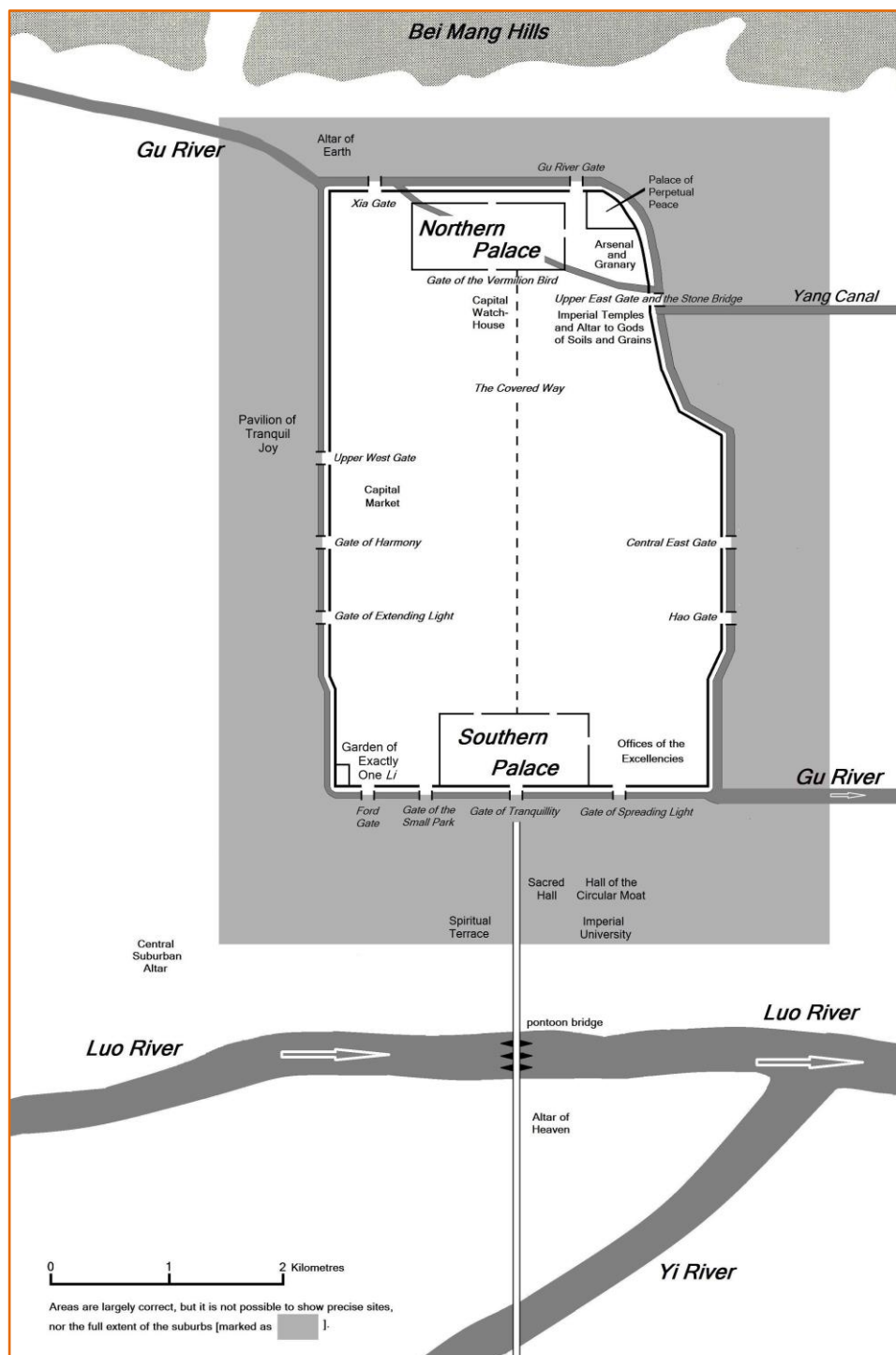
²¹ As in passage A and note 2 of *Zhongyuan* 2 at 1, ceremonies at the Southern and Northern altars had been established by Guangwu in 26 and in 57. In his discussion of the Treatise of Ceremonial, Mansvelt Beck identifies the "Regulations for Caps, Crown, Carriages and Robes for the Southern and Northern Sacrifices" (南北郊冠冕車服制度 *Nanbeijiao guanmian jufu zhidu*) as a formal document compiled by Liu Cang at this time: *Treatises*, 84, 88 and also 262.

²² A lengthy extract from *DGHJ*, quoted by the commentary of Liu Zhao to the Treatise of Ceremonial at *HHS* 99/9:3196 [reproduced in the modern *DGHJ* at 5:4a-b], records Liu Cang's presentation, including his argument for the Martial Virtue dance (武德舞 *Wude wu*), and how the emperor approved his proposal.

HHS 42/32 dates this initiative between *Yongping* 2 (59 AD) and *Yongping* 4 (61 AD), and *ZZTJ* here chronicles it in the second year of *Yongping*. *DGHJ* gives the date as the *dingmao* day of the eighth month of *Yongping* 3, being 8 October 60 in the Julian calendar. We must assume that such ritual arrangements were subject to learned and lengthy debate, and *DGHJ* gives the date of the emperor's formal decision.

These entries in *HHS* 42/32 and *DGHJ* are the first references to the Temple to Emperor Guangwu (光武廟 *Guangwu miao*), also known as the Temple of the Epochal Founder (世祖廟 *Shizu miao*). It was established at this time next to the Temple of the Eminent Founder (高廟 *Gao miao*) dedicated to Gaozu of Former Han; the exact site is unknown: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 54-55.

1433

H Geng Yan, Mourned Marquis of Haozhi, died.²³

Map 1: The City of Luoyang under Later Han
[from deC, Fire over Luoyang,16]

H ²³ HHS 19/9:713, the Biography of Geng Yan.

An early supporter of Emperor Guangwu, Geng Yan of Youfufeng had been one of his most successful generals. He was enfeoffed as Marquis of Haozhi 好時 in his home commandery of Youfufeng in 26, with revenue from two counties, and his fief was increased in 37.

The posthumous title "Mourned" (愍 *min*), was presumably awarded by the emperor.

Yongping 永平 2: 59 AD

2 February 59 – 20 February 60

A In the spring, in the first month, on the day *xinwei* [20 Feb], a ceremony at the Sacred Hall honoured Emperor Guangwu as the greatest exemplar.¹ The emperor, the Excellencies and Ministers, and members of the nobility attended, wearing for the first time the crown and caps, robes and garments, and jade girdle pendants designed for the ceremony.²

At the conclusion of the ceremony the cortege climbed the Spiritual Terrace and observed the cloudy substances.³

There was an amnesty for the empire.⁴

A *HHS* 2:100, the Annals of Emperor Ming;
HHS 97/7:3181, the Treatise of Sacrifices.

¹ In 4 AD the government of Emperor Ping under the control of Wang Mang had honoured the founding Emperor Gao of Former Han with the Suburban Sacrifice (郊 *jiao*) and raised him to be coadjutor/associate (配 *pei*) of Heaven (天 *Tian*). This ceremony was followed by a sacrifice to Emperor Wen as the greatest exemplar/successor (宗 *zong*) of the dynasty, making him the coadjutor to the Lord/s on High (上帝 *Shang-di*): *HS* 12:356; Dubs, *HFHD* III, 77.

Early in the reign of Emperor Guangwu, Emperor Gao had been confirmed as coadjutor to Heaven: *HHS* 97/7:3160 with 27/17:937; Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 166-167. Now, however, Emperor Guangwu replaced Emperor Wen as exemplar and this ceremony at the Sacred Hall recognised him as coadjutor to the Five Emperors (五帝 *wudi*). On these last, see note 14 to Yuanhe 2 at 148.

The Sacred Hall (明堂 *Ming tang*), also rendered as the Bright Hall, was one of the Three Enclosures (三雍 *San yong*); the other two, the Spiritual Terrace and the Hall of the Circular Moat, are discussed in notes 3 and 5 following.

The Sacred Hall lay outside the Gate of Tranquillity, central gate in the southern wall of the city, on the road to the Altar of Heaven. It is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 65-66, and deC, *Fire*, 34-38.

HHS 1B:84, cited in note 2 to Zhongyuan 2 at 1, records that Emperor Guangwu gave orders for the construction of all these sites in 56, shortly before his death, but it is only now that they are finished, and Emperor Ming is conducting the first ceremonies. Commentary to *HHS* 1B has quotations from *Hanguan yi* and other texts with descriptions of the buildings and their ceremonies.

² Commentary to *HHS* 2, followed by Hu Sanxing, attaches a lengthy extract from the *Hanguan yi* "Ceremonial of Han Offices" by Ying Shao of the second century describing the costumes and rituals. Though he is not specifically mentioned, it is likely that Liu Cang had also been involved in the planning of this ceremony: note 21 to Yongping 1 at 11 and MBeck, *Treatises*, 88.

³ The Spiritual Terrace (靈臺 *Ling tai*), one of the Three Enclosures (note 1 above), is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 61-64, and deC, *Fire*, 34. It was the main imperial observatory, and was situated a short distance to the east of the Sacred Hall, just outside the southern wall of Luoyang.

Besides astronomical observations, the Terrace was also the site of the curious custom "Watching the Ethers" (候氣 *houqi*). The theory was that the Ethers of each part of the year would cause ashes to blow from one of series of pipes, but it is doubtful whether this ever happened or was indeed possible. The ceremony is discussed at *HHS* 91/1:3016-17, a section of the Treatise on Pitchpipes and the Calendar; MBeck, *Treatises*, 58-59, and deC, *Fire*, 36. More detailed discussions are presented by Hulsewé, "Watching the Vapours," Bodde, "Chinese Cosmic Magic," 19-20, and Huang and Chang, "Evolution and Decline."

The "observation of cloudy substances" (望雲物 *wang yunwu*) relates to Watching the Ethers: the cloudy substances being the ash allegedly expelled by the relevant pipe: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 64-65.

⁴ An amnesty (赦 *she*) was an imperial proclamation giving some general remission of punishment throughout the empire. As Hulsewé points out in *RHL* at 244-245, each amnesty would have been the subject of a different edict, and the terms and details were not necessarily the same. Some are identified as *da* 大 "great" but the difference is unknown and may not have been significant. See also deC, *Huan and Ling*, note 2 at 1, quoting McKnight, *Quality of Mercy*.

Curiously, the Annals in *HHS* 3 do not record an amnesty at this time, but *HHJ* 9:106 also mentions the ceremonies and says that a great amnesty was proclaimed.

1434

In the third month the emperor visited the Hall of the Circular Moat and carried out the Great Archery ceremony for the first time.⁵

B In the winter, in the tenth month, on the day *renzi* [28 Nov], the emperor visited the Hall of the Circular Moat and carried out the ceremony of Entertaining the Aged for the first time. Li Gong was chosen as the Venerable and Huan Rong as the Five-Fold Experienced.⁶

C The Thrice Venerable wore a long gown of fine linen with a Cap for Promoting the Worthy, and supported himself on a jade staff; the Five-Fold Experienced had the same costume, but without a staff.⁷

As the emperor came to the ceremonial hall he took seat in an eastern chamber and sent envoys with a comfortable carriage to bring the Thrice Venerable and the Five-Fold Experienced from the Lecture Hall of the University.⁸ The Son of Heaven

B *HHS* 2:102-03, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

⁵ The Hall of the Circular Moat (辟雍 *Biyong*), one of the Three Enclosures (note 1 above), is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 66-68, and deC, *Fire*, 38. A central square building was guarded by the eponymous moat, but was open to view on all sides, and a large area within the surrounding wall was available for the Archery or for spectators of the ceremony of Entertaining the Aged held each winter: on this last see note 6 immediately following.

Emperor Ming had now inaugurated the third of the Enclosures, completing the program of his father Guangwu. Archery was a traditional skill for a Confucian scholar-official, and the Great Archery (大射 *dashe*), a ritual contest closely associated with the Imperial University, was held in the presence of the emperor in the third and the ninth months of each year: Bodde, *Festivals*, 365-366, Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 66-67, and deC, *Fire*, 83-84, with a detailed account in the Rhapsody of the Eastern Metropolis (東京賦 *Dongjing fu*) by Zhang Heng 張衡 of the late first century AD; Knechtges, *Wen xuan* I, 281-285.

⁶ The ceremony of Entertaining the Aged (養老 *yanglao*) was an important symbolic function of the imperial state, where the sovereign in person prepared and served food to selected elders. This was the first occasion in Later Han, but it was held regularly in the tenth month thereafter. The ceremony is described in the Treatise of Ceremonial as in passage C immediately following, translated by Bodde, *Festivals*, 368-370, and discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 66-67, and deC, *Fire*, 83-86.

HHS 2 quotes the edict announcing and giving instructions for the ceremony, and Li Gong the Thrice Venerable (三老 *sanlao*), is described as venerable man of learning and wisdom (年耆學明 *nianji xueming*), but there is no further information about him.

Huan Rong the Five-Fold Experienced (五更 *wugeng*) was a distinguished scholar of *Shu jing* 書經 the *Classic of History* in the tradition of Ouyang Gao 歐陽高 of Former Han. He had tutored the emperor before he came to the throne, and later served as Minister of Ceremonies, with significant involvement in the planning and construction of the Three Enclosures; his biography is in *HHS* 37/27.

C *HHS* 94/4:3109, the Treatise of Ceremonial.

⁷ This passage follows the text of the Treatise, which has been translated by Bodde, *Festivals*, 369-370. I largely follow his rendering.

The Cap for Promoting the Worthy (進賢冠 *jinxian guan*) is described by the Treatise of Carriages and Robes at *HHS* 120/30:3666. Made of black cloth, it had "ridge/s" (梁 *liang*) which peaked at the front and sloped to the back; the number – one, two or three – depended on the rank of the wearer.

Though the staff is described as "jade" (玉 *yu*), textual emendations suggest that it should be "royal" (王 *wang*).

⁸ A "comfortable carriage" (安車 *anche*) had its wheels wrapped with rushes for smoother riding.

The Imperial University (太學 *taixue*: Bielenstein, Academy) lay just south of the Hall of the Circular Moat. The Lecture Hall (講堂 *jiang tang*), at the heart of the complex, had been constructed in 51. It is said to have been 10 *zhang* 丈 long and 3 *zhang* across; one *zhang* was ten Chinese feet (尺 *chi*) so it would have measured some twenty-four metres/eighty English feet by seven metres/twenty-four feet: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 68.

received them and exchanged courtesies at the screen of the main gate,⁹ then escorted them to the steps [leading up to the main hall]. The Thrice Venerable then ascended by the guest stairway, and as he approached the upper platform the Son of Heaven bowed to him with ceremony. When the Thrice Venerable reached the top he faced to the east; the Three Excellencies prepared a table for him and the Nine Ministers supported him.¹⁰

Baring his arms,¹¹ the Son of Heaven in person carved the flesh of the animal sacrifices, served the meat with condiments and offered cups of wine to wash it down. Prayers were offered on either side for easy eating and good digestion.

The Five-Fold Experienced faced to the south, the Three Excellencies came forward to serve him, and the ritual followed the same pattern.

1435

D When the ceremony was concluded Huan Rong ascended the hall with his disciples and students. The emperor addressed them in person and they debated questions of interpretation before him. The scholars in caps and sashes and the officials in red girdles who gathered outside the bridge-gates to see and hear were numbered by the tens and hundreds of thousands.¹²

An edict sent down at this time awarded Huan Rong a secondary marquise.¹³

⁹ As Bodde explains in *Festivals* at 369 note 33, this screen (屏 *ping*) is a short wall just inside a gate, blocking any direct view from the outside.

¹⁰ Standard etiquette required a subject to face north towards his sovereign. Facing to the east (東面 *dongmian*) or – as for the Five-Fold Experienced below – facing south (南面 *nanmian*), was an exceptional privilege.

¹¹ Bodde, *Festivals*, 364 note 6, discusses the term *tan* 袒, which can indicate full nudity but is unlikely at this time and place.

D *HHS* 37/27:1253, the Biography of Huan Rong; *HHS* 79/69A:2545-46, the Chapter on Confucian Scholars.

¹² "Caps and sashes" (冠帶 *guandai*) is a general term for scholars, while "red girdles" (緝紳 *jinshen*) refers to officials of every rank. As in note 6 above, the central Hall was surrounded by a moat, which was crossed by bridges guarded by gates (橋門 *qiaomen*), but there was a broad area outside where events such as the Archery could take place and spectators could gather. As Bodde remarks in *Festivals* at 370-371 note 41, however, the claim that the audience numbered hundreds of thousands of scholars and officials is an impossible exaggeration.

ZZTJ implies that scholarly debate took place only on this one inaugural occasion; in this Sima Guang is following the Introduction to the Chapter on Confucian scholars at 2545. The parallel text in the biography of Huan Rong, however, after mentioning his recognition as Five-Fold Experienced in 59, goes on to say that he and his disciples were called for scholarly discussions "at the conclusion of each ceremony of the Great Archery and Entertaining the Aged" 每大射養老裡畢.

Based upon this latter text, in "Scholars and Rulers" at 61-63, I have suggested that there was in fact a continuing series of discussions at these occasions, and that although Huan Rong died a year or so later his position was taken by his son Huan Yu 桓郁 and the end result in 71 was a "Detailed Commentary to Major Points of the Tradition of the Five Powers" (五[行]家要說章句 *Wuxingjia yaoshuo zhangju*), a work of the New Text which was formally composed by the emperor but edited by Huan Yu. Emperor Ming's scholarly activity was thus comparable to that of his son and successor Emperor Zhang, who sponsored the well-known conference in the White Tiger Hall in 79, recorded as *Bohu tong* 白虎通: e.g. Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions*, and passage G of Jianchu 4 at 113-114.

¹³ The title of a secondary marquis (關內侯 *guannei hou*) is variously translated: Bielenstein has the literal "Marquis Within the Passes," but other renderings are "Marquis Within the Imperial Domain," "Nobility of the Interior" and "Lesser Marquis." The phrase *guannei* is generally interpreted as referring to the Land Within the Passes, the imperial capital territory of Former Han; by tradition, subjects should not hold territorial fiefs in the region of their sovereign's domain. The major difference between a full marquis and a

E [Across the empire,] Thrice Venerable and Five-Fold Experienced were each granted a lifetime pension of two thousand *shi* of grain, while the Thrice Venerable also received a *shi* of wine and forty *jin* of meat.¹⁴

F From the time that he was appointed Heir [in 43], the emperor had been taught the *Classic of History* by Huan Rong, and now that he had come to the throne he still respected him as a guide to ritual. On one occasion that he visited the ministry of Ceremonies he had Huan Rong sit facing to the east with a desk and a staff and called together imperial officials and students of Huan Rong, several hundred in number.¹⁵ The emperor himself discussed the text, and if any student raised a question, the emperor would reply humbly that "The Master Scholar is here." At the conclusion of the assembly, the Court Provisioner presented a banquet at the ministerial residence.

G Whenever Huan Rong was unwell, the emperor immediately sent messengers to ask about him, and the Court Provisioner and the Court Physician were constantly on the road to attend him. Then he became seriously ill, and he sent a message which expressed gratitude for the favours he had received and asked to return his fief as a secondary marquis.

The emperor went to his residence to enquire after his condition. Arriving in the street outside, he descended from his carriage, pressed his way through to see him, took him in his arms and wept. He presented Huan Rong with bed-cushions and curtains, swords and knives and clothing, and it was a long time before he left.

From this, when any member of the nobility, military commander or gentleman at court came to enquire after Huan Rong, they no longer ventured to ride up to the gate in a carriage, but would come to bow before his bed.

secondary marquis was that full marquises were normally granted a territorial fief and could expect to hand their honour to the next generation, while secondary marquises received only a pension and inheritance was less common. See also Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank."

Huan Rong's biography records also that he was granted the tax revenue from five thousand households. A parallel text in *DGHJ* 16:4a gives the figure of five hundred. As five thousand households provided a large revenue, more appropriate to a full territorial fief, five hundred is the probable figure.

The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes with some surprise that the sources have no mention of the Thrice Venerable Li Gong receiving any enfeoffment.

E *HHS* 2:102-103, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

¹⁴ *Shi* 石 was a measure of capacity, just under twenty litres. *Jin* 斤 was a measure of weight, just under 250 grams; so forty *jin* was almost ten kilograms. See Loewe, "Measurement of Grain," and *Cambridge Han* at xxxviii.

This passage of *ZZTJ* is based upon an edict issued by Emperor Ming marking the inaugural ceremony of Entertaining the Aged in 59. In *Festivals*, 368-372, citing Zhang Heng's Rhapsody of the Eastern Metropolis (note 5 above), Bodde suggests that the provincial ceremony continued in following years in association with the District Wine-drinking festival (鄉飲酒裡 *xiang yinjiu li*); cf. however, Knechtges, *Wen xuan* I, 284.

F *DGHJ* 16:4a, the Biography of Huan Rong.

¹⁵ Emperor Guangwu had appointed Huan Rong Minister of Ceremonies in 54, and he continued in that office under Emperor Ming. The biography of Huan Yu at *HHS* 37/27:1254 places this visit before the ceremony of Entertaining the Aged in passage C above. As in note 10 above, to face east in the presence of the emperor was an exceptional privilege; the staff was a symbol of Huan Rong's authority as a scholar.

Both *DGHJ* 16 and *HHS* 37/27 state that one of the officials in attendance was Emperor Ming's favoured brother the General of Agile Cavalry Liu Cang.

G *HHS* 37/27:1254, the Biography of Huan Rong.

Then Huan Rong died. The emperor changed his clothing [to mourning costume], attended the funeral and accompanied the coffin. He also arranged for a tombland in the Shouyang hills.¹⁶

Huan Rong's son Yu was due to succeed to his father's fief, but asked to cede it in favour of his nephew Fan.¹⁷ The emperor would not agree. Though Huan Yu took the fief, he transferred all the revenue to Huan Fan. The emperor appointed Huan Yu a Palace Attendant.¹⁸

H Liu Yen the King of Zhongshan was the youngest son of the [late] Dowager Guo. The Dowager Yin, however, was particularly fond of him, and for this reason he had hitherto been the only one of his brothers whom the emperor allowed to remain at the capital.¹⁹ Now, and for the first time, he was required to go to his fief like the other kings.

1436 He was awarded a contingent of guards Rapid as Tigers and an escort of official cavalry,²⁰ and was treated with special favour: he was the only king permitted to travel to and from the capital.

I In his dealings with members of the Yin and Guo families, the emperor behaved with equal courtesy; the presents they received and the favours they were granted were comparably generous.

J On the day *jiazi* [of the tenth month, 10 Dec], the emperor travelled to Chang'an.²¹ In the eleventh month, on the day *jiashen* [30 Dec], he sent envoys to offer sacrifice of a

¹⁶ Tang commentary to *HHS* 37/27 identifies 首山之陽 as the Shouyang hills, in present-day Yanshi county just east of Luoyang in Henan.

¹⁷ In honour of Huan Rong, the emperor had appointed his two sons Yong and Yu as gentlemen cadets (郎 *lang*), probationers for office. Huan Yong died soon afterwards, however, and Huan Yu, reluctant to usurp the position of his elder brother, sought to transfer the marquisate to Yong's son Fan.

As above, Huan Rong himself had asked to return the fief, but Emperor Ming had obviously rejected the idea; on the revenue, see note 13 above.

¹⁸ With the high rank/salary of Two Thousand *shi*, Palace Attendants (侍中 *shizhong*) were advisers to the emperor: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 59-60.

H *HHS* 42/32:1449, the Biography of Liu Yen.

¹⁹ The Lady Guo had been the first consort of Guangwu, but was deposed in favour of the Lady Yin in 41: note 6 to Zhongyuan 2 at 2. She had died some years earlier, in 54; *HHS* 10A:403. Though he was not her own child, the Lady Yin was fond of her stepson Liu Yen 焉.

On the variant transcription of Liu Yen's personal name, distinguishing him from his elder full brother Liu Yan 延 the King of Huainan, see note 11 to Zhongyuan 2 at 3. Both were sons of the Lady Guo and half-brothers to Emperor Ming.]

²⁰ Guards Rapid as Tigers (虎賁 *huben*) were imperial prerogatives: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 27-28.

HHS 42/32 quotes Emperor Ming identifying the "official cavalry" (官騎 *guanji*), as a hundred "barbarian cavalry" (胡騎 *huji*) of the Northern Army (北軍 *beijun*). Among the five regiments of the Northern Army stationed about the capital and serving as the central strategic reserve of the empire, the Chang River 長水 Regiment was made up of non-Chinese troopers: *HHS* 117/27:3612, the Treatise of Officials. They were probably horse-archers.

I *HHS* 10A:403, the Biography of the Lady Guo.

J *HHS* 2:104, the Annals of Emperor Ming;
DGHJ 2:2a-b, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

²¹ The texts say also that the emperor went hunting, presumably in the great Shanglin 上林 "Supreme Forest" Park of Qin and Former Han which lay west of Chang'an along the south of the Wei River. It was maintained by Later Han, though that dynasty also had a second Shanglin Park closer to Luoyang: deC, *Huan and Ling*, 8, with discussion and citations in note 5.

sheep and a pig to Xiao He and Huo Guang.²² On the way back he went by their tombs and journeyed into Hedong.²³ On the *guimao* day [18 Jan 60] he returned to the palace [at Luoyang].

K In the twelfth month Dou Lin the Protector of the Qiang was found guilty of deception and corruption; he was sent to prison and died there.²⁴ Dou Lin was the son of an elder cousin of Dou Rong.²⁵

At this time, the Dou could boast one excellency, two marquises, three princesses and four officials with rank/salary of Two Thousand *shi*.²⁶ From grandfather to grandsons, their official residences and mansions faced one another throughout the capital, and no other family could match their connections to the imperial house or their record of service.

Emperor Ming also held sacrifice at the Temple of the Eminent Founder (高廟 *Gaomiao*). This temple to honour Gaozu had been constructed by Former Han and was maintained by Later Han even though Guangwu had established a second Temple of the Eminent Founder at Luoyang as soon as he claimed the throne in 25/26: Bielenstein, *RHD IV*, 164-165.

Both texts add that Emperor Ming visited the eleven tombs of the emperors of Former Han.

²² Xiao He was Chancellor to Emperor Gao at the beginning of Former Han (note 22 to Zhongyuan 2 at 5) and Huo Guang dominated the court of Emperor Zhao in the early first century BC and brought Emperor Xuan to the throne in 73: Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 76-78.

Tang commentary to *HHS 2* quotes *DGHJ* as saying that the tomb of Xiao He lay east of Chang'an, while that of Huo Guang was in the Maoling 茂陵 tombland of Emperor Wu, west across the Wei River: Nylan, "Introduction" to *Chang'an*, 33.

The *zhonglao* 中牢 "Middle Sacrifice" is identified by *Hanguan yi*, quoted in commentary to *HHS 94/4:3110*, the Treatise of Ceremonial, as comprising a sheep and a pig. The combination is sometimes referred to in early texts as the *shaolao* 少牢 "Lesser Sacrifice."

The *tailao* 太牢 "Great Sacrifice," comprising an ox, a sheep and a pig, was reserved for imperial ceremonies: Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions II*, 380, and Bodde, *Festivals*, 56. The Roman Suovetaurilia sacrifice to the god Mars included the same three animals.

²³ Hedong commandery was northeast of Henan across the Yellow River.

K *HHS 87/77:2880-81*; the Account of the Qiang of the West; *HHS 23/13:808*, the Biography of Dou Rong.

²⁴ Dou Lin had been appointed Protector of the Qiang just the year before. He induced the Shaodang leader Dian'an to surrender and, describing him as leader of all the rebels, had him rewarded with suitable titles. Later, when Dian'an's elder brother Dianyu came to surrender, he too was presented as the paramount chief. The contradiction was questioned, but Dou Lin claimed they were actually the same man. His deceit was discovered and he was dismissed.

Soon afterwards, moreover, the Inspector of Liang province accused Dou Lin of corruption, and he was sent to prison: *HHS 87/77*; deC, *Northern Frontier*, 83-84.

²⁵ Dou Rong had been a valued supporter of Guangwu in the northwest: note 30 to Zhongyuan 2 at 6.

²⁶ Tang commentary to *HHS 23/13* gives a list of the positions. It is not specific as to timing: the excellency was Dou Rong himself, who had been Excellency of Works from 37 to 44, but was at this time Minister of the Guards. The marquises were held by Dou Rong and his nephew Dou Gu. The four Two Thousand *shi* appointments were Dou Rong's own as Minister of the Guards, the unfortunate Dou Lin as Protector of the Qiang, Dou Gu as General of the Household (passage H of Zhongyuan 2 at 6) and Dou Rong's eldest son Mu 穆 as Colonel of the City Gates (城門校尉 *chengmen xiaowei*): *HHS 23/13:808*, and on the office see Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 83-84.

Hu Sanxing identifies the princesses (公主 *gongzhu*) who were married to men of the family: Dou Mu and his son Xun 勳 married grand-daughters of Guangwu; Dou Rong's nephew Gu 固 married one of his daughters.

Following the death of Dou Lin, however, the emperor issued a number of edicts which severely reprimanded Dou Rong. Nervous and fearful, Dou Rong sought leave of absence and an edict approved his resignation on grounds of ill health.²⁷

L In this year the ceremony of Welcoming the Ethers [of the Seasons] was carried out for the first time at the five Suburban Altars.²⁸

1437

M Yin Feng, son of Yin Jiu the Marquis of Xinyang, was married to the Princess of Liyi.²⁹

The princess was arrogant and jealous, and Yin Feng killed her. He was executed, and his father and mother both committed suicide.

N The Southern Shanyu Han died. Shi, son of the Shanyu Bi, succeeded him as Xitong shizuhou di Shanyu.³⁰

²⁷ The process of criticism and resignation took some time, for it was not until the winter of the following year that Dou Rong was replaced as minister by the former Grand Commandant Zhao Xi: passage A of Yongping 3.

L *HHS* 2:104, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

²⁸ Emperor Guangwu had established a Southern Altar to Heaven in 26 and the Northern Altar to Earth in 57: passage A to Zhongyuan 2 with note 2 at page 1. These five altars, however, were additional constructions of Emperor Ming: see Bodde, *Festivals*, 368, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 76.

Four altars were situated on the east, south, west and north of the capital, and ceremonies were held each year to Welcome the Ethers (迎氣 *yingqi*) of spring, summer, autumn and winter as the forces of Yin and Yang increased or declined. A fifth "Central" altar lay to the southwest, and ceremonies were held there eighteen days before the end of the sixth month, the last of summer, to mark the middle of the year. The ceremonies are described by calendar order in the Treatise of Ceremonial at *HHS* 94/4:3102, 95/5:3117, 95/5:3123 and 95/5:3125, and also in the Treatise of Sacrifices at *HHS* 98:3181-82; they are discussed by Bodde, *Festivals*, 192-200.

As Bielenstein observes, the rendering of the character 郊 *jiao* as "Suburban" is misleading: the altars (兆 *zhao*) were in the open countryside so that the ethers of the season could move freely: Bodde, 193.

M *HHS* 32/22:1132, the Biography of Yin Jiu.

²⁹ A younger brother of the Empress-Dowager Yin, Yin Jiu was a maternal uncle of Emperor Ming. First enfeoffed in 33, his fief was later transferred to Xinyang county in Runan. Emperor Ming had appointed him Minister Steward.

Shou 綏, Princess of Liyi, was a daughter of Emperor Guangwu; her biography is at *HHS* 10B:458. Li 麗 was a county in Nanyang. An *yi* 邑 was a fief granted to a princess and was held on similar terms to a man's marquisate. The term is explained by commentary to *HHS* 10A:423 as an abbreviation for the term *tangmu yi* 湯沐邑, describing a territory (generally a county) whose taxes were used to provide bathing facilities; a similar explanation, *shi tangmu* 食湯沐, is given by *HHS* 118/28:3623.

MBeck, *Treatises*, 184, renders the term as "bathtown," not particularly felicitous but difficult to improve upon. I generally refer to it by its function as the fief of a princess.

N *HHS* 89/79:2948, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

³⁰ There had been a tradition among the Xiongnu that the position of Shanyu passed from elder brother to younger, and only when that generation was exhausted could it be transferred to the next. Bi 比, first of the Southern Shanyu, had set up his separate state, rival to the north, because he claimed the succession through his father Zhi 知, elder brother of the previous Shanyu Yu 輿: *HHS* 89/79:2939-42; deC, *Northern Frontier*, 227-230. Succession to the Southern state now followed that principle.

Yongping 永平 3: 60 AD

21 February 60 – 8 February 61

A In the spring, in the second month, on the day *jiayin* [30 Mar], the Grand Commandant Zhao Xi and the Excellency over the Masses Li Xin left office.¹

On the day *bingchen* [1 Apr] the Administrator of Zuopingyi Guo Dan was made Excellency over the Masses, and on the day *jiwei* [4 Apr] the Administrator of Nanyang Yu Yan became Grand Commandant.²

B On the day *jiazi* [8 Apr], the Honoured Lady Ma was appointed Empress,³ and the imperial son Liu Da became Heir.

The empress was a daughter of Ma Yuan.⁴ Selected for the harem of the Heir during the time of Emperor Guangwu, she was able to show respect to the Empress Yin and treated all ranks with courtesy. Everyone was fond of her, she was admired and treated with favour, and when the emperor came to the throne she was made an Honoured Lady.

The Lady Jia, daughter of an elder sister of the late mother of the Lady Ma, had been selected for the harem at about the same time, and had given birth to the imperial son Liu Da.⁵ Since the Lady Ma had no children, the emperor gave orders that she should care for him, saying, "Even if the child is not one's own, one can still foster it with full love and affection."

A *HHS* 2:105, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

¹ Zhao Xi was a long-standing and loyal servant of Emperor Guangwu, and had held his appointment as Grand Commandant, most senior of the Excellencies, since 51.

The term 免 *mian* may be used for any official leaving his appointment. In this case, Zhao Xi's biography at *HHS* 26/16:915 says that he had been found guilty of failing to fully investigate some matter involving the Chancellor of Zhongshan, where the emperor's half-brother was king. There are no further details, but Zhao Xi's colleague Li Xin was evidently also involved.

In the winter of that same year, Zhao Xi returned to office, replacing Dou Rong as Minister of the Guards: see passage K of Yongping 2 above.

² Now aged in his mid-eighties, Guo Dan had wide experience in office and was admired for his public service; his biography is in *HHS* 27/17.

Yu Yan was also a senior official with a long and distinguished career; his biography is in *HHS* 33/23.

B *HHS* 2:106, the Annals of Emperor Ming;
HHS 10A:408-09, the Biography of the Empress Ma of Emperor Ming.

³ An Honoured Lady (貴人 *guiren*) was a senior concubine, ranking next to the empress. Despite her imperial position, the Lady Ma's personal name is not recorded.

⁴ Ma Yuan 馬援, a man of family from the northwest, had been one of Guangwu's most successful and valuable military commanders, but in 49, after his death on campaign against the non-Chinese people of Wuling in the region of the Yangzi Gorges, he was unjustly criticised by his enemies and the family lost favour. The Lady Ma's cousin Ma Yan 嚴, however, recommended her and her two sisters for their beauty and character, and she was selected into the harem of the Heir in 52, at the age of thirteen *sui* – eleven or twelve by Western reckoning – this was the normal age for entry. In theory, selection of young women for the imperial harem was the result of wide search in the region of the capital, but family influence naturally played a role.

⁵ The Lady Ma is referred to here as *huanghou* 皇后 "the empress," but this is an anachronism: Liu Da was born in 57, so the Lady had not yet been appointed imperial consort.

There is a biography of the Honoured Lady Jia, mother of Liu Da the future emperor, at *HHS* 10A:414. Her personal name, however, is not recorded.

So the Lady Ma gave all her heart to look after the boy, and was more concerned and attentive to him than if he had been her own son. For his part, the Heir had the deepest and most genuine filial affection for her; they loved one another like mother and child and there was never the slightest rift between them.

Concerned that there were as yet no great number of imperial sons and anxious to ensure the lineage, Lady Ma regularly presented other women [for the emperor's attention]. If a member of the harem received his favours, she accepted and supported her; after the favour was withdrawn she treated her kindly.

When the senior officers of state proposed that the Palace of Prolonged Autumn be established,⁶ and the emperor had not yet made an announcement, the Empress-Dowager [Yin] said to him, "Honoured Lady Ma is the best of all the harem women; she is the one."

1438 Having taken the highest place in the private apartments, the Lady Ma was even more modest and respectful. She loved to read, she dressed in plain silk and the skirts of her gowns were unhemmed. On the first and fifteenth days of each month, when all the imperial concubines came to court, the empress could be recognised from a distance by her plain rough clothing. When those who were wearing fine light silks saw her, they laughed, but the empress replied, "I use this silk simply because it is good at holding coloured dye."

The emperor would often consult the empress about difficult matters raised by his officials; she could swiftly analyse the question and always got to the point. She never, however, involved family or private interest in affairs of government. The emperor admired and respected her for this, and his trust never faltered.

C Thinking of the worthy servants of the restoration, the emperor had the portraits of twenty-eight generals placed in the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace.⁷ The first of them was Deng Yu, followed by Ma Cheng, Wu Han, Wang Liang, Jia Fu, Chen Jun, Geng Yan, Du Mao, Kou Xun, Fu Jun, Cen Peng, Jian Tan, Feng Yi, Wang Ba, Zhu You, Ren Guang, Zhai Zun, Li Zhong, Jing Dan, Wan Xiu, He Yan, Pi Tong, Yao Qi, Liu Zhi, Geng Chun, Zang Gong, Ma Wu and Liu Long;⁸ he also added Wang Chang, Li Tong, Dou Rong and Zhuo Mao, for a total of thirty-four.⁹

⁶ Palace of Prologued Autumn (長秋宮 *Changqiu gong*) was the title given to the apartments of an empress and, in consequence, to the position of the empress herself.

C *HHS* 22/12:789-80, the Discussion (論 *Lun*) to a chapter on generals who served Emperor Guangwu.

⁷ The Cloud Terrace, pavilions on a raised platform, had been constructed by Emperor Guangwu and was used for imperial audiences and scholarly debates: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 26-27.

⁸ Deng Yu had been named Grand Tutor by Emperor Ming: passage E of Zhongyuan 2 at 5; his biography is at *HHS* 16/6:599-607; deC, *LH3K*, 132-134.

The biography of Ma Cheng 馬成 is at *HHS* 22/12:778-79; deC, *LH3K*, 639-640.

The biography of Wu Han 吳漢 is at *HHS* 18/8:675-85; deC, *LH3K*, 867-871.

The biography of Wang Liang 王梁 is at *HHS* 22/12:774-75; deC, *LH3K*, 824-825.

The biography of Jia Fu 賈復 is at *HHS* 17/7:664-668; deC, *LH3K*, 364-366.

The biography of Chen Jun 陳俊 is at *HHS* 18/8:689-91; deC, *LH3K*, 70-71.

The biography of Geng Yan 耿弇 is at *HHS* 19/9:703-13; deC, *LH3K*, 260-262.

The biography of Du Mao 杜茂 is at *HHS* 22/12:789-91; deC, *LH3K*, 180.

The biography of Kou Xun 寇恂 is at *HHS* 16/6:620-28; deC, *LH3K*, 396-398.

The biography of Fu Jun 傅俊 is at *HHS* 22/12:782; deC, *LH3K*, 231.

- D Since his daughter was now empress, Ma Yuan was the only one not included.¹⁰
- E In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day *xinyou* [4 Jun], the emperor's sons Liu Jian and Liu Xian were enfeoffed as kings of Qiansheng and of Guangping.¹¹
- F In the sixth month, on the day *dingmao* [17 Jul], there was a comet to the north of the Heavenly Boat.¹²

The biography of Cen Peng 岑彭 is at *HHS* 17/7:653-62; deC, *LH3K*, 52-55.

The biography of Jian Tan 堅鐔 is at *HHS* 22/12:783; deC, *LH3K*, 372-373.

The biography of Feng Yi 馮異 is at *HHS* 17/7:639-52; deC, *LH3K*, 223-226.

The biography of Wang Ba 王霸 is at *HHS* 20/10:734-37; deC, *LH3K*, 799-801.

The biography of Zhu You 朱祐 is at *HHS* 22/12:769-71; deC, *LH3K*, 1167-1169.

The biography of Ren Guang 任光 is at *HHS* 21/11:751-52; deC, *LH3K*, 714-715.

The biography of Zhai Zun 祭遵 is at *HHS* 20/10:738-44; deC, *LH3K*, 1030-1031.

The biography of Li Zhong 李忠 is at *HHS* 21/11:754-56; deC, *LH3K*, 441-442.

The biography of Jing Dan 景丹 is at *HHS* 22/12:772-74; deC, *LH3K*, 382-383.

The biography of Wan Xiu 萬脩 is at *HHS* 21/11:757; deC, *LH3K*, 798.

The biography of He Yan 蓋延 is at *HHS* 18/8:686-89; deC, *LH3K*, 317-318.

The biography of Pi Tong 邳彤, also known as Pi Yong 彤, is at *HHS* 21/11:757-59; deC, *LH3K*, 695-696.

The biography of Yao Qi 姚期 is at *HHS* 20/10:731-33; deC, *LH3K*, 971-972.

The biography of Liu Zhi 劉祉 is at *HHS* 14/4:560-62; deC, *LH3K*, 594-595.

The biography of Geng Chun 耿純 is at *HHS* 21/11:789-91; deC, *LH3K*, 250-251.

The biography of Zang Gong 臧宮 is at *HHS* 18/8:692-98; deC, *LH3K*, 1023-1024.

The biography of Ma Wu 馬武 is at *HHS* 22/12:784-86; deC, *LH3K*, 650-652.

The biography of Liu Long 劉隆 is at *HHS* 22/12:780-81; deC, *LH3K*, 530-531.

- ⁹ The first three of these were early associates and military supporters of the Han restoration:

The biography of Wang Chang 王常 is at *HHS* 15/5:578-82; deC, *LH3K*, 803-804.

The biography of Li Tong 李通 is at *HHS* 15/5:573-76; deC, *LH3K*, 425-427.

The biography of Dou Rong 竇融 is at *HHS* 23/13:795-808; deC, *LH3K*, 166-169.

Zhuo Mao 卓茂, a distinguished scholar, was named Grand Tutor when Guangwu took the imperial title in 25; his biography is at *HHS* 25/15:869-71; deC, *LH3K*, 1173.

- D *HHS* 24/14:851, the Biography of Ma Yuan.

- ¹⁰ The term *jiaofang* 椒房 "Pepper House" describes the residence of the empress. The pepper plant, with its many corms, was a symbol of fertility – though the Empress Ma herself could not bear children.

- E *HHS* 2:106, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

- ¹¹ Liu Jian has a brief biography at *HHS* 50/40:1667-68; the name of his mother is not recorded. Qiansheng in Qing province had been a kingdom under Former Han; the name would be changed to Le'an 樂安 in 95.

There is a biography of Liu Xian at *HHS* 50/40:1667-68. Guangping had been a kingdom under Former Han, but had since been incorporated into Julu in Ji province. The territory was now separated again to form a kingdom.

- F *HHS* 2:106, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

- ¹² The Treatise of Astronomy at *HHS* 101/11:3229 also records this comet, though where the Annals identify it as *xingbo* 星孛, the Treatise refers to it as *saoxing* 彗星. The Treatise of Astronomy in *Jin shu* distinguishes *saoxing* "broom stars" (also written as 掃星), which are described as having a long tail resembling a broom, from *boxing* 孛星, which send out rays in every direction: *JS* 12:323; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 129-130. For the most part, however, *HHS* Annals refer to the appearance of a comet as *xingbo* 星孛, while the parallel entry in the Treatise describes it as *saoxing*.

The *Tianchuan* 天船 "Heavenly Boat" constellation is a collection of small stars in the area of Western Perseus. The comet was observed to move north from the Heavenly Boat to the *Kang* 亢 "Neck" constellation, second lunar mansion (宿 *xiu*), part of Western Virgo: Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 93, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 96, with Star Map 3. It was visible for thirty-five days.

Noting that the Heavenly Boat relates to the Power of Water, the Treatise identifies the appearance of this comet with extensive flooding by the Yi 伊 and Luo Rivers 洛, south of the capital. The waters

1439

G The emperor was carrying out substantial work on the Northern Palace.¹³ There was a major drought at this time,¹⁴ and the Deputy Director of the Secretariat, Zhongli Yi from Kuaiji commandery, came to the gates of the palace, took off his hat and presented a statement:¹⁵ "In ancient times, when Tang the Victorious met with a period of drought,¹⁶ he questioned himself on six points, asking, 'Is my government unjust? Have I brought sickness to the people? Are my palaces and residences too extravagant? Do I visit my harem too frequently? Is my administration corrupt?'¹⁷ Do flatterers flourish?"

"Now I see great works in the Northern Palace, while the people lose their time for farming. Rulers since ancient times have found no distress in possessing small palaces or poor houses; they suffer only when their people lack peace and comfort. To accord with the intentions of Heaven, you should put a stop to the work."

The emperor gave a written reply: "When Tang raised those six questions, he took personal responsibility for them. No-one else is at fault."¹⁸ He ordered the Court Architect to halt all work on the palace and to reduce the requirement for any labour which was not essential. He also issued an apology to the Excellencies, Ministers and all other officials; as he did so, there came heavy rain.¹⁹

H Zhongli Yi recommended Liu Ping the magistrate of Quanjiao and he was summoned to appointment as a Consultant.²⁰

reached the Jincheng 津城門 or Ford Gate on the southern wall of Luoyang (note 12 to Yongping 1 at 9) and also destroyed the bridge across the Yi: on the rivers, see, for example, Map 1 above at 12.

The flooding also affected thirty-two counties across seven commanderies and kingdoms. It is mentioned in the Annals for this year, though with no specific date but is not noted by the relevant section of the Treatise on the Five Elements at *HHS* 105/15:3308. See also passage L at 26.

G *HHS* 41/31:1408, the Biography of Zhongli Yi.

¹³ On the Northern Palace, see Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 33 ff, and deC, *Fire*, 41-43. The palace had existed since at least the time of Wang Mang, but it had largely been neglected and much of it was in poor repair. Besides the palace buildings and pleasure grounds, Emperor Ming's work also included government offices (官府 *guanfu*): *HHS* 2:107.

¹⁴ There is no mention of drought in the Annals for this year at *HHS* 2:106-07, nor in the relevant place of the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 103/13:3277-78. The *Gujin zhu* 古今注 "Notes on Things Ancient and Modern" compiled by Fu Wuji 伏無忌 of the second century often adds information omitted by the Treatise, but though an extract quoted by Liu Zhao's commentary lists a number of incidents of drought during the reign of Emperor Ming, there is nothing for this year.

On *Gujin zhu*, see MBeck, *Treatises*, especially at 17, 19 and 129-130.

Passage J below records an imperial edict commenting on the number of portents this year, so there may have been a spell of dry weather during the summer, but it was probably an exaggeration to describe it as a drought.

¹⁵ To take off one's headdress (免冠 *mian'guan*) could be a mark of respect, but was sometimes used as a symbol of protest: e.g. passage B with note 6 to Yongyuan 1 at 178.

¹⁶ King Tang – also known as Cheng-Tang 成湯 "Tang the Victorious" – founded the Shang/Yin 商/殷 dynasty: note 7 to Zhongyuan 2 at 2. This traditional story is found in the *Diwang shiji* 帝王世記 compiled by Huang-fu Mi 皇輔謚 of the third century AD, cited by *ZZTJ* commentary.

¹⁷ The term *baoku* 苞苴 here refers to bribery.

¹⁸ In the fuller version of the memorial recorded by *HHS* 41/31, Zhongli Yi expresses concern about his own position as an unworthy servant of the emperor.

¹⁹ Though the drought may have broken, it appears from passage F above that several places received more rain than was wanted.

H *HHS* 39/29:1297, the Biography of Liu Ping.

When Liu Ping was at Quanjiao, he governed with sympathy and kindness. In good years the tax yield from the people increased, in bad years the demand for labour service was reduced. Whenever the provincial or commandery authorities came on tour of inspection, they found that the jail held no prisoners and the people were fully content. With no questions to raise, they left the imperial letter and departed.

I Naturally inquisitive, Emperor Ming enjoyed finding out about people's private affairs and publishing them; several Excellencies, Ministers and senior officials were embarrassed and shamed in consequence, and he would physically abuse members of the Secretariat and other confidential staff.

On one occasion he was angry at the Gentleman Yue Song and took up a stick to beat him.²¹ When Yue Song took refuge under a bed the emperor became even more furious and shouted at him, "Come out!"

1440 Yue Song replied, "The emperor is the sun, and feudal lords are the stars. I have never heard of a sovereign ruler chastising a servant himself." The emperor forgave him.

At this time, everyone at court was intimidated, and each official competed in being firm and harsh lest they be punished themselves. Zhongli Yi was the only one who dared protest: he sealed up and returned a number of imperial letters [refusing to accept or pass on the order to punish someone], and if one of his subordinates made a mistake he would try to protect him.

About this time there were a number of unusual occurrences, and Zhongli Yi sent in a letter to say, "Your majesty has respect for the world of the spirits, and you have sympathy for the common people. The forces of Heaven, however, are not in balance, as cold and heat reject their proper order. This is because your officials are unable to spread moral culture and maintain good government, but are accustomed to acting with undue severity. So senior officials lack any sense of collegiality and the lower officers and people have no wish to co-operate. This situation has now reached a point where it has an effect against the ethos of harmony, and that brings misfortune from Heaven.

"The people can be controlled with virtue, but it is difficult to subdue them by force. When the *Luming* Ode speaks so firmly of feasting and music,²² it is because it is only when the hearts of men and those of the spirits are linked that the forces of

²⁰ Quanjiao county, now in Anhui province, was at that time in the kingdom of Chu 楚, later renamed Pengcheng 彭城. Liu Ping had originally had the personal name Kuang 曠. He changed it about this time.

I *HHS* 41/31:1409, the Biography of Zhongli Yi;
Hou Han shu of Hua Qiao 1:16b, the Biography of Zhongli Yi.

²¹ *ZZTJ* here has the character *chang* 常 "frequently," but others texts have its homonym 嘗 "on one occasion." 嘗 is more likely: though such conduct appears to have been quite common, it is unlikely that this particular incident was repeated.

Yue Song is described here simply as a Gentleman (郎 *lang*), but from a summary biography at *HHS* 41/31:1411 it appears that he was at this time a Gentlemen of the Masters of Writing, most junior of the clerical officers of the Secretariat (尚書郎 *shangshu lang*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 56-57.

²² The *Luming* 鹿鳴 "Deer-Call," first of the Lesser Odes of the Kingdom (小雅 *Xiaoya*), *Shi jing* II.1.1, describes a feast with wine and music provided by a ruler to his guests and ministers; Legge, *CC IV*, 245-247.

Heaven are in balance. I would wish that your majesty might pour down your sage-like virtue, reduce all penalties and punishments, and accord with the forces of the time. By this means you will restore the balance of the Yin and the Yang."

Though the emperor was unable to make use of this advice at the time, he recognised Zhongli Yi's sincerity, and continued to treat him with favour and generosity.

J In the autumn, in the eighth month, on the day *wuchen* [9 Oct], an edict changed the name of the Court Musician to be the Imperial Court Musician. The decision was based upon an apocryphal text.²³

On the day *renshen* [13 Oct], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.²⁴ An edict proclaimed, "In ancient times, King Zhuang of Chu became concerned when

J *HHS* 2:106, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

²³ The Court Musician (太樂令 *taiyue ling*) of Han is discussed by Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 21 [as Prefect Grand Musician]. Commentary to the Annals explains there was a prophecy that the Han would compose music called Yu 予, so Emperor Ming changed the name to *tai yuyue ling*: Bielenstein, 164 note 75. As *yu* can serve as the personal pronoun of the sovereign, I suggest it may be rendered "imperial."

Cai Yong of the late second century compiled ten Treatises, but they were almost completely lost in the troubles at the end of Later Han: MBeck, *Treatises*, 41-50. The commentary of Hu Sanxing, however, quotes a fragment of his Treatise of Ceremonial and Music (裡樂志意 *Liyue zhi*) listing four categories of official music; the first of these was the Grand Imperial Music 太予樂, used for ceremonies at the imperial altars (note 2 to Zhongyuan 2 at 1), the imperial ancestral temples (note 21 to Yongping 1 at 11), and the imperial tombs (note 4 to Yongping 1 at 8).

²⁴ 日有蝕之 (*ri you shi zhi*): "the sun had [something which] encroached upon it" is the term for an eclipse.

The Chinese calendar is based upon the lunar year, with each month commencing at new moon, when the satellite is directly between the sun and earth. Though eclipses could be expected on the first day of a month, they had an equal chance of appearing on the day before: the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 108/18:3372 states that seventy-two eclipses were recorded during the 196 years of Later Han, thirty-two on a first day (朔 *shuo*), thirty-seven on a last day (晦 *hai*), and three on the second day of a month.

The Treatise records this eclipse at *HHS* 108/18:3360, and notes that it took place in the *Di* 氏 "Root" constellation, the third lunar mansion (宿 *xiu*), about the two chief stars of Western Libra; Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 102, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 96 with Star Map 3. The eclipse, Oppolzer 3036/Espenak 04924, is mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 200; it was visible only in the far south.

The Treatise notes that the *Di* constellation relates to houses and palaces, and associates the eclipse with Emperor Ming's work on the Northern Palace: passage G above. Commentary to the Treatise quotes from *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, an anonymous apocryphal work based on *Chunqiu*, which says that an eclipse on a *renshen* day relates to flooding: passages F above and L below.

Commentary to the Treatise, moreover, also quotes the compendium *Gujin zhu* 古今注 "Notes on Things Ancient and Modern" of Fu Wuji 伏無忌, Marquis of Buqi 不其侯 ("Marquis Fu") of the mid-second century: note 14 above at 23. Three additional eclipses are listed: in the eighth month of Yongping 4 [2 Oct 61], in the second month of Yongping 5 [28 Feb 62] and in the sixth month of Yongping 6. The first two were Oppolzer 3039/Espenak 04927 and Oppolzer 3040/Espenak 04928; the latter is mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 201. The third date is miswritten, but may refer to Oppolzer 3043/Espenak 04931, on 12/13 Aug 63. None were visible at Luoyang and all but that of 62 fell on the last day of a month.

In *Treatises* at 129-130 and 148, Mansvelt Beck notes these omissions, and suggests that Sima Biao chose his entries for his own didactic purposes. The missing eclipses, however, are likewise not mentioned by the Annals and, apart from the fact that they do not appear to have inspired any official action or proclamation, it is unclear why these and other later eclipses should have been omitted from both the Annals and the Treatises – which were, after all, compiled by different scholars at different times.

In any event, it is apparent that although Sima Guang would have had access to Liu Zhao's commentary to the Treatise, including and citations from *Gujin zhu*, he based his record of eclipses on the Annals.

there were no natural calamities, and when Duke Ai of Lu ruled exceedingly badly Heaven sent down no signs of criticism.²⁵

1441 "The present disturbances and changes indicate that it is still possible to save the situation. My senior officials must pay careful attention to their duties in order that we may correct those areas where our virtue is lacking."²⁶

In the winter, in the tenth month, on the day *jiazi* [4 Dec], the emperor accompanied the Empress-Dowager on a visit to Zhangling.²⁷

K Guo He the Inspector of Jing province had governed exceptionally well, and the emperor awarded him the robes of an Excellency, embroidered black and blue with white designs, and a ceremonial cap with gemstones. By imperial order, when he travelled through the province his carriage should have no curtains, so that the people might see the fine clothing which displayed his virtues.

L On the day *wuchen* [6 Feb, 61] the emperor returned from Zhangling.²⁸

In this year the capital district and seven commanderies suffered heavy flooding.²⁹

M King Xian of Suoju [Yarkand] had used his military authority to dominate the kingdoms of Yutian [Khotan], Dayuan [Ferghana] and Guisai, and had sent military officers to govern them.³⁰

²⁵ King Zhuang of Chu 楚莊王 in the early sixth century BC is recorded as a successful ruler who established hegemony over all the rival states under the Zhou dynasty: e.g. *SJ* 5:196; Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 103, and *SJ* 40:1700-03; Chavannes, *Mémoires* IV, 350-356.

During the reign of Duke Ai 哀公 in the early fifth century BC the state of Lu 魯 was divided and weakened, and he is said to have been notorious for the poor quality of his government. See, for example, Nivison, "Classical Philosophical Writings," 748. Part of the Annals of Duke Ai form the twelfth and final section of *Chunqiu* with *Zuo zhuan* 春秋左傳: Legge, *CC* V, 792-861.

²⁶ The emperor's argument is that the recent signs from Heaven, while indicating that his regime is not perfect, are nonetheless better than no signs at all, which could imply that the problems were too severe and that the government is beyond redemption.

²⁷ Chongling 春陵 county in Nanyang, former homeland of the now imperial Liu family, had been renamed Zhangling by Emperor Guangwu in 30: note 17 to Zhongyuan 2 at 4. Just east of present-day Xiangfan in Hubei, it was some three hundred kilometres from Luoyang.

K *Hou Han shu* of Xie Cheng 1:6a, the Biography of Guo He.

L *HHS* 2:107, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

²⁸ The Annals give the date as the *wuchen* day of the twelfth month, but *ZZTJ* fails to mention the month, implying that it was still in the tenth month. The *wuchen* day of the tenth month, however, was 8 December, which would have allowed just four days for the round trip, and that was quite impracticable.

Besides the award to Guo He as immediately above, the Annals say that the emperor particularly visited the former family home in Chongling/Zhangling. The whole tour lasted just over two months.

²⁹ On the floods of this year, see passage F above.

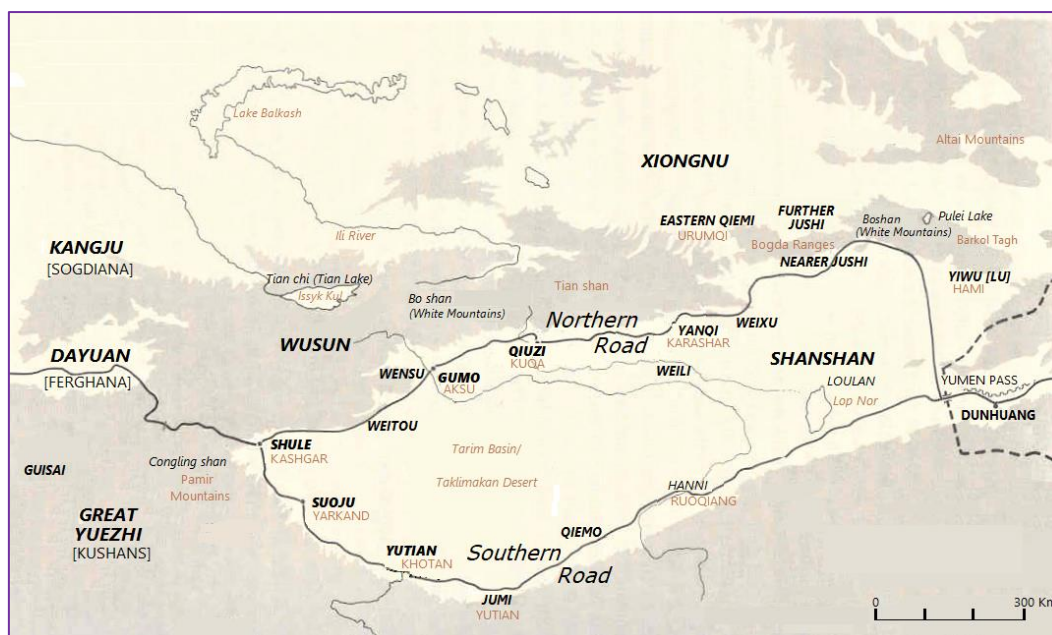
M *HHS* 88/78:2925, the Account of the Western Regions.

³⁰ *Xiyu* 西域 "Western Regions" described the southern part of present-day Xinjiang, being the Tarim basin about the Takla Makan desert, together with Turfan. DeC, "Western Regions," 6-9, has a summary of events at this time, and further details of individuals are in deC, *LH3K*.

In 29 King Kang 康 of Suoju, who had opposed the Xiongnu and had given refuge to Chinese, was granted title as Grand Chief Commandant of the Western Regions (西域大都尉 *xiyu da duwei*).

Kang died in 33, and was succeeded by Xian, his younger brother, who swiftly took over two neighbouring states. In 38 he asked Guangwu for title as a Protector-General (都護 *duhu*), and though he was refused he expanded his authority over the oasis city-states of the Tarim basin. Still recovering from the effects of civil war, the Chinese government was unwilling to get involved.

Yutian, present-day Khotan, was southeast of Suoju. Across the Pamir ranges, Dayuan is identified with ancient Ferghana: Hulsewé/Loewe, *Central Asia*, 131. Guisai was further south, on the headwaters of



Map 2: The Western Regions during Later Han

The men of Yutian killed their governor, Junde, and set up their leader Xiumoba as king. Xian led the troops of all his dependencies, several ten thousand men, to attack them, but he was thoroughly defeated by Xiumoba and barely managed to escape.³¹ Xiumoba moved forward to besiege Suoju, but was killed by a stray arrow.

The men of Yutian appointed Guangde, son of Xiumoba's elder brother, to be their king, and he sent his younger brother Ren to attack Xian. Guangde's father had been held hostage in Suoju, and Xian now sent him home and gave Guangde his daughter in marriage; they made an agreement of peace and kinship.³²

Amu Darya, the Oxus River. *ZZTJ* has only a summary account of events which are recorded in more detail by *HHS* 88/78; for example, while Xian did take over Dayuan for a time, his representative was swiftly driven away by troops from its northern neighbour Kangju 康居 [Sogdiana].

³¹ Again, *ZZTJ* summarises. There were two major engagements, both resulting in heavy defeats for Xian's armies, before he was obliged to flee.

³² *Heqin* 和親 "peace and kinship" was a regular term for a marriage alliance designed to seal a treaty. It was used most commonly by Former Han in relations with the Xiongnu, but appears also in other places and contexts. See, for example, Yü, *Trade and Expansion*, 10, 48 and 138.

CHAPTER 45

being Chapter 37 of the Chronicle of Han
containing Part 2 of the reign of Emperor Ming

Yongping 永平 4: 61 AD

9 February 61 – 29 January 62

1442

A In the spring, soon after the emperor had gone out to inspect private dwellings in the capital, he took it in mind to go hunting in Henei.¹ Liu Cang the King of Dongping sent in a memorial of protest,² and as soon as the emperor read it he returned to the palace.

B In the autumn, in the ninth month, on the day *wuyin* [14 Oct], Liu Jian the Lamented King of Qiansheng died. He had no sons and the state was abolished.³

In the winter, in the tenth month, on the day *yimao* [20 Nov], the Excellency over the Masses Guo Dan and the Excellency of Works Feng Fang left office.⁴

The Intendant of Henan, Fan Qian of Pei, became Excellency over the Masses⁵ and the Minister Coachman Fu Gong became Excellency of Works. Fu Gong was a nephew [elder brother's son] of Fu Zhan.⁶

A HHS 42/32:1434, the Biography of Liu Cang.

¹ The phrase 校獵 is discussed by Bodde, *Festivals*, 381-386, who transcribes it as *jiaolie* and prefers the rendering "competitive hunt." Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 82, transcribes it as *xiaolie* and interprets it as "hunting within an enclosure." *Hou Han shu* has few instances of the character *lie* used by itself, and 校獵, however transcribed, is a generic term for the imperial hunt.

The rhapsodies on the capitals of Han by Ban Gu and Zhang Heng have poetic descriptions of such hunts; the relevant passages are translated by Knechtges, *Wen xuan* I at 135-141, 157-163, 213-227 and 285-291, and discussed by Hughes, *Two Chinese Poets*, 33, 71, 101-103 and 147-148.

² HHS 42/32 has some part of the text of the memorial, which cites *Shu jing* 書經 the *Classic of History*, *Shi jing* 詩經 the *Classic of Poetry* and *Li* 禮 *Ritual* (note 7 to Yongping 9) to argue that spring is the wrong time for hunting because it interferes with farming; the exercise should be enjoyed only in autumn and winter.

B HHS 2:108, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

³ Liu Jian was a son of Emperor Ming by an unknown concubine: note 11 to Yongping 3 at 22. The annals record only his death; his single-column biography at HHS 50/40:1667 mentions his posthumous title 哀 "Lamented," and adds the information that he died young without children, and that the fief was ended.

⁴ Guo Dan had been appointed an Excellency in the previous year: passage A to Yongping 3 at 20. Feng Fang, an early supporter of Guangwu, became Excellency of Works in 56; his biography is in HHS 33/23.

The brief entry in the Annals, with its neutral term *mian* 免 "left office," conceals that fact that both men were obliged to resign because they had endorsed a false campaign of slander against Deng Rong 鄧融 the Administrator of Longxi: HHS 31/21:1101-02, 27/17:941, and 33/23:1149; deC, *LH3K*, 120.

⁵ Henan was the capital commandery about Luoyang; the office of Intendant (尹 *yin*) was equivalent to an Administrator but had extra powers for dealing with persons of high rank. Fan Qian has a biography in HHS 27/17. He had been a successful Administrator on the frontier and was celebrated for his honesty.

⁶ Fu Zhan served Wang Mang and then Emperor Guangwu, who appointed him Excellency over the Masses and awarded him a marquisate. When he died without children in 37, his nephew Gong was adopted to maintain the lineage. He has a biography in HHS 26/16.

Fu Gong's father Fu An 伏黯, younger twin brother of Fu Zhan, was a noted scholar who served Wang Mang and later became Minister of the Household to Emperor Guangwu. Fu An had composed a detailed commentary (章句 *zhangju*) to *Shi jing* 詩經 the *Classic of Poetry*, which his adopted son Fu Gong summarised to "only" 200,000 characters: Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 148-149.

- C Liang Song, Marquis of Ling District, was found guilty of disloyal resentment and of having sent in false reports. He was sent to prison and died there.⁷
- D Before this, when the emperor was still Heir, Zheng Zhong the son of the Palace Counsellor Zheng Xing was known for his understanding of the classics.⁸ On the recommendation of Liang Song, both the Heir and [his brother] Liu Jing the King of 1443 Shanyang offered him silk cloth and invited him to enter their service.⁹ Zheng Zhong replied, however, "The Heir is the adjunct ruler, and it is wrong for him to have personal connections, while it has long been a principle of Han that the kings who serve as a screen should not have private communication with retainers."¹⁰
- "It is the wish of your elders," claimed Liang Song, "you cannot disobey."
"Even if I die for it," replied Zheng Zhong, "I shall hold to the proper course of conduct rather than defy the prohibitions and offend the law." And he would not go.
- When Liang Song fell, many of his followers were also found guilty; Zheng Zhong was the only one who was not implicated.
- E Guangde the King of Yutian brought thirty thousand men from all his allied states to attack Suoju. Capturing King Xian of Suoju by trickery, he killed him and took over his territory.¹¹
- The Xiongnu raised troops from other kingdoms and laid siege to Yutian.¹² Guangde asked to surrender,¹³ and the Xiongnu then established Bujuzheng, a son of

Fu Gong's biography in the Chapter on Confucian Scholars at *HHS* 79/69B:2571 has a brief account of Fu An.

C *HHS* 34/24:1170, the biography of Liang Song.

⁷ Eldest son of Liang Tong 梁統, a leading assistant of Emperor Guangwu in the northwest, Liang Song had inherited his father's marquisate at his death in 40 and had married one of Guangwu's daughters. He was favoured by the emperor, but had been snubbed by the great general Ma Yuan.

In 49, as Ma Yuan was engaged with the non-Chinese people of Wuling commandery, Guangwu became dissatisfied with the progress of the campaign and sent Liang Song to investigate. Ma Yuan had died just at this time, but the tribes were forced to surrender. Liang Song, however, reported that Ma Yuan's strategy had failed; his claim was supported by enemies of the Ma, and the family was disgraced: see Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 71-73, citing *HHS* 24/14:844 and 86/76:2832; also note 4 to Yongping 3 at 20.

Liang Song became a minister under Emperor Ming, but he was dismissed in 59 for seeking improper advantage from his position, and in the following year Ma Yuan's daughter became empress: passage B of Yongping 3 at 20. Liang Song was now found to have displayed resentment at his demotion, and the earlier matter of his attack on Ma Yuan was also raised against him: on this last, see the Tang commentary to *HHS* 34/24 and the discussion by the modern scholar Wang Bu in *HHSJJ* at 1234.

D *HHS* 36/26:1224, the Biography of Zheng Zhong.

⁸ Both Zheng Xing and Zheng Zhong were scholars noted for their expertise in the Confucian classics and for their work on calendars. Zheng Xing also has a biography at *HHS* 36/26:1217-23.

A Palace Counsellor (太中 *taizhong dafu*; Grand Palace Grandee), with salary/rank at One Thousand *shi*, was an adviser to the emperor.

⁹ On Liu Jing, who would prove to be of doubtful loyalty, see passage D of Zhongyuan 2 at 3-4.

¹⁰ The phrase 蕃王 refers to the tradition that kings of the imperial house should serve as screen (蕃 *fan*) and support to the government.

E *HHS* 88/78:2926, the Account of the Western Regions.

¹¹ As in passage M of the previous year, Yutian [Khotan] and Suoju [Yarkand] had been at war, but Guangde made a treaty of peace with King Xian and married his daughter. When Xian asked why he had now returned with such an army, Guangde invited him to a private meeting, then stabbed and killed him. Traitors in Suoju then opened the city gates to the invaders.

¹² *HHS* 88/78 mentions three of the states which joined the Xiongnu attack: Yanqi 焉耆 [Karashar], Weili 尉黎 and Qiuzi 龜茲 [Kuqa], all on the northern rim of the Tarim basin.

King Xian whom they had held as their hostage, as King of Suoju. Guangde, however, returned to the attack and killed him, placing his own brother Qili on the throne.¹⁴

- F Liu Cang the King of Dongping was concerned that he was a close kinsman of the emperor holding a leading position in the government, with influence increasing every day.¹⁵ At one time or another he offered repeated memorials to say, "Since the Han first arose, no member of the imperial house has been able to hold office as an Excellency or a Minister. I beg permission to return my seal and ribbon as General of Agile Cavalry and to withdraw to my screening state."¹⁶ He argued most earnestly and firmly, and the emperor eventually allowed him to retire to his fief, though he would not permit him to return his insignia as a general.¹⁷

¹³ *HHS* 88/78 says that Guangde agreed to pay tribute to the Xiongnu and gave his eldest son as hostage.

¹⁴ We are not told how the Xiongnu reacted to this attack on their protégé state, but one cannot believe that the hostage prince, eldest son of Guangde, did well from his father's *volte-face*.

F *HHS* 42/32:1435, the Biography of Liu Cang.

¹⁵ Liu Cang was a full brother of Emperor Ming, who had chosen him as one of his chief assistants when he came to the throne: passage E to Zhongyuan 2 at 5.

¹⁶ On the concept of a "screening state" (藩國 *fan'guo*), see note 10 above. The characters 藩 and 蕃, both now transcribed as *fan*, are variants with the same significance.

¹⁷ On the actual date of Liu Cang's retirement, see passage A of Yongping 5 immediately below.

Yongping 永平 5: 62 AD

30 January 62 – 16 February 63

A In the spring, in the second month, on the day *gengxu* [15 March], Liu Cang left office and returned to his kingdom.¹

B The emperor appointed the [former] Chief Clerk of Agile Cavalry as Grand Tutor of Dongping,² while his senior clerks were made Royal Counsellors and his foreman clerks became Gentlemen in his household.³ He also awarded them fifty million cash and a hundred thousand rolls of cloth.

C In the winter, in the tenth month, the emperor went to visit Ye; he returned to the palace in the same month.⁴

1444

In the eleventh month the Northern Xiongnu raided Wuyuan. In the twelfth month they raided Yunzhong, but the Southern Shanyu fought them and drove them back.

In this year a program commenced to have frontier people who had settled in the inner commanderies of the empire return to their former homes. Each person received a grant of two hundred thousand cash for the costs of the move.

D Dou Rong, Honoured Marquis of Anfeng, was now old.⁵ His sons and grandsons acted as they pleased, and they frequently broke the law.

A *HHS* 2:108, the Annals of Emperor Ming;
HHS 42/32:1435, the Biography of Liu Cang.

¹ Liu Cang held the royal fief of Dongping. *ZZTJ* says that he returned to his kingdom (國 *guo*); *HHS* 2 uses the term (藩 *fan*); on this, see notes 10 and 16 to Yongping 4 above

The Beijing edition of *ZZTJ* omits the day, but it is given by *HHS* 2 and the text-critical commentary notes that two other editions mention it.

B *HHS* 42/32:1435, the Biography of Liu Cang.

² The title Grand Tutor (太傅 *taifu*) was reserved for the mentor of a new emperor (as in passage E and note 20 to Zhongyuan 2 at 5), and the regular position at a royal court was Palace Tutor (中傅 *zhongfu*) or simply Tutor (*fu*): *HHS* 118/28:3627. Given the substantial influence and responsibility he had held in the central government, it is unlikely that Liu Cang required such guidance or supervision in his own state. This appointment was simply a courtesy to him and to his former officer – whose name, however, is not mentioned.

³ These appointments and rewards were likewise courtesies to Liu Cang and his subordinates.

The title Palace Counsellor (中大夫 *zhong dafu*) had been used at the imperial court of Former Han but was later changed to Household Counsellor (光祿大夫 *guanglu dafu*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 25 [as Imperial Household Grandee].

HHS 118/28:3629; Bielenstein, 107, identifies Counsellors (*dafu*) who served as royal agents and as messengers to the imperial court, with rank/salary Equivalent to Six Hundred *shi*. I believe, however, that the full title was *zhong dafu*, and in this context I render the title as Royal Counsellor. There is detailed discussion in note 3 to Yongping 17 at 74.

Similarly, Gentlemen in the royal household (王家郎 *wangjia lang*) were Gentlemen of the Palace (郎中 *langzhong*), bodyguards in the entourage of a king. Their rank/salary was Two Hundred *shi*, but they were eligible for entry to the imperial commissioned service: *HHS* 118/28 and Bielenstein, *loc.cit.*

In effect, members of Liu Cang's administrative staff are being transferred to his new state, with opportunity for promotion in the future.

C *HHS* 2:109, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

⁴ The city of Ye, capital of Wei commandery, was near present-day Linzhang in the far south of Hebei, some three hundred kilometres northeast of Luoyang.

D *HHS* 23/13:808-09, the Biography of Dou Rong.

Dou Rong's eldest son Mu was married to the Princess of Neihuang.⁶ Forging an edict from the Empress-Dowager Yin, he had persuaded Liu Xu the Marquis of Liu'an to divorce his wife and marry his [Dou Mu's] daughter.⁷

[In this year] the family of Liu Xu's former wife presented a document with an account of the affair, and the emperor was extremely angry. Dou Mu and his brothers were dismissed from their official positions, while all members of the family who held lesser appointments, and all their associates, were ordered back to their home commanderies.⁸ Dou Rong was the only one allowed to remain in the capital district. He died soon afterwards.

Some years later, Dou Mu and the others were again found guilty of an offence. He and his sons Xun and Xuan all died in prison.⁹

A long time afterwards, an edict permitted Dou Rong's wife and her small grandchild to return to live in Luoyang.¹⁰

⁵ Dou Rong, a leading supporter of Emperor Guangwu in the northwest, had been enfeoffed with the county of Anfeng 安豐 in Lujiang. Two years earlier, however, his family had come under a cloud and he had been obliged to relinquish his official appointments: passage K of Yongping 2 at 18.

As below, Dou Rong died later this year at the age of seventy-eight *sui*, and was awarded the posthumous title Dai 戴 "Honoured." Most of the events recounted in this passage had taken place one or two years before, however, and since Dou Rong was alive at the time the use of his posthumous title is anachronistic.

⁶ Neihuang county was in Wei commandery. As Qian Daxin remarks in the *jijie* commentary at 852, nothing more is known of this lady and no princess of Neihuang is listed among the imperial daughters in *HHS* 10B:458-60; she was presumably the daughter of one of the sons of Emperor Guangwu.

⁷ The reason for this piece of trickery is explained by *HHS* 23/13. Liu'an county in Lujiang commandery was next to Anfeng, the fief held by Dou Rong and thus due to be inherited by Dou Mu; and furthermore, until it was absorbed into Lujiang in 37, Liu'an had been the base of a separate kingdom. By a series of marriage alliances, Dou Mu was planning to restore the royal fief.

With forgery of an imperial document, this was a very dangerous procedure. It is not clear when these manoeuvres took place, but there had already been difficulties (note 5 above), and one can only assume that Dou Mu had an exaggerated sense of his own and his family's importance and security.

⁸ In fact, *HHS* 23/13 says that Dou Mu and the others were very soon allowed to return to the capital, but they were kept under surveillance.

⁹ This statement combines several separate events. It was reported later that Dou Mu and his kinsfolk had shown resentment, so Emperor Ming again sent them away from the capital. Dou Mu was then found to have attempted to bribe a local officer: he and his son Xuan died in prison in Youfufeng: *HHS* 23/13:809. On this whole case, see also Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 459-460.

Dou Xun was married to the Princess of Piyang 滹陽公主, a daughter of Liu Qiang the late King of Donghai: on whom see, for example, passage C and note 6 to Yongping 1 at 9. He was therefore allowed to stay at the capital, but was later investigated further and died in prison at Luoyang: *HHS* 23/13:809 and 813.

Despite the fate of her husband, however, Dou Xun's wife the Princess of Piyang evidently remained at the capital, and their daughter was later taken into the harem of Emperor Zhang: passage L of Jianchu 2 at 106.

¹⁰ Some years later a surviving son of Dou Mu, Dou Jia, was enfeoffed in Anfeng to maintain the male lineage: passage I of Yongping 14 at 60.

Yongping 永平 6: 63 AD

17 February 63 – 6 February 64

A In the spring, in the second month, a precious tripod cauldron was found at Wangluo Mountain and was presented to the throne.¹

In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day *jiazi* [23 May], an edict proclaimed:

When a fortunate omen is sent down, it is a sign of virtue. At this time, however, my government has many failings; what have I done to merit this?

Yi jing the Book of Changes says, "A cauldron is the image of the Three Excellencies,"² but can one say that my senior ministers have earned such praise? Let each Excellency be granted fifty rolls of silk cloth, and let the Nine Ministers and all officials of Two Thousand *shi* receive half that amount.³

The late emperor issued an edict forbidding the use of the word "sacred" in writing to the throne.⁴ Since that time, however, reports and memorials have quite frequently been presented with extravagant compliments. In future, should any such document contain excessive verbiage or empty phrases, the Imperial Secretariat is instructed to reject it and not send it on. This may show that I shall not be affected by flattery.

1445

A *HHS* 2:109-10, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

¹ *HHS* 2 says that the cauldron (鼎 *ding*) was presented by the Administrator of Lujiang, so Wangluo Mountain 王雒山 was in the east of the Dabie range in the south of present-day Anhui. The name Wangluo "royal Luo," reflecting the name of the imperial capital, was no doubt considered significant.

The scholar Ban Gu, compiler of *Han shu*, composed an Ode to the Precious Cauldron 寶鼎詩 *Baoding shi*: *HHS* 40/30B:1372-73. He describes its luminous colours and records that it was placed in the Temple of the Eminent Founder (高廟 *Gao miao*): on which see note 2 of Zhongyuan 2 at 1. Emperor Ming gave instructions for this to be done in the edict which follows, but that text is omitted by *ZZTJ*.

² The bronze cauldrons of early China were supported by three legs, hence the analogy with the three most senior officials. *Zhouyi* 周易 "The Changes of the Zhou Period" refers to *Yi jing*, but the phrase 鼎象三公 does not appear in the present-day text; the commentary of Hu Sanxing suggests that it came from a supplementary apocryphal work, now lost.

³ The emperor has expressed some doubt whether the omen should be credited to his officials, but is nonetheless prepared to offer some form of reward. The amounts, however, do not appear particularly generous.

⁴ Emperor Guangwu issued the edict in 31 AD, after an eclipse of the sun on the last day of the third month of Jianwu 7: *HHS* 1B:52; followed by *ZZTJ* 34:1352. The Chinese lunar calendar begins each month at new moon, when the moon is directly between the earth and the sun; those are the times that an eclipse may be expected. It was not uncommon, however, for an eclipse to be observed on the day before, on the last day of a month: see passage J and note 24 to Yongping 3 at 25 citing the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 108/18:3372.

On that occasion, Guangwu took the phenomenon as sign of supernatural displeasure, and showed his concern by avoiding the main hall of the palace, undertaking no official business for five days, and ordering a pause in the fighting against his rival Gongsun Shu 公孫述 in present-day Sichuan. In similarly humble vein he ordered that reports and comments on the government were to be expressed without reserve and that the term *sheng* 聖 "sacred" should not be used – his regime was not so perfect.

In this case, though the omen received by Emperor Ming was favourable, he is reinforcing the same message, and he would do so again more explicitly when another eclipse fell on the last day of the tenth month of 65: passage H of Yongping 8 at 40.

In fact, however, from 55 AD, towards the end of the reign of Emperor Guangwu, and throughout the reign of Emperor Ming, all eclipses recorded by the Annals and by the Treatise of Astronomy fell on the last day of a month: *HHS* 108/18:3360-61. Not every such incident was taken as an omen, and the calendar was later changed: passage C of Yuanhe 2 with note 8 at 146.

In the winter, in the tenth month, the emperor journeyed to Lu.⁵ In the twelfth month he returned by way of Yangcheng,⁶ arriving back in the palace on the day *renwu* [6 Feb 64].⁷

- B During this year, the Southern Shanyu Shi died. Su, son of the Shanyu Mo, succeeded him as the Qiuchujulin di Shanyu.⁸ A few months later he too died and was succeeded by Chang, younger brother of the Shanyu Shi; he was the Huxie shizuhou di Shanyu.

⁵ Lu was part of the kingdom of Donghai, which had been held by Liu Qiang, half-brother to Emperor Ming and former imperial Heir. He had died in 58: passage C and note 6 of Yongping 1 at 9. The capital of the kingdom was just over four hundred kilometres east of Luoyang.

The Annals say that the emperor went to Lu to offer sacrifice at Liu Qiang's tomb, and while he was there he held a general meeting with his brothers and half-brothers from the kingdoms of the eastern plain: Liu Fu the King of Pei, Liu Ying the King of Chu, Liu Cang the King of Dongping, Liu Yan the King of Huaiyang and Liu Jyng the King of Langye: note 11 to Zhongyuan 2 at 2-3. His nephew Liu Zheng the King of Donghai, son of Liu Qiang, was also present: passage C and note 10 to Yongping 1 at 9.

I use a variant transcription of the personal name of Liu Jyng, to distinguish him from his errant brother Jing the King of Guangling: passage D of Zhongyuan 2 with note 11 at 3-4 and passage E of Yongping 1 at 10.

⁶ The county of Yangcheng in Yingchuan, now Dengfeng in Henan some fifty kilometres from Luoyang, contained Songgao Mountain 嵩高山. Now known more commonly as Song Shan, it was recognised as the central peak (中岳 *zhongyue*) of the five sacred mountains of China: *HHS* 110/20:3422 and *SJ* 28:1356; Chavannes, *Mémoires* III, 416. Having made a slight detour to the south, the emperor sent a party to offer sacrifice at the mystical site.

⁷ This was the second-last day of the Chinese year.

B *HHS* 89/79:2948, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

⁸ Mo, younger brother of the first Southern Shanyu Bi, had succeeded him in 56 but died in the following year: passage I of Zhongyuan 2 at 7. On the titles of Shanyu, see note 31 to that passage.

In accordance with the succession principles of the Southern Xiongnu (on which see note 30 to Yongping 2 at 19), Mo had been succeeded by his younger brother Han, and Han in turn by a fourth brother Shi. As there were now no surviving brothers of the original Shanyu Bi, the system was transferred to the next generation.

Yongping 永平 7: 64 AD

7 February 64 – 25 January 65

A In the spring, in the first month, on the day *guimao* [26 Feb], the Empress-Dowager Yin died. In the second month, on the day *gengshen* [14 Mar], there was the funeral of the Guanglie Empress.¹

B The Northern Xiongnu were still powerful and frequently raided the frontier. When they sent envoys to seek peaceful trade the emperor was anxious to make an agreement in order that they might halt their attacks, so he approved.²

C Zong Jun the Chancellor of Donghai was appointed Director of the Secretariat.³

Before this, when Zong Jun was Administrator of Jiujiang, he attended to business on just one day in five, dismissing his clerical staff and closing all the Investigators' offices. The counties had no disturbances, and people attended peaceably to their work.⁴

Jiujiang commandery had long had serious problems with tigers. Hunting parties were constantly called up to make cages or dig traps to catch them, but people were still being killed or injured. Zong Jun sent an instruction to the county authorities, saying, "Just as the north has chickens and piglets, so the lands of the Yangzi and the Huai have wild beasts. The real cause of harm is officials of poor quality, and calling men up to hunt tigers is not the way to deal with the true basis of fear and anxiety.⁵ Now if you pay attention to removing wickedness and greed, and put your minds to developing loyalty and good conduct, you can eliminate the need for cages and traps and do away with that system of conscription." From that time on there was no further concern about tigers.⁶

A *HHS* 2:110, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

¹ The first character of the late empress's title reflects the posthumous title of her consort Emperor Guangwu. Tang commentary to her biography at *HHS* 10A:405 note 1 *bis* quotes *Shifa* 諡法 "Rules for Awarding Post-humous Titles" explaining that the character *lie* 烈 "Meritorious" honoured her virtue and her sense of duty.

B *HHS* 89/79:2948, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

² The Annals refer to the Xiongnu approach as begging for peace and a marriage settlement (乞和親 *qi heqin*): see note 32 to Yongping 3 at 27. The Account of the Xiongnu says that the court was concerned about the raiding, which somewhat justifies the payment of Danegeld.

C *HHS* 41/31:1412-13, the Biography of Zong/Song Jun;
HHJ 9:116-117;

Xu Han shu of Sima Biao 3:14b, the Biography of Song/Zong Jun.

³ *Hou Han ji*, *Xu Han shu* and other texts have the surname Zong 宗 as 宋 Song. Cf. Song/Zong Yi at passage D of Zhanghe 2 with note 8 at 165.

⁴ Commandery units under Han were divided into five divisions (部 *bu*), each headed by an Investigator (督郵 *duyou*) supervising a number of subordinate counties: *HHS* 118/28:3621; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 97.

Zong Jun's policy is one of *wuwei* 無為 – non- or minimal action: without interference from the government, people manage themselves perfectly well.

⁵ There are echoes here of Confucius' comment, "Cruel government is worse than a tiger" 苛政猛於虎也: *Li ji* 4.193 [*Tangong* B 檀弓下 chapter].

⁶ *HHJ* and *XHS* both claim that the tigers went away across the Yangzi, but the second-century scholar Ying Shao doubts the story: see his *Fengsu tongyi* 2:18-19; Nylan, "*Feng su t'ung yi*," 401-403.

Having heard of Zong Jun's reputation, the emperor appointed him to the heart of the government.⁷

Zong Jun remarked to some companions, "His Majesty is pleased to have learned and honest officials, and believes that they will be sufficient to put a stop to wickedness. However men of literary ability are also skilled at trickery and deception, 1446 while honest officials are primarily concerned with their own good conduct [and not with effective government]. None of them are any use when ordinary people are displaced and lost, or when bandits and rebels cause harm. I would like to make the kowtow [in accepting office] and fight against this, but the time for change has not yet come. I shall have to put up with a long period of frustration before I can say anything."

Before he had been able to speak out, Zong Jun was transferred to be Director of Retainers. When the emperor heard later of what he had said, he remembered him with admiration.⁸

⁷ The phrase 樞機 *shuji* refers to the fact that the Secretariat was responsible for all official communications, so the Director held a central position in the imperial administration.

⁸ Zong Jun had a lengthy and distinguished career, not all of which is mentioned in this passage. In 49, he was with the army of Ma Yuan in Wuling, and received the surrender of the non-Chinese tribes after Ma Yuan's death: Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 72, and see note 7 to Yongping 4 at 29. Besides his post in Jiujiang, moreover, he also held office in Dongping and later in Henei, while it is said that at the time of his death in 76 Emperor Ming had been intending to make him an Excellency.

Yongping 永平 8: 65 AD

25 January 65 – 13 February 66

A In the spring, in the first month, on the day *jimao* [27 Jan], the Excellency over the Masses Fan Qian died.¹

In the third month, on the day *xinmao* [9 Apr] the Grand Commandant Yu Yan became Excellency over the Masses and the Minister of the Guards Zhao Xi acted as Grand Commandant.²

B Zheng Zhong, Major in the Regiment of Elite Cavalry, was sent on embassy to the Northern Xiongnu.³ The Shanyu wanted him to perform obeisance, but Zheng Zhong refused to bow. The Shanyu had his quarters surrounded and blocked him from water and fire. When Zheng Zhong took a knife and swore to kill himself, however, the Shanyu became afraid and stopped. He sent another envoy to follow Zheng Zhong back to the imperial capital.

C Before this, the Minister of Finance Geng Guo had proposed that, "We should establish a General Who Crosses the Liao, with a base in Wuyuan, to prevent any Southern Xiongnu from absconding." The court did not support this.⁴

The Gudu Marquis of the Xubu clan and other members of the Southern Xiongnu knew that Han was in communication with the North.⁵ Privately anxious and angry, he planned to defect, and sent secret messengers to the North to have them send troops to receive him.

A *HHS* 2:110, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

¹ Fan Qian had been appointed in the winter of 61: passage B of Yongping 4 at 28.

² These appointments are a little strange. Grand Commandant was the most senior of the Three Excellencies, and Yu Yan had held that office since 60: passage A of Yongping 3 at 20. Excellency of Works was the second of the triumvirate, so although it was the same formal rank the transfer could be regarded as a slight demotion.

Zhao Xi had been Grand Commandant at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ming, but was dismissed early in 60: passage B of Zhongyuan 2 at 2-3 and passage A of Yongping 3 at 20 with note 1. He returned to office as Minister of the Guards later that year, and is now restored to his former position; though it is formally described as "acting" (行...事 *xing...shi*) he held the post until the death of Emperor Ming in 75, when he was appointed Grand Tutor to his son and successor Emperor Zhang: passage L of Yongping 18 at 83.

B *HHS* 36/26:1224, the Biography of Zheng Zhong.

³ The Elite Cavalry (越騎 *yueji*) was one of the five regiments of the Northern Army, the central strategic reserve of the empire normally stationed at the capital. Not all its regimental commanders were necessarily trained for war, however, and Zheng Zhong was a noted scholar with a clerical and courtly background: passage D of Yongping 4 at 29.

C *HHS* 19/9:716, the Biography of Geng Guo;

HHS 89/79:2949, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

⁴ Geng Guo was a son of Geng Kuang 耿況, an early supporter of Emperor Guangwu. In 48, when the Southern Shanyu Bi sent envoys to seek support against his Northern rivals, a majority at court had been reluctant but Geng Guo persuaded the emperor to accept the alliance.

Geng Guo became Minister of Finance in 51, and put forward this proposal soon afterwards. He had died in 58, but his plan was now revived.

⁵ In the political structure of the Xiongnu, positions below the Shanyu were occupied by close kinsmen, with an "outer nobility" of leading clans in ministerial positions. Gudu Marquises were the most senior of these, assisting the Shanyu in the administration, and the Xubu were one of the leading clans, with rights of inter-marriage to the Shanyu's lineage: see *HHS* 89/79:2944-45, discussed by deC, *Northern Frontier*, 176-179, with notes at 504-507.

When Zheng Zhong crossed the frontier, he suspected something was going on. He kept a watch, and captured an emissary from the Xubu. He then reported that, "We should appoint a senior general once more, to prevent the two groups of barbarians from communicating with one another." As a result, the Trans-Liao command was established for the first time. The General of the Household Wu Tang was appointed as Acting General Who Crosses the Liao, to be stationed at Manbo in Wuyuan with Tiger-Tooth troops from the Liyang encampment.⁶

D In the autumn, fourteen commanderies and kingdoms were affected by floods.

In the winter, in the tenth month, the Northern Palace was completed.⁷

1447

On the day *bingzi* [20 Nov] there was a levy of prisoners convicted of a capital crime to join the Trans-Liao command, while fugitives from the law were allowed to redeem their offences in similar fashion, each according to the severity of their offence.⁸

⁶ Wu Tang's personal name 棠 sometimes appears as Chang 常.

Manbo county in Wuyuan commandery was south of the eastern part of the Ordos loop of the Yellow River, some 250 kilometres southeast of Baotou in Inner Mongolia. The term "Trans-Liao command" is used for convenience as a description of the troops under the general's authority.

The title General Who Crosses the Liao (or General on the Liao) is unexpected. The Liao River flows through Manchuria, in the northeast, and for a short time in the 70s BC Former Han had a military commander in that area: *HS* 7:229-230; Dubs, *HFHD* II, 168-171. Under the Later dynasty, however, this officer was responsible for the frontier with the Xiongnu, hundreds of kilometres to the west.

We are told immediately above of Geng Guo's suggestion on this line some fifteen years before. It may indeed have been an inspiration for the new establishment, but the recommendation from Zheng Zhong was more immediate. In any case, since Zheng Zhong is said to have proposed at this time only that a "senior officer" (大將 *dajiang*) be appointed, with no mention of the Liao, it is unlikely Geng Guo had been so specific: the reason for the choice of this title remains undetermined.

Though it is not always expressly stated, the prefix Acting (行 *xing*) qualified all appointments to the office until 114, when Deng Zun 鄧遵 took the position. He was a cousin of the Dowager Deng, who controlled the government of Emperor An, and the prefix was removed as a courtesy; it was not reinstated: *HHS* 89/79:2958.

Liyang 黎陽 county was in Wei commandery in the west of the North China plain. A military camp had been established by Emperor Guangwu: *HHS* 114/24:3559 commentary quoting the *Hanguan yi* of Ying Shao. Under the command of an Internuncio it now became a training, reserve and supply facility for the Trans-Liao command. Tiger-Tooth (虎牙 *huya*) troops were presumably trained to high quality; Later Han later established a Tiger-Tooth encampment at Chang'an, but it was not until 110: *HHS* 87/77:2887.

D ⁷ *HHS* 2:111, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

⁷ On the Northern Palace, where work had been delayed by the protests of Zhongli Yi in 60, see passage G of Yongping 3 with note 13 at 23; it is discussed by Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 33 ff and deC, *Fire*, 421-43.

⁸ This summarises a lengthier account in the Annals. Having just established the office of the General Who Crosses the Liao, the emperor is now arranging for him to have an additional supply of troops.

The standard term for such forced recruits is 弛刑徒 *chixing tu* "reprieved convicts:" Loewe, *RHA* I, 79. Here they are more closely identified as *sizui jiqiu* 死罪繫囚.

For some reason, the edict was issued immediately after the ceremony of Entertaining the Aged at the Hall of the Circular Moat (see passages B to D of Yongping 2 at 14-15). The Excellencies were ordered to find prisoners throughout the provinces and at the capital. The conscripts should not be subject to the bastinado, they were to be provided with bows and crossbows and uniforms, and their families could also go to settle on the frontier. On the development of this system of forced recruitment to the armies of Later Han, see particularly Lewis, "Abolition of Universal Military Service."

The one exception to this offer of redemption by military service was that those who had been found guilty of being "Greatly Refractory and Impious" (大逆無道 *dani wudao*), being treason or crimes against the natural order: Hulsewé, "Ch'in and Han Law," 532. Such men were "summoned to the Silkworm House" (募下蠶室 *muxia canshi*) to suffer castration: deC, *Fire*, 319-320.

E Bringing yellow and white silk, Liu Ying the King of Chu went to his Chancellor and said,⁹ "I have responsibility as a screen and support of the state, but I have accumulated many faults. I am grateful for the great favour that I have received, and I wish to offer some silk to atone for my misconduct."¹⁰

An edict was issued in reply:

The King of Chu recites the subtle words of Huang-Lao, and respects the gentle teachings of the Buddha. After three months purification and fasting, he has made a solemn covenant with the spirits. What cause is there for suspicion or concern, that he feels he should repent? Let his offering be returned, and used to assist his generous treatment of *upāsakas* and *śramaṇas*.¹¹

F Before this, the emperor had heard that there was a spiritual being in the Western Regions whose name was Fo, and he sent envoys to Tianzhu [India] to enquire about his Way. They brought back texts and teachers.¹²

⁹ This short phrase has been so abbreviated by *ZZTJ* that the meaning is confused. The fuller account in *HHS* 42/32 is clearer.

The Chancellor of a kingdom (國相 *guoxiang*) was appointed by the central government and was not a subject of the king: *HHS* 118/28:3630; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 107. In the present context, Liu Ying the king is addressing the Chancellor as representative of the imperial government, and – as below – the Chancellor then reports his words to the court.

HHS 42/32 says that there were thirty pieces of cloth. A fragmentary parallel passage in *DGHJ* 7:3b-4a says that there were twenty-five rolls (匹 *pi*) of the yellow cloth (黃縑 *huangjian*) and five of the white (白紬 *baihuan*); the latter was presumably more valuable.

¹⁰ The reference to Liu Ying's misconduct is expressed only in general terms, but the fact that he was presenting goods to the throne at this time would indicate that there was some specific, though unnamed, offence for which he felt the need for atonement. Despite the fine words with which the emperor received his offering, Liu Ying was a difficult kinsman: passages B-C of Yongping 13 with B of Yongping 14 at 55-56

¹¹ This edict, which contains one of the earliest references to Buddhism in China, is translated and discussed by Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest*, 27, with note 47 at 327. He observes that *HHS* 42/32 mentions Liu Ying performing sacrifices (祠 *ci*) to the Buddha, and this is echoed in the *HHS* text of the edict, which refers to him offering "gentle sacrifices" (仁祠 *renci*); *ZZTJ*, however, has the homonym 仁慈 "gentle teachings."

The name of the Buddha is transcribed as Futu 浮屠: Karlgren, *GSR* 1233l: *b'jōg/b'jəu/fou and 45i': *d'o/dúo/t'u. The Chinese terms *yipusai* 伊蒲塞 and *sangmen* 桑門 are early transcriptions of *upāsaka* and *śramaṇa*: Zürcher, 27 and 32. *Upāsakas* are lay devotees; *śramaṇas* ascetic monks.

HHS 42/32 says that this statement by Emperor Ming was circulated to all the kings.

F *HHJ* 10:122.

¹² The character 佛, now sounded *fu* or *fo*, was formerly pronounced with a final *t*, reflecting the first syllable of the name of the Buddha: Karlgren, *GSR* 500: *b'jwət/b'juət/fu.

The major book referred to is the *Sutra in Forty-Two Sections* (四十二章經 *Sishi'er zhangjing*), regarded as the first Buddhist scripture composed or translated into Chinese: Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest*, 29-30.

The term *śramaṇa* is here transcribed in the alternative form *shamen* 沙門: Zürcher, 32. In this context it refers to monks who would explain Buddhist doctrines.

The text of *Hou Han ji*, compiled by Yuan Hong in the fourth century, claims that Emperor Ming sent the envoys because he had had a dream of the Buddha. The "pious legend" of the Dream of Emperor Ming, popular in early Chinese Buddhism, is discussed by Zürcher at 22, quoting the modern Chinese scholar T'ang Yung-t'ung and Henri Maspero of France. The origins of the tale may be dated to the mid-third century, where it formed part of the contest between the adherents of the Huang-Lao school and the Taoist church against the new-comer doctrines of the Buddha. Sima Guang avoids involvement in that debate.

This and the following passage are accompanied by a long commentary from Hu Sanxing, quoting the Tang commentary to *HHS* 42/32 and *Wei shu* 114:3025-29, both offering further accounts of early Chinese contacts with Buddhism.

G This passage was compiled by Sima Guang.

G The general summary of the texts is that Nothingness is the most desirable state of being, while compassion and not killing is the most honourable conduct. When a person dies, their spirit is not destroyed, but later receives another form; and whatever one may have done during one's lifetime, good or bad, is given its appropriate reward. The ideal, therefore, is to cultivate and purify the spirit so that one may reach the state of the Buddha. Those who are skilled at broad and expansive teaching to guide and encourage the unenlightened, and whose spirits are close to the Way, they are called *śramaṇa*.

It was at this time China first encountered the secret of the Buddha and created his form and image. Among the kings, nobility and gentry, however, Liu Ying the King of Chu was the first and only one to embrace his doctrine.

1448

H On the day *renyin* [16 Dec], last day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun. Because the eclipse had fallen at the end of the month,¹³ an edict ordered all officers to consider reforms which might be made and to bring forward suggestions without restrictions.

In response, all those who held positions presented sealed memorials, each giving his opinion on the good or bad points of the government.

Reviewing the documents, the emperor was deeply ashamed. He showed them to his officials and issued an edict: "The comments from so many officers all relate to my faults. I have been acting thoughtlessly, and my officials have gradually lost control. [In making repairs to the palace] I have paid no heed to the capacities of the people [whom I require to work on them],¹⁴ I have travelled without restraint hither and yon, and I have made excessive display of my pleasure and my anger.¹⁵

H *HHS* 2:111, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

¹³ This eclipse, Oppolzer 3050/Espenak 04938, is mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 202 and discussed by them at xiv. Not only did it fall on the last day of a month, the eclipse was almost complete at Luoyang.

The Chinese lunar calendar was calculated so that the first day of a month was new moon, and an eclipse on the day before it could be regarded as a bad omen: note 4 to Yongping 6 at 33. In practice, however, eclipses on the last day were not uncommon: note 24 to Yongping 3 at 25 with *HHS* 108/18: 3372.

HHS 108/18:3361, the Treatise of the Five Powers, records the eclipse, and notes that it took place in the *Dou* 斗 "Dipper" constellation, the eighth lunar mansion (宿 *xiu*), being six stars of Western Sagittarius; Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 172, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 98 with Star Map 4. [Note that this is the "Southern Dipper" (南 *Nan Dou*); the "Northern Dipper" (北 *Bei Dou* or simply *Dou*), is the Western Big Dipper, being the seven major stars of *Ursa Major*, the Great Bear.]

The Treatise notes that the *Dou* constellation relates to the territory of the pre-Qin state of Wu 吳 in the southeast, and it associates the eclipse with the disgrace and death of Liu Jing, King of Guangling in that region, two years later: passage A of Yongping 10. Commentary to the Treatise quotes from *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴, an apocryphal work based on *Chunqiu*, which similarly claims that an eclipse on a *renshen* day relates to an arrogant and rebellious subject.

¹⁴ This refers to the reconstruction of the Northern Palace and to other official works, which had already been the subject of criticism: passage G of Yongping 3 at 23.

¹⁵ In *HHSJJ* at 104, the modern commentator Hui Dong relates the phrase 出入無節 *churu wujie* "activity without restraint" to the teaching of *Hong fan* 洪範 "Great Plan," Chapter 32 of *Shu jing* 書經 the *Classic of History*, which warns that such conduct deprives the people of the time that they need for farming and that trouble will come in consequence. An important work on the theory of the Five Powers (五行 *wuxing*) in New Text scholarship, *Hong fan* was influential at this time, and Emperor Ming was a devotee: see Chapter 2 of Nylan, *Shifting Center*, and deC, "Scholars and Rulers," 62.

"I have considered the warnings that I have received in the past, and I am now frightened and anxious. I have great concern for my limited virtue; how long have I failed in my duties!"

I Though the Northern Xiongnu sent envoys bearing tribute, their raiding and plunder did not cease; cities on the frontier had to keep their gates closed even in daylight.¹⁶

J The emperor was considering sending an embassy in return, but Zheng Zhong sent in a protest, "I have heard that the reason the Northern Shanyu seeks an embassy from Han because he hopes to create division among the followers of the Southern Shanyu and to gain approval from the thirty-six states [of the Western Regions]. If he can announce a treaty of peace and kinship with Han he will be able to show off to his neighbours and rivals.¹⁷ Those of the Western Regions who wish to accept our influence will become uncertain and suspicious, while more superficial men will cease to look to China.

"When the previous embassy from Han arrived, he was confirmed in his arrogant self-confidence.¹⁸ If we send another, the barbarian will certainly claim that everything is going according to plan, and those of his ministers who might argue against him will no longer dare to speak.¹⁹

"In these circumstances, the Southerners are becoming uneasy and the Wuhuan are getting ideas of independence. The Southern Shanyu has long been settled in Han territory and has a thorough knowledge of its geography. Should he by any chance become disaffected he will present an immediate threat to our borderlands.

"Fortunately, we now have the troops of the Trans-Liao command to exert authority over the north, so even if we do not send a return embassy, they will not dare cause trouble."

The emperor would not agree, and he sent Zheng Zhong on another mission. Zheng Zhong then sent in another message, "When your subject went on embassy before, I refused to pay obeisance. The Shanyu was extremely angry and surrounded me with his soldiers.

1449 "Now once again, in accordance with your command, I face inevitable insult and embarrassment. I truly cannot bring myself to bear the insignia of Great Han and perform obeisance before a barbarian clad in felt and fur. Should the Xiongnu compel me to submit on this occasion, it will damage the power of Han."

On Emperor Ming's intemperate conduct, see passage I of Yongping 3 at 24-25.

I *HHS* 89/79:2949, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

¹⁶ Both *HHS* 89/79 and the Annals at *HHS* 2:113 say that the chief trouble was along the frontier "west of the River" (河西 *Hexi*), that is Wuwei and the commanderies of the Gansu corridor, west of the Ordos loop of the Yellow River.

J *HHS* 36/26:1224-25, the Biography of Zheng Zhong.

¹⁷ The embassy from the Northern Shanyu had not only brought formal tribute (貢 *gong*), but also asked for a treaty of peace and kinship: passage B and note 2 of Yongping 7 at 35.

¹⁸ This refers to Zheng Zhong's own experience a few months earlier: passage B above.

¹⁹ The term 虜 *lu*, often rendered by the archaic and pejorative term "caitiff," may here be interpreted as an discourteous reference to the Northern Shanyu and his more aggressive advisers. The phrase 群臣駁議者 *qunchen boyi zhe* refers to those members of the Shanyu's court who opposed their policy.

The emperor still would not listen, so Zheng Zhong was obliged to go. On the road, however, he sent a series of letters contesting the decision in very firm terms. An edict was issued with a strong reprimand, he was ordered to return, and he was bound and sent to the [the prison of] the Minister of Justice.²⁰ As an amnesty was issued soon afterwards, he was able to return to his home.²¹

Later, however, the emperor received a visitor from the Xiongnu and heard how Zheng Zhong had argued protocol with the Shanyu. He then appointed him as a Major in the army.²²

²⁰ The Minister of Justice (廷尉 *tingwei*) controlled one of two imperial prisons (詔獄 *zhaoyu*) at Luoyang: e.g. Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 39, and *Lo-yang*, 50-51; also deC, *Fire*, 49.

²¹ The next general amnesty recorded by the Annals was issued two years after this incident: passage A of Yongping 10 at 47. It is possible that Zheng Zhong received a personal pardon.

²² The emperor had previously thought Zheng Zhong was making an unnecessary fuss, but realised his mistake when the envoy from the North praised the manner in which he had maintained the dignity of Han.

Yongping 永平 9: 66 AD

14 February 66 – 2 February 67

1

A In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day *jiachen* [?],² an edict ordered that the Director of Retainers and the Inspectors of provincial divisions should each year recommend one man of black-ribbon rank who has served as a senior county officer for three years or more,³ and one man who has shown exceptional administrative ability. They were to attend at the time of the annual reports, and present information on all officials who have governed exceptionally badly.

In this year there was an excellent harvest.⁴

B The imperial sons Liu Gong and Liu Dang were given titles as King of Spiritual Long Life and as King of Respect and Fame; they had as yet no actual fiefs.⁵

C The emperor gave high priority to Confucian scholarship.⁶ From the Imperial Heir and

¹ Though it is not mentioned by the Annals at *HHS* 2:112, nor by *ZZTJ*, it seems appropriate to mention here that the Treatise of Astronomy at *HHS* 101/11:3130 records the appearance of Halley's comet:

In the ninth year [of Yongping], in the first month on the day *wushen* [20 Feb] a guest star (客星 *kexing*) appeared in the Herdboy (牽牛 *Qianniu*) constellation [Western Aries and Sagittarius]. Eight feet long, it travelled through the Guiding Stars (建星 *Jianxing*) [in Western Sagittarius] to the south of the Chamber (方 *Fang*) constellation [in Western Scorpio]. After fifty days it disappeared.

The previous appearance of the comet had been in 12 BC: *e.g.* Dubs, *HFHD* II, 410. The next would be in 141: Yonghe 永和 6. On the visit in 218, see deC, *Establish Peace*, 520.

Sima Biao, compiler of the Treatise, relates the apparition to the troubles with Liu Jing and Liu Ying, kings of Guangling and of Chu: passages D-E at 45-46 below, and B-C of Yongping 13 with B of Yongping 14 at 55-56.

A *HHS* 2:112-113, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

² According to the calculations of Xue and Ouyang, the fourth month of this year began on a *xinwei* day, cyclical number 8, equivalent to 14 May in the Julian calendar of the West, and ended on a *jihai* day, cyclical number 36. It therefore cannot have included a day, *jiachen*, for that is cyclical number 41.

³ The term 長吏 *changli* refers to the magistrate of a county and his senior subordinates, the Assistant (丞 *cheng*) and the Commandant (尉 *wei*): *e.g.* Tang commentary in the first note 2 to *HHS* 1:11.

Magistrates were distinguished according to the population of their counties: a county of more than ten thousand households (戶 *hu*) was headed by a *ling* 令 "Prefect" with rank/salary of One Thousand or Six Hundred *shi*; a smaller one by a *zhang* 長 "Chief" of Four or Three Hundred *shi*: *HHS* 118/28:3622; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 100. [As Bielenstein remarks, the distinction was not strictly observed, and I generally refer to the heads of counties as magistrates.] Large counties were entitled to two Commandants.

The official seal of a county magistrate was attached to his belt by a black ribbon (黑綬 *heishou*, also, as here, *moshou* 墨綬); both the seal and the ribbon were insignia of his rank: *HHS* 120/30:3675, and Tang commentary to *HHS* 5:236 at note 2.

⁴ An excellent harvest (*da younian* 大有年) is identified by the Guliang commentary to *Zuo zhuan*, quoted by Tang commentary and by Hu Sanxing, as a year when all grains produce well.

B *HHS* 50/40:1670, the Biography of Liu Gong;

HHS 50/40:1670, the Biography of Liu Dang.

⁵ *Lingshou* 靈壽 may be rendered as "Spiritual Long Life" and *Zhongxi* 重熹 as "Respect and Fame." Both were courteous but essentially meaningless titles and carried no territorial significance.

C *HHS* 2: 113, the Annals of Emperor Ming;

Tang commentary to *HHS* 2 quoting *HHJ*; but see the note immediately following;

HHS 79/69A:2546, the Chapter on Confucian Scholars.

The authority for the citation by the Tang commentary is uncertain. *HHS* 2 records the establishment of the school and the appointment of the instructors, and commentary quotes extensively from *HHJ*.

The cited text, however, does not appear in the current text of Yuan Hong's *Hou Han ji*.

⁶ On Emperor Ming's interest in New Text Confucianism, see passage D and note 12 to Yongping 2 at 15.

the kings and marquises, to the sons and younger brothers of his senior ministers and the sons and grandsons of his worthy subjects, all were taught the classics.

1450 He also established a school in the Southern Palace for the children of those families related to the throne by marriage – the Fan, the Guo, the Yin and the Ma. It was named the Palace School for Noble Families.⁷ Teachers were appointed for each of the Five Classics,⁸ and care was taken to select those of the highest ability.

From the Rendezvous Gate Guards to those of the Feathered Forest, all were required to study detailed commentaries to *Xiao jing* the Book of Filial Piety,⁹ while the [Southern] Xiongnu also sent their sons to attend the school.¹⁰

D Liu Jing the King of Guangling again called in a physiognomist and said to him, "My face resembles that of the late emperor, and he gained the empire at the age of thirty.¹¹ Now I too have reached that age; can I raise troops?"¹²

⁷ The Lady Fan Xiandu 樊嫺都 of Nanyang (whose given name also appears as Guidu 歸都) was the mother of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu: *HHS* 14/4:555.

The Lady Guo was the first Empress of Guangwu; the Lady Yin was his second: e.g. note 6 to Zhongyuan 2 at 2. The Lady Ma was the consort of Emperor Ming: passage B of Yongping 3 at 20.

The name of the school, *Sixing xiaohou* [xuexiao] 四姓小侯 [學校] may be more literally translated as "School for the Little Lords of the Four Families;" commentators observe that though the students were of noble birth they had not yet been enfeoffed – hence the title "little lords." In later years, however, as in passage D following, it was opened to other youths of great families, and even to princes of the Xiongnu. In those circumstances, "Palace School for Noble Families" seems a more appropriate rendering. See deC, *Fire*, 87-88, and Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 27, who refers to it simply as the School (*xuexiao*).

⁸ The five classics of Confucianism taught at the Imperial University were *Yi jing* 易經 the *Book of Changes*, the *Classic of History* (書經 *Shu jing* or 尚書 *Shangshu*), the *Classic of Poetry* (詩經 *Shi jing*), *Ritual* (禮: the present-day *Yi li* 儀禮 with *Li ji* 禮記) and *Chunqiu* 春秋 the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. See Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 185-189, and *Early Chinese Texts*, *sub voce*, especially 234-243 [Boltz on *Yi li*] and 293-297 [Riegel on *Li ji*].

⁹ *Xiao jing* 孝經, the Book of Filial Piety, is a work of uncertain provenance, popular in Later Han, which purports to be a record of discussion on that topic between Confucius and his disciple Zengzi 曾子 (Zeng Shen 曾參): *Early Chinese Texts*, 141-153 [Boltz].

"Detailed commentaries" (章句 *zhangju*) or "Chapter and Verse Commentaries" were a feature of Later Han scholarship. Lengthy expositions on the Confucian classics, they could amount to tens or even hundreds of thousands of characters. See Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 148-149, and Kramers, "Confucian Schools," 757-758; also note 12 to Yongping 2 at 15 and note 6 to Yongping 4 at 28.

In the first year of his reign, moreover, Emperor Ming gathered scholars to discuss the classics and gave a lecture himself – surely with substantial preliminary guidance and preparation – urging the importance of *Xiao jing* and its detailed commentary: *HHS* 79/69A:2545-46; Nylan, "*Feng su t'ung yi*," 194, and deC, "Scholars and Rulers," 61.

¹⁰ *Qimen* 期門 was the name of a corps of guardsmen by Emperor Wu of Former Han, so-called because in the eighth or ninth month of each year there was a call for men from respectable families (良家 *liangjia*) of the north-western commanderies Longxi and Beidi who were skilled in horsemanship and archery. Those who volunteered would make rendezvous at the gates of the palace: *HS* 65:2846; Knechtges, *Wen xuan* I 136 line 342 and 234 line 753; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 24-27, where the name is rendered simply as Attendants at the Gates. In 1 AD, however, the name of the corps was changed to *huben* 虎賁 Rapid as Tigers and, except for a short period under Emperor Guangwu, the new title was maintained under Later Han. In this context, therefore, *qimen* is anachronistic. The significance of the passage is that even the imperial guards were educated in the tenets of Confucianism.

As in note 6 above, it is clear that the School for Noble Families was open to more than just the scions of the imperial relatives by marriage. It is unlikely, however, that guardsmen of the Rapid Tiger and Feathered Forest Corps, who were primarily military men and possibly officer cadets, attended regularly.

The Xiongnu students would have been young men from the princely families of the Southern Xiongnu; the Northern Xiongnu were naturally hostile and were not involved.

The physiognomist reported this to officials, and Liu Jing was frightened. He had himself bound and went to the prison.

The emperor showed clemency, and did not make a detailed investigation of the affair. It was ordered that Liu Jing should no longer hold authority over the officials or the people of his state. He was entitled only to receive his pension, while the Chancellor and the Commandant of the Capital were instructed to keep watch on him.¹³

E Then Liu Jing once more had a shaman offer sacrifice and make invocations.¹⁴ Fan Shu, Colonel of the Chang River Regiment, and some others were ordered to examine his case¹⁵ and at the end of the investigation they recommended Liu Jing be executed.

The emperor was angry, saying, "This is my brother, and you want to kill him. If it was my son, would you dare make the same suggestion?"

"This realm," replied Fan Shu, "has come to you from Emperor Gao.¹⁶ It is not your majesty's possession. *Chunqiu* teaches that 'The ruler may be fond of his kinfolk if they cause no trouble; but if they do they must be executed.'¹⁷ Your subjects are aware that Liu Jing is your full brother, that he has a place in your majesty's sage-like heart, so you are inclined to feel sorrow on his behalf; it is for that reason that we

D *HHS* 42/32:1448, the Biography of Liu Jing.

¹¹ Born in 5 BC, Emperor Guangwu had claimed the throne in the summer of 25 AD when he was thirty *sui*.

¹² A few years earlier, when he was King of Shanyang, Liu Jing had consulted astrologers in the same vein, and he had been demoted and exiled to Guangling: passage E of Yongping 2. The punishment had not discouraged him.

¹³ Like other kingdoms, the territory of Guangling was administered by a Chancellor (相 *xiang*), assisted by a civilian Chief Clerk (長史 *zhangshi*), with a Commandant of the Capital (中尉 *zhongwei*) responsible for military matters; all were directly responsible to the central government: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 107.

As king, Liu Jing had been formally entitled to regard the local officers and people of his fief as his subjects: 臣屬 *chen shu*. He was now stripped of that status, which meant that he could not issue them orders – such as to raise in rebellion on his behalf. He retained his income from the tax revenues, but was otherwise powerless and under surveillance.

E *HHS* 42/32:1448, the Biography of Liu Jing; *HHS* 32/22:1123, the Biography of Fan Shu.

¹⁴ The term 巫 *wu* often identifies a shaman. In this instance, however, it may refer merely to a general medicine man of magical but unspecified ability.

¹⁵ The Chang River Regiment was one of the five contingents of the Northern Army, professional reserve of the dynasty: note 20 to Zhongyuan 2 at 17.

Fan Shu's father Fan Hong 宏 – mentioned at the end of this passage – was a brother of the Lady Fan Xiandu, mother of Emperor Guangwu: note 6 above. Fan Shu was therefore the emperor's first cousin. [Fan Shu's personal name appears as 儵 and as 儵 and may also be transliterated as You, Chou or Tiao.] A distinguished scholar of *Chunqiu*, Fan Shu was a respected adviser at court. Like that of Zheng Zhong the Colonel of Elite Cavalry (passage D of Yongping 8 at 29), his appointment to the Chang River Regiment was a matter of courtesy rather than military significance.

¹⁶ Fan Shu argues that the empire had been founded by Emperor Gao of Former Han. As his successor, Emperor Ming owed a broader duty to the dynasty and the state, greater than any personal affection.

¹⁷ Tang commentary observes that the somewhat cryptic expression 君親無將,將而必誅 is taken not from the main text of *Chunqiu* but from the Gongyang commentary, which often seeks to interpret the moral meaning; the character 將 *jiang* is here understood as referring to acts of murder or treason.

This interpretation is borne out by the fact that the expression occurs twice in the commentary: once in relation to events of the thirty-second and final year of Duke Zhuang 莊, 120-121 and once in the first year of Duke Zhao 昭: Legge, *CC* V, 120-121 and 574-575. In each case, Gongyang refers to a ruler executing a kinsman for endangering the state.

venture to ask permission. Were it a question of your majesty's son, we would simply do it [without asking first]."

The emperor sighed with regret, but approved the argument.
Fan Shu was a son of Fan Hong.¹⁸

¹⁸ On Fan Hong, see note 15 above.

Yongping 永平 10: 67 AD

3 February 67 – 21 February 68

A In the spring, in the second month, Liu Jing the Thoughtful King of Guangling killed himself. His kingdom was abolished.¹

In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day *wuzi* [26 May], there was an amnesty for the empire.²

In the intercalary [fourth?] month, on the day *jiawu* [?],³ the emperor travelled to Nanyang.⁴ Pupils at government schools were summoned to perform Odes set to music, and as they presented the *Luming* "Deer-Call," the emperor accompanied them on flutes of pottery and bamboo to entertain his guests.⁵

A *HHS* 2:113-114, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

¹ Though the kingdom was ended, the territory of Guangling was maintained as a commandery unit: *HHS* 111/21.3461.

² The Annals record that the edict was issued in honour of the good harvest in the previous year: passage A of Yongping 9 at 43.

³ The traditional Chinese calendar is based upon the cycles of the moon, but because the period of the rotation of the earth about the sun is not directly related to that of the moon's rotation about the earth, lunar months quite quickly fall out of alignment with the solar year and its seasons. Every three or four years, therefore, an intercalary month must be added to the calendar. The principle is essentially the same as that of the West, where the Julian and later the Gregorian calendars require an intercalary day, usually every four years, to correct the discrepancy between the rotation of the earth about the sun with the rotation of the earth itself. See, however, note 4 immediately following.

⁴ The dating and the nature of this tour by Emperor Ming is confused, primarily because of some uncertainty about the calculations of Xue and Ouyang:

- The Annals describe Emperor Ming's travels as 南巡狩 *nan xunshou* "hunting party to the south," which indicates a general tour, not specifically restricted to the ancestral territory of Nanyang commandery. Cf. the phrase 校獵 *jiaolie/xiaolie* in note 1 to Yongping 4 at 28.
- Though it is not mentioned by *ZZTJ*, the Annals say that when the emperor came to Nanyang he first held sacrifice in Zhangling county, the marquisate which had been held by his family [note 17 to Zhongyuan 2 at 4], and later, when "the sun was at the extreme north" (日北至 *ri beizhi*), he also held sacrifice at his former home (舊宅 *jiuzhai*). This would have been at the summer solstice, about 21 June in the West, and the middle of the fifth month of the Chinese calendar. Only after that did he call the school students to perform their music.
- Xue and Ouyang place the intercalary month of this year immediately after the tenth month. If they are correct, the imperial tour and the school concert would have taken place much later in the year and the reference to the solstice is mistaken.

Based upon the detailed and circumstantial account in the Annals, however, it appears that Xue and Ouyang have miscalculated, and the intercalary month came after the fourth month. In addition they identify the fourth as a "long" month – of thirty rather than twenty-nine days – ending on a *jiawu* day; in that case there could have been no *jiawu* day in the following month, whether or not it was intercalary.

Apart from the problem of the solstice, as above, it is also noteworthy that the Annals have no indication of the season. This leads to the presumption that the intercalary month fell in the summer, and followed the fourth month already mentioned.

If we accept that the calculations are wrong on both counts: that the intercalary month came after the fourth and began on a *jiawu* day; then the emperor commenced his travels on the first day of the intercalary month, 2 June in the West.

See further in note 7 following.

⁵ The emperor had called for the Greater or Lesser Odes of the Kingdom (大雅 *Daya* or 小雅 *Xiaoya*) of *Shi jing* 詩經 the *Classic of Poetry* to be chanted with musical accompaniment. The *Luming* 鹿鳴 "Deer-Call," first of the Lesser Odes, describes a ruler's feast: note 22 to Yongping 3 at 25. On this occasion, the sovereign himself joined the concert.

On his return journey, the emperor visited Nandun,⁶ and in the winter, in the twelfth month, on the day *jiawu* [27 Jan], he returned to his palace.⁷

- B Before this, Ding Chen the Marquis of Lingyang had died.⁸ His son Hong was due to inherit the fief, but sent in a letter pleading ill health and asked to transfer the marquisate to his younger brother Sheng. There was no reply to this request, but when the funeral was finished Ding Hong hung his mourning garments at the portal of the tomb and went away [into hiding].⁹

His friend Bao Jun of Jiujiang met with him in Donghai,¹⁰ but reprimanded him, "In former times, Boyi and Wuzha each managed to indulge their personal wishes [and avoid high office] because the world was at that time in disorder.¹¹ The message of *Chunqiu*, however, is that one cannot allow family interest to over-ride one's responsibility to the ruler.¹²

The 埙 *xun* was a round flute-like instrument, made of pottery in the fashion of the Western ocarina. The 簫 *chi* is a bamboo flute.

- ⁶ Nandun 南頓 in Runan was near Xiangcheng/Shuizhai county in eastern Henan and Emperor Ming held a ceremony there for the Thrice Venerable, probably in the tenth month: passage B of Yongping 2.

The Annals also record that in the eleventh month Emperor Ming summoned his half-brothers Liu Yan the King of Huaiyang and Liu Fu the King of Pei to meet him; Liu Yan at Pingyu 平輿 in Runan and Liu Fu at Suiyang 睢陽 in Liang. On Liu Yan and Liu Fu, see passage C and note 8 to Yongping 1 at 9.

Pingyu is now close to Runan in Henan, some seventy-five kilometres south of Nandun; Suiyang is near Shangqiu in the east of that province, about 125 kilometres northeast of Nandun. So the emperor spent time in Yu province before returning to the capital; the direct distance from Suiyang to Luoyang is some 300 kilometres.

- ⁷ Emperor Ming thus returned on the same cyclical day as he had departed. If Xue and Ouyang are correct, and he commenced his travels in the intercalary tenth month, he had been absent for sixty days, one sexagenary cycle. If the amendments proposed in note 5 above are accepted, he had been away for 180 days.

- B *HHS* 37/27:1263-64, the Biography of Ding Hong.

- ⁸ Ding Chen had been a county official under Wang Mang, but surrendered to Emperor Guangwu and became a successful military commander and administrator. He was enfeoffed as a marquis and held a county in Danyang.

- ⁹ *HHS* 37/27 preserves the contents of a letter which Ding Hong left for his brother, reaffirming his sickness, stating that he wished to spend his remaining days in scholarship, and ceding him the marquisate.

- ¹⁰ Bao Jun and Ding Hong had studied together under the distinguished scholar Huan Rong: passage B and note 6 to Yongping 2 at 14.

- ¹¹ Boyi 伯夷 was the eldest son of the ruler of a small vassal state under the wicked King Zhou 紂 of the Shang/Yin 商/殷 dynasty. His father wanted the younger son, Shuqi 叔齊, to inherit the throne and Boyi accepted this. Shuqi, however, refused the position because he believed that Boyi was the rightful heir. Both men took refuge with the ruler of Zhou, but when King Wen of Zhou overthrew Shang/Yin they disapproved, went into the mountains and starved to death.

Wuzha 吳札 was the youngest son of the king of Wu 吳 in the troubled final years of the Zhou 周 dynasty. All his elder brothers sought to yield the inheritance to him but, like Boyi, Wuzha rejected it.

The implication here, however, based upon the reference to *Chunqiu* immediately following, is that the two men were able to maintain their personal virtue because the world was in disorder – but their true responsibility had been to assist the state in time of trouble, not to escape it.

The legend of Boyi and Shuqi in particular has long been a source of controversy. Confucius praised them (*Lun yu* VII.xiv; Legge, *CC* I, 199), but Sima Qian was more ambivalent (*SJ* 61; Nienhauser, *GSR* VII, 1-7). Indeed, Vervoorn, *Cliffs and Caves*, 77-81, argues that both Sima Qian and Ban Gu believed men of integrity should involve themselves in the world rather than evading it, while Sima Qian's own choice – to continue his work of historical record after the brutal and humiliating punishment of castration, rather than the perhaps easier option of death – is itself a contrast.

- ¹² This judgement is from the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*: on which see note 17 to Yongping 9 at 45.

"Now, however, through your personal affection for your brother, you have broken the firm foundation left by your father. Why?"¹³

Ding Hong was deeply affected, burst into tears and went back to his fief.¹⁴ Bao Xin then sent in a letter recommending him as a scholar of the Confucian classics and a man of fine conduct. The emperor called him to appointment as a Palace Attendant.¹⁵

In discussion on an entry for the third year of Duke Ai 哀 (Legge, *CC* V, 801), the commentary approves the decision of the ruler of Wei 衛 to appoint his grandson as his successor rather than his son: the son was a man of poor quality, and it was more important to choose a worthy ruler for the state than to follow the priorities of family.

¹³ Bao Xin is arguing that by allowing a younger brother to succeed to the fief, Ding Hong has interrupted the proper line of inheritance and is neglecting his duty to the state.

¹⁴ *HHS* 37/27 says that on his return Ding Hong opened an academy for private students. It is not known how long he taught there before Bao Xin presented his recommendation. Emperor Ming then summoned Ding Hong for an audience and was greatly impressed.

¹⁵ With rank/salary at Two Thousand *shi* or its Equivalent, Palace Attendants (侍中 *shizhong*) were high-ranking advisers to the emperor.

Yongping 永平 11: 68 AD

22 February 68 – 10 February 69

1452

A In the spring, in the first month, Liu Cang the King of Dongping and other kings came to court.¹ They stayed at the capital for just over a month, then returned to their fiefs.

The emperor saw them off, and when he returned to the palace he felt sad and lonely. He sent a messenger with a letter in his own hand to the Palace Tutors of the various states,² saying,

After we had bidden one another farewell, I felt alone and miserable. As I turned my carriage back I bent over the railing and sighed for grief, clasping my breast as I gazed into the distance; truly it troubles my heart. I recite the *Caiwei* Ode, and it adds to my feelings of sorrow.³

On one occasion I asked the King of Dongping, 'What is the best way to manage a household?' He replied, 'The best way is to be generous.' He is a big man, with a powerful voice. Now I am sending nineteen seals for marquises, so that all those royal sons who are five years old and able to make their bow can carry them at their waist.

A *HHS* 2:113-114, the Annals of Emperor Ming;
HHS 42/32:1436, the Biography of Liu Cang.

¹ The Annals list the kings who attended: Liu Fu the King of Pei, Liu Ying the King of Chu, Liu Kang the King of Ji'nan, Liu Cang the King of Dongping, Liu Yan the King of Huaiyang, Liu Yen the King of Zhongshan, Liu Jyng the King of Langye and Liu Zheng the King of Donghai.

All but the last of these were brothers or half-brothers of the emperor: note 11 to Zhongyuan 2 at 2-3. Liu Zheng was a nephew: son of the emperor's half-brother Liu Qiang, he had succeeded to his father's title as King of Donghai in 58, but his fief territory included the additional territory of Lu: passage C of Yongping 1 at 9.

² The imperial government appointed Palace Tutors (中傅 *zhongfu*) to each royal fief. In a comment to *HS* 6:158, Ying Shao of the second century AD notes that these officials were eunuchs. They presumably served as agents of the government supervising the private affairs of the king in the same fashion as the Tutor (相 *fu*) and Chancellor (傅 *xiang*) controlled the public administration of the state. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 106.

It appears that messages from the emperor to the royal courts were often sent formally to the Palace Tutors. The approving edict about Liu Ying's devotion to Huang-Lao and the Buddha a few years earlier had likewise been addressed to the Palace Tutors of the kingdoms: passage E of Yongping 8 with note 11.

³ The *Caiwei* 采薇 "Gathering Thorn-ferns" Ode, seventh in the first decade of the Lesser Odes of the Kingdom (小雅 *Xiaoya*), *Shi jing* II.1.7 describes the separation of husband and wife as an army departs for the frontier; Legge, *CC* IV, 258-261.

Yongping 永平 12: 69 AD

11 February 69 – 30 January 70

A In the spring Liумao the king of the Ailao people brought more than fifty thousand households of his people to surrender.¹ The two counties of Ailao and Bo'nan were formed from their territory.²

This was the first time that [Chinese] had passed through the Bo'nan Mountains and crossed the Lancang River.³ Travellers found the journey hard, and there was a song which went,

The virtue of Han is broad indeed,
Opening inhospitable lands;
Across the Lancang River,
To deal with strange people.

B Before this, in the time of Emperor Ping,⁴ the Yellow River and the Bian had broken their dykes, and they had not been restored for many years.⁵

A *HHS* 86/76:2849, the Account of the Non-Chinese Peoples of the South and the Southwest, *HHS* 2:114, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

¹ The Ailao ranges, south of the Dali Lake and west of Kunming in present-day Yunnan, run southeast into Vietnam. The Ailao people of Han times inhabited the region of southwest Yunnan and the upper basin of the Irrawaddy in northern Burma/Myanmar, a mountainous route to India.

There is confusion about the identity of the ruler of the Ailao. *HHS* 86/76 gives the name as Liумao 柳貌/Liumiao 柳邈, but *HYGZ* 4:60 has Liulang 柳狼 or Yilang 抑狼, while *HHSJJ* 86/76:3150 quotes the modern commentator Hui Dong, citing the *Ailao zhuan* 哀牢傳 by Yang Zhong 楊終 of the first century, and suggests that Liумao was the name of an earlier ruler, and that the man who acceded to Han was his grandson Liulang.

Furthermore, *HHS* 86/76 says that Liумao sent his son to lead the people to submit, claiming that they numbered seventy-seven local chieftains (邑王 *yiwang*), with 51,890 household groups (戶 *hu*) and a total population of 553,711 individuals (口 *kou*).

Despite this apparent precision, accepted both by Bielenstein, "Census," 141-143, and by Yü "Han Foreign Relations," 460, figures for the numbers of the Ailao people must be considered uncertain. According to the Treatise of Administrative Geography at *HHS* 113/23:3513, recording the figures of about 140 AD, the population of Yongchang commandery – which included the territory of the Ailao (note 2 immediately following) – was almost two million; but that was a quarter of the population of the whole of Yi province and appears disproportionate for such a distant region on the margins of Chinese control. It is possible that the number reflects a high taxation quota, based upon the wealth of the region on the trade-route to India. See deC, *Fire*, 91.

² These two new counties were combined with six from the western division of Yizhou commandery to form the commandery of Yongchang 永昌. The territory of the new unit extended across all the west of present-day Yunnan and further into Burma/Myanmar.

³ Rising in the Tibetan massif, the Mekong River flows south through western Yunnan – where it is known as the Lancang 蘭倉 – to eventually reach the sea by a delta west of Ho Chi Minh city in southern Vietnam. The Bo'nan 博南 mountains may be identified with the Qingshuilang Shan 清水郎山 near Yongping, east of Kunming.

B *HHS* 76/66:2464-65: the Biography of Wang Jing, *HHS* 2:114, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

⁴ Emperor Ping of Former Han came to the throne in 1 BC at the age of nine *sui*. He died at the beginning of 6 AD, shortly before the new Chinese year. His notional government was controlled by Wang Mang, who took the imperial title three years later.

⁵ The main stream of the Yellow River flowed generally northeast across the North China plain – but see the third paragraph in this note.

The Bian River (卞河 *Bian he*) or Bian Canal (汴渠 *Bian qu*), was the head of a water-borne complex which brought goods from the region of the lower Yangzi and the Huai basin in the south of the plain

In the tenth year of Jianwu [34 AD], Emperor Guangwu had intended to make the repairs, but Yue Jun the magistrate of Junyi sent in a letter to say that the people had only recently been suffering from war and it was too soon to call up corvée labour. So the project was halted.⁶

After that, [the flooding from] the Bian Canal spread to the east, expanding day by day and month by month. Distressed and resentful, the people of Yan and Yu provinces believed that when the county offices called up corvée labour they failed to give priority to the most urgent needs of the community.

1453 About this time Wang Jing of Lelang was recommended as a man competent in water control,⁷ and in the summer, in the fourth month, an edict ordered that several hundreds of thousands of workmen be recruited and that Wang Jing and the Internuncio for Engineering Wang Wu should restore the dykes of the Bian Canal.⁸ [Furthermore,] for more than a thousand *li* [along the Yellow River] from Rongyang east to the sea-mouth at Qiansheng, sluice-gates were constructed every ten *li* to co-ordinate and control the flow and prevent a recurrence of the disastrous flooding. Though Wang Jing was frugal, and careful not to waste men's labour, the costs of the project were counted by the tens of billions.⁹

northeast to the imperial heartland. The system as a whole was known as the Vast Canal (鴻溝 *Hong Gou*, also sometimes rendered as the Wild Goose Canal). See, for example, deC, *Fire*, 22-23.

Bielenstein, *RHD* I, 145-153 and specifically at 165, postulates the theory that the fall of Wang Mang was ultimately attributable to massive flooding and a change of course of the Yellow River. In "Wang Mang and Later Han" at 241-243 he notes that the problem first developed during the time of Emperor Ping, probably in 3, 4 or 5 AD, when a new secondary course was created which extended southeast to join the Huai River. The major change came, however, in 11 AD, when the Yellow River shifted its main northern course: it had formerly reached the sea near present-day Tianjin, but now flowed further south, close to the present-day route, to an outlet just north of the Shandong peninsula. Bielenstein's argument is now generally accepted.

⁶ Junyi county was in Chenliu near present-day Kaifeng in Henan. The Junyi Canal was a part of the Vast Canal system and evidently the site of a major break and consequent flooding: note 9 following.

By the tenth year of Jianwu, 34 AD, the civil war had been largely resolved in favour of Guangwu, with Wei Ao 隗囂 in the northwest and Gongsun Shu 公孫述 in present-day Sichuan his only major opponents. One local magistrate had recommended that this was a good time to commence reconstruction, but Yue Jun argued that damage had so far been limited.

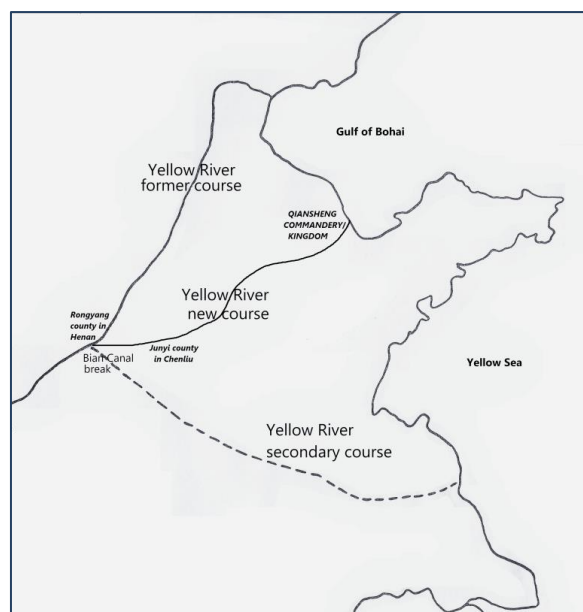
⁷ Lelang commandery was on the eastern side of the Korean peninsula, far from the centre of the empire, but Wang Jing's father had distinguished himself as a supporter of Han and took part in the overthrow of a local warlord. Wang Jing himself was a scholar of *Yi jing* the *Book of Changes* and of astronomy, and he was appointed to the staff of the Excellency of Works at the capital. We are not told, however, how Wang Jing gained reputation as a hydraulic engineer.

⁸ As in note 28 to Zhongyuan 2 at 6, Internuncios could serve as special agents of the emperor outside the capital. In this case Wang Wu is specifically designated as *jiangzuo yezhe* 將作謁者. [The phrase *jiangzuo* "in charge of works" is used also in the title of the senior official *jiangzuo dajiang* 將作大匠, the Court Architect.]

Wang Jing had worked with Wang Wu a year or so earlier on the repair of the Junyi Canal – that is, the stretch of the Vast Canal at Junyi county: note 6 above. *HHS* 87/66 says that Wang Wu had used Wang Jing's technique of holding back the water behind sluice gates and then releasing the flow to scour out a channel: 塹流法 *yanliu fa*; see Needham, *Science and Civilisation* IV:3, 229.

⁹ Rongyang 滎陽 county in Henan commandery, by present-day Xingyang 滎阳 in Henan (the same characters but transcribed differently), lay just south of the junction of the Yellow River with the Bian Canal.

The commandery/kingdom of Qiansheng 千乘 was in Qing province on the delta of the Yellow River; it was renamed Le'an 樂安 in 95. The seacoast is now seventy-five kilometres further to the northeast.



Map 3: Courses of the Yellow River c.4–70 AD
 Sketch adapted from Map 2 of Bielenstein, *RHD I*

C In the autumn, in the seventh month, on the day *yihai* [30 Aug], the Excellency of Works Fu Gong left office.¹⁰

On the day *yiwei* [?]¹¹ the Minister of Finance Mou Rong was appointed Excellency of Works.¹²

At this time the empire was at peace and no-one suffered from excessive corvée; each season produced a good harvest and the people were prosperous; a *hu* of grain cost thirty [cash],¹³ and sheep and cattle spread across the open land.

The restoration of the dykes on the Bian Canal and the construction of sluice-gates along the Yellow River were two separate projects. As Bielenstein points out in *RHD I* at 147-149, the major flood damage had occurred when the dykes which controlled the Bian Canal broke and allowed the Yellow River to create a second substantial course southeast to the Huai, inundating a great part of the southern plain as it did so. Once that break was closed – certainly a major operation – the main stream of the Yellow River could be restored to a north-eastern course.

This new north-eastern course, however, was not the same as before: the River no longer reached the sea near present-day Tianjin but – as in this text – had its mouth in Qiansheng, just north of the base of the Shandong peninsula.

The first work, therefore, was the closure of the break at the junction of the Yellow River with the Bian Canal, and that was completed in the following year, 70 AD: passage A of Yongping 13 below. After that, a system of sluice gates, co-ordinated by signals from one to the other, was established to control the new course of the main stream of the Yellow River. This second part of the program would have taken a good deal longer, and it was during this latter work that Wang Jing displayed his talent for imaginative plans and his concern not to use labour unnecessarily.

C *HHS* 2:115, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

¹⁰ Fu Gong had been appointed an Excellency in 61: passage B of Yongping 4 at 28. *HHS* 76/66:2464 says that Wang Jing's first appointment at the capital was as a member of his staff: note 7 above.

¹¹ The seventh month of this year ended on a *gengchen* day, cyclical number 17, and so cannot have included an *yiwei* day, cyclical number 32. It is possible that the Annals, followed by *ZZTJ*, omitted the designation for the eighth month; the *yiwei* day of the eighth month was equivalent to Julian 19 September.

¹² A noted scholar of *Shu jing* 書經 the *Classic of History* in New Text, Mou Rong had been a successful magistrate and then Director of Retainers; he was admired for his skill in debate at court. His biography is at *HHS* 26/16:915-916.

¹³ A *hu* measure of grain was equivalent to a *shi* 石, just under twenty litres.

Yongping 永平 13: 70 AD

31 January 70 – 18 February 71

A In the summer, in the fourth month, the work on the Bian Canal was completed. The Yellow River and the Bian now flowed separately, restored to their ancient courses.¹

On the day *xinsi* [3 May], the emperor journeyed to Rongyang and inspected the Yellow River and the Canal.²

He then crossed the Yellow River, climbed the Taihang Mountains and visited Shangdang commandery.³ On the day *renyin* [24 May] he returned to the palace.

In the winter, in the tenth month, on the day *renchen* [?], last of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.⁴

A *HHS* 2:116-117, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

¹ This is not quite correct. The main stream of the Yellow River did now flow to the northeast, but it entered the sea further south on the coast of the Gulf of Bohai: see note 9 to Yongping 12 above and compare maps 19-20 and 27-28 of *ZGLSDTJ* II with maps 44-45.

² During this visit, on 7 May, the emperor issued an edict celebrating the rebuilding of the dykes at the junction. The text is translated by Bielenstein, *RHD* I, 147.

³ The Taihang range 太行山 extends along the border of present-day Shanxi and Hebei provinces; its southern slopes lie north across the Yellow River from the region of Rongyang/Xingyang, in the Han commandery of Henei. Shangdang in Bing province was in the southeast of present-day Shanxi.

⁴ There is something wrong here. The tenth month of this year did not include a *renchen* day, cyclical number 29, and no month of this year Yongping 13 had a *renchen* day as its last or its first day.

There were two eclipses in 70 AD: Oppolzer 3059/Espenak 04947 on Julian 30 March, and Oppolzer 3060/Espenak 04948 on 23 September; the latter – mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 202 – fell on the last day of the intercalary seventh month. That was a *jiachen* 甲辰 day, cyclical number 41, so it is probable that *renchen* 壬辰 has been miswritten for *jiachen*.

The Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 108/18:3361 records an eclipse on the *jiachen* day of the tenth month of this year, adding that it took place in the *Wei* 尾 "Tail" constellation, the sixth lunar mansion (宿 *xiu*), being the tail of Western Scorpio; Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 153, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 97 with Star Map 3.

Again, however, the dating is confused. Commentary quotes the *Gujin zhu* 古今注 of the second century (note 14 to Yongping 3 at 23), which says that the eclipse was in the intercalary eighth month, not the tenth month, while the apocryphal work *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴 (note 13 to Yongping 8 at 40) confirms the *jiashen* day and relates an eclipse on such a day to flooding.

It seems most probable that the eclipse referred to here, both in the Annals and in the Treatise, was Oppolzer 3060/Espenak 04948, on Julian 23 September, and the Chinese astronomers originally recorded it on the *jiachen* day of the intercalary seventh month, last day of the month. At some point, however, both in the Annals and in the Treatise, the character 七 "seven" was miswritten as 十 "ten," while the Annals also mis-wrote *jiachen* 甲辰 as *renchen* 壬辰. The characters concerned are close enough to make the error easy.

Often enough, such miswriting of the number of the month would be discovered and corrected by the identification of the season in the Annals: in the present case the seventh month would have been marked as falling in autumn. As it happened, however, the Annals for Yongping 13 have no entry for any of the autumn months, so the error remained – and was then compounded by an addition of the wrong season.

Gujin zhu, as above, was right about the intercalary month, but wrong about which one it was.

In his detailed article on eclipses during Later Han, Morgan, "No Comment," discusses this eclipse and its confused dating at 65; it is entry 19 in his Appendix of "Solar eclipses as reported and potentially visible in the Eastern Han" at 76-80.

As we have seen, eclipses on the last rather than the first day of a month could be regarded with concern: e.g. passage J of Yongping 3 at 25-26, note 4 to Yongping 6 at 33 and passage H of Yongping 8 at 40-41. On this occasion, the three Excellencies were prompted to doff their official caps as a sign of apology, but the emperor responded with a statement accepting personal responsibility: like the unworthy Duke Ling of Wei 衛靈公, he could rely upon his admirable ministers to preserve the state: *Lun yu* XIV.xx; Legge, *CCI*, 283-284.

1454

B Liu Ying the King of Chu met with magicians and created a golden tortoise and a jade bird, and he had inscriptions carved onto them for good fortune. Yan Guang, a member of his staff, reported that Liu Ying had joined Wang Ping and Yan Zhong of Yuyang, with others, to create diagrams and documents, and that they had plans for rebellion.⁵

When the matter was sent down for investigation, the senior ministers submitted a memorial that "Liu Ying's conduct has been Greatly Refractory and Impious. We ask that he be executed."⁶ Because of their close kinship, the emperor could not bear to approve this request.⁷

[However,] in the eleventh month Liu Ying was deposed [from his royal position] and shifted to Jing county in Danyang; his pension was the revenue from a "bath-town" of five hundred families.⁸ Those of his sons and daughters who had been enfeoffed as marquises or princesses were able to receive their revenues as before, while [his mother] the Dowager Xu was not required to surrender her seal and ribbon and continued to reside in the palace at Chu.

C Before this, some private person had informed the Excellency over the Masses Yu Yan about Liu Ying's plotting. Yu Yan, however, considering that Liu Ying was a member of the imperial family and held in great affection, gave the report no credit. When the affair came to light, the emperor sent him firm letter of reprimand.⁹

B *HHS* 42/32:1429, the Biography of Liu Ying.

⁵ The description of Yan Guang as a *nanzi* 男子 is vague; he may have been a low-ranking servant.

Nothing more is known of Yan Zhong, but Wang Ping was a grandson of Wang Liang 王梁, who had been a leading supporter of Emperor Guangwu: *HHS* 22/12:778.

"Creating diagrams and documents" (作圖書 *zuo tushu*) is a very vague accusation, but may include some relation to fortune-telling – as by using the trigrams of *Yi jing* – with implications of magic. Witchcraft could be very dangerous for any participants: see, for example, "The Case of Witchcraft in 91 BC" in Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, especially 39-40.

⁶ Under Han law, heinous criminal conduct which was treasonous or against the natural order – such as incest or patricide – were categorised as Greatly Refractory and/or Impious (大逆/無道 *dani/wudao*). Such cases were subject to the death penalty, generally accompanied by extreme torture: Hulsewé, "Ch'in and Han Law," 532.

⁷ Liu Ying was a half-brother of the emperor: note 14 to Yongping 1 at 10. He had been in trouble before, and on that occasion the emperor had also shown favour. This affair, however, was much more serious.

⁸ Danyang commandery lay south of the Yangzi in Yang province; Jing county is now in southern Anhui.

On the term *tangmu yi* 湯沐邑, see note 29 to Yongping 2 at 19; on this occasion I follow Mansvelt Beck's rendering of "bath-town." The revenue from five hundred households is not very large, a great deal less than that of a king. Furthermore, an *yi* fief was normally used only for female members of the imperial house. Liu Ying has thus been removed from his former kingdom, sent into effective exile, and granted a derisory and humiliating pension.

C *HHS* 33/23:1154, the Biography of Yu Yan.

⁹ Yu Yan had held substantial office under Guangwu, and became an Excellency under Emperor Ming: passage A of Yongping 3 at 20 and passage A of Yongping 8 at 37. *HHS* 33/23 claims that the Yin family of the Dowager, angry that he had formerly arranged the execution of a troublemaker under their protection, sought to implicate him in the fall of Liu Ying, including by arranging for the private report.

Yongping 永平 14: 71 AD

19 February 71 – 7 February 72

A In the spring, in the third month, on the day *jiaxu* [21 Apr], Yu Yan killed himself. The Minister of Ceremonies Zhou Ze was appointed to act as Excellency over the Masses, but soon afterwards he reverted to Minister of Ceremonies.¹

In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day *dingsi* [31 May], the Administrator of Julu, Xing Mu of Nanyang, was appointed Excellency over the Masses.

B When Liu Ying the King of Chu came to Danyang he killed himself.² An edict ordered that he should be buried at Jing with the honours of a marquis.

Yan Guang was enfeoffed as Marquis Who Plucks out Wickedness, and there was now an exhaustive enquiry into the case of Chu, which continued for several years. As one statement led to another, close imperial relatives at the capital, members of the nobility and leading families in the provinces all came under investigation. Those who were implicated and were sentenced to death or to exile were numbered in the thousands, while several thousand more were sent to prison.³

C Before this Fan Wei, younger brother of Fan Shu,⁴ had sought to arrange for his son Shang to marry a daughter of Liu Ying the King of Chu. Fan Shu heard about this and attempted to stop it, saying, "During the Jianwu period, our family was treated with the greatest favour: five marquisates in a single clan."⁵

1455 "At that time the Specially Advanced [Fan Hong] needed only to say a word, and he could have had any of his daughters marry a king and any of his sons wed a Princess. When honour and favour become too great, however, they can soon bring misfortune and disaster. So he did not do that.

"In any case, you have only one son. Why send him off to Chu?" Fan Wei did not follow this advice.

When the affair of Chu broke out, Fan Shu was already dead, but the emperor remembered how careful and conscientious he had been, so none of his sons [or nephews?] were charged.⁶

A *HHS* 2:118, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

¹ Zhou Ze was a scholar of *Chunqiu* who first taught privately and later became an Academician at the Imperial University. When he was appointed an Excellency, however, his conduct was found insufficiently formal and lacking in presence: *HHS* 79/69B:2578.

B *HHS* 42/32:1429, the Biography of Liu Ying.

² The Annals refer to Liu Ying correctly as the "former" (前 *qian*) king.

³ Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 33-35, discusses the case and Emperor Ming's prosecution of it, including the incidents described in passages D, E and G following.

C *HHS* 32/22:1123-24, the Biography of Fan Shu.

⁴ On Fan Shu, a senior cousin of Emperor Ming, see note 15 to Yongping 9 at 45. Fan Shu died in 67, so this incident had taken place some five years before.

⁵ Commentary to *HHS* 32/22, followed by Hu Sanxing, lists the enfeoffments. Fan Hong was first made marquis of one county, then transferred to another, and was also granted title as Specially Advanced (特進 *tejin*), the highest rank of marquis: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 109, and see note 13 to Yongping 16 at 69. A younger brother was granted a county fief, and a cousin received a district.

⁶ Fan Shu had three sons; he had inherited the marquisate of his father Hong, and it passed to his eldest son Si 祀. *HHS* 32/22 says that the emperor also noted how Fan Shu had advised Fan Wei against the marriage.

D Liu Ying had had secret contacts with well-known gentlemen throughout the empire, and the emperor got hold of the list. One of those named was Yin Xing the Administrator of Wu commandery, so he and some five hundred of his officers were sent to the [prison of] the Minister of Justice and interrogated.⁷ The men could not withstand the beatings, and more than half of them died. Lu Xu, an officer at the gate,⁸ the Master of Records Liang Hong and the Officer of Merit Si Xun, though the five tortures were applied until their bodies were bleeding and broken,⁹ they never changed their statements [of innocence].

The mother of Lu Xu came from Wu to Luoyang, where she prepared food and sent it in to him. Lu Xu had undergone torture without changing his responses or showing any emotion, but he wept uncontrollably when he received the dish. The officer in charge of the prison asked the reason, and Lu Xu replied, "My mother has come, but I cannot see her. That is why I weep."

"How do you know this?" asked the officer.

"When my mother cuts up meat, she always cuts it square," replied Lu Xu. "And when she chops onions she uses her thumb as a measure. That is how I know."

The officer reported all this, and the emperor then pardoned Yin Xing and the others, [but] they were proscribed from holding office for the rest of their lives.

E The statements made by Yan Zhong and Wang Ping implicated Geng Jian [*i.e.* Geng Fu] the Marquis of Sui District, Zang Xin the Marquis of Langling, Deng Li [*i.e.* Liu Li] the Marquis of Huoze and Liu Jian [*i.e.* Dou Jian] the Marquis of Qucheng.¹⁰ All denied having any contact with Yan Zhong or Wang Ping.

Nothing more is recorded of the fate of Fan Wei or Fan Shang, but it appears that Liu Ying's children were not directly affected: passage E with note 16 at 59 below, and note 3 to Yongping 15 at 62. Fan Shang may therefore have escaped the purge; the connection, however, had certainly proved unwise.

D *HHS* 81/71:2682-83, the Biography of Lu Xu.

⁷ The Minister of Justice maintained a prison at Luoyang; note 20 to Yongping 8 at 42.

There is a slight error here. Yin Xing had actually been Administrator of Kuaiji, which had its capital at Wu, now Suzhou in Jiangxi, and Lu Xu was a man of that county. Wu commandery was established only in 129, when its territory was divided from that of Kuaiji: *HHS* 112/22:3489.

⁸ The term *menxia* 門下 "at the gate" indicates a close attendant on the Administrator.

⁹ There are differing identifications for the Five Methods of Torture (五毒 *wudu*; literally, the Five Poisons). One interpretation suggests that pain was applied to the four limbs and to the body itself; another lists varying forms of beating with whips or bamboo, burning the flesh or stretching and tightening ropes.

E *HHJ* 10:123,

HHS 41/31:1417, the Biography of Han Lang.

¹⁰ There is confusion and uncertainty about several names in this passage. The problems are discussed by the commentary of Hu Sanxing to *ZZTJ* and by the modern scholar Hui Dong at *HHSJJ* 41/31:1506.

Both *HHJ* and *HHS* 41/31 have the name of the first on the list as Geng Jian 建, but Hui Dong notes that the personal name should be Fu 阜. Son of Geng Chun 耿純, one of the worthy assistants to Emperor Guangwu (passage C of Yongping 3 at 21), Geng Fu succeeded to his father's county marquissate in Bohai, but the fief was later reduced to district level: *HHS* 21/11:765. The name of his district, however, was Ju 莒, while the district fief of Sui 隨 (or 遂) had been awarded to Geng Chun's cousin Su 宿; this is a second error.

Zang Xin was a son of Zang Gong, also numbered among the worthy assistants, and had likewise inherited his fief. Langling county was in Runan.

The name Deng Li 鄧鯉 appears only in this context in *HHS* 41/31. *HHJ* has Liu Li 劉鯉, which was the name of the third son of Liu Xuan 玄 the Gengshi 更始 Emperor (*reg.* 23-25), who was enfeoffed by his successor Guangwu: *HHS* 11/1:476. The Marquis of Huoze in Hedong, however, was Liu Xun 巡, son

The emperor was at this time extremely angry, all his officers were anxious and afraid, and anyone with any connection was brought into the net. No-one dared show sympathy or mercy.

1456 The Imperial Clerk Han Lang was seriously concerned at such injustice.¹¹ When he looked at the case of Geng Jian/Fu and his fellows, he went alone to question Yan Zhong and Wang Ping. Surprised and confused, neither could make a good reply.¹²

Realising that were lying, Han Lang reported that, "Geng Jian/Fu and the others are innocent. They were falsely accused by Yan Zhong and Wang Ping – that is all. And I suspect there are many other such cases throughout the empire."¹³

"If it is true [that they are innocent]," said the emperor, "why did Yan Zhong and Wang Ping implicate them?"

"Yan Zhong and Wang Ping knew they were guilty of most serious offences, so they made a number of false accusations in hope of reducing their punishment."

"If that is true, why has it not been reported before this?"

"I was worried they might yet have been charged with other offences."

"You're a liar!" exclaimed the emperor in a rage. He gave immediate orders for Han Lang to be arrested and beaten.

As guards led him away, Han Lang said, "I ask just one word before I die. [Your humble subject would not dare deceive you; my only desire is to assist the state.]"

"Who joined you in presenting this statement?" asked the emperor.

"I did it alone," was the reply.

"Why did you not consult with the offices of the Three Excellencies?"

"I knew that I would certainly be liable to the most extreme penalties,¹⁴ so I dared not involve anyone else."

"Why should you face such penalties?" asked the emperor.

"I have been examining such matters for a year now," replied Han Lang. "I have not been able to find all the criminals, but instead I am obliged to argue for the release of people who have been [wrongly] convicted.

"I know the penalties I face, but I am nonetheless speaking now in the earnest hope that I may enlighten your majesty – that is all.

"I have seen guilty men examined. Knowing of their wrongdoing, and realising that their fellows will suffer the same fate, they find it better to tell what they know about them than to try to hide anything; that way, there will be no further punishment.

of Liu Xuan's second son Qiu 求, and it is probably he who was accused at this time. See *HHS* 11/1:476; *Huoze* 濩澤 was a county in Hedong: *HHS* 109/19:3398.

The name Liu Jian 劉建 is given by *HHS* 41/31, but *HHJ* has the name as Dou Jian 竇建. Neither, however, can be identified further. Qucheng county was in Donglai.

¹¹ According to his biography, Han Lang held substantive appointment as an Internuncio, but was acting as an Imperial Clerk (侍御史 *shiyushi*), an officer of the censorate: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 9-10 (as Attending Secretary), and deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 68-74.

¹² Though the two men may have been in such pain from torture that they could not answer coherently, it appears that they had not expected to be questioned and their answers were in any case unsatisfactory.

¹³ Accounts of the conversation in *HHS* and *HHJ* vary and the *ZZTJ* summary is confusing, with disagreement on the punctuation of direct and indirect speech. I insert some excerpts from *HHS* for clarity.

¹⁴ Han Lang refers here to the *zu* 族 penalty, which provided for the execution of the culprit under torture and the extermination of his family; *mie* 滅 reinforced the extermination. See Hulsewé, *RHL*, 112-122.

So in this way, one person examined involves ten others, and ten will involve a hundred.

"Furthermore, when your Excellencies and Ministers gather at court, and your majesty enquires whether any mistakes have been made, they all prostrate themselves and say, 'According to ancient regulations, the greatest crimes are liable to the penalty of the Nine Relationships.¹⁵ With great compassion, however, your majesty punishes only the guilty individuals; all the empire is delighted!'¹⁶

"So no-one makes any public criticism, and when they return to the privacy of their own homes they still say nothing; but they look up to the rafters and sigh in silence.

"Everyone knows that there are many people suffering unjust treatment, but none dare contradict you.

"Now that I have said what I have to say, I can truly die without regret." Less certain of himself now, the emperor ordered Han Lang be let go.

Two days later, the emperor went in person to the Luoyang prisons and reviewed the cases of those held there. More than a thousand were found suitable for release.

1457 There had been a drought at this time, but there now came heavy rain.¹⁷

F The Empress Ma also found an opportunity to speak with the emperor about the great number of people who were implicated in the case of Chu.¹⁸ The emperor was sympathetic and affected, and he would get up at night with a sense of concern. Many more prisoners were released as a result.

G Yuan An of Runan, the magistrate of Rencheng, was transferred to be Administrator of Chu.¹⁹ When he arrived, he did not go into the offices but went first to investigate

¹⁵ The commentator Hui Tong 惠棟 quotes from the Laws of Han (漢律 *Hanlü*), stating that the penalty for offences categorised as "Greatly Refractory and Impious" (大逆無道 *dani wudao*: see note 6 to Yongping 13 at 55) extended to four generations of the father's family, three generations of the mother's family and two generations of the wife's family; these were the "Nine Relationships" (九族 *jiuzu*). This represented the extreme form of the *zu* penalty (note 14 immediately above), extending the punishment to the most distant members of a family from great-grandparents to great-grandchildren: see also Ch'ü, *Social Structure*, 313-317 note 275 and 294-295 note 198. In practice, of course, it was highly unlikely that such a broad spread of generations would have been available for punishment: Hulsewé, *RHL*, 116.

¹⁶ While Liu Ying had been punished for his misconduct, his family and kinfolk had been unaffected: note 3 to Yongping 15 at 62. It appears that the same policy was being applied to others.

¹⁷ Neither the Annals for this year at *HHS* 2:118 nor the section reserved for drought in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 103/13:3278 have any mention of drought in this year. The supplementary list from the *Gujin zhu* of Fu Wuji (see note 14 to Yongping 3 at 23), quoted in commentary to the Treatise, mentions a drought in the fifth month of the previous year, Yongping 13, but then nothing until Yongping 21. Since we have been told in passage B above at 55 that the investigation and persecution of the case of Chu began only in this year, Yongping 14, the drought of Yongping 13 is unlikely to have been relevant: the drought mentioned here was presumably a local shortage of rain, too slight to be recorded as a portent.

Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 51-52, mentions this and other instances of prison inspections, concluding that "the best Later Han convicts could hope for was a prolonged dry spell."

F *HHS* 10A:410, the Biography of the Empress Ma of Emperor Ming.

¹⁸ *HHS* 10A dates this intervention by the empress to the following year, Yongping 15, after the Chu case had been continued for some time longer.

G *HHS* 45/35:1518, the Biography of Yuan An.

¹⁹ The territory of Chu had been the royal fief of Liu Ying, but reverted to commandery status after he was deposed and transferred into Danyang: passage B of Yongping 13 at 55.

the situation at the prison. Finding a number of men against whom there was no clear evidence, he ordered their release.

The commandery Assistant and all the other officers kowtowed before him but protested, "You cannot do that. By law, if a prisoner is wrongly released the person in charge must share his original offence."

"If there is any mistake," replied Yuan An, "I take responsibility as Administrator. It will not affect anyone else." He then sent in reports on each case. The emperor was sympathetic and affected, and he replied approving Yuan An's policy. More than four hundred families were released.

H In the summer, in the fifth month, Liu Yuanshou, son of former King Jing of Guangling, was made Marquis of Guangling with revenue from six counties.²⁰

I Dou Jia, grandson of Dou Rong, was also granted a fief as Marquis of Anfeng.²¹

J Construction began on the Mound of Long Life.²² An imperial statement was issued: Let water flow, nothing more; do not raise dykes [to control it].

At the end of ten thousand years,²³ sweep the ground and offer a sacrifice: just a bowl of water and some dried food for the journey, nothing more.

After a hundred days, there need be no more than libations at each of the four seasons, with a few officers and men to sprinkle water and sweep the dust.

H *HHS* 42/32:1448, the post-biography of Liu Jing.

²⁰ Liu Jing, full brother of Emperor Ming, had been found guilty of treasonous conduct and killed himself three years earlier: passages E of Yongping 9 and A of Yongping 10 at 45-47. The kingdom had been abolished, but Liu Yuanshou was now enfeoffed in the same territory at a lower rank: *HHS* 42/32 notes that the six counties were the same as those which had formerly comprised the kingdom of Guangling (itself now classed as a commandery).

HHS 42/32 adds that three brothers of Liu Yuanshou were granted district marquises at this time.

I *HHS* 23/13:809, the post-biography of Dou Mu.

²¹ Dou Rong, a leading ally of Emperor Guangwu, had brought himself and his family to high office, but had fallen from favour with Emperor Ming: passage K of Yongping 2 with notes 25 to 27 at 18-19.

Dou Jia was a son of Dou Rong's eldest son Mu. His father and two brothers had died in prison some years before: passage D of Yongping 5 at 32. Dou Rong's marquise of Anfeng was now revived, and *HHS* 23/13 notes that Dou Jia was designated to maintain the lineage: 奉融後 *feng* [*Dou*] *Rong hou*.

J *HHS* 2:122 and 123-24, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

²² Mound of Long Life (壽陵 *Shouling*) was the title given to the funerary complex of a reigning emperor while it was under construction. Commentary to *HHS* 10B:442 notes that all items related to an imperial funeral were referred to as *shou*, because it was hoped that the future recipient would enjoy long life. Born in 28 AD, Emperor Ming was now in his mid-forties.

The bulk of this passage is taken from the entry in the Annals recording the death of Emperor Ming four years later: passage H of Yongping 18. The introductory phrase *chu zuo Shouling* 初作壽陵, however, is a single entry for this year 71.

The same phrase appears also at *HHS* 1B:77-78, the Annals of Emperor Guangwu for Jianwu 26: 50 AD, likewise accompanied by an instruction from the emperor, and the first sentence of Emperor Ming's injunction matches that of his father. This may have been deliberate, or a dittography in the records.

These are the only occasions that the Annals mention the preparation of a sovereign's future resting-place, though all those who lived long enough must have made similar arrangements: ritual provided for a funeral and burial in a tomb quite soon after death. Guangwu, for example, died on Western 29 March and was buried on 27 April (passages A and E of Zhongyuan 2 at 1 and 4), and Emperor Ming would die on 5 September and be buried ten days later (passages E and L of Yongping 18 at 81 and 83); see also the Treatise of Ceremonial, *HHS* 96/6:3143; MBeck, *Treatises* 77. A similar timetable was followed in later years, so tombs must have been prepared in advance.

²³ Ten thousand years (萬歲 *wansui*) was the idealised life-span of a sovereign ruler. Emperor Ming is referring to his own death.

Should anyone dare exceed these instructions, let them suffer the penalties provided for those who venture to debate the rites of the ancestral temples.²⁴

²⁴ In the biography of Wei Xuancheng 韋玄成, a scholar official of Former Han involved in debate on simplifying the rituals of the imperial house, a passing note observes that the penalty for such discussions had been public execution (棄市 *qishi*): *HS* 73:3125. On the debate, see Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 179-180, and "Chengdi's Reign," in *Chang'an* at 227; also Tian, "Sacrifices," in *Chang'an* at 277.

Despite Emperor Ming's declaration of restraint, there is no sign in later records or in the description of the funerary arrangements in the Treatise that his worthy strictures against extravagant display had any long-term effect, while his tomblant was by far the most extensive of all those of Later Han: note 20 to Yongping 18 at 83.

Yongping 永平 15: 72 AD

8 February 72 – 27 January 73

A In the spring, in the second month, on the day *gengzi* [12 Mar], the emperor journeyed to the east.¹

On the day *guihai* [4 Apr] he performed the Ploughing ceremony at Xiapi.² In the third month he arrived in Lu,³ where he visited the house of Confucius and attended the lecture hall there, calling the Heir [Liu Da] and some of the kings to discuss the classics.⁴ He also visited Dongping⁵ and Daliang.⁶

A *HHS* 2:118, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

¹ *ZZTJ* omits some of the itinerary. The emperor travelled first to Yanshi 偃/偃師, just east of Luoyang, where he visited the prison and reduced some sentences. He then went to Liang commandery, where he met with his half-brother Liu Fu the King of Pei, then east through Chu to carry out the Ploughing at Xiapi.

² The Ploughing ceremony (耕 *geng*) is discussed by Bodde, *Festivals*, 223-241 and by Dubs, *HFHD* I, 281-283. It is said to have been an annual function of the ruler, with an entry in the Treatise on Ritual at *HHS* 94/4:3106, and it was very likely echoed by similar ceremonies held in the provinces. It is not, however, mentioned regularly in the records.

Bodde's interpretation of the ceremony (at 233-240) is that the ruler used a primitive foot-plough, or forked digging-stick (耒耜 *leisi*), following the model of Shen Nong 神農 the "Divine Husbandman," founder of agriculture, and that the emperor and some members of his court make ritual "pushes."

Emperor Ming appears to have been conscientious in such duties, and it is probable that he normally performed the Ploughing each year at the Sacred Field (藉田 *jitian*) at Luoyang. Only three such ceremonies are recorded, however: in Yongping 3:60 he marked it with an edict (*HHS* 2:105); in Yongping 13:70 he presented food to those who had attended (*HHS* 2:116); and this occasion in Yongping 15:72 was notable for being performed away from the capital. We may assume that the ceremony took place as a matter of course each year, and that the Annals recorded the two of 60 and 70 because of the additional activities – though they were not sufficiently exceptional to justify mention in *ZZTJ*.

According to the *Yue ling* 月令 "Monthly Ordinances" quoted by the Treatise, the Ploughing should take place in the first month. As Bodde points out at 226, however, most recorded instances were in the second month – as here – or even later. He suggests that this may have been because north China is too cold for such work so early in the year.

³ Again, some of the imperial itinerary has been omitted. From Xiapi, Emperor Ming travelled to Donghai and Langye on the eastern seaboard, holding meetings with the rulers of those states, and then turned west to Lu, where he met with the four sons of his late half-brother Liu Ying: see passage E and note 16 to Yongping 14 at 59.

⁴ The traditional home of Confucius was at Jufu 曲阜 in present-day Shandong, then in Lu county in Lu: *HHS* 110/20:3429 with note 1 at 3430 quoting Ying Shao 應劭 of the second century. Lu was at this time part of the fief of the king of Donghai: note 10 to Yongping 1 at 9.

⁵ Dongping, just west of Lu, was the fief of Emperor Ming's trusted brother Liu Cang: e.g. passage F of Yongping 4 and passage A of Yongping 5 at 30-31. Liu Cang's biography at *HHS* 42/32:1436 says that when the emperor came to visit at this time he gave him fifteen million cash and presented him with a copy of the Annals of Emperor Guangwu 光武本紀 compiled by Ban Gu and other scholars.

⁶ Tang commentary identifies the reference to Daliang 大梁 as referring to the former capital of the Warring States kingdom of Wei 魏, also known as Liang; King Hui of Liang 梁惠王 was a well-known interlocutor of the philosopher Mencius: e.g. Legge *CC* II, 125ff. Close to present-day Kaifeng in Henan, Daliang was at that time in Chenliu commandery, near the border with Henan. The Annals date the visit to Daliang on the *xinwei* day of this third month, and add that he then went to Dingtao.

Dingtao 定陶, now in Shandong, was at that time the capital of Jiyin commandery: *HHS* 111/21:3456. For a time during Former Han Jiyin had been known as Dingtao and Liu Kang 康 a son of Emperor Yuan, had been king there: *HS* 28A:1571 and 80:3327; Loewe, *QHX*, 326-327. The Annals state that Emperor Ming offered sacrifice at his tomb; see also Vankeerberghen, "Pining for the West," 362 note 8.

Since Dingtao is some hundred kilometres east of Daliang, it is somewhat surprising that the royal cortege went from Dongping west to Chenliu and then turned back so far to the east. One may wonder whether the character 大 is not a mistaken addition, for Liang 梁 commandery was immediately south of Jiyin on the south and it would have been easier to move from one to the other.



Map 4: The Journeys of Emperor Ming 59-72 AD

Note: only the relevant commanderies and kingdoms are indicated.

In 59 the emperor travelled west to Chang'an [not shown] and Hedong: passage J of Yongping 2 at 17-18;

in 63 the emperor travelled to Lu: passage A of Yongping 6;

in 67 the emperor travelled to Nanyang, then to Runan and Liang: passage A of Yongping 10 40;

in 70 the emperor travelled to Rongyang, then north into Shangdang: passage A of Yongping 13;

in 72 the emperor travelled to Yanshi, then to Liang, Chu and Xiapi, then through Donghai and Langye to Lu and Dongping, and was then at Daliang [or in Liang?] and Dingtao in Jiyin: passage A of Yongping 15.

1458 In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day *gengzi* [11 May], the emperor returned to his palace.

B The imperial sons were granted fiefs: Liu Gong was made King of Julu; Liu Dang was made King of Lecheng; Liu Yan was made King of Xiapi; Liu Chang [暢] was made King of Runan; Liu Bing was made King of Changshan, and Liu Chang [長] was made King of Jiyin.⁷

In any case, it appears from the dates given by the Annals that Emperor Ming spent several more weeks in this region: the *xinwei* day of the third month was Western 12 April, and – as immediately below – he did not return to the capital until 11 May.

B HHS 2:119, the Annals of Emperor Ming;

HHS 10A:410, the Biography of the Empress Ma of Emperor Ming.

⁷ HHS 50/40 has biographies of the eight sons of Emperor Ming other than Liu Da, who became Emperor Zhang. That of Liu Gong 恭 is at 1670-71; that of Liu Dang 黨 at 1672-73; that of Liu Yan 衍 at 1674-75; that of Liu Chang 暢 at 1675-77; that of Liu Bing 炳 at 1678; and that of Liu Chang 長 at 1679.

Where necessary, the brothers Liu Chang 暢 and Liu Chang 長 are identified by addition of the relevant character, while Liu Yan 衍 must be distinguished from his half-uncles Liu Yan 延 and Liu Yen 焉: e.g. note 11 to Zhongyuan 2 at 3.

Emperor Zhang had been born to the Honoured Lady Jia 賈 of Nanyang – but see passage E of Jianchu 4 at 112 – and Liu Chang 暢 to the Honoured Lady Yin 陰. The mothers of the other sons are not recorded.

The emperor himself determined their territories, and he halved the size of the kingdoms of Chu and Huaiyang. The Empress Ma said to him, "The counties you are giving your sons, aren't they rather few?"

"Why should my sons rank with my father's?" replied the emperor. "An income of two million a year is enough!"⁸

- C On the day *yisi* [16 May] there was an amnesty for the empire.⁹
- D The Supervisor of the Internuncios Geng Bing had sent several messages to the throne seeking permission to attack the Xiongnu.¹⁰ Noting that Dou Gu the Marquis of Xianqin had formerly been with his uncle Dou Rong in the lands west of the Yellow River and had experience and understanding of frontier affairs,¹¹ the emperor arranged for Geng Bing and Dou Gu to discuss the question with the Minister Coachman Zhai Tong,¹² Ma Liao the General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger,¹³ Liu Zhang the Marquis of Xiabo,¹⁴ and Geng Zhong the Marquis of Haozhi.¹⁵

Besides the six listed here, Liu Jian and Liu Xian had been enfeoffed as kings of Qiansheng and Guangping respectively in 60: passage E with note 11 to Yongping 3 at 22. Liu Jian had died a year later.

Liu Gong and Liu Dang had previously been given courtesy titles without territorial fiefs: passage B of Yongping 9 at 43. Liu Dang's fief had been known as Xindu 信都 in Former Han, the name was now changed.

Liu Yan's fief of Xiapi had formerly been the commandery of Linhuai 臨淮: *HHS* 111/21:3461.

- ⁸ *HHS* 10A says that Emperor Ming decided the fiefs with the aid of maps, and halved all their territories. As a king's pension was provided by the tax revenue of their fiefs, this affected their incomes.

Chu had been the fief of Emperor Ming's brother Liu Ying until his deposition two years before: passage B of Yongping 13 at 55; it was currently unoccupied. Huaiyang was held by Emperor Ming's half-brother Liu Yan: note 11 to Zhongyuan 2 at 3.

- C *HHS* 2:119, the Annals of Emperor Ming

- ⁹ The Annals describe this as a "great amnesty" (大赦 *dashe*), but *ZZTJ* has it only as an "amnesty:" *cf.* note 4 to Yongping 2 at 13.

- D *HHS* 19/9:716, the Biography of Geng Bing,

HHS 23/13:810, the Biography of Dou Gu,

HHJ 10:122-23.

- ¹⁰ A son of Geng Guo, Geng Bing had inherited his father's distrust of the Northern Xiongnu: passage C with note 4 to Yongping 8 at 37. On the duties of Internuncios (謁者 *yezhe*), including their capacity to act as agents of the emperor, see note 28 to Zhongyuan 2 at 6. The office was headed by a Supervisor (僕射 *puye*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 30.

HHJ dates this meeting, and specifically the speech by Geng Bing in the following paragraph, to Yongping 13, two years earlier. As the Northern Xiongnu had been raiding the frontiers for the last several years, it could have been held at any time, but *ZZTJ* relates it to the campaign of the following year.

- ¹¹ Dou Gu's father You 友, a younger twin of Dou Gong, had joined him in support of Emperor Guangwu. He was granted the fief of Xianqin, a county in Tianshui (later Hanyang), but died in the late 40s.

Having married a sister of Emperor Ming, Dou Gu held office at court, was granted the succession to his father's marquisate and commanded the guards of the Feathered Forest: passage H and note 30 to Zhongyuan 2 at 6. In 62, however, Dou Rong's son Mu was disgraced and all the family was affected: passage E of Yongping 6 at 32. Dou Gu had been obliged to retire into private life.

Now, however, ten years had passed and he was recalled. His biography says that Emperor Ming hoped to match Emperor Wu of Former Han, who had attacked the Xiongnu and expanded into central Asia.

- ¹² Zhai Tong was known for his successful dealing with the non-Chinese tribes of the north: passage F of Yongping 1 at 11.

- ¹³ Ma Liao, son of the great general Ma Yuan, was an elder half-brother of the Empress Ma. His biography is in *HHS* 24/14. Xiabo county was in Xindu 信都, later renamed Lecheng 樂城 and then Anping 安平.

- ¹⁴ A grandson of Liu Bosheng the elder brother of Emperor Guangwu, Liu Zhang 張 was recognised for his good advice on matters concerning the northern frontier. His biography is at *HHS* 14/4:553.

"In former times," said Geng Bing, "the Xiongnu led all the people of the bow and united all those who button on the left, so they could not be kept under control.¹⁶ Then Emperor Wu took the four commanderies west of the River,¹⁷ along with Juyan and Shuofang.¹⁸ The enemy were deprived of fine country which produced good troops and the Qiang were separated from the tribes of the north.¹⁹ There remained only the Western Regions, and they too were brought under our control.²⁰ That is why the Huhaxie Shanyu came knocking at the frontier gates and asked to submit; their changed circumstances meant they were easy to manage.²¹

"Now we have the Southern Shanyu, and he is in the same situation, but we do not yet hold the Western Regions and the northern caitiffs have no internal disagreements.

1459 "It is my humble opinion that we should first attack the White Mountains, occupy Yiwu, seize Jushi and make contact with the Wusun and other states;²² by this means

¹⁵ Geng Zhong was a son of Geng Yan, a leading supporter of Emperor Guangwu: passages H of Yongping 1 with note 23 at 12 and C of Yongping 3 at 21. He had succeeded to his father's fief: *HHS* 19/9:713.

Geng Zhong was a cousin of Geng Bing; their fathers Geng Yan and Geng Guo were brothers: note 10 above.

¹⁶ The people who draw the bow (引弓之類 *yingong zhi lei*): the northern nomads.

The phrase *zuoran* 左衽 refers to barbarians who fastened their garments on the left. Civilised Chinese fasten their clothes on the right: see, for example, *Lun yu* XIV.xxviii.3; Legge, *CC* I, 282, and *Shu jing* V.xxiv.13; Legge, *CC* III, 577.

¹⁷ The four commanderies west of the River (河西四郡 *Hexi sijun*) were Wuwei, Zhangye, Jiuquan and Dunhuang. Stretching northeast along the Gansu corridor from present-day Lanzhou on the Yellow River, they had been established by Former Han. The territory itself had been largely brought under control by Emperor Wu, but the commanderies themselves were established only gradually during the first half of the first century BC: see Loewe, *RHA* I, 58-60. Under Later Han they were part of Liang province.

Geng Bing applies the prefix *Xiao* 孝 "*Filial*" to the posthumous title; this was the standard courtesy for all emperors of Han except the two founders, Gaozu and Guangwu.

¹⁸ Juyan refers to the oasis region about the Gaxun Nur, north of present-day Jiayuguan in Gansu. Fed by the Mulin branch of the Ruo River or Etsin Gol, it forms a salient into the steppe. Under Later Han the territory was a dependent state of Zhangye commandery 張掖居延屬國, and was raised to become a commandery-level administration early in the second century: *HHS* 113/23:3521.

Shuofang describes the western curve of the northern loop of the Yellow River. Under Later Han the region was a commandery in Bing province: *HHS* 113/23:3526.

¹⁹ The non-Chinese Qiang people, whose heartland was in present-day Tibet, had settlements in the Xining valley, Jincheng commandery of Han. Chinese control of the Gansu corridor separated them from the Xiongnu tribes of the northern steppe.

The term *lu* 虜 "caitiffs," is a standard reference to an enemy – people who should be captive.

²⁰ Chinese expansion into central Asia during the late second century BC is discussed in Loewe's Introduction to Hulsewé/Loewe, *Central Asia*, 40-43.

²¹ The first Huhaxie Shanyu, whose personal name was Jihoushan 稽侯獮, reigned from 59 to 31. Xiongnu power had been weakened and divided, and in 53 Jihoushan sought and obtained Chinese assistance against his rival the Zhizhi 鄯支 Shanyu. The Lady Wang Zhaojun 王昭君, a member of the harem of Emperor Yuan was made his consort; her story became a legend. See Loewe, *QHX*, 167-169, and *Crisis and Conflict*, 211-251, "Punishment of Chih-chih."

The title Huhaxie – also transcribed as Huhanye – was later taken by Prince Bi 比, the first Southern Shanyu, who hoped to establish the same relationship of alliance as his predecessor: note 30 to Yongping 2 at 19.

²² On these territories, see the map of the Western Regions at 27.

The White Mountains (白山 *Boshan*) are the Tian Shan range, north of the Tarim basin in Xinjiang, extending from the frontier with Russia in the northwest to the Bogda ranges 博格達山 and the Barkol Tagh, east of present-day Urumqi. The peaks are regularly covered with snow.

we shall cut off the right arm [of the enemy].²³ Besides this, the Southern Huyan group of the Xiongnu are in Yiwu; destroy them, and we are breaking off their left horn. Only after that can we attack the Xiongnu."²⁴

The emperor considered this excellent advice. Some of those involved in the discussion, however, thought that, "If an army is sent away to the White Mountains, the [Northern] Xiongnu will certainly combine to support one another. We should also send troops east to keep their main force away." The emperor agreed.

E In the twelfth month Geng Bing was appointed a Commandant of Attendant Cavalry and Dou Gu was made a Commandant of the Equipage; the Commandant of Cavalry Qin Peng was second-in-command to Geng Bing and Geng Zhong was second to Dou Gu; all had Assistant Officers and Majors.²⁵ They went out to camp in Liang province.

F Bing was a son of Geng Guo; Zhong was a son of Geng Yan; Liao was a son of Ma Yuan.

Yiwu 伊吾, also known as Yiwulu 廬, is the region of present-day Hami/Kumul, and Jushi 車師 is the area of Turfan and the Bogda ranges. Nearer Jushi (前車師 *Qian Jushi*), on the south of the ranges, was closer to Han; Further (後 *Hou*) Jushi lay to the north.

The Wusun 烏孫 people, who inhabited the area of the Issyk Kul in the Tian Shan ranges south of the Ili River, are discussed by *HS* 96B:2901-10; Hulsewé/Loewe, *Central Asia*, 142-162. There is no separate entry for them in *HHS* 98/88, the chapter on the Western Regions.

²³ The expression, "to cut off the right arm" of the Xiongnu (斷右臂 *duan youbi*) was used by Zhang Qian 張騫 of Former Han when urging Emperor Wu to join forces with the Wusun people: *SJ* 123:3168 and *HS* 61:2692; Hulsewé/Loewe, *Central Asia*, 217, and see Yü, "Han Foreign Relations," 407. Tang commentary to a similar text at *HHS* 47.37:1575-76 points out that the Xiongnu were facing China from the north, so the west was on their right: see also passage C of Jianchu 5 at 117.

²⁴ The Huyan were one of the noble clans of the Xiongnu, intermarrying with that of the Shanyu: *HHS* 89/79:2944-45, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu; deC, *Northern Frontier*, 177.

The phrase "break off the left horn" (折左角 *zhe zuojue*) is a rhetorical echo of the preceding, and not particularly appropriate. If the region of Yiwu/Hami is on the left/east of the Xiongnu position, then they are based in the north of present-day Xinjiang, the region of Dzungaria. In fact, however, the core of the Northern Xiongnu power was on the steppe immediately north of the frontier of China proper. Geng Bing appears to be viewing the "horn" from the Chinese perspective.

Overall, this is a most ambitious strategy for a government which had hitherto been largely on the defensive against raids from the north. The biography of Dou Gu at *HHS* 23/13:809-810, however, says that Han had otherwise enjoyed a period of peace, and Emperor Ming wanted to emulate the achievements of Former Han by attacking the Xiongnu and re-establishing connection with the Western Regions.

E *HHS* 23/13:810, the Biography of Dou Gu;
HHS 2:119, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

²⁵ Commandant of Attendant Cavalry (鮒騎都尉 *fujī duwei*), Commandant of the Equipage (奉車都尉 *fengju duwei*) and Commandant of Cavalry (騎都尉 *ji duwei*) were titles held by a small number of military officers under the Minister of the Household; all held rank/salary Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi*. In peacetime these were effectively sinecures, but they could be used – as here – on active military service. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 29.

Attendant Officers (從事 *congshi*) were members of staff at a military headquarters; majors (司馬 *sima*) commanded troops in the field.

F Note added by Sima Guang.

Yongping 永平 16: 73 AD

28 January 73 – 15 February 74

A In the spring, in the second month Zhai Tong was sent with the General Who Crosses the Liao Wu Tang, leading Qiang and other non-Chinese from Hedong and Xihe, with eleven thousand horsemen of the Southern Shanyu, to move out though the Gaoque Pass.¹

Dou Gu and Geng Zhong led armoured troops from Jiuwuan, Dunhuang and Zhangye, with twelve thousand horsemen of the Qiang and other non-Chinese from the Lu River,² and advanced from the frontier of Jiuquan.

Geng Bing and Qin Peng commanded levies from Wuwei, Longxi and Tianshui, with ten thousand Qiang and other non-Chinese horsemen, and went out from the frontier of Juyan in Zhangye.

The Commandant of Cavalry Lai Miao and the Protector of the Wuhuan Wen Mu led commandery troops from Taiyuan, Yanmen, Dai, Shanggu, Yuyang, Youbeiping and Dingxiang, together with eleven thousand Wuhuan and Xianbi horsemen, and went out from Pingcheng.³

All advanced against the Northern Xiongnu.⁴

B Dou Gu and Geng Zhong reached the Tian Mountains and attacked the Huyan King. They killed more than a thousand of the enemy and pursued them to the Pulei Lake.⁵ Taking over the territory of Yiwulu, they appointed a Commandant for Grain and left officers and men to establish an agricultural colony about the city.⁶

A *HHS* 23/13:810, the Biography of Dou Gu.

¹ The Gaoque Pass 高闕關 was on the northern frontier of Shuofang: *ZGLSDTJ* II, 59. The Southern Shanyu had his court at Meiji 美稷 in Xihe and the Trans-Liao command was based at Manbo 曼柏 in Wuyuan.

HHS 23/13 says that the contingent of non-Chinese auxiliaries came from Hedong 河東, Beidi and Xihe. The latter two were commanderies in Bing province, but the reference to Hedong is surprising. Hedong commandery was in Sili, the capital province, far from the frontier, and there is no record of any substantial number of Qiang or other non-Chinese settled there. It is most likely that *hedong* here is a general term "east of the River," indicating the Ordos territory south from Shuofang through Beidi to Anding, on the eastern bank of the northward course of the Yellow River. This region was not under strong Chinese control, and both Beidi and Anding had a considerable population of Qiang.

² The Lu 盧 was a tributary of the Xining River in Jincheng commandery.

³ Pingcheng county was in Yanmen. With headquarters in Shanggu commandery of You province, the Protector of the Wuhuan (護烏桓校尉 *hu-Wuhuan xiaowei*; Colonel Protector of the Wuhuan) was responsible for dealings with the non-Chinese Wuhuan and Xianbi across the north-eastern frontier.

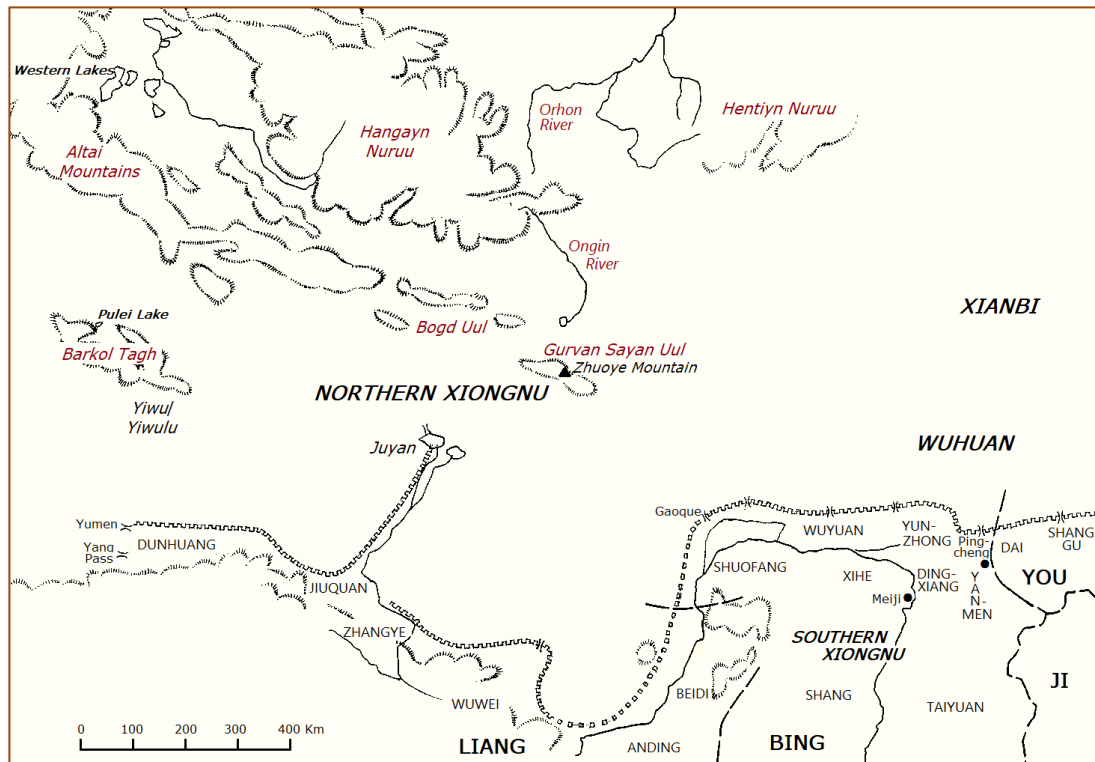
⁴ It is noteworthy that this major enterprise, involving tens of thousands of Chinese and allied troops, appears to have been embarked upon without any debate at court, but was simply launched by Emperor Ming after discussions with a small group of activists – the war party – gathered from men of leading families with interests in the frontier: passage D to E of Yongping 15 at 64-66; also deC, *Northern Frontier*, 259.

B *HHS* 23/13:810, the Biography of Dou Gu,
HHS 88/78:2909, the Account of the Western Regions.

⁵ The Tian Mountains 天山 referred to here are the easternmost extension of the range currently so named, and known at this time also as the White Mountains (*Boshan*): cf. note 22 to Yongping 15 at 65. Tang commentary, clarified by the modern scholar Shen Qinhan, identifies these Tian Shan/White Mountains as the hill country of the Barkol Tagh, north of Hami/Yiwulu. The Pulei Lake 蒲類海 is the present-day Barkol Hu 巴爾庫/巴里坤湖.

⁶ A military agricultural colony (屯田 *tuntian*) was a self-defence force responsible for its own supplies. The system was used on a number of different occasions during Han: see, for example, Dreyer, "Zhao

1460



Map 5: The Northern Steppe 73 AD

- C Geng Bing and Qin Peng attacked the Goulin King.⁷ They went more than six hundred *li* beyond the frontier, as far as the Sanmulou mountains, then returned.⁸
- D Lai Miao and Wen Mu came to the headwaters of the Xiong River,⁹ but the enemy had fled away and they could not catch them.
- E Zhai Tong had quarrelled with Xin, the Worthy King of the Left of the Southern Xiongnu.¹⁰ Going out from the Gaoque frontier, after nine hundred *li* they came to a

Chongguo," 693-694, and deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 89-90. The Commandant for Grain (宜禾都尉 *yihe duwei*; literally Commandant Who Arranges Grain?) was in charge of the enterprise.

C *HHJ* 10:125,

HHS 23/13:810, the Biography of Dou Gu.

⁷ *HHJ* has the title as Xionglin King 匈林王, and this is followed by *ZZTJ*. Hu Sanxing, however, notes an earlier reference to a Goulin King 句林王 and suggests that the character *xiong* is an error: see *HHS* 12/2:506, with a note on pronunciation from the Tang commentary.

⁸ The name of this mountain appears in different editions of *HHJ* as Sanmulou 三木樓 and Mulou 沐樓; *HHS* 23/12 has Sanmulou. Tang commentary describes it as a central mountain of the Xiongnu (匈奴中山名). Assuming the figure of six hundred *li* is correct, then the ridges of the Bogd Uul are about that distance – 250 kilometres – north of Juyan. "Three Wooden Towers" may refer to those formations – but the water radical of 沐 may have been miswritten to form a second character, *san* 三. The mountain is not mentioned elsewhere, but see passage B of Jianchu 8 at 126, where there is reference to a tribe of that name.

HHJ says that Geng Bing travelled through drought-stricken terrain. He was told that the enemy had withdrawn to better country further north, but Qin Peng persuaded him not to venture further.

D *HHS* 23/13:810, the Biography of Dou Gu.

⁹ The Xiong River 匈河 cannot be identified. A Xiongnu River 匈奴河水 is mentioned by *HS* 94A:3771, but it was north of Wuwei and cannot have been relevant to these operations so far east.

E *HHS* 20/10:746, the Biography of Zhai Tong.

¹⁰ In the hierarchy of the Xiongnu, the Worthy King of the Left (左賢王 *zuoxian wang*) was the most senior

small hill, which Xin claimed falsely was Zhuoye Mountain.¹¹ Seeing nothing of the enemy, they turned back.

Zhai Tong and Wu Tang were found to have been dilatory and lacking in zeal. They were sent to prison and dismissed from their posts.

Zhai Tong was angry with himself for his lack of success, and a few days after his release from prison he coughed up blood and died.

As he approached death, he said to his sons, "I have been most generously treated by the state, better than my service has deserved. I die with a deep sense of shame and regret; in all honour I cannot accept rewards when I have not achieved anything. After I am dead, make a record of everything I have received and present it to the throne, and go yourselves to join the army. Devote your life in the future to fulfilling my ambitions."

When Zhai Tong was dead, his son Feng presented the list and gave a full account of Tong's testament. The emperor had always respected Zhai Tong and had intended to return him to office. When he heard the news he was extremely surprised and sighed deeply.

Whenever Wuhuan or Xianbi people came to present tribute at court they would always pass by Zhai Tong's tomb and pay their respects, raising their gaze to Heaven with cries of grief. The officers and people of Liaodong established a temple in his honour, offering sacrifice every year.¹²

F [Of all the commanders sent out on the expedition against the Xiongnu] Dou Gu was the only one who gained any success. He was raised in rank [as a marquis] to be Specially Advanced.¹³

G Dou Gu had sent his Acting Major Ban Chao and the Assistant Officer Guo Xun into the Western Regions.¹⁴

member of the ruling clan after the Shanyu himself, and his designated successor: *HHS* 89/79:2944; deC, *Northern Frontier*, 176-177. Xin was thus an appropriate person to command the Southern Xiongnu contingent on this expedition – and the Xiongnu contribution was probably greater than that of the Chinese themselves. *HHS* 20/10 indicates that it was Xin who had taken a dislike to Zhai Tong, but gives no reason.

¹¹ Zhuoye Mountain of the Han period was a peak in the Gurvan Sayan Uul, the first notable high ground on the approach into Mongolia from the south. It is some 750 kilometres south of present-day Ulan Bator, the centre of Northern Xiongnu power, and 800 kilometres from the Shuofang frontier on the northern loop of the Yellow River; nine hundred *li* is less than half that distance.

Zhai Tong had evidently expected to encounter the enemy at this notable point in their territory: *cf.* the experience of Dou Xian in his successful campaign sixteen years later: passage G of Yongyuan 1 at 182.

¹² Zhai Tong had been a most successful Administrator of Liaodong, making peace with the Wuhuan and inducing the Xianbi to ally themselves with Han against the Xiongnu: passage F of Yongping 1 at 11.

F *HHS* 23/13:810, the Biography of Dou Gu.

¹³ Most marquises were required to reside in their fiefs, but three distinguished categories, described as Servants at Court (奉朝請 *fengchao qing*) were permitted to remain at the capital): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 109 [as Servants at the Spring and Autumn Courts]. The most senior of these were designated as Specially Advanced (特進 *tejin*): see also note 5 to Yongping 14 at 56.

G *DGHJ* 16:1b-2a, the Biography of Ban Chao; *HHS* 47/37:1572-73, the Biography of Ban Chao; *HHJ* 10:125-27.

¹⁴ Younger brother of the historian Ban Gu, Ban Chao had held a clerical position at the capital but obtained this temporary appointment for the expedition against the Xiongnu. According to his biography it was a

When Ban Chao arrived at Shanshan,¹⁵ King Guang of that state welcomed him with courtesy and provided generously for his party. Later, however, his manner suddenly changed and he became distant and neglectful. Ban Chao said to his subordinates, "Have you noticed that Guang is behaving less agreeably to us?"

"Barbarians are never constant for long," they replied. "There is no other reason."

"It is a firm indication that an embassy has come from the Northern enemy," observed Ban Chao. "The king is uncertain, and does not know which way to go. A clear-sighted man can see a bud before it sprouts; it is easier still when it has already come to flower."

He called in the attendant and tricked him, saying, "That Xiongnu embassy which arrived a few days ago, where are they now?"¹⁶

The attendant was startled and said, "They arrived three days ago, and they are thirty *li* from here."

Shutting the man away, Ban Chao gathered all his people, thirty-six in number, and shared wine with them. When they were all in good cheer, he made a sudden display of anger, saying, "Here we are together, you and I, in an isolated land. Now an enemy embassy arrived just a few days ago and the courtesy and respect that King Guang was showing has already disappeared.

1461 "If Shanshan is persuaded to arrest us and hand us over to the Xiongnu, the remains of our bodies and bones will be food for jackals and wolves. What shall we do about it?"

All replied, "Now that we are in such a dangerous situation, for life or death we shall follow you."

"We can take the tiger cub," said Ban Chao, "only by entering the tiger's lair. We must make plans now, take advantage of the night, and attack the enemy with fire. That will mean they will not know how many we are, they will certainly be startled and frightened, and we can kill every one of them.

"If we get rid of these enemies, Shanshan will be terrified. Our success will be complete and our job will be done."

All said, "We should discuss this with the Assistant."¹⁷

detachment under his command that occupied Yiwu and gained victory at the Pulei Lake: passage B above at 67.

¹⁵ There is an account of Shanshan at *HS* 96A:3875-79, Hulsewé/Loewe, *Central Asia*, 81-92, but no specific entry in the Account of the Western Regions, *HHS* 79/79. Known as Loulan 樓蘭 until it was taken under the control of China in 77 BC, the state extended broadly about Lop Nor between the eastern stretches of the Northern and Southern Roads of the Western Regions. The country, however, was sandy and salt, and the comparatively small population maintained itself primarily by nomad herding. The city of Loulan, north of Lop Nor, was still a noted trading centre, but the capital of the state during the Later Han period was at Hanni 扞泥 in the southwest, present-day Ruoqiang, by the Charkhlik oasis. See also deC, "Western Regions," 2-3, and see the map of the Western Regions at 27.

¹⁶ Hu Sanxing explains that 侍胡 *shihu* describes the local (hence *hu*: non-Chinese) official appointed to attend (*shi*) Ban Chao's party. Ban Chao tricked the man by asking about the Xiongnu embassy as a matter of course, implying that he already knew they were there, but was interested only in the time and place.

HHJ says that the official told Ban Chao of the time and distance, and this is followed by *ZZTJ*. According to *DGHJ* and *HHS* 47/37, however, Ban Chao claimed that he knew the Xiongnu embassy had arrived and asked where it was. The official told him. It was by that means Ban Chao – as below – was able to lead his men directly the enemy camp.

"Our chances one way or another will be decided today," said Ban Chao angrily. "The Assistant Officer is a clerical fellow. If he hears about it he will certainly be afraid and the plan will leak out. Once we are dead, we shall not be remembered – better to be a courageous soldier!"

"Excellent!" they all cried.

So in the first watch of the night Ban Chao led his men swiftly to the enemy camp. A strong wind was blowing at the time, and Ban Chao had ten of his men take drums and conceal themselves behind the enemy storehouses. He arranged that, "When you see fires, beat your drums and shout as loudly as you can. The others, we take our swords and bows, place ourselves either side of the gate [to the Xiongnu compound] and wait in ambush."

Ban Chao then took advantage of the wind to spread a fire, and the drums were sounded on every side. As the mass of enemies were startled and confused, Ban Chao attacked, killing three of them with his own hands. His men took the heads of the envoy and over thirty of his followers, while the rest of them, more than a hundred, died in the fire.

Returning on the following morning, [Ban Chao] told Guo Xun, who was extremely surprised and felt ashamed and embarrassed.¹⁸ Recognising his feelings, Ban Zhao took him by the hand and said, "Though you took no active part, how can I in conscience claim the credit for myself?" Guo Xun was pleased.

Ban Chao now summoned King Guang of Shanshan and showed him the head of the enemy envoy; the whole state was shaken with fear. Then Ban Chao described the authority and the virtue of Han: "From now on, there shall be no further contact with the Northern barbarians."

King Guang performed the kowtow, "I am willing to serve the Han; I am single-minded in this." And he gave a son as hostage.

Ban Chao went back and reported to Dou Gu, who was extremely pleased and sent in a full account of his conduct and his achievements. He also asked that another envoy be chosen and sent to the Western Regions.

"With envoy like Ban Chao," replied the emperor, "why send anyone else?" He had Ban Chao appointed a Major of the Army and sent to follow up his initial success.¹⁹

As Dou Gu was once more sending Ban Chao off [this time to] Yutian, he wanted increase the number of his troops, but Ban Chao wanted only the thirty-six men who had followed him before. He said, "Yutian is a large state and a long way away. Now if I lead several hundred men, they will not be enough to make our force stronger

¹⁷ We are not told where Ban Chao's associate Guo Xun was at this time, but it appears that he had his own office and subordinates.

¹⁸ Hu Sanxing explains the phrase *sedong* 色動 as meaning that Guo Xun felt ashamed that he had played no part in the enterprise and could claim no credit for it.

¹⁹ Up to this time, Ban Chao had been only an Acting Major, presumably for the duration of the campaign, and Dou Wu may have felt he was too inexperienced to command such a substantial mission, hence his recommendation that someone else be appointed as envoy. He was no doubt being suitably cautious, but the emperor took the hint.

I disagree slightly with the direct speech punctuation offered by the modern texts of *HHS* and *ZZTJ*.

[compared to those of the local peoples], while if anything unexpected happens their numbers will only add to the confusion."

1462 At this time King Guangde of Yutian dominated all the region of the Southern Road, and the Xiongnu had a resident agent to supervise his state.²⁰ When Ban Chao arrived, Guangde received him distantly and consulted a trusted shaman.

The shaman said, "The spirits are angry, saying, 'Why are you dealing with Han? The Han envoy has a piebald horse. Make an urgent request, then sacrifice it to us.'

Guangde had his State Chancellor Silaibi go to Ban Chao and ask for the horse. Realising what was going on, Ban Chao replied agreeably, but required the shaman to come himself and receive the horse.

When the shaman arrived soon afterwards, Ban Chao promptly cut off his head, then seized Silaibi and gave him several hundred strokes with a whip and a bastinado. He sent the shaman's head to Guangde, then went to reprimand him. Having heard how Ban Chao had slaughtered the Xiongnu embassy in Shanshan, Guangde was terrified. He killed the Xiongnu ambassador and submitted to Han. Ban Chao eased their concerns with presents to the king and his ministers.

As a result of this, all the other states [of the Western Regions] sent sons to serve [at the court of Han]. The territory had been separated from Han for sixty-five years, but communication was now restored.

H Ban Chao was a son of Ban Biao.²¹

I Liu Yan the King of Huaiyang was excessively proud,²² and he treated his subordinates with arrogance and contempt. A letter was sent in, asserting that he had enticed Xie Yan, elder brother of one of his concubines, and Han Guang, husband of his sister, into plans for wickedness and treachery. They had drawn diagrams to seek prophecies, had offered sacrifices and sworn oaths together.²³

The matter was sent down for investigation, and in the fifth month, on the day *guichou* [16 Jul], Xie Yan, Han Guang and the Excellency over the Masses Xing Mu

²⁰ The Southern Road curved along the foothills of the Himalayas; the cities on the south of the Tarim basin were based on streams which flowed from that massif.

On the previous politics of this region, see passages M of Yongping 3 at 26-27 and E of Yongping 4 at 29-30. The Xiongnu had now established a resident ambassador who advised the king and acted as their agent; the British used the same system in dealing with the quasi-independent states of their empire in India during the nineteenth century.

H Statement by Sima Guang, based on *HHS* 47/37:1571, the Biography of Ban Chao.

²¹ Ban Biao was a man of family: his aunt Jieyu 婕妤 was an imperial concubine and his father Zhi 稚 and uncle You 旂 were friends of Wang Mang: Loewe, *QHX*, 4-7. After the fall of Wang Mang Ban Biao went to Dou Rong in the northwest, then held minor office under Emperor Guangwu. He began the compilation of *Han shu*, which was completed by his son Gu 固 and daughter Zhao 昭: *HS* 100A-B, *HHS* 40/30.

Ban Chao was a brother of Ban Gu, born in the same year but not described as a twin. Their mother may have had two pregnancies within twelve months, or they were half-brothers.

I *HHS* 42/32:1444, the Biography of Liu Yan, *HHS* 2:120, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

²² Liu Yan 延 was a half-brother of Emperor Ming: note 11 to Zhongyuan 2 at 3.

²³ The term *jianhua* 姦猾 "wickedness and treachery" is very broad, but the reference to diagrams, sacrifices and oaths has echoes of the accusations levied against Liu Ying the King of Chu two years earlier: passage B of Yongping 13 with note 5 at 55. One may wonder if the matter was quite so serious, and if the accusation was inspired by malice against an arrogant princeling. Emperor Ming, however, no doubt influenced by the example of Liu Ying, certainly took it seriously: passage K below.

were all sentenced to death. A great many other people were found to be involved and also died.

J On the *wuwu* day [23 Jul], last of the [fifth] month,²⁴ there was an eclipse of the sun.²⁵

In the sixth month, on the day *bingyin* [31 Jul], the Minister of Finance Wang Min of Xihe became Excellency over the Masses.

K The senior officials recommended Liu Yan the King of Huaiyang be executed, but the emperor considered his offences less serious than those of Liu Ying the [former] King of Chu.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, Liu Yan was transferred to be King of Fuling, with revenue from two counties.²⁶

1463

L In this year the Northern Xiongnu made a serious incursion into Yunzhong, and the Administrator, Lian Fan, went out to oppose them. Believing that their force was too small, his officers wanted to send messages asking for help from the neighbouring commanderies. Lian Fan would not agree. As it became dusk, he ordered the men of his army to each take two reed torches and tie them crosswise, light three of the ends, and set them up like stars in the camp.

The enemy said that Han reinforcements had arrived, they were very surprised, and they planned to withdraw at dawn. Lian Fan had the men of his camp rise early, and as day broke they went in pursuit. They killed several hundred of the enemy, and the rest were thrown into crowded confusion. More than a thousand of them died.

After this, the Xiongnu did not dare trouble Yunzhong again.

M Fan was a grandson of Lian Dan.²⁷

J *HHS* 2:120, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

²⁴ The Annals in *HHS* 2 indicates the beginning of summer before the reference to the fifth month in the previous passage; *ZZTJ* fails to do so.

²⁵ The eclipse, Oppolzer 3068//Esenak 04956, is mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 203. The path of the full eclipse was largely south of the Yangzi.

The Treatise of the Five Powers records this eclipse at *HHS* 108/18:3361, noting that it took place in the *Liu* 柳 "Willow" constellation, the twenty-fourth lunar mansion (宿 *xiu*), being eight stars of Western Hydra; Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 441, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 103-104.

K *HHS* 42/32:1444, the Biography of Liu Yan.

²⁶ *HHS* 42/32:1444 says that Emperor Ming extended special favour to Liu Yan.

Fuling was a county in Jiujiang, east of present-day Nanjing in Anhui. The kingdom survived in varying forms until the last years of Later Han, when the lineage died out: *HHS* 42/32:1446. However, it is not recorded as a commandery-level unit in the Treatise of Administrative Geography, *HHS* 112/22:3486.

L *HHS* 31/21:1103, the Biography of Lian Fan.

M Statement by Sima Guang, based on *HHS* 31/21:1101.

²⁷ Lian Dan 廉丹, a general in the service of Wang Mang, had been killed fighting the Red Eyebrows (赤眉 *chimei*) bandits in 22: Loewe, *QHX*, 237.

Yongping 永平 17: 74 AD

16 February 74 – 4 February 75

A In the spring, in the first month, as the emperor was due to pay his respects at the Yuanling tomb [of Emperor Guangwu] he dreamt that he saw [his parents] the late emperor and his dowager empress [the Lady Guo] alive and well. Then he woke up, and was so affected by grief he could not get back to sleep. Calculating that the following dawn would bring a fortunate day, he led all his officials to visit the tomb.

On that same day sweet dew fell on the trees there.¹ The emperor had his officials collect it and present it. When the ceremony was concluded, as the emperor came forward from his mat and bowed towards the tomb he saw the inside of her dressing case. Moved to tears, he ordered that the make-up and clothing of her funerary statue be changed. All the attendants wept, and none dared to raise their eyes.

B Liu Mu the Respected King of Beihai died.²

Liu Mu had been a keen scholar when he was young, and both Guangwu and the [future] emperor were extremely fond of him.

On one occasion, as he was sending his Royal Counsellor to the capital to present tribute at court,³ he called him in and asked him, "If his majesty should inquire about me, what will you say?"

A *HHS* 10A:407, the Biography of the Empress Yin of Emperor Guangwu.

¹ Sima Guang notes in his *Kaoyi* commentary that the *Annals* at *HHS* 2:121 have a summary account of this, but – evidently by dittography – the sweet dew (甘露 *ganlu*) is said to have fallen in Ganling 甘陵 rather than Yuanling 原陵. [Ganling was the capital of Qinghe in Ji province; the name of the commandery was changed to Ganling in 148: *HHS* 110/20:3436.]

Somewhat strangely, sweet dew is not a phenomenon recorded by the *Treatise of the Five Powers*, *HHS* 103/13-108/18.

B *HHS* 14/4:555-557, the Biography of Liu Mu, *DGHJ* 7:1b-2a, the Biography of Liu Mu.

² Liu Mu was a son of Liu Xing, son of Liu Bosheng the elder brother of Emperor Guangwu; passage C and note 14 to Yongping 1 at 10. Liu Xing's fief had been transferred to Beihai in 52 and Liu Mu succeeded him in 54.

³ Royal Counsellors (中大夫 *zhong dafu*), with rank/salary Equivalent to Six Hundred *shi*, were members of the court of a king. They served as messengers to the capital and offered congratulations and tribute (璧賀 *bihe*) in the first month of each year: *HHS* 118/28:3629.

There is confusion about the title of these officials. The text of *HHS* 14/4 has *zhong dafu* 中大夫 "Palace Counsellor," but the *Treatise of Officials* at *HHS* 118/28:3629 mentions only *dafu*. Bielenstein notes that *zhong dafu* had been the title of a senior counsellor at the imperial court in the first century of Former Han, but the name had been changed to *guanglu dafu* 光祿大夫 in 104 and was not used at the capital again: *Bureaucracy*, 25, following *HS* 19A:717. [Bielenstein renders *dafu* as "Grandee," so *guanglu dafu* is "Grand Household Grandee" and *zhong dafu* is "Palace Grandee."]

Tang commentary to *HHS* 14/4, however, and also to *HHS* 5:211, quotes the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao stating that *zhong dafu* was the title of an official at the court of a king, with rank/salary Equivalent to Six Hundred *shi*. This is clearly taken from Sima Biao's *Treatise of Officials*, now incorporated into *Hou Han shu*, but the present text of *HHS* 118/28 has only *dafu*, without the preceding *zhong*. It seems that the character *zhong* has been omitted by a copyist some time after the compilation of the Tang commentary and before the history was printed during Song. [The modern *jijie* commentary has no mention of the anomaly, and the punctuation at that point – *HHSJJ* 118/28:4229 – is confused.]

Discussing the staff of a royal fief in *Bureaucracy* at 107, Bielenstein follows the text of *HHS* 118/28 and lists plain *dafu* "Grandees." I believe, however, that the title was *zhong dafu*, and I render it for clarity as "Royal Counsellor."

- 1464 "I shall say that your majesty is loyal, filial, gentle and generous," was the reply. "You admire worthy men and take pleasure in scholars. How can I not tell the truth?"
- "Oh!" exclaimed Liu Mu, "you will be putting me in great danger. I did behave like that when I was young,⁴ You should reply now, however, that any ideas or ambitions I had have withered away: the pleasures of music and women; the enjoyment of dogs and horses, these are my only concerns."
- Such was Liu Mu's foresight and caution.⁵
- C In the second month, on the day *yisi* [31 Mar?],⁶ the Excellency over the Masses Wang Min died.⁷
- In the third month, on the day *guichou* [14 May], Bao Yu the Administrator of Runan was appointed Excellency over the Masses.
- D Bao Yu was a son of Bao Yong.⁸
- E The Inspector of Yi province, Zhu Fu of Liang kingdom, displayed the virtue of Han, and his authority influenced the distant barbarians west of the Min mountains, where no-one had been before and from whom no tribute had ever been received.⁹
- [At this time, however,] the Bolang, Panmu and a hundred other tribes, with more than one million three hundred households and over six million individuals, brought their harvest, styled themselves subjects, and offered tribute. Tangqu, king of the Bolang, composed a three-part poem in praise of the virtues of Han.¹⁰

⁴ *ZZTJ*, following *HHS* 14/4, reads *jinqū* 進趣; *HHSJJ* at 554 quotes Shen Qinhan, who relates the phrase to the expression 進取 attributed to Su Dai 蘇代 in *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策: Yan 燕 A.442, rendered by Crump at 469 as "advance and advantage."

The parallel text in *DGHJ*, however, matched by a fragment in the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao at 2:3a, has him describing his youthful conduct as wild and foolish (狂蠢 *kuangchun*); that is clearer.

⁵ As we have seen in passage B of Yongping 13 and passage B of Yongping 14 at 55-56 and passages I and K of Yongping 16 at 72-73, Emperor Ming had reacted violently to the apparent intrigues of his brothers Liu Ying and Liu Yan, kings of Chu and of Huaiyang. Liu Mu sought to indicate that he had no political ambitions and was making no attempt to make contact with leading scholars and other men of family. Though it went against his natural abilities and previous record, an ostentatious interest in women and song, dogs and horses was much safer.

C *HHS* 2:121, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

⁶ This date appears to be wrong. *Yisi* is number 42 of the sexagenary cycle, but the second month of this year began on a *yimao* day (cyclical 52) and ended on a *jiashen* day (cyclical 21); it cannot have included an *yisi* day. It is probable that *yisi* 乙巳 has been miswritten for *jisi* 己巳 (cyclical 6); the *jisi* day of this month was Julian 31 March.

⁷ Wang Min had been appointed only in the previous year: passage J of Yongping 16 at 73.

D *HHS* 29/19:1021, the Biography of Bao Yu.

⁸ Bao Yong had been a follower of the Gengshi Emperor and then held office under Guangwu: deC, *LH3K*, 13-14. He and his son were known as scholars of *Shu jing* 書經 *Classic of History* in New Text.

E *HHS* 86/76:2854-55, the Account of the Non-Chinese Peoples of the South and the Southwest.

⁹ The Min 汶 mountains, present-day Min shan 岷山, are in the north of present-day Sichuan on the border with Gansu. The territory which lies west contains the upper headwaters of the Yellow River.

ZZTJ follows *HHS* 86/76 and another mention at 56/46:1827 which refer to the Inspector as Zhu Fu 朱輔; *HHS* 24/14:860 and *DGHJ* 17:5a give the personal name as Pu 蒲.

¹⁰ Though *HHS* 86/76 identifies Tangqu as a composer of the hymns, two columns earlier it has listed Tangqu as the name of one of the tribes, and this is supported by *HHS* 56/46; *HHS* 86/76, moreover, has the surname of the translator (below) as Tian 田 rather than You 由. See also deC, *LH3K*, sub You Gong, Tian Gong and Tangzou (mis-transliterated for Tangqu). The record of this incident is confused.

Zhu Fu's report included the text of the three hymns, preserved in *HHS* 86/76:2856-57 and *DGHJ* 22:1b-2a, the latter with a translation into the classical Chinese four-character format – as follows.

Zhu Fu sent You Gong [Tian Gong?], a senior clerk of Jianwei commandery, to translate it and present it to the court.¹¹

F Before this, King Jian of Qiuzi had been set on his throne by the Xiongnu and, relying upon their influence, he controlled the Northern Road. Having attacked and killed the king of Shule, he established his own subject Douti as king there.

Following along the [Southern] Road, Ban Chao moved towards Shule.¹² When he came to Pantuo city, ninety *li* from Douti's residence, he sent his officer Tian Lü in advance to arrange his surrender.

1465 He gave him instructions, "Douti is not a native of Shule, and the people will certainly not accept his regime. Even if he does not surrender at once, it will not be difficult to take him."

When Tian Lü arrived Douti observed that he had come with only a small escort, and he had no intention of submitting. Seeing that he was unprepared, Tian Lü made a sudden attack and took him prisoner; his attendants were taken completely by surprise and they all panicked and fled.

Tian Lü then sent a messenger on a swift horse to report to Ban Chao, and Ban Chao moved up. Calling in the military and civil officers of Shule, he persuaded them that Qiuzi was a tyrant state, and he established Zhong, son of an elder brother of the former king, as their new ruler. All the people of the state were extremely pleased.

Ban Chao then asked Zhong and his officials, "Should I kill Douti or let him go?" Most of them said, "Kill him," but Ban Chao said, "Killing him will not improve the situation; we should make Qiuzi appreciate the authority and virtue of Han." So he released him and sent him away.

G In the summer, in the fifth month, because the emperor's authority and virtue had affected distant regions, and favourable signs appeared in consequence, on the day *wuzi* [18 Jun] the Excellencies, Ministers and other officials gathered in the great audience hall and offered a beaker of wine to wish him long life.¹³

¹¹ In a note at *RHD* III, 78-79, Bielenstein dismisses this entire story. He points out that there is no mention of the event in the Annals, while a formal submission of so many people from such a large territory is inconceivable. Even if it was made by proxy embassies, and the so-called "states" (國 *guo*) were no more than tribes, the numbers are still too great to be credited. The great accession of the Ailao people in 69 had involved fifty thousand households: passage A of Yongping 12 at 51; this is more than twenty-five times that number. In any event, the newly-acquired people soon withdrew: *HHS* 56/46:1827.

As Bielenstein suggests, the figures were probably invented by Zhu Fu himself – perhaps based upon a small, local accession – and his "fulsome" memorial was designed to benefit his career. In the following year the censorial official Ma Yan 馬嚴 had Zhu Fu and two other Inspectors dismissed for presenting false reports and recommendations: *HHS* 24/14:860 and 86/76:2857.

ZZTJ writes the surname of the clerk as You 由, but *HHS* has Tian 田, which appears more likely.

F *HHS* 47/37:1574, the Biography of Ban Chao, *HHJ* 10:127.

¹² As in the map of the Western Regions at 27, Qiuzi – present-day Kuqa – was on the north of the Tarim basin, close to the territory of the Xiongnu. Shule – present-day Kashgar – was in the far west, at the junction of the Northern and Southern Roads. Having brought Shanshan under control in the previous year, Ban Chao had moved along the Southern Road to Yutian, approaching Shule from the southeast.

HHJ recounts the following incident under the chronicle for Yongping 16, following on from the submission of King Guangde of Yutian; passage G at 72. *HHS* 47/37 dates it to the spring of this year.

G *HHS* 2:121, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

[The emperor issued] a statement, "High Heaven sends down mystical things in accordance with the quality of the ruler. If the peoples of distant lands receive our influence, it is indeed on account of our virtue. Inadequate as I am, however, I can take no personal credit: I have merely inherited the sage-like virtue of Gaozu and Guangwu. I do not dare respond.

"I respectfully accept the cup; but let the Minister of Ceremonies select a favourable day and I shall report to the ancestral temple."

He then extended favours, awarding the people noble ranks and issuing varying quantities of grain.¹⁴

H In the winter, in the eleventh month, the Commandant of Attendant Cavalry Geng Bing, the Commandant of the Equipage Dou Gu and the Commandant of Cavalry Liu Zhang were sent out through the frontier by the Dunhuang and Kunlun [passes] to invade the Western Regions.¹⁵ Both Geng Bing and Liu Zhang discarded their [independent] commissions and followed Dou Gu.¹⁶

¹³ It is uncertain which hall was used for the function, though it was probably the Hall of Virtuous Light (德陽殿 *Deyang dian*) in the Northern Palace: Emperor Ming had the palace restored (passages G of Yongping 3 at 23 and D of Yongping 8 at 38) and normally resided there: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 40. The chief audience hall of the Southern Palace was the Main or Front Hall (正/前殿 *Zheng/Qian dian*).

In a preliminary sentence, *HHS* 2 has listed a number of favourable portents, besides the fall of sweet dew at the imperial tomb (passage A of Yongping 17 at 74), a magic mushroom (芝草 *zhicao*) had sprung up within the palace, and a flock of multi-coloured birds had gathered over the capital. In addition, *HHS* 2 refers to the tribute from the Ailao people and the tribes west of Yi province (passages A of Yongping 12 at 51 and E above at 75-76) and – thanks to the achievements of Ban Chao as above – to the several states of the Western Regions sending royal sons as hostages to serve at court.

¹⁴ *HHS* 2 continues the text of the edict with a detailed account of the awards: regular males received two grades of rank, the elderly, the filial and those who worked in the fields were given three; grain was issued to orphans, to those who lived alone and to those who were too poor to support themselves; and grants of silk were made to officials according to rank.

Han recognised twenty ranks of nobility (爵 *jue*), discussed in detail by Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank," and summarised by Nishijima, "Economic and Social History," 552-553. The two highest were the kings and the marquises, but regular subjects of the empire could be awarded lesser grades (級 *ji*), and there were – as here – occasional general awards to specific categories. Rank allowed some privileges, including the right to a lesser penalty for those convicted of a crime.

H *HHS* 2:122, the Annals of Emperor Ming,
HHS 23/13:810, the Biography of Dou Gu,
HHS 19/9:717, the Biography of Geng Bing.

¹⁵ The successes of Dou Gu and Geng Bing in the previous year have been described in passages A to C of Yongping 16 at 67-68. Their appointments are discussed in note 25 to passage E of Yongping 15 at 66.

Liu Zhang 張, who has a summary biography at *HHS* 14/4:553, was a younger son of Liu Zhang 章, a son of Liu Bosheng the elder brother of Emperor Guangwu, who had been posthumously enfeoffed as King of Taiyuan and later of Qi: note 14 to Yongping 1 at 10.

Liu Zhang 張 had been enfeoffed as a marquis by Guangwu, was known for his ability in planning and had been consulted on the northern expedition against the Xiongnu in 72: passage D of Yongping 15 at 64.

Kunlun 昆侖 is the present-day name for the major ridge of mountains which separates northern Tibet from the Tarim basin in Xinjiang. In Han times, however, Kunlun was the name of the mystical mountain which was the home of the Queen Mother of the West (西王母 *Xiwangmu*): e.g. Loewe, *Ways to Paradise*, 15. In the present instance, the reference to the Dunhuang and Kunlun frontiers probably relates to the Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 passes which led into the Western Regions: e.g. deC, "Western Regions," 2.

¹⁶ The text of *ZZTJ* implies that the decision was voluntary, but *HHS* 23/13 makes it clear they were ordered to accept Dou Gu as commander of the expedition.

1466 With a combined force of fourteen thousand horsemen they attacked and defeated the White Mountain enemy at the Pulei Lake, then advanced against Jushi.¹⁷

The king of Nearer Jushi was a son of the king of Further Jushi, but their courts were more than five hundred *li* apart.¹⁸ As Further Jushi was so far away, and the mountain valleys were deep, Dou Gu considered that it would be cold and hard for the troops and he intended to attack the Nearer state. Geng Bing thought they should first deal with the Further king, combining their strength against the heartland; the Nearer king would then submit of his own accord.

Geng Bing was an impetuous man. Before Dou Gu had made a decision he got up, saying, "I ask to go first!" then mounted his horse and took his men away to the north. The rest of the army had no choice but to join the advance. They killed several thousand of the enemy and King Ande of Further Jushi was frightened. He came out of his gate on foot, with his head bare and leading his horse, to receive Geng Bing, and Geng Bing brought him to Dou Gu.

The king of Nearer Jushi also returned to his allegiance,¹⁹ so the territory was settled and the army came home.

I Dou Wu recommended that the office of the Protector-General of the Western Regions be restored, together with the Wu and Ji Colonels.²⁰ Chen Mu was appointed Protector-General;²¹ the Major Geng Gong became Wu Colonel, with his camp at

¹⁷ White Mountains (*Boshan*) refers here to the easternmost extension of the Tian Shan range, the Barkol Tagh: note 4 to Yongping 16 at 67. Dou Gu and Geng Zhong had driven the local Xiongnu north from the Yiwu region in the previous year: passage B of Yongping 16 at 67.

Jushi was a general term for the territory north and south of the Bogda ranges west of Barkol Tagh and east of Urumqi.

¹⁸ *HS* 96B:3921 says that the capital of Further Jushi was in the valley of Wutu 務塗, and Hulsewé places it south of present-day Fuyuan 孚遠/Jimsar 濟木薩爾/吉木薩尔, in the foothills of the Bogda range: *Central Asia*, 184 note 622.

HS 96B:3921 says that the king of Nearer Jushi resided at the city of Jiaohe 交河 "connected rivers" now identified as a site of ruins at Yarkol 亞爾果勒, ten kilometres west of Turfan/Turpan: Hulsewé, *Central Asia*, 183 note 619.

The two capitals were some 120 kilometres from one another as the crow flies, less than four hundred Han *li*, but the road wound through mountains, so the estimate of five hundred *li* was justifiable.

¹⁹ The characters *guiming* 歸命 "returned to allegiance" reflects Former Han control of the Western Regions; though there is a sense that all states, no matter their past independence, were naturally subservient to China.

I *HHS* 19/9:720, the Biography of Geng Gong.

²⁰ Former Han had established the office of Protector-General in 59 BC, and it was maintained until the fall of Wang Mang; the Wu Colonel and the Ji Colonel were his military assistants: *e.g.* Hulsewé/Loewe, *Central Asia*, 64 and 79.

The titles of the colonels are confusing. Since *wu* 戊 and *ji* 己 are the fifth and sixth of the ten Celestial Stems (天干 *tian gan*), the appellation has been interpreted as referring to the officers' "central" position in dealing with the Western Regions, or to the fact that they had no fixed base – though this certainly did not apply to Guan Chong and Geng Gong. It does not appear that there were always two such officers, and there are some references to a single "Wu and Ji Colonel," but at least for Later Han it is probable that one of the characters has been added by mistake. See further in deC, "Western Regions," note 20 at 10-11.

²¹ The texts have no earlier reference to Chen Mu.

It appears from the context of *HHS* 88/78:2928 that the headquarters of the Protector-General were established in the city-state of Yanqi [Karashar], some distance west along the Northern Road from Nearer Jushi. Immediately below it is said that the two colonels had just a few hundred men under their command, but *HHS* 88/78 indicates that the Protector-General had more than two thousand men, and was assisted by a

Jinpu city in the territory of the king of Further Jushi;²² and the Internuncio Guan Chong was Ji Colonel, camping at Liuzhong city in Nearer Jushi.²³ Each encampment had several hundred men.

J Geng Gong was a grandson of Geng Kuang.²⁴

Senior Colonel (副校尉 *fu xiaowei*), who served as his deputy: deC, "Western Regions," 10 with note 19; on *fu xiaowei*, see note 22 to Yongyuan 1 at 182.

²² Geng Gong, a cousin of Geng Bing, had been chosen to be a major by Geng Bing's colleague Liu Zhang.

Jinpu 金蒲 was a short distance north of the capital of Further Jushi in the Wutu valley: note 18 above.

²³ Liuzhong 柳中 "the city among the willows," was in marshlands near present-day Shanshan, some hundred kilometres east of the royal capital at Jiaohe: deC, "Western Regions," 4.

J Note added by Sima Guang.

²⁴ Administrator of Shanggu commandery for Wang Mang, in 23 Geng Kuang submitted to Liu Xiu, agent of the Gengshi Emperor and himself the future Emperor Guangwu. Geng Kuang later raised a troop of cavalry to support Liu Xiu: *HHS* 19/9:703-704, Bielenstein, *RHD* II, 39 and 72. Geng Kuang's son Yan, uncle of Geng Gong, had been an early supporter of Guangwu: *e.g.* passage C of Yongping 3 at 21.

Yongping 永平 18: 75 AD

5 February 75 – 23 February 76

- A In the spring, in the second month, an edict ordered Dou Gu and the other commanders to bring their troops back to the capital.¹
- B The Northern Shanyu sent the Luli King of the Left with twenty thousand horsemen to attack Jushi,² and Geng Gong sent a major to lead three hundred men to their aid; all were lost. The Xiongnu then destroyed King Ande of Further Jushi and turned to attack Jinpu.
- 1467 Geng Gong smeared a poisonous lotion onto his arrows, and told the Xiongnu, "The arrows of the House of Han are magical: anyone they wound will certainly suffer changes." Those of the enemy who were hit by an arrow came out in running sores. They were very frightened.
- Just at this time Heaven sent fierce wind and rain, and [Geng Gong] took the opportunity to attack. A great number of the enemy were killed or wounded. The Xiongnu were terrified, and said to one another, "The soldiers of Han are like spirits, they are truly men to be afraid of." So they abandoned their siege and went away.
- C In the summer, in the sixth month, on the day *jiwei* [19 Jul], there was a comet in the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure.³
- D Because the people in the neighbourhood of Shule city were able to manage the mountain torrents,⁴ Geng Gong led his men to occupy the place.

A *HHJ* 10:128.

¹ It is notable that there is no mention of this edict at its expected place in the Annals, *HHS* 2:123, nor any account of the collapse of the Chinese position which followed this withdrawal: passage N of Yongping 18 at 84. The first entries in the Annals for this year relate to the remission of punishments in the third month and the distribution of honours and awards among the officials and people in the fourth month.

B *HHS* 19/9:720, the Biography of Geng Gong.

² The Luli King of the Left (左鹿蠡王 *zuo luli wang*) ranked third among the four chief kinsmen and assistants to the Shanyu: *HHS* 89/79:2944; deC, *Northern Frontier*, 176-177 with note 7 at 505, and see note 10 to Yongping 16 at 68-69.

HHJ 10 and *HHS* 19/9 both date this counter-attack by the Northern Xiongnu to the third month of this year; the Annals place it in the sixth month.

C *HHS* 2:124, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

³ The Supreme Subtlety Enclosure (太微垣 *Taiwei yuan*) is a circle of ten stars in Western Virgo and Leo: Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 534-536, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 76-78 with Star Map 2. It contains several stars identified with senior ministers and military commanders surrounding the throne.

The Treatise of Astronomy at *HHS* 101/11:3231 also records this comet. With a tail measured as three feet long – some 70 centimetres in the night sky – it first appeared in the *Zhang* 張 "Extended Net" constellation, twenty-sixth lunar mansion (宿 *xiu*), being six stars in Western Hydra (Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 463, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 104 with Star Map 2), then moved south through *Langjiang* 郎將 "General of the Household" in Western Coma Berenices (Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 471, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 100 with Star Map 2) into the Enclosure.

Noting that the Extended Net constellation relates to the ancient state and region of Zhou 周 and hence to Luoyang, and that the Supreme Subtlety Enclosure is the seat of the emperor, the Treatise unsurprisingly relates the comet to the death of Emperor Ming a few weeks later: passage E below.

D *HHS* 19/9:720-21, the Biography of Geng Gong.

⁴ Commentaries make it plain that this Shule city 疏勒城 was close to Geng Gong's original camp in Further Jushi; it was not the city-state of the same name, now known as Kashgar, which lay twelve hundred kilometres away at the western end of the Tarim basin. The people of Shule in Jushi were evidently known for their skill in hydraulic engineering, including dams, wells and the underground tunnel system *karez*.

In the autumn, in the seventh month, the Xiongnu came again to the attack, and they blocked the flow of water. Geng Gong had men dig wells from inside the city, a hundred and fifty feet deep, but they found nothing. Officers and men were so distressed with thirst that they even pressed horse manure and drank the liquid.

Geng Gong himself led his men to work [shifting the soil] with baskets and barrows; then the source broke through and all cried out, "Ten thousand years!"

He ordered his troops to splash water around to show the enemy. The besiegers could hardly believe it; they thought it was magic and withdrew.

E In the eighth month, on the day *renzi* [5 Sep], Emperor Ming died in the Front Hall of the Eastern Palace.⁵ He was aged forty-eight *sui*.⁶

His testamentary edict said, "Do not create a special apartment for me in the ancestral temple; let my tablet be stored in the robing room at the side of the hall for the Guanglie Dowager."⁷

F The emperor had respected and maintained the policy of Jianwu, making no changes.⁸ Kinsmen of the empress and of the imperial concubines could not be enfeoffed as marquises, nor could they hold high positions in the government.⁹

The Princess of Guantao asked for her son to be appointed as a Gentleman Cadet. The emperor would not approve, but he did grant ten million cash.¹⁰ He said to his

E *HHS* 2:123, the Annals of Emperor Ming,
HHS 99/9:3196, the Treatise on Ceremonial.

⁵ Eastern Palace (東宮 *Dong gong*) was the name traditionally given to the residence of the imperial Heir, regardless whether it was in the Northern or the Southern Palace: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 24. Emperor Ming's son Liu Da had been appointed Heir in 60 (passage B of Yongping 3 at 20), so he would have had his own household.

Emperor Ming preferred the Northern Palace: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 40, and note 13 to Yongping 17 at 77). He probably died in an eastern compound of that complex while his son occupied apartments in the Southern Palace.

⁶ The emperor had been born in 28 AD.

⁷ A "spirit tablet" (神主 *shenzhu*) is the traditional memorial for a dead person, still used to this day. Tang commentary to *HHS* 1A:28 notes that tablets were made of wood and those of the emperors were one foot two inches long (尺一寸 *chi yicun*: about 25 centimetres); a king's was just one foot. The commentary quotes further details from the *Han jiuqi* by Wei Hong of the early first century and the *Hanguan yi* by Ying Shao of the late second century,

Guanglie 光烈 was the posthumous title given to the Empress-Dowager Yin, mother of Emperor Ming: *HHS* 10A:405.

F *HHS* 2:124, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

⁸ That is, the policy established by his father Guangwu during his Jianwu 建武 reign period (25-55 AD).

⁹ Sima Guang has placed this and the following two passages to serve as an encomium to Emperor Ming, whose death will be chronicled immediately after them.

A parallel text in *DGHJ* 2:3b-4a says that members of the Yin and Guo families of Guangwu's two empresses were not permitted to rise higher than ministerial rank (九卿 *jiuqing*), and other clans connected by marriage were held even lower. The policy is discussed by Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, 214. It was not followed in later reigns.

¹⁰ Gentleman Cadet (郎 *lang*) was a probationary office which could lead to commissioned appointment in the imperial service: e.g. deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 8-9.

Guantao was a county in Wei commandery in Ji province: *HHS* 110/20:3432. The Princess Hongfu 紅夫 who held that fief was a daughter of Guangwu and thus a sister or half-sister of Emperor Ming: *HHS* 10B:458. Her husband Han Guang had been executed in the previous year for his involvement in the case of Liu Yan, King of Huaiyang: passage I of Yongping 16 at 72. We are not told whether the princess made her request before or after that misfortune.

ministers, "The office of the Gentleman Cadets is ranked among the constellations of the heavens.¹¹ When they go out to govern an area of a hundred *li*, if they are not the right men the people will suffer for it. That why I objected to the proposal."

1468

G¹² The Office of Official Carriages would not accept letters or petitions on *fanzhi* days.¹³ When the emperor heard of this he issued a reprimand, "People leave their farming and come a long way to the palace, and on top of this they have to obey some restriction on unlucky days. How can this be considered proper government?" He abolished the system.

H Two sisters of Yan Zhang, an officer of the Secretariat, were Honoured Ladies. Yan Zhang was an expert in ancient records, and for a long time he was due for transfer to significant office. Because of his close connection to members of his harem, however, the emperor did not appoint him.¹⁴

I In this way, the right men were chosen as officers, the people were contented in their work, far and near showed respect and awe, and the numbers of people and their households grew and flourished.¹⁵

J The imperial Heir was established as emperor; he was eighteen [nineteen] years old.¹⁶ The Empress [nee Ma, widow of Emperor Ming] was honoured as Empress-Dowager.

¹¹ A group of fifteen stars in the Western constellation Coma Berenices "The Hair of [Queen] Berenice" is identified in Chinese astronomy as *Langwei* 郎位 "Seat of the Gentlemen Cadets:" *SJ* 27:1299; Chavannes, *Mémoires* III, 347, Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 78, Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 471. It is part of the *Taiwei yuan* 太微垣 "Supreme Subtlety Enclosure;" close by to the north is the star identified as *Langjiang* 郎將 "General of the Household," commander of those cadets: note 3 above.

G *HHS* 49/39:1640, the Biography of Wang Fu.

¹² A distinguished scholar and thinker of the mid-second century, Wang Fu 王符 is chiefly remembered for his *Qianfu lun* 潛夫論 "Comments of a Recluse," a collection of essays which questioned some traditional beliefs. The work survives as an independent piece, but Fan Ye also included some passages in his biography; they vary slightly from those in the present edition of *Qianfu lun*. See Pearson, *Wang Fu*; at 169 she translates this passage "On the Grudging of Days" (愛日篇 *Ai'ri pian*) from the version of *HHS* 49/39.

¹³ The Northern and Southern Palaces at Luoyang each had an Office of Official Carriages under the authority of the Prefect of the Majors for Official Carriages (公車司馬令 *gongju sima ling*). They provided transport for general government purposes, including persons invited to court, but also, probably more importantly, they received documents addressed to the imperial government by its subjects.

The first day of each month was a "Day on Which the Branch Changes" (反支日 *fanzhi ri*). Depending upon which of the twelve Earthly Branches (地支 *dizhi*), second characters in the sexagenary compounds, identified that day, there followed from one to six days which were regarded a unlucky and on which no business should be done: if it was a *xu* 戌 or *hai* 亥 day (eleventh or twelfth of the branches), one day was unlucky; if it was a *zi* 子 or *chou* 丑 day (first or second of the branches), six days were unlucky.

H *HHS* 10B:435, the Biography of the Empress Yan of Emperor An.

¹⁴ Yan Zhang was the grandfather of the Lady Yan Ji 閻姬, who became the Empress of Emperor An.

I *HHS* 2:124, the Annals of Emperor Ming.

¹⁵ In *HHS* 2 this sentence follows immediately from the text of passage F above and concludes the encomium.

J *HHS* 3:129, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹⁶ Liu Da 烜 had been appointed Heir in 60: passage B of Yongping 3 at 20. He would be known by his posthumous name as Emperor Zhang, and also by his temple name Suzong 肅宗 "Reverent Exemplar," from the *Qing miao* 清廟 "Ancestral Temple" song, first of the Hymns of Zhou (周頌 *Zhou song*) in *Shi jing* 詩經 the *Classic of Poetry* IV.ia.1; Legge, *CC* IV, 569. On this last, see *HHS* 4:157.

HHS 3 gives the age of the new emperor as nineteen *sui* 歲, but *ZZTJ* has it as eighteen. It is generally accepted that nineteen is the correct figure and that Liu Da was born in 57. The *ZZTJ* figure is presumably an early error in copying, but no commentator has remarked on the discrepancy.

K Immediately after the emperor's death, brothers of the Lady Ma attempted to force their way into the palace. Putting on armour and taking up a halberd, Yang Ren the Prefect of the Guards of the Northern Palace gave strict orders to the gatemen, and no one dared enter without proper authority.¹⁷

The Ma groups sent a joint protest to Emperor Zhang, complaining that Yan Ren was arrogant and bullying. The emperor, however, know of his loyalty and now admired him even more; he was promoted to be magistrate of Shifang.¹⁸

L On the day *renxu* [15 Sep],¹⁹ Emperor Ming was buried in the Xianjieling "Mound of Illustrious Integrity."²⁰

In the winter, in the tenth month, on the day *dingwei* [30 Oct], there was an amnesty for the empire.²¹

The Acting Grand Commandant and Marquis of Jie District Zhao Xi was appointed Grand Tutor, while the Excellency of Works Mou Rong became Grand Commandant. They shared authority over the affairs of the Secretariat.²²

1469

K *HHS* 79/69B:2574, the Biography of Yang Ren in the Chapter on Confucian Scholars.

¹⁷ Under the Minister of the Guards, each of the two palaces had a Prefect of the Guards (衛士令 *weishi ling*), with rank/salary of Six Hundred *shi*, commanding some six hundred men: *HHS* 115:3579; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 32.

Yang Ren, from Ba commandery in Yi province, present-day Sichuan, was a noted scholar who had been invited to give his opinions on matters of policy by Emperor Ming and was rewarded for his advice.

¹⁸ Shifang 什邡 county, north of Chengdu in present-day Sichuan, was in Guanghan commandery. Yang Ren came from Ba commandery, and his appointment was somewhat irregular: the *sanhu* 三互 regulations, or rule of avoidance, generally prohibited men from serving as officials in their native province or even in the province of their wives' families: e.g. *HHS* 60/50B:1990-91; Yen Keng-wang, *Regional and Local Administration* I.2, 345-350, Loewe, "Structure and Practice of Government," 478, and deC, *Huan and Ling*, 132-134 with note 3.

L *HHS* 3:129-30, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹⁹ The eighth month has been identified in passage E above.

²⁰ The emperor was buried ten days after his death; his father Guangwu had been buried almost thirty days later: passages A and E of *Zhongyuan* 2 at 1 and 4.

The Mound of Illustrious Integrity (顯節陵 *Xianjieling*), tomb of Emperor Ming, lay fifteen and a half kilometres northwest of Luoyang, in the opposite direction to that of his father. Despite his request for simplicity (passage J and note 22 of Yongping 14 at 60) the tomb and its park occupied 342 hectares, almost six times that of Guangwu's Mound of Beginning. It was by far the largest of Later Han – next in area was that of his grandson Emperor He, and that was less than half the size: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 83 and 86.

Emperor Ming was awarded the temple-name Xianzong 顯宗 "Illustrious Successor:" *HHS* 2:95 and 3:131; he is quite often referred to in the texts by that style.

²¹ On amnesties, see note 4 to Yongping 2 at 13. This one was accompanied by a broad grant of noble ranks among the people, followed by an edict of humility and benevolence which also announced the senior appointments as follows.

²² A long-time servant of Han, Zhao Xi had been Grand Commandant under Emperor Guangwu and was enfeoffed as a district marquis at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ming. He had spent a short period out of favour, but had now been "acting" as Grand Commandant for ten years: passage A of Yongping 8 at 37. His biography is at *HHS* 26/16:912-15.

Mou Rong had been appointed Excellency of Works in 69: passage C of Yongping 12 at 53.

As the essential source for any official documents, including commissions and appointments to office, the Secretariat had great potential power, reflected in the right to control the Secretariat (錄尚書事 *lu shangshu shi*), which gave administrative command of government to designated high officials. The authority could be shared (並 *bing*), and it was a safeguard and assistance to a young emperor beginning his reign. Later, however, the system became liable to abuse.

- M In the eleventh month, on the day *wuxu* [20 Dec], Diwu Lun the Administrator of Shu commandery was appointed Excellency of Works. He had governed his commandery openly and honestly, and many of the officers he recommended had performed well.²³ It was for those reasons the emperor chose a man from such a distant territory.
- N Yanqi and Qiuzi attacked and destroyed the Protector-General Chen Mu,²⁴ and the Northern Xiongnu besieged Guan Chong in Liuzhong.²⁵
 About this time there was great mourning in China [for the death of Emperor Ming] and no reinforcements arrived.
 [Further] Jushi rebelled again, and joined the Xiongnu to attack Geng Gong.²⁶ Geng Gong had well-drilled men to oppose them, but after some months their food supplies were completely exhausted, so that troops were boiling their armour and their crossbows and eating tendons and hide.²⁷
 Geng Gong and his men had total confidence in one another and were prepared to live or die together; none had any second thoughts. Gradually, however, the death-toll rose, until only a few dozen remained.
 The Shanyu knew that Geng Gong was in dire straits, and he wanted to ensure his surrender. He sent a messenger to summon Geng Gong, saying, "If you surrender, I shall enfeoff you as a White House King,²⁸ and I shall give you one of my daughters in marriage."
 Geng Gong invited the messenger to climb the city wall, then killed him with his own hands and burnt his body on the wall.²⁹ The Shanyu was furious. He brought even more men to join the attack, but they still could not take the city.
- O Guan Chong sent in a letter asking for reinforcements, and an imperial edict called the Excellencies and Ministers to meet and discuss the matter. The Excellency of Works Diwu Lun believed that they should send no assistance, but Bao Yu the Excellency

M *HHS* 3:130, the Annals of Emperor Zhang;

HHS 41/31:1398, the Biography of Diwu Lun.

²³ *ZZTJ* says only that Diwu Lun's nominees performed well (得其人 *de qiren*); *HHS* 41/31 is more specific: many of them had become ministers or officials of Two Thousand *shi* rank/salary, so people of the time considered him an excellent judge of character.

N *HHS* 19/9:721, the Biography of Geng Gong.

²⁴ *HHS* 88/78:2928 mentions the destruction (沒 *mo*) of the Protector-General at this time. As in note 21 to Yongping 17 at 78, it appears Chen Mu had set his headquarters in Yanqi. He is not mentioned again, so it is probable that he died as the camp was over-run, together with the two thousand men of his garrison.

²⁵ Liuzhong in Nearer Jushi was the headquarters of the Ji Colonel Guan Zhong: passage I of Yongping 17 at 79.

²⁶ As in passage D above at 80, the Wu Colonel Geng Gong, stationed in Further Jushi north of the Bogda ranges, was now occupying Shule city.

²⁷ One assumes this is somewhat exaggerated, but it may be noted that the armour of that time was made of metal plates fastened to leather, and bows contained animal glue which might be edible.

²⁸ While commentaries identify White House King (白屋王 *Bowu wang*) as a position of nobility among the barbarians, details differ.

²⁹ "Invited" here renders *you* 誘, which carries a sense of deceit. The unfortunate envoy presumably believed that Geng Gong would announce his acceptance of the enemy's offer, but instead he was made an example of Geng Gong's determination. *HHS* 19/9 adds that the Xiongnu had gathered below the wall with the same expectation, and when they saw the slaughter they burst into cries of grief.

O *HHS* 19/9:721-22, the Biography of Geng Gong,
HHJ 10:130.

over the Masses said, "Now if we send men into territory which is difficult to hold, and then we abandon them in their time of need, then outside we shall be giving free rein to the ferocity of the barbarians while at home we shall discourage those of your subjects who may face danger and death. Truly, now is the time for a show of force; if we take a short-term policy now, we shall not be able to do anything on the frontier in the future. If the Xiongnu come again to raid our borders, how will your majesty be able to find leaders to send against them?"

"Furthermore, the two contingents [led by Guan Chong and Geng Gong] have no more than a few dozen soldiers each. The Xiongnu have held them under siege for weeks on end, but they have not been defeated. This is an example of how the small and weak can reduce the strong.

1470 "We can send orders to the Administrators of Dunhuang and Jiuquan, for each to lead out two thousand good horsemen, with a great number of pennons and flags, and have them travel together by forced marches to bring relief. The Xiongnu troops will be weary and exhausted and will not dare face them. They can be back inside the frontier within forty days." The emperor approved the plan.

So Geng Bing the General Who Subdues the West was sent to camp in Jiuquan and act as the Administrator there,³⁰ while Duan Peng the Administrator of Jiuquan, together with the Internuncios Wang Meng and Huangfu Yuan, were ordered to raise troops from the three commanderies of Zhangye, Jiuquan and Dunhuang, and from Shanshan, a total of more than seven thousand men, in order to relieve [Guang Chong and Geng Gong].

P On the day *jiachen* [26 Dec], last day of the [eleventh] month, there was an eclipse of the sun.³¹

Q Up to the time of the death of Emperor Ming, the brothers of the Empress-Dowager, Ma Liao the General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger,³² and Ma Fang and Ma

³⁰ This was a new appointment for Geng Bing, who had previously been a Commandant of Attendant Cavalry under Dou Gu's orders: passage I of Yongping 17 at 78. His biography at *HHS* 19/9:717 says that he was given general responsibility for the frontiers of Liang province, while at the same time supporting the relief force sent to Jushi. There was naturally some concern that news of the set-back in the northwest might inspire the Qiang or other non-Chinese to cause trouble closer to home.

P *HHS* 3:130, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

³¹ The eleventh month has already been identified in passage M above. The eclipse is Oppolzer 3074/Espenak 04962.

The Treatise of the Five Powers records this eclipse at *HHS* 108/18:3361, noting that it took place in the *Dou* 斗 "Dipper" constellation, the eighth lunar mansion (宿 *xiu*), being six stars of Western Sagittarius; Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 172, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 98 with Star Map 4. This is the same part of the sky as the eclipse of 65: passage H and note 13 of Yongping 8 at 40.

Not surprisingly, the Treatise associates the eclipse with the death of Emperor Ming, but notes also that his Dowager nee Ma now controlled honours and rewards, so the male *Yang* force was in abeyance. See passage Q immediately following.

Q *HHS* 24/14:853 and 855, the Biographies of Ma Liao and Ma Guang.

³² *ZZTJ* has Ma Liao's title as 虎賁中郎 *huben zhonglang*, which was no more than a senior guardsman with rank/salary of Six Hundred *shi*: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 28. Passage D of Yongping 15 at 64, however, refers to him as the General of the Household in command of that corps (虎賁中郎 *huben zhonglang jiang*), and the original text of *HHS* 24/14 confirms that.

Guang, Gentlemen at the Yellow Gates,³³ had received no change in their appointments.

Emperor Zhang now made Ma Liao Minister of the Guards, Ma Fang became a General of the Household,³⁴ and Ma Guang was Colonel of Elite Cavalry.³⁵

R Ma Liao and his brothers acquired something of a following, and senior officials competed for their attention. [The Excellency] Diwu Lun sent in a memorial, saying, "I have heard that the *Classic of History* says, "There should be no such thing as a subject conferring favour or displaying authority; it harms the family and damages the state."³⁶

"In recent times, despite her natural affection for them, the Guanglie Empress [Yin of Emperor Guangwu]³⁷ restrained her kinsmen and refused them any position of power. Later, the Liang and Dou families rivalled one another in disobedience of the law but in the end, after Emperor Ming came to the throne, many of them were executed.³⁸ Since that time there have been no more instances of powerful relatives by marriage in the city of Luoyang, and all their requests have been consistently rejected. The *Classic of History* and [the example of these more recent] records urge you to put a complete stop to it.³⁹

"Furthermore, there are basic principles for such kinsmen: They should not exert themselves to attract private clients, but should attend to the good of the state. Just as one cannot look up to the heavens while carrying a pot upon one's head,⁴⁰ so the two policies cannot be combined.

"In discussions at the present time there is repeated talk the Ma family. I have heard that the Minister of the Guards Ma Liao and the Colonel of the City Gates Ma Fang have made private gifts to leading men of the Three Adjuncts, Ma Liao three thousand rolls of cloth and Ma Fang three million cash.⁴¹ Wise or foolish, all have received their gifts.

³³ Gentlemen at the Yellow Gates (黃門侍郎 *huangmen shilang*), with rank/salary of Six Hundred *shi*, were personal attendants on the emperor: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 60 [as Gentlemen-in-Attendance of the Yellow Gates]. *ZZTJ* has the title in a shorter version as *huangmen lang*.

³⁴ Though we are not told which corps of guards Ma Fang commanded, he probably succeeded his brother Liao as General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger.

³⁵ On the Elite Cavalry (越騎 *yueji*) regiment in the Northern Army at the capital, see note 3 to Yongping 8 at 37. It was common practice to appoint an imperial kinsman by marriage as Colonel of one of the regiments. R *HHS* 41/31:1398-99, the Biography of Diwu Lun.

³⁶ Diwu Lun is summarising a passage from the *Hong fan* 洪範 "Great Plan" chapter of *Shu jing* 書經 the *Classic of History*; Legge, *CC* III, 334.

³⁷ See passage A and note 1 to Yongping 7 at 37.

³⁸ On Liang Song, see passage C and note 7 to Yongping 4 at 29. On the problems of the Dou family, see passage D of Yongping 5 at 32.

³⁹ I interpret the phrase *shuji* 書記 as referring, firstly to the passage from the *Hong fan* chapter of the *Classic of History*, which Diwu Lun has cited as a general rule, and then to accounts (記) of the incidents involving the Liang and Dou families.

⁴⁰ The phrase *daipen wangtian* 戴盆望天 appears to have been in common use; it was adapted by Sima Qian, compiler of *Shi ji*, in a letter to a friend: *HS* 62:2729.

⁴¹ The Three Adjuncts (三輔 *sanfu*) were the commanderies about the Former capital, Chang'an: Jingzhao, Zuopingyi and Youfufeng.

As above, Ma Fang had first been appointed a General of the Household, but he was soon afterwards transferred to be Colonel of the City Gates; the rank/salary was the same: Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi*.

"I have also been told that at the time of the La festival [Ma Liao and Ma Fang] distributed five thousand cash to every person in Luoyang, while the Colonel of Elite Cavalry Ma Guang gave three hundred head of sheep, four hundred *hu* of rice and five thousand *jin* of meat.⁴²

1471 "In my humble opinion, such conduct does not accord with the teachings of the classics. Though I am fearful and apprehensive, I dare not remain silent. It is natural that your majesty would wish to treat [your distaff relatives] generously, but you must also consider their safety.

"The basic reason I am saying all this is that I offer my loyalty to your majesty, while at the same time I wish to protect the empress' family."⁴³

S During this year, the capital district, together with Yan, Yu and Xu provinces, all suffered severe drought.⁴⁴

⁴² The La 臘 festival, or people's New Year, oldest and most widely recognised of five different beginnings for a yearly cycle, is discussed by Bodde, *Festivals*, 45-75. It was celebrated in the winter, in the twelfth month, on the third *xu* day after the solstice (*i.e.* on the third day which contains the character 戌, eleventh of the Earthly Branches; see note 13 to Yongping 18 at 82); this would have occurred in the first half of January according to the Julian calendar, in the second half by the Gregorian system. According to the *Simin yueling* 四民月令 by Cui Shi 崔寔 of the second century AD, ritual offerings included geese and rice, while pigs and sheep were slaughtered for feasting: Bodde, 60; also Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 227.

A *hu* 斛 was approximately twenty litres and a *jin* 斤 was just under 250 grams. So Ma Guang had provided some eight hundred litres of rice and 1.25 kilolitres of meat.

⁴³ Delicately put, the essence of Diwu Lun's argument is that Emperor Zhang's maternal kinsmen the Ma brothers are using the money and influence they have obtained through his generosity and favour to gain popularity and support in the two capitals Chang'an and Luoyang. By doing so they have the potential to threaten the authority of the throne or, at the very least, give the appearance of planning to do so. As a result, they are making themselves vulnerable to accusations of faction and charges of treason.

S *HHS* 3:132, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

⁴⁴ The provinces affected are identified in passage A of Jianchu 1 at 88 immediately following. The drought is not mentioned in the relevant section of the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 103/13:3278, but it was recorded by the *Gujin zhu* of Fu Wuji quoted in commentary to the Treatise: note 14 to Yongping 3 at 23.

The Annals also record that there was disease among cattle (牛疫 *niu yi*) during this year.

CHAPTER 46

being Chapter 38 of the Chronicle of Han
comprising
containing Part 1 of the reign of Emperor Zhang
[Temple name Suzong 肅宗 "Reverent Exemplar"]

Jianchu 建初 1: 76 AD

24 February 76 – 11 February 77

1472

A In the spring, in the first month, an edict ordered officials in the three provinces Yan, Yu and Xu to issue rations to people in want.¹

The emperor asked the Excellency over the Masses Bao Yu, "How can we end this terrible drought?"

"Your majesty has only lately come to the throne," replied Bao Yu, "and though there may have been some errors in your government, they cannot have been so serious as to cause these misfortunes.

"Back when I was Administrator in Runan I had to deal with the affair of Chu;² more than a thousand people were arrested, and I fear that it has not been possible to settle all the cases. In such a great matter, more than half of those involved will have been unjustly treated.

"Furthermore, those who have been sent away into exile are separated from their families, and their lonely souls can receive no funerary sacrifices.

"You should immediately arrange for the exiles to return to their homelands, and you should remove all proscriptions from office; this will give places to both the dead and the living. When that is done, the spirit of harmony may arrive."

The emperor accepted these words.

B Yang Zhong, Editor in the Library of the Orchid Terrace,³ presented a statement, "The recent expedition to the north against the Xiongnu, and the opening of the thirty-six states in the west, mean that the people have been suffering from corvée year after year

A *HHS* 3:132, the Annals of Emperor Zhang,
HHS 29/19:1022, the Biography of Bao Yu.

¹ Passage S of Yongping 18 at 87 has mentioned a drought in these provinces at this time. *HHS* 3 at this point gives the text of the emperor's edict.

² On the affair of Chu, the investigation and purge which had begun five years before, after the disgrace of Liu Ying the former king of that state, see passages B to G of Yongping 14 at 56-60.

B *HHS* 48/38:1597-98, the Biography of Yang Zhong.

³ A scholar of *Chunqiu*, Yang Zhong had been sent as Reporting Officer from Shu commandery at the time of the accession of the Ailao people in 69: passage A of Yongping 12 at 51; on Reporting Officers, see note 3 to Yongping 1 at 8. He was later appointed as an editor (校書郎 *jiaoshu lang*) at the Orchid Terrace (蘭臺 *lantai*); this was the office of the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk (御侍中丞 *yushi zhongcheng*), head of the censorate, and the library held official documents and archives: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 30-31. On the censorate see deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 68-74.

1473 and the costs of supplying the army are a heavy expense. The misery and distress among the people is enough to move Heaven and Earth. Your majesty should give some thought to reducing it."

When the emperor passed this down for discussion, Diwu Lun [the Excellency of Works] agreed with Yang Zhong, but [the Grand Commandant] Mou Rong and [the Excellency over the Masses] Bao Yu both believed that, "A filial son does not change his father's policy.⁴ The attack on the Xiongnu, and the camps and garrisons in the Western Regions, were arranged by the late emperor and should not be reversed."

Yang Zhong replied, "When [the First Emperor of] Qin built the Great Wall it was worthwhile labour but a constant burden. Huhai [the Second Emperor] refused to change the policy and in the end he lost the empire.⁵

"For that reason Emperor Yuan abandoned Zhuyai commandery,⁶ and Guangwu ended the connection with the states of the Western Regions.⁷ The fact that others may wear strange costumes is no reason for us to change our clothing.⁸

"When Duke Wen of Lu destroyed the Terrace of Quan, *Chunqiu* made fun of him, saying, 'His ancestor built it and he pulled it down; it would have been easier to simply move his residence.' And it would have caused less harm to his people.⁹

⁴ As Hu Sanxing observes, this reflects the view of Confucius expressed in *Lun yu* XIX.xviii, though the restriction applied only to the period of mourning in first three years of the successor's reign. Mou Rong and Bao Yu are suggesting that the new emperor was moving too swiftly.

Yang Zhong's colleague Ban Gu, future author of *Han shu*, who was also an editor in the library of the Orchid Terrace, was among those who supported the two Excellencies.

⁵ Huhai 胡亥, son of the First Emperor of Qin, succeeded his father as Second Emperor (二世皇帝 *ershi huangdi*) in 210. The harshness of the government, however, brought rebellion within a year and the dynasty was ended in 207. See, for example, *SJ* 6:265-270; Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 155-158.

⁶ The energetic Emperor Wu of Former Han had established two commanderies on Hainan island, Dan'er 儋耳 and Zhuyai 珠崖. Dan'er "Drooping Ears" was probably got its name from the appearance of the local people or their ornaments; Zhuyai "Shore of Pearls" reflects the valuable commodities of the region. See *HS* 95:3859 and 28B:1670.

Both commanderies were later abolished: Dan'er by Emperor Zhao in 82 BC and Zhuyai by Emperor Yuan in 46 BC: *HS* 7:223 and *HS* 9:283; Dubs, *HFHD* II, 160 and 310. Later Han had a Zhuyai county in Hepu, either on the northern part of Hainan or at the tip of the Leizhou peninsula (*HHS* 113/23B:3531 and *jijie* at 4122-23 with *ZGLSDTJ* III, 57-58), and Emperor Ming is said to have received tribute from the people of the region (*HHS* 2:121), but there was no such ambition as had been shown by the Former dynasty. See also deC, *Generals of the South*, 29, citing Schafer, *Shore of Pearls*, 8-14, and Yü, *Trade and Expansion*, 192, and "Han Foreign Relations," 453.

Since Emperor Zhao was a son of Emperor Wu, the abandonment of Dan'er commandery was more relevant to Yang Zong's argument, though the decision was made after he had been ten years on the throne.

⁷ In 45 sixteen states of the Western Regions had sent an embassy offering hostages to seek support from Han, but as the empire was not yet secure Guangwu refused to become involved: *HHS* 88/78:2909; deC, "Western Regions," 7-8, and Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 131-134.

⁸ 介鱗 *jielin* is a general term for shellfish, but Tang commentary here identifies it as alien people with strange costumes and customs. Yang Zhong is echoing a remark by Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BC- 23 AD) in his *Fayan* 法言; the essential meaning is that the affairs of distant lands and people are irrelevant to the core interests of China.

⁹ The incident is recorded by *Chunqiu*, Wen XVI.5; Legge, *CC* V, 274. The criticism, however, comes from the Gongyang commentary to that text, which remarks that both the original construction and the later demolition were worthy of criticism and ridicule (譏 *ji*). On the other hand, there is no indication that Duke Wen was specifically criticised for destroying his predecessor's work; it had been a mistake to begin with.

According to *Zuo zhuan*, the destruction of the terrace was related to the mystical appearance of several large serpents which emerged from the terrace and entered the ducal capital, while the Dowager Duchess Sheng Qiang 聲羌 died at about that time; Legge suggests that she may have lived at the terrace.

"Duke Xiang created three armies, and Duke Zhao disbanded them. A true gentleman would praise him for restoring the earlier system, for if he had not done so he would have been harming the people.¹⁰

"The garrison at Yiwu and the troops in camp at Loulan have been in station for some time now and have not been withdrawn.¹¹ It is not the will of Heaven to do so."

The emperor agreed.

- C On the day *bingyin* [17 Mar], there was an edict: "The officials of Two Thousand *shi* must encourage farming and silk manufacture, and any cases which do not involve the death penalty are to be delayed until the autumn.¹² Those in authority must make clear and honest selections and recommendations for office, bringing forward men who are generous and good, and rejecting those who are greedy and dishonest. Orders are to be given at appropriate times, and law-cases must be judged fairly."¹³
- D At this time, the system of the Yongping period was maintained, administration was still very strict and when the Imperial Secretariat decided a matter its judgements were extremely harsh. The Master of Writing Chen Chong of Pei state believed that as the emperor had just come to the throne he should change the previous cruel practice, and he put forward a statement, "I have heard that the governments of the ancient rulers were excessive neither in granting rewards or inflicting punishments; and if one does go too far it is better to err on the side of generosity rather than that of cruelty."¹⁴

It is possible, therefore, that Duke Wen had reason for his action: justified or not, it may have been more than a whim.

In any case, the interpretation offered here is that a ruler should not demand unnecessary labour from his subjects.

- ¹⁰ This too is taken from the Gongyang commentary. The record in *Chunqiu*, however, and the more detailed account of these transactions in *Zuo zhuan*, again present a different story. The arrangements are mentioned by *Chunqiu* Xiang XI.1 and Zhao V.1; the texts of *Chunqiu* and *Zuo zhuan*, with Legge's translation/ summary, are in *CC V* at 449-452 and 600-604.

Firstly, the establishment of three armies did not necessarily mean an increase in the number of men under arms, but a re-organisation of existing forces, so that each of the three major families in Lu had its own command: it was a matter of politics and confirmed the weakness of the ducal government.

Second, *Chunqiu* Zhao V does not state that "three armies" (三軍 *sanjun*) were disestablished, but only the "Centre Army" (中軍 *zhongjun*). In fact, as a result of a re-adjustment of the balance of power between factions the military force was divided into four, even more to the disadvantage of the ruler.

So Gongyang appears to have misunderstood the whole affair, and Yang Zhong's comparison is disingenuous. The establishment and disestablishment of the armies of Lu was not a matter of disarmament or easing the strain on the people; it was a sign that the central government was losing authority.

- ¹¹ On the establishment of the camp at Yiwu in 73, see passage B of Yongping 16 at 67.

The city of Loulan 樓蘭, close to Lop Nor, had been the capital of the Western Regions state of Shanshan and had given its name to that state in Former Han times. A small Chinese contingent under Ban Chao had recently gained authority in the kingdom: passage G of Yongping 16 at 69-70 with note 15.

- C *HHS* 3:132-33, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

- ¹² Administrators of commanderies and the chancellors of kingdoms had rank/salary of Two Thousand *shi*.

Agriculture (農 *nong*) and the cultivation of silkworms with the leaves of the mulberry tree (桑 *sang*) were essential components of the Chinese peasant economy. General cases could be delayed until autumn so as not to interfere with field work, but autumn and winter were the traditional seasons for executions, so capital charges had to be heard before the spring: Hulsewé, *RHL*, 104-107.

- ¹³ *HHS* Annals includes some preliminary remarks in this edict, where the emperor observes that recent months have seen an outbreak of sickness, while a poor harvest has forced starving people from their homes. Now that spring has come, it is time to pay proper attention to the affairs of each season.

- D *HHS* 46/36:1549, the Biography of Chen Chong.

In the past, legal decisions were harsh but clear in order to bring wrongdoers under control. Now they are under control, however, it is appropriate to ease off and show leniency.

1474 "Since your majesty came to the throne you have followed this policy, and you have issued several edicts urging your officials to encourage peace and settlement. Not all those in authority, however, have accepted the changes, and there are still some who act oppressively. Those in charge of court-cases are swift to inflict the bastinado and other tortures while those who have charge of administration are confused by deceivers and slanderers. Some take advantage of their official position for their private ends, others simply enjoy the privileges of wealth and power.

Now government is like tuning a lute: if the large strings are too tight, the small ones break.¹⁵ Your majesty should emphasise the way of the ancient rulers, clear away laws which are vexatious and troublesome; restrain the use of the whip and the rod to give relief to all, and extend your virtue everywhere to gladden the heart of Heaven!"

Deeply impressed by Chen Chong's words, the emperor treated every case generously and leniently.

E The troops of Duan Peng the Administrator of Jiuquan gathered at Liuzhong with other contingents to attack Jushi. Storming the city of Jiaohe, they took three thousand eight hundred heads and more than three thousand prisoners. The Northern Xiongnu fled in fright and [Nearer] Jushi returned to its allegiance [to Han].¹⁶

Guan Chong had been killed earlier, and the Internuncio Wang Meng and others wanted to withdraw.¹⁷ Fan Qiang, an officer in Geng Gong's army, was with the [relief] column at this time, and he firmly requested [that they go on to] receive him.¹⁸ None of the commanders dared to go forward, but they gave Fan Qiang a troop of two thousand men and he went north through the mountains to relieve Geng Gong. They encountered quantities of snow, more than ten feet deep, and barely managed to get through.

When those in the city heard the sound of men and horses at night they thought it was the enemy coming and were extremely worried. Then Fan Qiang called out from the distance, "It's me, Fan Qiang. Han has sent an army to relieve the colonel [Geng Gong]." Everyone in the city cried out, "Ten Thousand Years!" They opened the gates and the two parties embraced with tears of emotion.

¹⁴ This echoes the words of the statesman Shengzi 聲子 of Chu 楚: *Zuo zhuan* Xiang XXVI.7.2; Legge, *CC* V, 526 [as Shing-tsze].

¹⁵ Tang commentary to *HHS* 46/36 identifies this analogy as taken from the *Xinxu* 新序 of Liu Xiang 劉向 of the later first century BC.

E *HHS* 19/9:722-23, the Biography of Geng Gong.

¹⁶ Liuzhong in Nearer Jushi was the headquarters of the Ji Colonel Guan Chong, currently under attack from the local people supported by the Northern Xiongnu: passages I of Yongping 17 at 79 and N of Yongping 18 at 84. Jiaohe, as immediately following, was the capital of that state.

¹⁷ The Internuncio Wang Meng was one of the commanders of the relief force which had been raised and sent in the previous year: passage O of Yongping 18 at 85.

¹⁸ Geng Gong commanded a garrison in Further Jushi, on the further side of the mountain ridge: passage I of Yongping 17 at 78-79 with note 18. He too was under heavy attack: passage N of Yongping 18 at 84.

On the following day they left together on the return journey. As the enemy pursued them, they fought as they marched. Officers and men were already sick and exhausted: when they left Shule they still numbered twenty-six, but several died on the road, and by the time they reached Yumen in the third month only thirteen remained; their clothes and sandals were ruined and full of holes, and the men themselves looked like death.¹⁹

The General of the Household Zheng Zhong arranged a period of rest and recuperation for Geng Gong and his followers, and issued them with new clothing and head-gear.²⁰ Then he presented a statement to say, "Geng Gong held an isolated city with a single troop of men, facing tens of thousands of Xiongnu for months on end over more than a year.²¹ Their hearts were strong and resistance firm. They tunnelled the mountains to make wells, they boiled their crossbows for food, and from first to last the numbers of the enemy hordes that they killed or wounded were counted by the hundreds and thousands. They maintained their loyalty and their strength to the end; and they never shamed Great Han [by surrendering]. Geng Gong should be rewarded with honours and enfeoffment to encourage other officers and commanders."

When Geng Gong reached Luoyang he was appointed a Commandant of Cavalry.²²

By imperial edict, the Wu and Ji colonelcies and the office of the Protector-General were all abolished.

F Orders were also sent to recall Ban Chao and he prepared to depart.²³ All the people of Shule were worried and fearful, and their Commandant Liyan said, "Once the Han envoy abandons us, we shall again be at the mercy of Qiuzi. I truly cannot bear to see them leave." Taking up a knife, he cut his own throat.

When Ban Chao reached Yutian, the king and his nobles and their followers all cried out and wept, saying, "We depend upon you like a father or a mother; you

¹⁹ Yumen 玉門, the Jade Gate, was the major pass between Dunhuang commandery and the Western regions.

²⁰ Zheng Zhong had been a courageous envoy to the Northern Xiongnu and an outspoken opponent of their ambitions and pretensions: passages B and C of Yongping 8 at 37-38 and J at 41-42. He had since been trans-ferred to Dunhuang as a General of the Household with concern for the Western Regions: *HHS* 36/26:1225.

²¹ The office of the Protector-General had been re-established after the success of Dou Wu in 74, with Geng Gong and Guan Chong as colonels stationed in Jushi: passage I of Yongping 17 at 78-79. The Xiongnu counter-attack had arrived in the spring of the following year: passage B of Yongping 18 at 80.

The remnants of Geng Gong's command had been brought back through the Yumen pass in the third month of the current year. In effect, therefore, Geng Gong had indeed maintained a defence for more than a year, and there is an account of his conduct in passage N of Yongping 18 at 84. Though it was a heroic feat of arms, however, it cannot conceal the fact that the enterprise had been a disaster for Han.

²² *HHS* 19/9:723 adds that his officers were given some lesser positions and his men were recruited into the corps of guards of the Feather Forest. These do not appear to be exceptional marks of favour.

F *HHS* 47/37:1575, the Biography of Ban Chao.

²³ Shule, in the west of the Tarim Basin, had been taken over by the neighbouring state of Qiuzi in alliance with the Xiongnu, but Ban Chao and his small contingent had restored the native ruling family: passage F of Yongping 17 at 76.

simply cannot leave!"²⁴ They held the feet of Ban Chao's horse so that he could not move on.

Ban Chao himself also wanted to follow his original plan [to bring the Western Regions under Han control], and he went back to Shule. Two cities of Shule had already surrendered to Qiuzi and joined forces with Weitou, but Ban Chao captured and executed the rebels, attacked and defeated Weitou, killing more than six hundred men.²⁵ Shule was once more at peace.

G On the day *jiayin* [5 May], an earthquake affected Shanyang and Dongping.²⁶

H Liu Cang the King of Donghai put forward three helpful suggestions, and the emperor sent a letter in reply:²⁷ "Some of the suggestions put forward by officials or from the people have been expressed in the same way, but with my limited intelligence and understanding I sometimes agree but then feel concerned that I am mistaken; so I have not been able to make a decision.

"Since receiving your wise advice, however, my mind is relieved, my thoughts are clear and I now believe that they are good plans which can be carried out successfully. I am sending you with a special gift of five million cash."

Later, the emperor wanted to establish county administrations at the Mound of Beginning and Mound of Illustrious Integrity.²⁸ Liu Cang presented a statement which

²⁴ Yutian was the first state that Ban Chao reached as he travelled east along the Southern Road from Shule. Three years earlier he had induced the king, Guangde, to turn against the Xiongnu and submit to Han: passage G of Yongping 16 at 72.

²⁵ Now identified as Bachu, the state of Weitou on the Northern Road was in a mountain valley east of Shule/Kashgar. In the time of Former Han the population was small, less than three thousand, and their customs were similar to those of the nomad Wusun people: *HS* 96A:3898; Hulsewé/ Loewe, *Central Asia*, 142. If that was still the case, the six hundred said to have been killed by Ban Chao would have represented three-quarters of men of military age.

In *Glaive et Charrue* at 236-238, however, Trombert points out a remarkable increase in the population of several states of the Western Regions between the record of *Han shu* and the report presented by Ban Yong 班勇, son of Ban Chao, about 125 and recorded by Fan Ye: *HHS* 88:2912-13. Probably due to migration from the west, some states had increased their numbers ten times or even more. No figures are given for Weitou, but we may assume that state had shared in the increase.

G *HHS* 3:133, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

²⁶ Shanyang and Dongping were in Yan province; in the western part of present-day Shandong. This earthquake is mentioned by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 106/16:3327, but without comment or prognostication. It did, however, inspire another apologetic and exhortatory edict from Emperor Zhang, asking high officials and the heads of commandery units for recommendations of men thought worthy of commissioned office.

H *HHS* 42/32:1436-38, the Biography of Liu Cang.

²⁷ Son of Guangwu and a brother of Emperor Ming, Liu Cang was an uncle of the new ruler. Emperor Zhang had trusted him with the highest rank (passage E of Zhongyuan 2 at 5), and though he had retired to his state in 61 (passage F of Yongping 4 at 30), he still had contact with the government.

There are no details of his recommendations (便宜 *bianyì*), and *HHS* 42/32 says that they were kept confidential within the palace (留中 *liuzhong*). The emperor's letter of reply, as quoted below, notes that the document had been presented on the *bingyin* day, 16 May.

²⁸ The Mound of Beginning (原陵 Yuanling), northeast of Luoyang, was the tomb of Emperor Guangwu: passage E with note 19 to Zhongyuan 2 at 4. The Mound of Illustrious Integrity (顯節陵 *Xianjieling*), tomb of Emperor Ming, was southwest of the capital: passage L with note 20 to Yongping 18 at 83.

During Former Han several imperial tombs had formed the basis of counties. The First Emperor of Qin began the custom, and he was followed by Emperor Gao; both rulers carried out the settlements as a means of removing leading members and supporters of the Warring States from their former homelands in

criticised the project: "I can recall the personal simplicity and economy of Emperor Guangwu and his deep understanding that everything has its time and place. He gave full, firm instructions on the arrangements for his burial,²⁹ and Emperor Ming followed them with a true sense of filial piety; his own instructions followed the same principle.³⁰ These are among the finest examples of the splendid virtue of humility.

1476 "I respectfully note that the system of tomb counties was initially created by Qin to strengthen their position. The men of ancient times had no wish to make a display of their burial sites, so why would they construct settlements and towns about them? [With this proposal,] above you are opposing the sage principles of the former emperors [Guangwu and Ming], while below you are creating useless work, wasting the resources of the state and disturbing the people. This is no way to create a spirit of harmony or to seek a good harvest.

"Your majesty is following the fine example of filial piety set by the sage-ruler Shun, and you have the same good intentions as your late predecessors, but I am truly concerned that [because of your mistaken enthusiasm] the fine reputations of those two emperors may not be passed down for eternity."³¹

The emperor then gave up the idea.

From this time on, whenever there was some question of policy at the court, a messenger was sent post-haste to ask Liu Cang for his opinion. He gave the most careful consideration to his replies, and they were always adopted and put into effect.

I In the autumn, in the eighth month, on the day *gengyin* [7 Oct], there was a comet in the Heavenly Market.³²

the east to the neighbourhood of the new imperial capital where they could be kept under better control. Emperor Wu later revived the practice, again with a view to weakening potential centres of provincial power, and it was continued by his successors, but the custom fell into disuse in the second half of the first century BC – probably because, despite such efforts, local families had become powerful enough to resist. See Hsu, "Local Society and Central Power," especially 361-362 and 369-370.

The present proposal of Emperor Zhang, however, does not appear to have any such demographic-political intention – and the government probably lacked the ability to enforce it – but only to enhance the prestige of the new dynasty and its founding rulers.

²⁹ In 50, as work began on the construction of his tomb, Guangwu stated that he wanted it small, with grave goods of pottery and wood, and he expressed particular approval for the simplicity of the Baling 霸陵 tomb of Emperor Wen of Former Han: *HHS* 1B:77-78.

³⁰ See passage J of Yongping 14 at 60.

³¹ Tang commentary identifies Youyu 有虞 as the sage Emperor Shun 舜, who was known for his affection and generosity towards his family and was chosen to succeed the legendary Yao 堯: e.g. *Shu jing* 書經 the *Classic of History* I.iii.12; Legge, *CC* III, 26.

Liu Cang's essential argument is that by seeking to enhance the prestige of the tombs of his father and his grandfather he is ignoring their expressed wishes for simplicity and will damage their reputations for modest and restraint.

I *HHS* 3:134, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

³² The Treatise of Astronomy at *HHS* 101/11:3231-32 also records this comet. Chinese astronomy has three constellations named Heavenly Market (天市 *Tianshi*), but the Treatise says that the comet moved into the *Qianniu* 牽牛 "Cowherd" constellation; also known as *Niuxiu* 牛宿, this is the ninth lunar mansion, in West-ern Aries and Sagittarius. The Heavenly Market involved, therefore, was the *Wei* 危 "Rooftop" constellation, twelfth lunar mansion: it is also known as Heavenly Market and is in Western Aquarius and Pegasus. See Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 98-99 with Star Map 4. It was visible for forty days.

The Treatise relates this comet, combined with an observed movement of the planet Venus – which in China was taken as a portent of war – to military activity on the frontiers of the empire, not only in the

- J Before this, Zheng Chun of Guanghan, Commandant of the Western Division of Yizhou commandery, had maintained a clear and honest administration.³³ He had influence over the Yi and the Miao peoples, their leaders and chieftains admired him, gave him valuable presents and accepted Han suzerainty. Emperor Ming established Yongchang commandery for them and appointed Zheng Chun as its Administrator.³⁴
- After ten years in office, Zheng Chun died, but his successors proved unable to care for the barbarians or keep them in order.³⁵
- In the ninth month [of this year Jianchu 1] Lei'ao the king of the Ailao killed his supervisors, led a revolt and attacked Bo'nan.³⁶
- K Liu Yan the King of Fuling had often harboured feelings of resentment³⁷ and someone reported that he had prepared a plan of rebellion with his son Liu Fang. The emperor could not bear to have them executed,³⁸ but in the winter, in the eleventh month, he demoted Liu Yan [from king] to Marquis of Fuling, with revenues from a single county. He was not permitted to have any contact with the officials or the people [of his nominal state].³⁹
- L The Gaolinwenyutu King of the Northern Xiongnu led his people back to re-occupy Zhuoye Mountain. The Southern Shanyu, together with troops from the frontier commanderies and the Wuhuan, attacked and defeated them.⁴⁰

north and west, but also against the Ailao people, whose rebellion is described in the passage which follows.

J *HHS* 86/76:2851, the Account of the Non-Chinese Peoples of the South and the Southwest.

³³ The Chinese term 益州 *yizhou* could refer to Yi province or to Yizhou commandery within that province. In his case it is Yizhou commandery.

Commanderies on or close to the frontier – and those within the empire which were particularly troubled by banditry or rebellion – had military commandants (都尉 *duwei*) appointed to manage their affairs under the authority of the Administrator; some larger commanderies were divided into divisions (部 *bu*), each with its own Commandant. Zhen Chun's territory was in the region of the Dali Lake.

³⁴ The establishment of Yongchang commandery in 69 has been recorded at *HHS* 86/76:2849 and also by the Annals at *HHS* 2:114. The two sources are summarised in passage A of Yongping 12 at 51, and it is clearly stated that the western district of Yizhou commandery was abolished to form the basis of the new unit: note 2 to that passage.

³⁵ Zheng Chun had run a very light regime, requiring just two measures of cloth and one salt from each chieftain. His successors had very likely attempted to exert more authority and extract more tribute, but met some resistance.

³⁶ Bo'nan county had been established in Yongchang commandery, territory of the Ailao people at the time of their submission in 69: passage A of Yongping 12 with notes 2 and 3 at 51.

The character 守 *shou* refers to a Chinese officer appointed to supervise the tribes, not to the Administrator himself: that title is always given as 太守 *taishou*, while *HHS* 86/76 adds that Wang Xun 王尋 the Administrator of Yongchang made his escape.

K *HHS* 42/32:1444-45, the Biography of Liu Yan.

³⁷ Liu Yan had earlier engaged in conduct which was considered treasonable, and in 73 he was exiled to the small state of Fuling, while several of his associates were executed: passages I and K of Yongping 6 at 72-73.

³⁸ *HHS* 42/32 adds that Liu Yan's son Fang was granted a pardon without any further investigation.

³⁹ Liu Yan's pension had previously been reduced to that of the tax revenue from two counties; it was now halved, to be no more than that of a regular marquisate. *HHS* 42/32 adds that an Internuncio was sent to supervise the kingdom.

L *HHS* 89/79:2949, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

⁴⁰ The land about Zhuoye Mountain, part-way between the Han frontier and the centre of Northern Xiongnu power in the region of present-day Ulan Bator, had been the homeland of this subordinate chieftain of the

1477 In this year the Southern Xiongnu suffered badly from famine; an imperial edict ordered supplies of grain to be sent to them.

Xiongnu and his tribe, but they had withdrawn before the advance of Zhai Tong and the Southern Xiongnu in 73: passage E of Yongping 16 at 68-69. *HHS* 89/79 says that the Southerners and their allies killed several hundred of the enemy and captured three or four thousand.

Jianchu 建初 2: 77 AD

12 February 77 – 1 February 78

- A In the spring, in the third month, on the day *jiachen* [29 Apr], the camp and garrison at Yiwu was abandoned, The [Northern] Xiongnu sent troops to re-occupy the territory.¹
- B Troops from Yongchang, Yuexi and Yizhou commanderies, together with Lucheng and other Kunming barbarians, attacked Lei'ao the king of the Ailao at Bo'nan. They thoroughly defeated them and took his head.²
- C In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day *wuzi* [31 May], an edict ordered that more than four hundred families who had been exiled as being guilty of involvement in the cases of Chu and of Huaiyang were allowed to return home.³
- D The emperor had wanted to grant fiefs and noble ranks to all his mother's brothers [of the Ma family], but the Dowager did not approve.⁴

At this time [in the summer of this year Jianchu 2] there was a severe drought. Those who discussed the matter considered that it was because the imperial relatives by marriage had not been enfeoffed, and senior officials asked that ancient regulations should be put into practice.⁵ The Dowager issued an edict, "Everyone discussing this

A *HHS* 3:135, the Annals of Emperor Zhang,

HHS 88/78:2910, the Account of the Western Regions.

¹ This marked the final retreat from the advanced position which had been taken under Emperor Ming: passage B of Yongping 16 at 67; and compare passage I of Yongping 17 at 78-79 with passage B of Jianchu 1 at 89-90.

B *HHS* 86/76:2851, the Account of the Non-Chinese Peoples of the South and the Southwest.

² The beginning of the rebellion of the Ailao people has been recorded in passage J of Jianchu 1 at 95.

HHS 86/76 says that the Kunming tribes lived in Yelong 邪龍 county in Yongchang commandery, just south of the Dian Chi 滇池: *HHS* 113/23:3514 and *ZGLSDTJ* II, 55-56. Kunming, capital of present-day Yunnan province, lies at the north of that lake. Lucheng was rewarded with ten thousand lengths of silk and honorary title as a marquis.

C *HHS* 3:135, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

³ On the case of Chu, involving Liu Ying the king of that state, which broke out in 70, see passages B and C of Yongping 13 at 55 and B to G of Yongping 14 at 56-60. The disgrace of Liu Yan the King of Huaiyang, which likewise involved great numbers of people, broke out in 73: passages I and K of Yongping 16 at 72-73.

Many innocent people had been affected by these two affairs, and this was at least a partial conclusion.

D *HHS* 10A:411-12, the Biography of the Empress Ma of Emperor Ming; *HHJ* 11:136-37.

⁴ Soon after he came to the throne in 75, Emperor Zhang had given his uncles Ma Liao, Ma Fang and Ma Guang substantial promotions, Ma Liao becoming Minister of the Guards, Ma Fang a General of the Household and Ma Guang Colonel of Elite Cavalry: passage Q of Yongping 18 at 86. *HHS* 10A says that the emperor put forward the proposal for enfeoffment in the following year, Jianchu 1:76.

We must note that the Empress Ma was not the natural mother of the emperor. He had been born to the Honoured Lady Jia and placed in the care of the empress: passage B of Yongping 3 at 20-21. So her brothers of the Ma family had no direct relationship.

⁵ Tang commentary notes that it had been a custom of Han to grant grace and favour marquises (恩澤封侯 *enze fenghou*) to the emperor's maternal kinsmen, hence the reference to "ancient regulations" (舊典 *jiudian*)

question is trying to curry favour from me in hope of some financial advantage.⁶ In former times, when five marquises of the Wang family received their enfeoffments on the same day, there followed a widespread yellow mist; but I have not heard that it was associated with damp or with rain.⁷

"Whenever imperial relatives by marriage are too greatly honoured, it is rare that they are not overthrown and disgraced. That is why the late emperor was restrained and careful in dealing with his distaff kinsmen and did not allow them positions at the heart of government. He also said, "My sons should not rank with my father's."⁸ So how can senior officials now seek to have the Ma family rank with the Yin?"⁹

"Furthermore, the Minister of the Guards Yin [Xing] was admired by all the empire, but if a messenger arrived from the imperial palace he would receive him immediately, without even putting on his shoes; this is the respect which Qu Boyu showed.¹⁰ Though the Marquis of Xinyang [Yin Jiu] was stern and forceful, he never failed to act correctly. He made good plans, he defended them in debate, and he had no equal at court.¹¹ The Sincere Marquis of Yuanlu [Yin Shi] was both courageous and trustworthy.¹²

⁶ The texts show the Dowager referring to herself by the personal pronoun *zhen* 朕, regularly used for a sovereign ruler.

⁷ This set of incidents is recorded by the Annals of the reign of Emperor Cheng of Former Han, *HS* 10:304; Dubs, *HFHD* II, 377.

Emperor Cheng enfeoffed only one of his uncles as a full marquis, the other four received secondary marquisates (關內侯 *guannei hou*): on these, see note 13 to Yongping 2 at 15-16. It was a substantial step in the rise of the Wang clan which led eventually to the seizure of imperial power by Wang Mang.

The "yellow mist" (黃霧 *huangwu*) is recorded also in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HS* 27Ca: 1449, translated by Dubs' note 2.11 at *HFHD* II, 377. It is said that there was a light like a fire in the northwest, followed next day by a great wind which brought clouds of red and yellow emanations (雲氣赤黃 *yunqi chi'huang*) across every part of the empire (四塞天下 *sisai tianxia*); it settled as a yellow earthen dust (黃土塵 *huang tuchen*). Dubs cites Eberhardt, "Kosmologischen Spekulation," 30-31, suggesting that it may have been a distant volcanic explosion or perhaps an unusual dust-storm.

The argument appears to have been that a broad grant of fiefs the dowager's family might cause the drought to break. She points out, however, that even if it did bring a repeat of the phenomenon, it was described as a mist (霧 *wu*) but came to the ground as dust, with no damp, so it would have been no help.

⁸ See passage B of Yongping 15 at 64.

⁹ The Lady Yin Lihua had been the second consort of Emperor Guangwu: note 6 to Zhongyuan 2 at 2.

¹⁰ Yin Xing, a brother of Guangwu's Empress Yin, was a trusted confidant who became Minister of the Guards but rejected higher office. His biography is in *HHS* 32/22:1130-32; and see deC, *LH3K*, 983.

The haste to greet the imperial messenger, even before dressing properly, is a sign of respect.

Qu Boyu 蘧伯玉 was a high minister of the ancient state of Wei 衛 who was admired by Confucius for his fine quality: *Lun yu* XIV.xxvi and XV.vi.2; Legge, *CC* I, 285-286 and 296.

¹¹ Yin Jiu was a younger brother of Yin Xing. Their father Yin Lu/Mu 陰陸/睦 was posthumously enfeoffed as a marquis and Yin Jiu was granted succession to the title and to the county fief of Xinyang 新陽 in Runan. A brilliant but domineering man, he was not popular, but when Emperor Ming came to the throne he named him Minister Steward. His biography is at *HHS* 32/22:1132.

¹² Yin Shi was an elder half-brother of the Empress Yin. He raised a troop of retainers to join the rebellion against Wang Mang and became a leading commander. Despite his distaff kinship with Emperor Guangwu, he was initially cautious in accepting favour, but when his nephew the future Emperor Ming was proclaimed Heir in 43 Yin Shi was given ministerial rank, served as a mentor to the young prince, and held charge of security when Guangwu was away from the capital. Guangwu admired his ability to keep confidences and spoke of him as an example for any relative by marriage.

Yin Shi was enfeoffed with Yuanlu 原鹿 county in Runan. When he died in 59 he was given the posthumous title Zhen 真 "Sincere." His biography is at *HHS* 32/22:1129-30.

1478 "Choose any three men in the world, who can compare with these? The Ma family is far behind the Yin!

"I myself am lacking in talent, so day and night and with every breath I am constantly anxious that I may fail to match the example set by previous empresses. I cannot permit even the slightest wrongdoing to go by, but speak of it day and night. My family, however, invariably ignore me. Failing to realise what is coming, they are preparing their own destruction and raising their own tombs. They are blind and deaf, and my words have no effect.

"I am the mother of the empire, but I dress in plain silk, I do not look for sweetness in my food, and my attendants have simple clothing.¹³ If I do not use fine scents or ornaments, it is because I wish to set an example to those of lower rank. I thought that when my family saw this it might induce them to restrain themselves, but they simply laughed and said, 'She just enjoys being stingy.'

"Once in the past, as I was passing along the top of the gate to the Garden of the Shining Dragon,¹⁴ I observed my kinsmen and their way of life: carriages in a steady stream, horses like flowing dragons, and slave attendants in robes of green with collars and cuffs of perfect white.¹⁵ I looked at the imperial cortege, and it was far less fine.

"I did not express any criticism or anger, but cut off contact for a year, hoping by my silence to implant a sense of shame. But they continue careless and complacent, with no concern to put the interests of the state ahead of their own. The ruler is the best person to understand his people; this is still more true of a family.

"How can I bear to abandon the principles of the former emperors while failing to maintain the honour of our ancestors? Should I do so, I condemn my family to the same fate as that which befell [the imperial distaff clans] in the time of the Western Capital."

She resolutely refused her approval.

The emperor was extremely upset, and repeated his request: "Since Han first arose the grant of marquisates to the empress' kinsmen has been [a tradition] like the enfeoffment of the imperial sons as kings. You are entitled to maintain your own modesty and restraint, but why make me the only ruler not to show favour to his uncles?"¹⁶

"Furthermore, the Minister of the Guards [Ma Liao] is elderly, while the two colonels [Ma Fang and Ma Guang] are both seriously ill.¹⁷ Should the unspeakable

¹³ The empress' modest clothing and conduct is mentioned also in her biography: passage B of Yongping 3 at 21, and see note 14 immediately following.

¹⁴ The Garden of the Shining Dragon (濯龍園 *Zhuolong yuan*) had been established by Emperor Ming in the eastern part of the grounds of the Northern Palace: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 38; Knechtges, *Wen xuan* I, 258-259; deC, *Fire*, 44. Bielenstein and Knechtges render the name as "Sleek Dragon."

On one recorded occasion the emperor held a party there with his concubines, but though the Empress Ma had been invited she would not attend: *HHS* 10A:409.

¹⁵ On the term 蒼頭 *cangtou* "Dark-Green Head" for slaves, see note 16 to Zhongyuan 2 at 3-4.

¹⁶ The young emperor here refers to himself as "subject" (臣 *chen*) of the Dowager Ma his adoptive mother. Though he is formally of age and is not under a regency, she holds great authority.

¹⁷ This statement appears somewhat unreliable and disingenuous. It is not possible to judge how old Ma Liao was at this time, but he would live another fourteen years and died in 92; he was probably in his middle

occur [and they die], I shall have the deepest regrets. We should make the appointments while they are happily still with us, but we cannot afford to wait too long."

1479 The dowager replied, "My reason for opposing the appointments is based on those two important principles.¹⁸ Why should I seek a reputation for 'modesty and restraint' but allow the emperor to seem ungenerous to his maternal kinfolk?

"In former times, the Empress-Dowager Dou wanted to enfeoff the elder brother of the Empress Wang The Imperial Chancellor and Marquis of Tiao [Zhou Yafu] claimed,¹⁹ however, 'It was the covenant of Gaozu that marquises should be awarded only for military achievement.'²⁰ The Ma family has no military achieve-

sixties. We are told in his biography at *HHS* 24/14:853 that although Emperor Ming had not promoted him, he held him in great trust and mentioned him in his testamentary edict.

Though Ma Fang was a General of the Household, the rank was comparable to that of a colonel, so the identification is reasonable. He lived, however, for another twenty-four years, dying in 101, while his brother Ma Guang would be forced to kill himself in 91: *HHS* 24/14:858 Neither man can have been so sick or incapacitated as the emperor claims.

¹⁸ Commentary identifies the two principles (兩善 *liangshan*): one, to ensure that the state does not show anyone excessive favour; and two, that the imperial relatives by marriage should be secure.

¹⁹ This incident is described in the biographies of Zhou Yafu at *SJ* 57:2077 and *HS* 40:2060, summarised by *ZZTJ* 16:538-39; discussed by Loewe, *QHX*, 735-736 and 558.

Zhou Yafu had been named Marquis of Tiao 條侯 in 160 BC to maintain a family lineage. He held command against the Xiongnu and in 154 he was a leading general of Han in the War of the Seven States (on which see, for example, Loewe, "Former Han Dynasty," 141-142). In 150 he was appointed Imperial Chancellor (丞相 *chengxiang*), head of government, under Emperor Jing.

Wang Xin was an elder brother of the Empress Wang of Emperor Jing, and his enfeoffment was recommended by the Dowager Dou, natural mother of the emperor. The matter arose soon after Zhou Yafu's appointment as Chancellor and the emperor referred it to him for comment.

²⁰ This account of Gaozu's "covenant" (約 *yue*) by Zhou Yafu is given by his biographies in *SJ* 57 and *HS* 40. The full text, abbreviated by *ZZTJ* 16, reads: 高[皇]帝約: "非劉氏不得王; 非有功不得侯。不如約, 天下擊之: "Emperor Gao made a covenant that "No-one but a member of the Liu family can become a king; no-one without achievement can be made a marquis. The whole world shall attack anyone who disobeys." The story is cited on several occasions, but its provenance and significance are surprisingly vague.

- The earliest reference in the texts appears in the Annals of the Empress Lü at *SJ* 9:400; Chavannes, *Mémoires* II, 414, and Nienhauser, *GSR* II, 116. When she announced her intention to enfeoff members of her own family as kings, the protest was raised by the senior official Wang Ling 王陵, but was dismissed by several others, including Zhou Yafu's father Zhou Bo 周勃.
- Wang Ling later spoke privately to his opponents, criticising them for having abandoned the covenant, which had been confirmed by the sacrifice of a white horse; they acknowledged this but pleaded expediency. In context, the ceremony must have been held about 195 BC, following the rebellion and destruction of Ying/Jing Pu 英/黥布 the King of Huainan 淮南: *SJ* 8:389-90; Nienhauser, *GSR* II, 80-84, and *HS* 1B:73-75; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 134-139.
- That incident is not mentioned by the Annals, but *HS* 3:101 says that after the empress' death her nephews recognised they were in breach of the covenant: 自知背高皇帝約; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 201 with note 3.
- The citations above relate only to the enfeoffment of kings: there is no reference to marquises, nor to the call to arms at the end.

The Tables (表 *biao*) of *Han shu* contain lists of enfeoffments throughout the Former dynasty, divided by categories: marquises awarded to the sons of kings (王子 *wangzi*) are in *HS* 15A-B; those granted to meritorious subjects (功臣 *gongchen*) are in *HS* 16-17; those given as grace and favour to imperial relatives by marriage (外戚恩澤侯 *waiqi enze hou*) are in *HS* 18. Despite the assertion by the Lady Ma, *HS* 18:684-685 records that Emperor Jing had already granted marquises to two brothers of the Empress Dou of Emperor Wen – now Dowager – and also to her nephew Dou Ying 竇嬰, who had commanded troops against the seven rebel states; he was the only one with any claim to achievement.

ment;²¹ how can they be ranked with the families of the empresses Guo and Yin at the time of the restoration?²²

"Whenever I see a prosperous and honoured family, laden with rank and wealth, I compare it to a tree overburdened with fruit: the roots will surely come to harm. Furthermore, the reason men desire a fief is because on the one hand they want to maintain family sacrifices and on the other hand they are looking to be warm and well-fed. Now the sacrifices of the Ma family are catered for by the Court Provisioner, while clothing and food may be obtained from the surplus of the Imperial Wardrobe. Isn't that enough? Why is it necessary to have [the revenue from] a county as well?²³ I have thought the matter through and have no doubts.

"True filial conduct gives priority to ensuring the family is safe.²⁴ We have experienced so many disasters, the price of grain has doubled many times; there is misery and misfortune day and night, and no-one can sit or sleep. But you want to grant fiefs to your distaff kinsmen, and you ignore your mother's concern. I have always been an emotional person, and when I feel something strongly, I must express my opinion!²⁵

The only difference in proposed enfeoffment of Wang Xin is that he was the brother of the current empress, not of the dowager, and it appears that this was the basic reason for Zhou Yafu's objection. Besides this, the Lady Ma's assertion that marquises could be granted only for military achievement is a (deliberate?) misreading of Zhou Yafu's statement. Though noble ranks developed during the Warring States period primarily to reward success in battle, Former Han had long given ranks to civilians, and Imperial Chancellors were regularly enfeoffed: *e.g.* Loewe, "Aristocratic Rank," 103, 113-114 and 125-126.

²¹ This is an extraordinary thing for the dowager to say, for her father Ma Yuan 馬援 was one of Guangwu's leading and most effective military commanders: note 4 to Yongping 3 at 20. Her statement can perhaps be justified by an echo of Ma Yuan's later disgrace or – more effectively – the fact that no male kinsmen of this generation had shown any military activity or ability.

²² The family of the Lady Guo Shengtong 郭聖通, first wife of Liu Xiu the future Emperor Guangwu, came from Zhending 真定, later part of Changshan 常山, and gave him connection to families of the northern plain who supported him in the early stages of the civil war; the Lady's cousin Guo Jing 竟 commanded cavalry. Guangwu's second wife, Yin Lihua 陰麗華, linked him to powerful families of Nanyang, his home commandery, and her brothers Shi 識 and Xing 興 held useful commands. None of his distaff kinsmen, however, were numbered among the leading generals of the Restoration: passage C of Yongping 3.

²³ A marquis might have a formal ancestral temple at his fief, but the dowager is pointing out that this was not necessary in the present case: it was the custom of Han for the family of an empress to be included in the rituals of the imperial ancestral temple, and the Court Provisioner (太官令 *taiguan ling*) provided the animals for sacrifice: commentary of Hu Sanxing, with *HHS* 99:3200; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 61 [*as Prefect Grand Provisioner*].

The office of the Imperial Wardrobe (御府 *yufu*), staffed by eunuchs, was responsible for clothing the emperor, his harem, and his personal attendants: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 61. With her use of the phrase *yuzi* 餘資 "surplus," the dowager is suggesting that her kinfolk can obtain whatever they need from the left-overs of this establishment; food can similarly be supplied by the Court Provisioner.

The point the Lady Ma is making is that, by their connection to the throne through her position, her family can obtain all that they need; they do not require the personal prestige of enfeoffment, nor the share of the tax revenue which a marquis receives from his county fief. She was, as we have seen, proud to be known for her frugality.

²⁴ Hu Sanxing here quotes a similar statement from the *Fayan* 法言 of Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BC- 23 AD).

²⁵ Reading 慎 *shen/chen* as in *HHJ* 11 rather than *ZZTJ*'s 順 *shun*. *HHJ* makes better sense, and is supported by a parallel text at *DGHJ* 6:10b.

"When a son has not yet taken the cap of manhood, he obeys his father and mother; even when he is full grown and has taken the cap, he should still fulfil his duty as a son to them. I recognise that you are the emperor and the ruler of the people, but since the three years [mourning period] has not yet ended and the matter relates to my own family I am prepared to be involved.

"You will have fulfilled your duty as a son only when the Yin and Yang are in balance and the frontiers are peaceful and secure. I shall then have nothing to do but play with my grandchildren and supply them with sweets, and I shall have no further cause to be involved in affairs of state."

The emperor then halted [the enfeoffments].

E On one occasion the dowager issued an edict to the Three Adjunct commanderies that they should report all members of the Ma clan and those connected to it by marriage who had attempted to apply pressure to commandery or county officers or who had disturbed or opposed the local government.²⁶

1480 It was found that the tomb-mound of the dowager's mother was slightly too high. The dowager reported this, and Ma Liao the Minister of the Guards and her other brothers promptly arranged for it to be reduced.²⁷

Those of the distaff families who behaved with restraint and in honourable fashion were warmly praised and rewarded. If there was some trivial fault, she first give them a stern look and would issue a reprimand only if the offence was repeated. Those whose carriages or costumes were more splendid than the sumptuary code were removed from the register of [of those entitled to live at the capital] and were sent back to the country. The carriages of the kings of Guangping, Julu and Lecheng had no ornamentation of gold or silver, and their outriders had plain clothing and accoutrements. The emperor told the dowager about this, and she gave each of them five million cash.²⁸

In consequence of this everyone, whether inside the court or outside, accepted the reforms, and all dressed alike. Every family was fearful and respectful, far more than they had been in the Yongping period.²⁹

The dowager established a Weaving House, cultivating silkworms in the Garden of the Shining Dragon, and she took pleasure in going there to observe the work. She spoke with the emperor day and night on the nature of good government, and she

E *HHJ* 11:136;
HHS 10A:413, the Biography of the Empress Ma of Emperor Ming.

²⁶ As in note 24 above, the original text of *HHJ* 11, which has 囑 *zhu* rather than 屬 *shu*, appears clearer.

Having brought her adoptive son the emperor under control, the Dowager Ma now turned her attention to her own family and – as following – to other imperial relatives. The Three Adjuncts (三輔 *sanfu*) were the commanderies about the Former capital, Chang'an: Jingzhao, Zuopingyi and Youfufeng.

²⁷ *HHJ* 11 says that the tomb was constructed according to instructions from the dowager's brother Ma Fang.

²⁸ Liu Xian 劉羨 the King of Guangping, Liu Gong 恭 the King of Julu, and Liu Dang 黨 the King of Lecheng were all sons of Emperor Ming and half-brothers to Emperor Zhang.

²⁹ Because of Emperor Ming's anger and concern about the activities and intrigues of his brother Liu Ying the King of Chu, the last years of his reign had been noted for uncertainty and fear: e.g. passages B to G of Yongping 14 at 56-60 and I of Yongping 16 at 72-73. Under the influence of the Dowager Ma, we are told that there was even greater anxiety, but it was more benevolent: people were anxious to behave modestly and with restraint.

taught the little kings about the *Analects* and other classical works.³⁰ She had studied them all her life, and enjoyed them to the end of her days.

F Ma Liao was concerned that [his sister's] fine work might be difficult to see through to the end, and he wrote to encourage her to complete her reform of the government, adding that, "In former times, Emperor Yuan abolished the Offices for Garments, Emperor Cheng wore clothes that had been washed, and Emperor Ai abolished the Office of Music.³¹ Yet waste and extravagance continued nonetheless, and eventually brought decline and disorder: the people follow [their rulers'] actions, not their words.

Now changes in a government or in customs depend upon the model that is given. The chronicles tell us that "The king of Wu enjoyed having retainers armed with swords, so many of his people had scars from their wounds.³² The king of Chu loved women with narrow waists, and many in his palace starved themselves to death.³³ There is a saying at Chang'an that

People in the city love high-dressed hair;³⁴
 So everywhere else they are a full foot tall.
 People in the city love broad eyebrows;
 So everywhere else they stretch over half the forehead.
 People in the city love big sleeves;
 So everywhere else they need a whole bolt of silk.

This is said as a joke, but there is real truth in it. When regulations are promulgated, it is not very long before many people begin to ignore them. And even only a few junior officers fail to respect the law, they will slow the spread of good influence across the capital district.

³⁰ The "young kings" (小王 *xiaowang*) were the young sons of Emperor Zhang. *HHS* 10A says that the dowager taught them to "discuss and debate" (論議 *lunyi*) the classical works; *ZZTJ* has amended this to refer to *Lun yu* 論語, the *Analects* of Confucius.

F *HHS* 24/14:853, the Biography of Ma Liao.

³¹ In 44 BC, after a series of misfortunes including sickness and famine, Emperor Yuan of Former Han had an economy drive and abolished large numbers of functions and offices, including three Offices for Garments (三服官 *san fuguan*) in Qi commandery: *HS* 9:285; Dubs, *HFHD* II, 314-3125. Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 95 and note 37 at 183, observes that the offices were later restored, for *HS* 11:336 records that their production was halted once more in 7 BC: Dubs, *HFHD* III, 23.

The citation regarding Emperor Cheng does not appear in other surviving texts, but is no doubt a mark of economy like the other two; the implication is that in normal circumstances the emperor would have new clothes to wear every day.

Emperor Ai disbanded the Office of Music (樂府 *yuefu*) in the first year of his reign: *HS* 11:335; Dubs, *HFHD* III, 19. The reason given was that the office played the licentious music of ancient states Zheng 鄭 and Wei 衛, but this too was part of a program of economy, and hundreds of musicians were dismissed. The history of the office is discussed by Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 193-210, especially 208-209.

³² The commentator Hu Sanxing remarks that this is probably a reference to Helü 闔閭, king of Wu in the late sixth century BC. He was a patron of Sun Wu 孫武, legendary author of *Sunzi bingfa* 孫子兵法, the *Art of War*.

³³ King Ling of Chu 楚靈王 ruled that state in the mid-sixth century BC. Hu Sanxing cites the book of the philosopher Mozi 墨子 4.2[15] 兼愛中, which has a version of this story, though the king is said to have wanted his ministers (士 *shi*) to be slim, not the people of his palace/harem, and no-one is said to have died; Mei, *Works of Motse*, 83-84.

³⁴ Hu Sanxing identifies 結 *jie* with 髻 *ji*; *HHS* 24/14 reads 髻 *ji*.

1481 "Your majesty's natural love of modesty and restraint is a product of your sage-like nature. If you should indeed manage to succeed in your endeavours [of reform], then all the world will hymn your virtue and the echoes will spread through Heaven and Earth. If your spiritual wisdom can be communicated in this way, it will be only too easy to enforce our commands!"³⁵

The dowager was deeply moved.

G Before this, a local officer of Anyi county had abducted the wife of a man of the Beinan tribe of the Qiang.³⁶ The officer was then killed by her husband, and Zong Yan the magistrate of Anyi pursued him across the frontier. Fearing they would be executed, his fellow-clansmen combined to kill Zong Yan,³⁷ then joined the Lejie and Yuliang tribes to make raids.³⁸

At this Miyu, son of Dianyu the chieftain of the Shaodang Qiang,³⁹ gathered all the tribes in rebellion and defeated the Administrator of Jincheng He Chong.

An imperial edict appointed the Administrator of Wuwei, Fu Yu of Beidi, as Protector of the Qiang, and ordered the transfer of the headquarters of the Protector from Anyi to Linqiang.⁴⁰

Miyu also joined Buqiao, chief of the Fengyang tribe with fifty thousand men, to raid Longxi and Hanyang.⁴¹

H In the autumn, in the eighth month, the Acting General of Chariots and Cavalry Ma Fang and Geng Gong the Colonel of the Chang River Regiment led the five

³⁵ While Ma Liao is full of compliments for his sister, one can also read his address as encouragement to the dowager to rely rather upon the good example she has provided than to intervene too directly in matters of government.

G *HHS* 87/77:2881: the Account of the Qiang of the West.

³⁶ Anyi county in Jincheng was on the Xining River, east of Xining city in present-day Qinghai.

³⁷ The Chinese is not entirely clear whether the clansmen were concerned that their comrade would be executed or whether they might all be punished: the character 誅 *zhu* can refer to both execution and – more generally – to punishment. The response was in any case the same.

³⁸ As with the personal names Dianyu and Miyu immediately below, in the tribal name 吾良, I transliterate the character 吾 (modern Mandarin *wu*) as a homonym for 虞 (modern Mandarin *yu*): see note 25 to *Zhongyuan* 2 at 6, citing *Northern Frontier*, 476 note 2, with *JS* 116 and *Karlgren*, *GSR* 58.

The Lejie 勒姐 tribe are said to have taken their name from their territory. There is a Lejie mountain and surrounding district east of Xining and Anyi, and *SJZ* 2:61 mentions successive junctions of the Anyi and Lejie rivers with the main stream of the Xining as it flows east to join the upper course of the Yellow River. It appears, therefore, that the insurgents were based in the Daban shan 大板山, the hill country north of the Xining valley on the border of present-day Qinghai with Gansu.

³⁹ On the Qiang leader Dianyu, who had been active twenty years earlier, see passage G of *Zhongyuan* 2 at 6 and note 24 to *Yongping* 2 at 18. Miyu was a younger son of Dianyu: note 3 to *Yongyuan* 1 at 177.

⁴⁰ Linqiang county ["Near the Qiang"] was west of present-day Xining city in Gansu, fifty kilometres up the Xining River from Anyi. The move was presumably to move the headquarters further from the centre of trouble.

This short paragraph summarises a lengthier account of the uprising in *HHS* 87/77, including several engagements with casualties on both sides. The abduction and the initial disturbance which it caused had taken place in the previous year, *Jianchu* 1:76. The Han government's first response was to appoint Wu Tang, former General Who Crosses the Liao (passages C of *Yongping* 8 at 37 and A of *Yongping* 16 at 67), as Protector, but after some months he had failed to regain control and was replaced by Fu Yu. Disorder, however, continued and spread further. See deC, *Northern Frontier*, 84-86.

⁴¹ Tianshui 天水 commandery of Former Han had been renamed Hanyang 漢陽 by Emperor Ming. Both Han-yang and Longxi were south of the former centre of disturbance in Jincheng.

regiments of the Northern Army,⁴² together with thirty thousand archers from the commanderies, to attack them.

- I Diwu Lun presented a statement,⁴³ "In my humble opinion, while it is appropriate that worthy kinsmen by marriage may to be enfeoffed as marquises to ensure they are well provided for, they should not be appointed to manage affairs. Why is this? If they are restrained by law, then it offends the sense of grace with which the ruler should treat them; if they are treated according to the ruler's personal affection, then it interferes with the proper conduct of government.

"I have heard that Ma Fang is to be sent on campaign to the west. I note the generosity and compassion of the Empress-Dowager, and your majesty's deep sense of filial piety. I fear, however, that if anything should go wrong it will cause difficulty within your family."

The emperor did not agree.

1482

- J When Ma Fang's and the other commanders' troops arrived at Ji, Buqiao and his fellows had laying siege to the Commandant of the Southern Division [of Longxi commandery] in Lintao.⁴⁴ Ma Fang went forward to the attack and defeated them, killing more than four thousand of the enemy. The siege of Lintao was broken, and all the enemy surrendered, save for Buqiao and some twenty thousand followers who went to camp in Wangqu valley and would not submit.⁴⁵
- K In the twelfth month, on the day *wuyin* [18 Jan 78], there was a comet in the Purple Palace.⁴⁶

H *HHS* 24/14:855, the Biography of Ma Fang.

⁴² The date is given by the Annals at *HHS* 3:135. The Northern Army (北軍 *beijun*) was the central strategic reserve of the empire; its Chang River 長水 Regiment comprised non-Chinese troopers.

Geng Gong had commanded the heroic defence of the Chinese position in Further Jushi, and had eventually been relieved in the previous year: passage E of Jianchu 1 at 91-92.

I *HHS* 41/31:1399, the Biography of Diwu Lun.

⁴³ Diwu Lun had been appointed Excellency of Works by Emperor Ming in 75: passage M of Yongping 18 at 84. He had spoken on previous occasions against the award of high substantive rank to members of the Ma family.

J *HHS* 24/14:855, the Biography of Ma Fang.

⁴⁴ Ji county was in Hanyang. Its city, capital of the commandery, was west of present-day Tianshui in Gansu.

Lintao in Longxi was in the far south of that commandery, on a bend of the Tao River 洮水 near Minxian in present-day Gansu.

Ma Fang had come west up the Wei River from Luoyang; Lintao was 150 kilometres further on.

⁴⁵ Hu Sanxing quotes *SJZ* 2:47, which says that Wangqu was on the Tao River, southwest of Lintao.

K *HHS* 3:136, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

⁴⁶ *Zigong* 紫宮 "Purple Palace" is the enclosure *Ziwei yuan* 紫薇垣, a ring of stars in the northern part of the sky extending through the Western constellations Draco, Ursa Major, Cepheus and Camelopardis: Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 508; Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 71 with Star Map 1; deC. *Portents of Protest*, 81 note 68. The enclosure surrounds the North Celestial Pole, and Chinese astrology identified it with the emperor's dwelling place and the imperial throne.

The comet first appeared in the *Lou* 婁 "Lasso" constellation, sixteenth lunar mansion, being three stars in Aries: Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 100 with Star Map 5. The tail was calculated as eight or nine feet long. It passed into the Purple Palace and was visible for 106 days, almost four months.

The Treatise notes also that a meteor (流星 *liuxing*) had been observed in the Purple Palace three months before. The prognostication relates both the meteor and the comet to the death of the Empress-Dowager Ma two years later.

L The emperor took a daughter of Dou Xun into his harem as an Honoured Lady, and she received his favour. The Lady's mother, a daughter of the Respectful King of Donghai, was Princess of Biyang.⁴⁷

M Diwu Lun presented a statement, "As Emperor Guangwu took over the remnants of Wang Mang's regime, he inclined towards a firm, stern government. Succeeding generations have followed that style, and it has had effect upon people's customs. The great majority of men recommended from the commanderies or kingdoms are no more than local officers, we never receive the broad-minded, lenient men that we are looking for.

"Both Liu Yu the magistrate of Chenliu county and Si Xie the magistrate of Guanjun are harsh and mean by nature, and they have ruled with severity and cruelty. Their officers and the people are anxious and resentful, and everyone hates them. And yet those who now discuss the matter believe them competent: they defy the will of Heaven and reject the teachings of the classics. It is not just a matter of finding these two men guilty, it is also necessary to punish those who support them.⁴⁸

"It is important to bring forward worthy and generous men that they may serve the present government. Get even a few such men, and the customs of the common people will change quite naturally.

"I have read the chronicles and the histories, and know how Qin lost its state through its excesses, and I have seen with my own eyes how Wang Mang destroyed himself by his oppressive laws.⁴⁹ These are facts which make me seriously concerned about this.

"I have also heard that the kings, the princesses and the imperial relatives by marriage who are proud and extravagant and disobey the law are nonetheless admired by the inhabitants of the imperial capital?⁵⁰ That is why [Confucius] said, 'If [the ruler] does not conduct himself properly, then he may give orders, but they will not be

L *HHS* 10A:415, the Biography of the Empress Dou of Emperor Zhang.

⁴⁷ Dou Xun was a son of Dou Mu and a grandson of Dou Rong, who had been a valued ally of Emperor Guangwu during the civil war. The family was later disgraced, however, and Dou Mu and his sons died in prison: passage D of Yongping 5 at 32.

Liu Qiang, favoured half-brother of Emperor Ming, had been King of Donghai; his posthumous title was Gong 恭 "Respectful:" passage C and note 9 to Yongping 1 at 9. His daughter had been enfeoffed as Princess of Biyang county in Nanyang; despite the misfortunes of her husband and his brothers, she had been permitted to remain at the capital.

In fact, two daughters of Dou Xun were accepted into the harem at this time: the elder became an Honoured Lady, the younger was raised to that rank when her sister became Empress in 78: *HHS* 10A:415 and passage D of Jianchu 3 at 109.

M *HHS* 41/31:1340, the Biography of Diwu Lun.

⁴⁸ Chenliu, chief county of the commandery of that name, was south of present-day Kaifeng in Henan. Guanjun county was in Nanyang, north of present-day Dengxian in Henan.

It appears from context that Liu Yu and Ma Si had become notorious for their brutal administration and were already under sentence. Diwu Lun is arguing that those who accept and even approve such conduct should also be punished..

⁴⁹ Born about 1 AD, as a young man Diwu Lun had commanded family troops against bandits and rebels, including the Red Eyebrows who overthrew Wang Mang.

⁵⁰ Officials in the region of the capital (京師 *jingshi*) had special powers to deal with imperial kinsmen, but Diwu Lun is concerned that provincial officials would find it even more difficult to restrain their behaviour – and the authority and prestige of the government would suffer in consequence.

obeyed.⁵¹ The man who teaches by personal example will be followed; the man who teaches with words may be argued with."

N The emperor considered this excellent.⁵²

Though Diwu Lun was naturally a strict man, he always disapproved of junior officers who were oppressive and cruel. In all presentations and debates he would speak in favour of generosity and tolerance.

⁵¹ *Lun yu* XIII.vi. Legge, *CC* I, 266, translates the passage in full: "The Master said, 'When a prince's personal conduct is correct, his government is effective without the issuing of orders. If his personal conduct is not correct, he may issue orders, but they will not be followed.'"

N *HHS* 41/31:1399, the Biography of Diwu Lun.

⁵² As may be seen from the pagination, this passage N appears immediately before the section of *HHS* 41/31 from which passage M above has been taken. The first sentence, moreover, is a general statement of Emperor Zhang's approval, which may be understood but does not appear specifically in the original text.

Jianchu 建初 3: 78 AD

2 February 78 – 20 February 79

1483

- A In the spring, in the first month, on the day *jiyou* [18 Feb], the emperor held sacrifice at the Sacred Hall and ascended the Spiritual Terrace. There was an amnesty for the empire.¹
- B Ma Fang attacked Buqiao, thoroughly defeated him,² and Buqiao brought more than ten thousand of his tribes-people to surrender.
- C As an edict called Ma Fang to return, he left Geng Gong to attack those who had not yet submitted. Geng Gong took more than a thousand heads of the enemy, and several ten thousand from the Lejie, Shaohe and eleven other tribes came to submit.³
- On a previous occasion Geng Gong had annoyed Ma Fang.⁴ The Internuncio supervising the camp [Li Tan] took the hint and reported that Geng Gong had failed to respect proper military procedure. Found guilty, he was recalled and sent to prison, and was also dismissed from office.⁵

A *HHS* 3:136, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹ The inaugural ceremonies at the Sacred Hall (明堂 *Ming tang*), also rendered as the Bright Hall) and the Spiritual Terrace (靈臺 *Ling tai*) are recorded and discussed in passage A and notes 1-3 of Yongping 2 at 13. The description here is similar to that of the Annals at *HHS* 2:100; Emperor Zhang is following the same rituals as his father Emperor Ming, and at the same early stage of his reign.

The ceremony at the Sacred Hall was held in honour of the founding emperors Gao and Guangwu; it was followed by the strange custom of Watching the Ethers at the Spiritual Terrace: note 3 to Yongping 2.

As on the previous occasion, an amnesty was issued to the empire. *HHS* 3 describes it simply as an amnesty, but the parallel text at *HHJ* 11:138 has a great amnesty: *cf.* note 4 to Yongping 2 at 13.

B *HHS* 24/14:856, the Biography of Ma Fang.

² The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that the Annals date this campaign to the fourth month of the year, not the first: *HHS* 3:136; *HHS* 24/14 does not give a date.

C *HHS* 19/9:723-24, the Biography of Geng Gong.

³ The Lejie tribe has been mentioned in passage G of Jianchu 2 with note 38 at 104.

Based upon the character which the Chinese chose to transcribe the first part of their name, it is likely that the Shaohe had previously been connected in some fashion to the Shaodang group, but whatever the relationship may have been in the past the two groups were no longer close.

⁴ *HHS* 19/9 has an account of the matter. It appears that when Geng Gong was moving to the attack on the Qiang under the command of Ma Fang (passage H of Jianchu 2 at 104-105) he sent in a recommendation that Dou Gu, who had earlier held command in the region and whose family had long experience there (passage H of Zhongyuan 2 with note 30 at 6), should be given overall command of operations, while Ma Fang remained behind in Hanyang. This, of course, indicated a lack of confidence in Ma Fang's abilities.

⁵ The name of the informer is given by *HHS* 19/9. He is described as 監營謁者 *jianying yezhe* and *HHS* 19/9 says that he made the report after Ma Fang had returned to Luoyang. Though the title is not otherwise mentioned, it is probable that Li Tan had an investigative or inquisitor's role in the Northern Army. It is uncertain, however, whether he had accompanied the expedition to the west or was based at the capital and made his report simply on Ma Fang's instructions.

It was not uncommon for an imperial official to be sentenced to a period in prison – usually a brief one. In this case, however, Geng Gong was also stripped of his commission, and his biography records that he was sent back to his native commandery of Nanyang and died at home.

Geng Gong's proposal could well be regarded as the inappropriate comment of a junior officer about his superior but, as the modern commentator Wang Bu remarks in *HHSJJ* at 754, this was a distinguished soldier and such punishment appears quite excessive. The core reason, however, apart from the embarrassment felt by Ma Fang, was that the Ma and the Dou family were the leaders of rival factions at court: unjust attacks by the Dou faction and their agents and supporters – including Geng Gong's uncle Geng Shu 舒 – had been responsible for the disgrace of Ma Yuan during the reign of Emperor Guangwu in

D In the third month, on the day *guisi* [3 Apr], the Honoured Lady Dou became Empress.⁶

E Before this, in the time of Xianzong [Emperor Ming],⁷ the Hutuo and Shijiu rivers had been brought under control, and it was intended that a canal should be constructed to connect Dulü and Yangchang cang.⁸ The corvée labour, however, was hard on the local officers and people of Taiyuan, and though several years had passed the work was still unfinished, while countless numbers of people had died.

1484 The emperor appointed the Gentleman of the Palace Deng Xun as an Internuncio to investigate and take charge of the work.⁹ After careful investigation and calculations, Deng Xun realised that the project would be difficult to complete, and he sent in a full report.

In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day *jisi* [9 May], an edict ordered the end of the work; donkey-carts would be used instead. The savings each year would be counted in the hundreds and tens of thousands, and the lives of several thousand workers were preserved.

49: note 4 to Yongping 3 at 20, and see Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 112-114, and "Wang Mang and Later Han," 277.

D *HHS* 3:136, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

⁶ As with her predecessor the Empress Ma, now Dowager, there is no record of the personal name of the Lady Dou. As in passage L with note 47 to Jianchu 2 at 106, the Lady and a younger sister had been brought into the imperial harem the year before; the usual age for such a selection was thirteen *sui*, eleven or twelve by Western reckoning. We are told that the Empress Dou was beautiful and that she had shown intelligence and scholarly ability when she was young; she would certainly display a remarkably Machiavellian skill in the politics of the palace and the court.

HHS 3 adds that there was a general award of noble ranks and a distribution of grain.

E *HHS* 16/6:607-608, the Biography of Deng Xun;

HHS 3:136, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

⁷ Xianzong 顯宗 was the temple name of Emperor Ming: passage L and note 20 to Yongping 18 at 83; it is sometimes used to identify his reign.

⁸ *HHS* 3 says that this project was in Changshan commandery and the Treatise of Administrative Geography at *HHS* 10/20:3434, says that the Bojiu River was in Nanxingtang 南行唐 county, now the territory of Xingtang in Hebei. The Hutuo River flows just to the south, past present-day Shijiazhuang.

The site of Dulü 都慮 cannot be identified, but *SJZ* 6:4 says that Former Han had established Yangchang cang 羊腸倉 ["Sheepgut Granary"] at Fenyang 汾陽 in Taiyuan; it was named for a well-known pass which led to the south. Fenyang county was abolished by Later Han, but the territory is now about Yangqiu in Shanxi: *HS* 28A:1552 and *HSBZ* 28A.1:54b-55a.

The proposed canal was thus intended to cross the Taihang range, connecting the Fen River in Taiyuan with the streams flowing eastwards onto the North China plain. The route would presumably have followed the line of the modern railway, which runs some two hundred kilometres from Taiyuan in Shanxi to Shijiazhuang in Hebei. It was indeed an extravagant proposal, and quite impracticable with the technology available at that time.

⁹ Though Internuncios were formally responsible for dealings with foreign peoples and kings of the imperial house, it was not uncommon for them to be sent out as special agents of the emperor.

The appointment of Deng Xun is a little unusual. *HHS* 16/6 records that he had been appointed a Gentleman of the Palace (郎中 *langzhong*) early in the reign of Emperor Ming, some twenty years before. Gentleman of the Palace was the lowest grade of the gentlemen cadets, being men on probation for the civil commissioned service: e.g. deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 9. There is no mention, however, of Deng Xun holding any further office before this appointment as an Internuncio. It seems that he had retired from the court and spent the intervening years as a private gentleman on the family estates. See further note 10 immediately following.

Deng Xun was a son of Deng Yu.¹⁰

- F In the intercalary month the Acting Major of the Western Regions Ban Chao led ten thousand men from Shule, Kangju, Yutian and Jumi to attack Shicheng in Gumo. They were successful, killing seven hundred of the enemy.¹¹
- G In the winter, in the tenth month, on the day *dingyou* [3 Dec], Ma Fang was named General of Chariots and Cavalry.¹²
- The Louzhong people of Wuling made a rebellion.¹³
- H In this year the senior officials recommended that Liu Xian the King of Guangping, Liu Gong the King of Julu and Liu Dang the King of Lecheng should all go to their states. The emperor, however, had great affection for his brothers, and could not bear to be parted from them soon. All remained at the capital.¹⁴

¹⁰ Deng Yu, a close ally of Emperor Guangwu, had been made Grand Tutor in 57, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ming, but died in the following year: passage E of Zhongyuan 2 at 5 and passage B of Yongping 1 at 8. His biography at *HHS* 16/6:605 notes that two of his sons were appointed as gentleman cadets during his final illness, and this was no doubt when Deng Xun received that initial appointment: note 9 immediately above. He probably left the capital, however, soon after his father's death.

F *HHS* 47/37:1575, the Biography of Ban Chao;
HHS 3:136, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹¹ Shicheng 石城 "Stone Fortress/City" was presumably an outpost of Gumo, which was dominated by its eastern neighbour Qiuzi, enemy of Han: passage F of Yongping 17 at 76. Ban Chao had established his authority in Shule and Yutian two years earlier (passage F of Jianchu 1 at 92-93) and Jumi was close to Yutian.

The support from Kangju [Sogdiana], however, is somewhat surprising. West of Issyk Kul (known to Han as *Tian chi* 闐池, the Tian Lake), Kangju was separated from the Tarim Basin by the Wusun tribes of the Altai ranges. It is possible, however, that Ban Chao in Shule had made contact with Kangju, and persuaded the rulers to lend support against a common enemy: Gumo [Aksu] was on the Northern Road, and may have had been on bad terms with Kangju.

G *HHS* 3:136, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹² Ma Fang had hitherto held an acting appointment: passage H of Jianchu 2 at 104. It was now substantive.

¹³ The Lou River 婁/婁水 rises in the Wuling Mountains, on the western border of present-day Hubei and Hunan, and flows southeast to join the Li 澧水 by present-day Cili in northern Hunan. The Li then flows east to enter the Dongting Lake. The courses of the Li and its tributary are described by *SJZ* 37. Both rivers are still known by their ancient names, but Cili was at that time named Lingyang 零陽.

The lower course of the Li lies across open territory, but west of Cili both the Lou and the Li flow through hills and gorges, difficult to approach and control. In this context, the term Louzhong 婁中 may be understood as a general reference to the valleys of the river, in the same fashion as Huangzhong 滄中 identifies the region about the Huang or Xining River: passage Q with note 66 to Zhanghe 2 at 176.

Former Han had already established a county seat at Chong 充, on the upper reaches of the Lou by present-day Sangzhi in Hunan, but the region was not fully settled and rebellions such as this may be seen as a reaction of the native people to the incursions of colonising Han Chinese. Early difficulties with the local people of Wuling are discussed in the Introduction at ix-x, and the Annals at *HHS* 3:133 mention a rebellion in the Lizhong 澧中 region of Wuling two years before; *ZZTJ* does not include that item, but the incidents were surely related.

H *HHS* 50/40:1667, the Biography of Liu Xian.

¹⁴ These three kings were half-brothers of Emperor Zhang, born to Emperor Ming by concubines whose names are not recorded. Liu Xian had been enfeoffed in 60, Liu Gong and Liu Dang in 72: passages E of Yongping 3 at 22 and B of Yongping 15 with note 7 at 63.

Of Emperor Ming's five other sons, Liu Jian the King of Qiansheng had died in 61. The other four were Liu Yan the King of Xiapi; Liu Chang 暢, currently the King of Runan; Liu Bing currently the King of Changshan; and Liu Chang 長 the King of Jiyin. All remained at the capital without any discussion.

Jianchu 建初 4: 79 AD

21 February 79 – 9 February 80

A In the spring, in the second month, on the day *gengyin* [26 Mar], the Grand Commandant Mou Rong died.

In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day *wuzi* [23 May], the imperial son Liu Qing was named Heir.¹

On the day *jichou* [24 May] Liu Gong the King of Julu was transferred to be King of Jiangling, King Chang 暢 of Runan was transferred to Liang, and King Bing of Changshan was transferred to Huaiyang.²

On the day *xinmao* [26 May] the imperial son Liu Kang was enfeoffed as King of Qiansheng, and the imperial son Liu Quan became King of Pingchun.³

B On the basis of the old regulations, senior ministers requested that the emperor's maternal uncles be enfeoffed. Since the empire had had good harvests, and there were no immediate matters of concern, the emperor approved.

1485 Accordingly, on the *guimao* day [7 Jun] the Minister of the Guards Ma Liao was enfeoffed as Marquis of Shunyang, the General of Chariots and Cavalry Ma Fang was enfeoffed as Marquis of Yingyang, and the Bearer of the Mace Ma Guang was enfeoffed as Marquis of Xu county.⁴

When the Dowager learned of this, she said, "When I was young and strong, and with regard for how long I might live, my only concern was to leave a name for myself in the histories. Even though I am now old, I am still 'careful not to be greedy'.⁵ So I am concerned day and night, and anxious to restrain myself, in the hope

A *HHS* 3:137, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹ Third son of Emperor Zhang, the infant Liu Qing had been born only the year before to an Honoured Lady Song. There were two sisters Song in the imperial harem, related to and sponsored by the Dowager Ma. Liu Qing's biography at *HHS* 55/45:1799 says that his mother was the elder daughter, but the *Xu Han shu* of Sima Biao at A:12a says that it was the younger. See passage C of Jianchu 7 with note 5 at 120.

The appointment was celebrated with a wide distribution of noble ranks and grain.

² On the original enfeoffments of these sons of Emperor Ming, half-brothers of Emperor Zhang, see passage B of Yongping 15 at 63-64.

Jiangling was a new name for Nan commandery in Jing province; it was changed at this time when the territory was granted as a fief to Liu Gong. In 85, however, Liu Gong was transferred and the commandery reverted to its former name: passage K of Yuanhe 2 at 151.

The kingdom of Huaiyang had been forfeited by its former ruler Liu Yan in 73: passages I and K of Yongping 16 at 72-73. It was now enlarged by the addition of two counties from Runan: *HHS* 50/40:1678.

³ Qiansheng had been the fief of the short-lived Liu Jian, son of Emperor Ming: passages E of Yongping 3 at 22 and B of Yongping 4 at 28. Liu Kang's biography is at *HHS* 55/45:1797.

Pingchun was a county in Jiangxia, though it may have been combined with some neighbouring counties to form a commandery-level fief. Liu Quan, however, never left the capital and died later in this same year: see his brief biography at *HHS* 55/45:1799.

B *HHS* 10A:413-14, the Biography of the Empress Ma of Emperor Ming; *HHS* 24/14:854-55, the Biography of Ma Liao; *HHS* 24:856, the Biography of Ma Fang.

⁴ The date is given by the parallel passage in *HHJ* 11:140. Shunyang was in Nanyang commandery, the other two county fiefs were in Yingchuan.

The Bearer of the Mace (執金吾 *zhijinwu*) was in charge of police in the city of Luoyang outside the imperial palaces: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 78-79 [as Bearer of the Gilded Mace].

⁵ *Lun yu* XVII.vii; Legge, *CC I*, 313: "When [the superior man] is old ... he guards against covetousness."

that I shall then be not unworthy of the late emperor. For that same reason I have always encouraged my brothers to share my sense of responsibility, so when the time comes to die I shall have no cause for concern. How could I have imagined these life-long principles would be rejected? I shall now have ever-lasting regret!"

Ma Liao and his brothers all made their apologies and sought to relinquish their fiefs, asking to be made secondary marquises instead. The emperor refused to agree, so they had no choice but to accept the enfeoffments. Then, however, they asked to resign their official positions, and the emperor approved.⁶

In the fifth month, on the day *bingchen* [25 Jun], Ma Fang, Ma Liao and Ma Guang were all given the highest grade of Specially Advanced.⁷

C On the day *jiaxu* [8 Jul] the Excellency over the Masses Bao Yu became Grand Commandant and Huan Yu the Administrator of Nanyang was appointed Excellency over the Masses.⁸

D In the sixth month, on the day *guichou* [16 Aug], the Empress-Dowager Ma died.

E Since the emperor had been cared for by the dowager,⁹ he held particular regard for the Ma family as his maternal relatives. As a result the Honoured Lady Jia [his natural mother] had gained no special position, and her kinfolk of the Jia family received neither recognition nor honours.

When the dowager died, the Honoured Lady was awarded no more than the red seal-ribbon of a king, one comfortable carriage, two hundred palace servants,¹⁰ twenty thousand rolls of variegated silk cloth from the Imperial Wardrobe and one thousand catties of yellow gold and two hundred thousand cash from the Ministry of Finance; that is all.¹¹

⁶ The Annals at *HHS* 3:137 records that the General of Chariots and Cavalry Ma Fang left office (罷 *ba*).

The Annals mention the appointments and departures among the three Excellencies, but not those of ministers or officials of lower rank. The Minister of the Guards or Bearer of the Mace were not high enough to be recorded, but the General of Chariots and Cavalry ranked with the Excellencies.

The term *ba* can imply dismissal from office, but it is clear from this passage that Ma Fang's departure was voluntary.

⁷ On Specially Advanced (特進 *tejin*), highest rank among marquises, which included the right to remain at the capital rather than be sent to the fief, see note 13 to Yongping 16 at 69. The term *jiudi* 就第 appears on a number of occasions in the texts. *Shuowen jiezi* 5B:26a gives *jiu* the meaning of *gao* 高 "high," so *jiudi* would indicate the highest grade within the category.

C *HHS* 3:137, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

⁸ This new Excellency Huan Yu 桓虞, a man from Zuopingyi, is not the same man as the scholar Huan Yu 桓郁 of Pei, whose biography is in *HHS* 37/27 and who was also at Luoyang at this time: e.g. passage G of Yongping 2 at 17 with note 12 to that passage at 15; also passage G below at 114. Huan Yu of Zuopingyi does not have an individual biography in *HHS*. See also deC, *LH3K*, 339-341.

D *HHS* 3:137, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

⁹ On this arrangement, see passage B of Yongping 3 at 20-21.

E *HHS* 10A:414, the Biography of the Lady Jia.

¹⁰ The imperial harem of Han was supervised by a Prefect of the Long Lanes (永巷令 *yongxiang ling*), who had charge of palace maidservants (宮人 *gongren*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 52 and 69-70.

¹¹ On the Imperial Wardrobe, see passage D of Jianchu 2 with note 22 at 101.

Under the Later Han dynasty the Minister of Finance was the imperial treasurer, responsible for both the public finances of the government and for the private funds of the emperor: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 46 [as Grand Minister of Agriculture].

F In the seventh month, on the day *renxu* [16 Aug], the Virtuous Empress-Dowager of Emperor Ming was buried.¹²

G Yang Zhong, an editor [in the Library of the Orchid Terrace],¹³ made a proposal: "Emperor Xuan [of Former Han] gathered a great many Confucian scholars at the Pavilion of the Stone Canal to discuss and determine the Five Classics.¹⁴ Now, while the empire is largely at peace, scholars have been able to continue their work. The true meaning of the texts, however, is being lost in a host of detailed commentaries.¹⁵ We should follow the example of the Stone Canal, and create a long-lasting model for future generations." The emperor approved.¹⁶

In the winter, in the eleventh month, on the day *renxu* [23 Dec], an edict ordered the Minister of Ceremonies that, "Generals [of the Gentlemen of the Household], Counsellors, Academicians, Gentlemen of the various offices,¹⁷ and all Confucian scholars are to assemble at the White Tiger Hall to discuss variant readings in the Five Classics."¹⁸

By the use of the characters *dan* 但 "only" at the beginning of this sentence, and *er'yi* 而已 "that is all" at the end, *HHS* 10A – followed by *ZZTJ* – emphasises the lack of generosity shown by Emperor Zhang to his true mother the Honoured Lady Jia. The very considerable provisions and privileges, however, indicate what could have been made available.

F *HHS* 3:137, the Annals of Emperor Zhang

¹² The dowager's posthumous title was *De* 德 "Virtuous." Her personal name is unknown.

G *HHS* 48/38:1599, the Biography of Yang Zhong;

HHS 3:137-138, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹³ *HHS* 48/38:1597 notes that Yang Zhong, an expert in *Chunqiu*, had been appointed to the Orchid Terrace during the reign of Emperor Ming. The Orchid Terrace (蘭臺 *Lantai*) was the office of the Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk (御侍中丞 *yushi zhongcheng*), head of the imperial Censorate, and the library there held government documents and core editions of the classics: *HHS* 116/26:3599-3600; Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 28-31 and 37, and deC, "Scholars and Rulers," 60. Yang Zhong had since been involved in the matter of the Ailao 哀牢 people: note 1 to Yongping 9 at 51.

¹⁴ The five Confucian classics recognised with chairs at the Imperial University of Later Han were *Yi jing* 易經 the *Book of Changes*; the *Classic of History* (書經 *Shu jing* or 尚書 *Shangshu*); the *Classic of Poetry* (詩經 *Shi jing*); *Ritual* (禮: the present-day *Yi li* 儀禮 with *Li ji* 禮記) and *Chunqiu* 春秋 the *Spring and Autumn Annals*: see note 8 to Yongping 9 at 44.

On the conference at the Pavilion of the Stone Canal (石渠閣 *Shiqu ge*) held in 51 BC, see, for example, Dubs, *HFHD* II, 260-261 and 271-274, Loewe, "Former Han Dynasty," 192, and particularly Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 91-94 and 128-136.

¹⁵ *Zhangju* 章句 here refers to the "detailed commentaries" which were a feature of Later Han scholarship: note 9 to Yongping 9 at 44. Yang Zhong is arguing that their complexity of their arguments is obscuring the essential teachings of the classics, and there is need for another review of the canon.

¹⁶ *HHS* 3 preserves the text of a substantial edict issued by Emperor Zhang to establish the conference. It is summarised immediately below.

¹⁷ The term *guanlang* 官郎 is identified by Hu Sanxing as referring to cadets in the five corps of guards under the Generals of the Household, to members of the Imperial Secretariat, and to the staff of the libraries at the Orchid Terrace and the Eastern Pavilion, such as Yang Zhong. [On the Eastern Pavilion (東觀 *Dongguan*) as a centre for literary and editorial work, including the compilation of the history of the Later Han dynasty, *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記, see for example, Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 29-30 (as Eastern Lodge) and deC, "Scholars and Rulers," 60.]

¹⁸ The site of the conference is commonly identified as *Bohu guan* 白虎觀, and *guan* is rendered as "Pavilion" or "Lodge." It also appears, however, as *Bohu dian* 殿, and Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 159-160, explains his preference for *dian*, interpreted as "Hall." As Bielenstein remarks in *Lo-yang* at 37, the building was in the Northern Palace, and the name indicates that it was situated in the west of the compound: both the colour and the animal are symbols of the west.

Wei Ying, General of the Household for All Purposes, was responsible for the questions to be considered, while the Palace Attendant Chunyu Gong presented [the recommended replies]. The emperor himself joined the debates and took part in the final determinations¹⁹ which were collated as *Memorials on the White Tiger Discussions*.²⁰

The celebrated scholars Ding Hong, Lou Wang, Cheng Feng, Huan Yu, Ban Gu, Jia Kui and King Xian of Guangping all took part.²¹ Ban Gu was the elder brother of Ban Chao.²²

¹⁹ A scholar of *Shi jing* 詩經 the *Classic of Poetry*, Wei Ying was known for his commanding presence. He held ministerial office under Emperor Ming and was the tutor of Emperor Zhang when he was Heir. His biography is at *HHS* 79/69B:2571, the Chapter on the Confucian Scholars.

Chunyu Gong (the surname is also transcribed as Shunyu) was a follower of the Taoist teachings of Laozi 老子 and a confirmed pacifist. He was admired by Emperor Zhang, who welcomed his moral guidance and – despite his philosophical preferences and the fact that he was well into his seventies – gave him a leading role at the White Tiger conference. His biography is at *HHS* 39/29:1301; deC, *LH3K*, 98.

The format of the present-day record is indeed question-and-answer, but this description of the young emperor's role is probably exaggerated. He may have formally signed off on the recommendations which were presented, but it is generally believed that his preferences were for the Old Text, and the record as preserved is strongly influenced by New Text theories. See Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 154-155, 159 and 163, deC, "Scholars and Rulers," 63-64, and *Fire*, 106-108.

²⁰ This title, *Bohu yi zou* 白虎議奏, is given by *HHS* Annals.

As in the list immediately below, Ban Gu (32-92), who would later be known as the chief compiler of *Han shu*, standard history of Former Han, was among those at the conference, and his biography at *HHS* 50/40B:1373 says that he was commissioned to edit and compile the account of the proceedings, referred to there as *Bohu tongde lun* 白虎通德論 "Comprehensive Discussions on Virtue at the White Tiger Hall." It is uncertain, however, whether he was a full participant.

Besides this, the Chapter on Confucian Scholars at *HHS* 79/69A:2546 says that the White Tiger Hall discussions continued for several months and at the end the emperor gave orders for the preparation of a summary "Account of the General Significance" (通義 *tongyi*). The editors of the imperial *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 edition of the eighteenth century suggest that the present-day text is in fact part of that *Bohu tongyi* 白虎通義, and should be given that name. It is however now regularly known as *Bohu tong* 白虎通, rendered by Tjan as "The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall."

The text history is discussed by Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 1-66, and by Loewe in *Early Chinese Texts*, 347-358 [as *Pai hu t'ung*]. The original, very lengthy, records of the conference have long been lost, but is generally accepted that there was a more complete version available of this shorter summary until the sixth century. It had been subject to interpolations as early as the second century, and William Hung 洪業, editor of the Harvard-Yenching Index to the work (Sinological Index Series No 2, 1931) argued that the whole work should in fact be dated to the third century. Tjan, however, accepts the core text as an authentic product of Later Han, and this assessment is largely followed.

²¹ Ding Hong, whose biography is at *HHS* 37/27:1262-68, was a scholar of *Shu jing* 書經 the *Classic of History* in New Text.

Lou Wang, whose biography is in the Chapter on Confucian Scholars at *HHS* 79/69B:2580-81, was a scholar of the Gongyang commentary to *Chunqiu*, associated with the New Text tradition.

Cheng Feng was Minister Steward at the time of the conference.

Huan Yu was the recently-appointed Excellency over the Masses: passage C above at 112.

Jia Kui, whose biography is at *HHS* 36/26:1234-40, was a scholar of wide-ranging ability and a colleague of Ban Gu at the Orchid Terrace Library. He had expertise in *Zuo zhuan* and the *Classic of History*, with a preference for the Old Text, in which he was supported by Emperor Zhang. Scholars of the official New Text became concerned, and one reason for the White Tiger conference was to resolve that dispute. In the event, it appears that the arguments of Jia Kui and his imperial supporter were defeated, and the present-day *Bohu tong* reflects New Text scholarship: Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 154-165.

Liu Xian, half-brother of Emperor Zhang, had been enfeoffed as King of Guangping but remained in residence at the capital: passage H of Jianchu 3 at 110. His biography at *HHS* 50/40:1667 remarks on his knowledge of the classics.

²² Ban Chao was currently engaged in the Western Regions: *e.g.* passage F of Jianchu 3 at 110.

Jianchu 建初 5: 80 AD

10 February 80 – 28 January 81

A In the spring, in the second month, on the day *gengchen* [10 Mar], first day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun. An imperial edict called for recommendations of candidates for office [Able to] Speak Directly and Admonish Unflinchingly.¹

B The commandery troops of Jing and Yu provinces attacked the Louzhong people and defeated them.²

In the summer, in the fifth month, on the day *xinhai* [9 Jun], an edict said, "I am always seeking honest men, and I am always willing to hear different opinions. Let those who come before me express themselves freely and be honest with any complaints, so I may gain understanding of my ministers' feelings. I need people who can serve as personal attendants and advise me on the merits or faults of any policy that may be proposed.

"An edict of the Jianwu period [of Emperor Guangwu] said in similar fashion that, 'Yao tested his servants on their practical ability, not on the basis of hearsay or written reports.'³ There are many officials outside the court who may be suitable for the appointments I have in mind."

On the day *wuchen* [26 Jun] the Grand Commandant Zhao Xi died.

C Seeking to follow up his recent successes and settle all the Western Regions, Ban Chao sent in a request for additional troops: "I respectfully observe that the late emperor wanted to open up the Western Regions, and for this purpose he launched an attack on the Xiongnu in the north and sent envoys to the states beyond the frontier in the west."⁴

A *HHS* 3:139, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹ The eclipse is Oppolzer 3081/Espenak 04972. The Treatise of the Five Powers records it at *HHS* 108/18: 3361, noting that it took place in the *Dongbi* 東壁 "Eastern Wall" constellation, also known as *Bi* 壁 "Wall," the fourteenth lunar mansion (宿 *xiu*), formed by the two stars γ Pegasus and α Andromeda: Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 302-306, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 100 with Star Map 5.

The Treatise relates the eclipse to the debates on the classics currently proceeding at the White Tiger Hall: passage E of Jianchu 4 at 113-114. The Chapter on Confucian Scholars, *HHS* 79/69A:2546, cited in note 20 to that passage, remarks that the conference continued for several months into this year.

Recommendations of men "Able to Speak Directly and Admonish Unflinchingly" (能直言極諫 *neng zhiyan jixian*) might be called for on occasions such as this. Subject to interview and assessment, they could be given commissioned appointment without probation: deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 22-23.

B *HHS* 3:140-41, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

² This rebellion/resistance of the Louzhong people of Wuling commandery had been reported in 73: passage G of Jianchu 3 at 110.

³ This reflects the Canon of the legendary sage-emperor Yao (堯典 *Yao dian*), in *Shu jing* 書經 the *Classic of History* I.iii.11 and 12: Legge, *CC* III, 25-26. When Yao was seeking a man who could bring great floods under control, he was advised to try (試 *shi*) his minister Gun 鯀, and allowed him to make the attempt; and when choosing his successor, he married Shun 舜 to his daughters to see how he treated them.

The *Classic* tells how Yao's was prepared to give men the opportunity to show their ability, but Guangwu emphasised practical tests, regardless of recommendations from members of the court.

C *HHS* 47/37:1575-77, the Biography of Ban Chao.

⁴ On the strategy of Emperor Ming towards the Northern Xiongnu, see passage D of Yongping 15 at 65-66; on his campaign and settlement in 73, including Ban Chao's first embassy to Shanshan, see passages A to G of Yongping 16 at 67-72.

1487 "Shanshan and Yutian accepted our sway at that time, and now Jumi, Suoju, Shule, the Wusun and Kangju are also willing to join us. I intend to combine their forces to attack and conquer Qiuzi and settle the whole of the [Northern Road] for Han.⁵ If we can get Qiuzi, then all but a hundredth part of the Western Regions will have submitted.

"In former times, all who discussed the matter agreed that, 'Taking the thirty-six states [of the Western Regions] will be like cutting off the right arm of the Xiongnu.'⁶ Now states of the west, great and small, delight in our influence and sent tribute offerings without cease. Only Yanqi and Qiuzi have not yet accepted our sway.⁷

"When I first came on embassy to this region,⁸ which had lost contact with China, I had a staff of thirty-six men. I was prepared to encounter difficulties and distress, and it is now five years since I was isolated in Shule.⁹ Though the local people are changeable, I have some understanding of them. I have made enquiries in their cities, large and small, and always hear that they have faith in Han as they have trust in Heaven. On this basis, we could cross the Congling ranges and we can attack Qiuzi.¹⁰

"Now we should recognise Boba, the hostage prince from Qiuzi, as king of that state,¹¹ and send a few hundred horsemen and footsoldiers to escort him. If they join the combined forces of the other states, then Qiuzi can be taken within a few months or a year. Using barbarians to attack barbarians, that is the best of plans!

"I have observed that the country about Suoju and Shule is fertile and spacious, abundant in both plants and animals, much better than the region of Dunhuang and Shanshan, and troops can be maintained here with no charge to China itself. Furthermore, the rulers of both Gumo and Wensu have been put in their positions by Qiuzi,¹² so they are not natives of those places, they are bitterly resented, and there will

⁵ Ban Chao already dominated the Southern Road, which led from Shanshan through Jumi, Yutian and Suoju to Shule. Qiuzi [Kuqa] was the chief opponent on the Northern Road: passage F of Yongping 17 at 76.

⁶ This expression, used by Zhang Qian to Emperor Wu of Former Han, was quoted by Geng Bing in discussion with Emperor Ming in 72: passage D and note 23 to Yongping 15 at 65-66. Tang commentary, quoted by Hu Sanxing, adds a number of further examples.

"Thirty-six states" is a rhetorical reference to the Western Regions: *HS* 96A-B, the relevant chapters for the Former Han, list fifty-one, and 96B: 3928 refers to fifty, excluding those beyond the Tarim basin: Hulsewé/Loewe, *Central Asia*, 197. *HHS* 88/78 lists twenty-two states and peoples, but many were outside the Tarim basin – such as Anxi 安息 [Parthia], Tianzhu 天竺 [India] and Daqin 大秦 [the Roman empire].

⁷ Yanqi [Karashar], northeast of Qiuzi, was also under the influence of the Northern Xiongnu.

⁸ This was in 73: passage G of Yongping 16 at 69-72.

⁹ This was in 76: passage F of Jianchu 1 at 92.

¹⁰ The Congling shan 葱嶺/蔥嶺山 are generally identified with the Pamirs, west of the Tarim basin: e.g. Hulsewé/Loewe, *Central Asia*, 72 with note 8, translating *HS* 96A:3871. Ban Chao is saying that the local troops would follow him, whether he went to the west (Congling shan) or to the east (Qiuzi).

¹¹ Hostages from non-Chinese states were known either as *shizi* 侍子 "attending princes" or *zhizi* 質子 "hostage sons." Yang, "Hostages," 45. The term used here is *shizi*.

It is unclear when and under what circumstances a ruler of Qiuzi had been induced to send a hostage prince to the court of Han, for the state appears to have been either independent or allied to the Xiongnu: (e.g. passages F of Yongping 17 at 76 and N of Yongping 18 at 84), while Ban Chao, as above, had been faced with consistent hostility. It is possible that Boba took refuge with Ban Chao after his rival Youliduo had succeeded King Jian about this time: passage I of Yongyuan 2 at 197.

¹² Wensu was just west of Gumo [Aksu] on the Northern Road, and both states were dominated by Qiuzi.

certainly be people there willing to turn to us. If those two states come to submit, then Qiuzi will collapse of itself.

"I would welcome a detailed investigation, and if there is anything mistaken I can readily accept the punishment of death. Insignificant as I am, I have been privileged to receive your spiritual favour, and I hope that before I die I shall see the Western Regions peaceful and settled, that your majesty may celebrate the success with the cup of long life, may announce it at the ancestral temple, and proclaim the triumph to all the world."

1488 When this letter was received at court the emperor realised that the project could indeed be successful and discussed sending reinforcements. Xu Gan of Pingling put forward a proposal, volunteering with enthusiasm to act as Ban Chao's assistant.¹³ The emperor appointed him an Acting Major, to lead a thousand men, reprieved convicts and non-Chinese auxiliaries, to support Ban Chao.¹⁴

In the mean time,¹⁵ because Han had sent no reinforcements, Suoju had gone over to Qiuzi, and Panchen the Commandant of Shule had also rebelled. Then Xu Gan arrived, and Ban Chao accompanied him to attack Panchen. They thoroughly defeated him and took the heads of more than a thousand of the enemy.

Ban Chao now wanted to move forward against Qiuzi, but since the Wusun had a strong army he thought that they should combine forces, and he wrote to the emperor, "Wusun is a large state, with a hundred thousand archers. For this reason Emperor Wu gave their rulers a princess in marriage, and in the time of Emperor Xuan they were valuable allies.¹⁶ Now we can send an envoy to make contact and join forces with them." The emperor accepted this.

¹³ Pingling 平陵 in Youfufeng, a few kilometres west of the Former capital Chang'an, was the home county of the Ban family, and *HHS* 47/37 mentions that Xu Gan was an old friend of Ban Chao.

¹⁴ On "reprieved convicts" (弛刑 *chixing*) as a steady source of forced military recruitment, see deC, *Fire*, 142-153, citing Loewe, *RHA* I, 78-79 with Hulsewé, *RHL*, 240-244, and particularly Lewis, "Abolition of Military Service," 54-57.

¹⁵ *HHS* 47/37 dates the appointment of Xu Gan to this year Jianchu 5, indicating that Ban Chao's request for additional troops had been sent in the year before. It naturally took some time for the message to reach the court, for the distant commitment to be approved and – though it was certainly not a large body of men – for the support column to be gathered and despatched.

¹⁶ *HS* 96B: 3903-05 tells how the Lady Liu Xijun 劉細君, daughter of Liu Jian 建 the King of Qiangdu 江都, was sent to the Wusun and married the ruler there about 110 BC; when he died she was married to his successor. After her death, another princess, the Lady Jieyou 解憂, was sent, and she again married his successor. Later, when the Xiongnu threatened the Wusun in 71, the Lady and her consort called for help, and Emperor Xuan sent troops to join a successful counter-attack: Hulsewé/Loewe, *Central Asia*, 146-152.

Jianchu 建初 6: 81 AD

29 January 81 – 16 February 82

A In the spring, in the second month, on the day *xinmao* [16 Mar], Liu Jyng the Filial King of Langye died.¹

In the summer, in the sixth month, on the day *bingchen* [8 Aug], the Grand Commandant Bao Yu died.²

On the day *xinwei* [23 Aug], last day of the month, there was an eclipse of the sun.³

In the autumn, in the seventh month, on the day *guisi* [14 Sep], the Minister of Finance Deng Biao was appointed Grand Commandant.⁴

B Lian Fan the Administrator of Wudu was transferred to be Administrator of Shu commandery.⁵ Chengdu was a flourishing and prosperous city, but the houses were crowded together, and an old regulation prohibited people from working at night to guard against the risk of fire. Many, however, worked in secret, and fires were a daily occurrence. Lian Fan put an end to this system, but gave strict instructions that people must maintain supplies of water. The people found this a much better system, and there was a song which ran,

Lian Shudu, why did he come so late?

He does not forbid fire, so people can work in peace.⁶

1489 Before we had no jackets, now we have five pairs of trousers.⁷

A *HHS* 3:141, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹ Liu Jyng 京 the King of Langye, whose biography is at *HHS* 42/32:1451, was a son of Guangwu by the Empress Yin and a full brother of Emperor Ming; note 11 to Zhongyuan 2 at 3. His personal name is given a variant transcription to distinguish him from his other full brother Liu Jing 荆 the King of Shanyang, later King of Guangling.

² Bao Yu had been appointed an Excellency by Emperor Ming in 74 and Grand Commandant by Emperor Zhang in 79: passages C of Yongping 17 at 75 and C of Jianchu 4 at 112.

³ The eclipse, Oppolzer 3087/Espenak 04975, is recorded by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 108/18:3362, noting that it took place in the *Yi* 東壁 "Wing" constellation, twenty-seventh lunar mansion (宿 *xiu*), being stars in Hydra and Crater: Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 466-469, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 104 and Star Map 2.

The Treatise relates the eclipse to the attendance at court of Liu Cang, King of Dongping, in the following year and to his death twelve months later: passage A of Jianchu 7 at 120 and passage A of Jianchu 8 at 126. The Treatise is slightly mistaken about the timing, however. Presumably referring to the preparations described in passage C and note 8 below, it dates the visit in the winter of this year, Jianchu 6, and Liu Cang's death in the first month of the next, that is Jianchu 7; in fact Liu Cang did not come to the capital until the beginning of Jianchu 7 and he died just twelve months later.

⁴ A member of the notable Deng family of Nanyang, Deng Biao had been appointed Minister Coachman in 71, was in semi-retirement for a time, but had been named Minister of Finance earlier this year. His biography is at *HHS* 44/34:1495-96.

B *HHS* 31/21:1103, the Biography of Lian Fan.

⁵ Lian Fan had been a successful Administrator of Yunzhong (passage L of Yongping 16 at 73) and had since held the same office in Wuwei and Wudu, both on the northern frontier. Chengdu, as immediately following, was the capital of Shu commandery.

⁶ Lian Fan's style was Shudu 叔度. The characters *du* and *mu* 暮 "evening/dusk>late" are rhymes: Karlgren, *GSR*, 801a and 802d. *Huo* 火 "fire" and *zuo* 作 "work" rhyme now, but less well in earlier times when 作 had a glottal stop: *GSR* 353a and 806l. The western dialect of Shu, however, differed from the regular language of central China.

C Because [Liu Fu] the King of Pei and other rulers were coming to court,⁸ the emperor sent Internuncios to present them with cloaks of sable fur,⁹ as well as food supplies and rare fruits from the Court Provisioner. He also sent the Minister Herald Dou Gu, bearing the Staff of Authority, to welcome them as they approached the capital.

The emperor himself inspected the royal residences, checking the curtains and the couches and ensuring that nothing was lacking in cash and silk cloth, utensils and furnishings.

⁷ *Ru* 襦 "jacket" and *ku* 袴 "trousers" rhymed: *GSR* 134*i* and 43. The indication is that night-work gave time to weave more cloth.

C *HHS* 42/32:1439, the Biography of Liu Cang.

⁸ A son of Emperor Guangwu by his first empress the Lady Guo, Liu Fu the King of Pei was a half-uncle of Emperor Zhang.

This entry in *ZZTJ* is somewhat confusing, however, as it does not fully match the original. Though *HHS* Annals says that Liu Fu indeed attended court, he was just one of six kings who came. The full list is provided by the Annals at *HHS* 3:142: passage A of Jianchu 7 following; the others were:

- Liu Cang 蒼 the King of Dongping, son of the Empress Yin and thus a full uncle of Emperor Zhang;
- Liu Kang 康 and Liu Yen 焉 the kings of Ji'nan and of Zhongshan, sons of the Lady Guo and thus half-uncles like Liu Fu (note 11 to Zhongyuan 2 at 2-3);
- Liu Zheng 政 the King of Donghai, who was the son of Liu Qiang the former Heir to Guangwu by the Lady Guo (note 6 to Zhongyuan 2 at 2) and had inherited his fief (note 10 to Yongping 1 at 9); he was a half-cousin of Emperor Zhang;
- Liu Yu 宇 the King of Langye, who was the son of Liu Jyng 京, a son of the Empress Yin (note 11 to Zhongyuan 2 at 3), and had inherited his fief (*HHS* 42/32:1451) – he was a full cousin of Emperor Zhang.

Furthermore, the text in *ZZTJ* is taken from the biography of Liu Cang, who had been a close associate of Emperor Ming, and was well respected by Emperor Zhang: *e.g.* passages E of Zhongyuan 2 at 5 and H of Jianchu 1 at 93-94. In context, it appears that the valuable gifts and the special care of accommodation were given only to Liu Cang and not to his brothers; though the edict which follows granted privilege to all four imperial uncles: passage B of Jianchu 7 following at 120.

Finally, it appears from *HHS* 42/32 that Liu Cang made the request to come to court in the winter of this year Jianchu 6, but the emperor gave his consent only in the first month of the following year, Jianchu 7. Strictly speaking, the preparations should not have been made until then.

⁹ Tang commentary to *HHS* 42/32 quotes from *Shuowen jiezi* 9B:43a, which describes the *diao* 貂 as a large rat-like animal of the distant region of the north known as Dingling 丁零, about Lake Baikal; the colour could be either yellow or black. It is now identified as the Siberian Sable (*Martes zibellina*), a member of the weasel family: *e.g.* Read, *Animal drugs*, item 394.

HHS 42/32 says that a cloak was given to Liu Cang to protect him on his winter journey; it does not say that the other kings were similarly treated.

Jianchu 建初 7: 82 AD

17 February 82 – 6 February 83

A In the spring, in the first month, King Fu of Pei, King Kang of Ji'nan, King Cang of Dongping, King Yen of Zhongshan, King Zheng of Donghai and King Yu of Langye came to court.¹

B An edict ordered that the kings of Pei, Ji'nan, Dongping and Zhongshan were not to be presented by their personal names.² As they came to the hall of audience and opaid their respects, the emperor spoke to each of them in person, demonstrating even greater favour and courtesy than he had shown in the past.³ Whenever any of them came to the palace, he was brought by carriage directly to the gate of the private apartments, where the emperor would greet him quite informally; and as he came in the empress herself came to greet him. The visitors would respond with matching courtesy, but they all felt embarrassed.⁴

In the third month the Minister Herald suggested that the kings should return to their states, but the emperor gave special approval for Liu Cang the King of Dongping to remain at the capital.

C Before this, the Virtuous Empress-Dowager of Emperor Ming [the Lady Ma] had arranged for the emperor [Emperor Zhang] to take two daughters of Song Yang of [You]fufeng as Honoured Ladies, and the elder gave birth to the Heir Liu Qing.⁵

Liang Sung, a younger brother of Liang Song, had two daughters, both of whom became Honoured Ladies, and the younger gave birth to the imperial son Liu Zhao.⁶ The Empress Dou had no children, but she cared for Liu Zhao as if he were her own.⁷

A *HHS* 3:142, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹ See passage C and note 8 to Jianchu 6 at 119 immediately above.

B *HHS* 42/32:1439-40, the Biography of Liu Cang.

² *HHS* 42/32 has a lengthier extract from the edict.

Bohu tong 6.7, in the chapter 王者不臣 "Those Whom the Ruler does not Regard as Subjects," explains that paternal uncles and elder brothers are among those who are not addressed by their personal names (不/勿名 *bu/wu ming*) because they are close relations of the same lineal descent: Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 521.

³ As in passage C with notes 7 and 8 to Jianchu 6 above, the basis of this sentence is identified by *HHS* 42/32 with reference to Liu Cang; *ZZTJ*, however, as extended it to all four of the imperial uncles.

⁴ This sentence of *ZZTJ* has blended elements of Liu Cang's biography with some phrases from a letter which he presented, expressing unease at the imperial informality.

C *HHS* 55/45:1799-1800, the Biography of Liu Qing;

HHS 34/24:1172, the Biography of Liang Sung;

HHS 10A:415-416, the Biography of the Empress Dou of Emperor Zhang,
with supplement on the Honoured Lady Liang.

⁵ The Lady Ma, consort of Emperor Ming and then empress-dowager, acted as foster-mother to the future Emperor Zhang: passage B of Yongping 3 at 20-21. She had died three years earlier and had been given the posthumous title *De* 德 "Virtuous:" passages D to F of Jianchu 4 at 112-113.

Song Yang, member of a noted lineage of Youfufeng, was a kinsman of the Lady Ma, and she acted as patron to his daughters; their personal names are not recorded. Liu Qing had been proclaimed Heir in 79: passage A of Jianchu 4 at 111.

⁶ The Liang brothers were sons of Liang Tong 梁統, member of a leading family in Anding commandery in the northwest, who had been an important ally of Emperor Guangwu. The brothers' personal names are transcribed the same in pinyin as 松 and 竦; for convenience, I render the personal name of the elder by the regular form Song, and that of the younger by the variant Sung.

The Lady Song had received favour from the Dowager Ma, but then the Dowager died. The Empress Dou was in great favour [with the emperor], and both she and her mother the Princess of Biyang made plans to destroy the Song family.⁸ Outside the palace they had the [empress'] brothers seek for the slightest misconduct; inside [the empress] had attendants spy on everything she did.

Then the Lady Song became ill. She wanted a live rabbit and asked her family to get one for her. As a result she was wrongfully accused of preparing magical potions, and the Heir [Liu Qing] was sent away to reside in the Chenglu Pavilion.⁹

1490 In the summer, in the sixth month, on the day *jiayin* [1 Aug], an edict proclaimed, "The Imperial Heir is by nature confused and unreliable, unworthy to maintain the dynasty and the ancestral temple. Public duty must triumph over personal affection, and this applies yet more strongly when passing on an inheritance."¹⁰

The Liang and Ma families were factional rivals. Liang Song was the false accuser who brought the disgrace of Ma Yuan, the dowager's father, in 49. He became a minister under Emperor Ming but was later disgraced. He died in prison in 61: passage C of Yongping 4 with note 7 at 29.

Liang Sung had three sons and three daughters. A noted scholar and writer, he was exiled to the south when his brother was disgraced, but was later allowed to return with his family to his home territory in the northwest. His wife was dead, but his brother Liang Song had married Liu Yiwang 劉義王, a daughter of Guangwu who was Princess of Wuyin 舞陰 in Nanyang [miswritten Wuyang 舞陽 by HHS 10B:458], and she arranged for his younger daughters to enter the imperial harem; their personal names are unknown.

⁷ The Lady Dou had been appointed Empress in 78: passage D of Jianchu 3 at 109; see also passage L of Jianchu 2 with note 47 at 106.

There is uncertainty about which of the two Ladies Song was the mother: see note 1 to Jianchu 4 at 111. *ZZTJ* follows HHS 55/45.

This move to take control of the newborn imperial son at the expense of his natural mother the Lady Liang follows the model of the Empress Ma of Emperor Ming in dealing with Liu Da, future Emperor Zhang, who had been born to the Honoured Lady Jia: passage B of Yongping 3 at 20.

⁸ On the Princess of Biyang, a great-niece of Emperor Guangwu, see note 47 to Jianchu 2 at 106.

HHS 55/45 explains, reasonably enough, that the empress was jealous of the Song sisters because they had both enjoyed the imperial favour and one of them was the mother of the Heir; the Lady Dou may have been favoured too, but she had no children.

⁹ There is no mention elsewhere of the Chenglu "Seeking Prosperity" Pavilion 承祿觀. An office (署 *shu*) of that name is recorded in the Central Store (中藏府 *Zhongzang fu*), but there is no account of its position: e.g. HHS 7:310. The pavilion was probably a separate building, very likely in the Southern Palace.

HHS 55/45 has a great deal more detail of this affair and the summary in *ZZTJ* is misleading.

The character *tu* 兔 may refer to both rabbits and hares. Read, *Animal drugs*, item 381, lists a number of beliefs about their medical qualities, with the flesh and specific parts of the body used to treat diabetes, rheumatism, fever, chilblains, smallpox sores, vomiting and diarrhea, together with – predictably, given the fertility of the animals – assistance in childbirth. There is no way to tell what sickness the Lady Song may have been suffering from; the core fact is that her correspondence was intercepted and used to damage her and her family.

On the use of the compound *shengyan* 厭勝 to refer to sorcery, see for example HS 99C:4151; Dubs, *HFHD* III, 373. HHS 55/45 has more detail: one of the guards in the harem found a letter sent by the Lady Song to her family when she was asking help for her medical problem. Apparently by a deliberate misreading, this was made the basis for an accusation that she was seeking to prepare imprecations and a poison (蠱道祝詛 *gudao zhuzu*), and using a rabbit to prepare the concoction. [The black magic known as *gu* 蠱 was at the centre of one of the major political crises of Former Han in the time of Emperor Wu: see Chapter Two, "The Case of Witchcraft in 91 BC" in Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, particularly at 82-86, which discuss the legend of the poison.]

¹⁰ The warning regarding public duty and personal affection comes from *Zuo zhuan* Yin IV.6; Legge, *CC* V, 17. It relates there to a minister who ordered the killing of his son, who had supported a usurping prince.

In his case, it appears that Liu Qing is considered to suffer mental illness.

"Now we dismiss Liu Qing and make him King of Qinghe. The imperial son Liu Zhao has been cared for and instructed by the empress since he was a babe in her arms. We now appoint him Imperial Heir."

The two sisters, the Honoured Ladies Song, were then sent away to live in the C-Office,¹¹ and the Attendant at the Yellow Gates Cai Lun was ordered to examine them.¹² They killed themselves by drinking poison, while their father the Consultant Song Yang was dismissed and sent back to his home commandery.¹³

Though Liu Qing was young, he appreciated the need to avoid suspicion and danger, and he never dared speak of the Song family. The emperor had compassion on him, and he ordered the empress to have him dressed in the same fashion as the [new] Heir. For his part, the Heir [Liu Zhao] was fond of Liu Qing: they lived in the same apartments and when they went out they would share a carriage.

- D On the day *jiwei* [3 Aug] King Xian of Guangping was transferred to be King of Xiping.¹⁴
- E In the autumn, in the eighth month, at the conclusion of the Wine-Drinking ceremony some senior ministers repeated their request that Liu Cang the King of Dongping should return to his fief, and the emperor now agreed.¹⁵

¹¹ The Treatise of Officials at *HHS* 116/26:3594 mentions ten Chiefs of Offices (署長 *shuzhang*); three are the heads of named offices, but the C-Office (丙署 *bingshu*) has seven chiefs – all are eunuchs, all have rank/ salary of Four Hundred *shi*, and each was the head of a section of the imperial harem. There is no explanation of why there appear to have been seven sections under the C-Office. Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy* 64, however, following the commentary of Hu Sanxing to this passage, suggests that in fact the seven offices were identified by from A (甲 *jia*) to G (庚 *geng*), and that "C-Office is a generic term for the group."

The Annals of Emperor Huan at *HHS* 7:308-309 records fires in the C-Office on 13 March 161 and 2 March 162; they are also mentioned in the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 104/14:3295, where the second entry states that the office was in the Southern Palace.

The two concubines were thus removed from the imperial residence at the Northern Palace and sent into seclusion.

¹² Attendants at the Yellow Gates (小黃門 *xiao huangmen*) were eunuchs who served as the personal agents of the emperor: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 65 [as Junior Attendants of the Yellow Gates].

Cai Lun, whose biography is at *HHS* 78/68:2513-14, is best known to history as the inventor of paper, strictly speaking for the improvement of its production and quality by the addition of new materials, including hemp and tree-bark: *e.g.* Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 29.

¹³ The Song were a distinguished family of Youfufeng, connected to the late Dowager Ma in the female line. After his daughters had been taken into the harem and one had given birth to the Heir, Song Yang was appointed a Consultant. With salary/rank of Six Hundred *shi*, this was not a high office, but the Dowager Ma had insisted that imperial relatives by marriage, even from her own family, should not be given high positions: *e.g.* passage D of Jianchu 2 at 97-102. *HHS* 55/45:1799, however, says that Song Yang had never been interested in any official position.

Though neither *ZZTJ* nor the source text at *HHS* 55/45 say so, it appears that the rest of the family were obliged to leave the capital and accompany him to quasi-exile in Youfufeng..

D *HHS* 3:142, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹⁴ Liu Xian was a half-brother of the emperor *HHS* 50/40:1667. His original fief had been separated from Julu in Ji province and was probably not very large: note 11 to Yongping 3. The emperor is said to have been concerned that Guangping was close to the northern frontier and vulnerable to raiding parties, and the biography of Liu Xian at *HHS* 50/40:1668 says that Xiping was created with eight counties taken from Runan.

E *HHS* 42/32:1434, the Biography of Liu Cang.

He presented Liu Cang with an edict written by his own hand, "There is a natural affection between those of the same flesh and blood, which can never be affected by the distance between them, great or small. Every time I see you I have the same deep feelings as before. I think of your long service to the state, and realise that you should now be granted a time of rest in your kingdom far away. Though I wish to approve the Herald's recommendation, but I cannot bear to set down my brush; when I turn to pass the document to my Attendant, my heart is filled with emotion. Overcome, I cannot speak."¹⁶

The emperor came to bid farewell as Liu Cang departed, and wept as they said goodbye. He also granted him carriages and clothing, horses and items of value, together with cash and cloth valued in the tens and hundreds of thousands.

F In the ninth month, on the day *jiayu* [20 Oct], the emperor travelled to Yanshi, continued east over several rivers to the Juan Crossing and so entered Henei.¹⁷ An edict was issued, saying, "We journeyed to view the autumn crops and have observed the harvest gathering. Then we crossed the commandery border, travelling light with fine horses and no other baggage, far from the great city with no need for special roads or bridges. To send officers to prepare for us and to attend our movements, when and whether we go out or return, all this is a nuisance.

1491 "Eased of our normal concerns, our only regret is that we cannot share the unhusked grain and drink from the gourd."¹⁸

¹⁵ At the beginning of this year Liu Cang and other kings came on a visit to the capital, but when his fellow-rulers departed in the third month Liu Cang had been given special permission to remain: passages A and B above at 120.

Yinzhou 飲酎 here refers to the Wine-Drinking ceremony (飲酒禮 *yinjiu li*) held at the Temple of the Eminent Founder (高廟 *Gaomiao*) at Luoyang and followed by sacrifices to Emperor Guangwu and Emperor Ming: *HHS* 3:142; on the Temples to Gaozu and Guangwu see note 22 to Yongping 1 at 11.

Bodde, *Festivals*, 362, relates the Wine-Drinking ceremony to the end of the agricultural year in the tenth month, when district (鄉 *xiang*) thanksgiving celebrations were held throughout the empire. This occasion in the eighth month, however, was a separate event concerned directly with the imperial and dynastic cult.

The imperial Wine-Drinking ceremony is recorded on only one other occasion, during the reign of Emperor He in 96, also in the eighth month: *HHS* 4:182. The Treatise of Ceremonial at *HHS* 94/4:3103 associates it with the ceremony of Ascending the Tomb/s held in the first month (passage A of Yongping 1 with note 4 at 8), and appears to indicate that both rituals were performed each year. As Mansvelt Beck remarks in *Treatises*, 74-75, however, the Ascension may have been an annual event, but the situation with regard to the Wine-Drinking is less clear.

¹⁶ Tang commentary observes that the Minister Herald had presented the formal memorial for Liu Cang to leave the capital. As personal agent of the emperor (note 12 above) a eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates would bear the message of authorisation from the emperor.

F *HHS* 3:143, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹⁷ Yanshi and Juan were in Henan commandery. Yanshi was some fifteen kilometres east of Luoyang and Juan another seventy-five to the northeast by present-day Yuanwu in Henan. The road ran south of the Yellow River, crossing over several tributaries which flowed from the south. Henei lay north of the River, and there was a crossing place at Juan.

¹⁸ Tang commentary, followed by Hu Sanxing, has two supplementary citations:

Tuosu 脫粟 is unhusked grain, naturally less palatable than that which has had the hard cover removed. According to *Yanzi chunqiu* 晏子春秋, a work ascribed to Yan Ying 晏嬰 who was Chancellor of the state of Qi 齊 in the sixth century BC, even when he held that high position he would eat unhusked grain: *YZCC* 6.19 and 26; see also *SJ* 62:2135.

On the day *jiyou* [*i.e.* *yiyou*=31 Oct], the emperor arrived at Ye.¹⁹ On the day *xinmao* [7 Nov] he returned to the palace.²⁰



Map 6: Illustrating the travels of Emperor Zhang in 82 AD
Autumn: east and northeast to Ye city in Wei commandery
Winter: west to Chang'an and its neighbourhood

G In the winter, in the tenth month, on the day *guichou* [29 Nov], the emperor travelled to Chang'an, where he enfeoffed Xiao Xiong, a distant descendant of Xiao He, as Marquis of Zan.²¹

He went on to Huaili and Qi Mountain,²² then went to Changping, where he visited the Chiyang Palace, and travelled east to Gaoling.²³

Piao 瓢, the calabash or bottle gourd, *Lagenaria siceraria*, grows on a vine. The pulp can be eaten, while the shell may be used as a container or split to form a bowl for drinking: Stuart, *Vegetable kingdom*, 231 [as *Lagenaria vulgaris*, its previous name]. Confucius praised his disciple Yan Hui 顏回 for his acceptance of poverty, content with a single gourd dish of drink: *Lun yu* VI.ix; Legge, *CC I*, 188.

¹⁹ The ancient site of the city of Ye, capital of Wei commandery, is just south of present-day Cixian in Hebei, some 150 kilometres from the crossing of the Yellow River at Juan.

HHS 3 gives the date as the *jiyou* 己酉 day, cyclical number 46, but the ninth month of this year did not have a *jiyou* day. It is probably a mis-writing for *yiyou* 乙酉, cyclical number 22.

²⁰ *HHS* 3 records that the emperor held a reception at Ye and granted favours to local people and officials. The imperial party had thus made good time on the return journey of more than two hundred kilometres.

G *HHS* 3:144, the Annals of Emperor Zhang;
HHS 26/16:917, the Biography of Wei Biao.

²¹ Xiao He was Chancellor to Emperor Gao at the beginning of Former Han. When Emperor Ming visited Chang'an in 59 he offered sacrifice at his tomb and at that of Huo Guang, who had brought Emperor Xuan to the throne: passage J of Yongping 2 with note 22 at 17-18. Emperor Zhang followed the same procedure, but the acting Minister of Ceremonies Wei Biao 韋彪 recommended that he should also seek out and honour lineal descendants of the two statesmen. No suitable candidates of the Huo lineage could be found, but Xiao Xiong was awarded a county fief in Nanyang.

²² Huaili, capital of Youfufeng, was near present-day Xingping in Shenxi, some fifty kilometres east of Chang'an. Qi Mountain 岐山, legendary homeland of the rulers of the ancient Zhou 周 dynasty, is some seventy kilometres northeast of Huaili.

The emperor returned to the palace [at Luoyang] on the *dinghai* day of the twelfth [eleventh?] month [1 Jan?].²⁴

- H Liu Cang the Generous King of Dongping was seriously ill.²⁵ The emperor sent celebrated doctors to him post-haste and Attendants at the Yellow Gates to care for him. Messengers with caps and covered carriages were constantly on the road,²⁶ and he also arranged a relay of couriers to bring news of his condition.

²³ Chiyang county in Zuopingyi was north of the Changping Slope 長平阪: *HS* 8:271 and *HHS* 109/19:3405. The area was some twenty-five kilometres northwest of Chang'an, so the emperor had returned from his western excursion. Former Han had a palace at Chiyang and a pavilion at the top of the Changping Slope.

Gaoling, capital of Zuopingyi, was some thirty kilometres east of Chiyang and twenty-five north of Chang'an. *HHS* 3 records that the emperor made a boat excursion on the Jing River.

²⁴ There was no *dinghai* day (cyclical 24) in the twelfth month of this year, which began on a *jiawu* day (cyclical 31). It is possible that the *Annals*, followed by *ZZTJ*, miswrote 十二月 "twelfth month" for 十一月 "eleventh month." The emperor would then have been away from Luoyang for about six weeks.

H *HHS* 42/32:1436-38, the Biography of Liu Cang; *HHJ* 12:147.

²⁵ It is slightly anachronistic to refer to a ruler by his posthumous title before reporting his death. In this case, however, it is clear that Liu Cang would die very soon: passage A of Jianchu 8 at 126.

Kaoyi commentary notes that *HHS* 42/32 gives the posthumous title as Xian 憲 "Model" rather than Xian 獻. *DGHJ* 7:4b agrees, but Sima Guang chose to follow *HHJ* 12. Xian 獻, of course was the title awarded to Liu Xie 劉協, last emperor of Han, who abdicated in 220 and died as Duke of Shanyang 山陽公 in 234: *HHS* 9:391; Fang, *Chronicle* I, 443. Tang commentary at *HHS* 9:367 quotes the *Shifa* 諡法 "Rules for Awarding Posthumous Titles" explaining that the title was awarded to a ruler of intelligence and wisdom (聰明睿智 *congming ruizhi*); given Liu Xie's circumstances, however, *xian* 獻 is surely better understood in its basic sense of giving or yielding.

For Liu Cang either character *xian* could be considered appropriate: he was a model of a loyal subject, generous in his service to his brother and his nephew, but suitably reluctant and cautious in taking and holding high office: e.g. passages E of Zhongyuan 2 at 5 and F of Yongping 4 at 30.

²⁶ *Guan* 冠 refers to the caps worn by senior officials. *Gai* 蓋 (*lit.* "covers") refers to the umbrellas or palanquins set above their carriages.

Jianchu 建初 8: 83 AD

7 February 83 – 26 January 84

A In the spring, in the first month, on the day *renchen* [7 Mar], King [Cang of Dongping] died.

An edict ordered the Palace Tutor to seal and send in all documents and memorials presented by the late king since the Jianwu period, that they might be held for future reference.¹

The Minister Herald was sent, bearing the Staff of Authority, to supervise the funerary rites, and the ceremony was attended by the Little Lords of the Four Families, by kings and princesses.²

B In the autumn, in the sixth month Jiliusi and other chieftains of the Sanmulouzi group of the Northern Xiongnu brought more than thirty thousand of their people to surrender at the Wuyuan frontier.³

C In the winter, in the twelfth month, on the day *jiawu* [3 Jan], the emperor travelled to Chenliu, Liang kingdom, Huaiyang and Yingyang. He returned to the palace on the day *wushen* [17 Jan].⁴

D After Liu Zhao was appointed Heir, the Liang family congratulated one another,⁵ but when the Dou family heard of this they became concerned. The empress wanted to

A HHS 3:142, the Annals of Emperor Zhang;
HHS 42/32:1441, the Biography of Liu Cang.

¹ Each king under Han had a Palace Tutor (中傅 *zhongfu*) appointed to his court by the central government: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 106-108. HHS 42/32 adds that the documents called for were not only those concerning official matters, but also letters, records, rhapsodies, poems and songs.

² On the Staff of Authority, which gave special powers of commission, see passage D of Yongping 1 with note 13 at 10.

On the Little Lords of the Four Families, students in attendance at the Palace School for Noble Families, see passage C of Yongping 9 with note 7 at 44.

It is hard to believe that all the extended imperial family were called to attend one ceremony, or that young men and boys from the Palace School were sent to a burial which presumably took place in distant Dongping, while there is no indication that Liu Cang's body was brought to the capital for burial. Most probably there were two ceremonies, one at the tomb in Dongping and one at the ancestral temple in Luoyang.

B HHS 89/79:2950, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

³ Hu Sanxing suggests that these people would have come from the Sanmulou range, part of the Bogda Uul: passage C of Yongping 16 with note 8 at 68.

HHS 89/79 mentions drought and locusts about this time, and the Treatise of the Five Powers at HHS 113/13:3278 lists several instances, with additional entries from the *Gujin zhu* of Fu Wuji in Liu Zhao's commentary: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 261-262. [On *Gujin zhu*, see note 14 to Yongping 3 at 23.]

C HHS 3:145, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

⁴ Chenliu and Liang were on the North China plain east of Luoyang: see Map 4 illustrating the travels of Emperor Ming at 63. Huaiyang, later renamed Chen 陳, was southwest of Liang. Yingyang was a county in Yingchuan, near present-day Xuchang in Henan and southeast of Luoyang.

In his two-week excursion, the emperor made a loop across the plain south of the Yellow River; Liang kingdom, the furthest point of his journey, was some 250 kilometres from Luoyang, so he was averaging some thirty-five kilometres a day.

D HHS 34/24:1172, the Biography of Liang Sung;
HHS 10A:416, the Biography of the Empress Dou of Emperor Zhang.

⁵ Liu Zhao had been appointed Heir in the previous year. Though he was the natural son of a Lady Liang, he had been fostered by the Empress Dou: passage C of Jianchu 7 at 120.

have her family monopolise the position as imperial relatives by marriage, and she was jealous of the two sisters Liang. She slandered them to the emperor on several occasions, and had eventually made him suspicious of them.

1492 In this year a member of the Dou family presented an urgent dispatch, accusing Liang Sung of plotting treason. Liang Sung died in prison, members of his household were sent to Jiuzhen, and the two Honoured Ladies died of grief.⁶ The accusations affected the Princess of Wuyin, widow of Liang Song, and she was sentenced to exile at Xincheng.⁷

E Ma Liao the Marquis of Shunyang was careful, courteous and cautious of his own conduct.⁸ Lenient by nature, however, he could not guide or control the junior members of his family, who were all proud and extravagant and acted without restraint. The Editor Yang Zhong had written to warn him,⁹ "You have a position of honour and respect, and everyone admires you. [Your brothers] the Gentlemen at the Yellow Gates are young,¹⁰ and their energies and appetites are at their height. They lack the sense of restraint shown by Dou Changjun,¹¹ but seek to gather followers who are frivolous, immoral and of poor conduct. You, however, tolerate this without issuing a reprimand, and you look on as they confirm their bad habits. Thinking of what such conduct has led to in the past makes one's blood run cold." Ma Liao could not follow this advice.

F His brothers Ma Fang and Ma Guang, with wealth and property valued in the millions, constructed a great number of mansions and belvederes. Their visitors filled the roads, and they regularly maintained hundreds of clients who ate at their expense.

⁶ Jiuzhen commandery was in present-day Vietnam, on the coast south of Hanoi and the Red River basin.

The phrase "died of grief" (愛死 *aisi*) often indicates an encouraged female suicide.

⁷ Liang Song 松, elder brother of Liang Sung 竦, had died in prison in 61, but he had married a daughter of Emperor Guangwu, and she sponsored her two nieces the Honoured Ladies Liang: passage C of Jianchu 7 with note 6 at 120.

Xincheng county in Henan was on the Luo River forty kilometres southwest of Luoyang. Though the princess was no longer permitted to live at the capital, her place of exile was a great deal more attractive than the distant south where other members of the family were sent.

E *HHS* 48/38:1599-1600, the Biography of Yang Zhong.

⁸ Ma Liao, eldest son of Ma Yuan, was a brother of the late Empress-Dowager Ma of Emperor Ming. He and his brothers had risen to high rank and Emperor Zhang had enfeoffed them as marquises in 79: passage B of Jianchu 4 at 111-112.

⁹ On Yang Zhong, a distinguished scholar who was Editor (校書郎 *jiaoshu lang*) in the imperial library of the Orchid Terrace and a proposer of the celebrated conference at the White Tiger Hall in 79, see passages B of Jianchu 1 at 88-89 and G of Jianchu 4 at 113-114. *HHS* 48/38 says that he was a close friend of Ma Liao.

¹⁰ Gentlemen at the Yellow Gates (黃門侍郎 *huangmen shilang*>黃門郎 *huangmen lang*) were personal attendants to the emperor: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 60.

Though most of those who served at or within the Yellow Gates of the harem were eunuchs, these were full men, especially favoured and trusted; their rank/salary, however, first Four Hundred and later Six Hundred *shi*, was not particularly high.

Ma Fang and Ma Guang had held such appointments at the time of Emperor Ming's death in 75, but were promoted soon afterwards: passage Q of Yongping 18 at 86. Yang Zhong's letter to Ma Liao was evidently written in the first half of the 70s.

¹¹ Dou Changjun – Changjun being his style rather than his personal name – was a brother of the Empress Dou of Emperor Wen in the mid-second century BC. He and his brother Guangguo avoided public life for fear of a recurrence of the then recent seizure of power by the Empress-Dowager Lü of Emperor Gao: Loewe, *QHX*, 76-76.

Ma Fang also had large herds of horses and cattle, and received rents from the Qiang and other non-Chinese peoples of the north.¹² The emperor was not pleased about this, and sent orders on several occasions forbidding him to do so.¹³ His authority and influence were weakened in consequence, and the number of his clients likewise declined.

G Ma Liao's son Yu was Colonel of Footsoldiers.¹⁴ He wrote angry and abusive letters,¹⁵ and all the senior officials then presented a memorial saying that Ma Fang and Ma Guang and the family were extravagant and presumptuous, disrupting the imperial peace. They were all dismissed and sent to their fiefs.

As they were about to take the road an edict was issued to say, "If all my maternal kinsmen are sent away to their fiefs, then there will be none to take part in sacrifices to the late dowager when the seasonal ceremonies are held at the imperial tombs and temples. This makes me extremely sad. Let the Marquis of Xu [Ma Guang] remain on his estates [at the capital] while contemplating his faults, and let my senior officials make no further requests [for his exile]. This will ease my Weiyang emotions."¹⁶

Ma Guang had been slightly more respectful and restrained than Ma Fang, and for this reason the emperor allowed him to remain; he was later restored to the rank of Specially Advanced.¹⁷

Ma Yu followed [his father] Ma Liao back to his fief.¹⁸ He was examined there and beaten to death.¹⁹ Later, however, another edict allowed Ma Liao to return to the capital.

H Now that the Ma had been dealt with, the Dou family grew in honour and influence. Dou Xian, elder brother of the empress, became a Palace Attendant and General of the

F *HHS* 24/14:857, the Biography of Ma Fang.

¹² The Ma family had long been established in Youfufeng, and Ma Fang's father Ma Yuan, great general and assistant of Emperor Guangwu, established significant contacts across the northwest: *HHS* 24/14:828; Bielenstein, *RHD* II, 164-165, and deC, *LH3K*, 658. Ma Fang evidently maintained those connections.

¹³ A parallel text in *DGHJ* 12:4a says that the emperor reprimanded (責 *ze*) Ma Fang.

G *HHS* 24/14:855, the Biography of Ma Liao.

¹⁴ The Regiment of Footsoldiers (步兵營 *bubing ying*) was one of the five regiments of the Northern Army, central strategic reserve of the empire which was normally stationed at the capital. Colonelcies were frequently awarded to imperial relatives by marriage.

¹⁵ In context from *HHS* 24/14, Ma Yu was expressing resentment at the general loss of favour and influence suffered by his family since the death of the Dowager Ma in 79: passages D and E of Jianchu 4 at 112. Furthermore, the remark in passage E above, that Ma Liao was unable to control his junior kinsmen, comes immediately before the account of these letters and the reaction to them. Though Yang Zhong had written to Ma Liao warning about his brothers, it was his son's misjudgement that triggered the greater misfortune.

¹⁶ "Weiyang emotions" (渭陽之情 *Weiyang zhi qing*) refers to the Weiyang Ode in the collection of the Songs of Qin 秦風 in *Shi jing* 詩經 the *Classic of Poetry* I.11.9; Legge, *CC* IV, 203. According to tradition, Duke Kang of Qin 秦康公, then Heir to that state, escorted his maternal cousin the future Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公 as he embarked on campaign to recover his inheritance. The poem was composed to recall their farewell after they had crossed to the north of the Wei River, and became a symbol of the affection between such kinsmen.

¹⁷ Cf. passage B of Jianchu 4 with note 7 at 112. All three brothers had evidently been stripped of their higher rank and its entitlement to remain at the capital.

¹⁸ In 79 Ma Liao had been made Marquis of Shunyang; passage B of Jianchu 4 at 111-112. The county was in Nanyang, now Xichuan in Henan.

¹⁹ The phrase *wugu* 無故 can indicate an arbitrary decision made without good cause, but Tang commentary here explains it as indicating Ma Yu's death.

Household Rapid as a Tiger, while his brother Dou Du was made a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates.²⁰ Both served within the private quarters of the palace and received increasing numbers of grants and awards, which they shared with their clients and retainers.

I The Excellency of Works Diwu Lun presented a statement, "I humbly observe that the General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger Dou Xian, kinsman of the empress,²¹ has control of the guards of the forbidden quarters and goes in and out of the private apartments. He is a young man of worthy ambition, generous and glad to act well, truly the model of a fine gentleman with a network of friends.

"Even so, several of those who visit your honoured relative by marriage have bad records and should be forbidden, while few of them are conscientious and content to live in poverty. Discontented gentlemen and officials gather together like clouds at his gate, each looking for some advantage.

"There is a common saying in the Three Adjunct commanderies,²² 'As soon as you get rid of one set of imperial relatives by marriage you have to wash out another lot; it's like sobering a drunkard by giving him more wine.'²³ It is truly unwise to make friends of dangerous flatterers hoping for power.

"It is my humble wish that your majesty and the empress will give strict orders to Dou Xian and his kinsmen to close their gates and keep to themselves. They should have no further contact with these gentry, they should be on their guard against the first signs [of such an approach] and be concerned at the slightest trace of one.

"It is your servant's fervent wish to ensure that Dou Xian long maintains his fortune and rank, and that ruler and subject continue on excellent terms without the slightest rift between them."²⁴

J Relying on the influence of the palace and the harem,²⁵ Dou Xian was feared by the kings and princesses, and by the Yin and the Ma families.²⁶ He demanded the garden

H *HHS* 23/13:812-13, the Biography of Dou Xian

I *HHS* 41/31:1400-01, the Biography of Diwu Lun.

²⁰ On the high position of Palace Attendant (侍中 *shizhong*), see note 18 to Yongping 2 at 17; on the office of Gentleman at the Yellow Gates (黃門[侍]郎 *huangmen shilang*) see note 10 above.

HHS 13 says that it was Dou Du who had been appointed General of the Household, but Sima Guang preferred to follow the statement of Diwu Lun as immediately following.

²¹ On the "Pepper House (椒房 *jiaofang*) as the residence of the empress, see note 10 to Yongping 3 at 22.

²² The Three Adjuncts (三輔 *sanfu*) were the commanderies about the Former capital, Chang'an: Jingzhao, Zuopingyi and Youfufeng.

²³ Or curing a hangover with "the hair of the dog that bit you."

²⁴ Diwu Lun had earlier warned against the emperor showing too great favour to the Ma family: passage I of Jianchu 2 with note 42 at 105. As immediately below, he was quite prescient.

J *HHS* 23/13:812, the Biography of Dou Xian

²⁵ The compound *gongyi* 宮掖 refers here to the imperial palace, abode of the emperor, and the Lateral Courts (掖庭 *yiting*), where the women of the harem had their quarters: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 52 and 63-64.

²⁶ That is, by all the direct members of the imperial house and by the families connected to the throne by marriage.

and parkland of the Princess of Xinchui for a very low price, and the princess was afraid to argue with him.²⁷

Some time later the emperor came out from the palace and passed by the gardens. He pointed them out to Dou Xian and enquired about them. Dou Xian was evasive and made no reply.²⁸

Eventually the whole affair came to light and the emperor was furious. Summoning Dou Xian, he reprimanded him fiercely, "When I consider how you stole the gardens from the princess, I find it even worse than Zhao Gao claiming that a deer was a horse!²⁹ Every time I think about it, I become even more angry.

"During the Yongping period [of Emperor Ming] Yi Dang, Yin Bo and Deng Die were regularly kept under investigation, so that none of the great families dared offend the law. But now a noble princess has been swindled! How much worse must ordinary people suffer from him? We reject Dou Xian, as if he were abandoned chicken or a rotten rat!"

1494 Dou Xian was terrified. [His sister] the empress rent her clothes as she made deep apologies, and after a considerable time he received a pardon. He was required to return her land to the princess, however, and although he was no longer liable to punishment he did not regain his influence and authority.

K Your subject Guang remarks:³⁰

Of all the faults which a subject can commit, the worst is dishonesty, and the wise ruler will detest it. Emperor Zhang described Dou Xian's conduct as no different to [Zhao Gao's] describing a deer as a horse, and he was absolutely correct. In the end, however, he could not bring himself to punish Dou Xian, so how could that be taken as a warning to any wrong-doer?

Now when a ruler is dealing with one of his subjects, it is bad enough when he does not know of bad conduct. Should he be aware of it but nonetheless forgives it, that is even worse than being ignorant.

²⁷ The princess, whose personal name was Zhi 致, was a daughter of Emperor Ming and a half-sister of Emperor Zhang. She was married to Deng Gan 鄧乾, a grandson of Deng Yu by his third son Deng Zhen: *HHS* 10B:459 with Tang commentary and *HHS* 16/6:606.

Xinchui county was in Henei, but the princess and her family evidently resided at the capital.

²⁸ Quoting Tang commentary, Hu Sanxing has a detailed discussion of this short sentence. There is no doubt that Dou Xian was embarrassed by the question and did not want to answer it. It is unclear, however, whether he simply looked aside and perhaps pretended not to hear it or – as in note 29 immediately below – he looked at others in the imperial entourage and invited them to collude in his deception of the emperor.

²⁹ In a celebrated incident recorded by *Shi ji*, the eunuch minister Zhao Gao 趙高, intending to depose the Second Emperor Of Qin 秦二世皇帝, presented him with a deer but called it a horse. The emperor objected, but when he questioned his attendants some agreed with him, some stayed silent and some agreed with Zhao Gao. By this means Zhao Gao was able to assess his support and identify his opponents: *SJ* 6:273; Nien-hauser, *GSR* I, 161, Chavannes, *Mémoires* II, 211.

K Personal comment by Sima Guang.

³⁰ This is one of a number of brief essays presented by the compiler himself in commentary upon some incident. For the most part, Sima Guang is content to let his account of events provide appropriate moral lessons. Very occasionally, however, he speaks directly to the reader – formally Emperor Shenzong 神宗 of Song – with a firm statement of his opinion; such interventions are all the more authoritative for their rarity.

Why do I say this? If a person does wrong and the ruler does not know about it, the offender has cause for anxiety. If the ruler knows about and does not punish it, however, then the offender will know that he has nothing to worry about – and he will do just as he likes without any fear of the consequences.

This is truly an example of a person knowing what is the right thing to do but failing to act upon it, or knowing that something is wrong but failing to reject it. Here is a serious warning for any ruler.

L Zhou Yu of Xiapi had been appointed Prefect of Luoyang.³¹ As soon as he got down from his carriage he asked for the names of the heads of the leading families. His officers responded by listing the chief families in the wards of the cities and the surrounding villages. Zhou Yu said to them firmly and angrily, "My question was about imperial relatives like the Ma and Dou families. Why should I care about these commoners dealing in vegetables?"

Now realising what he meant, local officers vied with one another to enforce the law. The noble families were restrained and the capital district was well-ordered and peaceful.

Dou Du³² came by night to the Zhijian watch-house and the chief of police there, Huo Yan, drew his sword to halt him and swore at him in most abusive terms.³³ Dou Du reported this, and an edict ordered the Director of Retainers and the Intendant of Henan to attend at the Imperial Secretariat for questioning and reprimand.³⁴ Warriors

L *HHS 77/67:2494-95*, the Biography of Zhou Yu in the Chapter on Stern Officials.

³¹ Though the Prefect of Luoyang had rank/salary of only One Thousand *shi*, the same as that of any magistrate of a large county, he had particular responsibilities for dealing with imperial relatives and other families of high rank and influence. He did control an imperial prison (召獄 *zhaoyu*) but, as Bielenstein remarks, the position required not only diplomatic skill but also determination and courage: *Bureaucracy*, 89, citing *DGHJ 4:2a, Hanguan 85* and *HHS 118/28:3622*; see also deC, *Fire*, 47-51.

As head of several counties and commandery units, Zhou Yu had acquired a reputation as a stern official. He had sometimes been punished for his excessive harshness, but it is also said that Emperor Zhang admired his energy; he may well have been instrumental in Zhou Yu's appointment as Prefect, having decided that the capital needed a shake-up.

³² Younger brother of the empress, Dou Du was currently a Gentleman at the Yellow Gates: passage H with note 20 at 129.

³³ Zhijian 止姦 "Halt Wickedness" was the name of a watch-house (亭 *ting*). Like other cities, the capital was divided into walled wards (里 *li*), whose gates were closed at night for security. Groups of wards were controlled by watch-houses, serving as police stations. See Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 43-45 [rendering *ting* as "hostels," and deC, *Fire*, 49-51.

HHS 77/67 has some more detail. Dou Du was apparently leaving his duties at the palace and returning to his residence in the city when he was intercepted by Huo Yan, presumably for being out of his ward after curfew. One of the slaves escorting Dou Du confronted Huo Yan, and Huo Yan responded.

³⁴ The Director of Retainers (司隸校尉 *sili xiaowei*) was in charge of the capital province; the Intendant of Henan (河南尹 *Henan yin*) was administrator of the capital commandery: *HHS 117/27:3613-15*; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 85-86 and 88 [as Colonel Director of Retainers and Governor of Henan].

Besides drafting legislation and dealing with official correspondence, the Imperial Secretariat (尚書 *shangshu*) could investigate serious matters of protocol and procedure: e.g. deC, *Fire*, 228-229 and 347-349.

with Swords and Lances were sent to arrest Zhou Yu, and he was sent to the imperial prison of the Minister of Justice.³⁵ He was pardoned and released a few days later.³⁶

M The emperor appointed Ban Chao as Chief Clerk in Command of Troops, with Xu Gan as Major of the Army,³⁷ and he sent the Captain of the Guards Li Yi on a separate mission as Protector and Emissary to the Wusun.³⁸

1495 Li Yi arrived at Yutian just as Qiuzi was attacking Shule, and he was afraid to go any further.³⁹ He therefore sent in a report to say that the project to control the Western Regions could never be successful, and strongly criticising Ban Chao, "Embracing his wife and cherishing his children, he is content and at ease in these distant lands and has no care for China."

³⁵ Under the Minister of the Guards, Warriors with Swords and Lances (劍戟士 *jianji shi*) served as guards within the palace compounds and could also be sent to make arrests on behalf of the emperor: *HHS* 115/25:3579; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 33.

As in note 31 above, the Prefect of Luoyang controlled an imperial prison at Luoyang, but another, also at the capital, was administered by the Minister of Justice: *HHS* 115/25:3582 and *Hanguan* 45 and 85; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 39 and 89. Except in a case such as this, it appears there was no particular distinction between prisoners allocated to one or the other: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 50, deC, *Fire*, 47 and 49.

³⁶ In a sentence following this passage of *ZZTJ*, *HHS* 77/67 remarks that Emperor Zhang appreciated how Zhou Yu upheld the law, his hatred of wrongdoing and his refusal to kowtow to imperial kinsfolk. He believed, however, that in this instance he had gone too far. After several further protests, Zhou Yu was dismissed from office in this eighth year of Jianchu.

In that regard, the chronicle of *ZZTJ* at this point is concerned with Zhou Yu's dismissal. It is not clear when he was appointed or how long he remained in office after the contretemps with Dou Du.

Soon after he left the Prefect's office, however, Zhou Yu was appointed Palace Assistant Imperial Clerk (御侍中丞 *yushi zhongcheng*). With rank/salary of One Thousand *shi*, this officer was head of the Imperial Censorate with wide-ranging authority to supervise the administration: deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 68-74. So it appears that the emperor maintained his support and approval.

In commentary to *ZZTJ*, Hu Sanxing remarks that the pardon was appropriate and the arrest was an error. The modern scholar Wang Bu remarks that although the emperor had been angry, he did not actually punish Dou Xian for his seizure of the gardens of the Princess of Xinshui: passage J above at 129-130 with comment by Sima Guang in passage K at 130-131. Wang Bu suggests that the incident with Dou Du may be regarded as an attempt to bring the family under some control, but the arrest and dismissal of Zhou Yu, endorsed by senior ministers, indicates the strength of support for the Dou and the comparative weakness of the emperor.

M *HHS* 47/37:1577, the Biography of Ban Chao

³⁷ A Chief Clerk (長史 *zhangshi*) and a Major (司馬 *sima*), each with rank/salary of One Thousand *shi*, were the two senior members of the staff of a general: *HHS* 114/24:3564. [The title Chief Clerk was also held by the assistant to the Administrator of a frontier commandery: *HHS* 118/28:3621; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 95.] Chief Clerk in Command of Troops (將兵 *jiangbing zhangshi*), however, was an independent appointment, lower than a general or colonel but higher than the regular Chief Clerk's colleague Major. *HHS* 47/37 notes that Ban Chao's new position entitled him to pennons and banners (幢麾 *chuanghui*) and to a band of pipe and drums (鼓吹 *guchui*).

³⁸ The description of Li Yi as a Captain of the Guards (衛候 *weihou*) is vague. He was probably an officer under the Minister of the Guards, responsible for the internal security of the palace; very likely a Captain of the Capital of the Left or of the Right (左/右都候 *zuo/you duhou*) commanding a troop of Warriors with Swords and Lances: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 33, and see note 35 above.

It is notable that Li Yi's commission was separate (別 *bie*) – *i.e.* independent – to that granted Ban Chao. Ban Chao had asked for support to deal with the Wusun: passage C of Jianchu 5 at 115-117. As immediately below, he was instead given a rival and an inspector.

³⁹ This was part of the conflict between Ban Chao's ally Shule and the opposing state Qiuzi: passage C of Jianchu 5 at 116. Yutian [Khotan] was on the Southern Road and the way to the Wusun territory lay north through Suoju [Yarkand] and Shule [Kashgar]. Since Shule was under attack Li Yi's route was potentially blocked.

When Ban Chao heard of this, he sighed and said, "I am not Zeng Shen, who was slandered by three different people [before the accusation was believed]. I fear that I shall be suspected immediately."⁴⁰ He sent his wife back.⁴¹

The emperor, however, knew that Ban Chao was loyal, and he sent Li Yi a stern rebuke, "Even if Ban Chao did keep his wife and children with him, there are another thousand men who want to return to China. How could they all agree with him?"⁴²

He ordered Li Yi to go to Ban Chao and accept whatever instructions he might give, and he also told Ban Chao, "If Li Yi can be of service in those foreign parts, then keep him to assist you." Ban Chao sent Li Yi to escort a hostage prince of the Wusun back to the imperial capital.

Xu Gan said to him, "Li Yi slandered you and tried to destroy the whole Western Regions enterprise. Why don't you use the imperial authority to keep him here and send another officer to escort the prince?"⁴³

"That is a mean suggestion," replied Ban Chao. "It is precisely because Li Yi slandered me that I am sending him. I have nothing to feel guilty about, so why should I worry what anyone may say? To keep him just for my own satisfaction would not be the conduct of a loyal subject."⁴⁴

⁴⁰ This is a well-known story, recorded, *inter alia*, by *SJ* 71:2311: Nienhauser, *GSR* VII, 148.

Zeng Shen was a disciple of Confucius and a putative author of *Xiao jing*, the Book of Filial Piety: note 9 to *Yongping* 9 at 44. When a man with the same name killed someone, his mother was told that he had committed the murder. She refused to believe the first two messengers, but when a third came she accepted that the tale was true.

Ban Chao does not believe that he has such a fine reputation as Zeng Shen, so the slander will have effect at first repetition.

⁴¹ Li Yi accused Ban Chao of potential disloyalty and separatism because he kept his family with him. To negate the charge Ban Chao sent his wife, and presumably his children, back to China where they could serve as effective hostages to his good conduct.

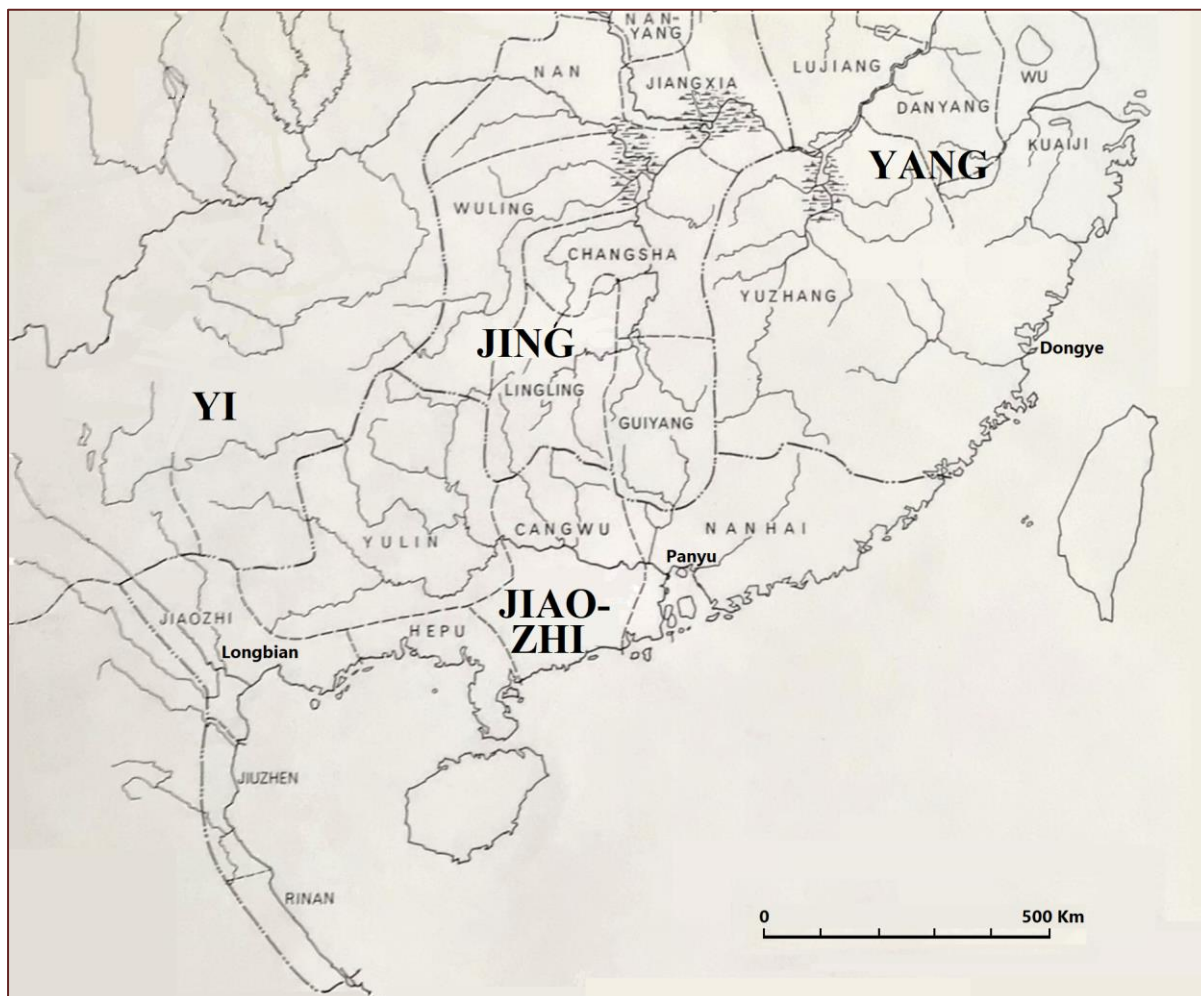
⁴² The "thousand men" were Ban Chao's troops. Emperor Zhang is saying that even if Ban Chao had less interest in his homeland than he might, his followers thought of returning there and he would not be able to convince them otherwise. Though it is not an expression of total trust in Ban Chao, it was surely part of a much longer message of criticism.

⁴³ Xu Gan, an old friend of Ban Chao, was his Major and senior assistant: passage C of *Jianchu* 5 with note 13 at 117.

⁴⁴ Xu Gan was concerned that if Li Yi was allowed to return to the court he would continue his accusations, and since the emperor had left the decision to Ban Chao it would be better to keep him where he could do no further damage. Ban Chao, however, said that his conscience was clear and he had nothing to fear from any accusations. Indeed, given the expression of imperial confidence that he had received, he was probably better off sending Li Yi away; if he stayed he was more likely to be a source of trouble than of assistance.

The expression *neixing bujiu* 内省不疚 appears in *Lun yu* XII.iv.3; Legge, *CC* I, 252: "The Master said, "When internal examination discovers nothing wrong, what is there to be anxious about, what is there to fear?"

N The emperor appointed the Palace Attendant Zheng Hong of Kuaiji as Minister of Finance.⁴⁵



Map 7: The Far South and the Southeast Coast

Hitherto, the transport of tribute from the seven commanderies of Jiaozhi had come by the sea route through Dongye.⁴⁶ The winds and the waves presented difficulties, however, and ships and men were constantly lost or drowned.

N *HHS* 33/23:1156, the Biography of Zheng Hong.

⁴⁵ The Minister of Finance [Bielenstein: Grand Minister of Agriculture] was the imperial treasurer, responsible for both the public accounts of the empire and for the private funds of the imperial household.

Zheng Hong had had a distinguished and successful career as a county magistrate and a commandery administrator, and had also served a Director of the Imperial Secretariat: deC, *LH3K*, 1121-1122.

⁴⁶ Jiaozhi 交趾 was the name of the province-level administration in the far south of the empire, from Nanhai in the region of present-day Guangzhou to Rinan on the mid-coast of present-day Vietnam. [Confusingly, Jiaozhi was also the name of one of the commanderies of that region, on the delta of the Red River about present-day Hanoi. The same difficulty is encountered in western Yi province 益州, where one of the subordinate commanderies was called Yizhou 益州.]

The major ports of the far south were Longbian 龍編 in Jiaozhi commandery, near present-day Hanoi, and Panyu 番禺 in Nanhai 南海, by present-day Guangzhou/Canton. Dongye 東冶 and its neighbour Houguan 候官, on the southeast coast at the mouth of the Min River by present-day Fuzhou, were counties of Kuaiji, but the main territory of the commandery was about Hangzhou Bay, there was no controlled communication with them by land, and the small settlements were isolated. They served to exact

Zheng Hong proposed that a road should be built across the mountain ridges of Lingling and Guiyang. Communications were thus opened through non-Chinese territory and this became a regular route.⁴⁷ Two years after he had taken office the savings could be counted by the tens and hundreds of thousands.

There was later a widespread drought, the border regions were troubled and the people had not enough to eat; the official treasuries and storehouses, however, were well-supplied and full. Zheng Hong sent in another memorial, recommending that some of their holdings should be distributed as a means to reduce the cost of food and aid the poor. The emperor followed his advice.⁴⁸

some tribute from the surrounding country and – as in this context – to provide a port of call for passing sea trade. See deC, *Generals of the South*, 44-45, and Bielenstein, "Colonisation of Fukien," 121-122.

⁴⁷ Lingling and Guiyang, the two commanderies in the south of Jing province, were on the upper reaches of the Xiang River 湘江 and were bounded to the south by the Nanling 南嶺 range. Zheng Hong's proposal was that roads should be built across the mountains to create access to Cangwu and Nanhai commanderies and the sea at Panyu/Guangzhou.

On the other hand, effective communication routes had been established from at least the late third century, when the far south was first brought under northern control. Not only was there road transport for the imperial armies, but the First Emperor of Qin had ordered the construction of the Ling Qu 靈渠 "Magic Trench" canal, which linked the Xiang River with the Gui 桂江, a tributary of the West River (西江 *Xi jiang*) which flows to the Pearl River delta. The canal is still in use today.

I suggest that the essence of Zheng Hong's proposal was the avoidance of the dangerous sea passage in favour of an inland route, bearing in mind that tribute and other goods could be brought up the West River from Panyu, taken through the mountains and down the Xiang River to join the Yangzi, then follow the Han River upstream to Nanyang and the north. The opening of the territory to Han settlement was incidental, and part of a continuing process.

On communications with this region at this time see, *inter alia*, deC, *Generals of the South*, 27-34.

⁴⁸ There had been a severe drought in 75-76, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Zhang: passages S of Yongping 18 and A of Jianchu 1 at 87-88, while commentary to the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 103/13:3278 quotes the *Gujin zhu* 古今注 "Notes on Things Ancient and Modern" of Fu Wuji 伏無忌 (see note 14 to Yongping 3 at 23) which indicates that it lasted through the summer of 87.

The Annals at *HHS* 3:139 then record a drought in 80, but this is not mentioned by *ZZTJ*. The only other citation is in the Treatise at 3279, which relates a drought in 88 to the death of the emperor during that year. By that time, however, Zheng Hong had been appointed Grand Commandant.

We must assume that the drought mentioned here was restricted to the far south of the empire.

Yuanhe 元和 1: 84 AD

27 February 84 – 12 February 85

1496

- A In the spring, in the intercalary first month, on the day *xinchou* [10 Mar] Liu Chang the Mourned King of Jiyin died.¹
- B In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day *jimao* [16 Jun] Dongping kingdom was divided and Liu Shang, son of the Generous King [Liu Cang] was enfeoffed as King of Rencheng.²
- C In the sixth month, on the day *xinyou* [28 Jul], Liu Fu the Generous King of Pei died.³
- D Many of those who discussed state business observed that, "Many of the candidates recommended from the commanderies and kingdoms are not of good quality, so the administrators are increasingly slack and their officers' management of affairs is becoming more careless. The fault lies with the provinces and commanderies." An edict sent the matter down for consideration by the Excellencies, Ministers and members of the court.

The Minister Herald Wei Biao presented his opinion, "The selection of worthy men is a major concern of the state, and the chief criterion is filial conduct. That is why if you are looking for a loyal subject you must go the gate of a filial son.⁴ On the other hand, even though a man has limited ability he may still manage appointment as a local chancellor: in this way Meng Gongchuo became chief officer of Zhao and Wei, though he was not competent to be the head of government in Teng or Xue.⁵

A *HHS* 50/40:1679, the Biography of Liu Chang;
HHS 3:145, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹ Sons of Emperor Ming by an unknown concubine and half-brothers to Emperor Zhang, Liu Chang [長] and others had been enfeoffed in 72: passage B of Yongping 15 with note 7 at 63-64. Liu Chang's name is last in that list, his biography is the last in the chapter, and we are told that he had lived at the capital and left no sons to succeed him. The posthumous title Dao 悼 indicates grief; he probably died in his teens.

B *HHS* 42/32:1442, the Biography of Liu Cang;
HHS 3:146, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

² *HHS* 42/32:1433 records that in Yongping 2:59, when Liu Cang was serving his brother Emperor Ming as a chief adviser and General of Agile Cavalry (passage E of Zhongyuan 2 at 5), his fief of Dongping had been enlarged by the addition of two counties taken from Dong commandery and three from Shanyang.

HHS 42/32:1443, the Biography of Liu Shang, says that his new kingdom was formed from Rencheng and two other counties, none of them the ones mentioned at 1433. In addition, we are told at 1442 that five other sons were enfeoffed as county marquises.

In effect, therefore, following Liu Cang's death the kingdom of Dongping was reduced to much the same size as it had been before the augmentation he was awarded in 59 – and borders in this open region of the North China plain were obviously very flexible.

C *HHS* 42/32:1427, the Biography of Liu Fu;
HHS 3:146, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

³ A son of Emperor Guangwu by his first empress, the Lady Guo, Liu Fu was a half-brother of Emperor Ming and half-uncle of Emperor Zhang.

D *HHS* 26/16:917-919, the Biography of Wei Biao.

⁴ Tang commentary explains this phrase as a quotation from an apocryphal supplement (緯 *wei*) to *Xiao jing* 孝經, the Book of Filial Piety (on which see note 9 to Yongping 9 at 44). It may be noted that Wei Biao was noted for his personal sense of filial piety, which he demonstrated when his parents died and he spent three years in isolation and semi-starvation: *HHS* 26/16:917.

⁵ *Lun yu* XIV.xii; Legge, *CC* I, 279: at the time of Confucius the Zhao 趙, Wei 魏 and Han 韓 clans shared control of the state of Jin 晉; they would later divide its territory and establish their own kingdoms, but

"A plain man who is loyal and filial will have a generous heart, while a hardened officer may be more limited. For a gentleman official, the first consideration is ability; one cannot base judgement only on rank and experience.

"That being the case, the important thing is the selection of the heads of the commandery units. If they are worthy, then all whom they recommend will possess the right qualities."⁶

Wei Biao presented another statement, "The central authority of the empire rests in the Imperial Secretariat, so how can the selection of the Masters of Writing not be seen as important? Yet among their number there are many who have reached their positions simply by promotion from among the Gentlemen.⁷ Though they may be skilled in the techniques of writing, and good at responding to questions, they lack the capacity for detailed analysis and they have limited ability. One should consider the example of the gamekeeper who replied so promptly to questions, and think deeply about [the comparison with] the achievements of Zhou Bo, who lacked a ready tongue."⁸

they were not yet fully independent. Confucius observed that Meng Gongchuo 孟公綽, a man of Lu 魯 like himself was competent to act as the chief minister for those family regimes, but while Teng 滕 and Xue 薛 were smaller and weaker than Zhao and Wei they were nonetheless direct tributaries of the Zhou 周 dynasty and had to deal with broader issues; that would be beyond his abilities.

The term 相兼 *xiangjian*, rendered as "local chancellor" would indicate the magistrate of a county fief.

⁶ In this context, *erqian shi* 二千石, Two Thousand *shi*, relates particularly to the Administrators of command-eries and the Chancellors of kingdoms, who held that rank/salary.

Wei Biao is presenting the classic argument for moral worth as opposed to technical ability. At the end of Later Han, the warlord Cao Cao had the opposite approach. See, for example, his proclamation of 31 January 215: "Now a man of good conduct is not necessarily suitable for promotion, and a man fit for promotion is not necessarily one of good conduct..." *SGZ* 1;44; deC, *Imperial Warlord*, 368. In recent times the debate was dramatically revived by the Maoist conflict of "red" against "expert" during the Cultural Revolution of the 1950s and 1960s.

⁷ The Imperial Secretariat drafted all imperial orders and controlled all correspondence with officials and with foreign states and tribes. It was formally responsible to the Minister Steward, while the Director (令 *ling*; Bielenstein: Prefect of the Masters of Writing) had rank/salary of only One Thousand *shi* and the Masters of Writing (尚書 *shangshu*) only Six Hundred *shi*. In practice, however, it was indeed at the centre of administration and had a great deal of independent authority.

Gentlemen of the Masters of Writing (尚書郎 *shangshu lang*) were in three ranks with slightly differing titles. Initially appointed from among the Filial and Incorrupt candidates presented by the commanderies and kingdoms, a Gentleman could be promoted through the ranks, eventually rising to become a Master of Writing in charge of one of six Bureaus: see *HHS* 116/26:3596-97 with Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 56-57 citing the *Hanguan yi* of Ying Shao and *Hanguan dianzhi yishi xuanyong*.

Masters of Writing were highly skilled calligraphers with knowledge of nine thousand characters, and were tested on these clerical matters. Wei Biao, however, is concerned that such technical skills are given undue precedence over the all-round capacity of the officials and their broader personal qualities.

⁸ This refers to an incident in the time of Emperor Wen of Former Han, recorded by *ZZTJ* 14:458-59, following an anecdote from *SJ* 102:2752 and *HS* 50:2307-08.

When the emperor visited the Shanglin Park, he asked some senior officers how many animals there were. They were unable to answer him, but the gamekeeper of the tiger enclosure replied instead, and when he proved to be accurate the emperor ordered he be made Prefect of the Park. [The term *sefu* 嗇夫 used here is a generic description of a low-ranking officer; I render it in this context as "gamekeeper."]

The minister Zhang Shizhi 張釋之, however, asked Emperor Wen to consider Zhou Bo 周勃, Marquis of Jiang 絳侯, who had been a leading supporter of Emperor Gao and instrumental in the coup which followed the death of the usurping Empress Lü, removing her clan from power and bringing Emperor Wen himself to the throne. Zhou Bo later became Imperial Chancellor, but he had always been

The emperor accepted all these arguments. Wei Biao was a great-great grandson of Wei Xian.⁹

1497

E In the autumn, in the seventh month, on the day *dingwei* [12 Sep], an edict was issued, "According to the Statutes, when a person is put to the question, he is to be beaten only with a bamboo, and Ordinance B gives the dimensions of the staff."¹⁰

"Since the recent most serious case [concerning Liu Ying the King of Chu],¹¹ many interrogators have been excessively cruel, even using drilling implements and causing immeasurable pain. When I think of such suffering I am deeply distressed.

"Court cases are to be dealt with in the autumn and the winter, and the restriction [on methods of questioning] is to be made clear."

In the eighth month, on the day *jiazi* [29 Sep] the Grand Commandant Deng Biao left office.¹² The Minister Herald Zheng Hong became Grand Commandant.

On the day *guiyou* [8 Oct], an edict ordered that the reign-title be changed [from Jianchu to Yuanhe].¹³

On the day *dingyou* [*i.e.* *dingchou*=12 Oct?],¹⁴ the emperor commenced a tour to the south. An edict ordered that, "Local administrations where we pass are not required to make special preparations. The Excellency of Works has personal charge of any labour required to maintain bridges, and the heads of the commanderies are responsible for sending out the officers who will make preparations to receive us and arrange our accommodation."

In the ninth month on the day *xinchou* [5 Nov] the emperor came to Zhangling.¹⁵ In the tenth month, on the day *jiwei* [23 Nov] he travelled on to Jiangling, then went back to Wan.¹⁶

known for his reluctance to speak in public debate. The emperor took the point, and rescinded his order. See also Loewe, *QHX*, 690 and 729.

⁹ Wei Xian had been Imperial Chancellor under Emperor Xuan of Former Han. His biography is at *HS* 73:3101-07.

E *HHS* 3:146, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹⁰ *Lü* 律 "the Statutes" is a general term for the official code, formally supplemented by *ling* 令 "Ordinances." During Han, however, the terms were largely interchangeable, and Ordinance B (丙 *bing*) was probably a compendium of decisions on a variety of topics: Hulsewé, "Ch'in and Han Law," 526-527.

The length and thickness of the bamboo staff, and the number of strokes applied, had been determined by Emperor Jing of Former Han: *HS* 23:1100; Hulsewé, *RHL*, 337.

¹¹ The identification of the term *dayu* 大獄 with the affair of Liu Ying is made by Tang commentary. See passages B and C of Yongping 13 at 55 and B to G of Yongping 14 at 56-60.

¹² Deng Biao resigned on grounds of ill health. His biography at *HHS* 44/34:1494 says that he was granted a cash donation and tenured rank at Two Thousand *shi* and other marks of imperial favour.

¹³ Until this day the year had been identified as the ninth of Jianchu. As was normal practice, however, the change was retrospective and affected the preceding months: *HHS* 3:146.

¹⁴ The eighth month of this year ended on a *guiwei* day, cyclical number 20, and cannot have included a *dingyou* day, cyclical number 34. It is most probable that there had been dittography: after *guiyou* 癸酉 as above, a copyist has miswritten *dingyou* 丁酉 instead of *dingchou* 丁丑, cyclical number 14.

¹⁵ Zhangling in Nanyang was some three hundred kilometres from Luoyang. Formerly known as Chongling 春陵, it had been the homeland of the imperial Liu family of Later Han: see note 27 to Yongping 3 at 26.

¹⁶ Jiangling, capital of Nan commandery, was on the Yangzi, just west of present-day Shishi in Hubei. Wan, capital of Nanyang commandery, was present-day Nanyang in Henan.

In his journey to Zhangling, Emperor Zhang would have travelled through Wan. Having travelled two hundred kilometres further south to the Yangzi he was now returning north, again with a stopover at Wan.

F He summoned the former Administrator of Linhuai, Zhu Hui, a man of Wan, and appointed him Deputy Director of the Imperial Secretariat.¹⁷

When Zhu Hui had been at Linhuai his government was excellent,¹⁸ and the people sang his praises,

Strong and upright, totally independent,

That is Young Zhu of Nanyang.¹⁹

His officers respect his authority,

And the people cherish his kindness.

He soon afterwards left office on account of some infringement of the law and was now at home.²⁰ It was for that reason the emperor summoned him for appointment.

G In the eleventh month, on the day *jichou* [18 Dec] the emperor returned to his palace.

H The Master of Writing Zhang Lin presented a statement, "The government is short of money.²¹ We should take over the production of salt and we should also revive the Equal Supply system of Emperor Wu."²²

F *HHS* 43/33:1458-60, the Biography of Zhu Hui;
DGHJ 18:3a, , the Biography of Zhu Hui.

¹⁷ Linhuai commandery in Xu province had been renamed Xiapi in 72 and made the kingdom of Liu Yan 劉衍, son of Emperor Ming by a concubine: passage B of Yongping 15 with note 7 at 63-64.

¹⁸ *HHS* 43/33 records how Zhu Hui had earlier been recognised by Liu Cang and his brother Emperor Ming and how when he was at Linhuai a fierce pestilence ravaged the people of neighbouring commanderies but left his territory unscathed. Later, as a private citizen in Nanyang, he distributed family goods to relieve distress at a time of famine.

¹⁹ Zhu Hui's style was Wenji 文季; the character 季 was often used for a younger son.

²⁰ *DGHJ* 18 says that he had been reported by the provincial inspector because some senior subordinates had been arrested and died under interrogation; see also *HHSJJ* at 1559. As in the song above, he was known for keeping his officers under strict control.

G *HHS* 3:147, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

H *HHS* 43/23:1460, the Biography of Zhu Hui;
JS 26:793, the Treatise of Economics:

²¹ Translating *JS* 26, Yang, "Economic History," 188-189, explains that the term *xian'guan* 縣官 in Han times indicated the imperial government as a whole, not just county-level administrations.

It should be noted that the arrangement of the texts and punctuation at the beginning of this passage is slightly confused. *HHS* 43/33 and *JS* 26 state that the price of grain was high, that government resources were inadequate and the court was concerned about this. Zhang Lin put forward his proposal in response to this situation. *ZZTJ*, however, incorporates this initial information into Zhang Lin's submission.

²² *JS* 26 has *maiyan* 賣鹽 "the selling of salt." *Zhu* 煮 "boiling" refers to its extraction by the heating of brine – as opposed to or supplementary to simple evaporation: e.g. Needham, *Science and Civilisation* IV.1, 66, referring to the use of natural gas for this purpose from the second century BC.

Equal Supply"(均輸 *junshu*) was a government monopoly on transport: instead of tribute goods being carried by private merchants, government offices made local purchases with the revenue from taxation and arranged their transport to the capital. The system was clumsy and complex and aroused considerable opposition: e.g. Yang, "Economic History," 188; Nishijima, "Economic and Social History," 604-605.

Zhang Lin also argued that prices were too high because money was too plentiful, and suggested that the government should hoard copper coins and restrict their use; he also proposed that when the annual reporting officers came from the southern and western commanderies they should bring local gemstones with them to be sold at a higher price in central China.

The whole of this passage in *ZZTJ* is awkward and complex, chiefly because Sima Guang is attempting to deal with a complex debate about government monopolies, and he chose the incident about Zhu Hui as a place to fit his chronicle format. As a result, the two matters are confused: on the one hand, the passage tells of Zhu Hui's courageous criticism of imperial policy; but at the same time it also considers the short-lived introduction of the monopolies. Unfortunately, it fails to give a clear account of either topic. The notes which follow seek to clarify them.

1498 Zhu Hui took a firm stand against such a proposal, "The Equal Supply system is no different to common trading. If the profits from salt go to the state then ordinary people will be impoverished and resentful. This is definitely not a policy which a wise ruler should follow."

Furious at this, the emperor issued a fierce rebuke to all the Masters of Writing. Zhu Hui and all his associates then had themselves bound and went to prison.²³

Three days later, an edict ordered their release, saying, "We are always glad to hear differing opinions. The elderly gentleman [Zhu Hui] committed no fault, and although the imperial letter was somewhat excessive, why should anyone tie themselves up [and go to prison]?"²⁴

After this, Zhu Hui claimed to be seriously unwell and would offer no further comments. Concerned and anxious, the Director and other members of the Secretariat said to him, "The reprimand is over and done. Why claim to be ill? This is serious."

"For eighty years," replied Zhu Hui, "I have received favour and held confidential appointments.²⁵ I should repay this with my life. If I know in my heart that something is wrong but simply follow instructions and echo what I am told, that would be turning my back on my duty as a loyal subject. My ears and eyes have now nothing to hear or see; I humbly await my death." He closed his mouth and refused to speak again.

The officers of the Secretariat could not think what to do [to change his mind], but they presented a joint memorial which criticised him.²⁶

The emperor was now less concerned and prepared to let the matter rest. A few days later he sent a special messenger to enquire after Zhu Hui, together with the Court Physician to care for his sickness and the Court Provisioner to supply him with food. When Zhu Hui got up from his bed and expressed his thanks, the emperor also presented him with a hundred thousand cash, a hundred rolls of silk and ten robes of state.²⁷

²³ *ZZTJ* follows the summary in *JS* 26 but the account in *HHS* 43/33 gives reason for the imperial anger.

- Both sources state that the question of monopolies had been referred to the Secretariat for discussion. Zhu Hui argued that Zhang Lin's proposal was not practicable and it was dropped.
- *HHS* 43/33 goes on to say, however, that the matter was later raised again- no firm date is given – and the emperor then accepted the idea and issued an edict to put it into effect.
- On this latter occasion Zhu Hui acted on his own initiative and presented the objections summarised in *ZZTJ*. Since the decision had already been made, Zhu Hui's renewed opposition was an unwelcome surprise; and one reason for the emperor's reprimand of the Masters of Writing was that they were supposed to accept his instructions without argument – on this occasion he had not sought their opinion.

²⁴ *Huangfa* 黄髮 "yellow hair" refers – quite respectfully – to an aged man. *HHS* 33/23:1457 says that Zhu Hui had been thirteen *sui* when Wang Mang was overthrown in 23, so he was born about 12 AD and was now in his early seventies.

²⁵ As in the previous note, Zhu Hui was at this time in his early seventies, so it is hard to believe that he was referring to his personal experience of favour. *HHS* 33/23:1457 notes, however, that his father Zhu Cen 岑 had been a friend of the future Emperor Guangwu when they were young, so there was indeed a long association with the imperial family.

²⁶ In order to avoid punishment themselves, they were concerned to dissociate themselves from his conduct.

²⁷ Despite the emperor's generous reconciliation, *JS* 26 says that Zhang Lin's program for the revival of imperial monopolies was put into effect, but was soon abandoned.

I Kong Xi of Lu kingdom and Cui Yin of Zhuo commandery travelled together to attend the Imperial University, and in the course of conversation they discussed how, "When Emperor Wu first came to the throne he respected and trusted in the Way of the sages, and within five or six years his reputation was greater than that of Emperor Wen or Emperor Jing. Later, however, he let himself go and forgot all that excellent teaching."²⁸

Liang Yu, a student staying close by, sent in a report that, "Cui Yin and Kong Xi have slandered and defamed a former emperor. This is an attack on the present government."

When the matter was referred to senior ministers, Cui Yin went to a government office to accept a reprimand. Kong Xi, however, presented a letter to justify himself, saying, "Anyone who talks of slander and defamation is claiming that these things did not actually happen and is alleging – without any justification – that the story is false. When one is discussing whether the government of Emperor Wu was good or bad, the evidence is on display in the history of Han, as obvious as the sun or the moon. Our discussion was based on nothing but the real facts of the documented records, it was not empty slander."²⁹

"Now all the world knows whether an emperor is good or bad, and there are reasons for it. You cannot punish people for discussing them."³⁰

1499 "Since your majesty came to the throne, there has been no fault in your government, your moral influence has extended widely, and all the empire feels the benefit. What reason can my colleague and I have to criticise you? If we deny the truth, then

With more detail, *HHS* 46/36:1553 records that Zhang Lin was found guilty of corruption in 86 (passage B of Yuanhe 3 with note 5 at 154) and the Annals at *HHS* 4:167-168 record the ending of the monopolies in 88 by an edict of the Empress-Dowager Dou acting as regent for Emperor Zhang's son and successor Emperor He (passage L of Zhanghe 2 at 171).

The history of government monopolies under Later Han is the subject of some disagreement. In her "Economic and Social History" at 609, Ebrey suggests that they were maintained in similar fashion to that of the Former dynasty, and says that they were only "temporarily abandoned" by the edict of 88.

In fact, however, it seems clear that the monopolies were left in abeyance by Later Han. *HHS* 36/26:1225 says that Emperor Zhang had been considering the restoration of salt and iron offices (復鹽鐵官) as early as 81, but was dissuaded by firm objections from his Minister of Finance Zheng Zhong 鄭眾. It appears this was the first time such a project had been considered; Zhang Lin's proposal was the second, and it seems likely that he was responsible for the third, successful, attempt. Indicative of the different policies of the two dynasties, it may be observed that whereas the Treatise of Geography (地理志 *dili zhi*) of *HS* 28A-B refers to offices (官 *guan*) of salt and iron in various counties, the Treatise of Administrative Geography (郡國志 *junguo zhi*) of *HHS* 109/19-114/24 reports only whether the territory produced salt or iron (有鹽/有鐵).

Contrary to Ebrey's interpretation, therefore, the restoration of the monopolies was undertaken only in the 80s, after a good deal of opposition, and was quite short-lived: it was the revival that was temporary, not the abandonment.

I *HHS* 79/69A:2560-61, the Biography of Kong Xi in the Chapter on Confucian Scholars.

²⁸ This summarises the conversation. Tang commentary remarks that the emperor's later years were marked by continuing warfare, a miserable population, and a mistaken belief in the spirit world.

²⁹ Indeed, *HHS* 79/69A says that the critique of Emperor Wu arose from a conversation about Fuzhai 夫差 the King of Wu 吳 in the early fifth century BC as recorded in *Chunqiu*. Liang Yu joined the discussion and was annoyed when Kong Xi and Cui Yin disagreed with him.

³⁰ Kong Xi is arguing that every ruler's faults and achievements are well known and well recorded, and there is no reason that people should not discuss them and allocate praise and blame.

indeed we should apologise and repent; and if we make a mistake then we should be corrected. But why should anyone regard it as a crime?³¹

"This is a complex question, but your majesty has not gone to the heart of it and considered it deeply; instead you have simply followed your personal feelings of indignation and you have made a hasty decision. My colleague and I are liable to the death penalty, but if we die, then we die. People of the empire, however, will certainly look upon this affair with concern, as a glimpse of your majesty's true nature: in future, even if they see something that is wrong, none will [dare to] say any-thing.

"It was only after Duke Huan of Qi had discussed the faults of his predecessor with Guan Zhong that his subjects were able to fully appreciate his true nature.³² Now, after ten generations, if your majesty wishes to conceal the truth about Emperor Wu, that is very different to Duke Huan!

"I fear that if your ministers suddenly see how anyone can be accused of a crime like this, they will bite the tongue and hide any wrong-doing; this is not the way to sort things out. Those who consider this affair in later times, moreover, may believe that this was the policy your majesty approved. How can you control your descendants?

"I respectfully attend the gates of the palace and await my heavy punishment."

When this letter was received the emperor gave immediate orders to halt the investigation, and he appointed Kong Xi a Foreman Clerk of the Orchid Terrace.³³

J In the winter, in the twelfth month, on the day *renzi* [15 Jan 85], an edict was issued, "Whereas in former times crimes involving witchcraft resulted in the offender's whole clan being proscribed from office, we now abolish this restriction, save only appointments concerned with our personal protection."³⁴

³¹ The accusation, as above, was that to criticise Emperor Wu implied criticism of the present government. Kong Xi, however, argues that the present government is excellent, and that there is no connection between the one and the other. If a comment on historical fact is wrong, it should be corrected, but there is no justification for regarding it as a criminal offence.

³² *Guo yu* 國語 6.3 [Qi yu 齊語 chapter] tells how Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公 spoke frankly to his minister Guan Zhong 管仲 (known as Guanzi 管子) about the failings of his immediate predecessor and elder brother Duke Xiang 襄, who had been extravagant and paid no heed to the miseries of his people. This frankness meant that Guan Zhong and all his other ministers served him loyally, and so he became hegemon (霸 *ba*), chief of the feudal lords of the kingdom of Zhou 周.

³³ On the Orchid Terrace, headquarters of the Censorate with a library and archive, see note 3 to Jianchu 1 at 88. Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy* 58, quoting *HHS* 116/26:3600 and *Hanguan yi*, observes that the rank/salary of a Foreman Clerk was Six Hundred *shi* and, like the officers of the Imperial Secretariat, they were highly literate and skilled calligraphers: note 7 to Yuanhe 1 at 137. From passage B of Jianchu 1 at 88, moreover, it appears that staff of the Orchid Terrace had the right to raise matters of policy at court.

From an incident recorded in the following year, however, it appears that Kong Xi may not have taken up the appointment, or that he resigned it soon afterwards: see passage G of Yuanhe 2 at 149.

J *HHS* 3:147-148, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

³⁴ This is a summary of a longer quotation from the edict, which begins with citations from the *Classic of History* and *Zuo zhuan* to show that the offences of one member of the family should not extend to others – a contrast to the principle, common in Han law, of family responsibility: notes 14 and 15 to Yongping 14 at 58-59. The emperor was concerned that such broad prohibition from office meant that many suitable candidates were excluded. It seems likely that the reference to witchcraft is related to the affair of Liu Ying, late King of Chu: e.g. passage B of Yongping 13 at 55.

Suwei 宿衛 "personal protection" is a general term, referring not only to guards under the Minister of the Household but also to the Northern Army: *HHS* 115/25: 3574 and 117/27:2612.

K Both Mao Yi of Lujiang and Zheng Jun of Dongping had local reputations for their fine conduct.³⁵

1500 Zhang Feng of Nanyang admired Mao Yi and went to call upon him. Just as they were sitting, however, an official letter arrived appointing Mao Yi acting magistrate of Anyang.³⁶ Mao Yi came back in with a pleased expression on his face, but Zhang Feng did not approve; he made excuses and went away.

Later, after Mao Yi's mother died, he refused all further invitations to office. Zhang Feng then sighed and said, "It is really not possible to judge a man's worth. He showed pleasure [in his appointment] on that day, but it was less important to him than his affection for his family."

L Zheng Jun's elder brother, a local officer of the county, would sometimes take bribes. Zheng Jun protested, but without effect. So he went and hired himself out as a labourer and after a year or so, when he had acquired both cash and silk, he gave it all to his brother, saying, "All physical goods can be replaced, but an officer found guilty of taking bribes is risking his life." His words had effect, and his brother reformed.

Zheng Jun was appointed a Master of Writing but later retired and went back to his homeland.

The emperor issued an edict to honour Mao Yi and Zheng Jun, awarding each of them a thousand *hu* of grain,³⁷ and giving instructions that the senior officials of their commanderies should call upon them in the eighth month of the year to enquire after their health and to present them with sheep and wine.³⁸

M Meng Yun the Administrator of Wuwei reported that, "The Northern Xiongnu wish to renew trade with us." An edict approved this.

Yimozi, the Dajuqu King of the Northern Xiongnu,³⁹ came with other leaders to bring more than ten thousand head of cattle and horses to exchange for goods with

K *HHS* 39/29:1294, Introduction to a chapter on worthy men;
Hou Han shu of Xie Cheng 7:14b, the Biography of Mao Yi;
DGHJ 18:8b, the Biography of Zhu Hui.

³⁵ This introductory sentence relates to both the present passage K and the following passage L.

³⁶ Anyang county was in Runan. *DGHJ* says that Mao Yi had previously been appointed as Commandant, so Zhang Feng was visiting him there. It adds that he showed his pleasure as he was telling his mother of his promotion.

³⁷ A *hu* 斛 was approximately twenty litres.

L *HHS* 27/17:945-46, the Biography of Zheng Jun.

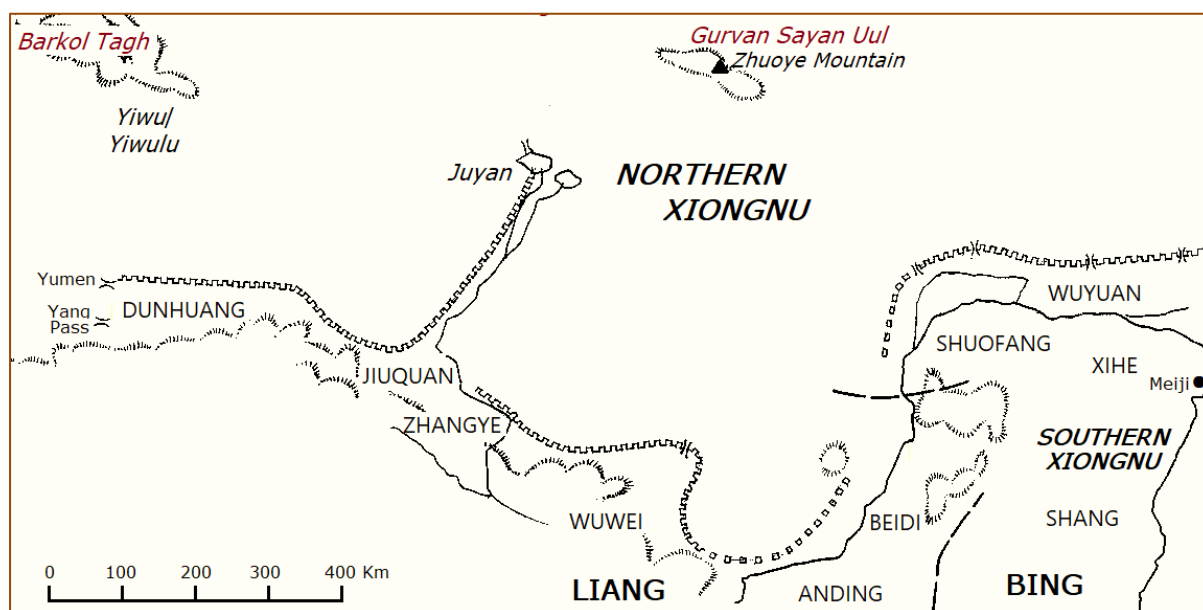
³⁸ As with note 32 above, this sentence combines information from *HHS* 27/17 and *HHS* 39/29. The account of Mao Yi in *HHS* 39/29 has an identical description of the award, but dates it to the Jianchu period. Zheng Jun's biography, however, describes how he was obliged to retire from the Secretariat on the grounds of ill health, and dates the edict honouring him and Mao Yi to this year Yuanhe 1. In his *Kaoyi* commentary, Sima Guang notes the different dating but prefers the more circumstantial record from *HHS* 27/17.

M *HHS* 89/79:2950, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

³⁹ The name and title are written by *HHS* 89/79 as 大且渠伊莫訾王, and this is followed by *ZZTJ*. It is uncertain, however, whether this is a single title or a title followed by a personal name; except for 王 wang "king," no part of the combination can be meaningfully translated and it must be assumed that it transcribes the Xiongnu language. Tang commentary gives the reading of 且 here as *ju* rather than *qie*.

The modern punctuation of *ZZTJ* has all seven characters as a single personal name, but *HHS* marks 伊莫訾王 as a personal name, with 大且渠 as a title. There is no good way to resolve the matter, but I incline to take Yimozi 伊莫訾 as the name of the Xiongnu chieftain, and transfer *wang* to be part of his title.

Han. The Southern Shanyu sent light horsemen in a raid from Shang commandery and they returned with a great deal of booty.⁴⁰



Map 8: The Northwest

N The emperor sent another contingent of eight hundred men, led by the Acting Major He Gong, to Ban Chao, who then collected the forces of Shule and Yutian to attack Suoju.⁴¹ Suoju, however, bribed King Zhong of Shule to support them, and he went west to occupy the strongpoint of Wuji.⁴²

Ban Chao promptly appointed his headquarters assistant Chengda as King of Shule. He collected all the troops who had remained loyal for an attack on Zhong, and sent an envoy to persuade the King of Kangju to arrest him and send him back to his state. Wuji then surrendered.

⁴⁰ Though *ZZTJ* identifies this as a single raid, the context of *HHS* 89/79 indicates that trade was being successfully maintained but was then harassed by raids: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 262. The Northern Xiongnu trading parties were moving south, east of the northern course of the Yellow River, while the Southern Xiongnu were based in the Ordos. The raids were launched across the River, through the largely unguarded territory between the commanderies of Beidi and Shuofang.

N *HHS* 47/37:1579, the Biography of Ban Chao

⁴¹ Suoju [Yarkand] had previously accepted Ban Chao, but had since gone over to the hostile state of Qiuqi [Kuqa]: passage C of Jianchu 5 at 116.

⁴² Nephew of a former king of Shule [Kashgar], Zhong had been placed on his throne by Ban Chao ten years before: passage F of Yongping 17 at 76.

Neither the site nor the size of Wuji can be identified. It was probably a fortified settlement in the foot-hills of the Pamirs. As immediately below, it must have been vulnerable to an attack from Kangju.

CHAPTER 47

being Chapter 39 of the Chronicle of Han
containing Part 2 of the reign of Emperor Zhang
and Part 1 of the reign of Emperor He

Yuanhe 元和 2: 85 AD

13 February 85 – 1 February 86

1501

A In the spring, in the first month, on the day *yiyou* [17 Feb], an edict said, "The Ordinances say that, 'When a woman of the people has a child, she is exempt from the poll-tax for three years.' From this time on, each woman who is pregnant is to be granted three *dou* of grain, and her husband is exempted from the tax for one year. Let this be written into the Ordinances!"¹

An additional edict, directed to the Three Excellencies, said, "[Now it is quite common for officials to show a false face, so that black appears to be white. I have had enough of this, and I resent it bitterly.]"²

"If an official carries out his duties in a calm and collected manner, without making a fuss about it, though it may seem that he has done too little on any one day, his results over the course of a month will be more than sufficient.³ Liu Fang the magistrate of Xiangcheng is a good example: all his officers and people agree that he does not bother them; and even if there were nothing else to distinguish him, this would be close enough [to the ideal]!"⁴

"Now if you take meddling as investigation, interference as understanding, petty fussiness as virtue and bullying as a mark of authority, then when any of these are put into practice your people will be angry.

A HHS 3:148, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹ On the Ordinances (令 *ling*) as part of the official code of laws, see note 10 to Yuanhe 1 at 138.

The poll-tax (算賦 *suanfu*) was applied to all adults between fifteen and fifty-six *sui*, at a generally stable rate of 1200 cash each year. See Nishijima, "Economic and Social History," 595 and 598; the latter with a reference to this edict.

Nishijima, however, slightly misinterprets the text, suggesting that the exemption for women who had given birth was a new initiative. As the edict says, that policy was already included among the ordinances: Emperor Zhang is adding the grant of grain to a woman who becomes pregnant and the exemption for her husband.

At HHSJJ 3:142 the modern scholar Hui Dong quotes the *Tong dian* 通典 of Du You 杜佑 of Tang with a summary history of the tax: after some varying policy during Former Han, the exemption for new mothers was confirmed by an ordinance of Emperor Guangwu.

A *dou* 斗 measure of grain was just under one litre.

² The text in brackets does not appear in the body of the Beijing 1956 edition of *ZZTJ*, but commentary of Zhang Yu notes that several editions of *ZZTJ* include these eighteen characters; they are part of the quite lengthy introduction to the edict, as preserved by HHS 3.

In the context of the edict as a whole, however, it appears that the emperor is chiefly concerned that the people be allowed the time they require to carry out the labour appropriate to the seasons – a traditional Confucian/Mencian argument.

³ Tang commentary relates this formula to comments made about the Taoist Gengsang Chu 庚桑楚 (or Gengsangzi 庚桑子), recorded by Chapter 23 of the book of *Zhuangzi* 莊子 [in the *Zapian* 雜篇 section].

⁴ Xiangcheng county was in Yingchuan. A noted scholar of *Shi jing* 詩經 the *Classic of Poetry*, Liu Fang later became Minister of the Imperial Clan and then an Excellency: HHS 37/27:1256 and 4:174.

- 1502 "I have issued several edicts and other documents, so that the caps [of my messengers] and the canopies [of their carriages] fill the roads, but the local officials still fail to apply my policies and many of the people are disaffected. Who should be blamed for this wrong? I urge you, the Excellencies, to put some effort into reviewing the previous ordinances, and make my intentions clear!"
- B The Northern Xiongnu chieftains Cheli, Zhuobing and others, seventy-three altogether, fled that regime and came to the frontiers of Han.⁵
At this time the Northern enemy was weak and in decline, facing attack from the Southerners at the front, with the Dingling people against their rear,⁶ the Xianbi striking on their left and the states of the Western Regions pressing on their right. No longer able to maintain themselves, they withdrew some distance from the frontier.
The Southern Shanyu Chang died. Xuan, son of the Shanyu Han, succeeded him as the Yituyulü di Shanyu.⁷
- C The Taichu calendar had now been in operation for more than a hundred years, and had fallen slightly behind the actual astronomy. The emperor ordered the Calendarists Bian Xin, Li Fan and their colleagues to adjust it, and they created the Sifen calendar.⁸
It was put into effect on the day *jiayin* of the second month [18 Mar].

B *HHS* 89/79:2950, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

⁵ The punctuation of *ZZTJ* indicates 車利涿兵 as the name of one man: Chelizhuoping, but I follow that of *HHS* 89/79, which has it as two. The number who came is given as 七十三輩; I take the character 輩 *bei* as a numerator for the chieftains.

⁶ Said to inhabit the region of the far north about Lake Baikal, the Dingling 丁零 people had almost no contact with Han China. There is no substantive account of them in *Hou Han shu*.

⁷ In the succession system of the Southern Xiongnu the title of Shanyu passed through the males of each generation before moving to the next. See note 30 to *Yongping* 2 at 19.

C Summary made by Sima Guang based on *HHS* 92/2:3025-27, the Treatise of Pitchpipes and the Calendar.

⁸ The staff of the Court Astronomer included six Calendarists (治曆 *zhili*): *HHS* 115/25: 3572, commentary quoting *Hanguan yi*; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy* 22. The Sifen "Quarter Day" system (四分曆 *Sifen li*) was a re-adjustment of the official calendar inherited from Former Han, which was now embarrassingly faulty.

The Taichu "Grand Beginning" calendar (太初曆 *Taichu li*) had been proclaimed by Emperor Wu in 104 BC, the first year of the period of that name and took its name from the reign-title: *HS* 6:199; Dubs, *HFHD* II, 99. Beside some recalculations of formulae, the beginning of the year was moved from the tenth month, the first of winter, to the first month, beginning of spring. By the end of the first century BC, however, after almost a hundred years, it had developed errors.

There were two major problems. The first was dissatisfaction with the forecasting of eclipses, both lunar and solar. As the Treatise observes at 3025, many solar eclipses were observed on the last day of a month rather than the first, and the moon was sometimes visible on the first day of a month. [The text of *HHS* 92/2 here is erratic, and has been heavily amended by later commentators quoted in *HHSJJ* at 3389.]

The second difficulty was the so-called precession of the equinoxes, the apparent movement of the stars due to variation in the earth's axis of rotation. The effect is gradual – a complete cycle will take almost twenty-six thousand years, but even in the shorter term the constellations appear displaced by about one degree in seventy years. In this way, whereas the Taichu astronomers of 104 BC had found the winter solstice between the *Dou* 斗 "Dipper" and *Qianniu* 牽牛 "Cowherd" constellations, the eighth and the ninth lunar mansions (宿 *xiu*), by 85 AD it was observed further into *Dou*. See, for example, Needham, *Science and Civilisation* III, 246-247.

The problems had already appeared by the end of the first century BC, and the scholar Liu Xin 劉歆 (46 BC-23 AD), a supporter and adviser to the "usurper" Wang Mang, adjusted and extended the Taichu system to form his Santong 三統 "Triple Concordance" calendar: *HHS* 93/3:3082; Sivin, "Mathematical Astronomy," 11-12. In *Kaoyi* commentary to the present passage, however, Sima Guang argues that the revisions to the calendar were rejected by the founding Emperor Guangwu of Later Han on account of Liu

- D When the emperor was Heir, he had studied the *Classic of History* under Zhang Pu of Runan the Administrator of Dong commandery.⁹

On the day *bingchen* [20 Mar] the emperor began a tour to the east.¹⁰ When he came to Dong commandery, he ordered that Zhang Pu and his students, together with the officers of the commandery and the counties, should all meet at the commandery headquarters. Initially, he behaved as a student, and had Zhang Pu give a lecture on a passage from the *Classic of History*; only when that was concluded did he follow the regular formalities of a ruler and his subject. Everyone was impressed by his generosity with gifts and awards, honors and distinctions.

- E The emperor then travelled by way of Rencheng, where he visited the house of Zheng Jun, awarding him a life-time salary as an officer of the Imperial Secretariat. The people of that time called him the "Emeritus Master of Writing."¹¹

Xin's association with Wang Mang – and it is true that the problem continued through the first reigns of the restored dynasty. See, for example, note 4 to Yongping 6 at 33

In commentary at 3362, moreover, *Gujin zhu* also refers to an eclipse on the *yiwei* day of the ninth month of Yuanhe 1 [84]. This too is said to have occurred on the last day of the month, Julian 16 November; but the ninth month of Yuanhe 1 ended on a *renzi* 壬子 day, cyclical number 49, and the nearest *yiwei* 乙未 day, cycle 32, was in the middle of that month. The nearest eclipse to that date was Oppolzer 3096/Espenak 04984, on Julian 16 December: that was a *renwu* 壬午 day, cyclical 19, and was the last day of the tenth month of the Chinese year; the other eclipse of that year was Oppolzer 3095/Espenak 04983 on Julian 21 June, second-last day of the fourth month; both, however, occurred in the far southern hemisphere, affecting the Indian and Pacific oceans and Australia, and neither would have been visible from any part of China. The Annals have no mention of any eclipse in this year Yuanhe 1, but they do not report all the entries in the Treatise and few, if any, from *Gujin zhu*. It is not practicable to debate whether the dates are mis-written or whether, as Pankeneir suggests in "Eclipse Records" at 211, that they were failed predictions. This may, however have been the final incident which persuaded Emperor Zhang to call for an overhaul of the calendar.

In "Mathematical Astronomy," 22-33, Sivin discusses the comparative accuracy of predictions of lunar eclipses by the Santong "Triple Concordance" and Sifen "Quarter Day" systems. At 33 he concludes "that the Quarter Day methods are inherently no more capable than their predecessor of yielding highly reliable predictions, even to the nearest month." And indeed, at least as far as whether an eclipse of the sun fell on the first or last day of a month, there was no significant improvement: see the Treatise of the Five Powers, and the summary at *HHS* 108/18:3372, cited by note 24 to Yongping 3 at 25.

At the core of the problem was the fact that astronomers of the Han period did not recognise the precession of the equinoxes. The discovery had been made by the Greek Hipparchus in the second century BC, but it was not noticed in China until the work of Yu Xi 虞喜 in the fourth century AD: Needham, *Science and Civilisation* III, 220 and 271. [At the latter reference Needham observes that while the Chinese emphasis on equatorial co-ordinates rather than the classical Greek concern with the ecliptic (as in signs of the zodiac) is valuable for present-day astronomy, it tended to conceal the effects of the precession.]

Strictly speaking, therefore, despite the complexity and the impressive detail of their calculations, both the Taichu calendar – whether or not it was amended by the Santong system of Liu Xin – and the Sifen calendar which replaced it were inadequate for their purpose.

- D *HHS* 45/35:1530, the Biography of Zhang Pu.

⁹ *HHS* 45/35:1528-29 tells how Zhang Pu was an expert on *Shu jing* 書經 the *Classic of History* and became the professor of that classic when Emperor Ming opened the Palace School for Noble Families in 66: passage C of Yongping 9 at 44. He also gave special instruction to the Heir.

When Emperor Zhang came to the throne in 75 Zhang Pu was appointed to office at court, but left a few months later to become Administrator of Dong commandery. He may have returned to the capital to take part in the conference at the White Tiger Hall in 79: passage G of Jianchu 4 at 113-114; Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 160-162, however, discounts the idea.

¹⁰ The date Emperor Zhang commenced his tour is given by the Annals, *HHS* 3:149.

- E *HHS* 27/17:946, the Biography of Zheng Jun.

- F On the day *yichou* [30 Mar] the emperor carried out the Ploughing at Dingtao.¹²
 1503 On the day *xinwei* [5 Apr], he was in Taishan, where he presented an offering to sacred Mount Tai.¹³ He then went on to Fenggao, and on the *renshen* day [6 Apr] he held sacrifice in honour of the Five Emperors at the Sacred Hall on the Wen River.¹⁴
 On the day *bingzi* [10 Apr] there was an amnesty for the empire.¹⁵
 [On the day *wuyin* (12 Apr)]¹⁶ the emperor came to Ji'nan.¹⁷
- G In the third month, on the day *jichou* [22 May] the emperor arrived in Lu. On the day *gengyin* [23 May] he offered sacrifice at Queli to Confucius and his seventy-two disciples.¹⁸ Music of the six ancient rulers was performed,¹⁹ and there was an assembly of the male descendants of the sage twenty years or older, sixty-two altogether.²⁰

¹¹ Zheng Jun, a former member of the Secretariat, has been discussed in passage L of Yuanhe 1 at 143. He had retired a year or so earlier to his home in Rencheng county of Dongping and Emperor Zhang had at that time ordered that he be issued with meat, grain and wine each year.

Boyi/baiyi 白衣 "plain-clothed" has the basic meaning of a commoner. In this instance, as Zheng Jun had previously held the office it seems appropriate to understand his title as "retired" or perhaps "emeritus."

F *HHS* 3:149-150, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹² Dingtao, near present-day Dingtao in Shandong, was the capital of Jiyin commandery. On the Ploughing ceremony, see note 2 to Yongping 15 at 62.

¹³ Daizong 岱宗 is an ancient name for Mount Tai. This echoes *Shu jing* 書經 the *Classic of History* II.i.3.8; Legge, *CC* III, 35, which records how the sage Emperor Shun 舜 presented an offering to Heaven at Daizong.

¹⁴ This was not the Sacred Hall at Luoyang, passage A of Yongping 2 at 13. Fenggao, capital of Taishan, was southeast of Mount Tai on the Wen River 汶水. According to tradition, there had been a Sacred Hall (明堂 *Ming tang*) at the site in remote antiquity, and a new one was built by Emperor Wu of Former Han after his celebration of the Feng 封 sacrifice to Heaven in 110 BC: *HS* 25B:1243; Dubs, *HFHD* II, 87 note 25.2, Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 82 and 184-186. It had been visited by members of Emperor Guangwu's cortege in 56: Bielenstein, *RHD* IV, 174.

The Treatise of Sacrifices at *HHS* 98/8:3181 records that Emperor Ming's inaugural ceremony in the Sacred Hall at Luoyang in 59 was held in honour of the Five Emperors, but *ZZTJ* omitted that reference: passage A to Yongping 2 with note 1 at 13.

The Five Emperors (五帝 *wudi*) have various identifications. *Bohu tong* 1.2 (*Hao* 號).2 lists the Yellow Emperor, Yao and Shun (note 19 below), with Zhuanxu 顓頊 and Diku 帝嚳: Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* I, 233, also Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 1 note 1. Bodde, *Festivals*, 197, citing the Treatise of Ritual, *HHS* 94/4-95/5, presents a different list, though the result appears to be the same deities under alternative names.

¹⁵ On amnesties, see note 4 to Yongping 2 at 13.

¹⁶ This text of *ZZTJ* has no mention of the day, but other editions do, and it is given by the Annals at 150.

¹⁷ North of Taishan, Ji'nan was at this time a kingdom, the fief of Liu Kang 康, half-uncle of Emperor Zhang: note 11 to Zhongyuan 2 at 3 and note 8 of Jianchu 6 at 119. Emperor Ming had suspected Liu Kang of treasonous conspiracy, but Emperor Zhang restored him to favour: *HHS* 42/32:1431-32.

G *HHS* 3:150, the Annals of Emperor Zhang;

HHS 79/69A:2562, the Biography of Kong Xi in the Chapter on Confucian Scholars.

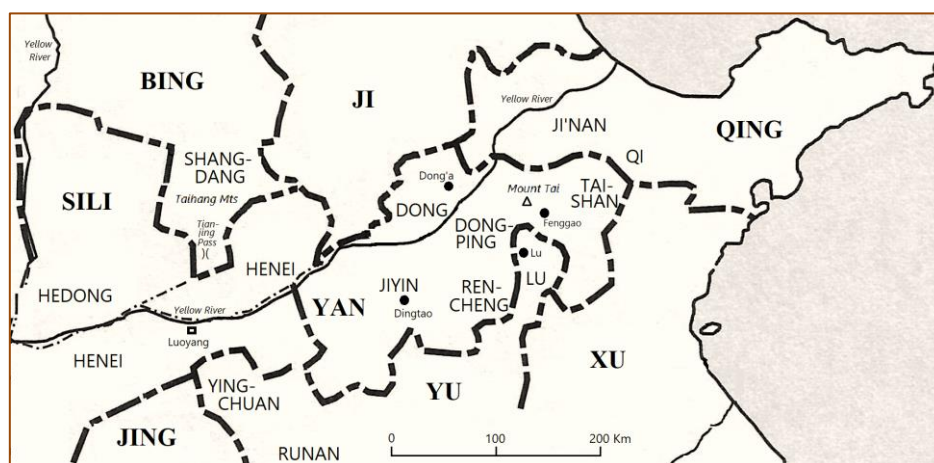
¹⁸ The territory of Lu had been part of the fief of Liu Qiang the King of Donghai. After his death in 58 his son Zheng succeeded to the title but retained no territory in Donghai: passage C and note 6 to Yongping 1 at 9. The Treatise of Administrative Geography at *HHS* 110/20:3429 states that the capital of Lu was the county of that same name, now Qufu in Shandong. Sima Biao notes that the city had been called Qufu 曲阜 in the time of Confucius and that the sage had resided at Queli 闕里; cf. however, *Lun yu* XIV.xlvii.1; Legge, *CC* I, 293 and note 47.1.

In Section III of his Prolegomena, Legge, *CC* I, 112-127, has an extensive discussion of the disciples (弟子 *dizi*) of Confucius, and lists eighty-six of them. He observes that *SJ* 67:2185, at the beginning of the Chapter on the Disciples of Confucius, quotes the sage referring to seventy-seven (perhaps a mistake in copying?), while common repute has the number seventy-two. This last is a mystical number, but the

The emperor said to Kong Xi,²¹ "Surely this gathering today is a great honour for your family and clan?"

"I have heard," replied Kong Xi, "that all wise kings and sage rulers will always show respect for teachers and honour the true Way. Your majesty has condescended to come down from your place as lord of a domain of ten thousand chariots and to visit our humble village.²² By doing so, you pay respect to the former teacher [Confucius] and you enhance your own sage-like virtue. How can I claim any glory or honour."

"Only the descendant of a sage could speak like this," laughed the emperor. He appointed Kong Xi as a Gentleman of the Palace.²³



Map 9: Illustrating the eastern tour of Emperor Zhang in 85 AD

biography of Confucius himself says that while thousands of his followers had a partial understanding of his teachings, only seventy-two fully understood them: *SJ* 47:1938; Chavannes, *Mémoires* V, 493-494.

¹⁹ Hu Sanxing identifies six styles of music, identified with the mythical/legendary regimes of the Yellow Emperor (黃帝 *huangdi*), of Yao 堯 and Shun 舜, of Yu 禹 and Tang 湯, founders of the Xia 夏 and Shang 商 dynasties, and of the Zhou 周. The offering was the imperial *tailao* 太牢 "Great Sacrifice" of an ox, a sheep and a pig: note 22 to Yongping 2 at 18.

²⁰ *HHS* 79/69A has the number as sixty-three.

²¹ On Kong Xi's earlier career, see passage I of Yuanhe 1 at 141-142. *HHS* 79/69A says that Confucian scholars had been ordered to discuss the *Analects*. Kong Xi was recognised for his knowledge of Old Text *History* and *Poetry*; he excused himself from taking part.

²² In the time of the Warring States, the ability to put ten thousand chariots (萬乘 *wancheng*) into the field was the mark of a great feudatory; the term is used quite frequently by Mencius. The emperor of Han was far more powerful than that.

²³ With rank/salary of Equivalent to Three Hundred *shi*, a Gentleman of the Palace (郎中 *langzhong*) held the lowest of three ranks of Gentleman Cadets, probationers for commissioned office: notes 10 to Yongping 18 at 81 and 9 to Jianchu 3 at 109, and Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 27.

Passage I of Yuanhe 1 at 141, however, says that Kong Xi had been made a Foreman Clerk in the Orchid Terrace, and with rank/salary of Six Hundred *shi*. We must assume that he had left that office very soon afterwards and was now back at home in Lu. On the other hand, his witty and slightly cynical response clearly made a mark with the emperor, and he was now given another appointment, with possibility for promotion to commissioned office.

ZZTJ does not mention it, but Kong Xi's biography goes on to say that he was summoned to accompany the emperor as he returned to the capital, and became an Editor (校書 *jiaoshu*) in the Eastern Pavilion (東觀 *Dongguan*), the history office of the dynasty: note 17 to Jianchu 4 at 113. We do not know the rank/salary of that office, but it was probably comparable to that of his earlier position as a Foreman Clerk. A few months later, in the winter at the end of the year, Kong Xi was appointed magistrate of a county in Zuopingyi; he died in that office three years later: *HHS* 79/69A:2562-63.

H On the day *renchen* [25 Apr] the emperor arrived in Dongping. Remembering the Generous King [Liu Cang],²⁴ he said to his sons, "I think of that man, and I come to the place where he lived. The place is still there, but the man has gone." His tears fell down and wet his clothes.

Then he went to the the king's tomb and offered the Great Sacrifice,²⁵ presenting the offerings himself and weeping uncontrollably as he did so.

I When Liu Cang went back to his fief [in 61] Ding Mu and Zhou Xu had been members of his staff in the office of the General of Agile Cavalry.²⁶ Because of the kindly fashion with which he treated his subordinates, neither was willing to leave him. They became Counsellors in his royal household, and served [the family] from grandfather to grand-son.²⁷ The emperor heard of this and called the two men for an audience. With appreciation of their long-time loyalty and as a means to celebrate the virtues of Liu Cang, he appointed both of them as Consultants.²⁸

J On the day *yiwei* [28 Apr] the emperor visited Dong'a, then went north into the Taihang Mountains, reaching as far as the Tianjing Pass. In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day *yimao* [18 May] he returned to his palace.²⁹

On the day *gengshen* [23 May], the emperor reported at the ancestral temple.³⁰

H *HHS* 3:150, the Annals of Emperor Zhang;
HHS 42/32:1442, the Biography of Liu Cang;
DGHJ 7:5a, the Biography of Liu Cang;
HHJ 12:151.

²⁴ Liu Cang, full brother of Emperor Ming and uncle of Emperor Zhang, had been an important adviser to both rulers. When he died in 83 he was awarded the posthumous title Xian 獻 "Generous:" passages H of Jianchu 7 at 125 and A of Jianchu 8 at 126. [Both *HHS* 3 and *DGHJ* 7 have the variant posthumous title of Xian 憲 "Model," but Sima Guang chose chosen to follow *HHJ* 12: note 25 to Jianchu 7 at 125.]

ZZTJ identifies him as "the Generous King" but here and below I refer to him as Liu Cang.

²⁵ On the Great Sacrifice (太牢 *tailao*), see note 22 to Yongping 2 at 18.

I *HHS* 42/32:1442, the Biography of Liu Cang.

²⁶ As an adviser to Emperor Ming, Liu Cang had held formal appointment as General of Agile Cavalry: passage E of Zhongyuan 2 at 5. Though he later retired to his fief, he was consulted on matters of policy by both Emperor Ming and Emperor Zhang, and occasionally visited the capital. The commentary of Hu Sanxing identifies this "return to his state" (歸國 *gui guo*) as his first departure in 61: passage F of Yongping 4 at 30.

²⁷ The rank/salary of a Counsellor (大夫 *dafu*) at a royal court was Six Hundred *shi*: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 107 [as Grandee].

After Liu Cang's death in 82 he was succeeded by his son Liu Zhong 忠, but he died in 84: *HHS* 3:147. Zhong's son Chang 敞, grandson of Cang, now held the fief.

²⁸ As in note 23 to Zhongyuan 2 at 5, Consultant (議郎 *yilang*) was the most junior rank of the Counsellors at the imperial court. The rank/salary was Six Hundred *shi*, but it could lead to higher appointments.

HHS 42/32 records that Ding Mu later became the Chancellor of Qi kingdom and Zhou Xu was the magistrate of a large county in Runan.

J *HHS* 3:150, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

²⁹ Dong'a county was in Dong commandery, near present-day Yang'gu in Shandong. The Tianjing Pass is some 150 kilometres southwest, near present-day Jincheng in the far south of Shanxi; the distance from the pass to Luoyang is about 75 kilometres.

The emperor and his cortege would have travelled southeast into Henei commandery, crossing the Yellow River, and then turned north for the brief excursion into the hill country of the Taihang Shan.

³⁰ This would have been the Temple of the Epochal Founder (世祖廟 *Shizu miao*), so-called in honour of the founding Emperor Guangwu, which became the ancestral temple of Later Han: note 22 to Yongping 1 at

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K In the fifth month Liu Gong the King of Jiangling was transferred to be King of Liu'an.³¹

In the autumn, in the seventh month, on the day *gengzi* [31 Aug], an edict announced, "*Chunqiu* places great importance on the principle of three, and is particularly concerned with the first of three. Let it be determined in the Statutes that no judgments shall be given in the eleventh or twelfth months, but only in the tenth month."³²

L In the winter, the Southern Shanyu sent troops to fight the Northern Wenyudi King at Zhuoye Mountain. They killed a number of the enemy and returned with captives.³³

11. The spirit tablet of the emperor's father Emperor Ming had been placed there after his death: passage E and note 7 of Yongping 18 at 81.

Hu Sanxing quotes *Shu jing* 書經 the *Classic of History* II.i.3.8; Legge, *CC* III, 37, which records how the sage Emperor Shun 舜 visited the four sacred mountains (四岳 *siyue*) and on his return presented an offering to his first ancestor (藝祖 *yizu*). Hu Sanxing also quotes the commentary of Kong Anguo 孔安國 of Former Han, who took it as precedent for the ruler to report in this fashion whenever he returned from visiting one of the mountains. New Text scholarship of Later Han, however, argued that when a ruler returns from any journey he should announce it at his father's shrine: *Bohu tong* 4 (*Sanjun* 三軍).3; Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 448-449, taking *yizu* as referring to the shrines of the first ancestor and and his father.

The Annals state that the emperor also attended the Temple of the Eminent Founder (高廟 *Gao miao*), which was next to that of the Epochal Founder: note 22 to Yongping 1 at 11. So Emperor Zhang fulfilled his duty to his father Emperor Ming and his grandfather Guangwu, and also to the founder of the dynasty Emperor Gao.

K *HHS* 3:152, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

³¹ Immediately before this entry the Annals note a complementary set of adjustments:

Under Former Han, Liu'an was a small kingdom to the north of Lujiang commandery in Yang province: *HS* 28B:1638; Loewe, *QHX* 785 [as Lu'an]. In 37, however, the new government of Later Han incorporated its counties into Lujiang: *HHS* 112/22:3487 with *JJ* at 3988.

Fathered by Emperor Ming on a concubine, Liu Gong was a half-brother of Emperor Zhang. In 72 he had been enfeoffed with Julu in Yu province on the North China plain: passage B of Yongping 15 at 63-64. In 79, however, Emperor Zhang transferred him to Nan commandery in Jing province on the middle Yangzi, and the name of the territory was changed to Jiangling: passage A of Jianchu 4 at 111. He was now transferred again, and Nan commandery reverted to its former name.

Julu was comparatively close to the capital and contained fifteen counties, while Nan commandery had seventeen. The biography of Liu Gong at *HHS* 50/40:1670 says that senior ministers objected to the fact that the fief lay due south of the capital, and such a position at a cardinal point of the empire was inappropriate.

In practical terms, the changes in nominal fiefs were not significant, for Liu Gong and his brothers had all been permitted to remain at the capital and were not sent out to reside in their states: passage H of Jianchu 3 at 110. Though the Former Han kingdom of Liu'an had contained only five counties, there was no reduction in the value of Liu Gong's fief: he was granted the whole of Lujiang commandery – fourteen counties – as his new territory, and the name was changed in the same fashion as Nan had been to Jiangling, reflecting the different status from commandery to kingdom.

Three years later, when Emperor Zhang died in 88, his testamentary edict ordered the transfer of Liu Gong once again: passage F of Zhanghe 2 at 167.

³² On the Statutes (律 *lü*), the official code of laws, see note 10 to Yuanhe 1 at 138.

This edict is discussed by Hulsewé, *RHL*, 106, in his discussion of applying punishments in Harmony with Nature. Executions had traditionally been carried out in any month of autumn or winter, but they were now permitted only in the first month of winter and were forbidden during the last two months of the year.

HHS 3 summarises a convoluted argument to justify this benevolent decision, which has given rise to lengthy analysis by commentators from Tang to modern times: e.g. Hu Sanxing and *HHSJJ* at 146-147. Sima Guang has wisely omitted the greater part of it.

L *HHS* 89/79:2950, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu;
HHS 45/35:1518-19, the Biography of Yuan An.

Meng Yun the Administrator of Wuwei sent in a report, "The Northerners have hitherto been peaceful, but the Southerners are once again attacking and plundering them. Their Shanyu claims that Han has deceived him, and he is planning to attack our frontiers. He says we should return the people who have been kidnapped as a means to restore good relations."

The emperor ordered that officials should debate the matter in court. The Grand Commandant Zheng Hong and the Excellency of Works Diwu Lun believed that the proposal should not be approved, but the Excellency over the Masses Huan Yu and the Minister Coachman Yuan An were in favour.

Zheng Hong shouted abuse at Huan Yu, "Anyone who says we should return the captives is a traitor!" Huan Yu swore back at him in open court, while Diwu Lun and the Minister Herald Wei Biao also lost their tempers. The Director of Retainers reported against Zheng Hong and the others, and they offered to return their seals and ribbons of office in apology.

"Lengthy discussions can lead to a stalemate," replied the emperor, "and each of you has his own ideas. But questions are well raised by debate, and policies are settled by general agreement. Enthusiasm and self-confidence can be managed with courtesy, and it is no help to the court if you bite your tongue and suppress your opinion. Why should you apologise like this? All of you, put your caps and shoes back on!"

1505 The emperor then announced his decision: "It is by occupying the lowest position that the rivers and seas become masters of the creeks and streams;³⁴ so why should a minor act of humility on my part be any cause for concern. This is particularly true now, when we have an established relationship of lord and subject with the Xiongnu.

"Their words are submissive, agreements are clear, and their tribute and offerings arrive regularly. Why should we break our word and put ourselves in the wrong?"

"Send instructions to the General on the Liao [Deng Hong] and the Emissary Pang Fen:³⁵ they are to pay double ransom to the Southern Xiongnu for the goods they have taken, then return them to the North; compensation for those who have been killed or captured is to be paid at the usual rate."³⁶

³³ In context from *HHS* 89/79, it appears that this incident took place in the autumn, when some thousand men of the Southern Xiongnu went hunting in the area of Zhuoye Mountain and met unexpectedly with the Northerners. The report from Meng Yun which follows immediately below is dated to the winter.

Xiongnu tradition had two Wenyudi Kings – on the Left and on the Right – and the titles were held by kinsmen of the Shanyu: *HHS* 89/79:2944; deC, *Northern Frontier*, 177 (as Wenyuti).

³⁴ This reflects a passage in the *Daode jing* 道德經 at 36: Lau, *Lao tzu*, 128: "The reason why the River and the Sea are able to be king of the hundred valleys is that they excel in taking the lower position."

³⁵ Deng Hong, a son of Guangwu's great supporter Deng Yu, had been appointed Acting General on the Liao in 82: *HHS* 89/79:2950.

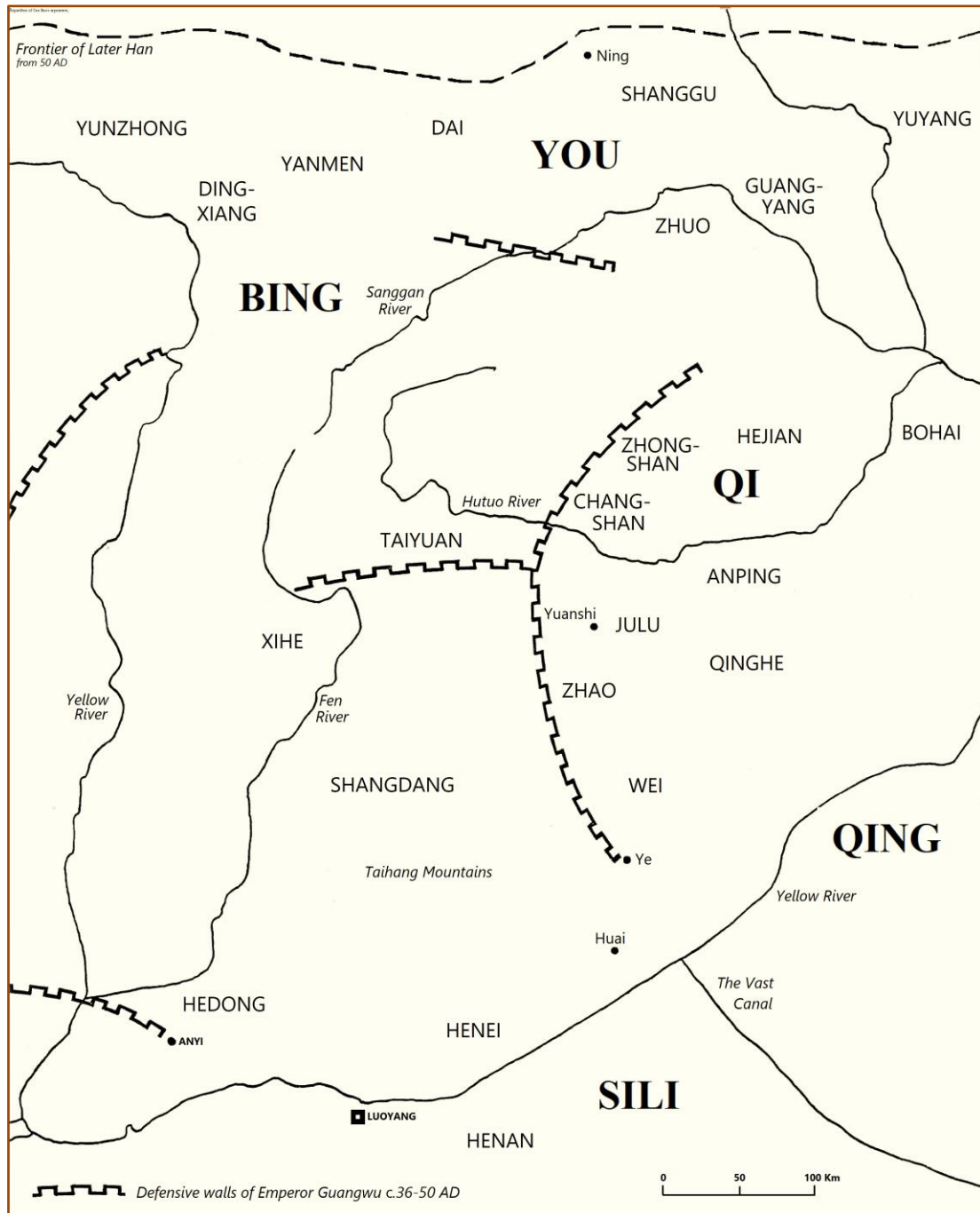
A General of the Household Emissary to the Xiongnu (使匈奴中郎將 *shi Xiongnu zhonglang jiang*) had first been appointed in 50 to act as liaison with the court of the Southern Shanyu, now tributary to Han, and also to exercise a degree of supervision and control; the position was similar to that of a Resident to a native state in British India. I generally refer to the officer as the Emissary: *HHS* 89/79:2943; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 112 [as General of the Gentlemen of the Household in Charge of the Xiongnu], and deC, *Northern Frontier*, 238-239.

³⁶ Though *ZZTJ* does not mention it, this conciliatory policy encouraged the Southerners to raid Northern caravans with increasing enthusiasm: not only did they gain plunder, they were rewarded for their banditry: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 264.

Yuanhe 元和 3: 86 AD

2 February 86 – 20 February 87

A In the spring, in the first month, on the day *bingshen* [23 Feb] the emperor began a tour to the north, and on the day *xinchou* [28 Feb] he held a Ploughing ceremony at Huai.¹



Map 10: Illustrating the northern tour of Emperor Zhang in 86 AD
Adapted from Map 16 of Bielenstein, RHD III

A HHS 3:154, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹ Huai, near present-day Wuzhi in Henan, was the capital of Henei commandery. On the Ploughing ceremony, see note 2 to Yongping 15 at 62.

In the second month, on the day *yichou* [24 Mar] he gave instructions to the Imperial Clerks and to the Excellency of Works, "It is now spring, and none of the places on our itinerary have any reports of trouble. If any [escort] carriages are not necessary, let them go; and if the outer horses of the team are not necessary, let them loose."²

On the day *wuchen* [27 Mar] the emperor came to Zhongshan and went out through the Great Wall. On the day *guiyou* [1 Apr] he returned and went to Yuanshi.³

In the third month, on the day *jimao* [7 Apr] the emperor proceeded to Zhao. On the day *xinmao* [19 Apr] he returned to the palace [at Luoyang].

B The Grand Commandant Zheng Hong had reported several times that the Palace Attendant Dou Xian had too much influence.⁴ He pressed the point firmly, and Dou Xian resented it.

Then Zheng Hong presented a memorial charging Dou Xian's associates the Master of Writing Zhang Lin and the Prefect of Luoyang Yang Guang with official corruption. When the document arrived, a clerical officer who was an old friend of Yang Guang warned him about it. Yang Guang told Dou Xian, and Dou Xian then sent in an accusation that Zheng Hong, as a senior official, had revealed confidential matters. The emperor called upon Zheng Hong to resign his appointment, and in the fourth month, on the day *bingyin* [3 May] he withdrew his seal and ribbon of office.⁵

Zheng Hong went to the prison of the Minister of Justice, but the emperor sent orders to have him released. Zheng Hong then sought permission to retire from the court, claiming that he was seriously ill. This was not approved.

² Commentary explains that the office of the Excellency of Works was in charge of the emperor's travel arrangements, while the Imperial Clerks, censorial officials, had the authority to report any failings and impeach those responsible. The emperor is now taking personal responsibility for a simpler program.

³ Yuanshi, south of Shijiazhuang in present-day Hebei, was the capital of Changshan.

As the Tang commentary to *HHS* 3 observes, the plain statement that the emperor crossed the Wall needs interpretation. The Great Wall of Qin had been constructed well to the north and was still maintained to some degree by Later Han. The headquarters of the Protector of the Wuhuan, who controlled access through the frontier line, was at Ning 寧 in Shanggu commandery, some two hundred kilometres from the nearest point of Zhongshan: *HHS* 90/80:2982; deC, *Northern Frontier*, 383 and *ZGLSDTJ* II, 61. And no matter what the emperor may have said about the peaceful nature of his route, it would have been foolhardy for him to venture beyond the barrier into the steppe.

The Tang commentators suggest that the Great Wall (長城 *changcheng*) referred to here may have been an old defence line of the Warring States kingdom of Zhao 趙 from the third or fourth centuries BC. I suggest, however, that it refers to a more recent construction.

In the first years of Later Han, the new Emperor Guangwu was faced with heavy incursions from the Xiongnu in the north, and in 35 he had a system of defensive walls built against them. Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 110-113, discusses the program, and his Map 16 at 171 – adapted for Map 10 above – shows the arrangement. The fortifications were abandoned after the submission of the Southern Xiongnu in the late 40s, but the easternmost construction, which had guarded the north of Zhongshan and Changshan commanderies – and which may well have been based upon earlier foundations – is probably the Wall which Emperor Zhang passed through.

B *HHS* 33/23:1156-57, the Biography of Zheng Hong; *HHJ* 12:153.

⁴ Dou Xian was the brother of the Empress Dou of Emperor Zhang: passage H of Jianchu 8 at 128.

⁵ The date is given by the Annals at *HHS* 3:156. Though Zheng Hong was dismissed, the Annals use the neutral term *mian* 免 "left office." Cf. note 1 to Yongping 3 at 20 and note 4 to Yongping 4 at 28 with note 6 to Jianchu 4 at 112.

The biography of Chen Chong 陳寵 at *HHS* 46/36:1553 says that Zhang Lin was indeed found guilty.

As his sickness became worse, Zheng Hong sent in a letter to justify himself: "Dou Xian's wickedness and corruption know no bounds. Everyone has suspicions of him, and people of all ranks look at him askance, saying, 'What trickery does he use to deceive our sovereign?'"⁶ We are concerned that we can see the same trouble as was caused by the Wang family is being repeated today.⁷

1506 "In your position as the Son of Heaven, your majesty guards the dignity of ten thousand generations. How can you put your trust in a slanderous and deceitful subject, and take no count of the danger that may bring? Though I have no more no more than a short time to live, I cannot neglect my responsibilities as a loyal subject. I would wish your majesty may punish the four types of criminals,⁸ satisfying the hopes of the people and the spirits who resent them."

When the emperor had studied this document, he sent his physician to attend Zheng Hong. By the time he arrived, however, Zheng Hong was dead.⁹

C The Minister of Finance Song You became Grand Commandant.

D The Excellency of Works Diwu Lun asked to retire on the grounds of age and ill health. In the fifth month, on the day *bingzi* [10 Jun] he was given permission to leave office and was granted a life-pension of Two Thousand *shi*.¹⁰

As an Excellency, Diwu Lun behaved with the utmost restraint. When he discussed a question, he was neither unduly submissive nor excessively aggressive. Honest and straightforward by nature, he made little use of literary artifice but spoke directly to the point.

Someone asked him, "Does personal interest ever affect your conduct in office?"

"A man once offered me a very fine horse,¹¹" replied Diwu Lun. "I did not accept, but whenever one of the Excellencies proposed to nominate him or select him for office I recalled that offer and I never approved his appointment. In this fashion, how can I be considered free of personal interest?"¹²

E The Minister Coachman Yuan An became Excellency of Works.

⁶ This is a fair question. The emperor had had experience with Dou Xian just a few years before, when he bullied an imperial princess into giving up her land and then sought to conceal his guilt: passage J of Jianchu 8 at 129-130. So why did he accept his accusation against a senior and experienced minister?

⁷ This refers to the growth in power of the Wang family of imperial relatives by marriage towards the end of Former Han, culminating when Wang Mang seized the throne in 9 AD.

⁸ The "four types of criminal" reflects an account in *Shu jing* 書經 the *Classic of History* II.i.3.xii: it tells how the sage ruler Shun 舜 imprisoned or exiled four great trouble-makers (四罪 *sizui*): Legge, *CC* III, 39-40. In *SJ* 1:36-37 Sima Qian interpreted them as four evil [clans] (*sixiong* 四凶), identified in commentary as the Chaotic (讎兜 *Huantou*), the Deceitful (共工 *Gonggong*), the Stupid (鯀 *Gun*) and the Greedy (三苗 *San-miao*); see Chavannes, *Mémoires* I, 77-78, and Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 13.

⁹ *Kaoyi* commentary to this passage notes an additional anecdote in *HHJ* 12, claiming that when Zheng Hong was Deputy Director of the Secretariat he had a disagreement with Dou Xian about policy towards the Wuhuan. Emperor Zhang initially supported Dou Xian, but later realised his error and apologised. Noting that there are anachronisms in the story, Sima Guang does not accept it.

C *HHS* 3:156, the Annals of Emperor Zhang;

D *HHS* 41/31:1401-02, the Biography of Diwu Lun.

¹⁰ *HHS* 41/31 adds that he also received a donation of 500,000 cash, and when he died a few years later aged over eighty the emperor provided regalia and other support for the funeral.

¹¹ *Qianli ma* 千里馬 "a thousand *li* horse," capable of travelling that distance in a single day.

¹² *HHS* 41/31 has Diwu Lun referring also to his concern when one of his sons was ill.

In the autumn, in the eighth month, on the day *yichou* [29 Aug] the emperor travelled to Anyi, where he visited the Salt Lake.¹³

1507 In the ninth month he returned to the palace.¹⁴

F Miyu of the Shaodang Qiang and his younger brother Haoyu had led several clan groups in renewed rebellion.¹⁵ Haoyu led a small troop on an initial incursion against the frontier of Longxi. Li Zhang, Officer in Charge of Beacons,¹⁶ chased after the raiders; they captured Haoyu and brought him back to the commandery headquarters.

"If you simply kill me," said Haoyu, "it will mean nothing to the Qiang. If you are prepared to let me live and go back, however, then you can be sure that they will all set down their weapons and cease to disturb your borders."

Zhang Yu the Administrator of Longxi did let him go, and the Qiang indeed broke away, each returning to their homeland. Miyu withdrew to occupy the Guiyi fortress, north of the Yellow River.¹⁷

G Having borrowed some troops from the king of Suoju,¹⁸ King Zhong of Shule returned to occupy Sunzhong.¹⁹ He sent a false offer of surrender to Ban Chao, but Ban Chao knew he was dishonest and only pretended to accept. When Zhong arrived with a light escort of horsemen Ban Chao took off his head, then attacked and defeated his troops. So the Southern Road was open.²⁰

E *HHS* 3:156, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹³ Anyi the capital of Hedong commandery, near present-day Xia in Shanxi, is marked on Map 10 at 153.

The Treatise of Administrative Geography at *HHS* 109/19:3395 mentions the Salt Lake (鹽池 Yanchi), as do other early texts including *SJZ* 6.3 (涑水: Su River):14, which says that it lay south of the former city of Anyi. Now known as Xiechi 解池 [also as Jiechi], and reduced from its former size, the lake extends some thirty kilometres from the northwest to the southeast and is three to five kilometres wide.

¹⁴ The Annals do not record the day of his return.

F *HHS* 87/77:2881, the Account of the Qiang of the West.

¹⁵ Miyu has been mentioned as a leader of rebel Qiang in 77: passage G of Jianchu 2 at 104. On the transcription of the character 吾 (normally *wu*) in his name and that of his brother, see note 38 to that passage.

¹⁶ Beacons were maintained along the border to send signals in case of attack. Their smoke could be seen by day and the flames by night.

¹⁷ Hu Sanxing identifies this as the Fengliu reach 逢留大河, part of the upper course of the Yellow River in the area of present-day Guide in Qinghai, now known as the Longyang Gorge and the site of a major hydro-electric dam. The region was just outside the western frontier of Longxi and the southern frontier of Jincheng, and Former Han had constructed the fortress of Guiyi 歸義城 "[Barbarians] Returning to Righteousness" in that region.

The Greater and Lesser Yu valleys 大小榆谷, just south of the River in this area, had been occupied by the Shaodang tribe some thirty years before: passage G of Zhongyuan 2 with note 24 at 5-6. They may be identified as the gullies which extend from the south to meet the Yellow River by present-day Guide.

G *HHS* 47/37:1579, the Biography of Ban Chao.

¹⁸ King Zhong of Shule [Kashgar] had turned against Ban Chao in 84, but then took refuge in Kangju [Sogdiana]: passage N of Yuanhe 1 at 144. Ban Chao had attempted to have the king of Kangju arrest him, but *HHS* 47/37 mentions that Kangju was an unreliable ally, and says that Zhong had since persuaded (說 *shui*) the king to support him.

¹⁹ Tang commentary notes that there is no other record of a place named Sunzhong 損中; it mentions the variant reading Zhenzhong 楨中 in the *Hou Han shu* of Hua Qiao at 1:21a, but comes to no conclusion. Hu Sanxing, however, cites the Account of the Western Regions at *HHS* 88/78:2927, recording an unsuccessful attack by Han forces on Shule in 170, to confirm the name as Zhenzhong.

²⁰ When falsity meets falsity, the empire is always in the right.

Strictly speaking, however, the Southern Road was still not yet open, for Suoju remained hostile and blocked the way from Yutian to Shule.

H The Lady Xu, Dowager Queen of Chu, died.²¹ An edict ordered that the burial place of Liu Ying the late King of Chu should be changed, and he was granted posthumous title as Cruel Marquis of Chu.²²

I The emperor appointed Guo Gong of Yingchuan as Minister of Justice. In deciding cases and giving judgement, Guo Gong was generally inclined to be lenient, and he prepared a list of forty-one articles where heavy punishments provided by the written regulations could be made lighter. When he presented it to the throne all his proposals were put into effect.

1508

J The Academician Cao Bao of Lu kingdom proposed that the regulations should be settled and a full system of ceremonial ritual prepared for the dynasty. The Minister of Ceremonies Chao Kan argued that, "Such a comprehensive code is more than Cao Bao can manage; his suggestion should not be approved."

The emperor was aware that the Confucian scholars were so conservative they would object to any new proposal,²³ but he believed that it was indeed time to fix the rituals of the court. He appointed Cao Bao a Palace Attendant.

Ban Gu, who was Major in charge of the Gate of the Black Tortoise, suggested, "There should be an assembly of all Confucian scholars to discuss the pro and cons."²⁴

The emperor replied, "There is a proverb that says, 'If you put up a shed by the side of a road, three years will pass and it won't be finished.'²⁵ An assembly of experts on ritual would be a debate without end. There will be arguments on every point and nothing will be decided. In ancient times, when Yao created the Dazhang music, the single minister Kui was sufficient."²⁶

H *HHS* 42/32:1428, the Biography of Liu Ying.

²¹ The Lady Xu had been a concubine of Emperor Guangwu, and Liu Ying was her son. She later lost favour, and when Liu Ying was enfeoffed as King of Chu the Lady was named Dowager Queen and lived at his capital Pengcheng. After his disgrace and death in the early 70s (passages B and C of Yongping 13 and B of Yongping 14 at 55-56) the Lady Xu had been permitted to retain her seal and status and to remain at the palace in Pengcheng. She was now granted funerary honours, but her son was reduced in rank and awarded an unfavourable posthumous title.

²² Liu Ying had died in Danyang. His body was now brought back to his former capital. The 諡法 *Shifa* "Rules for Awarding Posthumous Titles," quoted by Hu Sanxing, explains that the title 厲 "Cruel" was applied to those rulers who had killed innocent people.

I *HHS* 46/36:1544, the Biography of Guo Gong.

J *HHS* 35/25:1202-03, the Biography of Cao Bao.

²³ We are told that Emperor Zhang had raised the matter two years before, but had been put off by his officials: *HHS* 35/25:1202; MBeck, *Treatises*, 87. Cao Bao had surely been encouraged by this.

²⁴ A noted scholar and future compiler of *Han shu*, Ban Gu had been involved in the conference at the White Tiger Hall in 79: passage G of Jianchu 4 at 113-114. The Gate of the Black Tortoise (玄武門 *Xuanwu men*) was one of two entrances to the Southern Palace on its northern face: *HHS* 115/25:3580; Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 23. The office was essentially a sinecure, with a salary Equivalent to One Thousand *shi*.

²⁵ It is not surprising that Ban Gu would make such a recommendation but – as in notes 19 and 21 to Jianchu 4 at 114 – the emperor had not been satisfied with his previous experience of the conference at the White Tiger Hall in 79: it had gone on for months, and the results had not been what he had hoped for.

The proverb indicates that if one works in an area which is visited by many people, there can be a great deal of talk and not a great deal will get done.

²⁶ Dazhang 大章 is the style of music traditionally attributed to the sage emperor Yao 堯. Kui 夔 was one of his chief assistants, and was appointed Director of Music (典樂 *dianyue*) by Yao's successor Shun 舜: *Shu jing* II.i.5.xxiv; Legge, *CC* III, 47-49. Tang commentary indicates that he already held that office.

Zhanghe 章和 1: 87 AD

21 February 87 – 10 February 88

A In the spring, in the first month, the emperor gave orders that Cao Bao was to receive twelve scrolls of the *Han Ritual* of Shusun Tong.¹ He added that, "The compilation is erratic and summary, and there are many places where it does not accord with the Classics. You are to edit and correct it so that it accords with proper ceremonial and can be put into practice."²

B Fu Yu the Protector of the Qiang intended to attack the Shaodang tribe.³ Since they had lately submitted, however, he did not want to move against them with his own troops, so he sent agents to stir the Qiang and other non-Chinese peoples against one another. The Qiang and others resisted this, however, but rebelled once more, crossed the frontier and rallied again to Miyu.

Fu Yu now sought permission to raise several ten thousand commandery troops to attack the Qiang together, but in the third month, before the full force had been assembled, he led a contingent forward alone. Miyu learned of this, abandoned his position and went away. Fu Yu led three thousand light-horsemen in hot pursuit, and they came by night to Sandou Valley.⁴

1509 The men were not prepared for trouble, but Miyu made a surprise attack and completely defeated them, killing Fu Yu and eight hundred and eighty of his men.⁵ Then the commandery forces came up, and the Qiang withdrew.

An edict appointed Zhang Yu the Administrator of Longxi as Protector, and he led ten thousand men to camp at Linqiang.⁶

A *HHS* 35/25:1203, the Biography of Cao Bao.

¹ In 200 BC, at the beginning of Former Han, Shusun Tong prepared a ritual program for Emperor Gao, who was delighted with the order and ceremony that enhanced his court: Loewe, *QHX*, 482-483.

There was evidently more than one copy of *Han Ritual* in circulation, for *HHS* 35/25:1201-02 notes that Cao Bao had studied the text when he was young. The same text also states, however, that a eunuch Attendant at the Yellow Gates was instructed to present him with an official copy, confirming the imperial approval of his project.

HHS 35/25 also notes that this official copy had been presented by Ban Gu, probably from his family library. Given his expressed opposition to Cao Bao's proposal – as in passage J of Yuanhe 3 above – this was something of a put-down.

² MBeck, *Treatises*, 87-88, has an account of Cao Bao's work. See further in passage K of Zhanghe 1 at 163 and A of Yongyuan 3 at 194.

B *HHS* 87/77:2882, the Account of the Qiang of the West.

³ Former Administrator of Wuwei, Fu Yu had been appointed Protector ten years earlier, at the time of Miyu's first attacks: passage G of Jianchu 2 at 104.

⁴ Sandou 三兜 "Three Pouch" valley presumably gained the name because it had three open areas linked by narrow defiles. *HHS* 87/77 says that it lay south of Jianwei 建威, in Wudu commandery, near present-day Chengxian 成縣 in Gansu.

This, however, is somewhat to the southeast of Longxi commandery, and seems a strange area for Fu Yu to be seeking his enemies – or them to be finding him. One would expect it to have been in the west of Longxi itself, much closer to the Jincheng frontier.

⁵ *HHS* 87/77 says that Miyu's attacking force numbered only three hundred. On the other hand, Fu Yu resisted valiantly and killed several of the enemy before he succumbed.

⁶ Linqiang in Jincheng, on the Xining River near Xining in present-day Qinghai, had been Fu Yu's headquarters as Protector: passage G of Jianchu 2 at 104.

- C In the summer, in the sixth month, on the day *wuchen* [20 Jul], the Excellency over the Masses Huan Yu left office. On the day *guimao* [*i.e.* *guiyou*=25 Jul?]⁷ the Excellency of Works Yuan An was appointed Excellency over the Masses and the Minister of the Household Ren Wei became Excellency of Works. Ren Wei was a son of Ren Guang.⁸
- D Liu Huang the King of Qi and his brother Gang the Marquis of Li had quarrelled with their mother the Grand Concubine,⁹ each side making false accusations against the other.
- In the seventh month, on the day *guimao* [25 Aug] an edict demoted Liu Huang to be Marquis of Wuhu,¹⁰ reduced the value of Liu Gang's fief by [the revenue of] three thousand households,¹¹ and withdrew the seal and ribbon of the Grand Concubine.
- E On the day *renzi* [2 Sep] Liu Bing the Humble King of Huaiyang died.¹²
- F Having invaded their left territory, the Xianbi attacked the Northern Xiongnu and thoroughly defeated them. They took the head of the Youliu Shanyu and withdrew.¹³
- G Miyu the leader of the Qiang brought his following once more against the frontier of Jincheng.¹⁴ Zhang Yu sent his Assistant Officer Sima Fang of Henei to fight them at

C *HHS* 3:156, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

⁷ The second day of the sixth month of this year was a *wuchen* day (cyclical number 5), but there was no *guimao* 癸卯 day (cyclical number 40) until the seventh month. As Excellency positions were normally filled quite quickly, it appears *guimao* has been miswritten for *guiyou* 癸酉 (cyclical number 10), no doubt in confusion with the *guimao* day mentioned in the seventh month: passage D immediately below.

⁸ An early and most valuable supporter of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu, in the North China plain, Ren Guang had been granted a marquisate. He died in 29, and his fief was inherited by his son Wei. Both father and son were devotees of Huang-Lao 黄老 (note 8 to *Zhongyuan* 2 at 2) and Ren Wei was favoured by both Emperor Ming and Emperor Zhang. Their biographies are in *HHS* 21/11: 751-52 and 753-54; deC, *LH3K*, 714-715 and 720-721.

D *HHS* 14/4:553, the Post-Biography of Liu Bosheng.

⁹ Liu Bosheng 伯升 was the elder brother of Liu Xiu, future Emperor Guangwu. He had been the first leader of the rebellion which overthrew Wang Mang and brought the restoration of the Han dynasty, but was killed by other leaders at an early stage of the campaign. When Guangwu gained the throne he enfeoffed both Liu Bosheng's sons as kings, and the elder lineage held the kingdom of Qi. Liu Huang and Liu Gang were great-grandsons of Liu Bosheng.

HHS 14/4 gives the personal name of the lady as Zong 宗. Her title Grand Concubine (太姬 *taiji*) reflected her status as the mother of the king, though not the formal consort of his father and predecessor.

¹⁰ Wuhu county was in Danyang, by the present-day city of that name in Anhui. South of the Yangzi, this was five hundred kilometres from Liu Huang's former kingdom of Qi, an exile as well as a demotion.

¹¹ Regardless of the title of a marquisate, the value of a fief came from the tax revenue of a defined number of households. Liu Gang's fief remained in Qi; Li county was about present-day Boxing in Shandong.

E *HHS* 50/40:1678, the Biography of Liu Bing.

¹² Liu Bing the former king of Changshan had been transferred to Huaiyang in 79: passage A of *Jianchu* 4 at 111. 頃 *qing* is interpreted in the sense of bending the head (傾 *qing*), hence "Humble."

F *HHS* 89/79:2951, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

¹³ Even in the northern regions, left and right are viewed from the perspective of the Chinese ruler facing south: thus "left" indicates the east.

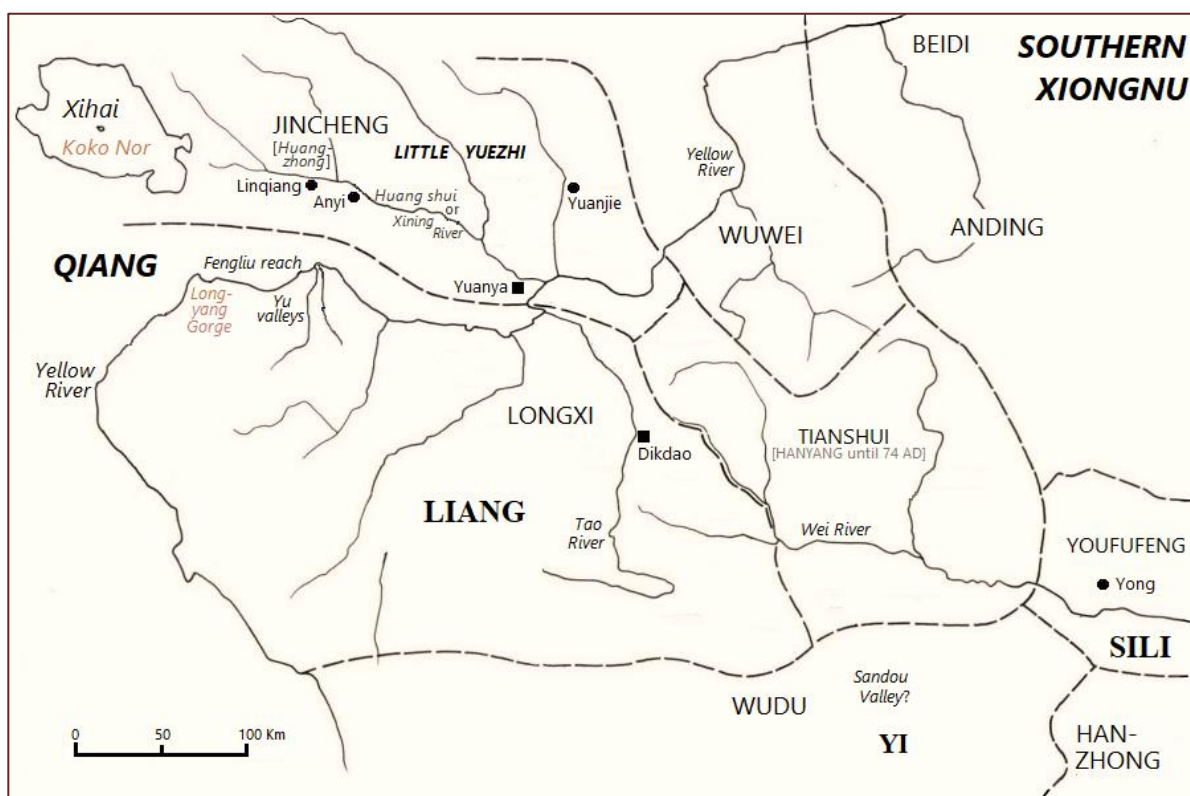
Since the time of Zhai Tong in the late 50s, the Xianbi had been paid by Han to attack the Northern Xiongnu: notes 18 and 19 to *Yongping* 1 at 11. This was their most successful incursion, and *HHS* 89/79 adds that they stripped the skin from the dead Shanyu and his followers and took the grisly trophies back with them.

G *HHS* 87/77:2882-83, the Account of the Qiang of the West.

Mucheng Valley.¹⁵ Miyu's men were defeated and fled, and he then sent interpreters seeking to submit. Zhang Yu agreed.

Miyu brought his people to Linqiang, and Zhang Yu drew up his troops for a great assembly. Having put poison in the wine, however, he had troops in ambush kill more than eight hundred of the Qiang leaders, then cut off Miyu's head and presented it as an offering to Fu Yu's tomb.¹⁶

Zhang Yu then led his men to attack the remaining enemy, and they killed or captured several thousand of them.



Map 11: The Qiang Frontier in the late first century AD

[On the transcription of the name of Dikdao, capital of Longxi, see deC, Northern Frontier, 470 note 8]

Miyu's son Mitang, however, reunited the scattered tribesmen by settling quarrels, arranging marriages and exchanging hostages,¹⁷ and maintained resistance from the Greater and Lesser Yu valleys.¹⁸ As their forces grew increasingly powerful, Zhang Yu was unable to bring them under control.

¹⁴ As in note 17 to passage F of Yuanhe 3 at 156, and passage B with note 4 above, Miyu was based south of Jincheng, either in Wudu commandery or on the upper Yellow River outside imperial territory.

¹⁵ Mucheng 木乘 ["Wooden Carriage?"] Valley cannot be identified. The *Treatise of Officials* at *HHS* 118/28:3626 says that the Emissary to the Xiongnu and the Protectors of the Wuhuan and the Qiang each had two Assistant Officers (從事 *congshi*) as heads of staff.

¹⁶ Fu Yu, Zhang Yu's predecessor as Protector, had been killed by Miyu a few months earlier: passage B above. *HHS* 87/77 says that Zhang Yu also presented the heads of four other leaders.

¹⁷ Miyu had been a chieftain of the Shaodang tribe of the Qiang. *HHS* 87/77 says that Mitang took his place and established a coalition with the Shaohe 燒何, the Dangjian 當煎, the Dangtian 當闐 and other tribes, confirming it with intermarriage among the younger people, accompanied by dowries.

¹⁸ The Yu Valleys were south of the Fengliu reach of the Yellow River, outside the imperial frontier to the west of Longxi and south of Jincheng: note 17 to Yuanhe 3 at 156.

1510

H On the day *renxu* [12 Sep] an edict announced that on account of a series of good omens, the reign title was changed to Zhanghe.¹⁹

At this time the capital district and all its surroundings were reporting hundreds and thousands of favourable signs, and everyone said that this was a good thing.²⁰ He Chang of Pingling,²¹ a Senior Clerk in the office of the Grand Commandant, was the only person concerned about them. He said to Song You and Yuan An,²² "Now signs of good omen should appear only at a time of virtue, and disasters and misfortune are related to the quality of the government. At present, strange birds are flying above the palace buildings, and unusual plants sprout in the courtyards. This is a time to be careful."

Song You and Yuan An were frightened, and gave no response.²³

I In the eighth month, on the day *guiyou* [23 Sep], the emperor commenced a tour to the south. On the day *wuzi* [7 Oct] he was at Liang, and on the day *yiwei* [15 Oct], last day of the month, he arrived at Pei.²⁴

There was an eclipse of the sun.²⁵

In the ninth month, on the day *gengzi* [20 Oct] the emperor came to Pengcheng,²⁶ and on the day *xinhai* [26 Oct] he reached Shouchun, where he restored Liu Yan the Marquis of Fuling to be King of that state.²⁷

HHS 87/77 notes that Mitang made an initial attack against Longxi but was driven back by the local commandery forces. He then established himself in the Yu valleys, homeland of his Shaodang tribe, and made further contact with non-Chinese inside the empire.

H *HHS* 3:157, the Annals of Emperor Zhang;

HHS 43/33:1480, the Biography of He Chang.

¹⁹ *HHS* 3 has a summary of the edict, wherein Emperor Zhang lists some of the signs, including the appearance of a magical *qilin* 麒麟 – a creature thought to appear only at the time of a sage ruler – and the fall of sweet dew (甘露 *ganlu*). Modestly, he attributes them to the virtues of his predecessors rather than to his own.

²⁰ Whereas *ZZTJ* follows the tenor of *HHS* 3 and refers to the signs as favourable (瑞 *ruì*), *HHS* 43/33 says only that they were strange manifestations of birds, beasts and plants 奇異鳥獸草木.

²¹ Pingling 平陵 county was in Youfufeng.

²² Song You had been appointed Grand Commandant, and Yuan An Excellency of Works, in the previous year: passages C and E of Yuanhe 3 at 155. *HHS* 43/33 claims that they both admired He Chang.

²³ *HHS* 43/33 relates He Chang's concern to the death of Emperor Zhang in the following year: passage E of Zhanghe 2 at 166.

I *HHS* 3:157-158, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

²⁴ Liang, in Yu province, had been the kingdom of the emperor's half-brother Liu Chang 暢 since 79: passage A of Jianchu 4 at 111, also note 7 to Yongping 15 at 63.

Liu Fu 輔, a son of Guangwu by his first empress the Lady Guo, had been enfeoffed as King of Pei in 44. He died in 84 and the fief was now held by his son Ding 定: passage C of Yuanhe 1 at 136 and *HHS* 42/32:1427.

²⁵ The eclipse, Oppolzer 3102/Espenak 04990, mapped by Stephenson and Houlden at 203, affected the north-ern frontier.

The Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 108/18:3362 notes that the eclipse was not observed at the capital but was reported from elsewhere. The sun was at that time in the *Di* 氏 "Root" constellation, third lunar mansion (宿 *xiu*), about the two chief stars of Western Libra; Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 102, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 96 with Star Map 3; this was the same area as the eclipse of 60 AD: note 24 to Yongping 3 at 25.

HHS 3 mentions the *yiwei* day twice, once in reference to the emperor's visit to Pei and again, immediately afterwards, as the day of the eclipse, last of the month. *ZZTJ*, sensibly, omits the duplication.

On the day *jiwei* [2 Nov] the emperor was at Ruyin. He returned to the palace in the winter, in the tenth month, on the day *bingzi* [19 Nov].²⁸



Map 12: Illustrating the southern tour of Emperor Zhang in 87 AD

J As the Northern Xiongnu were in total confusion,²⁹ the Qulanchu and other groups, fifty-eight altogether numbering 280,000 people,³⁰ came to submit at the frontiers of Yunzhong, Wuyuan, Shuofang and Beidi.

²⁶ Pengcheng was the capital of Chu, former kingdom of Liu Ying, who had been disgraced and demoted in 70: passage B of Yongping 13 at 55 and note 21 to Yuanhe 3 at 157.

²⁷ Shouchun in Jiujiang commandery in Yang province was near present-day Shouxian in Anhui, in the basin of the Huai River.

Liu Yan, a son of Guangwu by his first empress, the Lady Guo, had been enfeoffed as King of Huaiyang. In 73, however, under accusations of misconduct and treason, he was transferred to Fuling, a county in Jiujiang, and his pension was reduced to the revenue from four counties: passages I and K of Yongping 16 at 72-73. Three years later, further charges of conspiracy were laid and he was reduced in rank to be a marquis, with revenue from just one county.

Fuling, close to the Yangzi and west of present-day Nanjing, was also in Jiujiang, some 150 kilometres southeast of Shouchun. The Biography of Liu Yan at *HHS* 42/32:1445 says that the emperor invited him to Shouchun and was so distressed at his miserable condition that he returned him to his royal rank, added four counties to the value of his fief, gave him generous presents and marks of honour, and permitted him to transfer his residence to Shouchun, which was more agreeable than the low-lying and marshy site of Fuling.

²⁸ Ruyin county in Runan, now Fuyang in Anhui, was on the Ying River some eighty kilometres from Shouchun in Jiujiang. The imperial cortege probably travelled directly northeast: up-river through Runan and Yingchuan, then crossing the ridge of Songgao Mountain 嵩高山 by the Huan-yuan Pass 轅轅關 to arrive at Luoyang.

J *HHS* 89/79:2951, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

²⁹ The Shanyu and many other chieftains had been killed in battle with the Wuhuan a few months earlier: passage F and note 13 above.

³⁰ *HHS* gives seven characters for the names of the tribes, punctuated by the Beijing edition as three: Qulan 屈蘭, Chubei 儲卑 and Huduxu 胡都須, followed by the standard *deng* 等 "and others." The Annals, however, at *HHS* 3:158, have only 屈蘭儲等, and *ZZTJ* follows.

K Having examined ancient codes and searched among the texts of the five Classics and the apocrypha, Cao Bao compiled a system [of ritual and ceremony] which covered everyone from the Son of Heaven to commoners: cappings and marriages, favourable and inauspicious events, from beginning to end. Altogether it amounted to one hundred and fifty sections, and he presented it to the throne.³¹

The emperor felt that there was so much discussion it would be difficult to get an agreement. He therefore did no more than receive the work, and did not have it considered by the senior ministers.³²

L In this year Ban Chao raised the combined forces of Yutian and other states, twenty-five thousand men, and attacked Suoju.³³ The king of Qiuzi, however, gathered fifty thousand men from Wensu, Gumo and Weitou to come to the relief.

Ban Chao summoned the various commanders and the king of Yutian for a council and said, "As our troops are too few to match the enemy, the best plan is for us to separate, Yutian going to the east and my men to the west. We can take advantage of the night, then beat the drums for an attack."

1511 He secretly released the prisoners they had taken, and when the king of Quizi heard of this he was extremely pleased.³⁴ He himself led ten thousand horsemen westward in pursuit of Ban Chao, while the king of Wensu took eight thousand east to intercept the Yutian column.

Once Ban Chao knew that the two enemy detachments were under way, he sent orders to all the divisions to halt their retreat and move quickly against the camp of Suoju. Terrified and confused, the enemy broke and fled, and more than five thousand were killed in the pursuit.

Where *ZZTJ* gives the total number of those surrendering as 280,000 (二十八萬), *HHS* 89/79 says that the individuals (口 *kou*) numbered 200,000 (二十萬), with another eight thousand (八千) men who could bear arms (勝兵人 *shengbing ren*). *ZZTJ* has misplaced the character 八, but whether the number of fighting men was eight thousand or eighty thousand, it is still quite a small proportion of the total. Such figures, of course, are seldom reliable.

K *HHS* 35/25:1202-03, the Biography of Cao Bao.

³¹ An enthusiastic scholar of ritual, Cao Bao had proposed this consolidation in 86, and received endorsement from the emperor earlier this year: passages J of Yuanhe 3 at 157 and A above at 158, and see MBeck, *Treatises*, 87. He must have been working on the project for many years, for he was able to make this formal presentation less than twelve months later. The work is commonly referred to as the New Rituals (新裡 *Xin li*).

ZZTJ gives the text length in *juan* 卷, but *HHS* 35/25 refers to the units as *pian* 篇, and adds that the writing was on wooden strips (簡 *jian*) two *zhi* 尺 feet and four *cun* 寸 inches long, just under a metre.

³² As Mansvelt Beck remarks, "he shelved it."

On the other hand, as Mansvelt Beck also points out, the ceremony for an emperor taking the Cap of Manhood (冠 *guan* or (加元服 *jia yuanfu*) as described by *HHS* 94/4:3105 in the Treatise of Ceremonial, is the same as that prescribed by Cao Bao. Furthermore, as van Ess, *Politik und Gelehrsamkeit*, observes at 178-179, when Emperor Zhang's son and successor Emperor He was capped in 91 he was aged only twelve *sui*: passage A of Yongyuan 3 at 194. This accorded with the Old Text system, not with the New Text, which prescribed nineteen or twenty *sui*: *Bohu tong* 9.5; Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 612-613. The significance of this is considered further in note 1 to Yongyuan 3 at 194.

L *HHS* 47/37:1580, the Biography of Ban Chao.

³³ Suoju [Yarkand] was the only state on the Southern Road which had not yet joined the alliance led by Ban Chao on behalf of Han: note 20 to Yuanhe 3 at 156.

³⁴ Releasing the prisoners would indicate that Ban Chao was concerned they might impede his retreat, and it also allowed the false news to reach the enemy.

As Suoju now surrendered, Qiuzi and the others withdrew and scattered. From this exploit, Ban Chao's power shook all the Western Regions.

Zhanghe 章和 2: 88 AD

11 February 88 – 29 January 89

A In the spring, in the first month, Liu Kang the King of Ji'nan, Liu Yan the King of Fuling and Liu Yen the King of Zhongshan came to court.¹

B The emperor was by nature agreeable and affectionate, generous to his kinfolk, and for this reason his two uncles the kings of Ji'nan and Zhongshan had frequently been invited to court and shown special favour, while all [the emperor's] brothers had been permitted to remain at the capital and were not sent back to their states.²

C In addition, he gave rewards to a great many ministers, more than regulations would allow, so that the granaries and treasuries were left.³

He Chang submitted a statement to Song You,⁴ saying, "This year has seen both floods and drought, so it has not been possible to gather the harvest. In the frontier territories of Liang province families have suffered violence and injury, while in the commanderies of the interior both public and private resources are pressed to their limits. Surely this is a time to make economies in both food and goods.

"Instead, however, the generosity of the government in gifts and grants passes all measure. I have heard that the presents made at the time of the La winter festival alone,⁵ from probationers and junior officials upwards and from the chief ministers, kings and marquises downwards,⁶ were enough to empty the treasury and the store-houses and to exhaust the resources of the state.

A *HHS* 3:159, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹ Sons of Emperor Guangwu by his first empress the Lady Guo, these were half-uncles to Emperor Zhang: see, for example, note 11 to Zhongyuan 2 at 2-3 and note 8 to Yongping 1 at 9.

Liu Kang behaved badly in his fief territory and in 71 he had been accused of involvement in the affair of Liu Ying the King of Chu: *e.g.* passage B of Yongping 14 at 55. Emperor Ming had reduced the size and value of his fief, but he was then favoured by Emperor Zhang: his territories were restored and he became extremely wealthy. His biography is at *HHS* 42/32:1430-31; deC, *LH3K*, 570-571.

Liu Yan 延 had suffered even more severe demotion, but had lately been restored to some prosperity: passage I of Zhanghe 1 at 161, also *HHS* 42/32:1444-45; deC, *LH3K*, 570-571.

Liu Yen 焉 murdered one of his concubines and was punished by the loss of a county from his fief. He too had been restored to favour and was permitted to reside for a time at the imperial capital: *HHS* 42/32: 1444-45; deC, *LH3K*, 571.

B *HHS* 41/31:1414, the Biography of Song/Zong Yi [see further in note 8 below].

² See, for example, passage H of Jianchu 3 at 110.

C *HHS* 43/33:1480, the Biography of He Chang.

³ Where *ZZTJ* refers generically to "many subjects" (群臣 *qunchen*), *HHS* 43/33 relates this specifically to the Dou family of imperial relatives by marriage who dominated the court at this time.

⁴ At this time Song You was Grand Commandant and He Chang was a Senior Clerk in his office: passage H of Zhanghe 1 at 161. The compound 奏記 *zouji* presumably differentiates a submission to an Excellency from a regular memorial (奏 *zou*) which was formally addressed to the emperor.

⁵ On the La 臘 festival, or People's New Year, oldest and most widely recognised of five different beginnings for a yearly cycle, see note 42 to Yongping 18 at 87, citing Bodde, *Festivals*, 45-75, who discusses the present text at 75. [He renders the term 國家 *guojia* as "eminent families;" I take it as a general term for the government.]

Passage R of Yongping 18 at 86-87 refers to generous gifts made by members of the Ma family, imperial relatives by marriage during the festival of 75; on this occasion it was the emperor who had been extravagant. On the dating, see the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang to this passage at 1512.

⁶ "Probationers and junior officials" renders 郎官 *lang guan*, that is Gentleman cadets (*lang*) and regular officials (*guan*).

"If one enquires into the goods which a government uses, everything is produced by the labour of the people. When a wise ruler gives a reward, he ensures that it is of an appropriate value, and when a loyal subject receives such benevolence he too should observe restraint. It was in this fashion that Yu received the black jade tablet and the Duke of Zhou received bundles of silk.⁷

1512 "Now your excellency holds a position of honour and authority, with many concerns and heavy responsibilities. Above, you must maintain proper standards, and below you must maintain good order in all the world. You cannot simply be cautious and avoid giving offence!

"The first thing to do is to correct your own conduct and provide an example to those of lower rank: return the gifts you have received and make a proper accounting; then propose that the kings and marquises should return to their states; do away with the restrictions on public access to parks and gardens; call a halt to thoughtless extravagance; and provide assistance and sympathy to those who are isolated and in distress. If that can be done, then grace will be spread abroad and all the people will be pleased and contented."

Song You could not follow this advice.

D The Master of Writing Song Yi of Nanyang presented a document,⁸ saying, "Your majesty displays the greatest filial piety, your grace and affection surpass all others. You show the same favour and familiarity to the kings as if it were an ordinary household: they ride their carriages into the palace,⁹ they take their seats in your presence without making obeisance,¹⁰ they share the delicacies of your table and you treat them with the utmost generosity.

⁷ At the end of the *Yu gong* 禹貢 "Tribute of Yu" chapter in *Shu jing* 書經 the *Classic of History* III.i.2.5; Legge, *CC* III, 150, it is said that when Yu had completed his work of controlling the floods and settling the people he presented (錫 *xi*) a black jade tablet (玄圭 *xuanguī*) to the emperor. In a note to this passage, however, Legge observes that there is dispute whether Yu presented the tablet to the emperor or the emperor presented it to Yu; the character *xi* is commonly interpreted as a grant from higher rank to the lower. Sima Qian of Former Han evidently accepted the latter interpretation, for the parallel text in *SJ* 2:77 states firmly that the tablet was presented to Yu by the sage ruler Shun 舜 in recognition of his achievement: Chavannes, *Mémoires* I, 149; Nienhauser, *GSR* I, 32.

The same character *xi* appears in the *Shao gao* 召誥 "Announcement of the Duke of Shao" chapter at V.xii.8; Legge, *CC* III, 424-425. In this case, however, it is clear that the presentation is being made by the Duke of Shao, who is offering tribute from various subsidiary princes to his senior kinsman of the Duke of Zhou 周公, regent for King Cheng 周成王. The text indicates that a large number of valuable items were presented, but He Chang refers only to a bundle of rolls of silk (束帛 *shubo*); he must be following a special interpretation.

The references are confusing, but He Chang is apparently presenting these two cases as worthy examples: on the one hand a simple but significant award of honour to Yu from his imperial master; and on the other a valuable presentation from a minister to his superior. This is a contrast to the excessive generosity of Emperor Zhang and the failure of his officials to reciprocate.

D *HHS* 41/31:1414, the Biography of Song/Zong Yi.

⁸ The surname of Song Yi 宋意 also appears as Zong 宗; the two characters are often interchanged: deC, *LH3K*, 1178 and 1174 quoting Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 69 note 1.

⁹ According to official regulations, even the highest nobility were required to dismount from their carriages when they entered the imperial palace; there were "Gates for Stopping Carriages" (止車門 *Zhiju men*) in both palaces: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 23. Emperor Zhang, however, exempted his kinsmen from this rule.

¹⁰ In similar fashion to the note immediately above, a subject was expected to bow before his ruler before taking his seat at audience. Again, the emperor did not insist upon this courtesy.

"Liu Kang and Liu Yen are particularly fortunate: though they are only cadet members of the imperial clan, they receive the revenue from large fiefs and are treated with exceptional favour, courtesy and consideration by your majesty. In the opinion of *Chunqiu*, however, even fathers and brothers must be treated as subjects: this is to maintain a proper distinction between ranks of honour, and between the strong core of the body and the weaker limbs.¹¹ Your majesty's virtuous conduct has brought great prosperity to the nation, and should serve as a model for ten thousand generations to come; it would be wrong now to permit your personal affections to disturb the balance between high and low and break the proper relationship of ruler and subject.

"Furthermore, King Xian of Xiping and five other kings have families with wives and children and a full complement of officials.¹² They should soon return to their states in order that their sons and descendants may establish themselves. They still stay at the capital, however, in residences within sight of one another. Unwilling to leave, they compete with one another in extravagance and arrogant conduct, with excessive salaries and undue consideration [from your majesty].

"You must harden your heart, end your tolerance, and apply the rules despite your natural generosity.¹³ Send King Kang and King Yen back to their states immediately, and have King Xian and the others make early plans for departure. This will put an end to any uncertainty among the people."

The emperor never managed to respond to this [as he died soon afterwards].

1513

E [In the second month] on the day *renchen* [9 Apr]¹⁴ the emperor died in the Front Hall of the Hall of Brilliant Virtue.¹⁵ He was thirty-one years old.¹⁶ His testamentary edict ordered that, "No separate temple is to be constructed for me, and procedures are to be the same as for the previous emperors."

¹¹ As Hu Sanxing remarks, *Chunqiu* has no such precise statement. Song Yi is basing his remarks upon the general principle of respect for the ruler. [*Bohu tong* 6.4 makes an exception for a ruler who is the first of his line: Tjan, *White Tiger Discussions* II, 518.]

¹² Liu Xian, a half-brother of Emperor Zhang had first been enfeoffed with Guangling, but was transferred to the kingdom of Xiping, separated from Runan, in 82: passage D of Jianchu 7 at 122.

¹³ *Li ji* 49.5 [*Sangfu sizhi* 喪服四制 chapter] has the expression 門內之治, 恩掩義; 門外之治, 義斷恩: "For good government within one's own house, generosity is better than a strict adherence to the rules; for good government in the outside world, rules must take precedence over generosity."

E *HHS* 3:159, the Annals of Emperor Zhang.

¹⁴ The traditional text of *HHS* 3, followed by *ZZTJ*, has no indication of the month. The first month of this year had no *renchen* day (cyclical number 29), but the last day of the second month was a *renchen* day. Modern editions of *HHS* correct the omission but it is unchanged in *ZZTJ*.

¹⁵ The Hall of Brilliant Virtue in the Northern Palace is discussed by Bielenstein, who remarks that its position is not known: *Lo-yang*, 36. The mention of a Front Hall implies that there was also a Rear Hall, but there is little further information.

¹⁶ *HHS* 3 gives his age as thirty-three years (年 *nian*), but *ZZTJ* has thirty-one; no commentary remarks on the discrepancy. Born in 57, Liu Da was actually thirty-three *sui* 歲 by Chinese reckoning, about thirty-one in Western terms. He would be the first of a succession of rulers who died in their early thirties, with unfortunate effect upon the stability of the state and the dynasty.

In his discussion, Fan Ye remarked that, "Emperor Wen of Wei described Emperor Ming of Han as excessively suspicious, while Emperor Zhang was open-hearted."¹⁷

"Emperor Zhang had sympathy for other people, he disapproved of Ming's fault-finding and strictness, and he was tolerant and generous in all his dealings.

"He honoured and served the Virtuous Empress-Dowager of Emperor Ming, treating her with utmost filial respect."¹⁸ He eased the requirements of corvée labour and reduced taxation, so the people relied upon his benevolence. He guided them by his example of loyalty and courtesy, and he refined them with ritual and music.

"He may well be described as the better man!"

The Heir now took the throne at the age of ten *sui*.¹⁹ The Empress [Dou] was honoured as Empress-Dowager.²⁰

F In the third month [on the day *dingyou*: 14 Apr],²¹ on the authority of the testamentary edict Liu Xian the King of Xiping became King of Chen and Liu Gong the King of Liu'an became the King of Pengcheng.²²

G On the day *guimao* [20 Apr] Emperor Zhang was buried in the Jingling "Mound of Reverence."²³

¹⁷ Cao Pi 曹丕, son of the warlord Cao Cao 曹操 who founded the Three Kingdoms state of Wei 魏 at the end of Later Han, proclaimed himself emperor in 220. Known for his literary interests, he was awarded the posthumous title Wen 文. His biography/annals are in *SGZ Wei 2*, discussed by deC, "Wei," 40-45.

Tang commentary identifies this text as taken from the *Hou Han shu* of Hua Qiao, 1:1b. There must have been a greater quantity of Hua Qiao's work available at that time than there is today, for Cao Pi's words now appear only in this quote by Fan Ye.

¹⁸ As explained in passage B of Yongping 3 at 20-21, Liu Da the future Emperor Zhang was not a natural son of the Empress Ma but was born of a concubine the Lady Jia. The Lady Ma had fostered him, however, and they were very close.

¹⁹ Born in 79, the new emperor Liu Zhao was eight or nine years old by Western count.

²⁰ *HHS 3* notes that the Dowager "attended court" (臨朝 *lin zhao*), indicating that she held regency power. This is discussed further in note 25 to passage I below.

F *HHS 4*:165, the Annals of Emperor He;
HHS 50/40:1668, the Biography of Liu Xian;
HHS 50/40:1670, the Biography of Liu Gong.

²¹ The day *dingyou* is identified by *HHS 4* but is omitted by the main text of the Beijing edition of *ZZTJ*. The text criticism of Zhang Yu, however, notes that other editions include it.

²² Liu Xian had been transferred to the kingdom of Xiping in 82: passage D of Jianchu 7 at 122. His state was made up of eight counties taken from Runan; *HHS 4* notes that they were now restored to the commandery.

Liu Gong had been made King of Liu'an in 85: passage K with note 31 to Yuanhe 2 at 151. *HHS 4* notes that as the kingdom was restored to commandery status its name was changed back to Lujiang.

Pengcheng was the capital of Chu, former kingdom of Liu Ying, which reverted to be a commandery after his disgrace in 70: passage B of Yongping 13 at 55. The new fief covered the same territory but was renamed Pengcheng: *HHS 50/40*:1670.

G *HHS 4*:166, the Annals of Emperor He.

²³ The emperor was buried eleven days after his death; his father Emperor Ming had been buried after ten days; his grandfather Guangwu had been buried almost thirty days later: passage L and note 20 to Yongping 18 at 83.

The Mound of Reverence (敬陵 *Jingling*), tomb of Emperor Zhang, lay some sixteen kilometres south-east of Luoyang, in the same direction as that of his grandfather Guangwu but the opposite direction to that of his father. The tomb and its park occupied 118 hectares, a third the size of Emperor Ming's: Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, 83 and 86; and see note 20 to Yongping 18.

Emperor Zhang was awarded the temple-name Suzong 肅宗 "Reverent Exemplar:" *HHS 3*:129. Like his father Emperor Ming, he is quite often referred to in the texts by that style.

- H The Southern Shanyu Xuan died. Tuntuhe, a younger brother of the Shanyu Chang, was established as the Xiulan shizuhou di Shanyu.²⁴
- I The empress-dowager attended court.²⁵ As a Palace Attendant, Dou Xian managed confidential matters within the imperial palace and issued orders outside. His younger brother Du became General of the Household Rapid as a Tiger, while Du's younger brothers Jing and Xiang were both Regular Attendants.²⁶ All the brothers were close to the throne and had significant influence.
- J Cui Yin, a client of Dou Xian, sent him a letter of warning:²⁷ "There is a tradition which says, 'Living in wealth makes a man arrogant; living with honour makes a man proud.' There has never been anyone who has been both wealthy and honoured and has been able to avoid pride and arrogance.

"Now you have come quite suddenly into a position of honour and favour, and all officials will be watching to see how you conduct yourself. As the poet says,

They are sure, day and night,
To perpetuate their fame.²⁸

H HHS 89/79:2951-52, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

²⁴ On the succession system of the Southern Xiongnu, see note 30 to Yongping 2 at 19.

I HHS 23/13:813, the Biography of Dou Xian.

²⁵ As in note 20 above, the phrase 臨朝 *lin zhao* indicated that the Dowager held regency power on behalf of the new young emperor who had not yet taken the cap of manhood.

The precedent had been established during Former Han: the widowed Empress Lü 呂 of the founding Emperor Gao acted as regent for their son Emperor Hui, and in 74 BC the young Dowager Shangguan 上官 of Emperor Zhao had deposed the designated successor Liu He 劉賀; though she was at that time in her mid-teens and was under the influence of her grandfather Huo Guang 霍光, her authority was not contested: see, for example, Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 75-81, especially 80, and Dubs *HFHD* I, 192 and note 1.

For Later Han, the commentary of Hu Sanxing to this passage quotes the *Duduan* 獨斷 compiled by Cai Yong 蔡邕 of the second century AD on the powers of a dowager as regent and her attendance at court: she was enthroned on the right of the dais, facing west, with the young ruler opposite her, and memorials and other documents were prepared in two copies and were submitted to each of them.

Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 152, claims that regency power was actually held by a male member of the Dowager's family, often with title as General-in-Chief (大將軍 *da jiangjun*), and he lists the holders of that office, beginning with Dou Xian, brother of this Dowager Dou. Though he was given great power, however, it is clear from context below – and also from the example of the Dowager Deng during the reign of Emperor An (see Volume 2) – that ultimate authority was in the hands of the Dowager. For the time being, however, she was content to allow him to act on her behalf.

As remarked in note 16 above, Emperor Zhang was the first of a series of rulers who died in their thirties, and in consequence their successors came to the throne as minors. The regency power of a Dowager gave great opportunity to members of her family and – as we shall see on repeated occasions in generations to come – this would prove a source of contention and instability.

²⁶ HHS 23/13 says that these appointments were made in accordance with the late Emperor Zhang's testamentary edict.

In HHSJJ at 857 the modern commentator Qian Daxin rightly observes that there must be a mistake, for the office of Regular Attendant (中常侍 *zhong changshi*) was held by eunuchs. It is most likely that the title has been miswritten for Gentleman at the Yellow Gates (黃門侍郎 *huangmen shilang*), a position held by full men, below but in the same category as that of the Palace Attendant held by Dou Xian.

J HHS 52/42:1719-20, the Biography of Cui Yin.

²⁷ Cui Yin was a respected scholar and writer, and had been recommended to Dou Xian by Emperor Zhang: HHS 52/42:1718-19. For his involvement in an earlier incident, see passage I of Yuanhe 1 at 141.

²⁸ This is a couplet from the *Zhen lu* 振鷺 "Flock of Egrets" song from the Hymns of Zhou (周頌 *Zhou song*) of *Shi jing* 詩經 the *Classic of Poetry* IV.ib.3; Legge, *CC* IV, 585.

"In former times Feng Yewang, as a distaff kinsman of the emperor, held high office and was praised as a worthy minister.²⁹ More recently the Minister of the Guards Yin [Xing] restricted himself only to what was appropriate; in the end he [and his family] received great rewards.³⁰

"The reason that [some] imperial relatives have been criticised in their own times and left a bad reputation to future generations is that they were never satisfied; and though they gained high office they lacked sympathy for others.

"From the time Han rose to power, to that of emperors Ai and Ping, there have been twenty clans of relatives by marriage, but only four women were able to preserve themselves and their families.³¹

"The *Classic of History* says, 'Consider the example of the Yin.' Can one fail to be cautious?"³²

K On the day *gengxu* [27 Apr] the empress-dowager issued an edict,³³ "The former Grand Commandant Deng Biao is appointed Grand Tutor. He is granted enfeoffment

²⁹ The biography of Feng Yewang is at *HS* 3302-05; Loewe, *QHX*, 102. Brother of one of the concubines of Emperor Yuan of Former Han, he did indeed become Minister Herald in 37 BC, and was well respected. On the other hand, though he was considered well worthy of further promotion Emperor Yuan refused to make the appointment as he was concerned he could be criticised for favouritism. When Emperor Yuan died, moreover, Feng Yewang was reduced in rank, sent out to the provinces and later dismissed. There is some contrast to the current situation of Dou Xian.

³⁰ The biography of Yin Xing, referred to here only by his title, is at *HHS* 32/22:1130-32; deC, *LH3K*, 983. A full brother of Guangwu's Empress Yin, he was a close and trusted confidant who commanded the imperial guard and was a mentor to the future Emperor Ming. He rejected, however, the offer of enfeoffment as a full marquis, and in 44 he likewise refused promotion to Excellency rank as Grand Marshal (大司馬 *dashima*) [the office was renamed Grand Commandant (*taiwei*) in 51 AD].

When Yin Xing died in 58 Emperor Ming awarded fiefs to two of his sons.

³¹ Biographies of the empresses and noted imperial concubines are in *HS* 97A-B. Hu Sanxing lists the twenty clans, and identifies the four which survived successfully as those of:

- the Lady Bo 薄, concubine (姬 *yi*) of Emperor Gao and mother of Emperor Wen: Loewe, *QHS*, 14-15);
- the Empress Dou 竇 of Emperor Wen, mother of Emperor Jing: Loewe, *QHS*, 78-79;
- the Empress Wang 王 of Emperor Jing: Loewe, *QHS*, 565;
- the Empress Wang Zhengjun 王政君 of Emperor Yuan, later Grand Empress-Dowager, mother of Emperor Cheng and aunt of Wang Mang: *HS* 98; Loewe, *QHS*, 564-565.

Tang commentary, however, has a different list of survivors. It includes the Empress Wang of Emperor Jing and the Grand Empress-Dowager Wang Zhengjun, but the other two are given as:

- the Lady Ding 丁, concubine of Emperor Cheng and mother of Emperor An: Loewe, *QHS*, 65;
- the Lady Xu Pingjun 許平君, concubine of Emperor Xuan and mother of Emperor Yuan: Loewe, *QHS*, 621-622.

The debate depends to a considerable degree on the definition of a family and of "survival," but the best options were either complete withdrawal or total political success. An example of the – frequently bloody – middle way may be seen in Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict*, 113 ff "The Fall of the House of Huo."

³² The *Shao gao* 召誥 "Announcement of the Duke of Shao" chapter of *Shu jing* at V.xii.17; Legge, *CC* III, 429, says 我不可不監于有夏，亦不可不監于有殷 "We cannot fail to observe the example of the Xia dynasty, nor that of the Yin." The message is that the example of the two fallen states provides a lesson in the need for virtue and a warning of what may happen if the lesson is unheeded.

K *HHS* 4:166, the Annals of Emperor He;
HHS 23/13:813, the Biography of Dou Xian.

³³ On the authority of the dowager as regent, and thus empowered to issue edicts in the name of the emperor, see note 25 above.

as a secondary marquis and has authority over the Imperial Secretariat. When carrying out their duties, all officials shall accept instructions from him."³⁴

Dou Xian had arranged this high appointment because Deng Biao was an honourable and generous man who had been respected by the previous emperor; and he was tolerant and agreeable.³⁵ Dou Xian's system was to have Deng Biao present memorials to the emperor from the outside while he dealt with [his sister] the dowager within the palace. So everything went the way he wanted.

For his part, Deng Biao held his position and maintained his fine principles, but that was all; he could not effect any reforms.

Dou Xian was a hasty man, swift to take offence, and very ready to take revenge. During the Yongping period [in the time of Emperor Ming] the Internuncio Han Yu had investigated and interrogated Dou Xun.³⁶ Dou Xian now sent retainers to take the head of Han Yu's son and present it at Dou Xun's tomb.

L On the day *guihai* [10 May]³⁷ King Xian of Chen, King Gong of Pengcheng, King Dang of Lecheng, King Yan of Xiapi and King Chang of Liang went to their fiefs for the first time.³⁸

³⁴ Deng Biao had been appointed Grand Commandant by Emperor Zhang in 82. When he left that office two years later on grounds of ill health he was treated with great generosity and respect: passages A of Jianchu 6 at 118 and E of Yuanhe 1 at 138.

On the office of Grand Tutor (太傅 *taifu*), see note 20 to Zhongyuan 2 at 5.

On secondary marquisates (關內侯 *guannei hou*), see note 13 to Yongping 2 at 15-16.

Authority over the Secretariat (錄尚書事 *lu shangshu shi*), which gave administrative command of the government to designated high officials, has been mentioned above in passage L of Yongping 18 at 83 and discussed in note 22 to that passage. At that time it was little more than a courtesy, for the new Emperor Zhang had been of full age and could issue instructions without formal assistance. The present appointment, however, meant that Deng Biao had executive power over the government under the general authority of the regent dowager.

Authority over the Secretariat is discussed by Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 153-154, who renders it as a formal – albeit supplementary – title "Intendant of the Masters of Writing."

³⁵ The biography of Deng Biao at *HHS* 44/34:1495 records that when his father died and he was due to succeed to his marquisate, he asked it be given instead to his younger half-brother. Emperor Ming admired Deng Biao's generosity and granted the request. The character *rang* 讓 "yielding" is used both to describe his fine conduct on that occasion and also in *HHS* 23/13 as an aspect of his character which inclined Dou Xian to choose him.

³⁶ On the disgrace of the Dou family in 62, see passage D of Yongping 5 with notes 7 to 9 at 32. Dou Xian's father Dou Xun had been one of the casualties of the affair and died in prison, probably from the effects of torture.

L *HHS* 4:167, the Annals of Emperor He.

³⁷ The relevant *guihai* day (cyclical number 60) fell on 10 May by the Western calendar but was actually the second day of the Chinese fourth month. The Annals evidently misplaced the indication for the month – which appears in the entry immediately following – and the error has been echoed by *ZZTJ*.

³⁸ Passages A, B and D above at 164-166 tell how, shortly before his death, the emperor had been urged to send these kinfolk away to their states. The new regime was now carrying out this policy.

Liu Xian was a son of Emperor Guangwu and a half-uncle of the late Emperor Zhang: note 14 to Jianchu 3 at 110. On the transfer of his fief to Chen, see passage F at 167.

Liu Gong, Liu Dang, Liu Yan 衍 and Liu Chang 暢 were all sons of Emperor Ming and half-brothers of the late Emperor Zhang: passage B and note 7 to Yongping 15 at 63. On the transfer of the fief of Liu Gong to Pengcheng, see passage F with note 22 at 167; on the transfer of Liu Chang to Liang, see passage A of Jianchu 4 at 111.

In the summer, in the fourth month, on the day *wuyin* [25 May], in accordance with the testamentary edict [of the late Emperor Zhang] the control of salt and iron by the commanderies and kingdoms was ended, so that the people were allowed to gather salt and smelt iron without restriction.³⁹

1515 In the fifth month there was drought in the capital district.

M The Northern Xiongnu were suffering famine and their government was in disarray. Several thousands came each year to submit to the Southern state.⁴⁰

In the autumn, in the seventh month, the Southerner Shanyu sent a letter:⁴¹ "We should take advantage of the internal conflict among the Northern renegades and send out troops to attack them. If we destroy the North and fulfil the ambitions of the South to combine them into a single state, then the house of Han need have no concerns about the north for a long time to come.

"I and my people were born and have been brought up in the territory of Han. Our every request has been granted, and we receive gifts each year valued in the tens and hundreds of thousands. Though we sit at ease and sleep soundly, we feel ashamed that we have not had the honour of repaying your kindness.

"It is my desire to raise skilled soldiers from this state and its subordinate divisions, together with men of the Northerners who have recently submitted.⁴² Going out by separate routes at the same time, in the twelfth month we would rendezvous in enemy territory.

"The troops that I command, however, are too few to carry out such an offensive and still maintain security at home. I therefore ask that the Bearer of the Mace Geng Bing and the General on the Liao Deng Hong, together with the Administrators of Xihe, Yunzhong, Wuyuan, Shuofang and Shang commandery, should combine their

³⁹ *HHS* 4 has a longer passage from the edict of the regent dowager announcing this reform and giving credit to the late emperor.

The salt and iron monopolies, established by Emperor Wu of Former Han, had been maintained by Later Han but administered by the local authorities. Despite the removal of restrictions, however, there was a sting to the tail, for the text goes on to say that 入稅縣官如故事 "taxes are to be paid to the central government as in former times" (reading 縣官 for the central government, as in note 21 to Yuanhe 1 at 139.

As Bielenstein remarks in *Bureaucracy* at 185 note 74, moreover, the freedom from monopolies appears to have been short-lived, for *HHS* 4:191 mentions the re-establishment of an Office for Iron (鐵官 *tieguan*) in Zhuo commandery in 103.

M *HHS* 89/79:2952, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu;
HHJ 12:155.

⁴⁰ The Northern Xiongnu had been heavily defeated by the Xianbi in the previous year: passage F of Zhanghe 1 at 159.

HHS 89/79 gives no estimate for the number of those surrendering, while *HHJ* has 十餘萬 "hundreds of thousands." *ZZTJ*, however, has only 數千 "several thousand." One must suspect a copyist's error.

⁴¹ The *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang notes that *HHJ* 12 dates the Shanyu's proposal to the tenth month of the previous year, Zhanghe 1. Sima Guang, however, finds the chronology presented by *HHS* 89/79 to be more convincing.

⁴² The phrase *guhu xinjiang* 故胡新降 refers to those of the Northern Xiongnu (here as 胡 *hu*) who have lately come to join the South.

forces and come to the north [with us]. With the aid of your sacred majesty's spiritual authority, the whole affair can be settled at one blow.⁴³

"This very year is a critical time for the success or failure of my state. I have already sent orders to my subordinate divisions to make a secret levy of men and horses, and I wait only for your majesty's gracious consideration."

The dowager showed the letter to Geng Bing, who replied, "In former times Emperor Wu exhausted the resources of the empire as he attempted to subjugate the Xiongnu. The times, however, were against him, and the enterprise was eventually unsuccessful.

"Now, however, we are fortunate to receive a gift from Heaven, as the Northern enemy are fighting amongst themselves. Using barbarians to attack barbarians is an advantage to our state. We should accept and approve his request." He went on to say that he had received great favour in the past, and should now offer his life in service to the state. The dowager raised the matter for debate and was prepared to approve it.

N The Master of Writing Song Yi, however, wrote in to say,⁴⁴ "The barbarians of the north are rude, lacking in honour and courtesy, with no sense of proper order.⁴⁵ When they are strong they are aggressive; when they are weak they are humble.

1516 "Since the time that Han arose, we have fought them again and again, but what we gain from subduing them has not made up for the cost. Emperor Guangwu himself appreciated the dangers of warfare and had a deep understanding of the ways of Heaven and Earth. For that reason he accepted those who came to submit, restraining and caring for them but holding only a loose rein. So the people of the borderlands were able to live in peace and the costs of conflict were ended. This has been the situation for more than forty years.

"Now the Xianbi are respectful and obedient, and have killed or taken ten thousand of the enemy. We receive this great benefit without any effort by our own people, and the achievement of Han since its foundation has now reached its peak. In this way, as one group of barbarians attacks another, our own troops suffer no harm.

⁴³ Geng Bing had been one of the leaders in the expedition of 74 against the Xiongnu: passage H of Yongping 17 at 77-78 and following. He later held command against the Qiang in the west, then served as General on the Liao before transferring to be Bearer of the Mace, where he had held a close and trusted position with Emperor Zhang: see his biography at *HHS* 19/9:717.

Deng Hong had been Acting General on the Liao since 82: passage L with note 35 to Yuanhe 2 at 152.

Psarras, "Han and Xiongnu I," 60-61, interprets the Shanyu's letter as a sign of his independence from Han. I believe, however, that she exaggerates the point, and I note his clear statement that he is not strong enough to undertake the campaign without Chinese support. See also deC, *Fire*, 121, and passage K of Yongyuan 2 at 198-199, where it seems clear that Dou Xian has no difficulty in proposing the establishment of a new – puppet – Shanyu in the North and his opponents at court argue only whether or not it is in the interests of Han to maintain one or two dependent rulers; the views of the Southern Shanyu are not considered.

N *HHS* 41/31:1415-16, the Biography of Song Yi.

⁴⁴ Song Yi has appeared before: passage D above at 165-166.

⁴⁵ Song Yi is using the classical terms 戎 *rong* and 狄 *di* as a general reference to the people of the north. Elsewhere in his presentation he uses derogatory terms such as *lu* 虜 "captive" and *yi* 夷 "barbarian" for non-Chinese people, whether or not they were allies or clients of Han.

"I have studied the operations of the Xianbi against the Xiongnu, and find that the motive for their attacks is simply the profit from plunder. Though they give credit to our imperial court, the real reason is they are greedy for the rewards we pay.⁴⁶

"If we accept this proposal of the Southern barbarians to return them to their [former] territories in the north, then we shall be obliged to restrain the Xianbi [from attacking them]. On one hand, the Xianbi would be deprived of the plunder they expect, while at the same time they would lose the bounties we provide them. If those wolves and jackals become hungry, it will certainly mean trouble for our borderlands.

"Now the Northern Xiongnu have withdrawn to the west, and they are asking for peace and kinship.⁴⁷ We should accept their submission and make them our distant supporters. This would be an impressive achievement, unmatched by anything in the past. But if we draw upon our military capacity and spend our resources to support the Southern barbarians, then we shall not be using the best strategy and we shall be avoiding a policy of safety in order to enter a path of danger. Truly, we cannot approve this plan."

O About this time, Liu Chang, who was a son of the Energetic [*miswritten as Young*] King of Qi [Liu Shi] and marquis of a chief district, had come to pay condolences at the death of Emperor Zhang.⁴⁸ The dowager invited him to call upon her several times.⁴⁹ Concerned that Liu Chang could disrupt the structure of authority within the palace, Dou Xian sent retainers who stabbed him to death in the guard-house [of one of the city gates].⁵⁰ He attempted to put the blame onto Liu Chang's

⁴⁶ As in notes 18 and 19 to Yongping 1 at 11, the Xianbi received a bounty for each enemy they killed together with a general subsidy amounting to hundreds of millions of cash each year. That is why they were willing to give credit to Han.

⁴⁷ On *heqin* 和親 "peace and kinship," an alliance confirmed by marriage, see note 32 to Yongping 3 at 27.

O *HHS* 23/13:83-14, the Biography of Dou Xian;
HHS 45/35:1535, the Biography of Han Ling;
HHS 43/33:1483, the Biography of He Chang;
HHJ 12:157-158.

⁴⁸ Liu Shi's father Liu Zhang 章, a son of Liu Bosheng the elder brother of Emperor Guangwu, had been first enfeoffed as King of Taiyuan but was then transferred to Qi. His summary biography and an account of his kinsmen and successors is at *HHS* 14/4:553-54. Liu Shi succeeded his father in 46 and died in 70.

[*HHS* 23/13 writes the posthumous title of Liu Shi as Shang 殤 and this is followed by *ZZTJ*. Shang – "Young" – however, is normally used for rulers who die young, as in the case of Liu Long the infant and short-lived successor to Emperor He: see Volume 2. Liu Shi, however, held his fief for more than thirty years. *HHS* 14/4 says that his posthumous title was Yang 楊, and this is more likely.]

In the previous year, 87, Liu Chang's elder brother Huang 晃 had been deposed for making false allegations in the course of a family quarrel. He died soon afterwards and it is likely that the visit of condolence was also part of an attempt to restore the family fief.

This Liu Chang 暢 must be distinguished from the Liu Chang 暢 who was a son of Emperor Ming and became King of Runan and later of Liang: passages B of Yongping 15 at 63 and A of Jianchu 4 at 111.

A chief district (都鄉 *duxiang*) contained the headquarters of the county magistrate.

⁴⁹ *HHS* 23/13 remarks that Liu Chang had a bad reputation, that he gained access to the palace through personal contacts and was favoured by the dowager (得辛太后 *dexin taihou*). The Lady Dou was still a young woman in her mid-twenties, and her record of intrigue within the harem shows that she had limited moral scruples: passages C of Jianchu 7 at 120-122 and D of Jianchu 8 at 126-127. She may well have believed she deserved some reward for her success and was pleased to be offered private entertainment.

⁵⁰ Dou Xian, of course, was concerned that his sister's new relationship might interfere with his political interests, which ultimately depended upon her.

younger brother Gang, and had an Imperial Clerk sent to join the Inspector of Qing province in the interrogation of Liu Gang and others.⁵¹

The Master of Writing [Director of the Secretariat] Han Ling of Yingchuan argued that,⁵² "The murder took place in the capital district. We should not be investigating a crime near at hand by asking questions such a long way away. I am afraid we shall be the laughing-stock for every criminal." The dowager was angry and upbraided Han Ling, but he kept firmly to his opinion.

He Chang said to Song You,⁵³ "Liu Chang and his family are close imperial kinsmen, feudatories who support the state. Liu Chang had come to offer condolences at a time of deep mourning, presented his letter and was awaiting the reply. Then he was murdered like this when he was in one of our guard-houses. None of the officers responsible for maintaining the law have taken any action, no clues have come to light, and the responsible person has not been identified.

1517 "I have gathered assistants to take charge of the Department for Criminals, and I want to visit the scene of the crime to find out what happened. The relevant offices under the other Excellencies, however, believe that they should not be concerned with criminal matters. If the government simply allows the crime to be covered up, however, no-one will be held responsible. I ask permission to investigate on my own."

Song You approved the request, and when staff of the other Excellencies heard that He Chang was taking action they sent their own officers to accompany him. As a result, the investigation proceeded and the whole affair was revealed.⁵⁴

HHS 43/33 notes that the guards concerned were responsible for one of the city gates (城門 *chengmen*) of the capital. *Tunwei* 屯衛 would describe their lodging place rather than their duty stations.

⁵¹ As in note 48 above, Liu Gang had been involved in the family quarrel and had likewise suffered demotion for making false accusations. Given the tensions within the family, Dou Xian could find some justification for casting suspicion.

On Imperial Clerks as officers of the Censorate, see note 11 to Yongping 14 at 58..

⁵² *HHS* 45/35 has previously recorded Han Ling's appointment as Director of the Secretariat (尚書令 *shangshu ling*); he was not just a Master of Writing (尚書 *shangshu*). *HHS* 45/35 gives the personal name as 稜 *Leng* but *ZZTJ* uses the variant form 稜 *Ling*, and I follow it here; cf. deC, *LH3K*, 299.

⁵³ On He Chang, Senior Clerk to the Grand Commandant Song You, see passage C with note 4 above at 164.

⁵⁴ The essential of this story is clear: He Chang applied to his superior the Grand Commandant Song You, and when Song You accepted his request for a proper investigation the guilt of Dou Xian and the attempt at a cover-up were revealed. There is, however, some uncertainty about the administrative procedures which were involved.

Each Excellency had an office (府 *fu*). Their staffing is described by *HHS* 114/24:3557-62, which lists the departments (曹 *cao*) under the Grand Commandant at 3558-59, and provides a summary of their duties. As Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, argues in his discussion at 13-17, the Excellency over the Masses and the Excellency of Works must have had similar arrangements, so the Treatise did not repeat the details.

A Department for Criminals (賊曹 *zeicao*: Bielenstein: Bureau for Banditry) is listed in the office of the Grand Commandant, and it is shown here that it had counterparts in the offices of the other Excellencies. It is clear that there must have been considerable political pressure applied to prevent any effective investigation of Liu Chang's murder: how can the other two offices claim that Excellencies should not be involved in criminal matters when they have departments with just that responsibility?

At the same time, the nature of He Chang's intervention is uncertain. Here and elsewhere, he is described by *HHS* 12 as a Senior Clerk (掾 *yuan*) in the office of the Grand Commandant Song You, and although *HHS* 43/33 says that he was respected by both Song You and his colleague Excellency Yuan An, his rank/salary was only Equivalent to Three Hundred *shi* and there were more than twenty Senior and Junior Clerks (屬 *shu*) in the office of an Excellency, while the head of the office was a Chief Clerk (長史 *zhangshi*) with rank/salary of One Thousand *shi*. As Bielenstein observes, the distribution of clerks and

The dowager, furious, had Dou Xian confined in the private apartments of the palace. Afraid that he might be executed, Dou Xian sought to avoid such a penalty by asking to attack the Xiongnu.

P In the winter, in the tenth month, on the day *yihai* [18 Nov]⁵⁵ Dou Xian was appointed General of Chariots and Cavalry for the campaign against the Northern Xiongnu, with Geng Bing the Bearer of the Mace as his second-in-command.⁵⁶ They were to move out from the frontier with the colonels of the Northern Army, troops from the camps at Liyang and Yong, with cavalry and infantry from twelve frontier commanderies and soldiers of the Qiang and the northern barbarians.⁵⁷

Q The senior ministers proposed that Deng Xun, former Administrator of Zhangye, be appointed as Protector of the Qiang.⁵⁸

Mitang led ten thousand cavalry to the frontier, but he did not yet dare to attack Deng Xun and preferred to turn against the Little Yuezhi.⁵⁹ Deng Xun moved to

lower officers between the departments was uneven, and we are not told in this instance whether He Chang had designated responsibilities. He certainly felt free to comment on matters as varied as portents and the extravagance of government (passage H of Zhanghe 1 at 161 and C above at 164-165) as well as here, the investigation of crime. In this regard, he appears to have served as a general adviser to Song You, whose chief concern indeed was the overall supervision of the government.

HJJ 12, moreover, claims that Song You was at first reluctant to take any action about the death of Liu Chang, and did so only after He Chang had pressed the point very firmly. He Chang appears to have been given a great deal of latitude, allowing him to take control of the Department for Criminals and prepare for the investigation, and it was this initiative that forced Song You's hand.

P *HHS* 23/13:814, the Biography of Dou Xian.

⁵⁵ The date of the appointment is given by the *Annals* at *HS* 4:168.

⁵⁶ With experience of warfare on the steppe, Geng Bing had been suggested as commander of the offensive by the Southern Shanyu: passage M at 171 above.

⁵⁷ On the Northern Army, central strategic reserve of the empire, see note 20 to Yongping 2 at 17. The character 校 *xiao* refers to the colonels (校尉 *xiaowei*) who commanded the five regiments of that force.

On the camp at Liyang, a reserve and training facility for the Trans-Liao command based at Wuyuan, see note 6 of Yongping 8 at 38. Yong 雍 county, near present-day Fengxiang in Shenxi, headquarters of the Commandant of Youfufeng, performed a similar function for operations in the northwest: it was later established as a separate Commandant's command in 110: *HHS* 5:215, with note citing *Hanguan yi*.

Hu Sanxing identifies the twelve commanderies as Shang, Xihe, Wuyuan, Yunzhong, Dingxiang, Yanmen, Shuofang, Dai, Shanggu, Yuyang, Anding and Beidi.

"Northern barbarians" (胡 *hu*) here indicates the Southern Xiongnu; the term may have been extended to refer also to the Xianbi, but in the event they would not be involved in this campaign: passage G of Yongyuan 1 with note 22 at 181-182.

Q *HHS* 16/6:609-10, the Biography of Deng Xun.

⁵⁸ Deng Xun has been mentioned before in passage E of Jianchu 3 at 109. His biography records that he later commanded the camp at Liyang (note 57 immediately above and note 6 to Yongping 8 at 38) and was then Protector of the Wuhuan; in both appointments he was successful and popular. He was transferred to be Administrator of Wuwei and then of Zhangye, and he now replaced Zhang Yu, who had treacherously killed the Qiang leader Miyu but had been unable to deal successfully with his son and successor Mitang: passage G of Zhanghe 1 at 160.

⁵⁹ Until the late third century BC, the Yuezhi 月氏 people had been based in the Gansu corridor. In 209, however, they were attacked and driven away by the Xiongnu confederacy under the great Shanyu Modun 冒頓. The majority went to the far west, and eventually settled in the north of present-day Afghanistan. Known to the Chinese as the Great Yuezhi (大 *Da* Yuezhi), they later created the Kushan empire which extended into northern India in the third century AD.

The Little Yuezhi (小 *Xiao* Yuezhi) were descended from those who had taken refuge in the Qilian ranges, southwest of their former homeland. They lived now in the Xining valley and northern Jincheng, with a few groups in Wuwei and Zhangye, but their numbers were small, including only two or three thousand fighting men. See *HHS* 87/77:2899 and 16/6:609.

protect the Yuezhi and prevent any fighting. All his advisers argued that if the Qiang and the Yuezhi fought one another it served the interests of the government; they should not interfere. Deng Xun replied, however, "Zhang Yu acted in bad faith, and all the Qiang were stirred up, so that the lives of the officers and people of Liang province were left hanging on threads of silk or hair. The reason non-Chinese peoples find it difficult to trust us is that we have failed to show great generosity or good faith. If we take advantage of the present situation and behave with virtue and kindness, our people will reap the benefit."

So he ordered the gates of the city opened, and those to the parkland of his residence,⁶⁰ encouraging the Yuezhi wives and children to come in, and he set strict guard to protect them. The raiding parties of the Qiang could find nothing to take, and they dared not face the Yuezhi,⁶¹ so they broke ranks and went away.

1518 As a result of this, all the Yuezhi of Huangzhong said to one another,⁶² "The Han have always wanted to fight us, but now Commissioner Deng has shown us grace and good faith.⁶³ He has opened his gates to our wives and children, and is treating us as a father or mother would."⁶⁴ They sighed with admiration and kowtowed to him, saying, "We shall follow any orders the Commissioner may give us!"

Deng Xun cared for them and gave them guidance, and the people were pleased and grateful. He also gave presents to the tribes of the Qiang to encourage them to join him, and Mitang's uncle Haoyu brought his group of eight hundred households to submit.⁶⁵

Deng Xun then raised a troop of four thousand men from the Chinese, the Yuezhi and the Qiang of the Huangzhong region.⁶⁶ Going out from the frontier, they attacked Mitang at Yan Valley and defeated him.⁶⁷ Mitang withdrew to the Yu valleys and settled in Po Valley,⁶⁸ while all the troops he had gathered now disbanded.

In the present passage, the Little Yuezhi are referred to several times by the general term *hu* 胡, distinguishing them from their enemies the Qiang; the translation follows this. Cf. note 57 above.

⁶⁰ The city was Linqiang in Jincheng, headquarters of the Protector: note 6 to Zhanghe 1 at 158. There was evidently an official residence there, with a private park.

⁶¹ That is, the Little Yuezhi now supported by Deng Xun and his troops.

⁶² Huangzhong 湟中 is a common term for the region about the Huang or Xining River. This force would become known as the Auxiliary of Loyal Barbarians (湟中義從胡 *Huangzhong yicong hu*): deC, *Northern Frontier*, 86.

⁶³ "Commissioner" (使君 *shijun*) was a term of address for the head of a province and was applied also to a Protector.

⁶⁴ An ideal official was said to act towards his people like a father and mother (父母官 *fumu guan*).

⁶⁵ Haoyu has appeared before: passage F of Yuanhe 3 at 156.

⁶⁶ The character 秦 *Qin* appears here as a term for Chinese people, a relic of the pre-Han state and empire which neighboured and colonised this territory of the northwest. As in note 59, the Little Yuezhi are again referred to as *hu* 胡.

⁶⁷ *HHS* 16/6 has the name of this valley as Xie 寫, but the parallel text in the biography of Deng Xun at *DGHJ* 8:2b gives it as Yan 雁. The Qing scholar Gu Yanwu 顧炎武, quoted by Shen Qinhan in *HHSJJ* at 623, notes a Yan "Wild Goose" valley west of Linqiang, and identifies it as the site of Mitang's defeat.

⁶⁸ Mitang had lately based himself in the area of the Yu Valleys, south of the Fengliu reach of the Yellow River: passage G of Zhanghe 1 with note 18 at 160. Though *Poyan gu* 頗巖谷, "Steep-slope Valley," cannot be precisely identified, it was part of that complex: see passage A with note 1 to Yongyuan 1 immediately following.

Part 1 of the Reign of Emperor He

Yongyuan 永元 1: 89 AD

30 January 89 – 17 February 90

A In the spring, Mitang sought to return to his former territory.¹ Deng Xun gathered six thousand men from Huangzhong and gave the command to his Chief Clerk Ren Shang. They sewed hides together to make boats and also constructed rafts, and by this means they crossed the Yellow River, attacked Mitang and heavily defeated him. In the course of the operation they killed more than eighteen hundred of the enemy and captured two thousand people, together with over thirty thousand head of horses, cattle and sheep.

1519 Mitang's power was all but destroyed.² Gathering the remnants of his people, he went more than a thousand *li* away to the west, while all the smaller groups and tribes which had supported him before now abandoned him.

Donghao, chieftain of the Shaodang, now bowed to the ground and apologised most deeply,³ and all the other groups came in submission to the frontier and offered hostages. As Deng Xun accepted them and treated them leniently, his authority and good faith were recognised everywhere. While the local commandery levies were discharged and sent back to their homes, he retained just two thousand reprieved convicts who were sent out to establish military colonies or to maintain the local fortifications.⁴

B As Dou Xian was about to attack the Xiongnu,⁵ the Three Excellencies and the Nine Ministers came to court and presented a letter of criticism. They said, "The Xiongnu are not troubling our borders, yet we are involving our troops in a distant campaign for no good reason; this is a waste of resources. Seeking success at such a distance is not the right strategy for the nation."

Though the letter was sent in several times, it was invariably rejected. Song You was frightened. He did not dare repeat his advice, all the ministers followed suit and stopped, so that Yuan An and Ren Wei were the only ones who refused to abandon

A *HHS* 16/6:610-11, the Biography of Deng Xun.

¹ As in passage P and note 68 to Zhanghe 2 immediately above, Mitang was currently in the area of the Yu valleys, south of the Fengliu reach of the Yellow River. His grandfather Dianyu and his father Miyu, however, had lived further to the north, close to the frontier of Jincheng: *e.g.* passages G of Jianchu 2 at 104 and F of Yuanhe 3 at 156.

² A *Kaoyi* commentary by Sima Guang notes disagreement between *HHS* 16/6 and the Account of the Qiang at *HHS* 87/77:2883 on the chronology of Deng Xun's campaigns against Mitang. He finds *HHS* 16/6 more convincing – and indeed *HHS* 87/77 provides no more than a summary.

³ *HHS* 87/77:2883 identifies Donghao as the son and successor of Dongyu, who had succeeded Dianyu as leader of the Shaodang Qiang. *HHS* 87/77:2880-81 describes how Dianyu had surrendered in 59 (see also note 24 to Yongping 2 at 18) and Dongyu followed his father's policy. It was Dongyu's younger brother Miyu who maintained the insurrection and was succeeded by his son Mitang.

So the formal leadership of the Shaodang, from Dianyu to Dongyu to Donghao, had long accepted the suzerainty of Han, and they were naturally embarrassed by the activities of the junior branch of the family.

⁴ On reprieved convicts (弛刑 *chixing*) as conscript soldiers, see note 14 to Jianchu 5 at 117. On military agricultural colonies (屯田 *tuntian*), see note 6 to Yongping 16 at 67-68.

B *HHS* 45/35:1519, the Biography of Yuan An.

⁵ On the plan for this campaign and Dou Xian's command of it, see passages M to P of Zhanghe 2 at 171-175.

their position, even removing their caps of office in open court to emphasise their disapproval.⁶ As the document was presented again and again, more than ten times, everyone became increasingly fearful for them, but Yuan An and Ren Wei maintained their composure.

C The Imperial Clerk Lu Gong sent in a submission, "Our nation has only recently encountered a great misfortune, your majesty is still in mourning and the people have lost their leader. For three seasons, summer, autumn and winter, they have missed the sound of the imperial carriage passing by; all are bereft and confused, like those who have lost something and look for it in vain.⁷ Yet now that we have reached the months of full spring we are raising an army and troubling the empire to serve the interests of a barbarian [the Southern Shanyu] – truly this is not the way to show your grace to the people of China. A change of reign-title should be the occasion for a complete revision of all policies, within the empire and outside it.⁸

1520 "The myriad [Chinese] people have all been created by Heaven, and Heaven loves its creation as parents love their children. If just one thing is out of order, the spirit of Heaven will send down some calamity – and this is still more true when the people are involved. A ruler who cares for his people will be rewarded by Heaven.

"Barbarians,⁹ however, wherever they may be, are no different to wild beasts. If they are settled within China they bring disorder and misfortune to the spirit of Heaven and affect our own good people with their filthy customs. This is why sage kings do no more than keep them on a loose rein, ensuring only that it does not break.

"The [Northern] Xiongnu have lately been defeated by the Xianbi and are hiding far away to the west of the Shihou River, thousands of *li* from our frontiers.¹⁰ Yet someone wants to take advantage of the empty land and profit from their weakness; this is not an honourable expedition.

"We have only begun to collect the troops, and the Minister of Finance is already finding that he lacks the resources to support them. There is pressure on every side, and this at a time when the people are already in serious distress.

"All the officials and people are saying that the plan is not practicable. How can your majesty approve the proposal of a single person and ignore the general opinion, with no appreciation of the arguments? Consider the will of Heaven above, and have

⁶ Song You was the Grand Commandant, most senior of the Excellencies. Yuan An was Excellency over the Masses and Ren Wei was Excellency of Works. Song You had been intimidated by the dowager's refusal to accept the submission opposing the campaign, and the ministers followed his lead.

Removing the cap of office in open court (免冠朝堂 *mianguou zhaotang*) could be regarded as a sign of apology, but here it appears a mark of defiance, indicating a willingness to resign rather than acquiesce.

C *HHS* 25/15:875-77, the Biography of Lu Gong.

⁷ Emperor Zhang had died in the spring of the previous year, and both government and people are still affected by the loss. Lu Gong is here reflecting a passage from the *Tan gong* 檀弓 chapter of *Li ji* 3:19.

⁸ In this regard, a change of reign period resembles the Western custom of reviewing one's conduct and making resolutions for improvement at New Year.

This year, the first after the death of Emperor Zhang, indeed marked a new reign period. Unusually, the announcement is not recorded by the Annals, but the change probably applied from the beginning of the year.

⁹ Like Song Yi in passage N with note 45 to Zhonghe 2 at 172, Lu Gong uses 戎 *rong* and 狄 *di* as a general – and derogatory – reference to alien peoples of the north, distinct from *min* 民, the true Chinese.

¹⁰ The Shihou River was in the west of present-day Mongolia, but it cannot be further identified.

regard for the wishes of the people below; that is all that is needed to know whether a proposal is good or bad. I fear that China will not be the Middle Kingdom, but merely a servant of the [Southern] Xiongnu."

D The Director of the Imperial Secretariat Han Ling, the Commandant of Cavalry Zhu Hui and the Consultant Yue Hui of Jingzhao all presented objections,¹¹ but the dowager paid them no attention.

E Besides this, an edict ordered officers to construct official residences – at public expense – for Dou Xian's younger brothers Dou Du and Dou Jing.

The Imperial Clerk He Chang presented his objection,¹² "I know that the Xiongnu have long been cruel and rebellious. The siege at Pingcheng and the embarrassment of the insulting letter are two shameful incidents which any loyal subject would give his life to avenge. Gaozu and the Empress Lü, however, controlled their anger, restrained their rage and reluctantly took no action.¹³

"At present the [Northern] Xiongnu are innocent of any insubordination, and the court of Han has no cause for embarrassment, yet you are launching a great attack right in the middle of spring and at the beginning of ploughing.¹⁴ Everyone is angry about this and all are concerned.

D *HHS* 45/35:1535, the Biography of Han Ling;
HHS 43/33:1461, the Biography of Zhu Hui;
HHS 43/33:1478, the Biography of Yue Hui.

¹¹ Han Ling/Leng has been noticed before as Director of the Secretariat: passage O of Zhanghe 2 with note 52 at 174.

A senior official, Zhu Hui has been mentioned as Deputy Director of the Secretariat: passages F and H of Yuanhe 1 at 139-140. He later became Director, and when he retired from that office Emperor Zhang appointed him a Commandant of Cavalry, a sinecure with rank/salary Equivalent to Two Thousand *shi*: note 25 to Yongping 15 at 66.

E *HHS* 43/33:1484, the Biography of He Chang.

¹² He Chang has previously appeared as a member of the staff of the Grand Commandant Song You: passages H of Zhanghe 1 at 161 and C of Zhanghe 2 at 164-165. He had since been graded First Class (高第 *gaodi*) and appointed to the Imperial Censorate: see, for example, note 11 to Yongping 14 at 58, citing deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 68-74.

¹³ In 200 BC the founding Emperor Gao of Han, who had just lately taken power, made an attack on the Xiongnu under their Shanyu Modun 冒頓. The enterprise was quite unsuccessful and the Han forces were besieged in Pingcheng 平城, a stronghold near present-day Datong in Shansi. They managed to extract themselves but then abandoned the campaign. See *SJ* 8:384 and 110:2894; Chavannes *Mémoires* II, 390, and Nienhauser, *GSR* II, 72, also *HS* 1B:63 and 94A:3753; Dubs, *HFHD* I, 116: Dubs' note 2 has a detailed account of the incident, making it clear that Gaozu was in serious difficulty, and that his escape was made possible by the besiegers.

Some twenty years later Modun wrote to the Empress-Dowager Lü, who was ruling on her own account, albeit through puppets, suggesting that they might comfort one another in their lonely old age. However it may have been intended, the letter was taken as an insult, and the dowager wanted to launch an attack. She was advised against the idea, however, and was persuaded to maintain friendly relations. *SJ* 110:2895 and *HS* 94A:3754-55; Watson, *RGH* Han II, 138-139.

Though He Chang suggests that the two rulers restrained themselves from destroying the Xiongnu chieftain, it is clear from the histories that Han was at this time far too weak for such ambition. Gaozu was lucky to get away, and the Dowager Lu was told firmly that China was not strong enough for an attack. Despite his rhetoric, one may assume that He Chang knew these details.

¹⁴ The phrase *dongzuo* 東作 "labours of the east" appears in the Canon of Yao 堯典: *Shu jing* I.ii.4; Legge, *CC* III, 19, where it refers to the beginning of farming after the cold of winter. See also the manorial calendar *Simin yueling* 四民月令 by Cui Shi 崔寔 of the second century AD; Hsu, *Han Agriculture*, 215-217.

"Besides this, you have given orders that official residences are to be prepared for the Minister of the Guards Dou Du and the Commandant of the Equipage Dou Jing, [so large that] they block the avenues and extend beyond their wards.¹⁵ Dou Du and Dou Jing are close kinsmen and honoured officials, and should serve as a model for others. Now, however, as the imperial host is embarking on campaign, when the court is concerned about its outcome, when the people are suffering and anxious and when the government has limited resources – it is neither a good example nor an appropriate display of virtue to be building great mansions and making a display of luxury and valuables.

1521 "There should be a halt made to the building works, and all attention devoted to the northern frontier and to relieving the people's distress."

The document was sent in, but received no attention.

F Dou Xian had at one time sent one of his followers to Zhi Shou, Deputy Director of the Secretariat, with a letter making some request, but Zhi Shou had the man sent immediately to prison.¹⁶ He had also sent in a number of complaints about Dou Xian's arrogance and lack of restraint, comparing him to Wang Mang as a danger to the state.

He now took the occasion of a court assembly to criticise Dou Xian and his brothers, not only for the campaign against the Xiongnu but also for their building program. He spoke firmly and seriously and his analysis was biting.

Dou Xian, furious, had Zhi Shou accused of trading in government land and of uttering slander. As the matter was referred for investigation, Zhi Shou was in danger of execution.

He Chang presented a document, "Zhi Shou is one of your closest subjects, and it is his duty to give support and assistance on matters of policy. Had he stayed silent he would have been worthy of punishment, but instead he has defied the majority and given honest advice to preserve the nation. Is this the conduct of a man with private interests?"

"Though I am risking death by offering my unwanted opinion,¹⁷ it is not because I am acting for Zhi Shou. No loyal subject who speaks his mind will care about that

¹⁵ The walled city of Luoyang was divided into wards (里 *li*), separated by avenues (街 *jie*): Bielenstein, *Luoyang*, 41-46, and deC, *Fire*, 49-50. He Chang may be exaggerating, but see passage L of Jianchu 8 at 131. At 45-46 Bielenstein mentions other examples of imperial kinsmen constructing great mansions with extravagant furnishings, some of them trespassing on the divisions between wards.

Dou Du's appointment as Commandant of the Equipage (奉車都尉 *fengju duwei*) was comparable to that of Zhu Hui as Commandant of Cavalry (騎都尉 *ji duwei*): note 11 above. Though an imperial army was preparing for a campaign in the north, it is clear that Dou Du's office was not intended to involve him in any direct military action: cf. note 25 to Yongping 155 at 66. Dou Du's younger brother Dou Xiang been given a matching appointment as Commandant of Attendant Cavalry (鮒騎都尉 *fuji duwei*) at the same time, and all the brothers were now Palace Attendants: *HHS* 23/13:818.

F *HHS* 29/19:1033-34, the Biography of Zhi Shou.

¹⁶ Hopeful protégés of a leading public figure often described themselves as his *mensheng* 門生 "students," regardless whether any education had taken place; it established a notional connection which could bring personal advancement: deC, "Recruitment Revisited," 36 with note 78, and *Fire*, 326.

¹⁷ The commentary of Hu Sanxing cites *Lun yu* XVI.vi; Legge, *CC I*, 312:

Confucius said, 'There are three errors to which they who stand in the presence of a man of virtue and station are liable. They may speak without looking at the countenance of their superior; – this is called 'blindness.'

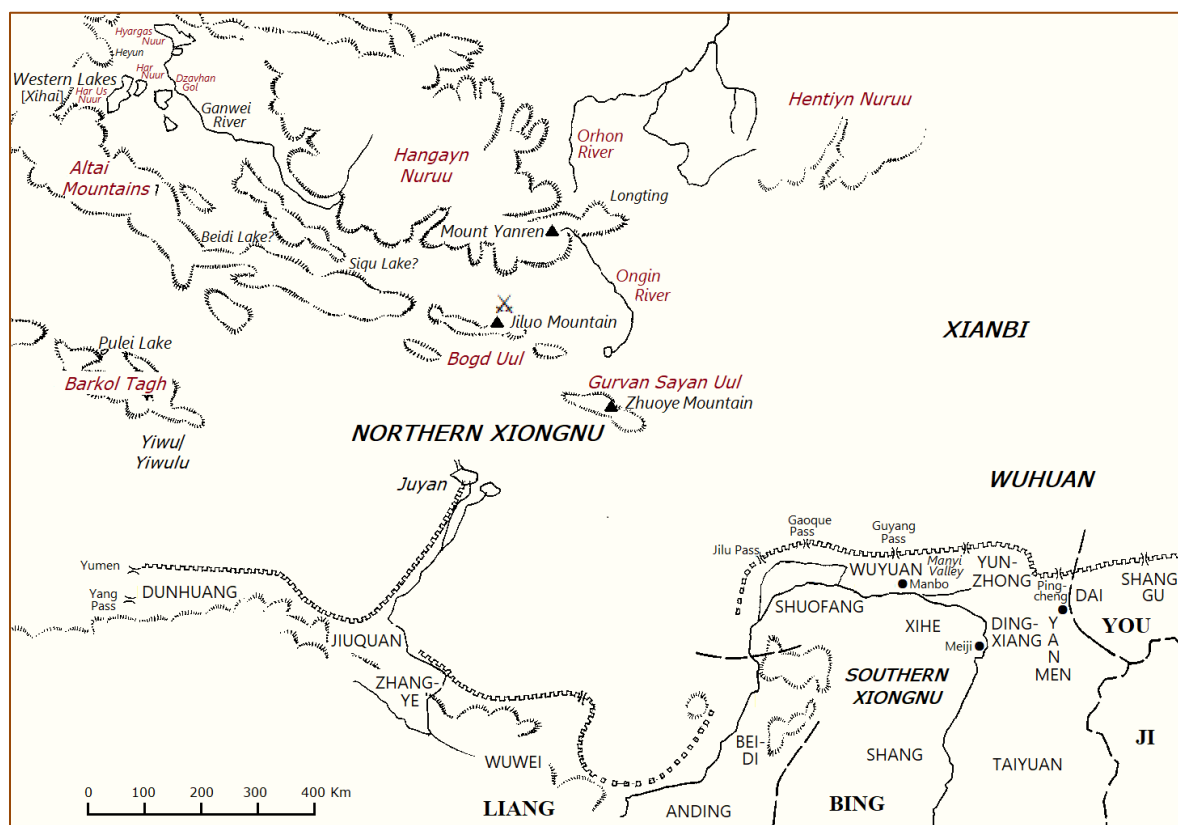
risk.¹⁸ I do not know Zhi Shou personally, but I can judge and assess his good intentions and I have no wish to see your sage-like court carry out a punishment based upon malicious slander. It would fail the test of tolerance, silence loyal and honest comment and do immeasurable harm to the reputation of your government.

"For my own part, I have mistakenly revealed state secrets, and I have said things I should not. The punishment is clear and well-known: I should be sentenced to prison and executed well before Zhi Shou – I am ten thousand times more guilty."

The document was sent in, and Zhi Shou did receive a penalty less than death. He was sentenced to exile in Hepu, but killed himself before he began the journey.¹⁹

Zhi Shou was a son of Zhi Yun.²⁰

G In the summer, in the sixth month, Dou Xian and Geng Bing went out through the Jilu Pass in Shuofang, the Southern Shanyu through the Manyi Valley, and the General on the Liao Deng Hong by the Guyang Pass. They made rendezvous at Zhuoye Mountain.



Map 13: Han and Xiongnu 89-91 AD

Legge's note to this passage interprets 'Without looking at the countenance' as "To see whether he is paying attention or not." In the present case, He Chang is offering an unwelcome opinion.

¹⁸ The phrase *yisi weigui* 以死爲歸, literally "to regard death as a return [to one's natural origin (原 *yuan*)?]" essentially means to have no fear of death.

¹⁹ Hepu 合浦 commandery was in the far south; it included the Leizhou peninsula and the region to its north. The capital of the commandery, also called Hepu, was northwest of the peninsula, near present-day Lianzhou/Hepu in Guangxi.

²⁰ Zhi Yun was a celebrated Confucian scholar-hermit of the Qinling ranges: *HHS* 60/50A:1953.

G *HHS* 23/13:814-17, the Biography of Dou Xian;
HHS 4:168, the Annals of Emperor He.

Dou Xian then sent off the Senior Colonel Yan Pan,²¹ with the Majors Geng Kui and Geng Tan, to lead more than ten thousand picked horsemen of the Southern Shanyu.²² They fought the Northern Shanyu at Jiluo Mountain and heavily defeated him.

1522 As the Shanyu fled away, they chased after his following as far as the Siqu and Beidi Lakes.²³ From well-known kings down, they killed thirteen thousand of the enemy, captured an enormous number of others and gathered over a million head of their livestock. From first to last, eighty-one lesser chieftains brought their people to surrender, more than two hundred thousand households altogether.

Advancing three thousand *li* beyond the frontier, Dou Xian and Geng Bing climbed Mount Yanren and had Ban Gu, Protector of the Army of the Centre, prepare a stele to record the achievement, the authority and the virtues of Han.²⁴ They then returned.

The Majors of the Army Wu Si and Liang Feng were sent to present gold and silk to the Northern Shanyu. The barbarians, however, were in such disorder that they had to travel to the Western Lakes before they met up with him.²⁵ Proclaiming the power and good faith of the state, they presented gifts with the authority of the emperor; the

²¹ There is confusion about the personal name of this man: see note 5 to Yongyuan 2 at 189.

²² Geng Kui was a younger brother of Geng Bing, with a biography at *HHS* 19/9:718-19. Geng Tan was also a member of the clan.

The status of a 副校尉 *fu xiaowei*, which I render as "Senior Colonel," has been the subject of some debate. Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 110, interprets the title as "Lieutenant-Colonel," implying that the rank was inferior to that of a regular colonel, and this has been followed by many scholars. In my opinion, however, such citations as we have indicate that a *fu xiaowei* ranked above a regular colonel: the character *fu* meant that he was capable of assisting or acting for a more senior commander, not that he was an assistant or lieutenant to a colonel. See deC, "Western Regions" 10 note 19.

In the present instance, we may note that even a Senior Colonel was of a very low rank to "lead" ten thousand non-Chinese: the presence of Chinese officers was largely a formality.

Indeed a detailed reading of the order of battle, presented at *HHS* 23/13:814 and discussed by deC, *Fire*, 124, shows that Dou Xian and Geng Bing each had four thousand men under their direct command, while there were three separate contingents of Xiongnu, led by the Southern Shanyu himself and two of his kings, and each of those numbered more than ten thousand. The General on the Liao may have had a force of five thousand men, and he was accompanied by eight thousand of the Loyal Auxiliary of Qiang and Yuezhi (on which, see passage Q with note 62 at 176.) Altogether, there were a little more than ten thousand Chinese troops with eight thousand non-Chinese auxiliaries, while there were more than thirty thousand Southern Xiongnu. In many respects, though the troops of Han were useful and important, this was a campaign by the Southern Xiongnu against the North.

²³ The two lakes (海 *hai*) cannot be firmly identified, but they were northwest of Jiluo Mountain. *HHS* 4 suggests that the name of Beidi 北鞬 Lake should be read as Bidi 比鞬.

²⁴ Ban Gu's position is given in his biography at *HHS* 40/30B:1385. A Protector of the Army (護軍 *hujun*) could hold disciplinary powers (e.g. deC, "Inspection and Surveillance," 62 note 46) but in this case it was probably no more than a title for Ban Gu as a member of staff. The text of the celebratory inscription is at *HHS* 23/13:815-17.

Mount Yanren, in the Hangayn Nuruu range of central Mongolia, was one of the chief peaks of Xiongnu territory and one of their sacred sites: *HHS* 23/13:817 commentary note 4. Ban Gu's composition records also how the army had marched through all the lands of the empire founded by the Shanyu Modun, and had burned the ritual site of Longting 龍庭 in the region of present-day Ulan Bator: deC, *Northern Frontier*, 271.

²⁵ The name *Xihai* 西海 can be rendered as "Western Sea," identified either as the Mediterranean or the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean: e.g. *HHS* 88/78:2910; passage M of Yongyuan 9 at II:32. In this case, however, it refers to the region of the Western Lakes, the Har Us Nuur and others, north of the Altai Mountains in the west of present-day Mongolia.

Shanyu accepted them and kowtowed in obeisance. Liang Feng urged that the arrangement made with the [first] Huhaxie Shanyu should be restored.²⁶ The Shanyu was glad to accept, and led his people back in his company.

When they arrived at Siqu Lake they heard that the Han army had withdrawn behind the frontier, and the Shanyu sent his younger brother the Wenyuti King of the Right to present tribute and serve as a hostage.²⁷ The king went with Liang Feng to the frontier post, but because the Shanyu had not come in person Dou Xian recommended the hostage be sent back.

H In the autumn, in the seventh month, on the day *yiwei* [5 Aug] there was a landslide in Kuaiji.

I In the ninth month, on the day *gengshen* [29 Oct], Dou Xian was appointed General-in-Chief and the General of the Household Liu Shang became General of Chariots and Cavalry.²⁸ Dou Xian was enfeoffed as Marquis of Wuyang, with revenue from twenty thousand households. He firmly excused himself, however, and an edict accepted this.²⁹

In former times, the General-in-Chief had ranked below the Three Excellencies; Dou Xian was now given status below the Grand Tutor but above the Excellencies.³⁰ His Chief Clerk and his Major received rank/salary of Fully Two Thousand *shi*.³¹

²⁶ There were two Shanyu with the title Huhaxie 呼韓邪 (also transcribed as Huhanye). The first, whose personal name is recorded as Jihoushan 稽侯狁, reigned from 59 to 31 BC. Having been supported by Han against his rival claimant the Zhizhi 郅支 Shanyu, he was formally regarded as a vassal, but maintained largely independent but friendly relations with China and entered a marriage alliance through the legendary Lady Wang Zhaojun: note 21 to Yongping 15 at 65.

The second Huhaxie Shanyu was Bi 比, grandson of the first, who took the title in honour of his predecessor when he established the independent Southern Xiongnu state in 48 and sought the protection of Later Han: e.g. Bielenstein, *RHD* III, 119, and deC, *LH3K*, 15-18.

In the present case, on the model of the first Huhaxie Shanyu, the Northern ruler is being offered a form of independence in exchange for his submission.

²⁷ The Wenyuti Kings of the Xiongnu were appointed from members of the ruling house: passage L with note 33 to Yuanhe 2 at 151-152.

H *HHS* 4:169, the Annals of Emperor He.

I *HHS* 4:169, the Annals of Emperor He; *HHS* 23/13:817-818, the Biography of Dou Xian.

²⁸ A distant member of the imperial clan, Liu Shang's father Kuang 劉匡 had joined the rebellion against Wang Mang, was enfeoffed as a marquis and became Minister of the Imperial Clan: *HHS* 14/4:564. We are otherwise told only of Liu Shang's appointment as a General of the Household, so it is not clear why he was chosen for such sudden military promotion.

²⁹ As Hu Sanxing observes, there are questions about this fief. The Treatise of Administrative Geography at *HHS* 113/23:3510 lists a Wuyang 武陽 county as the capital of Jianwei commandery of Yi province, but that was far to the southwest and does not seem a likely site. There was a Dongwuyang 東武陽 in Dong commandery and a Nanwuyang 南武陽 in Taishan, the latter recorded as a marquise in the 140s: *HHS* 111/21: 3450 and 3453. Hu Sanxing inclines to suggest Nanwuyang, but since Dou Xian was a senior officer of state and would not have been required to reside at his fief, the question was not significant – it was only a matter of the title and the revenue – and his rejection of the honour made it irrelevant.

³⁰ On the Grand Tutor Deng Biao, see passage K with note 34 at 169-170. At the time of his appointment he had been granted authority over the Secretariat, which gave him executive power under the dowager.

³¹ The Treatise of Officials at *HHS* 114/24:3564 records that the staff of a General was headed by a Chief Clerk (長史 *zhangshi*) and a Major (司馬 *sima*), each with rank/salary of One Thousand *shi*: Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 166 and note 37 to Jianchu 8 at 132. Dou Xian's assistants, however, were awarded a much higher grading.

- J Geng Bing was enfeoffed as Marquis of Meiyang.³²
- K Dou Xian's brothers were arrogant and lawless, particularly Dou Jing who was Bearer of the Mace. His slaves, his retainers and the Cavalrymen Dressed in Red robbed people of their valuables by force, arrested men without cause, and forced women into marriage or raped them.³³ Merchants would bar their gates as if they were seeking to avoid robbers or enemies.
- 1523 In addition, Dou Jing brought fierce horsemen from the frontier commanderies to serve as his personal guard.
- L None of the other senior officials dared report this to the throne, but [the Excellency over the Masses] Yuan An impeached Dou Jing: "He has recruited troops from the border without proper authority, so that officers and people have been made anxious and fearful. The heads of commanderies did not wait for the necessary tally before accepting Dou Jing's orders. They should be publicly executed."³⁴
- He also sent in a memorial to say, "The Director of Retainers and the Intendant of Henan have shown themselves subservient to imperial relatives by marriage and have failed to present any reports against them. I ask that they be dismissed from office and adjudicated." The dowager made no reply to either of these documents.
- M The Commandant of Attendant Cavalry Dou Xiang was the only one of the brothers who cared for the classics and history, acted with restraint and maintained a proper conduct.³⁵
- N The Master of Writing He Chang sent in a sealed message, saying, "In ancient times the Lady Wujiang of Zheng was fond of [her younger son] Shuduan, and Duke Zhuang of Wei favoured Zhouxu [his son by a concubine]. Their affections, however,

J *HHS* 19/9:718, the Biography of Geng Bing.

³² Meiyang county was in Youfufeng, near present-day Wugong in Shenxi; Geng Bing's pension was the tax revenue from three thousand households.

K *HHS* 23/13:819, the Biography of Dou Xian.

³³ Chief of police in the city of Luoyang outside the palaces, the Bearer of the Mace (執金吾 *zhijinwu*) commanded two hundred Cavalrymen Dressed in Red (緹騎 *tiji*): Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy* 79. So Dou Jing was allowing both his personal attendants and his official subordinates to plunder the capital.

L *HHS* 45/35:1519, the Biography of Yuan An.

³⁴ *Erqian shi* 二千石 "officials of Two Thousand *shi* rank/salary" refers to the Administrators of the frontier commanderies where Dou Jing had recruited his personal guard. As Hu Sanxing observes, raising troops required a Tiger Tally (虎符 *hufu*) to show that the request had been properly approved: one half was issued to the local government, the other to the prospective commander, with details attached.

By failing to demand the appropriate tally: 不待符信 *budai fuxin*, the heads of commanderies had allowed an unauthorised person to gain command of imperial troops; obviously a most serious offence.



Half a bronze tiger tally from Zhangye, 178 BC, from the collection of The National Museum of China; the characters inscribed in silver read "Zhangye; left hand side"

M *HHS* 23/13:818, the Biography of Dou Xian.

³⁵ Dou Xiang had been appointed a Commandant of Attendant Cavalry at the same time that his elder brother Dou Jing became Commandant of the Equipage: note 15 at 180 above. The text of *HHS* 23/13 says that he had been fond of the classics since he was young.

would not be guided by instruction, and in the end they brought misfortune and destruction.³⁶ One may see from these examples that favouring a child in such a way is like feeding a hungry person with poison: it does them nothing but harm.

"Now I have observed the General-in-Chief Dou Xian. When we first encountered the national misfortune [of the death of Emperor Zhang] senior officials presented urgent memorials asking that he take charge of the affairs of state. In truly humble fashion, however, he firmly restrained himself and rejected such a high position. His words were forcible, all the world heard them, and everyone admired him.³⁷

"Not a year has passed since that time, and the mourning period is not yet concluded,³⁸ but now everything has suddenly changed and the brothers dominate the government. Dou Xian commands the imperial army while Dou Du and Dou Jing control the guards about the palace.³⁹ With this authority, they mistreat the people, they are wasteful and extravagant; they punish and execute the innocent; and they act as they will to please themselves. All who consider the matter agree that [the traitors] Shuduan and Zhouyu have been born again under Han.

"From what I have seen, the senior ministers are in two minds about the situation. If they are reluctant to speak out, it is because they believe that if Dou Xian and his brothers are committed to the service of the state, then they have already received praise for their achievements comparable to that given by Yin Jifu to the Lord of Shen;⁴⁰ should they become too ambitious, however, they can be dealt with in the same fashion as Chen Ping and Zhou Bo dealt with [the family of] the Empress Lü. Ultimately, they are not concerned one way or the other.⁴¹

N *HHS* 43/33:1484-86, the Biography of He Chang.

³⁶ *Zuo zhuan* Yin I.3; Legge, *CC* V, 5-6, followed by *SJ* 42:1759-60; Chavannes, *Mémoires* II, 452-453, tells how in the eighth century BC the Lady Jiang, consort of Duke Wu of Zheng 鄭武公 and known as Wujiang 武姜, had two sons. The birth of the elder, the Heir Wusheng 寤生 was difficult – his name means "Awkward Birth – and she preferred the younger, Shuduan 叔段 [Younger Duan] because his had been much easier. She attempted to persuade her consort to name Duan as his successor but he refused. Wusheng treated his brother generously and – against advice – granted him a very large fief, but Duan rebelled and drove him into exile. Wusheng managed to regain his state, but it was a long time before he forgave his mother for her disloyalty. See further in note 41 below.

SJ 37:1592; *MH* II, 193-195, tells how, at about the same time, Duke Zhuang of Wei 衛莊公 named his son Wan 完 as Heir, but had another son, Zhouxiu 州吁, by a favoured concubine. When the boys grew up Zhouxiu showed military talent and his father gave him command of an army. The minister Shi Que 石碏 warned that this was dangerous, but the duke paid no attention. Later Zhouxiu turned against his brother, killed him and usurped the throne. Shi Que built an alliance of neighbouring states to overthrow him, then had him assassinated and set Wan's younger full brother Jin 晉 upon the throne.

³⁷ I am not aware of the textual evidence for this.

³⁸ Mourning for an emperor should last three years, hence the phrase 入禮未終 *ruli weizhong* "we have entered the period of ritual but it is not yet ended."

³⁹ As Minister of the Guards, Dou Du controlled access to the palaces; as Bearer of the Mace, Dou Jing was responsible for policing the capital.

⁴⁰ The *Song gao* 崧高 "High Mountain Song" poem in the Decade of Tang 蕩 in the Greater Odes of the Kingdom (大雅 *Daya*), *Shi jing* III.3.5, is a paean of praise for military abilities of the Lord of Shen 申伯, a maternal great-uncle (元舅 *yuanjiu*) to King Xuan of Zhou 周宣王; Legge, *CC* IV, 535-540. The ode is attributed to the high official Yin Jifu 尹吉甫.

⁴¹ After the death of Emperor Gao, founder of Han, in 195, his widow the Dowager Lü took control of the government, first by dominating her son Emperor Hui and then ruling through puppets after his death. She

1524 "Insignificant as I am, it is my sincere desire to have everyone at peace, ending all confusion and putting a halt to any trouble.⁴² Above, I wish to avoid your majesty damaging your reputation as a worthy wife and mother,⁴³ or suffering the shame of an oath in the underworld.⁴⁴ At a lower level, I would have Dou Xian and his brothers preserve their present good fortune for a long time to come.

"The Commandant of Attendant Cavalry Dou Xiang has lately asked to resign his appointment as a means to maintain the family's position. You should accept this request and approve his good intentions: this is truly the best plan for the imperial house and for the prosperity of the Dou family."

At this time Liu Kang the King of Ji'nan was highly honoured but excessively arrogant. Dou Xian recommended that He Chang be made Grand Tutor of Ji'nan.⁴⁵ Whenever Liu Kang was contumacious or behaved badly He Chang would firmly criticise and oppose him. Liu Kang was unable to follow his guidance, but he always respected and admired He Chang, and there was never any ill-feeling between them.

O In the winter, in the tenth month, on the day *gengzi* [8 Dec] Liu Yan the True King of Fuling died.⁴⁶

attempted to establish her own family in power, and she was supported in this program by her ministers Chen Ping and Zhou Bo. After her death in 180, however, the two men destroyed the Lü family and brought Liu Heng, Emperor Wen, to the throne. See, for example, Loewe, *QHX*, 35-37 and 729-30.

He Chang is suggesting that although the senior officials may be obliged to accept the authority of the regent Dowager, and are therefore making no objections to the power and honour that she is giving to her family, once her regency is ended they would have small hesitation in turning against the Dou and destroying them. It would therefore be wise for the dowager to restrain her brothers' current conduct.

⁴² Hu Sanxing notes that He Chang is echoing a passage from *Jinren ming* 金人銘 "Inscription of the Metal Man," a pre-Qin text of uncertain provenance.

⁴³ He Chang has the phrase *Wenmu zhi hao* 文母之號. The second stanza of the *Daming* 大明 "Illustrious Virtue" poem in the Decade of King Wen 文王 in the Greater Odes of the Kingdom (大雅 *Daya*), *Shi jing* III.1.2; Legge, *CCI* IV, 433, praises the perfect virtue of the Lady Daren 大任, who was the wife of King Ji of Zhou 周季王 and became the mother of King Wen. In similar fashion, the Dowager Deng is the widow of Emperor Zhang and the formal mother of the new young Emperor He.

⁴⁴ He Chang has the phrase *Shiquan zhi ji* 誓泉之譏. Note 33 above, following *Zuo zhuan* and *SJ* 42, has told the story of how the Lady Wujiang 武姜 favoured her younger son Shuduan 叔段 and plotted against her elder son Wusheng 寤生. With her connivance, Shuduan drove Wusheng from his rightful place as Duke of Zheng 鄭公.

Wusheng later regained his position, but he was angry with his mother and swore an oath (誓 *shi*) that he would see her again only after he had gone to the Yellow Springs (黃泉 *huangquan*); that is, when he was dead and underground. He was later persuaded to repent this decision but felt bound by the oath. It was then suggested that if he had a tunnel dug under the earth and met his mother there he would not be in breach of his undertaking. So mother and son were reconciled.

In these two phrases, therefore, He Chang encouraged the Lady Dou, firstly to consider her conduct as the guardian of the emperor, and secondly to contemplate the consequences if he later turned against her.

⁴⁵ Though Liu Kang, a son of Emperor Guangwu by his first empress the Lady Guo, had been known for his poor conduct, he had also been treated with favour by the late Emperor Zhang: e.g. passages B and D of Zhanghe 2 at 164-166 with note 1 at 164.

This official at a royal court was normally called Palace Tutor (中傅 *zhongfu*) or simply Tutor *fu*: e.g. note 2 to Yongping 5 at 31 and note 2 to Yongping 11 at 50. *ZZTJ* follows *HHS* 43/33 in giving the title as Grand Tutor (太傅 *taifu*), but the biography of Liu Kang at *HHS* 42/32:1431 refers to him as *guofu* 國傅 "State Tutor," which seems more appropriate. The Tutor was supposed to exercise a general oversight of the kingdom, with particular attention to the morals and conduct of the king.

O *HHS* 4:169, the Annals of Emperor He.

In this year, nine of the commanderies and kingdoms had great floods.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ On the troublesome Liu Yan, a son of Emperor Guangwu, see *inter alia* passage I of Yongping 16 at 72 and note 27 to Zhanghe 1 at 162. The date of his death is given by the Annals, the posthumous title at *HHS* 42/32:1444, the beginning of his biography.

Hu Sanxing quotes the 諡法 *Shifa* "Rules for Awarding Posthumous Titles," which explains that the title *zhi* 質 was awarded to a ruler who was 名實不爽 "celebrated for his honesty and made no error." Considering Liu Yan's record, this seems remarkably complimentary.

⁴⁷ Neither the Annals nor the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 105/15:3308 identify the territory affected by the floods.

Yongyuan 永元 2: 90 AD

18 February 90 – 6 February 91

A In the spring, in the first month, on the day *dingchou* [15 Mar], there was an amnesty for the empire.¹

In the second month, on the day *renwu* [20 Mar], there was an eclipse of the sun.²

In the summer, in the fifth month, on the day *bingchen* [23 Jun] the emperor's younger brothers were enfeoffed: Liu Shou became King of Jibei; Liu Kai became King of Hejian; and Liu Shu became King of Chengyang.³

1525 Liu Ze, son of the late Humble King of Huainan [*i.e.* Huaiyang], was granted succession with enfeoffment as King of Changshan.⁴

B Dou Xian sent the Senior Colonel Yan Long [Pan?]⁵ with two thousand horsemen to

A *HHS* 4:170, the Annals of Emperor He.

¹ On amnesties (赦 *she*), see note 4 to Yongping 2 at 13. The Annals record this as a "great amnesty" (大赦 *dashe*), but *ZZTJ* omits the *da*.

² This eclipse, Oppolzer 3108/Espenak 04996, is recorded by the Treatise of the Five Powers at *HHS* 108/18: 3362. The Treatise says that it was not observed at the capital, but was reported from Zhuo commandery in the north. The sun was said to have been in the *Kui* 奎 "Stride" or "Sandal" constellation, fifteenth lunar mansion (宿 *xiu*), being part of Western Andromeda and Pisces: Schlegel, *Uranographie* I, 316-324, and Ho, *Astronomical Chapters*, 100 with Star Map 5.

Somewhat unusually, this eclipse occurred on the second day of a month, not on the first or the last: see note 24 to Yongping 3 at 25. The Treatise makes no comment, but marks it neither as 朔 *shuo* (the first day) nor as 晦 *hai* (the last).

The apocryphal *Qiantan ba* 潛潭巴 says that an eclipse on a *renwu* day is a sign of heavy rains, and we are told there had indeed been floods at the end of the previous year: passage O immediately above. A prognostication (占 *zhan*) by Jing Fang 京方 the Younger of Former Han (on whom see Loewe, *QHX*, 199-200) relates an eclipse in the *Kui* constellation to troubles among the highest officials of the empire; the commentator Liu Zhao then refers to Dou Xian.

³ This set of enfeoffments entailed some changes in administrative geography. The Annals explain that Jibei had been divided from Taishan commandery, while parts of Lecheng, Zhuo and Bohai commanderies were excised to create Hejian. The biography of Liu Shu at *HHS* 55/45:1810 adds that his fief of Chengyang was divided from Jiyin; though the name appears consistently as 城陽, it was presumably based on Chengyang 成陽 county, and may also have followed that style: *cf.* *HHS* 111/213457.

Of the other sons of Emperor Zhang,

- Liu Kang and Liu Quan had been enfeoffed with Qiansheng and with Pingchun in 79: passage A of Jianchu 4 at 111;
- the former Heir Liu Qing had been made King of Qinghe in 82: passage C of Jianchu 7 at 122;
- Liu Wansui would be enfeoffed in 93 but died that same year: *HHS* 55/45:1810.

All the brothers were still young: they remained at the capital and were not sent out to their fiefs.

⁴ Liu Bing, a son of Emperor Ming, had died as King of Huaiyang in 87: passage E and note 12 to Zhanghe 1 at 159. First enfeoffed with Changshan, he was transferred to Huaiyang in 79: passage A of Jianchu 4 at 111. [Huaiyang had been the fief of Liu Yan, half-brother of Emperor Ming, but he had been disgraced and demoted in 73: passages I and K of Yongping 16 at 72-73.] Both *HHS* 4 and Liu Bing's biography at *HHS* 50/40:1678 have the name of the state as Huaiyang 淮陽; *ZZTJ* has it mistakenly as Huainan 淮南.

Hu Sanxing explains that the succession had been delayed by the death of Emperor Zhang and the mourning period which followed. Liu Ze is described as a younger son of Liu Bing, and while there is no account of the elder it is possible that he had died in the interim. It appears in any case that the kingdom of Huaiyang was ended, for *HHS* 50/40 says that Liu Ze was appointed to the newly-revived state of Changshan to maintain his father's lineage (奉嗣後 *feng [Liu] Bing hou*); not, therefore, as his full successor.

B *HHS* 4:170, the Annals of Emperor He;
HHS 88/78:2910, the Account of the Western Regions.

attack the Northern Xiongnu occupying Yiwulu. They regained the territory.⁶ The region of Jushi trembled in fear, and the kings of both the Nearer and the Further states sent sons to serve as hostages.⁷

C The Yuezhi asked for a Han princess in marriage, but Ban Chao halted the embassy and forced it to turn back.⁸ Angry at this, the Yuezhi had their Deputy King Xie lead more than seventy thousand men to attack him.

Ban Chao's forces were few, and they were all very fearful, but he said to them, "Though the Yuezhi are many, they have come several thousand *li* though the Congling Mountains [the Pamirs],⁹ and they have no line of supply. What is there to worry about? All we have to do is collect our grain and guard it firmly. The enemy will be starved and exhausted and will surrender of their own accord. In twenty or thirty days it will all be over."

Xie then came forward to attack Ban Chao, but he was not successful and his plunderers and scavengers could find nothing. Ban Chao calculated that when he had used up his supplies he would certainly try to obtain food from Qiuzi, so he sent several hundred men to watch the eastern frontier. Xie did indeed send horsemen with

⁵ There is confusion about the personal name of this man.

- *HHS* 23/13:814 says that the Senior Colonel Yan Pan 閻盤 was the Chinese commander in the successful engagement at Jiluo Mountain in 89, and that is followed by *ZZTJ* in passage G of Yongyuan 1 at 182;
- *HHS* 4:168 does not mention the name of the commander on that occasion;
- in the present instance, however, *HHS* 4:170 records that the Senior Colonel Yan Long 閻龍 was responsible for recovering the territory of Yiwulu; this is followed by *ZZTJ*.

In *Kaoyi* commentary to the latter passage, Sima Guang notes the similarity of names, and refers also to the Account of the Western Regions at *HHS* 88/78:2910, where a parallel text to *HHS* 4:170 identifies the Senior Colonel as Yan Pan 槃. Sima Guang says that for this passage he has chosen to follow the Annals, and accepts the reading Long 龍.

Hu Sanxing, however, noting the previous reference to Yan Pan 盤 at Jiluo Mountain, suggests that the same man was involved on both campaigns and that Pan 盤 is the best reading for his name.

⁶ The oasis region of Yiwulu was taken and occupied by Han forces in the campaign of 73, but they had been forced to abandon the territory early in 77: passage B of Yongping 16 at 67 and A of Jianchu 2 at 97.

⁷ On the territory of Jushi 車師, north and south of the Bogda ranges, see Map 2 showing the Western Regions at 27 and note 22 to Yongping 15 at 65-66. Nearer (前 *Qian*) Jushi was south of the ranges, closer to China, and Further (後 *Hou*) Jushi lay to the north. Both kingdoms had been under the influence of the Northern Xiongnu until the Han expedition of 74 brought their submission: passage I of Yongping 17 at 78-79. In the following year, however, the Xiongnu returned and the Chinese garrisons there were driven out with heavy losses: *e.g.* passages B, N and O of Yongping 18 at 80 and 84-85, E of Jianchu 1 at 91-92, and A of Jianchu 2 at 97.

C *HHS* 47/37:1580, the Biography of Ban Chao.

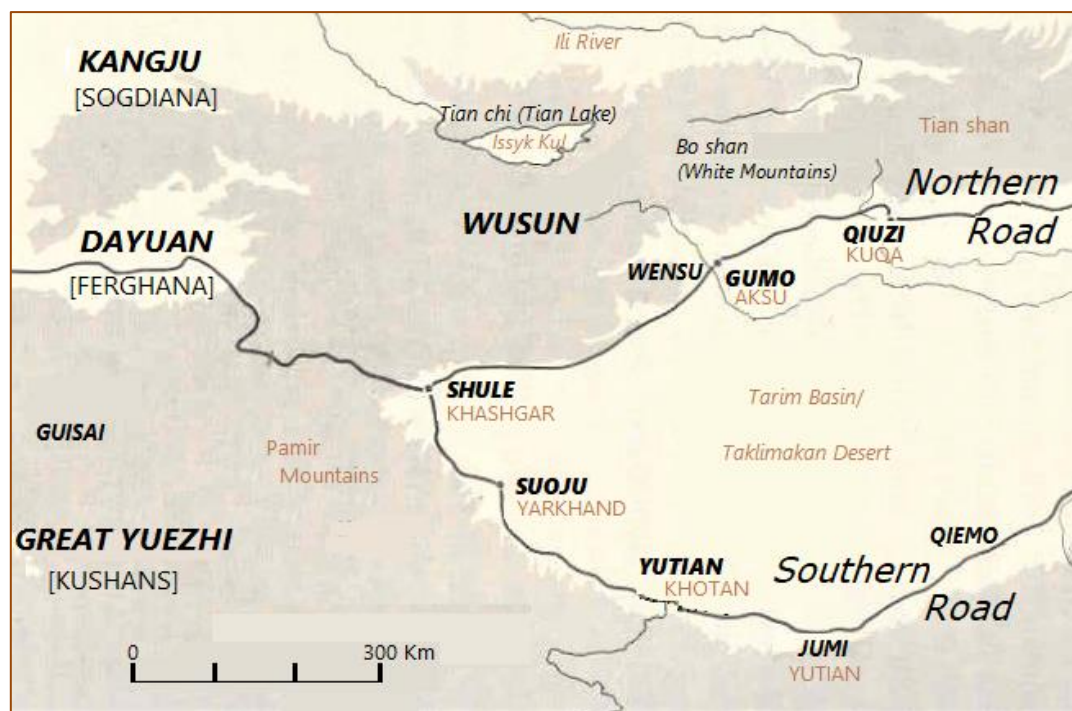
⁸ These are not the Little Yuezhi 小月氏, who were neighbours of Han in the northwest, but the Great Yuezhi 大月氏 or Kushans, who lived in the north of present-day Afghanistan: see note 59 to Zhanghe 2 at 175. *HHS* 47/37 says that they had assisted Han in the struggle with the states of Jushi (note 7 immediately above) and had now sent hostages and valuable tribute, including lions (師/獅子 *shizi*) and antelope (符拔 *fuba* or 挑拔 *tiaoba*: see Hulsewé/Loewe, *Central Asia*, 114-115 note 262). One may assume that Ban Chao stopped the messengers because he considered the request to marry a Chinese princess (尚公主 *shang gongzhu*) was presumptuous, but it is also possible that he simply resented the Yuezhi seeking to deal directly with the Han court and not through his agency.

⁹ See note 10 to Jianchu 5 at 116.

gold, silver, pearls and jade as a present to Qiuzi, but Ban Chao's men attacked them from ambush and killed them all.¹⁰

They took the messengers' heads and showed them to Xie, who was extremely startled. He promptly sent envoys to offer his apologies and beg to be allowed to return home alive. Ban Chao let them go in peace.

After this, the Yuezhi were quite intimidated, and presented tribute each year.



Map 14: Illustrating the attack of the Great Yuezhi in 90 AD
Detail from Map 2 of the Western Regions at 27 above

D Before this, the Lamented King of Beihai [Liu Ji] had left no descendants.¹¹ The Reverent Exemplar [Emperor Zhang]¹² had always been sad that the succession of King Wu of Qi [Liu Bosheng] had failed, for he had been the founder of the great

¹⁰ Ban Chao had his headquarters at Yutian, present-day Khotan, on the Southern Road, but had a long association with Shule [Kashgar] and had lately acquired control of Suoju [Yarkand]. Qiuzi, present-day Kuqa, on the Northern Road, had been a consistent opponent of Ban Chao and his allies: passages F of Yongping 17 at 76 and L of Zhanghe 1 at 163.

Having crossed the Pamirs and being now short of supplies, it was natural for the Yuezhi to seek aid from Qiuzi, the common enemy of Ban Chao. Since passage L of Zhanghe 1 indicates that Weitou was a subordinate ally of Qiuzi it is likely that Ban Chao had stationed his detachment on the Northern Road a short distance east of Shule.

D *HHS* 14/4:554, the Biography of Liu Bosheng;
HHS 14/4:557-58, the biographies of Liu Ji and his son Liu Wei;
HHS 4:170, the Annals of Emperor He.

¹¹ Liu Ji 劉基 was a great-grandson of Liu Bosheng 伯升, elder brother of Emperor Guangwu and first leader of the Liu clan revolt against Wang Mang which led to the restoration of the Han dynasty. Liu Bosheng's son Xing 興 was enfeoffed in recognition of his father's achievements, and the kingdom had been maintained in that lineage until now. See passage B of Yongping 17 with note 2 at 74, note 14 to Yongping 1 at 10, and note 9 to Zhanghe 1 at 159.

Liu Ji's posthumous title Ai 哀 "Lamented" is given by *HHS* 14/4:557.

¹² On Emperor Zhang's temple-name Suzong 肅宗, see note 16 to Yongping 18 at 82.

achievement [of the restoration of the Han dynasty].¹³ His testamentary edict left instructions that the two kingdoms should be restored.¹⁴

1526 On the day *dingmao* [of the fifth month, 7 Jul]¹⁵ Liu Wuji the Marquis of Wuhu was enfeoffed as King of Qi and Liu Wei, son by a concubine of the Respected King of Beihai [Liu Mu], became King of Beihai.¹⁶

E In the sixth month, on the day *xinmao* [27 Jul] the Disciplined King of Zhongshan [Liu Yan] died.¹⁷

Liu Yan was a younger brother of the mother of the Respectful King of Donghai, and the Dowager Dou was a grand-daughter of that ruler.¹⁸ For this reason she gave a

¹³ Liu Zhang, the elder son of Liu Bosheng (note 11 above) was first enfeoffed as King of Taiyuan, but was later transferred to Qi. His son and successor Liu Huang had been disgraced and demoted in 87: passage D of Zhanghe 1 at 159, and see also the case of Liu Chang 暢 in passage O of Zhanghe 2 with note 48 at 173.

While the succession to the kingdom of Beihai had failed through lack of male heirs, therefore, the fief of Qi had been lost through bad conduct.

¹⁴ *HHS* 14/4:557 notes that Emperor Zhang had specifically arranged the kingdom of Beihai not be abolished (不除其國 *buchu qiguo*): that is, it should not revert to being a regular commandery.

¹⁵ The fifth month has been mentioned by *ZZTJ* in passage A at 188. Though the arrangement of the Annals may be chronologically correct, it is awkward. *HHS* 4 records events for the fifth month as follows:

- *gengxu* day [16 Jun]: adjustment of commanderies and kingdoms (not mentioned by *ZZTJ*, but see note 3 at 188);
- *bingchen* day [23 Jun]: enfeoffments to two new kingdoms and one other (passage A at 188);
- *jiwei* day [26 Jun]: Yan Long [Pan?] takes Yiwulu from the Xiongnu (passage B at 188-189, *ZZTJ* does not identify the day);
- *dingmao* day [7 Jul]: enfeoffment of Liu Wuji and Liu Wei (this passage D);
- no day given: the kings of Jushi send hostages (passage B at 189);
- no day given: the Yuezhi attack the Western Regions but are defeated by Ban Chao (passage C at 189-190).

There has been some debate whether the chronicle of the Annals concerning events taking place away from the court is based upon an actual order of occurrence or upon the formal receipt of information. It is clear that eclipses are recorded on the day that they occurred, whether or not they were actually observed at the capital: see, for example, passage A with note 2 above at 188. Other matters, however, were probably dated by report rather than by event. In this example, it is most unlikely that hostages could have come from Jushi just two or three weeks after Yan Pan was sent to attack Yiwulu; both those events must have been dated by report, and while the hostages may have been promised they would not yet have arrived.

The order of events is seldom so confused, and it is not a matter of serious concern, but one can nonetheless admire the manner in which Sima Guang and his assistants managed to link events separated by date into a coherent chronicle.

¹⁶ Liu Wuji had inherited the marquissate which had been awarded to his late father Liu Huang following his disgrace: note 13 above. He was now restored to the former kingdom.

Liu Mu was the father of Liu Ji, whose death without an heir had brought the end of the kingdom: note 11 above. *HHS* 4 describes Liu Wei simply as a son of Liu Mu, but *HHS* 14/4 identifies him as *shuzi* 庶子, son of a concubine, and thus half-brother to Liu Ji. Unlike the system which applied to the imperial house, it appears that a son not born to the principal wife could succeed to a royal fief only with special dispensation.

E *HHS* 42/32:1450, the Biography of Liu Yan.

¹⁷ Youngest son of Emperor Guangwu by his first Empress the Lady Guo, Liu Yan had been on his throne for fifty years. There is no explanation for his posthumous title Jian 簡, and the character can be understood in several ways, but I interpret it as a compliment to his self-control. He had been punished in 72 for murdering a concubine (*HHS* 42/23:1449), but was later returned to favour, and it is clear from the extravagant funerary arrangements described below that there was no criticism implied.

¹⁸ Liu Qiang, son of Emperor Guangwu by his first Empress the Lady Guo, had been King of Donghai; when he died in 58 he was given the posthumous title Gong 恭 "Respectful:" passage C and note 9 to Yongping 1 at 9. His daughter, Princess of Biyang, had married Dou Xun and was the mother of the dowager: see, *inter alia*, passage L of Jianchu 2 at 106. Liu Yan was therefore her great-uncle.

hundred thousand cash for his funeral expenses and had his tomb prepared in most extravagant fashion. Thousands of private tombs were destroyed and tens of thousands of workmen, conscripted from eighteen commanderies in six provinces, were used for the construction work.

F An edict enfeoffed Dou Xian as Marquis of Guanjun, Dou Du as Marquis of Yan and Dou Xiang as Marquis of Xiayang.¹⁹ Dou Xian was the only who did not accept his honour.²⁰

In the autumn, in the seventh month, on the day *yimao* [20 Aug] Dou Xian went out to camp in Liang province.²¹ The Palace Attendant Deng Die, acting as General Who Subdues the West, was his second-in-command.²²

G Since Han had sent back the hostage he had offered, in the ninth month the Northern Shanyu sent another embassy to the frontier, referring to himself as a subject of China and asking to come to court for an audience.²³ In the winter, in the tenth month, Dou Xian sent Ban Gu and Liang Feng to receive him.

About this time the Southern Shanyu sent another letter, asking that the North be completely destroyed, and at the same time he sent Shizi, Luli King of the Left, and other leaders to move out from the Jilu Pass with eight thousand horsemen from both the right and the left divisions. The Emissary Geng Tan sent an Assistant Officer to escort them.²⁴

F *HHS* 23/13:818, the Biography of Dou Xian.

¹⁹ Guanjun 冠軍 county was in Nanyang, north of present-day Deng in Henan; Yan 鄆 was in Yingchuan, near present-day Luohe in Henan; Xiayang 公族, on the Yellow River south of present-day Hancheng in Shanxi.

HHS 23/13 has an extract from the edict, which says that the value of Dou Xian's fief was to be the revenue from twenty thousand households, while those of the others were six thousand households.

The edict also said that the third brother, Dou Jing, was to be enfeoffed as Marquis of Ruyang 汝陽 county in Runan, now Fuyang in Anhui. Surprisingly, *ZZTJ* has left this out and, still more surprisingly, neither Hu Sanxing nor the modern editors have remarked upon the omission.

²⁰ Dou Xian had refused enfeoffment the year before: passage I of Yongyuan 1 at 183.

²¹ The date is given by the Annals at *HHS* 4:171.

Following his successful campaign against the Xiongnu in the summer and autumn of the previous year, Dou Xian had returned to the capital, probably in the ninth month shortly before he was appointed General-in-Chief: passage I of Yongyuan 1 at 183. He now returned to join the army on the frontier.

²² Member of a family connected to the throne by marriage, Deng Die had been at one time been suspected of loose conduct and kept under surveillance by Emperor Ming: passage J of Jianchu 8 at 130. He later became close to the Dowager Dou, and was involved in the affair of Liu Chang: passage O with note 49 to Zhanghe 2 at 173 and *HHS* 23/13:813. He was at that time a colonel in the Northern Army and had since been raised to Palace Attendant, a confidential position close to the throne. See also deC, *LH3K*, 112-113.

G *HHS* 23/13:818, the Biography of Dou Xian;
HHS 89/79:2953, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu;
HHS 40/30B:1385, the Biography of Ban Gu.

²³ The year before, the Shanyu had offered a younger brother as hostage, but Dou Xian recommended the offer be rejected and the man was sent back: passage G of Yongyuan 1 at 182-183. The Shanyu was now offering full submission.

²⁴ On the Luli King of the Left, third among the leading kinsmen of a Shanyu, see note 2 to Yongping 18 at 80. At the time of the first attack in 89, Shizu had held command of ten thousand men, also advancing from the Jilu Pass, and his contingent had been part of the force which defeated the enemy at Jiluo Mountain: passage G of Yongyuan 1 at 182, particularly note 22 quoting *HHS* 23/13:814. The name Shizi 師子 should probably be understood as its homonym 獅子 "lion;" it may have been a rendering of a Xiongnu name, or perhaps a nickname; he was certainly energetic and ferocious.

In a surprise attack on the Northern Shanyu, they came by night and surrounded him. The Shanyu was wounded and barely managed to escape, while they captured the Yanzhi and five of his sons and daughters.²⁵ They killed eight thousand of the enemy and captured several thousand alive.

Ban Gu went as far as the Siqu Lake and then turned back.

The followers of the Southern Shanyu had now vastly increased in number: he commanded thirty-four thousand households, with fifty thousand men of military age.²⁶

HHS 89/79, followed by *ZZTJ*, writes Shizi's title as 左谷蠡王. Tang commentary to a parallel text in the Annals at *HHS* 4:171, however, notes that in this context the character for *lu* was also written 谷, but was sounded as a homonym of 鹿. This is a curious confusion of transcription, for Karlgren's reconstructions of the early pronunciations of the two characters would indicate that they shared only a form of glottal stop: *GSR* 1202: *kuk/kuk/ku; *GSR* 1288: *luk/luk/lu. Both forms appear in the texts, with no apparent distinction, though the Chinese Text Project [ctext] edition of *HHS* consistently uses 谷.

Geng Tan was a Major at the time of the initial attack in 89: passage G of Yongyuan 1 at 182. He had since been appointed Emissary to the Xiongnu: *shi Xiongnu zhonglang jiang* 使匈奴中郎將, referred to by *HHS* 89/79 and *ZZTJ* in its abbreviated form as 中郎將. As a former comrade-in-arms of Shizi, he gave him official support by attaching a member of his staff to accompany the enterprise.

²⁵ Yanzhi 闕氏 was the title given to the official consort of a Shanyu, equivalent to the Han empress: Tang commentary to *HHS* 4:172 at note 2, with indication of the special pronunciation.

²⁶ *HHS* describes this campaign in three places, each time slightly differently.

- The Biography of Dou Xian says that the envoy from the North asking to submit arrived at the Juyan frontier, and Dou Xian had Ban Gu and Liang Feng go out to receive the Northern Shanyu. About the same time, however, the Southern Shanyu sent out his raiding party and destroyed his enemy's position.
- The Account of the Southern Xiongnu has no mention of the proposed submission by the North, but provides a detailed account of Shizi's expedition. Leaving baggage at Zhuoye Mountain, two columns of light-armed troops travelled separately to the northwest, one passing the Western Lakes 西海 (Har Us Nur and Har Nur) and the other moving up the Ganwei River 甘微河 (Dzavhan Gol). They then combined to launch their attack on the Northern camp.
- The Annals at *HHS* 4:170 says only that in the ninth month the Northern Shanyu sent messengers describing himself as a subject of Han, and in the tenth month Ban Gu was sent with a message of reply. Effectively at the same time, however, Shizi was sent out, and he attacked and defeated the Northern Shanyu somewhere north of Heyun 河雲; from the details in the Account of the Southern Xiongnu, this was in the region of Hyargas Nuur.
- The Biography of Ban Gu adds that he reached the Siqu Lake but then learned of the success of Shuzi's attack and accordingly turned back.

ZZTJ has combined these accounts well, but the juxtaposition of Ban Gu's embassy and the simultaneous launch of the Shizi's attack may give the appearance of double-dealing. It must be considered, however, that the messengers from the North arrived at the Juyan frontier – the Ordos region being dominated by their Southern enemies – so the news took time to reach the capital, and it would have been even longer before instructions could be sent to the Southern Shanyu and the Emissary at Meiji in the north of Xihe. It was very bad luck for the Northern Shanyu – but it is doubtful whether Shizi and the Southerners could ever have been easily restrained.

Yongyuan 永元 3: 91 AD

7 February 91– 27 January 92

1527

A In the spring, in the first month, on the day *jiazi* [25 Feb], the emperor took the Cap of Manhood according to the New Rituals of Cao Bao.¹ Cao Bao was appointed Inspector of the Left Troop of the Feathered Forest Cavalry.²

B Since the Northern Xiongnu had been so much weakened, Dou Xian wanted to follow up and eliminate them completely.

In the second month he ordered the Colonel on the Left Geng Kui and the Major Ren Shang to go out from the Juyan frontier. They surrounded the Northern Shanyu at Jinwei Mountain and thoroughly defeated him,³ capturing his mother the Yanzhi and five thousand others, including named kings. The Shanyu fled away, no one knew where.

The expedition had travelled more than five thousand *li* beyond the frontier and returned; no army of Han had ever gone so far.⁴ Geng Kui was enfeoffed as Marquis of Suyi.⁵

A *HHS* 4:171, the Annals of Emperor He;
HHS 35/25:1203, the Biography of Cao Bao.

¹ On the New Rituals (新禮 *Xin li*) of Cao Bao, a system commissioned by Emperor Zhang but not formally accepted, see passage K of Zhanghe 1 at 163, with discussion in notes 31 and 32.

Emperor He was now twelve *sui* – ten or eleven years old by Western count – and Old Text principles called for a young man to take the Cap of Manhood when he reached that age; the New Text prescribed nineteen or even twenty *sui*. Though Cao Bao was a scholar of the New Text, he followed Old Text in this case, and *HHS* 35/25 says that he presented detailed arguments to support the decision.

The ceremony had political significance, for an emperor who was of full age was entitled to make decisions on his own authority and had no need for tutelage. In practice, the Dowager Dou continued to exercise power, but this was rather because she and her brothers held general control of the court, not because Emperor He was a minor and required a regency government.

Regardless of Cao Bao's arguments, since the New Rituals had not received imperial confirmation it is slightly surprising that the dowager approved the ceremony. She must have been aware of the implications, but she and her party presumably believed they had established themselves securely enough.

² The Feathered Forest corps of guards, some of whom may have been military cadets under probation for commissioned command, was commanded by a General of the Household. They were divided into two troops of horsemen, on the Left and on the Right, each under an Inspector (監 *jian*) with rank/salary of Six Hundred *shi*.

As in passage J of Yuanhe 3 at 157, at the time of Cao Bao's initial proposal to draft the New Rituals, Emperor Zhang had appointed him a Palace Attendant, a senior advisory appointment with rank/salary of Two Thousand *shi*: note 18 to Yongping 2 at 17. Since the death of his patron, it appears that honour had fallen into abeyance, and Cao Bao had reverted to his basic office as an Academician, ranked at Equivalent to Six Hundred *shi*.

B *HHS* 23/13:818, the Biography of Dou Xian;
HHS 19/9:718-19, the Biography of Geng Kui.

³ On Jinwei Mountain, see note 4 immediately following.

As in note 25 to Yongyuan 2 at 193, Yanzhi 闕氏 was the Xiongnu equivalent of a Han empress. In this case, the reference is to the mother of the Northern Shanyu, and thus the dowager.

"Named kings" (名王 *ming wang*) must refer to the leading nobility of the Northern state such as the Worthy or Luli Kings: see, for example, passages E of Yongping 16 at 68 and B of Yongping 18 at 80.

⁴ Jinwei Mountain, site of this final victory, cannot be well identified. Hu Sanxing notes that Tang had a Commandant's region (都尉府 *duwei fu*) of that name, and in *HHSJJ* 19/9:748 the modern scholar Shen Qinhan says that the mountain was somewhere in the territory of 喀爾喀 Khalka/Kalkas; this, however, is

C Now that Dou Xian had been so successful, his influence and his reputation grew and flourished. He had men such as Geng Kui and Ren Shang as his claws and teeth, Deng Die and Guo Huang as his close advisers,⁶ and Ban Gu and Fu Yi as his secretaries,⁷ while a great many Inspectors, Administrators and county magistrates were numbered among his clients and took money from their subordinates to offer him tribute.⁸

The Excellency over the Masses Yuan An and the Excellency of Works Ren Wei sent in a memorial reporting over forty senior officials for their association and urged that they should be dismissed. Dou Xian was extremely angry, but the two men had such fine records that he had no means to harm them.

D Yue Hui, Deputy Director of the Secretariat,⁹ also presented criticisms, with no restrictions on his topics and no holds barred. Dou Xian and his associates were not pleased.

In one letter, Yue Hui said, "Your majesty is young,¹⁰ and you have only recently inherited the great work [of ruling the empire]. Your maternal uncles should not be involved in affairs of state, for this would indicate that the government has private biases. They should now acknowledge that they have behaved inappropriately, and they should respectfully withdraw from their official positions. By that means they will be able preserve their honours and their fief territories, while the dowager is freed from any concern about the ancestral temple [and the future of her family].

1528 The document was presented, but received no attention.¹¹

a term which can be applied to the whole geographical region of Mongolia. It seems likely that the mountain was in a further part of the Altai range in the far northeast.

Five thousand *li* was equivalent to some two thousand kilometres or twelve hundred miles, and that distance from Juyan would have reached well inside Russia, somewhere northeast of Kazakhstan. This is unlikely: Geng Kui and his men may, however, have approached the northwestern border of present-day Mongolia; and it is also possible that the calculation was made from the Shuofang frontier, not from Juyan.

For argument that this apparent triumph would prove a long-term strategic misfortune for both the Southern Xiongnu and for Han, see deC, *Northern Frontier*, 416-422, and "A Steppe Too Far."

⁵ Suyi county was in Zuopingyi, northwest of present-day Baishui in Shenxi.

C *HHS* 23/13:819, the Biography of Dou Xian;
HHS 45/35:1519-20, the Biography of Yuan An.

⁶ The characters 心腹 *xinfu* have a literal meaning of "heart and stomach."

Guo Huang, a nephew of the Lady Guo, Emperor Guangwu's first empress, had married his cousin the Princess Liliu 裡劉, one of Guangwu's daughters: *HHS* 10B:458.

Deng Die, also connected to the throne by marriage, had been second-in-command to Dou Xian at the beginning of the campaign: passage F with note 22 to Yongyuan 2 at 192.

⁷ Fu Yi had been a librarian at the Orchid Terrace and later joined Dou Xian's general staff. He wrote a hymn to celebrate the victory over the Northern Xiongnu, and he and Ban Gu were regarded as the finest literary and scholarly figures of the day.

⁸ Commentary to *HHS* 45/35 quotes the *Hou Han shu* of Yuan Shansong [at 10b] with a list including the heads of Henan and Nanyang commanderies.

D *HHS* 43/33:1478-79, the Biography of Yue Hui.

⁹ As a Consultant, Yue Hui had opposed Dou Xian's campaign against the Northern Xiongnu: passage D of Yongyuan 1 at 179. He had since been appointed to the Secretariat, though he was not actually the Deputy Director: see note 13 below.

¹⁰ *Fu yu chunqiu* 富於春秋 could be rendered as "rich in years," but where the English expression indicates a person who is old, the Chinese refers to a young person, with many years/seasons still ahead of them.

¹¹ As in passage A with note 1 above, Emperor He had officially come of age and was entitled to rule. The Dowager Dou and the kinsmen still controlled the government, however, so it is not surprising that the letter received no response. Yue Hui would have been well aware of that; his message was a warning to the Dou family.

- Begging leave of absence on grounds of ill health, Yue Hui then went home to Changling.¹² Dou Xian, however, had influence over both the provincial and the commandery authorities, and they compelled Yue Hui to take poison and die.
- E In consequence of this, all the court was in fear and trembling. They could see how the wind was blowing and none dared oppose Dou Xian.¹³
- F Because the emperor was young and weak, and the imperial relatives by marriage had seized power, whenever Yuan An attended court, was received in audience or discussed affairs of state with other Excellencies and Ministers, he would weep until tears flowed. The emperor and all the senior officials trusted him.
- G In the winter, in the tenth month on the day *guiwei* [11 Nov], the emperor travelled to Chang'an. An edict summoned those kinsmen of Xiao [He] and Cao [Shen] who were entitled to succeed them and awarded them fiefs.¹⁴
- H An edict had summoned Dou Xian to meet the imperial cortege at Chang'an. As he approached, all the members of the Secretariat were talking of how they should go out to greet him, paying obeisance with the cry of "Ten Thousand Years." With a stern expression on his face, the Director Han Ling said to them, "In their dealings, the ruler does not accept flattery, and the subject is not presumptuous.¹⁵ There is no protocol which permits anyone but the sovereign to be honoured with the cry 'Ten Thousand Years.'" All those who had been talking about it were embarrassed and gave up the idea.

..
12 Changling county was in Jingzhao, north across the Wei River from Chang'an and close to present-day Jingyang in Shenxi.

E *HHS* 23/13:819, the Biography of Dou Xian.

13 *HHS* 23/13 also mentions Zhi Shou, who had also been an opponent of the Dou family and had killed himself in similar circumstances passage F of Yongyuan 1 at 180-181 with *HHS* 29/19:1034 and deC, *LH3K*, 1131.

Both *HHS* 23/13 and *HHS* 29/19 state that it was Zhi Shou, not Yue Hui, who had been the Deputy Director of the Secretariat. In extracting this brief passage, *ZZTJ* has omitted the name of Zhi Shou but kept his title, which is thus mistakenly attributed to Yue Hui.

F *HHS* 45/35:1522, the Biography of Yuan An.

G *HHS* 4:172, the Annals of Emperor He.

14 The Annals date this to the eleventh month. Emperor He first paid his respects at the ancestral temple of the founding Emperor Gao in Chang'an, and then honoured the achievements of his great assistants Xiao He 蕭何 and Cao Shen 曹參.

Xiao He had been chief minister to Emperor Gao, and his descendant Xiao Xiong had been enfeoffed by Emperor Zhang in 82: passage G and note 21 to Jianchu 7 at 124. That lineage had presumably ended, and a new fief was created.

Cao Shen, another great assistant to Gaozu, has biographies in *SJ* 54 and *HS* 39; Loewe, *QHX*, 20-22. One of his descendants had been similarly recognised in 75 (*HHS* 26/16:917), but it appears that lineage had also ended.

H *HHS* 45/35:1535, the Biography of Han Ling.

15 上交不諂,下交不瀆 is a quotation from *Yi jing* the Book of Changes, 繫辭 B:5, discussing Hexagram 31 *Xian* 咸.

As in passage O of Zhanghe 2 at 174, *ZZTJ* refers here to Han Ling as only a Master of Writing. He was, however, the Director of the Secretariat, so his words had considerable authority. See note 52 to that passage, which also mentions the variant forms of his personal name: *HHS* 45/35 has it as Leng 陵; *ZZTJ* as Ling 陵.

Wang Long, Assistant on the Left in the Secretariat,¹⁶ sent in a private account of this, and also presented Dou Xian with an ox and with wine. Han Ling, however, then impeached Wang Long and had him sentenced to convict service.¹⁷

I Qiuzi, Gumo and Wensu all submitted to Han.¹⁸

In the twelfth month the office of Protector-General of the Western Regions was restored, with a Commandant of Cavalry and Wu and Ji Colonels.¹⁹ Ban Chao became Protector-General, with Xu Gan as Chief Clerk.²⁰

Boba, hostage prince of Qiuzi, was appointed King of Qiuzi, and the Major Yao Guang was sent as his escort.²¹ Ban Chao and Yao Guang went together to Qiuzi, where they deposed King Youliduo and set Boba in his place. As Yao Guang was ordered to bring Youliduo back to the imperial capital, Ban Chao occupied Tuogan city in Qiuzi while Xu Gan camped at Shule.

There remained only Yanqi, Weixu and Weili, who were still of uncertain loyalty as they had been responsible the destruction of the previous Protector-General.²² All the other states [of the Western Region] were fully settled.

1529

J Before this, after the Northern Shanyu had fled away,²³ his younger brother Yuchujian, Luli King of the Right, had taken title as Shanyu.²⁴ With a few thousand

¹⁶ The Treatise of Officials notes that there were two Assistants to the Director of the Secretariat who were involved in the administration of the office and exercised a general supervision. The one on the Right dealt with supplies of paper, writing brushes and ink, seals and ribbons, and assisted the Deputy Director with the payment of salaries. The Assistant on the Left handled memorials which had been presented and their replies. Their rank/salary of Four Hundred *shi*, however, was lower than the Six Hundred *shi* of a Master of Writing: *HHS* 116/26:3597; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, 55-56.

¹⁷ Traditionally understood as referring to "building walls or fortifications and standing guard from early dawn," *chengdan* 城旦 was the heaviest form of hard labour, generally lasting five years. It also included the bastinado, shaving of the head, and iron collar and leg-irons; details, however, are vague and no doubt varied. See Hulsewé, *RHL*, 128.

I *HHS* 47/37:1581, the Biography of Ban Chao.

¹⁸ Qiuzi, on the Northern Road of the Western Regions, with its allies Wensu and Gumo, had been opposed to Ban Chao's alliance based on the Southern Road: passage L of Zhanghe 1 at 163 and Map 14 at 190. Since Weitou was closer to Ban Chao's base at Yutian and is mentioned as an ally of Qiuzi in that passage, we may assume that state also joined them in submission.

¹⁹ This sentence comes from the Annals at *HHS* 4:173; the modern editions of *HHS* and *ZZTJ* vary slightly in punctuation.

On the previous establishment of the office of Protector-General by Emperor Ming in 79, see passage I with note 20 to Yongping 14 at 78-79. On its destruction in the following year, see passage N of Yongping 18 at 84. Wu and Ji Colonels had also been appointed at that time, but the Commandant of Cavalry (騎都尉 *ji duwei*) was a new position in this territory; on the basic office, see note 25 to Yongping 15 at 66.

²⁰ Xu Gan, an old friend of Ban Chao, had hitherto been a Major on his staff: passage M of Jianchu 8 at 130.

²¹ Youliduo had succeeded King Jian of Qiuzi about 80, while Prince Boba had been at Luoyang since at least that time: passage C with note 11 to Jianchu 5 at 116.

²² These three states were on the Northern Road south of the Turfan depression. The first Protectorate-General had been established by Emperor Ming in 74 but was destroyed in the following year: passages I of Yongping 17 at 78-79 and N of Yongping 18 at 84.

HHS 88/78:2928, followed by *ZZTJ*, identifies Yanqi and Qiuzi as leaders of that revolt; we may assume that Weixu and Weili were smaller states and played a lesser role.

J *HHS* 89/79:2954, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu.

²³ See passage B above.

men under his command, he established himself at the Pulei Lake and sent envoys to the frontier offering submission.

K Dou Xian requested that envoys be sent to appoint Yuchujian as Shanyu,²⁵ and that an Emissary should be established to control and protect him in the same fashion as had been used for the Southern Shanyu.²⁶ The matter was sent down for discussion by Excellencies and Ministers, and [the Grand Commandant] Song You and others believed that it could be approved.²⁷

[The Excellency over the Masses] Yuan An and [the Excellency of Works] Ren Wei, however, argued that, "When Emperor Guangwu received and cared for the southern barbarians, it was not his intention that they should remain for ever within our territory; it was simply a calculation based upon the situation at that time, and a means to guard against the Northern enemy. Now that the desert-lands of the north have been settled, we should have the Southern Shanyu return to his former hunting-grounds and take control of the masses who have surrendered. There is no reason to re-establish Yuchujian [as a new Northern Shanyu]; it will be nothing but an additional expense for our state."

Their argument was submitted, but no decision was made. Yuan An was concerned that Dou Xian's policy would yet be followed, and he sent in a sealed document on his own account: "The Southern Shanyu Tun[tuhe and his predecessors]²⁸ have cared in fatherly fashion for their people and have kept them in loyalty [to Han]; they have received favour in return. This arrangement has been maintained for more than forty years and is a legacy to your majesty from your three imperial

²⁴ The Luli King of the Right (右鹿/谷蠡王 *you luli wang*) ranked fourth among the chief kinsmen and assistants to the Shanyu, next after the Luli King of the Left: *HHS* 89/79:2944; deC, *Northern Frontier*, 176-177 with note 7 at 505, and see notes 10 to Yongping 16 at 68-69 and 2 to Yongping 18 at 80.

On the variant choice of character for the sound *lu*, see note 24 to Yongyuan 2 at 192-193.

K *HHS* 89/79:2954, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu;

HHS 45/35:1518-19, the Biography of Yuan An.

²⁵ There is disagreement among the texts, discussed by Sima Guang in his *Kaoyi* commentary at 1529-30:

- *HHS* 89/79 says that Dou Xian recommended that the claimant Yuchujian should be recognised as the new Northern Shanyu.
- *HHS* 45/35, however, says that Dou Xian's candidate was the Luli King of the Left, whose name was Atong 阿佟. As in note 23 above, the Luli King of the Left was senior to his colleague of the Right, so Atong – presumably an elder brother of Yuchujian – would have had priority in the succession.
- *HHJ* 13:161 dates this debate to the ninth month, and says that the name of Dou Xian's candidate was Axiu 阿修/脩, and describes him as a Luli King.

It appears that after the disappearance of the defeated Shanyu, the younger prince Yuchujian – ignoring precedence – had laid claim to the title and was seeking Chinese acceptance as a subject, but Dou Xian preferred his elder brother Atong/Axiu as a future puppet for Han. Sima Guang, however, found the Atong/Axiu alternative unimportant or improbable and omitted it from his *ZZTJ* narrative.

²⁶ On the Emissary to the [Southern] Xiongnu, see note 35 to Yuanhe 2 at 152.

²⁷ Song You was the Grand Commandant, senior Excellency, and *HHS* 45/35 adds that the scholar Ding Hong and the military man Geng Bing, with a number of other ministers, agreed with him.

HHJ 13, however, says that these officials agreed with Yuan An in his opposition to the policy, as below. In his *Kaoyi* (see note 25 above), Sima Guang notes that the arguments attributed to them appear false and discounts the whole passage.

²⁸ Passage H of Zhanghe 2 at 168 gives the full name of the Southern Shanyu as Tuntuhe 屯屠何/河; Yuan An uses only a short form. Tuntuhe had succeeded to the title only three years before, but Yuan An is emphasising the continuity of a policy which had been established by Guangwu and followed by emperors Ming and Zhang.

predecessors. Your majesty should carefully consider the origins of this policy and should build upon its foundation. It is far better that Tuntuhe should be the first to complete the great plan and eliminate the Northern enemy.

"If instead you put a halt to this process, and set up this man who has only lately surrendered, then you will be making a short-term decision which abandons the work of three generations. You will betray the trust of those who have depended on you, and you will be appointing someone with no record of achievement.²⁹

"The *Analecets* say, 'Speech that is sincere and truthful, conduct that is honourable and careful; even the tribes of the south and the north can manage this.'³⁰ Though he is only one man, if we let Tuntuhe down now, no barbarian will ever trust us again.

"Furthermore, the Wuhuan and the Xianbi have quite recently killed a Northern Shanyu,³¹ and it would be natural for both those people to fear the Northerners' vengeance. If we set up a younger brother [of the Northern Shanyu who was killed] then both groups of barbarians will be angry.

"Besides this, Han has long supplied the Southern Shanyu, at an annual rate of over one billion nine hundred thousand cash, while the Western Regions cost us 74.8 million. Now the Northern territories are even further away, and the cost will more than double. We shall be exhausting the resources of the empire for a plan with no real benefit." An edict ordered the question be debated.

[When the matter was discussed in open court] Yuan An and Dou Xian abused and attacked one another. Dou Xian took advantage of his authority to threaten and slander Yuan An, with references to the earlier cases of Han Xin and Dai She in the time of Emperor Guangwu.³² Yuan An maintained his opposition, but Dou Xian's policy was approved.³³

1530³⁴

²⁹ As Hu Sanxing observes, the Southern Xiongnu had been dependent on Han for support, while Yuchujian's new Northern regime had yet to prove itself – and had in any case done nothing for Han.

³⁰ This was the response of Confucius to his disciple Zizhang 子張, who enquired about proper conduct: *Lunyu* XV.v.2; Legge, *CC I*, 295.

³¹ This was in 87: passage F of Zhanghe 1 at 159.

³² Han Xin 韓歆 was Excellency over the Masses under Guangwu, but angered the emperor with his criticisms. He was dismissed in 39, but Guangwu was not satisfied until both Han Xin and his son had been driven to kill themselves. See *HHS* 26/16:902; deC, *LH3K*, 303.

Dai She 戴涉 was Excellency of Works, but died in prison in 44; he had probably been charged with making a false accusation against another official: *HHS* 27/17:930; deC, *LH3K*, 107.

The fact that both men had been Excellencies no doubt made Dou Xian's threat against Yuan An more effective.

³³ There is an account of this debate in deC, *Northern Frontier*, 273-274.

³⁴ Page 1530 of the Beijing edition of *ZZTJ* contains no main text, but has three columns of the *Kaoyi* commentary of Sima Guang, as in note 25 above.

FINDING LIST OF SOURCES FOR THE TEXT

Passages of the text of *ZZTJ* are identified in the left-hand margin of the translation, and the annotations contain Finding Notes: identifications of the source/s which Sima Guang used as the basis for that passage. This list presents a summary of those notes.

Each passage is identified in abbreviated form:

Zy indicates the [Jianwu] Zhongyuan 建武中元 period of Emperor Guangwu;

Yp indicates the Yongping 永平 period of Emperor Ming;

Jc indicates the Jianchu 建初 period of Emperor Zhang;

Yh indicates the Yuanhe 元和 period of Emperor Zhang;

Zh indicates the Zhanghe 章和 period of Emperor Zhang;

Yy indicates the Yongyuan 永元 period of Emperor He.

Thus Yp2:J refers to passage J of the text and translation for the second year of the Yongping period.

The sources identified are listed by chapters of *Hou Han shu* [*HHS*] and other early texts, with comments by Sima Guang, as follows.

From *Dongguan Hanji* [*DGHJ*]:

DGHJ 2: the Annals of Emperor Ming: Yp2:J

DGHJ 7: the Biography of Liu Mu: Yp17:B

DGHJ 7, the Biography of Liu Cang: Yh2:H

DGHJ 16, the Biography of Ban Chao: Yp16:G

DGHJ 16, the Biography of Huan Rong: Yp2:F

DGHJ 18, the Biography of Zhu Hui: Yh1:F

DGHJ 18, the Biography of Mao Yi: Yh1:K

From the *Hou Han ji* of Yuan Hong [*HHJ*]:

HHJ 9:105: Yp1:C, Yp7:C

HHJ 10: Yp8:F, Yp15:D, Yp14:E, Yp16:C, Yp16:G, Yp17:F, Yp18:A, Yp18:O

HHJ 11: Jc2:E, Jc2:D

HHJ 12: Jc7:H, Yh2:H, Yh3:B, Zh2:M, Zh2:O

From the *Hou Han shu* of Fan Ye incorporating Treatises by Sima Biao [*HHS*]:

HHS 1B, the Annals of Emperor Guangwu: Zy 2:A

HHS 2, the Annals of Emperor Ming: Zy2:C; Zy2:E; Zy2:H;

Yp1:A-B; Yp2:A-B; Yp2:E; Yp2:J; Yp2:L; Yp3:A-B; Yp3:E-F; Yp3:J; Yp3:L;

Yp4:B; Yp5:A; Yp5:C-D; Yp6:A; Yp7:A; Yp8:A; Yp8:D; Yp8:H; Yp9:A;

Yp9:C;

Yp10:A; Yp11:A; Yp12:A-C; Yp13:A; Yp14:A; Yp14:J; Yp15:A-C; Yp15:E;

Yp16:I-J; Yp17:C; Yp17:G-H; Yp18:C; Yp18:E-F; Yp18:I

HHS 3:129, the Annals of Emperor Zhang: Yp18:J; Yp18:L-M; Yp18:P; Yp18:S;

Jc1:A; Jc1:C; Jc1:G; Jc1:I; Jc2:A; Jc2:C; Jc2:K; Jc3:A; Jc3:D-G; Jc4:A; Jc4:C-D;

Jc4:F-G; Jc5:A-B; Jc6:A; Jc7:A; Jc7:D; Jc7:F-G; Jc8:A; Jc8:C;

Yh1:A-C; Yh1:E; Yh1:G; Yh1:J; Yh2:A; Yh2:F-H; Yh2:J-K; Yh3:A; Yh3:C;

Yh3:E;

Zh1:C; Zh1:H-I; Zh2:A; Zh2:E

- HHS* 4:165, the Annals of Emperor He: Zh2:F-G; Zh2:K;
Yy1:G-I; Yy1:O; Yy2:A-B; Yy2:D; Yy3:A; Yy3:G
- HHS* 10A, the Biography of the Empress Dou of Emperor Zhang: Jc2:L; Jc8:D
the Biography of the Empress Dou of Emperor Zhang, with supplement on the
Honoured Lady Liang: Jc7:C
the Biography of the Empress Ma of Emperor Ming: Yp3:B; Yp14:F; Yp15:B;
Jc2:D; Jc2:E; Jc4:B
the Biography of the Lady Guo: Yp2:I
the Biography of the Lady Jia: Jc4:E
the Biography of the Empress Yan of Emperor An: Yp18:H
the Biography of the Empress Yin of Emperor Guangwu: Yp17:A
- HHS* 14/4, the Biography of Liu Bosheng: Zh1:D; Yy2:D
the Biography of Liu Mu: Yp17:B
the biographies of Liu Ji and his son Liu Wei: Yy2:D
- HHS* 16/6, the Biography of Deng Xun: Jc3:E; Zh2:Q; Yy1:A
the Biography of Deng Yu: Yp1:B
- HHS* 19/9, the Biography of Geng Bing: Yp15:D; Yp17:H; Yy1:J
the Biography of Geng Gong: Yp17:I; Yp18:B; Yp18:D; Yp18:N-O; Jc3:C
the Biography of Geng Guo: Yp8:C
the Biography of Geng Kui: Yy3:B
the Biography of Geng Yan: Yp1:H
- HHS* 20/10, the Biography of Zhai Tong: Yp16:E
- HHS* 22/12, the Biography of Ma Wu: Yp1:D
Discussion to the chapter on generals who served Emperor Guangwu: Yp3:C
- HHS* 23/13, the Biography of Dou Gu: Yp15:D-E; Yp16:A-D; Yp16:F; Yp17:H
the post-Biography of Dou Mu: Yp14:I
the Biography of Dou Rong: Yp2:K; Yp5:E
the Biography of Dou Xian: Jc8:H; Jc8:J; Yy1:G; Yy1:I; Yy1:K ; Yy1:M; Yy2:F-G;
Yy3:B-C; Yy3:E; Zh2:I; Zh2:O-P
- HHS* 24/14, the Biography of Ma Fang: Jc2:H; Jc2:J; Jc3:B; Jc4:B; Jc8:F
the Biography of Ma Liao: Jc2:F; Jc4:B; Jc8:G
the Biographies of Ma Liao and Ma Guang: Yp18:Q
the Biography of Ma Yuan: Yp3:D
- HHS* 25/15, the Biography of Lu Gong: Yy1:C
the Biography of Wei Biao: Jc7:G; Yh1:D
the Biography of Zhao Xi: Zy2:B
- HHS* 27/17, the Biography of Wu Liang: Zy2:F
the Biography of Zheng Jun: Yh1:L; Yh2:E
- HHS* 29/19, the Biography of Bao Yu: Yp17:D; Jc1:A
the Biography of Zhi Shou: Yy1:F
- HHS* 31/21, the Biography of Lian Fan: Yp16:L; Jc6:B
- HHS* 32/22, the Biography of Fan Shu: Yp9:R; Yp14:C
the Biography of Yin Jiu: Yp2:M
- HHS* 33/23, the Biography of Yu Yan: Yp13:C
the Biography of Zheng Hong: Jc8:N; Yh3:B

- HHS 34/24*, the biography of Liang Song: Yp4:C
the Biography of Liang Sung: Jc7:C ; Jc8:D
- HHS 35/25*, the Biography of Cao Bao: Yh3:J; Zh1:A; Zh1:K; Yy3:A
- HHS 36/26*, the Biography of Zheng Zhong: Yp4:D; Yp8:B; Yp8:J
- HHS 37/27*, the Biography of Huan Rong: Yp2:D; Yp2:G
- HHS 37/27*, the Biography of Ding Hong: Yp10:B
- HHS 39/29*, Introduction to a chapter on worthy men: Yh1:K
the Biography of Liu Ping: Yp3:H
- HHS 40/30B*, the Biography of Ban Gu: Yy2:G
- HHS 41/31*, the Biography of Diwu Lun: Yp18:M; Yp18:R; Jc2:I; Jc2:M-N; Jc8:I;
Yh3:D
the Biography of Zhongli Yi: Yp3:G; Yp3:I
the Biography of Zong Jun: Yp7:C
the Biography of Song/Zong Yi: Zh2:B; Zh2:D; Zh2:N
the Biography of Han Lang: Yp14:E
- HHS 42/32*, the Biography of Liu Cang: Zy2:E; Yp1:G; Yp4:A; Yp4:F; Yp5:A-B;
Yp11:A; Jc1:H; Jc6:C; Jc7:B; Jc7:E; Jc7:H; Jc8:A; Yh1:B; Yh2:H-I
the Biography of Liu Fu: Yh1:C
the Biography of Liu Jing: Zy2:D; Yp1:E; Yp9:D-E; Yp14:H
the Biography of Liu Qiang: Yp1:C
the Biography of Liu Ying: Yp8:E; Yp13:B; Yp14:B; Yh3:H
the Biography of Liu Yan: Yp16:I-K; Jc1:K; Yy2:E
the Biography of Liu Yen: Yp2:H
- HHS 43/33*, the Biography of He Chang: Zh1:H; Zh2:C; Zh2:O; Yy1:E; Yy1:N
the Biography of Yue Hui: Yy1:D; Yy3:D
the Biography of Zhu Hui: Yh1:F; Yh1:H; Yy1:D
- HHS 45/35*, the Biography of Han Ling: Zh2:O; Yy1:D; Yy3:H
the Biography of Yuan An: Yp14:G; Yh2:L; Yy3:K; Yy1:B; Yy1:L; Yy3:C; Yy3:F
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Jc8:M; Yh1:N; Yh3:G; Zh1:L; Yy2:C; Yy3:I
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the Biography of Liu Chang: Yh1:A
the Biography of Liu Dang: Yp9:B
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the Biography of Liu Xian: Jc3:H; Zh2:F
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- HHS 55/45*, the Biography of Liu Qing: Jc7:C
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HHS 79/69A, the Chapter on Confucian Scholars: Yp2:D; Yp9:C
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 the Biography of Yang Ren in the Chapter on Confucian Scholars: Yp18:K
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 Yp12:A; Yp17:E; Jc1:J; Jc2:B
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 Zh1:B; Zh1:G
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HHS 89/79, the Account of the Southern Xiongnu: Zy2:I; Yp2:N; Yp5:C; Yp6:B;
 Yp7:B; Yp8:I;
 Jc1:L; Jc8:B; Yh1:M; Yh2:B; Yh2:L; Zh1:F; Zh1:J; Zh2:H; Zh2:M;
 Yy2:G; Yy3:J
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TO THE TRANSLATION

This index covers the translation of *Zizhi tongjian*, not matters discussed in the notes. It is based upon the pagination of the Beijing 1956 edition of *ZZTJ*, which has been used as the base for the present work. The beginning of each page of the Chinese text is indicated by a reference in the left margin of the translation; a certain flexibility must be allowed, however, for the English translation occasionally over-runs the edge of a Chinese page.

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Map 15: China under the Later Han dynasty c.75 AD
Abbreviations for commandery units in the east of the empire are listed below

Ji Province
 LC Lecheng
 CS Changshan
 JL Julu
 QH Qinghe
 W Wei
 Z Zhao

Qing Province
 BH Beihai
 DL Donglai
 JN Ji'nan
 PY Pingyuan
 Qi
 QS Qiansheng

Xu Province
 C Chu
 DH Donghai
 GL Guangling
 LY Langye
 XP Xiapi

Yan Province
 CL Chenliu
 D Dong
 DP Dongping
 JY Jiyin
 SY Shanyang
 TS Taishan

Yu Province
 C Chen
 L Liang
 Lu
 P Pei
 RN Runan
 YC Yingchuan

