LI TE-YÜ AND THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST CHAO-I (TSE-LU) 843-44

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ABSTRACT

Owing to his achievements of defeating the rebellion in the province of Chao-i, eliciting the coöperation of the semi-independent military governors of Ho-pei, defeating the Uighurs, and overseeing the dissolution of the Buddhist Church during the Hui-ch'ang reign period (844-6) when he served as chief minister, Li Te-yü (787-849) became one of the most powerful political figures in T'ang China. This study will focus on how the imperial government in 843-4 put down the rebellion in Chao-i which arose when the court refused to allow Liu Chen to succeed to his uncle's position of military governor.

The An Lu-shan rebellion (755-62) resulted in the loss of the rich northeastern provinces of contemporary Ho-pei. Further defeats there in 782-4 forced the court to allow hereditary succession among its military governors. During the Yüan-ho restoration (805-20) this region briefly returned to court control but again rebelled. Their new leaders were, however, a lesser breed of men.

Chao-i was not a part of Ho-pei but an integral province of the empire which, except for the twenty-three years of Liu family rule, had remained loyal to the court. Furthermore, it occupied the strategic position as the buffer zone between Ho-pei and the vital canal system--the economic lifeline of the empire.

At court, in the confusion after the An Lu-shan rebellion, the emperor began to rely increasingly on the eunuchs to carry out military and administrative duties. By usurping other powers, they were able to interfere in the succession of every subsequent T'ang emperor, thereby becoming the powers at court. Whichever eunuch clique prevailed and established the reigning emperor, also controlled the vicissitudes of the factions among the officials. The eunuch connection with Chao-i was close for they especially hated Liu Ts'ung-chien who had openly opposed Ch'iu Shih-liang, the leading court eunuch, for taking revenge on the plotters and others after the Sweet Dew incident of 835.

On the borders, a weakened Uighur nation was defeated by the T'ang while other non-Chinese tribes, owing to internal dissension, posed few problems.

With peace on the frontier, Te-yü took advantage of the animosity of Ho-pei and eunuch hatred for Chao-i to gain military coöperation and to establish a unified court so that the court could concentrate its efforts on defeating Chao-i. He accomplished this by surrounding it and then forcing its generals to betray Liu Chen and surrender themselves.

The presentation is in two parts. Part one is the thesis as outlined above. Part two is an annotated translation of Li Te-yü's biography taken from chapter 174 of the Old T'ang History which provides the historical context of his whole career as background to the campaign.

The success of the campaign did help to re-assert imperial authority after it had been badly weakened, but it did not provide any long term solutions to the court's problems and could not prevent the subsequent fall of the dynasty. This study provides, however, an opportunity to examine how Te-yü was able to take advantage of the shifts in the political situation in the years 840-6 to re-assert court authority, however temporarily, by defeating Liu Chen in Chao-i.

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INTRODUCTION

Li Te-yü (787-849) was a towering political figure of the first half of the 9th century in China. While serving as chief minister from 840-46 during the Hui-ch'ang period of Wu-tsung, he was able to regain the support of the formerly independent province of Yu-chou, bring about the defeat of the Uighurs, recapture the briefly independent province of Chao-i and help the emperor dissolve the Buddhist 'state within a state.' Prior to his assuming office as chief minister, the court faced threats from various non-Chinese tribes on its borders, paralysing factional strife in the outer court, eunuch usurpation of power within the inner court and the continuing existence of independent military governors in the northeast. This Hui-ch'ang period, then, was a 'brief interlude' during which Te-yü, aided by the complete support of Wu-tsung, was able to harness the power of the central government to deal with the immediate problems facing the court. Te-yü's eminence derives from the achievements gained during his tenure as chief minister.

Concerning these achievements, the first part of this paper will centre its attention on his leadership of the brief military campaign in 843-4 against the contemporaneous province of Chao-i or Tse-lu as it is also known (situated approximately where the modern provinces of Ho-pei, Shansi, and Ho-nan converge) to block Liu Chen's attempt to

succeed his uncle, Liu Ts'ung-chien, as military governor. Heretofore, this campaign has not been treated in detail in any western language, although there are several references to it in Reischauer's two books, Ennin's Diary and Ennin's Travels in T'ang China, since this Japanese monk happened to be in China at this time. In Chinese, however, this campaign forms an important part of chapters 247-8 of Ssu-ma Kuang's monumental Tzu Chih T'ung Chien--the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government. Although one of Te-yü's minor accomplishments, the campaign does allow us a key-hole view of the man, his times and the connection between the two.

Part two consists of the chronicle of the man, as taken from chapter 174 of the Old T'ang History, translated and annotated with the exception of two long passages which have deleted since they are not pertinent to the campaign. These two parts are linked by the hope that an examination in some detail of an aspect of the official career recorded in the biography will permit us to gain some feeling about Te-yü as an individual, an understanding of his ideas, and a grasp of his connection to the social and political conditions of the times during which he lived. The translation of the biography, then, provides us, within the limits of Confucian biographical writing, an historical context to which an account of the campaign can be tied.

Going back even further, one must understand that the An Lu-shan rebellion weakened the central government politi-

cally and financially with the loss of the rich northeastern provinces of Ho-pei adjacent to the capital areas. In order to carry on its everyday functions, the court had to make economic and political concessions which allowed the dynasty to continue for another 150 years.

To handle the civil and military administration within the palace, the emperors came to rely increasingly on the eunuchs who initially were servants but later became masters. The factional struggles among the officials of the outer court during the first half of the 9th century were but an outward manifestation of cliques among the eunuchs themselves. On the frontier, various non-Chinese tribes took advantage of the domestic weakness to invade and otherwise enrich themselves at China's expense.

Economically, the court had to develop the agricultural and other potential of the southern regions and transport the products northward along the canal system to the two capitals, replacing what would have earlier been supplied by Ho-pei. As a result, the court was very vulnerable should its economic lifeline be threatened or cut off. Fiscally, the expedients of the liang-shui tax system and the establishment of the government monopoly on the production and sale of salt provided the court with funds for its administration, but it limited the scope of the court's military operations while the requirement that the tax be paid in cash caused monetary hardship for the whole empire.

After the court's failure to cope with the independent military governors in the wake of the revolt of the 'four princes' in 782-4, both sides came to an understanding that the military governorships in the northeast could be directly inherited without interference from the court, in return for nominal support of the emperor as supreme ruler and certain responsibilities for frontier defense. This was no abandoning of the court's mandate to rule the empire, but a cold realization that it lacked the power to intervene. Despite all these limits to court power caused by the disruption of the An Lu-shan rebellion, the goal of recapturing Ho-pei and achieving the ideal of a restoration (chung-hsing) remained.

For the twenty years after the short-lived Yüan-ho (805-20) Restoration of Hsien-tsung, in which the northeast briefly accepted direct court rule only to rebel again, these earlier problems of a leaderless court dominated by eunuchs usurping power and officials fighting among themselves and against the eunuchs plus incursions and threats from non-Chinese enemies on its borders remained unchecked. Te-yü, upon assuming the chief ministership in 841 had to deal with such an array of longstanding problems before the rebellion in Chao-i broke out.

This paper will focus on Te-yü's contributions to the swift defeat of the problem in Chao-i which constituted an integral part of the court's avowed policy of reasserting imperial authority. To be able to comprehend this more fully, and in order to place this whole matter in its proper histori-

cal perspective, it will be necessary to review, in some detail, the geographic and strategic position of Chao-i and the three succession crises in Chao-i within the wider framework of the court's relations with the whole northeast. Although this paper is concerned with a military campaign, it will not dwell in inordinate detail on the tactical manoeuvres involved but rather with the overall strategy, especially, the diplomatic moves to isolate Chao-i from the independent military governors in Wei-po and Ch'eng-te, the deployment of the court's own troops and those "borrowed" from Ho-pei, and finally, the solutions for handling longstanding problems which had plagued earlier such campaigns.

A NOTE ON THE SOURCES

The modern student is grateful for the fact that the historical sources for the T'ang dynasty are adequate for research but not overwhelming in volume. The major source of the historical data for this study was Ssu-ma Kuang's monumental Tzu Chih T'ung Chien--"The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government," especially chapters 238-48. Clear explanations of the scope and virtuosity of this work are in E. G. Pulleyblank's article on the T'ung Chien K'ao-i (cf. bibliography) and his article on Ssu-ma Kuang's historiography in Beasley and Pulleyblank (eds.), Historians of China and Japan, especially pages 151-66. Equally useful were the relevant parts of the Old and New T'ang Histories. For further discussion of these two works the reader is referred to the annotated bibliography in M. Robert des Rotours' Traité des Examens.

As for Li Te-yü's own writings, his collected works, the Hui-Ch'ang I P'in Chi, also known as the Li Wen-jao Wen Chi, were indispensable. Since a significant portion of Li's biography taken from chapter 174 of the Old T'ang History is composed of extensive quotations from his own writings, an attempt was made to compare the excerpts in the biography with the original versions in the extant editions of his collected works. For this purpose, the Ming dynasty copy of the Ch'ü family library reprinted in the Ssu Pu Ts'ung Kan first series was used. This is the edition referred to in

the Imperial Catalogue (Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu Tsung Mu) notation on Te-yü's collected works. For the limited scope of this thesis, the comparison of texts did clarify a number of points which were otherwise obscure and hard to translate.

For geographical names the Chung-Kuo Ku Chin Ti-Ming Ta Tz'u Tien was generally used, supplemented by the Tu Shih Fang Yü Chi Yao and Aoyama Sadao's excellent index to it, the Shina (or Chugoku) Rekidai Chimei Yoran. The maps collected in the Li Tai Yü Ti Yen-ko T'u, compiled during the last years of the Ch'ing dynasty, provided, within the limits of traditional Chinese cartography, a general layout of the relative positions of the T'ang dynasty places pertinent to the military campaign.

A brief note on spelling of place names. Hyphenated forms such as Ho-pei and Ho-nan refer to the areas in T'ang dynasty geography while the modern spellings of Hopei and Honan refer to the modern provinces.

The following equivalents have been used for administrative terms:

chou	prefecture
chün	(lit. army) military region, i.e., the geographical base for an army
chün	commandery
fu	grand prefecture
hsien	sub-prefecture
tao	circuit or province

Li Te-yü and the Campaign Against Chao-i 843-4

The T'ang dynasty province of Chao-i or Tse-lu as it is also known straddled the T'ai-hang Mountains where the modern provinces of Hopei, Honan and Shansi meet north of the Yellow River. These mountains divided the province into two regions. The western part contained Tse-chou and Lu-chou and commanded the entrance to T'ai-hang or T'ien-ching Pass leading to Huai-chou in contemporaneous Ho-yang province. From there, it was only a short distance across the Yellow River to Lo-yang, the eastern capital and Pien-chou, the northern terminus of the Grand Canal system. The eastern region of foothills and lowlands contained the prefectures of Hsing, Ming, and Tz'u, which guarded T'u-men or Ching-hsing Pass which was the major east-west route connecting contemporaneous Ho-pei and Ho-tung Provinces. For these reasons, this area was of great strategic importance not only during this period but also throughout the whole of Chinese history as one of the most important intersections of north-south, and east-west, traffic in North China.

The development of Chao-i as a province spanning the T'ai-hang mountains was largely shaped by politics and geography. For most of the dynasty, the five prefectures governed by Chao-i were divided into two distinct areas separated by the mountain barrier. The eastern prefectures

had always been governed by the court. During the rebellion of An Lu-shan, they had remained loyal and fought against the rebels. Geographically, the prefectures of Tse and Lu had a closer relationship with the adjacent area in Ho-tung and Ho-chung, rather than with the areas to the east from which they were separated by mountains.

The prefectures on the other side of these mountains were closer to, and often grouped with, those in the neighbouring province of Wei-po. In 762 after the non-Chinese general Pu-ku Huai-en recaptured Lo-yang with the aid of Uighur troops, he proposed to the court that surrendered rebel generals be appointed as governors in the former rebel strongholds of Ho-pei; furthermore, fearing that his own standing in court would wane with the end of the rebellion, he also hoped that by establishing these generals he could count upon them later as potential supporters for his own political aspirations. Tired of war, and unable to dislodge these former rebels, the court agreed to Pu-ku's suggestion.[1] Later, these provinces of Yu-chou, Wei-po, Ch'eng-te, and P'ing-lu became independent of the court's control, free from its taxation, its appointment of officials, and its interference in matters of succession. In this way, Hsüeh Sung became the prefect of Hsiang-chou and governor of the prefectures of Hsiang, Hsing, Tz'u and Wei. After Sung died in 773, he was succeeded briefly by his 12 year old son P'ing who was forced by his troops into

naming his uncle Hsüeh E as interim governor. Two years later, E was forced to flee when his subordinate general P'ei Chih-ch'ing rebelled to join forces with T'ien Ch'eng-ssu of Wei-po. Li Pao-chen, the brother of Li Pao-yü, who had served as governor of the court-held prefectures in the western part, was then named to command the eastern region, thus uniting the two regions under a single jurisdiction. The name Chao-i dates from this time. Until his death in 794, Pao-chen ruled over both parts of this newly-created province and continued to render loyal service to the court, especially during the rebellion of the so-called "four princes" in 782-4. After the rebellion was finally suppressed and the two capitals recaptured, the court, lacking the necessary military power, pardoned the rebelling governors.

As a result of this insurrection, the court and the independent military governors struck a bargain--border defense and nominal acceptance of the emperor's supreme position in return for autonomous control over taxation, administration, and hereditary succession within Ho-pei.[2] This compromise, in Mirsky's persuasive thesis, allowed the T'ang court to continue for another 150 years at the cost of surrendering control over the rich and powerful northeast. Under these circumstances, later T'ang emperors settled for maintaining a buffer zone between the areas under direct court control and Ho-pei to protect the vital canal system to the south from possible attack,

as well as preventing the contagion of independence from spreading beyond the areas already infected. Owing to its geographic location and its traditional political ties with the court, Chao-i played a pivotal role in maintaining the viability of this dynasty-saving compromise as the buffer between the empire and independent Ho-pei.

Hereditary succession, which was tantamount to the court's abdication of its fundamental control over provincial armies and a tacit acknowledgement of its political impotence in the internal matters of a province, was acceptable in Ho-pei because it had successfully defied the court, but it was unacceptable in Chao-i which had no connection with the special situation in adjoining Ho-pei and only a brief history of being beyond the court's control. Of the three claims for hereditary succession in Chao-i, one involved Li Pao-chen's son and the other two, the descendants of Liu Wu. Occurring at different times and reflecting different political situations and military postures, these three incidents and the court responses they elicited sheds light on the political relationship between the central government and the provinces. Investigating these three crises will show the similarity of approaches by both sides to this problem and thereby place the rebellion of Chao-i in 843 in its proper historical and political perspective.

The first controversy occurred in Yüan-chen 10 [794]

following the death of Li Pao-chen, when his son Li Chien sought to succeed him. Chien plotted with his fellow clansman Yüan Chung-ching to keep the news of his father's death secret and to forge an address to the throne requesting that he, Chien, be named interim governor. In addition, the conspirators dispatched a subordinate general, Ch'en Jung, to Wang Wu-chün in Ch'eng-te to seek support against the throne, but Wang refused. Te-tsung was aware that Pao-chen was dead and sent the eunuch Ti-wu Shou-chin to investigate. Chien replied that his father was too sick to receive visitors. Soon thereafter Chien marshalled his army to call on Shou-chin who then said that he too knew Pao-chen was already dead and that he had been ordered to put general Wang T'ing-kuei temporarily in charge of military affairs for Chao-i and to have Chien observe the prescribed funeral rites. Chien submitted when he realized that his own troops would not support him in his defiance of the imperial command, since earlier, unknown to him, they had backed down when Wang T'ing-kuei dared them to rebel. He then handed over the seals of office and the keys to the yamen and accompanied his father's body to Lo-yang. Yüan fled but was later caught and executed. The court's decisive action and its unwillingness to accept Chien's unilateral action helped to prevent him from gaining local and outside military support to defy the court's decision.[3]

In Pao-li 1 [825] following the death of Li Wu, a similar

situation arose. Wu's son, Ts'ung-chien, also tried to hide the news of his father's death and plotted with his personal troops to send a request to the emperor that he be made interim governor during his father's "illness"; however, one of his subordinate officials, Chia Chih-yen, upbraided him for being unfilial and un-Confucian and thereby shamed him into announcing the news.[4] The court's reaction to his request has been recorded as follows:

> When the court received Liu Wu's posthumous report, the majority of those discussing it said that it could not be granted since Shang-tang (i.e. Chao-i) was an inner commandery and different from Ho-shuo. The left vice-president of the Department of State Affairs, Li Chiang memorialised:
>
> 'In military strategies speed is most important, in making decisions, firmness is vital. Before people's opinions have been solidified, one should plan and attack. Liu Wu has been dead several months [but] the court still has not disposed of this matter. People in and out of court all would be sorry to see this opportunity missed.'
>
> 'Now the soldiers and people of Chao-i are certainly not in complete accord with Ts'ung-chien. Supposing half coöperate, there is still half which will submit to the court. Ts'ung-chien has not been in control of his troops for very long and he has not established his authority over the people. Moreover, this province is naturally poor and except in the proper season they have no means of offering generous rewards. Now if only the court will quickly appoint a general who is close to Tse-lu to serve as military governor of Chao-i and order him to his post quickly, before Ts'ung-chien has made his dispositions, the new envoy will have arrived and it will be an example of what has been termed 'being first to capture the hearts of the people.' After he arrives, the hearts of the soldiers will naturally have a point of attachment. Without any position, without any name, can he take charge? Even if he has plans for disturbing the mandates of the court, the generals and officers will not be willing to follow.

> For some time now, the court has not settled this matter and the army is unclear about the court's intentions. If they want to be loyal and submissive, then they are afraid we will suddenly appoint Ts'ung-chien. If they want to join in rebellion, then they are afraid that we will appoint someone else.
>
> 'If during the period of indecision, there is a traitor drawing up plans for them, emptily promising rewards and offering sums of money, the troops will be covetous, expectant, and hard to control. I humbly hope that you quickly announce to them your decision and further, first send down an enlightened edict to be proclaimed to the troops commending them for their past loyalty, granting the new envoy 500,000 pieces of silk to give to them, and continue to have Ts'ung-chien serve as prefect. Ts'ung-chien, having roughly what he seeks, will see where his advantage lies and chances are he will not oppose. Even if he does not follow orders, I feel also we do not need to avail ourselves of military attack. Why? I have heard that Ts'ung-chien has banned soldiers in the three prefectures in the region 'east of the mountains' from personally storing arms. It is sufficiently clear that the hearts of the people are far from united and that in his own camp there are plots that he does not suspect. After thoroughly calculating the advantages and disadvantages of this situation, there is no good reason for appointing Ts'ung-chien right away.'[5]

Despite these reservations, Ts'ung-chien was appointed, some say because Li Feng-chi and Wang Shou-ch'eng were heavily bribed. This view, however, is not universally accepted.[6]

In Hui-ch'ang 3 [843], when Liu Chen sought to succeed his uncle Ts'ung-chien as Military Governor of Chao-i, Generals Kuo I and Wang Hsieh, in addition to advising Chen to hide the news of his uncle's death, also counselled him to receive the expected eunuch overseers with dignity, to treat the commissioner bearing the edict generously, and not to send out troops to the border but merely to make secret preparations within cities so that the insignia of office would arrive just the

way it had for his father in Pao-li 1.[7]

When Wu-tsung asked the officials at court to discuss the matter, most of them said that the borders had to be defended against the remnants of the Uighur threat, and thus the court did not have the strength to attack Tse-lu as well. Consequently, they requested Liu Chen be placed temporarily in charge of military affairs for Chao-i. Li Te-yü alone said:

> The structure of the situation in Tse-lu and that in the three commanderies of Ho-shuo is not the same. The practice of rebellion in Ho-shuo is already long-standing, and the hearts of the people will be hard to change. Therefore the past several courts have dismissed it as being beyond the court's control. Tse-lu [however] is close at hand and a loyal ally. The whole army has always proclaimed its loyalty. It once put Chu T'ao to flight, and [later] captured Lu Ts'ung-shih. Recently, they have frequently had Confucian officials as generals. Even though Li Pao-chen had put together this army, Te-tsung still did not permit hereditary succession but had Li Chien observe mourning and return [with the body] to Lo-yang. Ching-tsung was not concerned with affairs of state, and the chief ministers, moreover, did not have farsighted plans, [so that] when Liu Wu died, they temporized and appointed Ts'ung-chien, who became contrary and hard to control, repeatedly sending up memorials, threatening and intimidating the court. Now, as he hovers near death, he again arbitrarily hands over military authority to this boy. If the court again follows the precedent and appoints Liu Chen, then who among the various commanders within the empire will not think of imitating what Ts'ung-chien has done! And the stern commands of the Son of Heaven will never again be carried out!

When asked if Tse-lu could be conquered and how it could be controlled, Te-yü replied:

> What Chen relies on are the three commanderies of Ho-shuo. If only we can prevent Chen [-chou] and Wei [-chou] from allying themselves with him, then Liu Chen will not

> have the capability for anything. If we dispatch an important official to go there and proclaim to Wang Yüan-k'uei and Ho Hung-ching that since the period of difficulties (i.e. the An Lu-shan rebellion) the fact that successive emperors have allowed hereditary succession [in Ho-shuo] has already become an established practice and that [their situation] is not the same as that in Tse-lu; now when the court is raising an army against Tse-lu, we do not intend to send out palace armies to the area east of the [T'ai-hang] mountains; that these three prefectures belonging to Chao-i (i.e. Hsing, Ming, and Tz'u) will be deputed to the commanderies of Wei and Chen to attack. If at the same time, we proclaim to all the generals and officers that on the day that the rebels are pacified, they will be generously awarded offices and rewards and if the two commanderies respond to the order, and do not stop or harass the court armies from the sides, then Chen will certainly fall into our hands.[8]

In the first crisis, the decisiveness of the court not to allow Li Chien to succeed his father, Li Pao-chen, and the would-be rebel's inability to elicit the support of his own soldiers or to secure outside military aid prevented Chien from defying the court. Ultimately, he had no choice but to submit to the court's will.

The second crisis was not a confrontation for the opposite reasons, for the court lacked the decisiveness and leadership to face the challenge of Liu Ts'ung-chien. It dallied almost 4 months after the death of Liu Wu before allowing Ts'ung-chien to succeed his father. The vulnerability of Chao-i as outlined in Li Chiang's memorial was never put to the test since neither Ching-tsung nor his Chief Ministers, most of whom were opposed to the use of military force, advocated such positive action. This was not surprising, coming as it did after the uprising in Ho-shuo which resulted in the region re-

lapsing into semi-independence after the ephemeral restoration of Hsien-tsung. Bribe or no bribe, the court's reluctance to oppose Ts'ung-chien's claim for hereditary succession in Chao-i reflected the prevailing passivity of the court officials and the lack of interest of Ching-tsung in matters of state.

Finally, in Hui-ch'ang 3 [843], all the factors necessary for a clash of arms over hereditary succession met head on. For the first time since Hsien-tsung there was a concerned emperor and an activist Chief Minister to provide decisive leadership at court. Te-yü's lone stand against the fears of the other officials that the central government lacked the strength to safeguard the border regions against the remnants of the Uighur menace and simultaneously to put down the rebellion in Chao-i was sufficient to carry the day since he had the total support of Wu-tsung.

The rebels, for their part, had solidified their position in Chao-i and presented at the outset at least a militarily prepared front to the court. Earlier, in response to Ch'iu Shih-liang's alleged interference with Ts'ung-chien's gift of a nine ch'ih tall horse to the emperor, Liu Ts'ung-chien began preparing for war, and relations between Chao-i and the court became strained.[9] Consequently, it was reported that:

> Liu recruited and took in vagrants, repaired and completed his store of military weapons and secretly defended his borders with his neighbors. He taxed horsebreeders and travelling merchants, sold iron and salt to build up his treasury.[10]

Liu's goal is nowhere explicitly stated but it may be guessed. He sought to maintain the semi-autonomous status of non-interference from court in military, fiscal, and administrative matters that he shared with his neighbors, Wei-po and Ch'eng-te. After all, it had been said of his father, Liu Wu: "After this [the confrontation with the eunuch supervisor Liu Ch'eng-chieh] Wu became very unrestrained and sought to imitate the three garrisons of Ho-shuo."[11] Unfortunately, Ts'ung-chien died suddenly at the age of 42 and the leadership of the province of Chao-i fell to his eighteen year old nephew. Nevertheless, Ts'ung-chien made the necessary military appointments prior to his death to assure that Chen would receive adequate military support and advice. With these generals, arms, troops, and funds, Chao-i posed a serious threat to the court.

One assessment of Liu Chen's response to the court's decision to oppose his request is as follows:

> At first, Chen did not think that the emperor was angry and that he would be punished. When Wang Mao-yüan's transcribed edict was announced to Chen, the whole clan howled and grieved, wanting to submit themselves to court; but being stupid and weak, he did not decide.[12]

Military governors sought court acceptance of their own positions in order to mollify the demands of local troops with the legitimacy of the court's mandate. The mutual acceptance of this situation sustained the position of the governor in return for adequate material rewards for the troops. If one governor was not generous enough, the army would find someone

else. In the succession crises of Li Chien and Liu Chen, the fate of the rebellion hinged on support of the local troops. In the first instance, its absence prevented a confrontation. In the second, its presence guaranteed a struggle. As for Liu Ts'ung-chien, the court had essentially decided to accede to his demands without a fight and the question of military support for Ts'ung-chien was never put to any test. A recent study of this general problem concluded that:

> Ho-pei governors depended on the approval of their soldiers rather than on imperial sanction. The hereditary 'right' was intimately connected with the army's 'right' to choose its commanders. Very likely none of the independent governors, save during the long rule of the Wang family in Ch'eng-te, ever felt secure in their positions, for the armies they commanded ultimately decided the fate of their commanders.[13]

The court's standard approach to such succession questions has been summarized as follows:

> Previously when one of the various Ho-pei generals set himself up, the court first had to send a commissioner to offer condolences and sacrifices, then commissioners to convey a farewell message, and commissioners for consolation to go in succession and estimate the state of the army. If the insignia of command ought not to be bestowed upon him, then the general was appointed to a different office. Only if he remained in the army and would not obey, would the court use troops. Therefore, it frequently took half a year for the army to put its things completely in order and to make preparations. At this time, the Chief Minister would also want to despatch envoys to announce it publicly and the emperor would then immediately order the issuance of an edict to attack him.[14]

The only time the court could bring its leverage of legitimacy to bear on the potentially fragile relationship between the Military Governor and his military forces occurred during

this transitional period, between the death of one military governor and the appointment of his successor, when the internal situation was still in flux. Under such circumstances, although the provincial armies were the final arbiters of their commander's fate, withholding or at least delaying the announcement of the court's sanction could significantly influence the stability of the domestic situation within the province, not to mention the fate of a prospective military governor.

The court's classic response to adversity in Ho-shuo during the latter half of the T'ang dynasty was to declare simply that since the An Lu-shan rebellion this region had been beyond the control of the court and then to acquiesce to the various changes within it or to oppose such changes at its own great peril. Owing to the complete breakdown of the military in the wake of the An Lu-shan rebellion, the court forces with the help of their Uighur allies were able to bring about only a partial recovery of the empire and were unable to dislodge the rebel generals from their northeastern bases. These areas remained autonomous from court in such vital matters as tax collection, appointment of civil officials, and military command, acknowledging merely the emperor's theoretical control over the whole empire. After peace had been restored these three garrisons of Ho-pei--Lu-lung [Yu-chou], Wei-po, and Ch'eng-te as well as the enormous province of P'ing-lu, modern Shantung province--the richest and closest area to the admini-

strative center of Kuan-nei, were irretrievably lost.

The importance of the fall of Ho-pei to the structure and continuity of the T'ang dynasty has been described in the following manner:

> It would appear that the virtual independence of Hopei and Shantung had a very serious effect upon T'ang central finances. By drastically reducing the central government's available revenues in grain and in silk cloth, it made it extremely difficult for the government to re-assert its effective authority over these provinces. At the same time, the almost total loss of revenue in silk also helped to force the government to adopt financial and monetary policies which although they enabled the T'ang regime to survive and even recover a measure of central authority, were none the less premature and inherently unstable. Just as these results derived in the main from the loss of the products of certain key industries, the possession of these key industries--salt production, silk textiles, and iron and bronze metallurgy--provided the governors of the north eastern provinces with a stable economic foundation to maintain their own administrative machinery and their large standing armies without imposing an intolerable burden of direct taxation upon the population of their provinces.[15]

When the court sought to re-establish suzerainty over this area during Te-tsung's reign, it resulted in the emperor being driven from the court in Ch'ang-an. This "revolt of the four princes" further strengthened Ho-shuo's position as an impregnable bastion of anti-court sentiment and military might. The ignominy of the emperor seeking shelter from the rebels first in Feng-t'ien and then in Szechuan marked the nadir of court authority over the northeast.

The pendulum swung violently in the other direction after Hsien-tsung's protracted campaign against various dissident

military governors along the route of the canal system. His successes in Huai-hsi, Shu, and P'ing-lu exuded an aura of military power and political vitality which had important consequences for Ho-shuo. T'ien Hung-cheng (né Hsing) of Wei-po filled a power vacuum in that pivotal province and served the court loyally from Yüan-ho 8-15 [812-19] until he was transferred to Ch'eng-te. More pertinent to the fortunes of the Liu family was the fate of P'ing-lu and its military governor, Li Shih-tao. For betraying Li and submitting to court, Liu was rewarded with the governorship of I-ch'eng and given various other titles. Later he was transferred to Chao-i. P'ing-lu was then divided up into three smaller provinces and never again caused any trouble for the court. This mid-dynasty restoration (chung-hsing) barely survived Hsien-tsung's reign.

Ill-considered appointments, misguided military appointments, lack of foresight by the chief ministers, and a lack of imperial leadership led to successful rebellions during the reigns of Mu-tsung and Ching-tsung in the three garrisons of Ho-shuo, resulting in their regaining their former independence. Only one of these rebels, Wang T'ing-tsou of Ch'eng-te, set up a government which lasted until the end of the dynasty. The significance of these rebellions was the fact that they shattered the previous stability within this area, making its new and insecure leaders susceptible to pressure from a united court.

The upheavals in the strategic province of Lu-lung in 841 and the emergence of Chang Chung-wu as military governor produced a further foothold in Ho-shuo which helped the court establish the necessary modus vivendi with Wei-po and Ch'eng-te to put down the rebellion in Chao-i. This incident was another testing ground for Li Te-yü's military ability and political skill. After the military governor of Lu-lung, Shih Yüan-chung, was killed by his rebellious troops led by Ch'en Hsing-t'ai, he sent a subordinate of the eunuch supervisor to court with a memorial from the senior officers officially requesting the symbols of office. In response, Te-yü said:

> The situation in Ho-shuo is one with which I am very familiar. Recently because the court's dispatching envoys granting decrees has often been too fast, the sentiments of the military have consequently firmed up. If we shelve the matter for a few months and do not make [further] inquiries, certainly they themselves will start a coup. Now I request that you keep the eunuch overseer's man here and do not send any officials there to observe them.[16]

Soon afterwards, the army killed Hsing-t'ai and set up Chang Chiang and requested that he be invested as military governor. A similar request from the Hsiung-wu army on behalf of its leader Chang Chung-wu was presented to court by Wu Chung-shu, claiming that Chiang was cruel and requesting that Wu use the Hsiung-wu army to punish him. In a subsequent exchange, Wu argued persuasively that gaining support of the populace and cutting off the supply routes to Yu-chou would be sufficient to defeat a larger army. In his final decision,

Te-yü stated:

> Since Hsing-t'ai and Chiang both made high officers send up memorials and threatened the court requesting the symbols of office, we cannot grant it. Now Chung-wu himself has first raised an army to punish the rebellion on the court's behalf. If we grant it to him, it will appear that he is acting with our authority.

He then made Chung-wu interim governor in charge of Lu-lung. Soon thereafter, Chung-wu conquered Yu-chou.[17]

Except for some later disagreements with Liu Mien and the army from Ho-tung, Chang rendered great service to the court in helping to defeat the Uighurs and by remaining neutral during the rebellion in Chao-i. By throwing the support of the court to Chang, Te-yü had chosen a winner and at the same time established a firm base of court support in Ho-pei. With Yu-chou supporting the court and P'ing-lu safely in the court's corner, the formerly monolithic structure of the three garrisons was reduced to just Wei-po and Ch'eng-te, now both crowded in by these two loyal areas.

Te-yü gained the support of these two provinces by persuading them that helping the court would be in their long-term best interests. He told Wang Yüan-k'uei of Ch'eng-te and Ho Hung-ching of Wei-po: "The situation in the commandery of Chao-i and yours is not the same. There is no need to make long range plans on behalf of your descendants or alliances of mutual aid. Merely openly demonstrate achievements and merits and your good fortune will of its own accord reach down to your descendants."[18] After accomplishing the neat trick of

simultaneously preventing Wei-po and Ch'eng-te from allying themselves with Chao-i and enlisting them instead as supporters of the court, the central government was ready to turn its attention to the urgent matter of defeating the rebels.

In gaining the active military support of the two provinces in Ho-pei against the rebellion in Chao-i, the court, on the one hand, had to reassure them that the court had no designs beyond regaining Chao-i, and on the other, had to convince them that aiding the court was in their best interests. The first objective was accomplished by Te-yü's disclaimer that the court did not intend to send its armies into Ho-pei. This point was likely also reiterated by Li Hui during his personal diplomatic mission to these two areas. These diplomatic assurances aside, no casus belli existed at this time between the court and the north-east. Although these two areas were, in fact, separate and adversary states, both were content to live side by side in peace unless there was an issue which either side thought it could exploit to its own advantage.

At this time, the court's ambitions were restrained by its limited financial resources and military strength. The military governors in Ho-pei, for their part, were somewhat insecure since they were new in their positions. Ho Hung-ching, for example, had only just assumed his post in Hui-ch'ang 1 [841]. Under such circumstances, they were more likely to be browbeaten by a forceful and persuasive chief minister.

The court appealed to the self-interest of these governors

when Te-yü formally acknowledged that hereditary succession in Ho-pei had become a longstanding practice and that the court would not interfere. By doing so, he was not giving up anything inviolate, for the court had long passed the point of having the wherewithal to involve itself in the internal affairs of the northeastern provinces. If Wei-po and Ch'eng-te participated in the campaign against Chao-i, their armies would be eligible for payments from the court for fighting beyond their own frontiers, for a share in the booty from captured rebel cities, and for rewards and honours from the court. It remains to be seen whether or not such standard inducements were enough to entice the governors into supporting the court. The unanswerable question, nevertheless, remains: did the court offer the three commanderies of Hsing, Ming, and Tz'u to them and, if so, how did the court prevent them from collecting? Nevertheless, these two governors did lend their support to the court, although in Ho's case it was somewhat reluctant.

At this point, the court had gained a remarkable degree of coöperation from the independent governors in Ho-pei. The former province of P'ing-lu had been reconquered, and then had been divided up into three smaller ones. Chang Chung-wu, now in command of Yu-chou, pledged his support to the court out of gratitude for its earlier backing, while remaining beyond its tight control. Wei-po and Ch'eng-te were still unconquered and unrepentant although they had agreed, for the duration of

the campaign against Chao-i, to aid the court against Liu Chen and his rebellious army. Thus Te-yü was able to take advantage of earlier court military success (P'ing-lu), his own shrewd kingmaking (Yu-chou) and, lastly, his own persuasiveness (Wei-po and Ch'eng-te) to have all the provinces of Ho-pei coöperate with the court to surround Chao-i, thereby increasing the court's chances of success. Without the support of Wei-po and Ch'eng-te, or at least their neutrality, subduing Liu Chen would have been an extremely difficult, if not impossible, task.

In a long memorial,[19] Tu Mu, like Li Chiang before him, pinpointed the areas where Chao-i was vulnerable militarily and suggested to the court ways in which it could take advantage of such deficiencies and suppress Liu Chen. The problem with Hsien-tsung's campaign against Huai-hsi was that since the assembled provincial armies were so disparate they failed to develop into a cohesive fighting unit and the war dragged on. On the other hand, the rebels had been bandits for fifty years, their customs had become entrenched, their arrogance was set and they considered that no army in the world was their equal. Furthermore, their roots were deep and their resources ample. Chao-i, in contrast, had only been outside court control for twenty years and the rule of the Liu family had not taken a firm hold. The Liu family's support came mainly, Tu alleged, from the remnants of the 2000 troops Liu Wu had origi-

nally brought over from his home district of Yün-chou in P'ing-lu when he took up the post.

Ch'eng-te and Wei-po, Chao-i's neighbors to the east, had been Chao-i's enemies for over sixty years because Chao-i had remained loyal to the court throughout the An Lu-shan Rebellion and had fought against the other two during the subsequent rebellion of the 'four princes' (782-4). Chao-i thus marked the dividing line between the provinces controlled by the court and the independent northeast.

In terms of military strategy, Tu suggested defending T'ien-ching Pass to prevent the rebels from crossing into Ho-yang and then moving on to Lo-yang. In addition, Tu's memorial contained the following observation on how the court could exploit the difference between the two different parts of Chao-i:

> ...All the military provisions are in [the area] east of the mountains, while the two chou of Tse and Lu are within the mountains. There the soil is infertile and the land is narrow. Since the grain stored there has been exhausted, the military governor sits in Hsing-chou, ostensibly to be near the provisions. The provisions and grain stored there (i.e. east of the mountains) cannot be transported. The soldiers and officers in the western region are certainly isolated. Indeed this is where to strike at an empty place![20]

As events will show, Tu Mu's suggestions were partially implemented during the court's campaign against Chao-i. Analyses and suggestions were one thing, but it was yet another to translate them into action and carry them out to a successful conclusion. It was in this latter more active capacity that Te-yü made his signal contribution to the defeat of Chao-i.

The court's overall military strategy was to block off the rebels on four sides and then gradually tighten the ring until final victory was achieved. To accomplish this, the court ordered the military governor of Ho-yang, Wang Mao-yüan, to lead 3,000 infantry and cavalry to guard Wan Shan. In the northwest, the military governor of Ho-tung was sent to protect Mang-ch'ê Pass (also called Ang-ch'e Pass). In the north, Wang Yüan-k'uei guarded Lin-ming and pillaged Yao-shan. Finally, in the southeast, Ch'en I-hsing, the military governor of Ho-chung, led 1000 men to protect I-ch'eng and 500 infantry to attack Chi-shih. Wang Yüan-k'uei was given the title of northern commissioner for attacking and subduing Tse-lu and Ho Hung-ching of Wei-po was given the same title for the south. Li Yen-tso was named commissioner in charge of demanding surrender and commander of the various armies in the expeditionary force from Chin and Chiang (Ho-chung).[21] In Hui-ch'ang 3/6 ping-tzu [843] it was decreed that owing to the unified advance of the five provincial armies, the court would only accept the unconditional surrender of Liu Chen.[22] These terms, while setting forth very clearly the court's ultimate aims for the campaign, also restricted the means by which war could be waged. The commanders had been named, their objectives outlined, the armies had been dispatched, and the war had begun.

The military struggle for the strategic province of Ho-yang on the northern shore of the Yellow River which separated

the rebels in Chao-i from Lo-yang, Pien-chou, and the canal system marked the first major encounter between the court and rebel armies. If the rebels were able to make a lightning raid to knock out and occupy the termini of the canal system, they would be able to sue for peace on their own terms, i.e., insure that their semi-autonomous status would continue without interruption. Apparently, the rebels in Chao-i sought no wider war. The court then had to hold the line in Ho-yang against the rebels or face disruption of the supply of goods shipped from the south and give in completely to the rebel's demands.

At this time, court armies had been deployed on the other three sides of Chao-i. However, this plan was weakened by the fact that Ho Hung-ching of Wei-po was secretly supporting Liu Chen and had not committed his troops to battle. This lapse allowed the rebels to redeploy troops from the border with Wei-po to attack Ho-yang to the south. In order for the court to weaken the rebel march on Ho-yang, it would be necessary to move Ho's troops into action in order to relieve the pressure on the other fronts.

Lacking the strength and perhaps the authority to issue a direct order to Ho to move his troops into battle, which could result in an outright refusal and other unforeseen problems, Te-yü resorted to indirect means. The method he chose was simplicity itself--he would scare Ho by ordering another

general to cross his province in order to attack Chao-i. Te-yü proposed to the emperor:

> [The province of] Chung-wu, in a series of battles, has gained merit; their army's reputation is very resounding. Wang Tsai in age and strength is now very robust, his plans and strategies are commendable. I request sending Hung-ching this edict: 'Ho-yang and Ho-chung are both blocked off by the mountain passes and cannot advance their armies. The bandits have repeatedly sent out troops to burn and pillage Chin and Chiang. Now we will dispatch Wang Tsai to lead the entire Chung-wu army across Wei-po and directly attack Tz'u-chou in order to split up the power of the rebels.' Hung-ching will certainly be frightened. This is the technique of 'striking and attacking his mind and attacking his planning.' It was followed. An imperial edict commanded 'Tsai to select the best troops from his infantry and cavalry and hurry to Tz'u-chou from Hsiang and Wei.'

The results were not long in coming for later it was recorded that:

> When Ho Hung-ching heard that Wang Tsai would arrive, he was afraid that if the Chung-wu troops entered the borders of Wei, there would be a coup in his army, but he vacillated about sending out his troops. On the ping-tzu day of the 8th month [ten days after the order to Wang Tsai was issued] [Hung] himself led his whole army across the Chang River and hurried to Ts'u-chou.[23]

Te-yü's assessment of the military situation in Ho-yang was not encouraging. The strength of the Ho-yang army had declined after the court defeat at Tadpole Inn (K'o Tou Tien) inflicted by the rebel general Hsüeh Mao-ch'ing. The military governor of Ho-yang, Wang Mao-yüan, was continually ill. Te-yü analyzed rebel strategy and court response as follows:

> I humbly note that since the Yüan-ho era [805-820] the various bandits, frequently when they see where the court armies are isolated and weak, combine their

> strength to attack it. If one army is inadequate, afterwards they then attack another place. Now Wei-po has not engaged the enemy in battle, the western armies are obstructed by the passes and cannot advance. Therefore the bandits are able to combine their strength and come southward. If Ho-yang falls, not only will it harm the reputation of the army, but also, I am afraid, it will startle and frighten Lo-yang. I hope you will issue an edict to Wang Tsai not to go to Tz'u-chou, but instead to go quickly with the Chung-wu army to support and relieve Ho-yang. Not only would this protect and screen Lo-yang, but also we may observe and control Wei-po. The entire army would be difficult to supply and provision; if, for the moment, you order him to send a vanguard of 5000 men to Ho-yang, this will also be sufficient to display their reputation and power. On the chia-shen day, he also memorialised requesting an edict be issued to Wang Tsai to follow with his whole army and, as before, urgently aid the deficiencies in Ho-yang with weapons and cloth. The emperor accepted all of this.[24]

Deficiencies and rivalries within the rebel military command were more directly a cause of the rebel failure to capture Ho-yang than the superiority of the court forces. The great defeat of the rebel army at T'ai-hang Slope near Wan Shan was the result of panic within the rebel ranks rather than any special strategy used by the pursuing court forces.[25] In the same way, the recapture of T'ien-ching Pass, the key pass between Tse-chou and Ho-yang, was the result of Hsüeh Mao-ch'ing's dissatisfaction with the way he was treated by Liu Chen and not of Wang Tsai's aggressiveness. The unfolding of this important event has been recorded as follows:

> "Hsüeh Mao-ch'ing, owing to his achievements at K'o Tou Sai expected rapid promotion. Someone said to Liu Chen, 'What an interim governor seeks is the symbol of office. Mao-ch'ing penetrated too deeply, often killing court troops and [thus] has angered

> the court. This is why the coming of the symbol of office has been later and later.' Since there had been no reward, Mao-ch'ing was indignant. Secretly he communicated his plans to Wang Tsai. On the ting-ssu day of the 12th month, Tsai led his troops to attack T'ien-ching Pass; Mao-ch'ing fought a little but abruptly led his troops away. Tsai then captured T'ien-ching Pass and guarded it. When the palisades to the east and west of the pass heard that Mao-ch'ing was not guarding it, they all withdrew and left. Tsai then burned the village of Ta-hsiao ch'i. Mao-ch'ing entered Tse-chou and secretly sent a spy to summon Tsai to advance and attack Tse-chou, at which time he would betray the city. Tsai was suspicious and did not dare advance. When he missed the chance and did not arrive, Mao-ch'ing struck his breastplate and stamped his foot [in frustration]. When Liu Chen learned of this, he tricked Mao-ch'ing into coming to Lu-chou and had him killed together with his clan..."[26]

The capture of T'ien-ching Pass by the court troops struck a fatal blow to the rebel's hopes of a lightning strike against Loeyang or Pien-chou and the canal system. The four sides of the rebel lands were now completely surrounded and it would be only a matter of time before the rebellion would be completely choked off.

As chief minister and de facto supreme commander of the imperial forces, Te-yü's major concern was to try to avoid the mistakes of past campaigns. The most costly in both time and money were the dilatory tactics adopted by provincial armies on campaign beyond the borders of their own province, who entered into collusion with the enemy to prolong the fighting so that these armies could continue collecting subsidies from the court. His solution to this problem was as follows:

> When I look at the use of troops in Ho-shuo during former days, the various provinces benefitted from

> being supplied by the Office of National Revenue when they went [on campaigns] beyond their borders. Sometimes they were secretly in communication with the enemy, "borrowing" a sub-prefecture or a stockade and occupying it, claiming it as an achievement while sitting and eating what the transports brought, prolonging the time into months or years.
>
> Now I request giving the various armies the command 'order Wang Yüan-k'uei to take Hsing-chou, Ho Hung-ching, Ming-chou, Wang Mao-yüan, Tse-chou and Li Yen-tso together with Liu Mien, Lu chou. Do not capture sub-prefectures!'[27]

This meeting of minds between the emperor and his chief minister is further exemplified by the events at court in the wake of the setback at K'o Tou Stockade: court officials again felt that "Liu Wu indeed had merit and the court ought not to disrupt hereditary succession within the Liu family; furthermore, they believed that since Chao-i had 100,000 crack troops and had stored away sufficient provisions for ten years, how could it be defeated." The emperor doubted this and asked Te-yü, who replied: "Minor advances and retreats are the commonplaces of military strategists. I hope that the emperor will not listen to outside discussion, for then achieving success is certain." The emperor then said to the chief ministers: "Tell the Court officials on my behalf, I will certainly have those who send up obstructive discussion beheaded on the rebel border." Such discussions then stopped.[28]

Neither the emperor nor Te-yü, who were both totally committed to the war, would accept any criticism or opposition to their policies from any quarter. This unity of purpose,

concentration of power, and decisiveness at court were instrumental in the swift resolution of the rebellion.

Te-yü's legalist tendencies, summed up in the phrase, "in great matters of state, rewards and punishments must be carried out,"[29] was a major reason why court generals put forward their best efforts and why the court was so successful in eliciting defections from disgruntled rebel leaders. He went to great lengths to appear benevolent and generous in order to entice rebel generals to defect. When the grand general, Li P'i came to submit, Te-yü's assessment of the situation was contrary to the general court opinion that P'i had been deliberately sent by the rebels to disrupt the court from within. Te-yü said to the emperor: "In half a year of fighting, there have been no defectors; now how can we ask whether or not this defection is true or counterfeit. It is just that we ought to reward them liberally in order to encourage them in the future. Just don't put them in a strategic place."[30] Acceptance of the first defector would be a test of the sincerity of the court's intentions. If Li P'i were rejected, the court's avowed policy of welcoming defectors would have become suspect. By placing Li in a far-off place away from the fighting he could be observed and prevented from undermining the court's military effort.

Te-yü understood the minds and expectations of his own soldiers well enough to reward successful generals and troops with offices, ranks, money, and cloth. When Wang Yüan-k'uei

had taken Hsüan-wu Cha and attacked Yao Shan, he was rewarded with an honorary chief ministership as a lure to the other generals.

As ready as he was to reward successful generals, Te-yü was equally decisive about cashiering and replacing incompetent ones. When he was dissatisfied with the achievements of Li Yen-tso, he named the more aggressive Shih Hsiung as his deputy and replacement. About Yen-tso, Te-yü said: "He is dilatory, vacillating and really has no intention of punishing the rebels. Everything he wishes cannot be granted. I ought to issue an edict to reprimand him severely and to order him to advance his army to Chi-cheng."[31] Wang Mao-yüan of Ho-yang was only given administrative duties to look after owing to his continuing ill health and lack of effort. When he died, his command was given to the more capable Wang Tsai.[32] With the exception of the generals from Wei-po and Ch'eng-te, Te-yü exercised disciplinary action over generals under his command.

The court's diplomatic breakthrough was in convincing the two provinces of Wei-po and Ch'eng-te that it was in their long-term interest to support the court against Chao-i. The 80 year old autonomy of Ho-shuo had not changed. One opinion states that, at this time, Te-yü guaranteed the court would not interfere in future hereditary succession in these two provinces.[33] While the final outcome of court non-interference in these matters was the same, it is likely more accurate to

say that Te-yü was merely formally acknowledging a long-standing practice, admitting that at this time the court lacked the means to do anything about it. It cost nothing to recognize this political reality, but it did help the court gain invaluable allies in the struggle against Chao-i.

With armies and generals who were more closely controlled by the court, Te-yü redeployed them as need and circumstance required. After Shih Hsiung had replaced Li Yen-tso as military governor of the Ho-chung expeditionary force, he was ordered to move from Chih Shih to take Lu-chou. As before, he was to split his army to camp at I-ch'eng to guard against invasions and raids. At that time there was a hunchback in the marketplace of Lu-chou singing 'Shih Hsiung and 7,000 men are coming,' whereupon Liu Chen had him beheaded for uttering treasonous talk. In order to fulfill this bizarre prediction, Te-yü named Shih to capture Lu-chou.[34] In a more significant move, he transferred Liu Mien of Ho-tung in order to prevent his personal differences with Chang Chung-wu of Yu-chou from undermining the unity of the court's military effort. Earlier these two had argued over the rewards for defeating the Uighurs and recapturing the T'ai-ho Princess. The court sent Li Hui to mediate, but to no avail. Consequently, Mien was transferred to I-ch'eng and Li Shih, formerly military governor of Ching-nan, replaced him as military governor of Ho-tung. At the time, this change seemed innocuous and even wise, but

ultimately it led to the short-lived rebellion in T'ai-yüan. After the actual outbreak of the rebellion in T'ai-yüan this rivalry again caused a change in military assignments. Te-yü was afraid of sending Chung-wu and his Yu-chou army to Ho-tung, lest Chung-wu take advantage of this former rift to run wild and wreak havoc among the populace. Even though he was further away, Wang Yüan-k'uei was summoned instead to lead a relief column from Cheng-te via the T'u-men Pass. Ultimately local troops settled the matter for the court.

The court's insistence on unconditional surrender was fully in keeping with its avowed goal of restoring court control over the whole of the empire. The court's terms to Liu were very simple--that he and his whole clan be bound and delivered to court. To accept the surrender of Chao-i under any other terms would have compromised these announced goals and would have undermined the credibility and strength of the court in the eyes of the other military governors, some of whom may have also harboured secessionist thoughts. Liu Chen's motives for seeking a conditional peace were essentially those of self-preservation. Unconditional surrender meant death and total extermination of the Liu family and all their supporters. Conversely, to achieve a conditional peace, the rebels did not have to defeat the court forces but merely had to prolong the campaign until it became so costly in blood and treasure that it would be advantageous for the court to accept a truce on

less demanding terms.

The unwillingness of Te-yü to compromise on the court's terms for Liu Chen's surrender may be explained, in part, by Te-yü's attempt to curry favour with the court eunuchs. Since Liu Ts'ung-chien had been an outspoken critic of eunuch influence in the court of Wen-tsung and later a champion of the innocence of Wang Yai and Chia Su in planning the Sweet Dew Incident,[35] he had allowed many of the family members of these victims of the eunuch's revenge to seek refuge in Chao-i after the Sweet Dew Incident. This motive of placating the eunuchs has been attributed more frequently to the rebel general Kuo I, for he had all these political refugees executed along with Liu Chen's family after his final coup in Chao-i.[36] The evident motive for killing the former was to strengthen his case for seeking a military governorship from the court as a reward for betraying Liu Chen and thus ending the rebellion. Te-yü, who never intended to grant such an appointment, took the credit for these executions, in order to improve his own standing among the court eunuchs by removing the last vestiges of their former enemies, while at the same time taking the opportunity to gain revenge on the remnants of the Sweet Dew plotters and their supporters who had driven him from the chief ministership in 834. Despite the absence of a major figure at court after the death of Ch'iu Shih-liang, and the acquiescence of the other eunuchs with court policy, the eunuchs

remained nevertheless a major force and one whose needs and wishes had to be catered to.

Earlier, Liu Chen realized the extent of the court's enmity when he tried to explain his reasons for defying the court edict in these terms:

> The reason why I did not lead my whole clan to submit to the court was because when my late father, Ts'ung-chien, vindicated Li Hsün [in the aftermath of the Sweet Dew Incident] he said that Ch'iu Shih-liang was criminal and evil; therefore, he was hated by the powerful and influential, who said that my father and I harboured rebellious intent. I beg your majesty to condescend to show lenience and enquire into the matter, and allow me to live in one corner![37]

Neither this memorial nor the one Ho Hung-ching sent in support received a reply.

By sending "peace feelers" to military governors and court generals having relatives serving in Chao-i, Chen hoped to circumvent the harsh terms the court had imposed for accepting his submission. His letter to the newly-installed military governor of Ho-tung, Li Shih, was a further test of the court's resolve to maintain its policy of unconditional surrender. Chen dispatched a general to T'ai-yüan bearing a letter from Shih's older brother Li T'ien, who was serving as prefect of Ming-chou. It said: "Chen wishes to lead his clan to you noble sir and to observe mourning for Ts'ung-chien and accompany the body to Lo-yang."[38] Shih then imprisoned the envoy and memorialised the throne. Te-yü then said to the emperor:

> 'Now the court forces are closing in on four sides and the dispatch announcing victory will arrive

> within days. Since the power of the rebels is exhausted and weak, therefore they falsely send us their protestations of sincerity, hoping to slow down our armies, so that they can restore themselves a little to invade and attack again. I look forward to an edict ordering Shih to reply to T'ien's letter saying: "I have not dared to report your earlier letter to court. If you can sincerely regret your errors, together with your whole clan tied and bound wait for your punishment on the frontier, then Shih will certainly personally go and accept your surrender, and send you under guard to court. If you make empty protestations of sincerity, we first require you to disband your army before we will exonerate you; then Shih will certainly not dare use 100 mouths to protect one man." Further, I hope that you will issue an edict to the various provinces to take advantage of the disaffection between those above and those below, to advance our troops quickly to attack and invade. In ten days or a month's time, internally, they will certainly start a coup.[39]

The immediate coup, however, occurred in T'ai-yüan and was yet another example of material rewards dictating the loyalty of soldiers. The preliminary events leading up to the uprising were as follows:

> "Wang Feng, the commissioner in charge of horses and men for the expeditionary force from Ho-tung, requested reinforcements for the Shu-she Army. An edict ordered Ho-tung to send 2000 men there [Heng-shui Stockade]. At this time, Ho-tung did not have any troops. Granary guards and workmen were all sent out to join the army. When Li Shih summoned the 1500 garrison troops from Heng Shui, he had the subordinate general Yang Pien lead them to Feng... Previously when soldiers went out on campaign, each man was given two pieces of uncolored silk. When Liu Mien left, he emptied the treasury and took its contents with him. When Shih arrived, the army resources were exhausted and he added his own personal uncolored silk to pay the troops, but each man got only one piece. At this time, the year was almost over and the troops sought to celebrate New Year's before going out [on campaign], [but] the eunuch supervisor, Lü I-chung, repeatedly sent warrants to

> hurry them on. Yang Pien, because of the anger of the throng and also because he knew the city was empty, then rebelled.[40]

After he took over the city, Shih was forced to flee to nearby Fen-chou. Among the first things that Yang did was to free the envoy general from Liu Chen and send him back to Chao-i, together with his own nephew, to swear a treaty of brotherhood.[41]

The possibility that the rebellion in Chao-i could spread to adjoining Ho-tung demanded that the court forces focus their full attention on this rag-tag group of malcontents in T'ai-yüan. Other court officials once again sought to abandon the two campaigns and recall the troops. Li P'i, the defected rebel general who had been sent to Che-chou after submitting, informed the court that he had executed the people that Yang Pien had sent out to proselytize and had taken steps to cut off their northern route of escape. Furthermore, he was raising an army to fight them.[42] The overall strategy for handling this rebellion was similar to that of the larger insurrection in Chao-i--contain it in its original area and then marshal other court-controlled forces to put it down.

The harmful effects of eunuch interference in the uprising in T'ai-yüan were exposed by Te-yü's cross-examination of the court appointed envoy, Ma Yüan-kuan, who had been sent to observe the uprising in T'ai-yüan. After accepting bribes from Pien, Ma tried to convince the court that he had seen a column of armed troops fifteen li long lined up for inspection. His

statement that these troops had been recruited locally was refuted when Te-yü replied that if Li Shih had not been able to reward the soldiers of the garrison generously enough to prevent them from rebelling, how could Yang Pien find the resources to attract new troops.[43] After the true state of the rebels' position had been found out, the court began a forceful campaign to quash the rebellion.

The end of the uprising, however, occurred independently of court plans. Te-yü had wanted several court generals to lead their armies against the rebels. However, when the Ho-tung army garrisoned at Yu-she heard that the court had ordered "guest" armies to recapture T'ai-yüan, they were afraid that their womenfolk and children would be butchered and murdered so they urged their eunuch overseer Lü I-chung that they retake T'ai-yüan themselves. Subsequently, Yang Pien was captured and all the rebel soldiers slain.[44]

Personal rivalries among various court generals as well as generals and officials whose relatives were being held as hostages by Chao-i further complicated the campaign against Liu Chen. The feud between Wang Tsai and Shih Hsiung, two ambitious and capable generals, is an excellent example of the former. Just prior to the outbreak at T'ai-yüan, Tsai reported to the throne that he had sent an envoy to Tse-lu who was told that the rebels intended to submit. Tsai then sought an imperial edict allowing him to accept the surrender. Te-yü replied:

> When Tsai arbitrarily accepted Chen's letter, he sent an envoy into the midst of the rebels without informing [the court] with a memorial. When we observe Tsai's intentions, it appears that he wishes to grab for himself the credit for subduing and pacifying [the rebels]. In the past when Han Hsin defeated T'ien Heng and Li Ch'ing apprehended Hsieh Li, they both took advantage of the request to surrender to hide troops for a secret attack. If this causes only Wang Tsai to lose credibility, how can this harm the authority of the court! Today is the day for the establishment of exceptional merit. We certainly ought not lose this opportunity because of this minor disturbance in T'ai-yüan. I hope you will send a supply officer immediately to the expeditionary force to urge on their advancing armies and take advantage of the enemy's lack of preparations, for we must require that Liu Chen, all his various generals, and their entire clans be tied and presented face to face before their surrender is acceptable. Concurrently, we will also send a supply officer to the expeditionary force from Chin and Chiang [Ho-chung] to suggest secretly to them that if Wang Tsai accepts the surrender of Liu Chen, Hsiung will have no merit which may be recorded. Since Hsiung is on the brink of achieving [success], he ought to take some special achievement for himself and not miss this chance.[45]

Wang Tsai was the son of Wang Chih-hsing, with whom Te-yü had had a disagreement over the establishment of a platform for private Buddhist ordination in Ssu-chou.[46] Nevertheless, this family connection did not prejudice Te-yü's faith in Tsai's military abilities, for Tsai was one of the court's most aggressive and successful generals. Hsiung, on the other hand, had not got along well with Tsai's father and it is likely that their disagreements stemmed from this. Te-yü, of course, was aware of this. Although the court did allow provincial armies wide latitude in tactics used in the field, overall strategy was devised and controlled by the court. Thus, Te-yü did not want an over-anxious or over-ambitious field commander

rashly adopting a plan of action detrimental to the ultimate goals of the court.

The means available to him for controlling court armies were somewhat limited by distance and court power and frequently had to be supplemented by his imaginative use of rewards and punishments and his thorough understanding of the generals, their professional rivalries, personal relationships, and the overall military situation. The continuing rivalry between Wang and Shih was further complicated by Wang's own son,[47] Yen-shih, being held captive by Liu Chen. Te-yü's analysis of this complicated situation and his orders to the principals is worth examining:

> 'Wang Tsai ought to have captured Tse-chou long ago. Now he has procrastinated for two months. From the beginning there has been no mutual coöperation between Tsai and Shih Hsiung. Now if he took Tse-chou, he would still be 200 li distant from Shang-tang, but where Shih Hsiung is camped is just 150 li [away]. Tsai is afraid that if he attacks Tse-chou and then goes on to meet the major army of Chao-i, Hsiung then will be able to take advantage of this void, enter Shang-tang and the victory would be his. Wang's own son Yen-shih, whom the father, Chih-hsing, cherishes and treats like a son, is prefect of Tz'u-chou and is being held hostage by Liu Chen. Some say this is the reason for Wang's indecision and his not daring to advance.' The emperor ordered Te-yü to draft a decree to Wang to urge him to advance, and to say 'I regard these as minor thieves, in the end I will not pardon them. Moreover, I know that Yen-shih is your beloved younger brother.' The demonstration of great righteousness lies in repressing one's personal feelings'.'[48]

This memorial outlined Te-yü's grasp of the situation as well as his concern for the personal feelings of his generals; yet, he fully realized that an imperial order could be

simply ignored or otherwise sidestepped. A more concrete and effective method of action was required. For this purpose, he returned to his earlier ploy of dispatching another court general to the region occupied by a hesitant one to observe his actions and to prod him into attacking the enemy. He said:

> There are definitely affairs in which one must act with urgency to achieve success. Your majesty ordered Wang Tsai to hasten to Tz'u-chou but had Ho Hung-ching send out troops and dispatched "guest" troops to attack T'ai-yüan but the frontier garrison [under Lü I-chung] captured Yang Pien first. For a long time now Wang Tsai has not advanced his army. I request you to transfer Liu Mien to garrison Ho-yang and further to order 2000 crack troops from I-ch'eng to attack Wan Shan directly and occupy the area under Tsai's armpit. If Tsai realizes the court's intent, he will certainly not dare to tarry long. If Tsai moves his troops forward, Mien will be to the south with a powerful army and our renown and force [in that direction] will also be strong.[49]

This tactic was also successful for, less than a month later, Wang Tsai advanced and attacked Tse-chou. Te-yü had again found a way to get results.

The worsening military and domestic situation in Chao-i as shown by Chen's uncertain leadership, which permitted favored generals to amass fortunes while neglecting successful and deserving ones, plus the increasing economic hardships on the common people brought on by the ever tightening ring of court troops, and the growing awareness among the generals that their cause was hopeless and that some means of coming to terms with the court was necessary to save their own lives, led to more defections to court and marked the beginning of the

end of the rebellion.

These defections eroded the rebel capacity to resist in two significant ways. First, it deprived the rebels of their most competent leaders and commanders. As if this were not damaging enough, these defecting generals provided invaluable information concerning the general state of affairs within the rebel realm as well as specific advice on the best ways of attacking military objectives. An extended quotation from one such defector will provide a clearer understanding of the contribution such defections made to the court's final victory:

> When Liu Chen's trusted general Kao Wen-tuan surrendered, he said that the rebels were running short of food and had ordered women to rub ears of grain between their hands to remove the husks and give them to the army. When Te-yü asked Wen-tuan about a plan for defeating the rebels, Wen-tuan considered that, 'If the imperial army straightaway attacks Tse-chou, I am afraid many officers and men will be killed, for the walled fortification will not be easily taken. The army at Tse-chou numbers around 15,000. The rebels often divide the army and send the greater part to hide in the hills and valleys. When they see the court army weaken after attacking the fortress, they join up from all directions to rescue it. The imperial army will certainly be defeated. Now I request that you order the Ch'en-hsü army to cross the dried up river and establish a stockade. From the stockade connect and extend the building to enclose the walled fortification and surround Tse-chou. During the day dispatch a large army to display themselves in the open in order to ward off the relieving armies. When the rebels see that the fort is about to be surrounded they will combine and certainly will come to fight in great numbers. Wait until they are defeated and withdraw; then afterward, if you take advantage of the situation, [the fortification] may be taken.[50]

Wen-tuan also said:

> ...Liu Chen has already wiped out Hsüeh Mao-ch'ing's clan and has also executed T'an Chao-i, the commissioner

> of the relief forces from Ching-chou, and his [two] brothers, three altogether. [Wang] Chao was naturally suspicious and afraid. When Chen sent a messenger to summon him, Chao was unwilling to enter [the capital]. His officers and men were all in an uproar. He certainly was not going to be used by Chen. But his family and those of his officers were in Lu-chou [where they were subject to reprisals from Chen].
>
> If they submit, they will also be afraid that they would be killed by the imperial forces. If you invite them, they will not be willing to come. Just make your intentions known to Chao and have him lead his army to Lu-chou and capture Chen, promising that on the day the deed is done, you will appoint him to be military governor in another circuit and additionally grant generous gifts. Chances are he will willingly submit.[51]

Liu Chen's inability to control some generals and satisfy others was another reason for these defections. Favorites such as Li Shih-kuei and Liu Hsi were allowed to accumulate great wealth and undermine the command structure of the rebel army for their own grasping purposes. On two occasions, P'ei Wen, the younger brother of Liu Ts'ung-chien's wife and a competent general, was the victim of their machinations. Once when Wen was about to be summoned to Lu-chou to supervise military policy, Shih-kuei considered him a threat to his own position and leaked the news of the appointment saying that the military situation in the area east of the mountains was dependent on P'ei and if he were summoned, the region would be lost. The appointment was then stopped.[52] Another time, after Li Hsi arrived in Hsing-chou, a post he had gained through bribery, he seized the rich merchants whose sons made up P'ei's unit, the so-called "Night Flyers." These soldiers complained

to Wen who, on their behalf, requested the release of their fathers. Hsi would not allow it and replied with insulting language. Wen was angry and secretly plotted with his subordinates to kill Hsi and surrender to court. They also told Ts'ui Chia who followed them. Later they barred the gates of the walled city, beheaded the four grand generals within it, and sought to surrender to Wang Yüan-k'uei. Their actions had further repercussions, for when Kao Yüan-wu at Yao Shan heard about this, he also defected.[53]

The collapse of the rebel forces in Hsing, Ming, and Tz'u-chou--the prefectures on the other side of the T'ai-hang mountains--sealed the fate of Chao-i. With a remarkable prescience borne of a thorough understanding of the strategic importance of the two separate regions of Chao-i, Te-yü said, "Chao-i's trunk and roots are all in [the area] east of the mountains. Not long after the surrender of the three prefectures, there will be a coup d'état in Shang-tang." The emperor said, "Kuo I will certainly kill Liu Chen in order to redeem himself."[54] These three prefectures were the granary for all Chao-i, in addition to being the outlying northern bastion against attacks from Wei-po and Ch'eng-te. Their collapse meant not only the loss of provisions for the rebels but also reduced the area under rebel control to the administrative centres of Tse-chou and Lu-chou.

The announcement of the fall of these three prefectures

caused panic among the rebel forces and engendered a feeling of a sauve qui peut among the remaining generals who realized that presenting Liu Chen either dead or alive to the court was the only way to ensure their own survival. For his part, Liu Chen demonstrated his vacillation and lack of leadership when he all but agreed to his generals' outrageous suggestion that he surrender to the court, tied and bound as the court had demanded. The critical exchange went like this:

> Liu Chen said, 'Now within the city there are still 50,000 men. We still ought to bar the gates and stoutly defend them.' [Tung] K'o-wu replied: 'This is not a good plan. It would not be as good as having you tied up and submitting to court like Chang Yüan-i, who did not fail to serve as a prefect. Would it not be a good idea to make Kuo-i interim governor and, while waiting for the symbols of office, to offer quietly your wife and household wealth to Lo-yang?'
>
> Chen said, 'How can Kuo-i be willing to do this?'
>
> K'o-wu said, 'He and I have already made a solemn oath. Certainly he will not renege.' Chen then called [Kuo] I in. After he and [Kuo] I secretly agreed, Chen then explained it to his mother. She said, 'Submitting to court is indeed a good idea, only the enmity [between us] is already of long-standing. I have a younger brother (i.e. P'ei Wen) I cannot protect. How can you protect [Kuo] I? How could you consider doing this to yourself?[55]

The following day, after a bout of drinking, Liu was murdered by Tung K'o-wu and Ts'ui Hsüan-tu. Chen and Liu K'uang-chou's clans were wiped out down to infants, along with families of the victims of the Sweet Dew Incident who had sought refuge in Chao-i. The arrival of Liu Chen's head

in the capital marked the formal end of the rebellion in Chao-i; however, Liu Chen had been nothing more than a figurehead while the true instigators, who were later his murderers, still had to be brought to justice.

The execution of Kuo I and the other rebel generals, while consistent with Te-yü's legalist values and the court's overall goal of strengthening its presence in Ho-shuo, has stirred up a great deal of controversy among later historians. Kuo believed that he, like Liu Wu, who had been rewarded for betraying his commander, Li Shih-tao, would also be granted a military governorship for his treachery. In response to an earlier query from the emperor about what to do about Kuo I, Te-yü summed up the court's case against him by saying:

> Liu Chen was just a foolish adolescent. As for obstructing [court] troops and opposing edicts, in each case, [Kuo] I was the mastermind for him; when their power was isolated and their strength exhausted, [Kuo] I also sold out Chen to gain his reward. If we do not execute him for this, how can we repress evil? While the various armies are not on the frontier, we ought at the same time kill [Kuo] I and the others.[56]

Elsewhere it has been argued that Kuo I had the relations of the victims of the Sweet Dew Incident killed in order to placate the eunuchs at court and thus to make it easier for him to receive a military governorship.[57]

In contrast to such pragmatic vindictiveness as carried out by Te-yü, Ssu-ma Kuang, in his "historian's comments" (ch'en Kuang yüeh) in T'ung-chien, sets out a more sternly

moralistic view:

> To Tung Chung-chih in Huai-hsi, and to Kuo I in Chao-i, Wu Yüan-chi and Liu Chen [their respective military governors] were like puppets in the hands of a manipulator. They first encouraged others to rebel, then finally sold out their leaders for personal gain. Even their deaths certainly left their guilt unpunished. But Hsien-tsung in the first instance used him, (i.e. Tung) and Wu-tsung in the second executed him. I feel that in both instances they were mistaken. Why? Rewarding traitors is an act of impropriety, but killing those who surrender is a breach of faith. How can one rule the nation by throwing away credibility and justice [shih hsin yü i] [there follow a number of Han dynasty precedents]...As for Kuo I and the others, it would have been proper for them to escape death and be banished to some distant place to the end of their days whence they could not return. To kill them, No![58]

In contrast, Wang Fu-chih (1619-92), who was less concerned with the principles of justice and humanity in the abstract than with the practical concerns of implementing government policy and achieving domestic order, supported Te-yü's position with the following arguments:

> ...During Liu Chen's rebellion, Kuo served as his mastermind. After being completely surrounded and after the three commanderies had surrendered, and as the last remaining fortress was weakening by the day, Chen accepted Kuo and Wang Hsieh's advice to have himself bound up and submit to the court. Wu-tsung and Te-yü planned to have Kuo executed for taking advantage of such naïveté to kill Chen for his own benefit. Was this not satisfying the popularly accepted idea of evil to carry out the law? Ssu-ma Wen Kung, however, satirized this as a breach of faith. His idea of faith, was it not that which would mislead, cheat, and destroy? If rebels are not extirpated, rebellions will never be stopped. If we bear humaneness in our hearts, others will just take advantage of it to invade. If we deal with them in good faith, they will use it to cheat us. On account of this, all the rebellions of T'ang military governors have flourished...

> Humaneness consists of killing one or two people to preserve the empire, while faith lies in killing men who lack constancy...Moreover, how could Kuo be spared and Chen alone not be allowed to surrender? Kuo was the one who killed the one who had submitted. Executing Kuo was the way to kill 'the one who killed the one who had submitted.' How can Wu-tsung and Te-yü be blamed for this?[59]

The court's military successes against the rebels had to be transformed into administrative reforms in order to provide permanent expression for the court's long-term objectives of peace and stability. These changes had two immediate aims. First, to reduce the vulnerability of Lo-yang and the canal system to attack from the north-east. Second, to prevent Chao-i from becoming strong enough to menace the court again. To achieve the former, the court proposed separating Tse-chou from Chao-i and attaching it to Ho-yang so that the T'ai-hang Pass would be administered from Ho-yang with the result that this whole area would be able to screen and protect Lo-yang.

To achieve the latter, the court had exercised its political authority and military might to appoint a loyal and dependent military governor. Thus it had to resist any demands from Wei-po and Ch'eng-te to annex the region. Equally the court did not want to fall into the earlier short-sighted policy of awarding the governorship to defeated rebel generals. The court had to make a sharp distinction between military officials who defeated the rebels in war and the civilian officials who would administer the province in peace. In Hui-

ch'ang 3/7 [843], even before the court had designated military targets for the various generals, Lu Chün, the military governor from Shan-nan Tung-tao had been named Pacification Commissioner for Chao-i.[60] Chün had been selected because in his previous post, Hsiang-yang, his benevolent government had captured the hearts of the people. The court purposely sought someone who could soothe and comfort the people of Chao-i after the rigours of war. When the rebellion was over and the defeated generals had been carried off to the capital, Lu took up his post in Chao-i with the following results:

> "Hui-ch'ang 4/9 [844] Ting-ssu. Lu Chün entered Lu-chou. He was naturally tolerant and kind; even before the pacification of Liu Chen, Chün held the post of military governorship of Chao-i. Often when the officers and men of Hsiang-chou in his expeditionary force fought against men from Lu-chou, they exalted his virtures. When he arrived at his post by way of the T'ien-ching Pass, Chün generously comforted all those who had been scattered and who had come home. The mood of the people was one of great harmony and Chao-i was consequently at peace.[61]

In addition to appointing a benevolent governor and issuing the customary post-rebellion tax remissions for the people of Chao-i, Te-yü's concern for the welfare of soldiers and non-combatants throughout the empire was sincere and consistent. In his original order for punishing Liu Chen, he cautioned his troops about to go on campaign:

> The armies put forward by the various circuits must not burn down cottages and huts, raise and disturb graves and tombs, arrest and capture the common people and make them prisoners. As for the cultivation of hemp and the raising of sprouts, in all cases

> allow the original household to be the master. Punish only the greatest evil and strive to calm the common people.[62]

Similar sentiments were echoed in his instructions to Wang Tsai:

> You have recently served in Tse-chou where you to a great extent exhibited benevolent government to the common people. Of course, [what you have done] is in keeping with reason. You ought to a great extent spread sincerity and credibility, and moreover strive to soothe their feelings [but] must not burn their houses and cottages or destroy their native places...[63]

In his assessment of the situation in Chao-i, Te-yü cautioned,

> I have already ordered the two provinces of Tse-lu and Chi-shih to send troops to capture Kuo I, Wang Hsieh and their ilk who are equally evil; do not inquire after the other soldiers at all... I have already issued an edict to Shih Hsiung and Wang Tsai stating that when they arrive there they should not disturb and harass the ordinary people in the army. If there is the slightest hint of transgression then they will be dealt with according to military law. Each one must make the effort to think up plans and together protect their loyalty and sincerity. Don't be aroused by traitors...[64]

From these examples it is clear that Te-yü distinguished between leaders and followers in the rebellious Chao-i army and that in his legalist scale of values, it was the former who were to be punished while the latter, although not necessarily to be rewarded, were at least to be protected and comforted.

The official accounts of this rebellion coldly depict the unfolding of events as an orderly and smooth process; however, waging war is a complex undertaking and is subject to

setbacks as well as advances. In T'ai-yüan, as we have seen, troops balked at going out to guard duty at New Year's and mutinied when their expected silk payment was reduced by half.

Less optimistic but more informative are the grumblings and feelings of the people in the capital as recorded by Ennin, a Japanese Buddhist monk who happened to be in Ch'ang-an at this time. These reveal some interesting popular views about the war which the formal histories do not mention. One such report, tells of a ruse used by soldiers to cover up their own failures:

> The army attacking Lu-fu [i.e. Lu-chou] has not been able to penetrate its borders and is only at the boundary. There were frequent Imperial edicts of importunement, expressing surprise at the lack of news and wondering why after so many punitive expeditions, there had been no word at all of the chastisement [of the rebels]. The soldiers, fearing [the Imperial wrath] seized the herdsmen and farmers of the border region and sent them to the capital, claiming they were captured rebels. The Emperor gave ceremonial swords, and right in the streets [the prisoners] were cut into three pieces. The troops of the two armies surrounded and slaughtered them. In this way, they kept sending prisoners and there was no end of troops...[65]

A further comment records a system of asking the officials to contribute part of their salaries to pay for the war:

> The troops attacking Lu-fu are using 200,000 strings of cash [worth of supplies every day]. What the various prefectures send is not enough and the storehouses in the capital are on the point of giving out, so there was an Imperial edict assessing sums from the officials. They paid much or little money in accordance with their rank, and it was used for the army attacking Lu-fu. The officials of the various provinces, prefectures, and commanderies all did the same.[66]

Te-yü's own post-rebellion analysis of the reasons for the swiftness of the court's success focused on the problems of the command structure of the court and eunuch participation in the military campaigns. He outlined them as follows:

> Since Han Ch'uan-i, concerning the frequent defeat of generals going out on campaign there are three deficiencies. One: chief ministers often did not have prior knowledge of the three or four daily edicts and commands sent down to the army. Two: the eunuch overseers used their [own] ideas to take command of military affairs. Generals and commanders were unable by themselves [to issue orders] to advance and withdraw. Three: each army had eunuchs acting as overseers. They always chose several hundred of the strongest and bravest soldiers in the army to become their personal troops. All those lining up for battle were the cowardly and weak. At every battle, the overseers had their own signal flags. They occupied high ground, set up their horses, and used personal troops to protect themselves. When they saw a minor reverse in the military situation, they would abruptly strike the flag and leave first and the line of battle would follow them and scatter.[67]

Wu-tsung's great faith and trust in Te-yü combined with Te-yü's own skill and personality put him at the absolute center of both military and political power during the whole Hui-ch'ang period. Wu-tsung invariably acceded to Te-yü's suggestions and proposals. Te-yü added further to his reputation for aloofness by working alone and not allowing the other chief ministers or court officials to participate in planning or decision making. His analyses of the situation in Yu-chou vis-à-vis Chang Chung-wu, his different approaches to the Uighur problem, first succoring them and finally attacking them, and his decision to oppose Chao-i, all demonstrated his independence of mind.

Equally, his stubbornness was evident in his unprecedented demand for unconditional surrender, his absolute refusal to deviate from it during the numerous occasions when Liu Chen offered to capitulate on compromised terms as well as his adamantine sense of moral justice which demanded that Kuo I, Wang Hsieh and the others in the rebel high command be executed for fomenting rebellion. With such close imperial cooperation and support there could be no mistake that Te-yü was in virtual control of the court and its policy-making functions. Whatever he said was law and was disobeyed only at one's peril. It was on this anvil of coöperation between an activist chief minister and a strong-willed emperor that the quick and successful campaign against Liu Chen was forged.

Since the eunuchs were the most powerful political force at court and throughout the empire at this time, it was natural that their long reach would extend down to Chao-i. In fact, they were closely connected with the fortunes of the Liu family. Just after Liu Wu became military governor in 821, he had to fight off the harassments of the eunuch overseer Liu Ch'eng-chieh. Later his son, Liu Ts'ung-chien, was allowed in 825 to succeed directly to the military governorship after allegedly bribing Wang Shou-cheng, the leading eunuch at court. Following the abortive attempt to wipe out the eunuchs during the Sweet Dew Incident of 835, Ts'ung-chien openly condemned Ch'iu Shih-liang, Wang's successor as eunuch leader, for his indis-

criminate revenge on the plotters, their families, and many innocent people. Chao-i provided sanctuary for relatives of the victims and Ts'ung-chien championed the innocence of Wang Yai and Chia Su *et al.* to the point of offering to raise troops to rid the court of eunuchs. Liu Chen, himself, recognized that the reason for the court's unwillingness to accept his surrender on compromised terms was because of the court's eunuch-inspired hatred for his uncle. Although Chao-i was small and distant from Ch'ang-an, its connections with the eunuchs throughout the rule of the Liu family were nevertheless very close.

Eunuch political might rested on the firm base of controlling various palace armies and especially the key imperial guards in Ch'ang-an, the various organizations which ran the inner palace, and the semi-official but increasingly important *Shu-mi yüan*, the so-called secretariat of secret documents, whose members, because of their access to the emperor and power came to rival the authority of the chief ministers. In addition, owing to the lack of a settled procedure for imperial succession, the eunuchs took advantage of their proximity to the emperor to become involved in the succession of every emperor after Tai-tsung, often killing one before putting the next one on the throne.

Despite their power, the eunuchs were far from a united

group and factions existed among them. Such divisions in their ranks gave rise to the cliques among the officials in the outer court. In Ch'en Yin-k'o's telling phrase, cliques among the officials were simply the appendages of eunuch factions.[68] During the first half of the ninth century, then, the ascendancy of which eunuch faction indicated which group had placed the current emperor on the throne and which of the Niu or Li factions ruled the outer court.

Te-yü owed his elevation to the chief ministership to the support of Ch'iu Shih-liang and Yu Hung-chih, who had earlier placed Wu-tsung on the throne and had either killed or banished their enemies. A modern comment on the connection between Te-yü's career and the eunuchs further states:

> In fact, then, Te-yü's entering ministerial rank apparently was not entirely because of Ch'in-i's strength. For Liu Hung-i, Hsüeh Chi-ling's party and the Niu faction chief minister Li P'i who supported the Empress Dowager's son Ch'eng-mei [Prince of Ch'en] had encountered defeat; then the successful faction of Ch'iu Shih-liang and others naturally had to push out the chief ministers from the Niu faction and replace them with the Li faction. Moreover, for 30 years, the Niu faction had frequently opposed the use of troops. Wu-tsung, however, did not like this. This was the major reason for Te-yü's entering the chief ministership.[69]

This connection between Te-yü's "debt" to the eunuchs as the motive for the subsequent campaign against Chao-i poses some interesting questions. First, Wu-tsung and Ch'iu had a serious disagreement which caused Ch'iu to seek retirement. After Ch'iu died, the court condemned his actions, posthumously removed his titles, and confiscated his property. This did not

reduce eunuch power at court but the lack of a leader of Ch'iu's standing made their presence and interference at court less noticeable. The campaign against Chao-i itself occurred after Ch'iu's death so that neither was personally involved in the ensuing struggle, but likely Ch'iu's colleagues still pushed for the campaign against Ts'ung-chien's heir.

To Te-yü's avowed motives of reasserting imperial power by recapturing Chao-i, one must add acknowledging the eunuchs' favour as well as seeking his own personal revenge against the families who had pushed him out of the office in 834 and who had found sanctuary in Chao-i. By doing so, Te-yü was playing pragmatic politics while giving vent to his political activism and his own petty vindictiveness.

Te-yü was no dupe or fool of the eunuchs, for he retained the usual anti-eunuch prejudices of a Confucian official. In fact, after the defeat of the Uighurs and Chao-i and the suppression against Buddhism had begun, Wu-tsung and he sought to strip the eunuchs of their control over the court armies. In an incident recorded by the Japanese monk Ennin,[70] but not in the Standard Histories, the court in 845 requested that the two commanders of the Army of Inspired Strategy hand over their seals of office. The Commander of the Left, Yang Ch'in-i, Te-yü's old colleague, complied but Yü Hung-chih, the Commander of the Right, who had been Ch'iu Shih-liang's accomplice in

putting Wu-tsung on the throne, refused. The court, lacking the military force to support their demand further, had to back down and eunuch control over these armies remained intact. Te-yü was not a pawn of the eunuchs but was simply aware of their great political power and recognized that they both shared a common interest in defeating Chao-i. Later when he thought he had a chance to limit their power he tried, only to fail.

Contrasted with his later failure to limit eunuch military power at court, Te-yü was able to solve the longstanding problem of eunuch meddling in provincial military campaigns by satisfying the material needs of the eunuch supervisors. The original function of eunuch supervisors was to keep an eye on court armies in the field and report their findings to the emperor himself. In a word, they were court spies. As stated earlier, owing to their propensity to interfere with the regularly appointed field commanders, they were considered a serious impediment to the successful prosecution of the campaign against Chao-i. An earlier reference to the favourable results of withdrawing eunuch supervisors during Hsien-tsung's reign stated that:

> Previously when all the various circuits had eunuch envoys observing troop formations, orders for advancing and withdrawing did not come from the principal generals. If there were victories, the eunuchs were the first to offer up prisoners [to the court], but if this were not personally advantageous, they then ridiculed and humiliated every-

> thing. It was only after [P'ei] Tu memorialized that all the eunuch envoys be disbanded that the various generals gained exclusive control over military affairs and that they were frequently successful in battle.[71]

As for the more pressing problem of solving the eunuch question in his own time, Te-yü fell back on his basic belief in the legalist practices of rewards and punishments in order to gain their support and coöperation. His solution has been recorded as follows:

> Te-yü then discussed this with the eunuch councillors Yang Ch'in-i and Liu Hsing-shen, agreeing that the eunuch overseers ought not to interfere in the administration of military affairs. From each 1000 soldiers, a eunuch supervisor could select 10 men to be his personal bodyguard. In accordance with precedent, when there was success, they were granted rewards. When both the councillors agreed, Te-yü informed the emperor to have it carried out. From the defence against the Uighurs to the disbanding of the Tse-lu army all [success] came from observing these regulations...[72]

The continuation of close personal relations with Yang Ch'in-i and a realistic appeal to the material wants of the eunuchs in the field enabled Te-yü to overcome this long-standing obstacle to military success, thereby providing the court with the means of defeating Chao-i without undue eunuch interference.

Te-yü realized that the crux of the relationship between the court and the provinces was the court's holding the mandate of heaven and its consequent ability to confer political legitimacy, titles, and material rewards on the various military governors. In areas other than the northeast where the court exercised tighter control, it maintained a policy of

frequently alternating governors and not allowing hereditary succession.

After the surrender of Chao-i and the execution of the remaining ringleaders, Te-yü announced to the assembled envoys from Ho-pei the successful conclusion of this campaign and used rhetorical and moral terms to re-emphasize the supremacy of the court as the ultimate source of legitimacy and material reward, for the court at this time did not have the military power to reimpose its will more forcefully in these areas. It was recorded:

> After the deployment of troops, whenever the three garrisons of Ho-pei sent envoys to the capital, Te-yü often proclaimed to their faces: 'The armies of Ho-shuo, albeit strong, cannot stand by themselves. They must rely upon the court's official ranks and august commands in order to placate the sentiments of their armies. When you return say to your governors, rather than seeking offices and ranks by dispatching grand generals to intercept imperial commissioners for pacification or for conveying edicts, would it not be better if you yourselves promoted loyalty and righteousness, established achievement and service, and maintained contact with your enlightened ruler, causing favour to come forth from the court. Would this not be glorious? Moreover, to cite examples that are within your own direct knowledge, Li Tsai-i in Yu-chou, with total loyalty, settled on behalf of the empire the rebellion [of Li T'ung-chieh in T'ai-ho 3 (829)] in Ts'ang-ching. When he was driven out by his troops, he did not cease being a military governor. Later he served in T'ai-yüan and his position reached [that of] chief minister. Yang Chih-ch'eng [of Yu-chou] sent a grand general to intercept the horse of a commissioner bearing a decree in order to request an office. When he was driven out by the army, the court, in the end, did not pardon his crimes. The fortunes of these two men are worthy of your inspection.' When Te-yü again used these words to inform the emperor, the emperor said,

> 'We must clearly tell them in this manner.' After this the three garrisons did not dare have rebellious intentions.[73]

Te-yü's allusion to the earlier coup in Yu-chou in T'ai-ho 7 [833] involving Li Tsai-i and Yang Chih-ch'eng had a double significance. The first and most obvious one was a reminder to the commanders of Ho-pei that the court was the final arbiter of ranks and offices. Thus if these commanders were somehow turned out by their followers, if they had rendered loyal and meritorious service to the court, they could be compensated with other titles and offices.

Te-yü's other point, aside from attempting once again to discredit Niu Seng-ju, was to object to the court's passive policy of automatically accepting victorious generals as military governors, without examining more closely the situation to see whether or not the court could gain some leverage or advantage by withholding or delaying imperial sanction. He had done so in Yu-chou when he named Chang Chung-wu interim governor (liu-shou) at a time when the situation was far from clear. This was not advocating that the court intervene militarily but rather that it use its position as the sole dispenser of political legitimacy to influence who would achieve power in the provinces. He had been lucky enough to accomplish this with Chang Chung-wu; now he was faulting Seng-ju for not having the same success when he had a similar opportunity.

Ssu-ma Kuang in his 'historian's comments' at the end of

the citation of this incident argued that by accepting Seng-ju's position, the emperor was allowing the fate of generals to be settled by their junior officers and men. His final statements were:

> ...If there are no investigations at all and we take [Li Tsai-i's] lands and titles and bestow them on Yang Chih-ch'eng, then the fate [lit. dismissal, appointment, death, and life] of these commanders will be decided by their officers and men. The emperor, albeit in the highest position, what function does he have! Does the nation have regional garrisons merely to exploit their wealth and taxes? Words such as Seng-ju's which are no more than the methods of conciliation and complacency, can they be any way for a chief minister to help the Son of Heaven rule the world![74]

CONCLUSION

A great man is the product of his times, but a measure of his greatness is his ability to make the most of those times. The key to Te-yü's accomplishments was his ability of knowing what could be achieved and how to achieve it. The Uighur nation had been reeling from the attacks of the Kirghiz and required only a judiciously applied blow at an opportune time to end forever their threat to China's frontiers. Equally vulnerable and defenseless was the Buddhist Church, which required only a concerted effort from the court to put to an end its economic drain on the empire. In handling the transfer of power in Yu-chou, Te-yü exercised his clear understanding of the dynamics of court leverage on the political structure within the provinces and was also astute enough to recognize Chang Chung-wu's potential. Such initiative paid handsome dividends when Chung-wu repaid the court favour by supporting it during the campaigns against the Uighurs and Chao-i.

In these matters, Te-yü was sustained by good luck and propitious timing. Within the court, Te-yü achieved the chief ministership by means of eunuch influence and their enmity towards the Liu family in Chao-i helped him to gain political coöperation at court and non-interference from eunuch supervisors in the field. At the same time, Te-yü took advantage of his power to banish all his partisan enemies to provincial

posts, thereby saving the court from the paralysis of partisan struggles. Within Ho-pei, he did not have to deal with the aggressive leaders of old who had successfully defied the court, but with a lesser breed of compliant leaders. In Chao-i itself, he faced an essentially incompetent and juvenile leader, Liu Chen, whose failures to inspire and command his troops were in contrast to Te-yü's deft handling of the combined court forces. Liu Ts'ung-chien, had he lived, would have posed a more formidable adversary. Since Te-yü had the complete support of the emperor and arrogated to himself all the powers of the chief ministership, he could claim with some justification that he was the architect of the court's victory.

The recapture of Chao-i, as dramatic and important as it was at the time, was nevertheless a domestic housekeeping measure for the court, for this was simply re-exercising control over an area which, except for the twenty-three years when it was ruled by the Liu family, had been an integral part of the empire and not of independent Ho-pei. Although the success of the campaign did not alter the independent status of Ho-pei, the coöperation that this region provided during the campaign marked a significant change in its relationship with the court. The fact that these provinces did not pose further serious threats to the survival of the T'ang court afterwards was due more to the increasing concern in Ho-pei over internal mutiny from its own troops than from any residual effect of

the court's reassertion of authority as shown by its recapture of Chao-i.

Te-yü's activism was the major reason for the string of successes during his tenure as chief minister. It is unlikely that any of his opponents would have been able to take advantage of the various opportunities of the shifting balances of power on China's borders, within Ho-pei, and within the court itself, to settle, however temporarily, some of its major problems. For the opposing Niu faction's period of service as chief minister, there is no comparable list of accomplishments. Furthermore, Te-yü's use of legalist rewards which helped him to gain the best efforts from the court armies, defections from discontented rebel generals, and coöperation from eunuch supervisors, helped to bring the campaign to a swift and successful conclusion. In achieving his successes, then, Te-yü brought together various strains of Confucian moralism, legalist pragmatism, and political activism to deal with the problems he faced as chief minister.

As the chief decision-maker at court during the six years of the Hui-ch'ang period, Te-yü had a sufficient understanding of the various social and political forces of his day to leave his imprint on his times and on Chinese history. The partisan struggles had embittered him and brought out his pettiness and vindictiveness. He rode the crest of eunuch support to the chief ministership but remained independent enough to try to

destroy their base of power when he thought he had the chance. Aided by luck and by propitious timing, as well as his own clear understanding of the important shifts of power in his time, he was able to reassert court authority after it had fallen into neglect.

With the announcement of Liu Ts'ung-chien's request to allow his nephew, Chen, to succeed to the military governorship of Chao-i in 843, Te-yü's political activism and his understanding of the dynamics of court-province relations made him realize that this was the time to reassert imperial authority while the succession question in Chao-i remained unsettled, so that the court by withholding or delaying its mandate could force the military forces within the province to make their own choice. After gaining allies in the north (Yu-chou) and in the east (Wei-po and Ch'eng-te), he was able to surprise Liu Chen by denying him what his uncle had received without a struggle in 825. For a brief moment, then, there was a sufficient change in the T'ang political situation to allow the court to act forcefully. The borders were quiet, there was close coöperation with the three provinces of Ho-pei as well as unity and decisiveness at court. None of these had existed in 825.

The significance of the victory in Chao-i lay not in its solution of any of the court's longstanding problems, for Ho-pei remained independent and eunuch power remained intact, but

that for a short time in 834-4, these disparate forces somehow found common cause with the court, allowing it to act with swiftness and dispatch. As for Te-yü personally, he brought together all his own military experiences, political abilities and social connections to focus on the campaign against Liu Chen. The defeat of Chao-i is overshadowed by the later suppression of Buddhism as the most memorable event of Wu-tsung's reign, but a study of this minor incident has permitted us to see how Te-yü used the sum of his abilities and experiences to take advantage of the temporary cooperation of previously destructive forces to bring about victory.

FOOTNOTES TO THE PREFATORY ARTICLE

1. Tzu Chih T'ung Chien, p. 7141. Hereafter cited as TCTC. cf. also Jonathan Mirsky, "Structure of a Rebellion: A Successful Insurrection during the T'ang," JAOS, vol. 89, 1969, pp. 74-5. Hereinafter cited as Mirsky, Structure.

2. Mirsky, "Structure", p. 84.

3. TCTC, pp. 7560-1. cf. also Li Pao-chen's biography in the Old T'ang History, chap. 132/3b-4a. Hereinafter cited as CTS. And, the New T'ang History, chap. 138/5a. Hereinafter cited as HTS.

4. TCTC, p. 7844.

5. ibid., pp. 7845-6.

6. ibid., K'ao-i note on p. 7846.

7. ibid., p. 7979.

8. ibid., p. 7980.

9. ibid., pp. 7978-9.

10. CTS, chap. 161/8b.

11. HTS, chap. 214/9a.

12. ibid., p. 12b.

13. Mirsky, "Structure", p. 83.

14. TCTC, p. 7984.

15. Denis C. Twitchett, 'Provincial Autonomy and Central Finance in Late T'ang," Asia Major (N.S.), vol. xi, 1964, p. 231.

16. TCTC, pp. 7955-6.

17. ibid., p. 7956.

18. ibid., p. 7981. cf. also Hui-ch'ang I P'in-chi, SPTK edition, chap. 6/32. 勿為子孫之謀，欲存輔車之勢。 Hereinafter cited as HCIPC.

19. ibid., p. 7982. For the full text of the memorial cf. the Complete T'ang Prose (Ch'üan T'ang Wen), chap. 751/11a-16a (pp. 9808-50). Hereinafter cited as CTW.

20. CTW, chap. 751/15b (p. 9850).

21. TCTC, p. 7984.

22. ibid., p. 7986.

23. ibid., p. 7989.

24. ibid., pp. 7989-90.

25. ibid., p. 7990.

26. ibid., pp. 7993-4.

27. ibid., p. 7987.

28. ibid., p. 7989.

29. HCIPC, chap. 6/33. 國之大事，賞罰必行。

30. TCTC, p. 7988.

31. ibid., p. 7987.

32. ibid., pp. 7990-1.

33. Wang Shou-nan, A Study of the Relations Between the Regional Commanders and the Central Government During the T'ang Dynasty, p. 54. "...The central government lost the power to control the three garrisons of Ho-pei. During the Hui-ch'ang period, the chief minister, Li Te-yü, publicly recognized hereditary succession in Ho-pei and thus admitted that the central government did not have the strength to control the three garrisons in Ho-pei."

34. TCTC, p. 7992.

35. For a brief account of the Sweet Dew Incident, cf. footnote #245 accompanying the translation of the biography.

36. Wang Ming-sheng, Discussions on the Seventeen Histories, Ts'ung Shu Chi-ch'eng edition, chap. 91/1022-3.

37. TCTC, pp. 7987-8.

38. ibid., p. 7994.

39. ibid., pp. 7994-5.

40. ibid., p. 7995.

41. loc. cit.

42. ibid., pp. 7996-7.

43. CTS, chap. 174/11a. cf. also TCTC, p. 7997.

44. TCTC, pp. 7997-8.

45. ibid., pp. 7995-6.

46. CTS, chap. 174/3b.

47. Wang Yen-shih was Tsai's son. "In his youth, Yen-shih was sharp and quick-witted. Since Chih-hsing personally raised him, his name was considered on the same level as his father's." HTS 172/3b.

48. TCTC, p. 7998.

49. ibid., pp. 7998-9.

50. ibid., p. 8004.

51. ibid., pp. 8004-5.

52. ibid., p. 8005.

53. loc. cit.

54. ibid., p. 8006.

55. ibid., p. 8007.

56. ibid., p. 8008.

57. cf. #36

58. TCTC, p. 8011. 失信與義

59. Wang Fu-chih, Tu T'ung Chien Lün, Shih-chieh Shu Chü modern punctuated edition, chap. 26/558.

60. TCTC, p. 7987.

61. ibid., p. 8010.

62. HCIPC, chap. 3/14.

63. ibid., chap. 7/40.

64. ibid., chap. 6/31.

65. Edwin Reischauer (trans.), Ennin's Diary, pp. 344-5.

66. ibid., p. 345. Reischauer himself questions the accuracy of these figures. cf. p. 337, footnote #1292.

67. TCTC, p. 8009.

68. Ch'en Yin-k'o, "Political Change and Differentiation Among the Cliques," taken from his book The Draft Narrative of T'ang Political History reprinted in his Collected Works, p. 179. This article provides a detailed and persuasive analysis of how the eunuchs controlled court politics in post-An Lu-shan China.

69. Lan Wen-cheng, "Relics of the Hui-ch'ang Period," in Min-chu P'ing-lün, vol. 5, 1948, p. 56.

70. Reischauer, Ennin's Diary, pp. 360-1.

71. TCTC, p. 7738.

72. ibid., pp. 8009-10.

73. ibid., p. 8010.

74. ibid., p. 7874.

TRANSLATION OF THE BIOGRAPHY OF LI TE-YÜ

AS TAKEN FROM

CHAPTER 174 OF THE OLD T'ANG HISTORY

Li Te-yü (tzu Wen-jao) was a man from the commandery of Chao.[1] His grandfather Hsi-yün had been President of the Board of Censors,[2] while his father Chi-fu, who had been [enfeoffed as] the Duke of Chao Kuo, served as Chief Minister[3] at the beginning of the Yüan-ho era (805-20). Both have their own biographies.[4]

In his youth, Te-yü had firm determination. He was painstaking and diligent in his studies, and particularly well-versed in the History of the Western Han Dynasty and the Tso (commentary on) The Spring and Autumn Annals. He was ashamed to be part of the local tribute to the capital along with all the students, and did not like examinations. By the time he reached adulthood, his character and studies had been largely formed.

After his father had been censured and banished to the lands of the southern barbarians during the Chen-yüan era, Te-yü followed and served by his side without seeking advancement.[5] At the beginning of the Yüan-ho era, when his father was again chief minister (lit. held the balance of state), to avoid suspicion, he did not hold office in the major departments at the capital, but took appointment on the staffs of one provincial official after another.

In [Yüan-ho] 11 [816], Chang Hung-ching[6] gave up the office of chief minister and served [as military governor of Hotung with headquarters] in T'ai-yüan. [Chang] appointed Te-yü as his Recorder.[7] From the rank of Secretary of Inquiry for

the Supreme Court[8] he advanced to become Court Censor for Palace Affairs.[9] In Yüan-ho 14 [819], when the staff was disbanded, he followed Hung-ching to the court, receiving the substantive office of Examining Censor.[10]

In the first month of the following year, when Mu-tsung ascended the throne, Te-yü was summoned to fill the office of Scholar in the Han-lin Academy.[11] Previously when the emperor lived in the Eastern Palace [the official residence of the Crown Prince], he had heard of Chi-fu's reputation. When he saw Te-yü, he particularly favoured him, and often ordered him to draft letters and documents requiring a great hand with a brush for the inner palace. In the same month, Te-yü was summoned for an audience in the Ssu-cheng Palace[12] and presented with gold and purple garments.[13] One month later, he was transferred to the position of Auxiliary Secretary in charge of Military Colonies.[14]

Mu-tsung, who did not uphold the principles of good government, granted many favours. The various imperial in-laws corruptly schemed to make requests and intercessions. Te-yü loathed this situation of transmitting the intentions of the eunuchs and associating with powerful officials.

In Ch'ang-ch'ing 1/1 [821] Te-yü sent up a memorial[15] stating:

> I humbly observe that according to the precedents of the present dynasty, the relationship of the imperial sons-in-law being close, they ought not to associate

> with important court officials. Hsüan-tsung during the K'ai-yüan era (713-42) prohibited this with particular severity.[16] Upon investigation, I heard that, recently, imperial sons-in-law have visited[17] the private homes of chief ministers and high officials. This lot has no other qualification for being received other than (lit. only) to leak palace secrets and communicate between the inner and outer courts. Popular sentiment[18] considers this a serious abuse. In the case of those whose court positions are of the miscellaneous category,[19] there is no objection to their coming and going, but if they are officials of the "pure"[20] ranks, how can we tolerate their participation in such matters? I humbly hope that your majesty proclaim to the chief ministers that henceforth when the various relatives [in the category of] imperial sons-in-law have public business, that they go to see the chief ministers in the Imperial Secretariat. I request that they not be allowed to visit private homes.[21]

The emperor agreed. Soon thereafter, Te-yü was transferred to the post of Senior Secretary for the Board of Examining Merit[22] [while maintaining his position] in charge of edicts and proclamations.[23] In Ch'ang-ch'ing 2/2 [822] he was transferred to [the post of] Grand Secretary in the Imperial Secretariat[24] remaining a Scholar as before.

Prior to this, when Chi-fu was in ministerial ranks, Niu Seng-ju[25] and Li Tsung-min[26] responded to the special examination called the "Worthy, Virtuous and Righteous Men Capable of speaking frankly and criticizing without restraint."[27] In answering the questions put by the emperor, they bitterly attacked the failures of the government of the day. As a result of Chi-fu tearfully complaining to the emperor, all of the officials in charge of the examination were demoted.[28] The matter is included in Li Tsung-min's biography.[29]

At the very beginning of the Yüan-ho period, (beginning with Tu Huang-shang's campaign in Shu), troops were used to suppress rebellions.[30] Chi-fu drew up plans[31] and wanted to pacify the area of the two Ho's (Ho-pei and Ho-nan). When he was about to send out troops, he died.[32] The campaign was carried on by [Wu] Yüan-heng[33] and P'ei Tu.[34] However, Wei Kuan-chih[35] and Li Feng-chi[36] were opposed (to the campaign), firmly maintaining that the use of troops was wrong. When Wei and Li successively resigned their chief ministerships, Feng-chi felt undying anger towards Chi-fu and P'ei Tu.

For a long time during the Yüan-ho era, Te-yü was not promoted. Feng-chi, Seng-ju and Tsung-min continued to block him because of their personal grudges. At this time, Te-yü, Li Shen,[37] and Yüan Chen[38] were all in the Han-lin Academy. Because they had similar attitudes, learning abilities, and reputations, they were very close. Feng-chi's faction deeply hated them.

That month,[39] Te-yü left his post as Scholar and became vice-president of the Board of Censors.[40] At this time, Yüan Chen left the palace and was appointed vice-president of the Board of Public Works[41] and Minister of State.[42] In the third month [Ch'ang-ch'ing 2] [822] P'ei Tu left T'ai-yüan and again became chief minister.[43] That month, when Li Feng-chi also entered the court from Hsiang-yang,[44] he secretly bribed a corruptible man to concoct the Yü Fang case.[45]

In the sixth month, when both Yuan Chen and P'ei Tu[46] were dismissed from their positions as chief ministers, Chen became prefect[47] of T'ung-chou, and Feng-chi replaced P'ei Tu as vice president of the Imperial Chancellory[48] and chief minister.[49]

After he gained a position of authority, Feng-chi showed great zeal in seeking revenge. At this time when Te-yü and Niu Seng-ju both had hopes of becoming chief minister, Feng-chi wanted to promote Seng-ju but feared that Li Shen and Te-yü would use their influence in the palace to stop him.

In the ninth month, when Te-yü was sent out to become the Civil Governor of Che-hsi,[50] Seng-ju was soon thereafter promoted to [the post of] chief minister. Because of this, the mutual hatred between Te-yü and Seng-ju became deeper and deeper.

Jun-chou[51] was [still] suffering from the aftermath of the revolt of Wang Kuo-ch'ing's[52] troops. When the previous governor, Tou I-chih[53] emptied the treasury [to pay] for rewards, the army became increasingly arrogant and the resources were exhausted. Te-yü being frugal in his own expenditures, used the whole of the prefectural share of taxes[54] to pay the army. Although the disbursements were not bountiful, the officers and men did not complain. Two years later, the military was again well-disciplined (lit. the chariots of war were again reined in). Having achieved his post in the prime of his life, Te-yü was zealous in his conduct of government, reforming all the

traditional customs which had harmed the people. In southern China,[55] people believed in shamanism and exorcism and were misled by tales of spirits and miracles. Because of this belief, there were cases in which whole households fled, abandoning parents and brothers who were seriously ill. Seeking to change these customs, Te-yü chose those with learning among the rural people to persuade them with words and rectify them with laws; within a few years the corrupt customs were put in order and changed.

According to the local gazeteer, famous officials and worthy emperors of previous dynasties were worshipped in the temples of the attached prefectures. In four prefectures, he removed 1010 improper temples and tore down 1460 forts and mountain dwellings in order to get rid of bandits and robbers. The people appreciated his administration and the emperor issued a congratulatory edict.

The Chao-ming Emperor [Ching-tsung] ascended the throne while still a boy[57] devoting himself mainly to extravagant living. In the seventh month of the year of his accession, an edict was issued ordering Che-hsi to manufacture and send to court twenty silver cosmetic containers.[58]

Te-yü sent up a memorial:[59]

> With the great good fortune of a hundred lifetimes, I have managed to encounter such a prosperous period and to be entrusted with such a noteworthy district to govern. I am always[60] afraid of neglecting my duty so that I work tirelessly day and night to re-

pay the country's favour. For several years, disasters and floods have followed one another. Even though I have exhausted all my minute attention, the inhabitants of this area barely avoid becoming vagrants. They have not yet fully recovered their productive capacity from recent calamities. I humbly note that in the amnesty dated 3/3 of this year, it was ordered that we not send up goods[61] beyond ordinary tribute. This, then, is an example of your majesty's great wisdom and enlightenment reaching down to the minutest detail. On the one hand you feared that tax collectors would take advantage [of the calamities] to carry on illicit practices and on the other hand[62] you feared that the distressed people would be unable to withstand such malfeasance. Above, you magnified the virtue of frugality and below you displayed a compassionate humanity.[63] The people throughout the empire have been extremely happy (lit. beat the drum and dance without rest) [to learn of this amnesty].

Recently, I have received an edict dated 5/23 ordering that I seek a Taoist recluse on Mao Shan,[64] in order to make him your teacher in the ways of dwelling in humility and maintaining frugality as well as to encourage the virtue of striving for the essential and discarding the frivolous. Although there is no such recluse to send up to fulfill the imperial command; in reality, the whole world already bows to your profound influence; how could it be that I, your insignificant servant, alone send up praise,[65] the more so, since the matter of sending up tribute is the constant preoccupation of a subject or a child and although there should be an edict prohibiting this, still, it would be proper to devote the whole of one's energies to sending tribute.

However, originally my province was known for its wealth and abundance, but, in recent years, it has been different from what it was in the past. During the late Chen-yüan era when Li Ch'i[66] served as civil governor, his daily responsibilities were concurrently those of Salt and Iron Commissioner. The common people in addition to putting forth the liquor tax money[67] according to the string,[68] also established an office for the government monopoly for alcohol. The tax was collected in two ways. The receipts were extremely high. Moreover after investigation, I have learned that, at that time, the extra tribute included the sur-

plus from the Salt and Iron Monopoly. The tribute rendered was very great. Since then, no one has achieved this extreme figure.

When Hsüeh P'ing[69] was Civil Governor, he also sent up a memorial[70] for the establishment of a tax on liquor. In addition to the portion sent to the capital there was a large surplus. What was available for military needs, was, in fact, completely adequate. The edict of Yüan-ho 14/7/3 [819] put a stop to the liquor monopoly. Moreover, according to the Act of Grace of Yüan-ho 15/5/7 [820][71], the surplus from the various prefectures was not to be sent to the provincial capital.[72] There were only 500,000 strings as funds to be kept for the commissioner. The budget is still 130,000 short and is not sufficient for our regular needs. In these matters, even if one makes a hundred schemes for saving[74] and tries to fill up [gaps] and make ends meet, there is no way of avoiding a budgetary deficit.

Thin silk and the like are what this prefecture produces and are easy to handle while silver and gold are not available here in this prefecture and must be purchased and brought from elsewhere. Last year[75] during the second month, I received an imperial command to present twenty cosmetic containers which, calculations show, will use over 9400 ounces of silver. At that time, the prefectural reserves did not amount to more than 2-300 ounces, so that only after all the items had been procured from the market could they be manufactured and sent to court. Recently, I again received an imperial decree ordering the presentation of twenty [more] cosmetic containers which I figure will use 13,000 ounces of silver and 130 of gold. Subsequently, I have been told to combine it with the contributions of gold and silver for the imperial birthday[76] to manufacture the boxes and complete the presentation to court of both orders.

Now we have sent men to Huai-nan to buy what is needed. As soon as the materials arrive, they are used. There is no time to rest even at night. Though I am exerting all my energy to manage this affair and striving to achieve what has been ordered, I greatly fear that I will fall short. If I were to proceed routinely without memorializing, I would be failing to repay your majesty's favour in appointing me to this office. If I strive excessively to exact what has been ordered, I

> would be bringing embarrassment to your majesty's virtues of kindness and frugality. I humbly beg that your majesty review the aforementioned items of the liquor monopoly and the surpluses from the various prefectures and understand that the whole matter of deficiencies of my military resources have their origins. I humbly calculate that when your majesty looks at the arguments contained in my memorial you will graciously comprehend fully my total commitment to the virtues of loving the emperor, and carrying out my duties, as well as my feelings of complete loyalty and total frankness. I humbly beg that your majesty order the chief ministers to discuss how I will (be directed to) proceed, on the one hand, preventing me from disobeying imperial directives and on the other hand, from exhausting the army stores, so that it will not cause hardship for the weary people and not arouse public censure.[77] If earlier and later edicts and decrees must both be honoured and carried out, I am in imminent risk of the imperial wrath, and cannot overcome my extreme fear and trembling.

At that time, according to the amnesty, sending up tribute was prohibited. Little more than a month later, commissioners in charge of levying tribute were hard on each other's heels on the road. Therefore, Te-yü made a complaint containing veiled criticisms about it. The matter was memorialized but received no reply.

Again an edict was issued [ordering] 1000 rolls of "thin silk capable of being made into ribbons and sashes" be sent up. Te-yü also discussed this:[78]

> Recently, because of imperial requisitions, I have already drawn up [documents concerning] the military budget and the productive capacity of recent years and made this known in a memorial. I humbly think that the emperor has certainly deigned to review it. Again, I received an edict ordering me to have gowns and robes woven from thin silk and [another] 1000 rolls of "thin silk capable of being made into ribbons and sashes." After reading the [new] edict, my fears were doubled.

I humbly note that in the court of [T'ang] T'ai-tsung when a censor arrived in Liang-chou[79] and saw a noteworthy hawk, he hinted to Li Ta-liang[80] that it be presented to the emperor. Ta-liang demonstrated his uprightness in a secret memorial and T'ai-tsung issued an edict saying "if there is an official like this, what more is there to worry about!"[81] Twice and thrice have I sighed in admiration. This matter is recorded in the historical records.

Furthermore, when Hsüan-tsung ordered eunuchs to go to Chiang-nan[82] to capture egrets and such birds, the prefect of Pien-chou[83] Ni Juo-shui[84] protested. After the emperor issued an edict congratulating him and accepting his view, the birds were all immediately released. He [also] ordered Huang-fu Hsün[85] in I-chou[86] to have a half-sleeved jacket woven, a gilt case for a guitar pick[87] made and an ivory box carved, etc. Su T'ing[88] did not accept the edict and arbitrarily had the weaving stopped. Neither T'ai-tsung nor Hsüan-tsung[89] meted out punishment. They happily accepted [the criticism] that was expressed to them. In my humble opinion, these rare birds and carved ivories are extremely insignificant. Jo-shui and the others still considering that these matters burdened the people and harmed imperial virtue, made earnest pleas and manifested their loyalty. In the courts of your divine ancestors, there were such officials as these. How could it be that your reign alone could lack such men? It must be that those in high positions conceal their words and do not speak out. It could not be a matter of your majesty resisting [their proposals] and not accepting [their ideas].

I humbly note that the Act of Grace[90] of [Pao-li 1] 4/23 [822] states: 'As for the nobles[91] and officials occupying high office, let them not abandon me calling me one who is deaf to remonstrances.[92] If some of my actions are improper and contrary to reason or if I am following my own desires and cherishing my peace and quiet, come and criticize me face to face in open court. Hold nothing back. (lit. do not hide anything or consider anything taboo)

This is an example of the emperor receiving instruction and the acceptance of the ways of virtue[94] illuminating one's ancestors. If [in response] admonitions are not totally sincere, then the fault will be with the officials. Moreover, the sashes made with the pattern of

> the dark goose, the heavenly horses[95] and the cypress panther are colourfully decorated and unusual (lit. rare and strange), and are only fit to be worn by the imperial person. The cost of the 1000 bolts which are now to be woven is extremely great. This is also something of which I am ignorant and do not understand.[96]
>
> In former times, Han Wen-ti wore black silk[97] and Han Yüan-ti stopped the wearing of thin silk.[98] Their humaneness, virtue, kindness, and frugality are celebrated to the present day. I humbly beg that your majesty model yourself on the openness and accessibility of T'ai-tsung and Hsüan-tsung in recent times and further contemplate the rule by example[99] in earlier times of Han Wen-ti and Yüan-ti. I humbly suggest that your majesty show my earlier memorials to the officials and have them discuss what is appropriate for my province's resources. If a reduction [in taxes] is granted, then the common people in a distant corner of the world will all certainly receive you gift. I cannot overcome my deep feelings of sincere supplication and awe.

A favourable edict was issued in response and the sending up of light silk was halted.

Since the beginning of the Yüan-ho era, there had been numerous occasions of edicts banning the private ordination of Buddhist monks and nuns in the prefectures of the empire. The military governor of Hsü-chou,[100] Wang Chih-hsing[101] was insatiable in accumulating wealth. On the occasion of the emperor's birthday celebrations, he requested permission to establish an ordination platform in Ssu-chou[102] in order to accumulate good fortune by ordaining people, thereby hoping to obtain great profits. Many people from [the region of] the Chiang and Huai Rivers crossed the Huai River in groups.

Te-yü sent up a memorial[103] discussing this:

> Wang Chih-hsing has established platforms for initiating Buddhist priests and nuns in his attached[104] administrative

> unit of Ssu-chou. Since last winter, he has hung up signs everywhere south of the Chiang and Huai Rivers inviting the inhabitants. Since Yüan-ho 2 [807] no one in the Chiang-Huai region has dared to ordain privately. Since hearing that there is a platform in Ssu-chou, each household of three adult males makes one of their number shear his hair. Their intention is to seek[105] to avoid imperial levies and protect their wealth. Since the beginning of the year, the number of those who have shorn their hair is an incalculably large number.[106] Recently at Suan Shan Crossing[107] I counted over 100 who crossed in one day. After investigation, [I learned that] only fourteen were formerly Buddhist novices,[108] the rest were commoners from Su-chou[109] and Ch'ang-chou[110] without documents from their home districts. Having compelled them to return to their places of origin, I investigated and learned about the details of ordination in Ssu-chou. All the would-be monks pay two strings of cash per person, are given a certificate and then are sent home without any further Buddhist ceremony. Unless there are extraordinary measures [taken] to prevent this by the time of the imperial birthday celebrations, I estimate that we will lose 600,000 adult males from the tax rolls from the region south of the Chiang and Huai Rivers. This is no insignificant matter in relation to the laws and regulations of the court.

On the very day the memorial was sent up, an edict was sent to Hsü-chou stopping it.

Ching-tsung was becoming more and more dissolute by the day, making haphazard imperial tours, keeping aloof from the worthy and the able, and associating with companies of lesser men. When he convened court but two or three times a month, great officials were rarely able to speak to him. The empire was in great danger and it was feared that it might affect the imperial altars.

While occupying the position of a Civil Governor[111] and devoting himself completely to the imperial house, Te-yü sent

a messenger with his Remonstrance of Six Headings Written on a Red Screen[112] to court.

> I have heard that 'when there is love in the heart, how can it be left unexpressed?'[113] This is how the worthies of old served the emperor with devotion. Those who are far away but speak intimately are in danger. Those whose positions are far away and who are intent on being loyal may be contrary. But I humbly recall that I was raised up (lit. plucked up) by the former emperor and received extraordinary imperial favour. If I do not show love for the ruler with my loyalty, then I will be turning my back on this divine example from antiquity. I recently served the previous court which was full of evil influences. I sent up the Ta-ming fu[114] in order to satirize [these conditions]. I received many congratulations from the earlier court. Now, putting forth all my loyalty to enlighten my ruler, I am proceeding from the same motive.[115] In the past, during Chang Ch'ang's[116] defence of distant commanderies, and Mei Fu's[117] wanderings, they placed the highest value on complete sincerity[117a] and total loyalty and did not seek to avoid giving rise to criticism[118] (lit. blame and instruction). How much the more must I have studied the ancient histories and fully comprehended the warnings of the officials.[119] Although I am far away, I still take thought to offer up my advice. I respectfully lower my head[120] and present this Remonstrance of Six Headings, and having prepared precedents for our descendants and looking upwards to the exemplar of divine wisdom on earth, I bow down in great fear and dread.

(The remonstrance itself has been omitted.)

> The emperor wrote a reply[121] in his own hand:
>
> Your writing is very refined. You are in a far-off corner of the empire with great responsibility for setting an example and being a leader. All the areas (under your command) are tranquil. All of Wu[122] has been pacified and transformed. Your influence is such that on your spring inspection the atmosphere [there] is so calm (lit. clear) you may sit and whistle [your work done].
>
> Your solicitous words and good government, I reflect upon and sigh over, keeping them in my bosom. Your family have successively manifested notable achieve-

> ments. For two generations, they have headed the inner court and during six reigns[123] they have held hereditary noble titles. The poet's meaning was not to forget, though far away, to report loyally, to suggest criticisms to the ruler and constantly to show, deep concern for small beginnings. You broaden [my knowledge] in order to rectify me. You restrain me so that I will follow the 'li'. Twice and thrice you have sent criticisms. I have praised them and sighed over them night after night. I place them on the corner of my seat. Their utility is comparable to the 'silk bow string and leather girdle,'[125] I will carve them on my heart. Surely they will be more efficacious than medicine and acupuncture. Since you have presented your sincerest thoughts, I shall always keep my heart open to criticism. If there are any faults, do not forget to send up secret memorials. Even though mountains and rivers keep you far away, how can concern and attachment [for the throne] cease? Now I will certainly exert myself in order to match your sincerity.

Te-yü intended to criticize sharply but he did not wish to use scolding words, entrusting to these remonstrances the whole of his intentions. The one on 'dressing in the dark' hinted that the court sat infrequently and late. The one 'improper dress' alluded to the fact that the emperor's dress and carriages were irregular. The one on 'stopping tribute' censured the quest for frivolous curiosities. The one on 'accepting instruction' criticized the rejection of good advice. The one on 'distinguishing the vicious' criticized placing trust on common petty-minded people. The one on 'guarding against going incognito' criticized ill-considered imperial excursions. Although the emperor could not make use of all this advice, he did order the [Han-lin] Scholar Wei Ch'u-hou[126] to compose carefully an edict in reply.[127] It said that the

emperor was very pleased to receive it and that he would devote much thought to its contents.

Te-yü remained in the Yangtse region for a long time but longed for the capital, taking advantage of every opportunity to express these feelings, hoping to return to assist the emperor. At this time, when Feng-chi was at the pivot of the government, he blocked his path with slanderous and glib talk. In the end, Te-yü was unable to move inward.

In Pao-li 2 [826] it was said that Po-chou[128] produced holy water which could cure the diseases of those who drank it. Te-yü memorialized:[129]

> I have learned upon investigation that the origin of these stories about the water comes from a sorcerer-monk's larceny and his crafty plan to beg for money. For several months, men from Chiang-nan have been running [to get it] and blocking the road. Out of every thirty households,[130] one hires a man to fetch the water. When the sick resolve to take it, they stop eating meat and strong-smelling foods (i.e. garlic and onions). For twice seven days after taking it, they eat vegetarian meals. The gravely ill look to it to cure their illness. The price is three strings of cash per tou. Those fetching it, mix it with other water and sell it from place to place along the roadsides.[131] The old and sick who drink it are frequently on the verge of death.
>
> Recently, I counted 30-50 people from Liang Che[133] and Fu-chien[134] crossing the Yangtse per day. I have already been apprehending them at Suan Shan Crossing but unless the source of the trouble is stopped, it will ultimately be of no benefit to the common people. In former times, there were periodic reports of holy water[135] in Wu and during the [Liu] Sung period[136] there was [talk of] divine fire.[137] All these things were weird and absurd and as such were rejected by the ancients. I implore your majesty to order the civil governor of the province in question, Ling-hu Ch'u[138] to put an immediate end to it in order to stop this source of superstition.

It was carried out.

Ching-tsung was lectured by the 'learned doctor and professor of Taoist learning for the two streets of the palace in the capital,' Chao Kuei-chen,[139] on the art of achieving immortality. The latter said that the emperor ought to seek unusual men who could teach this Tao. The Buddhist monks Wei Chen, Ch'i Hsien, and Cheng Chien expounded the view that one could gain good fortune with prayer and so achieve long life.[140] All four frequented the inner court and daily expressed their heretical teachings. The mountain recluse Tu Ching-hsien[141] sent up a memorial requesting that unusual men be sought in Chiang-nan.

In Che-hsi, it was said that there was a recluse Chou Hsiu-yüan[142] who was reputedly several hundred years of age. The emperor immediately sent a eunuch, Hsüeh Chi-ling, to Jun-chou to welcome him, and also ordered Te-yü to provide a government carriage for transport.

Te-yü sent back a memorial[143] with the eunuch. It said:

> I have heard that among the highest achievers of the Tao, none can be compared with Kuang Ch'eng[144] and Hsüan Yüan[145] (Lao Tzu) and that among the sages of mankind, none is equal to the Yellow Emperor[146] or Confucius. Long ago, the Yellow Emperor asked Kuang Ch'eng: "How does one regulate the essentials of one's body in order to achieve long life?'[147]
>
> He replied, 'Don't look, don't listen, hold in your spirit in order to gain inner peace. Your form will correct itself; your mind will[148] cleanse itself. Do not exhaust your body, do not arouse your essence, then you will have the possibility of long life. Cautiously guard your oneness in order to repose in

its harmony. So, I have cared for my body for 1200 years and my form has not experienced degeneration.' He added, 'Of those who comprehend my Tao, the superior ones become emperors, the lesser ones, [mere] kings.'

Lao-tzu said to Confucius: 'Rid yourself of arrogant feelings and excessive desires of attraction to outward appearances and of licentious ambitions. They bring no benefit to your body. What I have to say to you is just that.' As a result of this the Yellow Emperor let out a sigh calling on Heaven. Confucius expressed his feeling that Lao-tzu resembled a dragon.[149] The Tao of the former sages[150] was supreme, was it not?

I respectfully submit that your majesty[151] seek the instruction of your mysterious ancestor and cultivate the art of the Yellow Emperor. Congeal your spirit in a tranquil palace, seek unusual people and gaze upon their countenances of snow and ice (i.e. those of immortals). If you make humble requests, out of respect for your divine feelings, an immortal will be brought down. Supposing Kuang Ch'eng and the Yellow Emperor were to arrive one after the other, the way they would expound to you, the words that they would give to you, based on my calculations would not go outside of this range. What I am concerned about is that those who will answer your summons will likely be eccentric scholars and sycophants who do petty tricks of turning things into mud or ice and boastfully display false and depraved things so as to deceive and cheat one's senses. Like the claims of generals Wen Ch'eng[153] and Wu Li,[154] not one will likely be proven.

The reason why I have never dared to offer one man in response to the four edicts which I have received in three years is that I really did have something to be afraid of. I have also heard that although former kings favoured adepts, they never swallowed the medicines [which they prepared], therefore, the Han Shu said if gold could be produced and be used to make drinking and eating utensils, then it would increase longevity. Also, while both Liu Tao-ho[155] at the court of T'ang Kao-tsung and Sun Tseng-sheng[156] at the court of Hsüan-tsung were able to produce gold, still, your two ancestors, in the end, did not venture to swallow it. For[157] it was because caring for the ancestral temples and national altars was of great importance and could not be slighted and made light of. These matters are luminously recorded on the pages of the national history.

> In my humble opinion, if your majesty thinks shrewdly and seeks with fine discrimination,[158] it is certain that he will produce a genuine recluse. The emperor should only then ask about the methods of maintaining harmony and not seek the benefits of elixirs. If you insist that they produce real gold, it will only serve for diversion and curiosity. If you follow my advice, then the divine intelligence of the nine ancestral temples will certainly be comforted and made happy, and who among the common people of the empire will not be content? I intend to use the whole of my simplicity and sincerity to assist the [emperor's] mysterious [powers of] transformation. I cannot bear the extremity of my dread and anxiety.

When [Chou] Hsi-yüan arrived in the capital, the emperor put him up in a mountain lodge and asked him about the method of the Tao. He said of himself that he had known Chang Kuo[159] and Yeh Ching-nung.[160] The emperor ordered the court portraitist Li Shih-fang[161] to ask him about their form and appearance and paint them and present them to the throne. Hsi-yüan was a common man from the mountain wilderness and basically had no Taoist learning. What he said was extravagant and lacking in common sense. After Ching-tsung[162] died at the hands of brigands,[163] Wen-tsung sent him back south of the Yangtze. Te-yü's profound knowledge and moral standards (lit. guarding uprightness) were all of this sort.

When Wen-tsung ascended the throne, he awarded Te-yü the title of Acting President of the Board of Rites.[164] In T'ai-ho 3/8 [829], Te-yü was summoned [to the capital] to be Vice-president of the Board of War,[165] and P'ei Tu recommended that he become Chief Minister, but when, with the aid of eunuchs, the Vice-president of the Civil Service Board, Liu Tsung-min,

was promoted to be chief minister that same month, he feared that Te-yü would be placed in an important position. In the ninth month, the latter was made Acting President of the Board of Rites and was [again] sent out to become the Military Governor of Cheng-hua.[167] Te-yü had already been blocked by Li Feng-chi and had remained in Che-hsi for eight years.[168] Although he was far away from the capital and the court, he had constantly sent up memorials discussing matters. Wen-tsung, who had originally been aware of his loyalty, plucked his name from among those recommended by the court and summoned him. Within ten days of his arrival [in the capital] he was again driven out by Li Tsung-min. Te-yü kept his feelings locked up and had no way to express himself, relying on Cheng T'an[169] who was serving as a Lecturer within the palace,[170] to praise his virtues from time to time. Despite the rumours from the faction, the emperor's regard for Te-yü never ceased. Tsung-min soon brought in Niu Seng-ju[171] to share the responsibilities of government. After these two combined their enmity against Te-yü, all those who supported Te-yü were banished to distant posts.[172]

In T'ai-ho 4/10 [830],[173] Te-yü was appointed Acting President of the Board of War,[174] Prefect[175] of [the grand prefecture of] Ch'eng-tu[176] and Deputy Grand Military Governor of Chien-nan[177] Hsi-ch'uan in Charge of Military Affairs,[178] Responsible for Surveillance and Appointments Within this Jurisdiction

[as well as] Pacification Commissioner for the Eight Kingdoms[179] of Hsi-shan[180] and Yün-nan.[181] [Earlier], P'ei Tu had shown favour to Tsung-min. When P'ei Tu was campaigning in Huai-hsi, he requested that Tsung-min[182] become his Duty Officer Responsible for Daily Affairs and Investigation[183] in the Chang-i Army Region.[184] Thereafter, Tsung-min's reputation and position rose daily. At this time, Tsung-min hated Tu for helping Te-yü and had Tu dismissed as Chief Minister[185] and sent out as Military Governor of Hsing-yüan.[186] The authority of the Niu-Li clique overawed the world.[187]

Hsi-ch'uan still suffered from the after-effects of the pillaging [of goods] and [the] carrying off [of inhabitants] by the barbarians. Kuo Chao[188] lacked the skill to comfort [the people] and organize [their defense]. The people did not have the means for a livelihood. Te-yü then mended the border defenses, rebuilt the army and also sent ambassadors to Nan Chao[189] to seek the return of the workmen and artisans who had been carried off. The ambassadors got more than 4000 craftsmen,[190] Buddhist and Taoist priests and brought them back to Ch'eng-tu.

In [Tai-ho] 5/9 [831],[191] the Tibetan general in Wei-chou,[192] Hsi-ta-mou, requested permission to surrender his city. His prefecture's southern boundary was the Min Shan[193] north of the Yangtze. It went westward, range upon range, and its limits were unknown. In the north, it looked out at the Lung Mountains[194] where accumulated snow resembled jade. In the east, it looked

down upon Ch'eng-tu as if it were at the bottom of a well. On one side there was a solitary peak, and on the other three sides it overlooked the Yangtze. This was the key area in eastern Shu for controlling the Tibetans. After the Chih-te era [756-7] (i.e. the beginning of the An Lu-shan rebellion), Ho[-hsi][195] and Lung[-yu][196] fell to the barbarians and only this prefecture was preserved. Valuing the strategic importance of Wei-chou, the Tibetans[197] married off a girl to a gatekeeper in this prefecture. Twenty years later her two boys, who were now grown up, responded from within to their call and the city surrendered. After capturing it, the Tibetans called it, "the city without grief." During the Chen-yüan era [785-805] while Wei Kao[198] was Governor of Shu and controlled the Eight Kingdoms of Hsi Shan, he devised countless plans to take this city but never succeeded.

When Hsi-ta-mou dispatched an envoy to deliver his terms, Te-yü, suspecting a trick, sent an ambassador bearing a brocade gown and a belt of gold, who presented them with the message, 'wait for further instructions.' After Hsi-ta-mou led all the people in his prefecture to Ch'eng-tu to surrender, Te-yü sent troops to garrison and protect Wei-chou. In a memorial, he set forth the advantages and disadvantages of going forth and attacking. At the time, Niu Seng-ju was opposed [to accepting the surrender], arguing that China had recently concluded a treaty with the Tibetans and ought not to violate it. The words are to be found in his biography.[199] Te-yü was ordered

to send back Hsi-ta-mou's people and to return Wei-chou. After the King[200] of the Tibetans got them back, they were all cruelly punished.

In [T'ai-ho] 6 [832], Te-yü again repaired the fortifications at the Ch'iung-hsia Pass[201,202] and moved the administration of Sui-chou[203] to T'ai-teng[204] city to resist the attacks of the barbarians. In successive military campaigns and garrison service he became known for his achievements in good government. During his service in Shu, he defended against the Tibetans in the west, and pacified the Man and Yen[205] in the south. Within a few years, dogs did not bark at night to raise alarms, while the bruised and sick gradually recovered.

At this time, the Eunuch Overseer[207] Wang Chien-yen[208] entered the court to become a Eunuch Councillor.[209] On one occasion in the presence of the emperor, he said that Hsi-ta-mou had been bound and delivered to please the barbarians, thus putting to an end any thoughts of submitting and surrendering. The emperor put much of the blame for this on Seng-ju.[210]

In the winter of that year, Te-yü was summoned to become the President of the Board of War.[211] Seng-ju was dismissed as Chief Minister and sent out to become the Military Governor of Huai-nan.[212,213] In T'ai-ho 7/2 [833], with this same office, Te-yü served as Chief Minister and was promoted and enfeoffed as the Marquis of Tsan-huang with an estate of 700 households. In the 6th month, Tsung-min was also dismissed and Te-yü replaced

him as Vice-president of the Department of State Affairs[214] and Grand Scholar of the Academy of Assembled Worthies.[215]

During the 12th month, the emperor suffered a stroke[216] and for over a month he was unable to speak. Not until T'ai-ho 8/1/17 [834] did he proceed to the Tzu-ch'en Hall,[217] and, though still weak, hold an audience with the various officials. When the chief ministers withdrew, they asked whether or not the emperor was well. The emperor sighed that for a long time there had been no one of notable talent among his doctors. Consequently, Wang Shou-ch'eng[218] introduced Cheng Chu[219] to him. Previously, when Cheng contrived the Sung Shen-hsi[220] affair, the emperor resented him so much that he wanted to order the Prefect of the Capital District[221] to have him beaten to death. At this time, only because the medicine [he provided] was somewhat efficacious did the emperor begin to treat him well. Shou-ch'eng had also recommended Li Hsün[222] as an expert on the I-ching.

In the fall, the emperor wished to appoint him to a remonstrance office. Te-yü memorialized: "Hsün is a petty man who ought not stand by the emperor's side. The sum accumulation of his recent wrongdoings is known to all. If you use him without reason, you will certainly startle public opinion."

The emperor replied, "Who among men is without fault? One must wait for them to change; because he was recommended by Feng-chi, I cannot bear to go back on my word."

Te-yü answered, "Sages have the righteousness to correct

their faults. Hsün's is basically crafty and perverse and he has not the principles to change and reform." The emperor turned to Wang Yai[223] and said, "Discuss this matter and give him another post." Subsequently, he was appointed Assistant Professor in the Academy of the Four Gates.[224] When the edict was issued, the Grand Secretary of the Imperial Chancellor[225] Cheng Su[226] and Han Tz'u[227] sealed it but did not send it down. Wang Yai summoned Su for a face-to-face explanation and ordered him to send it down. Then Cheng Chu also suddenly arrived from Chiang-chou.[228] Hsün and he hated Te-yü for forcing Hsün out.

On 9/10, when Tsung-min was summoned from Hsing-yüan and again appointed Vice-president of the Imperial Secretariat and Minister of State replacing Te-yü, Te-yü was sent out to be Military Governor of Hsing-yüan. On the day that he came to thank the emperor for his appointment, he himself expressed his longing for the capital and his unwillingness to go out to the frontier. An imperial decree was issued making Te-yü Acting[229] Vice-President of the Board of War. Tsung-min memorialized: "Once imperial orders and edicts have been issued, they ought not to be changed at one's convenience. Shortly thereafter, he was transferred to be Titular[230] Vice-president of the Department of State Affairs, Prefect at Jun-chou,[231] Military Governor of the Chen-hui Military District[232] and Civil Governor, etc., for Su, Chang, Hang, and Jun-chou, replacing Wang Fan. When

Te-yü arrived at the post, he received an imperial edict [ordering him] to place the palace lady Tu Chung-yang in a Taoist temple and provide her with sustenance. She had been Prince Chang's foster mother, and had been exiled to Jun-chou because the Prince had committed a crime.[232]

On [T'ai-ho] 9/3 [836] the Left Assistant of the Department of State Affairs,[233] Wang Fan, and the Vice-president of the Board of Finance,[234] Li Han, sent up a memorial stating that when Te-yü was at his command, he had liberally bribed Chung-yang and thrown in his lot with Prince Chang to plot something illegal. In the 4th month, when the emperor was in the P'eng-lai Palace,[235] he summoned Wang Yai, Li Ku-yen,[236] Lu Sui,[237] Wang Fan, Cheng Chu, and others to give personal testimony about this matter. Fan and Han's false testimony that Te-yü had formed a conspiracy was extremely damaging.

Lu Sui memorialized: "Te-yü truly would not stoop to this. If indeed it is as Fan and Han claim, I too ought to be capable of such crimes." The group's discussions gradually stopped. Te-yu was soon after appointed Chief Counsellor[238] to the Crown Prince at Lo-yang. That month, he was further degraded to the post of the Administrator-in-chief[239] of Yüan-chou.[240] Lu Sui was convicted of giving testimony on behalf of Te-yü and was dismissed from ministerial ranks and sent out to serve in Che-hsi [as Military Governor]. In the 7th month, Tsung-min was involved in [the case of] rescuing Yang Wu-ching[241] and was exiled

to Ch'u-chou.[242] Li Han[243] was implicated in the crime of being in a faction along with Tsung-min and was banished to Fen-chou.[244] In the 11th month, Wang Fan[244a] and Li Hsün started an insurrection[245] but were executed. Wen-tsung then became fully aware of the truth of this earlier matter and understood that Te-yü had been slandered by the faction.

In the third month of the following year [836], Te-yü was appointed Yin-ch'ing Kuang-lu Tai-fu[246] and through the practice of liang-i[247] was transferred to be prefect of Ch'u-chou.[248] In the seventh month, he was promoted to Chief Counsellor to the Crown Prince. Four months later, he again became acting President of the Treasury Board and Civil Governor of Che-hsi. Altogether, he served in Che-hsi three times for a period of more than ten years.

In K'ai-ch'eng 2/5 [837], he was appointed Administrator-in-chief to the Governor General of the Senior Prefecture of Yang-chou[249] and Deputy Grant Military Governor of Huai-nan in charge of Military Affairs replacing Niu Seng-ju. Earlier when Seng-ju heard that Te-yü was going to replace him, he handed over the administration to his deputy Chang Lu[250] and thereupon immediately entered the court. At this time, the treasury [allegedly] contained 800,000 strings [worth] of cash and bolts of cloth. When Te-yü arrived at the garrison, he memorialized that he had received only 400,000 and [the other] half had been completely

spent by Chang Lu. Seng-ju sent a report demanding justice in this matter. Te-yü was ordered to restore the wealth to Seng-ju's figures. Te-yü claimed that when he first reached the garrison he had been ill and had been surreptitiously cheated by his clerks, but nevertheless requested punishment. An edict exonerated him. The Imperial Ommissioners[251] Wang Chi,[252] Wei Mu,[253] Ts'ui Tang,[254] Wei Yu-i[255] and the Imperial Reminders[256] Ling-hu T'ao, Wei Ch'u-lao,[257] Fan Tsung-jen,[258] and others, one after the other, petitioned that Te-yü had slanderously memorialized about the money in order to topple Seng-ju. In the end, the emperor did not inquire further. In K'ai-ch'eng 4/4 [839], Te-yü was given the title of acting Left Vice-president of the Department of State Affairs. On 5/1 [840], Wu-tsung ascended the throne. In the seventh month, he summoned Te-yü from Huai-nan. Two months later, he was promoted to be Vice-president of the Imperial Chancellory and Minister of State.

Prior to this, when Te-yü's father Chi-fu was fifty-one years old, he had gone to serve in Huai-nan. At age fifty-four, he left Huai-nan and returned to ministerial rank. Now Te-yü, having served in Huai-nan, was returning to enter ministerial rank at exactly the same age as his father. This was indeed a coincidence (lit. an unusual thing). In Hui-ch'ang 1 [840], Te-yü was given the concurrent post of Vice-president of the Department of State Affairs.

At the end of the K'ai-ch'eng period, the Uighurs were

attacked by the Kirghiz.[259] After being defeated in battle, the tribe broke up and scattered. Chieh Kaghan[260] captured the T'ai-ho Princess[261] and came south. In Hui-ch'ang 2/2 [842], the camped on the frontier and sent a messenger to seek aid in the form of arms and provisions in order to regain their homeland. They sought to borrow the T'ien-te Army in order to comfort the princess. At this time, the Commissioner for the T'ien-te Army,[262] Tien Mou,[263] requested to attack them with the armies of the various tribes of Sha-t'o[264] and T'ui-hun.[265] Undecided, the emperor sent the matter down to the various officials to be discussed. The majority of thosediscussing it said to do just as Mou had memorialized. Te-yü said,

> "A short time ago, when the empire was in difficulty (i.e. during the An Lu-shan Rebellion), the Uighurs on successive occasions established great merit. Now that their empire has been destroyed and their royal house defeated with nowhere to flee, since they have been on the frontier, they have not come to invade and transgress, but because of their poverty, have come to submit. If suddenly we carry out the practice of killing and attacking, it will not be the way Han Hsüan-ti handled Hu-han-hsieh.[266] It would be better to aid them and quietly observe their movements." Chief Minister Ch'en I-hsing[267] said, "this would be loaning an army to invaders and aiding robbers with provisions; it is not a [good] plan. It would be better to attack them."

Te-yü replied,

> T'ien Mou and Wei Chung-p'ing[268] stated that the Sha-t'o and T'ui-hun both want to attack the barbarians. In a crisis they would not be reliable. When they see an advantage, they advance; when they encounter an opponent, they scatter; this is the normal behaviour of mixed barbarians. Certainly, they will not, on behalf of our state and ruling house, defend and protect

> our border regions. T'ien-te is [but] one walled city and the border troops are few and weak, so if they contract the enmity of the strong barbarians, [the frontier] will certainly fall. It would be better to use reason and show them mercy and wait for them to go too far and then use troops when it would be convenient.

Suddenly, the Uighur Chief Minister Wa Mo-ssu[270] slew the other Chief Minister, Chih Hsin,[271] and brought his throng to surrender. The Ch'ih Hsin tribes also surrendered in Yu-chou.[272] Since Wu-chieh's power was isolated, they did not give him any rice, and his group was starving and in want. When they gradually approached Pao Ta[273] Cha and Pa T'ou Peak[274] in Chen-wu[275] and unexpectedly entered the prefectural borders of Shuo-chou,[276] both the Sha-t'ou and T'ui-hun, along with their families, defended the mountain strongholds. In Yün-chou,[277] Chang Hsien-chieh[278] defended himself within the city. The barbarians plundered very freely, for there were no troops to oppose them. The emperor was concerned over this and together with his ministers and officials deliberated over this matter.

Te-yü said,

> North of Pa T'ou Peak is merely desert. To fight there in the wilderness, we must use cavalry. If we use infantry to oppose them, it would be hard to ensure victory. The princess is what Wu-chieh now relies on. If we order a brave general to make a sortie to seize the princess, the barbarians will naturally be defeated.

The emperor agreed.

He thereupon ordered Te-yü to draft an edict and make dispositions. The various armies from the area north of Tai-chou[279]

were sent to secure the passes. The responsibility for the sortie was given to Liu Mien.[280] Mien ordered a great officer, Shih Hsiung,[281] to make a sudden attack on the kaghan at Sha Hu Shan,[282] where he defeated him. The words recording the reception of the princess back to the palace are found in Shih Hsiung's biography.[283] Soon thereafter, he was promoted to the position of Director of Public Works.[284] On [Hui-ch'ang] 3/2 [843], Ch'ao Fan[285] memorialized that the Kirghiz were attacking the military protectorates of An-hsi[286] and P'ei-t'ing[287] and that the troops ought to be sent out to respond [to the crisis] and relieve [the beleaguered situation].

Te-yü memorialized:

> According to the gazeteer, the distance from An-hsi to the capital is 7100 li; from P'ei-t'ing, it is 5200 li. During the period of great tranquility (i.e. before the An Lu-shan Rebellion) the western road went from Ho-hsi and Lung-yu and wound its way through the Yü-men Pass.[288] Everywhere there were the chou and hsien of our country and they all had major armies. The strategic armies of An-hsi and P'ei-t'ing were levied and raised from nearby areas. After the [period of] difficulties, Ho[-hsi] and Lung[-yu] both fell to the Tibetans. If we wanted to get through to An-hsi and P'ei-t'ing, we had to take the Uighur road. The Uighurs now have been destroyed and exterminated; moreover, we do not know for sure whether or not it (i.e. this road) is under the control of the Kirghiz. Supposing we do succeed in rescuing the besieged forts; then we must re-establish military protectorates[289] and must use Chinese soldiers to garrison and defend them. Each place will need no less than 10,000 men. These 10,000 men, where are we to levy and raise them? What paths and roads will we take to supply them? Now T'ien-te and Chen-wu are extremely close to the capital, yet their military strength often suffers from insufficiencies, and even when there are no military actions the provisions which

they have stored up will not last three years. If the strength at court is still not up to standard, how much less can we defend An-hsi which is 7000 li away? What I am saying is that even if we recover these lost territories, they will be of absolutely no use.

Formerly, in the time of Han Hsüan-ti, Wei Hsiang[290] requested the abolition of the military fields at Chü-shih.[291] In the time of Han Yüan-ti, Chia Chüan-chih[292] requested the abandonment of Chu-ya Chün.[293] This dynasty's worthy minister Ti Jen-chieh[214] also called for the abandonment of the four garrisons[295] and the establishment of Hu-se-lo[296] as kaghan. He also requested the abandoning of An-tung[297] and setting up of Kao[-li as chieftains again].[298] He did not wish to covet external territory while weakening the interior of the country or to waste and exhaust the strength of the common people. These two officials, at the time when we possessed these lands, still wanted to abandon them in order to strengthen (lit. fatten) China. How much more should we wish to do so when we are separated from them by more than 10,000 li? How can we save them?

I am afraid that the border tribes are full of schemes and are aware that the strength of our nation is not adequate. They may deceptively allow it [i.e. our recovery of An-hsi and P'ei-t'ing] in order to demand our gold and silks. Your majesty will not be able to repent of it once it is already in operation. If so, this will be exchanging substantive expenditures for empty matters. This would be simply exterminating one Uighur and bringing another to life [i.e. the Kirghiz]. I fear that this plan is not suitable.

It was then stopped.

Te-yü again raised the matter of T'ai-ho 5 [831] when the Tibetan resident general in Wei-chou surrendered his fortress but Niu Seng-ju blocked it, resulting in the loss of Wei-chou. Te-yü's memorial[299] discussing the matter reads:

During the previous reign when I was sent out to serve in Western Shu, the Tibetan commander in Wei-chou, Hsi-ta-mou, albeit a Tibetan chieftain[300] had long appreci-

ated the august influence of the imperial throne and surrendered this stoutly defended city to me in my circuit. Soon thereafter, I dispatched the prefect responsible for Wei-chou, Yu Ts'ang-chien,[301] to lead forces to enter and take possession of the city. When I sent an urgent dispatch reporting this, the previous emperor was surprised and happy.[302] At that time, those who were opposed[303] to me, after hearing the news, were jealous and quickly presented doubting words which confounded the emperor's perceptions, saying that because we had just concluded a treaty with the Tibetans,[304] we could not violate it, and that we must be afraid that the Tibetans would use this as an excuse to approach and attack our frontiers and borders. It was decreed that I return this city at once, and at the same time, seize and send back Hsi-ta-mou and the others, bringing about their annihilation. And, in addition, eunuch envoys were sent to compel me to send them back.

In times past, Po Ch'i[305] killed prisoners and ultimately met death in Tu-yu.[306] When Ch'en T'ang[307] was banished,[308] it was revenge for Chih Chih.[309] Having been moved by, and having sighed over, these previous matters, my heart will be full of shame until my dying day. Now when I have encountered a heroic ruler and am unworthily occupying high office, I venture to recall the matter, hoping that you will reexamine it.

Moreover, Wei-chou occupies the summit of a high mountain overlooking a river on three sides at the strategic point where the Tibetans govern a prefecture.[310] It is the route for invading armies into Chinese territory. Earlier when Ho[-hsi] and Lung[-yu] both fell, this prefecture alone was preserved. The Tibetans secretly married off a maiden to a gatekeeper from this chou. Twenty years later when the two boys grew up, they stealthily opened the gate of the rampart, letting in the troops at night. Consequently, the city fell and was called 'the one taken without grief.'[311] Afterwards,[312] the Tibetans were able to combine their strength on the western borders. Consequently, they had nothing to worry about on the southern road and encroached on the outskirts [of the capital], causing anxious nights for several reigns.

During the Chen-yüan era [785-805] when Wei Kao planned[313] to conquer Ho and Huang,[314] he had to start with this fortress. All his well-trained divisions furiously at-

tacked it for several years. The Tibetan concern for it was so strong that the king's maternal uncle[315] Lun Mang-je[316] was despatched to come with aid. The inaccessible walls of the fortress were high and steep, overlooking a strategic place. Into layers of mist, a narrow path (lit. a bird trail) twisted and wound. Many of the courageous soldiers were crushed by the boulders. No one was able to contrive a clever device after the fashion of a Kung Shu.[317] We vainly captured Mang-je and returned.

When the southern barbarians (i.e. the Nan Chao) turned their backs on our favour, they swept the earth, and drove off plunder and captives.[318] When I first arrived in Western Shu, the hearts of the people were still not at ease. Without, I raised up our nation's prestige. Within, I repaired the border defenses. When Wei-chou received my letter, they sent their wishes to me. I told them that they would have to wait until I reported this in a memorial. What I hoped for was to see if their intentions were false.[319] Hsi-ta-mou and the others[320] soon thereafter led out the people and troops of this fortress, together with the administrative seal for the chou, their armour and weapons. Blocking up the road, they came one after the other, emptying the fortress, and submitted to me. I then sent out a large number of personal soldiers to accept the ceremony of surrender. None of the southern barbarians in the file dared look up.

[Wei-chou] is all the more [a matter of concern] since the eight countries of the Western Mountains are cut off by this prefecture. In recent times, the reference to them in the title of Military Governor[321] [of this region] has become an empty phrase.

For a long time, the various Ch'iang[322] have suffered from the conscription and taxation of the Tibetans and they have wanted to become royal subjects.[323] After the surrender of Wei-chou, it was said that they only needed to receive my letter and hat to induce them to come one after another and enter my jurisdiction. Ho-shui[324] and Ch'i-chi[325] and other fortresses in the barbarian realm having lost their strategic importance, could naturally be withdrawn and return home. We could have reduced the garrison troops in eight places and regained a thousand li of our former territory by [just] sitting. I felt that there was no greater benefit [than

this] and it [the acceptance of the surrender of Wei-chou] would become the opportunity[326] for our great revival. What I agreed to with him in person,[327] I reported to the throne in a memorial [as well as recommending] that each be rewarded.[328] I personally bestowed upon him an embroidered robe and belt of gold. Respectfully, I waited for the court edict.[329]

Moreover, for over a year prior to the surrender of Wei-chou, the Tibetans had encircled and harassed[330] Lu-chou.[331] Arguing from this, how can it be said that they were honouring the treaty? Still more, I had never once used troops to attack [their lands] and capture [their people]. It was they themselves who responded to our influence and came to submit. Furthermore, the men who argued against it, can they have thought[332] about the substance of this matter? The barbarians are slow and dull-witted, their lands are barren and their people few. Each time they wish to take advantage of the autumn to violate our borders, they require several harvests to gather[333] [enough] food.

For over a month after taking possession of Wei-chou, no envoy entered my territory. Then came this terrifying news. Surely they (i.e. court officials) cannot have thought of the resentment they would cause when they drummed up these idle words. At first,[334] when I accepted the surrender, I pointed to heaven and swore an oath saying, 'How could I bear to abandon my good faith[335] in regard to these more than 300 men.' In memorial after memorial, I implored[336] your majesty to send down a compassionate pardon. The imperial decree in reply was stern and harsh.

Finally, I was ordered to hand them back, have their bodies bound by fetters[337] and carted off in bamboo baskets. When they reached the road, they grievously cried out to heaven. All the officers and minor officials were crying towards me [in protest]. When this group encountered the Tibetan leader, he mocked and ridiculed them, saying 'They have already surrendered, why must you send them back?' Then these men who had defected were massacred on Chinese territory. Wantonly, the Tibetan leader carried out their murder and destruction[338] in order to prevent further disaffection. Then they threw their babies [into the air] and caught them on their spears and lances. I have heard that when King Ling of Ch'u[339] killed the southern barbarians, the Spring and Autumn Annals plainly ridiculed him. When

> Chou Wen[340] sent Teng Shu[341] away, the records and annals scorned him greatly. How much more when our great country breaks faith with those of another race and cuts off the road of loyal submission in order to please the hearts of evil villains. Since ancient times, this has been unprecedented. I am truly grieved that Hsi-ta-mou was cruelly punished for having given up this city. This all stemmed from my entrapment of an innocent person. I beg the emperor to comfort his loyal soul and especially grant him a title.

The emperor's heart grieved for him and, soon thereafter, granted him a posthumous title.[342] That year, in addition, Te-yü became acting Director of Instructions.[343]

In [Hui-ch'ang] 3/4 [843], the Military Governor of Tse-lu[344] Liu Ts'ung-chien,[345] died. His troops took it upon themselves to make his nephew Chen interim governor.[346] The three armies requested the sending down of the ox-tailed pennant and axe.[347] When the emperor together with his ministers and officials discussed whether or not this should be done, Te-yü said,

> Tse-lu is an area within [the control of] the country and is not the same as Ho-shuo.[348] In earlier and more recent times, we always used Confucian officials as court-appointed commanders. A short while ago, after the death of Li Pao-chen, who had put together this army, Te-tsung[350] still did not permit hereditary succession[351] and ordered Li Ch'ien[352] to accompany the coffin and return to Lo-yang. During the Ch'ang-ch'ing era [821-25], after Liu Wu[353] arrived there to serve in the garrison, he too became very independent. Ching-tsung temporized and consequently permitted Ts'ung-chien to succeed his father.
>
> At the beginning of the K'ai-ch'eng period [836-40], he stationed an army at Ch'ang-tzu,[354] intending to raise the arms of Chin-yang[355] in order to purge those by the emperor's side.[356] He was in close contact with Cheng Chu and Li Hsün. Outwardly, he pretended to be offering up his total loyalty to the emperor, [but] in fact he was harbouring thoughts of spying and waiting [for an ad-

> vantage]. At the outset of his [final] illness, he ordered Liu Chen to command his forces. If we do not mount a punitive expedition, how can this be called commanding China (lit. the four quarters)? If we temporize and grant it [official sanction] to him, the [other] independent Military Governors will imitate it. Thereafter, the awe and commands [of the son of heaven] will be lost.

When the emperor asked,[357] "Do you consider that using troops will bring certain victory?" he replied,

> What Liu Chen relies upon is only the three garrisons in Ho-shuo. If only we can get Wei[-chou][358] and Chen[-chou][359] (i.e. Wei-po and Ch'eng-te) not to join together with Chen, destroying him is a certainty. I request dispatching one man, an important official, bearing an imperial decree stating, 'The commander of Tse-lu is not [in] the same [position] as those of the three commanders [of Hopei]. Since the difficulties, successive emperors have always permitted them hereditary succession. This has already become an established practice. Now the empire wishes to raise an army and punish Chen [but] the Palace Armies do not intend to go out to [the region] East of the Mountains.'[360] (i.e. Ho-pei) As for the three chou east of the mountains [of Tse-lu, viz. Tz'u, Hsing, and Ming], have Chen-chou and Wei-chou send out troops to attack and capture them.

The emperor agreed. He then ordered the Vice-president of the Censorate, Li Hui,[361] to go to the three garrisons to proclaim the imperial edict. The edict to Wei and Chen said;

> Gentlemen, there is no need to make long-range plans for your descendants, or alliances of mutual aid. If you merely manifestly establish achievements and results, your good fortune will of its own accord reach down to your descendants.[362]

Ho Hung-ching[363] and Wang Yüan-k'uei[364] accepted the edict, and, out of fear, they obeyed the order.

Previously, when the sending out of troops was discussed, court officials sent up memorials one after the other requesting

that the example of Ts'ung-chien be followed, and that hereditary succession be granted to Chen. Among the four Chief Ministers, there were also those who considered that sending out troops would not be appropriate.

Te-yü memorialized:

> If the army goes out and is unsuccessful, I ask that I myself incur the blame and that Li Shen and [Li] Jang-i[365] and the others not be implicated.

When Hung-ching and Yüan-k'uei sent out troops, Te-yü again memorialized:

> During the Chen-yüan and T'ai-ho eras when the court, in putting down rebellions, ordered the various provinces to join forces, as soon as they went beyond their [own] borders, they expected the rations to be provided by the office of public revenue.[366] They delayed, avoiding enemy action, and thereby strained the country's resources. Some secretly conferred with the rebels, capturing sub-prefectures and palissades, using these as announcements of victory. That is why when the armies went forth, they had no success. Now I request that in your dispositions to Yüan-k'uei and Hung-ching, you order them to accept only [the surrender of] prefectures, and not to attack sub-prefectural settlements.

The emperor agreed.

After Wang Tsai[367] and Shih Hsiung[368] advanced and attacked, a whole year passed and they did not capture Tse-lu. When Hung-ching and Wang Yüan-k'uei captured the three prefectures of Hsing,[369] Ming,[370] and Tz'u,[371] Chen's followers deserted him; then pacification and extermination were achieved just as Te-yü had calculated.

Just when the imperial armies were attacking Tse[372] and Lu[373] in [Hui-chang] 3/12 [843], the border defense troops of T'ai-yüan[374]

and Heng-shui[375] mutinied because they were being transferred to guard Yü-she.[376] They reversed their attack and entered the city of T'ai-yüan, drove out the Military Governor [of Ho-tung], Li Shih,[377] elevating the group commander Yang Pien[378] to be interim governor. Because the rebel Chen had not yet been defeated, and also because mutiny had broken out at T'ai-yüan, Wu-tsung was extremely grieved.

A eunuch envoy, Ma Yüan-kuan,[379] was despatched to T'ai-yüan to proclaim an imperial edict and to observe the rebels' activities. After accepting Yang Pien's bribes, Yüan-kuan sought to protect and defend him. In [Hui-ch'ang] 4/1 [844], he returned with a memorial saying: "Yang Pien's army and horses are extremely numerous. From his yamen to Liu-tzu[380] which is more than fifteen li away, he had lined up his companies with their bright and shining armor trailing to the ground."

Te-yü stated in a memorial: "Li Shih recently withdrew 1500 men from the Heng-shui army and had them go to Yü-she because there were no troops within the walled city of T'ai-yüan. How could Yang produce fifteen li of troops overnight?"

Yüan-kuan said: "All the men of Chin are brave and daring and are capable of becoming soldiers. Generous rewards were used to recruit them."

Te-yü said: "Recruitment requires wealth. The Heng-shui army recently rebelled merely for the lack of a bolt of uncoloured silk. If Li Shih did not have the means of obtaining any, where could Yang Pien get it from? Moreover, T'ai-yüan

has only one militia unit[381] and it too is with the expeditionary force.[382] How could it produce a dazzling display that is fifteen li long?" Yüan-kuan's arguments had been refuted. Te-yü further added, "Yang Pien is a minor bandit and certainly ought not to be pardoned. If our nation's strength is not adequate, I would rather abandon [the campaign against] Liu Chen."[383]

Immediately he requested that an edict be issued ordering Wang Feng[384] to raise the Yü-she army and to order Wang Yüan-k'uei's army from T'u-men[385] [Pass] to enter and assemble in T'ai-yüan. After Lü I-chung,[386] the eunuch overseer for Ho-tung, heard this, on the very day he summoned the Ho-tung army in Yü-she, he reported [to the court] that they had killed Yang Pien.

In all, it was five years from the arrival of the Uighurs at T'ien-te in the winter of K'ai-ch'eng 5 [840] to the defeat of Tse-lu in Hui-ch'ang 4/8 [844]. His plans were opportune and appropriate, and he selected and deployed generals and commanders. Military dispatches, edicts, memorials and requests accumulated like clouds gathering. The initial drafting was in all cases solely decided by Te-yü. The various other chief ministers did not participate in them [at all]. Owing to his achievements, he was concurrently given the position of Grand Marshal[387] and was promoted to, and enfeoffed as, Duke of Wei-kuo[388] with an estate of 300 households.

In [Hui-ch'ang] 5 [845], after Wu-tsung was presented with

an honorific title,[389] through a series of petitions Te-yü sought to retire, but was refused. When Te-yü was sick for over a month, he firmly requested to be relieved of his official duties while retaining his existing rank as Minister of State. Concurrently, he was made Prefect of Chiang-ling[390] and Military Governor of Hsing-nan.[391] A few months later, he was recalled to resume responsibility for governmental affairs.

When Hsüan-tsung assumed the throne,[392] he dismissed Te-yü as chief minister and sent him out to become Regent[393] (liu-shou) in Lo-yang and defense commissioner for the Eastern Imperial Domain, Ju-chou and the [Eastern] Capital District.[394]

Te-yü had especially received grace and favour from Wu-tsung. He had been delegated to manage state affairs, to decide policy and discuss military [activities], none of which had left cause for regret. Because he personally warded off difficulties (i.e. the Uighurs and the rebellion in Tse-lu), achievements flowed to the altars of the nation.

After Wu-tsung died[395] (lit. abandoned the earth), the disgruntled factions resented his achievements. During the Hui-ch'ang period, Te-yü had never suspected Po Min-chung[396] and Ling-hu T'ao[397] of being factional members and had appointed them to the Department of State Affairs,[398] treating them extremely generously. When Te-yü fell from power, they clapped their hands together and pointed scornfully [at him] and schemed

together to make accusations and drive him out. Moreover, Ts'ui Hsüan[399] who had been dismissed from the chief ministership at the end of Hui-ch'ang also bore grudges against Te-yü.[400]

At the beginning of the Ta-chung period [846-60], Min-chung again recommended Hsüan for a post in the Imperial Secretariat.[401] They then joined together to attack Te-yü and conspired to have their [fellow] clique member Li Hsien[402] charge that when Te-yü had assisted in the government, there had been sinister deeds (lit. shady acts),[403] whereupon he was again dismissed from his post and made Minor Protector to the Crown Prince in Lo-yang[404] in the fall of Ta-chung 1 [846].[405] Shortly thereafter, he was again exiled to Ch'ao-chou[406] as Senior Administrator.[407-408] Min-chung and the others also had the former Chief of Subordinate Staff in Yung-ning[409] hsien, Wu Juna,[410] send up a report charging that when Li Shen was serving in Yang-chou, he had improperly decided a court case.[411] In the winter of the following year, he too was banished to be the treasury officer[412] in Ch'ao-chou.

After being banished, in Ta-chung 2 [847], Te-yü travelled along the Grand Canal, crossed the Yangtze and Huai Rivers and arrived in Ch'ao-chou. In the winter of that year, when he reached Ch'ao-yang[413] he was again demoted to being the Treasury Officer of Yai-chou,[414] arriving there in Ta-chung 3/1 [848]. The following month, he reached the commandery of Chu Yai.[415]

He died there in the twelfth month at the age of sixty-three.[416]

Te-yü was personally very proud of his talent and scholarship. As a man of distinction who did not associate with the common lot, he enjoyed writing letters and composing essays, promoting the good and hating the evil. Although he occupied the highest positions in government, he did not abandon his reading of books. There was a Liu San-fu,[417] skilled at composing memorials, whom Te-yü treated extraordinarily well. From Te-yü's first appointment in Che-hsi to his service in Huai-tien,[418] San-fu was always assisting at his side as his guest. After military and government matters were finished, the two of them would recite and chant [poetry] the whole day.

In his private residence in Ch'ang-an, Te-yü had the Ch'i Tsao Yüan built separately. In this park there was a Pavilion of Essential Thought, wherein he handled all the court's edicts and orders for using troops. While he resolutely drafted government documents, those attending at his side were not able to participate.

At the Eastern Capital, south of Yin-ch'üeh,[419] he built his villa 'P'ing-ch'üan'.[420] Fresh flowing water, king-fisher-coloured miniature bamboos, trees and rocks, made it mysterious and exotic.[421] Previously when he was not serving in office, he talked and studied in their midst. When he left to serve on the frontier [in Shu], he departed a general and returned a Chief Minister. For thirty years he did not come back for a return

visit but all the songs and poems which he wrote were sent back and inscribed on stone. At present there are the Record of Flowers and Trees[422] and The Collected Songs and Poems, which had been preserved on two stones. His works are collected in twenty chapters. Among his extant records and narratives of ancient matters, there are the Secondary Ancient Matters on the Liu Family,[423] The Essential Outline of a Censorial Official,[424] and the Chronicles of Suppressing a Rebellion and the Collection of Persuasions and Dissuasions. Prior to being banished to Ch'ao-chou, although his life was in confusion and danger, he still paid attention to his writing. Several tens of his miscellaneous essays and prefaces have been edited and are called The Record of My Distress and Melancholy.[425]

(His essay On Fate (Lun Mang Shu) has been deleted.)

Te-yü had three sons. Yeh concurrently served as Auxiliary Secretary in the Board of Sacrifice[426] and Commissioner of Surveillance and Current Affairs in P'ing, Sung, and Hao (i.e. Hsüan-wu Chün Chieh Tu Shih). In Ta-chung 2 [847], he was implicated in his father's disgrace and was banished to be Chief of Subordinate Staff at Li Shan[427] in Hsiang-chou.[428] The [other] two sons, being too young, followed their father and died in Yai-chou. At the beginning of the Hsien-t'ung era [861], through the practice of liang-i,[429] Yeh was transferred to be Chief of Subordinate Staff for Ch'en Hsien in Ch'en-chou.[430] He died in Kuei-yang,[431] leaving a son, Yen-ku.

The Historian said:

When my hair was in braids, (i.e. before being capped) I frequently heard the aged and virtuous tell stories about the Duke of Wei (i.e. Li Te-yü). At that time, the emperor was gifted with military talents, and was enlightened about listening [to his ministers] and deciding [policy]. Moreover, because Te-yü had personally confronted difficulties, he thereby repaid the special treatment he received from the court. His advice was carried out and his plans followed, from which results were achieved and matters accomplished. Such a division [of responsibility] between ruler and minister occurs [only] once in a thousand years. When we examine his admonitory advice to the inner palace and his memorials to the outer court, his estimates of the enemy and his organizing of victory, [we can see that] he decided everything independently using his own inner judgment. Just like [Yang] Yu-chi,[432] he hit the target with never a miss. Truly, his was a remarkable talent!

Speaking of his literary works, Yen [Chu][433] and Ssu-ma[434] [Hsiang-ju] must walk beside his carriage. In his discussions on matters of government, Hsiao[435] [Ho] and Ts'ao[436] [Shen] must rise from their mats. Censuring him for arrogating his place is going too far.[437]

What may be criticized is that he could not get rid of the hatred in his heart, forgive his enemies, or repay grudges with generosity; furthermore, he could not stop insisting on right and wrong when the matter was beyond settling or make an equality between himself and others within the same circle. He fought vigorously with the rabble from the marketplace over trivial matters.[438] His fall from power and his banishment to [areas by] the pestilential sea, may be regarded as heart-rending. This is what the ancients meant by 'snatching gold and ignoring the others in the market'[439] and by Li Lao[440] not seeing what was in his eyebrows and eyelashes. As far as talent is concerned, he was talented, but it would be difficult to say that he had the Way.

The Commendation says:

His wisdom and decisiveness were as sharp as the sword 'green duckweed'.[441] Defeating the barbarians [the Uighurs] and suppressing the rebellion [in Chao-i] were [as easy] as smashing rotten stumps[422] and letting spilt water run

down roof tiles.[443] Despite achievements at imperial audiences, his bones are buried in the southern boundlessness. Alas, who will place his portrait in the Pavilion of Pre-eminence![444]

FOOTNOTES

1. Chao Chün is now Chao-hsien in Hopei Province. Chung Kuo Ku Chin Ti Ming Ta Tz'u Tien, p. 1355. Hereinafter cited as CKKCTMTTT.

2. Yü Shih Tai-fu was an official with the rank of 3rd degree, 1st class. Robert des Rotours, Traité de fonctionnaires et de l'armee., p. 281, hereinafter cited as TFA. The grandfather held this position during the reign of Tai-tsung. HTS 146, p. 1b.

3. Li Chi-fu assumed the chief ministership on Yüan-ho 2/1 i-ssu [807] upon the resignation of Tu Huang-shang. TCTC 237, p. 7639.

4. Li Chi-fu (758-814) has biographies in CTS 148, HTS 146. The grandfather's is in HTS 146. The grandfather's biography in the extant CTS has apparently been lost. Chi-fu's biography, CTS 148/3a refers to it again.

5. One must remain skeptical that Te-yü's devotion to his father harmed his career, since he was born in Chen-yüan 3 [787], so that even at the end of this period he was only 18 years old.

6. Chang Hung-ching (760-824) was appointed Ho-tung Chieh Tu Shih on Yüan-ho 11/1/chia-ssu [816] according to TCTC 239, p. 7721. T'ai-yüan was the administrative centre for this province. Chang has biographies in CTS 129, HTS 127.

7. Chang Shu Chi was a General Secretary attached to the staff of a provincial official. TFA 646, 655, 658 and 669.

8. Ta li P'ing Shih (Shih) was one of the 24 Copyists of Judicial Inquiry. TFA, p. 405.

9. Tien Chung Shih Yü Shih were officials with the rank of 7th degree, 4th class, responsible for etiquette and ceremony in the throne room. TFA, p. 307. These last 2 posts were titular only, since Te-yü was still serving in Ho-tung.

10. Chien Ch'a Yü Shih, Court Censors of External Investigation, held the rank of 8th degree, 2nd class, and were responsible for dividing up among themselves the responsibilities for supervising officials and for making inquiries in the prefectures and commanderies, etc. TFA, p. 309.

11. The Han-lin Academy was an extra-governmental office attached to the palace, whose functions changed over the course of the T'ang dynasty. At this particular time, it served as a personal secretariat to the emperor. Its secretarial functions of drafting edicts, etc., later developed into executive responsibilities of advising the emperor on matters of policy and thereby usurped many of the responsibilities of the Imperial Chancellory and chief ministers. cf. Sun Kuo-tung, "Development of the Three Department System," Hsin-ya Hsüeh Pao, vol. 3, 1957, especially pp. 108-112. Also F.A. Bischoff, La forêt des pinceaux, Introduction.

12. Ssu-cheng Palace. TCTC 241, p. 7777, in a note states that this palace was in the western inner (palace), i.e. the T'ai-ch'i palace compound. Perhaps it was north, i.e. behind it.

13. Chin-tzu, lit. gold [seal and] purple [sash] was an abbreviation for the sinecure Chin-tzu Kuang-Lu Tai-fu. This title was held by officials with the rank of 3rd degree, 1st class. TFA, p. 35.

14. T'un T'ien Yüan Wai-lang. This official was in charge of military colonies for the whole empire as well as for fields given to active officials. TFA, p. 126.

15. The text of the original memorial has been preserved in Te-yü's collected works, the Li Wen-jao Wen-chi, also known as Hui-chang I P'in-chi, hereinafter cited as HCIPC, Ssu Pu Ts'ung-k'an Ch'u Pien edition, Pieh-chi 5, p. 139. The contents of this memorial as well as others inserted in the biography will be compared in order to distinguish between various readings in order to provide a clearer version of certain passages. The SPTK edition uses the Ming dynasty copy taken from the library of the Ch'ü family.

16. This statement refers to an edict issued by Hsüan-tsung in 722. The brief TCTC account is in E.G. Pulleyblank, The Background of the Rebellion of An Lu-shan, p. 44, hereinafter cited as An Lu-shan. "In the eighth month of the following year, a decree was issued forbidding members of the imperial family and the imperial sons-in-law to visit any persons except their closest relatives." The accompanying footnote gives the source as TCTC 212, p. 6751, K'ai-yüan 10/8 chi-hai [722].

17. The parallel text does not have the character che 軋。

18. The parallel text deletes suo chih. 所知.

19. Tsa-liu. Des Rotours considers this bureaucratic designation to indicate low positions, e.g., private secretary to an important official. Robert des Rotours, Traité des examens, Paris, 1932, p. 226, footnote 2. Hereinafter cited as TE. cf. Liu-wai designating bureaucratic rankings below those officials who filled positions as Copyists, etc. op. cit., p. 2.

20. Ch'ing kuan indicated officials having a ranking above the 4th level, or at least the 8th, and who held positions which were particularly honorific. Here it can be considered simply as designating high officials. TE, p. 234, footnote 3.

21. This last sentence is a truncated version of the one in the parallel text. It reads: "Aside from this, then, they may not go to the residences of chief ministers and high officials."

22. K'ao Kung Lang-chung. Both the Senior Secretary and the Auxilliary Secretary (Yüan Wai-lang) of the Office of Examining Merit were responsible for evaluating the performance and conduct of all civil and military officials. TFA, p. 59.

23. Chih chih kao, lit. "responsible for editing imperial edicts and announcements," was the name given to an informal group of advisors within the palace. These 6 Grand Secretaries [of the Imperial Secretariat-Chung Shu she-jen] were sometimes themselves helped in this task of editing imperial proclamations and edicts by officials belonging to other sections and who were blessed with literary talent. The latter were called 'Officials Responsible, in addition, for the Editing of Imperial Proclamations and Edicts...' TE, p. 9, cf. also TFA 18, 182.

24. Chung Shu She-jen. These six Grand Secretaries of the Imperial Secretariat holding the rank of 5th degree, 1st class, were required to remain close to the emperor, to present documents to him, and to take part in the discussion of the documents sent to the throne. TFA, p. 180.

25. Niu Seng-ju (779-847) (tzu Ssu-an) came from Lung-hsi. He was the nominal leader of the Niu faction, the sworn political enemies of Li Te-yü. The factional struggles between these two cliques dominated court politics for over 30 years. Among the major disagreements between their two parties was the matter of an activist court. These matters will be discussed as they develop. He has biographies in CTS 172 and HTS 174.

26. Li Tsung-min (d. 845) (tzu Sun-chih) was a descendant of the Prince of Cheng, Yüan-i of the royal house. He was a supporter of Niu and another sworn enemy of Te-yü. He has biographies in CTS 176 and HTS 174.

27. Chih Yen Chi Chien K'o was a special examination independent of the regular examinations, called periodically by the emperor. Candidates composed essays in response to questions put by the emperor. TE, pp. 41-2. T'ang Hui-Yao, chap. 76, p. 1930, hereinafter cited as THY, refers to it by its full name Hsien Liang Fang Cheng Nung Chih Yen Chi Chien K'o and gives the date for this particular examination as Yüan-ho 2/4 [807]. However, Hsien-tsung pen-chi CTS 14/12b gives the date as Yüan-ho 3/4/i-ch'ou [808]. TCTC 237, pp. 7649-50 gives the same date.

28. According to TCTC, loc. cit. Yang Yü-ling and Wei Kuan-chih marked the papers and P'ei Chi and Wang Yai later remarked them.

29. Tsung-min's biography states that President of the Civil Service Board Yang Yü-ling became military governor of Ling-nan, the Auxiliary Secretary of the Civil Service Board Wei Kuan-chih became Prefect of Kuo-chou and then of Pa-chou. The Scholar Wang Yai became Provisional Secretary of the Bureau of Prisons and later was banished to be the Senior Administrator (Ssu-ma) in Kuo-chou. The Scholar P'ei Chi became Provisional Vice-president of the Ministry of Finance. CTS 176/1a-b.

30. Tu Huang-shang along with his fellow Chief Minister Kao Wen-ch'ung defeated the rebellious Military Governor of Hsi-ch'uan (modern day w. Szechuan) Liu P'i. The campaign against Liu which ended with his being sent to the capital in a cage is chronicled in TCTC 237, p. 7626, beginning with the entry for Yüan-ho 1/1/chia-shen [806]. cf. Charles A. Peterson, "The Restoration Completed: The Emperor Hsien-tsung and the Provinces," in Wright and Twitchett, eds., Perspectives on the T'ang, especially pp. 158-9. Hereinafter cited as Peterson. Tu has biographies in CTS 169 and HTS 147.

31. TCTC 237, p. 7706, gives the date of Li Chi-fu's advocacy of a punitive campaign against Hopei as Yüan-ho 9/9/wu-hsü [814]. cf. Peterson, p. 166 et seq., concerning the beginning of the campaign against Huai-hsi and its rebellious governor Wu Yüan-chi.

32. TCTC 237, p. 7707, gives the date of Chi-fu's death as Yüan-ho 9/10/ping-wu [814], approximately 47 days later.

33. Wu Yüan-heng (758-815) served as chief minister along with Chi-fu at this time. He was assassinated on Yüan-ho 10/6/kuei-mao [815]. cf. TCTC 237, p. 7713. He has biographies in CTS 158 and HTS 152.

34. P'ei Tu (765-839) (tzu Chung-li) was a man from Wen-hsi in Ho-tung. At this time, he was the most forceful advocate of a strong military policy against the rebels and became the chief architect of the subsequent court victory. Since they both shared this point of view, he later supported Te-yü against his enemies. He has biographies in CTS 170, HTS 173.

35. Wei Kuan-chih (773-828) was an anti-militarist who served briefly at this time as chief minister. His dismissal is recorded in TCTC 239, p. 7724, Yüan-ho 11/6/jen-wu [816]. He has biographies in CTS 158 and HTS 169.

36. Li Feng-chi (tzu Hsü-chou) was a man from Lung-hsi. He was an anti-militarist and a supporter of the Niu faction, raising other factional members to high positions when he served as chief minister while banishing Te-yü and his supporters to the provinces. He has biographies in CTS 167 and HTS 174.

37. Li Shen (d. 846) (tzu K'ung-ch'ui) was a man from Wu-hsi in Jun-chou, i.e. contemporaneous Che-hsi. He was a close supporter of Te-yü and as such his career followed almost identical ups and downs. He has biographies in CTS 173 and HTS 181.

38. Yüan Chen (779-831) (tzu Cheng-chih) was a man from Ho-nei in Ho-nan. He was a noted poet, an intimate of Po Chü-i and an anti-militarist Chief Minister. cf. Arthur Waley's Life and Times of Po Chü-i, p. 140. Yüan has biographies in CTS 166 and HTS 174.

39. These events are chronicled in TCTC 242, p. 7809, Ch'ang-ch'ing 2/2/hsin-ssu [822].

40. Yü Shih Chung Ch'eng. Vice-president of the Board of Censors, held the rank of 3rd degree, 1st class. TFA 281.

41. Kung Pu Shih-lang was an official with the rank of 4th degree, 3rd class.

42. P'ing Chang Shih or more fully Chung Shu Men Hsia P'ing Chang Shih (Grand Overseer of the Imperial Secretariat and Imperial Chancellery) indicated that the holder held rank equal to the heads of the Imperial Secretariat and the Imperial Chancellery, and thus was allowed to participate in the daily conferences of the emperor and his Chief Ministers. Holders of this title can be referred to as Chief Minister or Minister of State. TFA, pp. 7-10.

43. This transfer was done, apparently, at the request of Yüan Chen who had become chief minister. Since he wanted to end the military campaign against the commandery of Ch'eng-te, the simplest way was to recall its commander, P'ei Tu. cf. TCTC 242, p. 7210, Ch'ang-ch'ing 2/2/ting-hai [822].

44. Hsiang-yang is now Hsiang-yang hsien in Hupei. CKKCTMTTT, p. 1299.

45. This was a rather complicated affair. Yü Fang, a Tutor to Prince Ho, suggested to Yüan Chen that he could help relieve the pressure on Niu Yüan-i, Prefect of Shen-chou in Ch'eng-te by the rebel governor Wang T'ing-tsou with the help of twenty forged documents to be issued to those who could be of help. This turned out to be unnecessary since Han Yü, who was at this time Vice-president of the Board of War, was able to convince Wang to lift the siege. cf. TCTC 242, p. 7813, Ch'ang-ch'ing 2/3/ping-wu [822]. Li Feng-chi, with the help of a clique of officials and eunuchs inside the palace, used the knowledge of the scheme to further his own ambitions, by claiming that Yüan Chen had intended to assassinate P'ei Tu. Although they were both serving as chief ministers at the time, they were still great rivals. An official inquiry was held but nothing was proven. Nevertheless, both were dismissed and Li was promoted to fill one of the vacancies. cf. HTS 173/8a-b.

46. P'ei became Right Head of the Department of State Affairs (Yu P'u-yeh) and Yüan became governor of T'ung-chou (i.e. modern day Ta-hsien hsien is Shensi). CKCKTMTTT, p. 294. cf. TCTC 242, p. 7818.

47. Ts'e Shih was the chief official in a superior prefecture (shang chou) having the rank of 3rd degree, 2nd class. TFA, p. 720-21.

48. Men Hsia Shih-lang were the two Vice-presidents of the Imperial Chancellory holding the rank of 3rd degree, 1st class. They were responsible for assisting the presidents of the department (Shih Chung) with their functions. TFA, p. 139.

49. Kuan Ch'a Shih. Civil Governor. This official carried out the orders of the Military Governor (Chieh Tu Shih). The latter was in charge of civil affairs; however, in practice, the Chieh Tu Shih also held the position of Kuan Ch'a Shih. TFA, p. 680, footnote 1. For a similar point of view, cf. Denis Twitchett, Financial Administration under the T'ang Dynasty, p. 120. Hereinafter cited as Fin Admin. According to TCTC 243, p. 7825, the date of Te-yü's appointment was Ch'ang-ch'ing 3/3/jen-hsü [823].

50. Che-hsi. Name of a contemporaneous province occupying what is now the eastern part of Chekiang. cf. map for location.

51. Jun-chou is in present day Chen-chiang hsien in Kiangsu on the southern shore of the Yangtze River opposite Yang-chou. CKKCTMTTT, p. 1174. It was the administrative centre for contemporaneous Che-hsi.

52. Wang does not have a biography in either T'ang history. cf. TCTC 242, p. 7821, Ch'ang-ch'ing 2/9/wu-tzu shuo [822].

53. Tou's CTS biography recounts the following story. "After Tou had captured and imprisoned Wang, several thousand of his followers clamoured for his release. Tou climbed atop a building and promised a reward of 100,000 cash for each rebel captured. The crowd mutinied against its leaders and captured them. Wang and more than 300 of his followers were beheaded." CTS 167/2b. cf. HTS 151/6b.

54. Liu-chou was the portion of the taxes retained by the prefecture. Fin Admin. p. 41, also 164.

55. Chiang-ling, lit. between the Yangtze River and the Five Ling, i.e. southern China.

56. Ching-tsung Jui Wu Chao Min Hsiao Huang Ti was the complete posthumous temple name for Ching-tsung. THY, chap 1, p. 11.

57. He was 16 years old [Chinese style] upon accession. op. cit. p. 12.

58. Wu 盂 Morohashi Tetsuji, Dai Kan Wa Jiten, vol. 8, character no. 23019, compound no. 5, kobako--small box. Hereinafter, characters taken from this dictionary will be cited as follows: M8-23019..5. This amnesty is preserved in TFYK, chap. 90, Ti wang pu, she yu, 9 p. 1079. The date is given as Ch'ang-ch'ing 4/3/jen-tzu [824].

59. The contents of this memorial are preserved in Te-yü's collected works, pieh-chi, chap. 5, pp. 140-41.

60. The parallel text has mei 每 instead of ch'ang. 常

61. The parallel text has wu 物 instead of hsien. 獻

62. The parallel text does not have a parallel i kung 一恐 but it would be better to retain it for the sake of the parallel structure.

63. The parallel text reads jen 仁 not hsin. 心

64. Mao Shan is 45 li southeast of Chü-jung hsien in present day Kiangsu province. cf. Aoyama Sadao, Chugoku Rekidai Chimei Yoran, p. 525. This book is an index to the Tu Shih Fang Yü Chi-yao. Hereinafter they will be cited as CKRDCMYR and TSFYCY, respectively. According to the latter, chapter 20, pp. 943-4, Mao Shan was considered in Taoist writings to be no. 8 'cave heaven' out of a total of 36 and no. 1 'blessed abode' out of a total of 72. Thus being in contemporaneous Chiang-nan close to Te-yü's post, it was a likely place to send him in search of an immortal.

65. The parallel texts have mang 忙 and pien 忭 rather than pien 抃. The last named meaning 'to clap' or 'beat a drum.'

66. Li Chi, according to 'The Collation of Dates of T'ang Regional Commanders' by Wu T'ing-hsieh in the Erh Shih Wu Shih Pu Pien, p. 7417, served as governor of Che-hsi [806]. Hereinafter cited as ESWSPP. His CTS biography says: "He frequently used valuable goods to bribe Li Ch'i-yün, therefore he was transferred to be prefect of Jun-chou and concurrently the commissioner for salt and iron. He accumulated wealth and sent it to court in order to contract for favours. Te-tsung especially favoured him." CTS 112/4a, HTS 224 shang/10b.

67. Chüeh chiu ch'ien. Each province was assessed a quota for its wine monopoly money to be sent to the capital. In some areas this money was raised by officially controlled dealings in liquor as envisaged in the original measure. In others there was simply a government monopoly on the production of ferments, and in many provinces it became the normal practice to impose the responsibility for contributing the wine monopoly money as a supplementary money tax upon households other than those actually engaged in the

67. (continued) business. In addition, Twitchett mentions that from Chen-yüan onward, certain provincial officials collected this tax arbitrarily in an attempt to enrich themselves and to outdo other officials in sending tribute to court. Fin Admin., p. 60 and footnote 84 cited on page 284. It was this abuse which Te-yü, among others, opposed.

68. I have been able to arrive at a definitive explanation for sui kuan ; however, Professor Chou Ya-shu of the History Department of National Taiwan University suggests that this may mean that the tax was collected in cash instead of in kind.

69. Hsüeh P'ing. According to his HTS biography, he was also a censor in Che-hsi in addition to his duties as Civil Governor. HTS 164/5b. He also has a biography in CTS 164. He served in Che-hsi from Yüan-ho 10 [814]. cf. ESWSPP, p. 7418.

70. This imperial edict appears to be in response to a memorial sent by the prefect of Hu-chou, Li Ying, who argued that earlier, "When officials replaced the people as collection agents for the liquor tax, there was, for a long period of time, great corruption. He hoped that if the emperor agreed and ordered the common people themselves to sell liquor, the old quotas could be met and, as before, could be included in the double tax system. Consequently, funds could be produced to an equal amount and could use the older practice of converting what had been collected [grain] into 'light commodities' (i.e. goods which were light in weight but high in value, which then could be sent to the capital). The emperor agreed." THY, chap. 88, p. 1608.

71. There is no amnesty recorded under this date in the TFKY, chap. 90/1073. There is one, however, for Yüan-ho 15/2/5 ting-ch'ou [820] containing the phrase: "Let today's restraining order be taken back to every prefecture, subprefecture and province so that except for taxes based on the properly ordered rates, there should be no reckless contributions to the court." TCTC 241, p. 7778 gives the same date.

72. Sung shih was the portion of tax collected and retained for use in the province. Fin Admin. pp. 41, 42, cf. footnote 46. This was one of a series of moves by the court to reduce provincial control over tax collection and to increase its own share of tax revenue by allowing the provinces to retain only the taxes collected in its home prefecture while ordering it to send to the capital the taxes collected from its subordinate prefectures. cf. Peterson, pp. 178-80.

73. The parallel text lacks mei nien 每年.

74. The parallel text lacks ch'ang 常, adds chu 諸 before shih 事 and has yung 用 instead of chien 儉.

75. The parallel text has ch'ü nien 去年.

76. The parallel text has sheng 聖 for ssu 四.

77. The parallel text has pu chao wu i 不招物議 rather than pu lien wu yüan 不斂物怨.

78. This edict is preserved in Te-yü's collected works, 'pieh chi,' chap. 5, 141.

79. Liang-chou is in present day Wu-wei hsien in Kansu province, CKKTMTTT, p. 821.

80. Li Ta-liang (586-644). This anecdote is found in both versions of his biography. His reasons for refusing to comply with the order was the fact that the emperor had banned hunting and the eunuch in requesting the bird was violating this order. In addition to the congratulatory edict, he was awarded 1000 pieces of gold. CTS 62/8b and HTS 99/2b. The text of the edict is to be found in CTW 976a-b, p. 115.

81. The memorial in the parallel text reads: yu ch'en ju tz'u chen ho yü 有臣如此，朕何憂？ CTS 62/8b has 朕復何憂？ This is likely the original version and therefore it has been followed.

82. Chiang-nan. Province name. cf. map for location.

83. Pien-chou is in modern day K'ai-feng hsien in Honan province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 395. It was the terminus of the canal system and during the Sung dynasty it was the capital.

84. The gist of Ni's argument was the fact that the emperor was misusing the canal system in order to satisfy his curiosity for playthings. cf. CTS 185 hsia/3a; HTS 128/5b; TCTC 211, p. 6717 K'ai-yüan 4/2/kuei-chiu [715]. In addition to having the birds released, the emperor granted Juo-shui 40 tuan of cloth. cf. CTW 27/6a-b, p. 365.

85. Huang-fu Hsün has no biography in either T'ang history.

86. I-chou is northeast of present day Feng-chieh prefecture in Szechuan province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 738. According to Su Shih's memorial, Chien mai che teng chuang, 'Remonstrating against buying the lamps from Che,' 諫買浙燈狀 it was a place noted for its half-sleeved jackets. cf. M2-2707..243.

87. Han po, according to M5-12143..12, is a guitar pick guard. M. uses a variant character 捍 instead of 扞 as does HTS 180/2a.

88. Su T'ing's CTS biography states: "K'ai-yüan 8 [749]... the former Senior Administrator (Ssu-ma) Huang-fu Chün squandered goods stored in the treasury, and had new kinds of brocades woven to be sent up. When T'ing had this completely stopped, someone asked him, "...Now that you are so far away, surely it is not possible for you to disobey the imperial wishes? T'ing replied, 'The enlightened ruler does not use his selfish indulgences to encroach upon matters of supreme justice; surely it is not possible that I will alter my uprightness as loyal official on account of distance?" CTS 88/12a; HTS 125/3b.

89. The parallel text does not have T'ai-tsung 太宗. However, it makes more sense to leave it in.

90. TFYK, chap. 90, Ti-wang Pu, She Yu 9, p. 1081, preserves an amnesty dated Pao-li 1/4/kuei-ssu (20th day) [826]. TCTC 243, p. 7843 gives the same date. The major purport of this amnesty was to allow Li Shen to take advantage of the administrative practice of liang-i, i.e., reducing the distance from the capital of the place of exile of an official previously banished. Since Shen was closely allied with Te-yü, Feng-chi sought to deny Shen this privilege. There is none of the self-deprecatory requests by the emperor seeking guidance from his officials.

91. The parallel text does not have fang chao 方召.

92. The parallel text has chien 諫 and not chiao 教.

93. The parallel text does not have pi hsia 陛下.

94. The parallel text does not have hui ts'ung 誨從.

95. T'ien ma were the famous blood-sweating heavenly horses of Ferghana. cf. Arthur Waley, "The Heavenly Horses of Ferghana," History Today, vol. 5 (1955), pp. 95-103.

96. The parallel text reads: "ch'en yü i so wei hsiao" 臣愚，亦所未曉.

97. i-t'i comes from the following citation praising Han Wen-ti's frugality: "...[H]is personal clothing was black silk, the clothes of his beloved Shen fu-jen did not touch (lit. drag on) the ground. The curtains and screens did not have decoration or embroidery. By stating his advocacy for simplicity, he became a model for the whole world." HS 4/16b.

98. P'ei Wen Yün Fu, p. 1477, cites this passage as the locus classicus.

99. Kung chi alludes to the phrase from the Confucian Analects, chap. 15.4, Wei Ling Kung. Legge translated it: "The Master said: 'May not Shun be instanced as having governed efficiently without exertion? What did he do? He did nothing but gravely and reverently occupy his royal seat'." The following notes added: "kung chi--made himself reverent...All that Shun did was by his grave and sage example. This is the lesson--the influence of a ruler's personal character." Legge Classics, vol. 1, p. 295.

100. Hsü-chou is in the region of modern day T'ung Shan hsien in Kiangsu; since Hsü-chou, CKKCTMTTT (p. 698), was the T'ang dynasty name for P'eng Ch'eng of the Sui and the latter is now in T'ung-shan hsien. cf. CKRDCMYR, p. 296, Hsü-chou in Kiangsu. The full title should be Hsü-chou Chieh Tu Shih.

101. Wang Chih-hsing came from a long line of generals and held high military office from the reign of Te-tsung through to Wen-tsung. The reason for his greed is given as follows: "...thereafter, Chi-hsing accumulated wealth in order to bribe the influential and powerful. His own resources were inadequate for buying influence, so he taxed the inhabitants of Ssu-chou in order to increase it." CTS 156/6b, HTS 172/2b, states this was to benefit the army.

102. Ssu-chou is situated southeast of Su-ch'ien hsien in modern day Kiangsu province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 521.

103. This memorial is preserved in Te-yü's collected works, pieh-chi, chap. 5, pp. 141-42.

104. The parallel text reads hsin 新.

105. The parallel text has yü 欲 instead of tsai 在.

106. The parallel text reads wu lü shu wan 無慮數萬.

107. Suan-shan is now situated 9 li west of present day Chen-chiang hsien in Kiangsu, CKKCTMTTT, p. 1124.

108. Sha mi is the Chinese transcription for the Sanscrit śrāmaṇera. It is the same as sha-men 沙門, Buddhist monk M6-17212..213.

109. Su-chou is now situated in Wu hsien in Kiangsu province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 1370. This was under the jurisdiction of Hsü-chou.

110. Ch'ang-chou is situated in Wu-chin hsien in modern day Kiangsu, CKKCTMTTT, p. 797. This too was under the jurisdiction of the Hsü-chou Chieh Tu Shih.

111. Lien-chen is an alternate name for Kuan Ch'a Shih or Civil Governor. cf. M4-9436..81. This refers then to Te-yü's position at this time of Che-hsi Kuan Ch'a Shih.

112. These remonstrances are preserved in Te-yü's collected works, pieh-chi chap. 8, pp. 154-55.

113. This is a line from the Book of Songs, Hsiao Ya Hsi Sang section, Book 8, ode 4. Legge translates it: "In my heart I love them, And why should I not say so, In the core of my heart I keep them, And never will forget them." The accompanying note adds: "The writer speaks of his admiration and love for some man or men of noble character...but the preface and its supporters manage to find in Yëw's [Yü's] forcing good men into obscurity and the desire of the writer to see them in office." Legge Classics, vol. 4, p. 415. There is elsewhere a translation of the Little Preface: "The Shi Sang [Hsi Sang] is directed against King Yëw [Yü]. Mean men were in office and superior men, whom he would serve with all his heart." op. cit. p. 72. The second, more political, interpretation appears to fit the present context better.

114. Ta-ming fu. This poem I have not been able to find in any collection of his works or any modern compendium of T'ang poetry.

115. The date of the submission is given as Pao-li 1/2 jen-wu [825]. TCTC 243, p. 7842.

116. Chang Ch'ang. (tzu Tzu-kao) was a man from P'ing-yang in Ho-tung. During the reigns of Han Hsüan-ti and Wen-ti, he was a prominent official. The distant commandery in question must refer to Chi-chou where Chang served as prefect and helped to put down bandits who had invaded the palace of Kuang Ch'uan Wang. HS 76/16b.

117. Mei Fu (d. 2 A.D.) (tzu Tzu-chen) was a man from Shou-Ch'ün in Ch'iu-chiang. "In Yüan-chih 1 [1 A.D.] when Wang Mang took over the government, one morning Fu abandoned his wife and children to go to Ch'iu-chiang...HS 67/12a.

117a. The parallel text reads kuei 規 instead of chung 忠.

118. Yu hu is an allusion to a phrase from the Analects Book 2, chap. 18.2 Wei Ching. Legge translates it: "...When one gives few occasions for blame in his words and few occasions for repentance in his conduct, he is in the way to get emolument." Legge Classics, vol. 1, p. 151.

119. The parallel text reads p'o chih kuan chen 頗知官箴 and adds the phrase chü lieh yü hou 具列於後.

120. The parallel text reads chin chi chou shang 謹稽首上.

121. This memorial has been preserved in the CTW, chap. 715/1a-b, p. 9301, in the section devoted to Wei Chu-hou's works.

122. Wu had been a feudal state during the Chou period which now comprises mainly the modern province of Kiangsu. This was a poetic way of referring to the area governed by Te-yü at this time.

123. Since Te-yü's grandfather had been president of the censorate during the reign of Tai-tsung, the grandfather, son and grandson did in fact serve through six reigns, i.e. Tai-tsung, Te-tsung, Hsün-tsung, Hsien-tsung, Mu-tsung, and Ching-tsung.

124. Po...Yüeh is a contraction of a saying from the Analects Yung Yeh chapter. Legge translates it: "The superior man extensively studying all learning and keeping him under the restraint of the rules of propriety may thus not likewise overstep what is right." Legge Classics, vol. 1, p. 193.

125. Wei hsien is taken from the Kuan hsing chapter of Han Fei-tzu: Hsi An-pao's nature was nervous, therefore he tied a leather thong around his waist to slow himself down; Tung An-yü's nature was slow, therefore he wore a silk bow string to urge himself on. cf. Tz'ü-hai.

126. Wei Ch'u-hou (773-828) was a brilliant scholar and historian. He has biographies in CTS 159; HTS 142.

127. As it stands, the biography gives the misleading impression that there were two replies to Te-yü's remonstrances, i.e. one written by the emperor in his own hand and another by Wei Ch'u-hou. The one quoted, however, is identical with the one recorded in the CTW.

128. Po-chou is near the present Shang-ch'iu hsien in Honan province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 679.

129. This memorial on holy water is preserved in Te-yü's collected works, pieh chi 5, p. 141.

130. The parallel text deletes the number two.

131. The parallel text in HTS 180/2b is more explicit on this point. It reads: "Those fetching it, add other water to it which has been drawn from a well. They have turned to selling on the roadways, mutually cheating and deceiving one another. Those coming to buy in one day are counted in the thousands."

132. The parallel text reads ch'ien 千 instead of shih 十. This sounds unreasonable.

133. Liang Che refers to the two regions split by the Ch'ien T'ang River, Che-tung and Che-hsi. cf. map for location.

134. Fu-chien was the name of a province under the T'ang dynasty. cf. map for location.

135. I have been unable to find a locus classicus for earlier references to holy water mentioned in the text. In fact, the P'ei Wen Yün Fu, chap. 34a 4 chih, p. 1548 cites this episode.

136. The parallel text reads shih 時 instead of ch'i 齊.

137. An earlier account records: "Earlier, there were rumours of red fire in the territory of Wei. It came from the south and destroyed the state. In that year, there was a Buddhist monk who came from the north bearing this fire. The red colour is insignificant when compared with ordinary fire. It was said to cure disease. The worthy and the rabble fought to get it. Often after getting it, the people tested it for more than twenty days. In both the cities and the countryside it was very popular. Some called it 'divine fire'. There was a decree banning it, but it did not stop it." Nan Shih, Chap. 4. Ch'i chi, the basic annals of Wu-ti, Yung ming 11 [493].

138. Ling-hu Ch'u was a high official during the reigns of Te-tsung through Wen-tsung. At this time, Pao-li 2 [826], he was military governor of Pien-sung which had jurisdiction over Po-chou. cf. YHCHTC, chap. 7, p. 189, also his biographies in CTS 172/4b and HTS 166/10a.

139. Chao Kuei-chen has no biography in either T'ang history. As a Taoist adept, he showed up from time to time at court. He was an influential figure in the suppression of Buddhism during the Hui-ch'ang era. Upon the accession of Hsüan-tsung, he was caned to death. TCTC, 240-8 passim.

140. This incident involving all the Buddhists as well as the Taoist Chao Kuei-chen is cited in TCTC 243, p. 7851, Pao-li 2/6 jen-ch'en [826].

141. Tu Ching-hsien has no biography in either T'ang history. This incident, however, is recorded in TCTC 243, p. 7851. loc. cit.

142. The affair of Chou Hsü-yüan is cited in TCTC 243, p. 7851. loc. cit., HTS 180/2b and HTS 17 shang/9a, Ching-tsung Pen-chi. The last account has the following entry: "The civil governor for Che-hsi, Li Te-yü, sent up a memorial which said: This matter concerning [Chou] Hsü-yüan is [much] extravagant talk. He is no different from [any other] man."

143. This memorial is preserved in Te-yü's collected works, pieh-chi 5, p. 297.

144. Kuang Ch'eng (-tzu) was an immortal of high antiquity whom the Yellow Emperor once asked about the importance of the ultimate way. M4-9493..185.

145. Hsüan-yüan (Huang-ti) was the title given to Lao-tzu during the T'ang dynasty. Since the imperial surname Li was the same as Lao-tzu's, the T'ang honoured him as their founder. M7-20814..120.

146. Hsüan Huang. A name for the Yellow Emperor. He was supposed to have lived on the hillock of this name in Hsin-cheng hsien in Honan. M7-20557..28. cf. SC 'Basic Annals of the 5 Emperors'. "The Yellow Emperor was the son of Shao Tien surnamed Kung-sun. His personal name was Hsien Yüan." Chapter 1/1a.

147. Much of the following exchange is taken from Chüang-tzu Book 11 Tsai Yu cf. Legge's translation, Tao Te-ching and the Writings of Chuang-tzu. Wisdom of the East series, p. 346-7.

148. The parallel text reads chiang 將 not pi 必.

149. This is an allusion to Confucius' remark that he understood birds, fish, beasts, etc., but could not understand dragons for they rode the winds and flew up into the heavens. "I have just seen Lao-tzu this day and how he resembles a dragon." SC 63/2a. i.e. an expression of admiration.

150. The parallel text reads chih 之 not yü 於.

151. This is the honorary name for Ching-tsung. THY, chap. 1, p. 12.

152. The parallel text reads chi 稽 not yung 用.

153. For this episode cf. HS 25 shang/17a-b.

154. For the related incident cf. HS 25 shang/24a.

155. Liu Tao-ho was a Taoist adept whose achievements caught the attention of T'ang Kao-tsung. He has biographies in CTS 192, HTS 196.

156. Sun has no biography in either T'ang history.

157. The parallel text reads kai 蓋 instead of ch'i pu 豈不.

158. The parallel text reads jui ssu ching ch'iu 睿思精求.

159. Chang Kuo was a Taoist adept during the reign of Empress Wu and Hsüan-tsung. He has biographies in CTS 191 and HTS 204.

160. Yeh Ching-nung was another Taoist adept. M9-31387..90.

161. Li Shih-fang has no biography in either T'ang history.

162. Chao Ming. This was part of the posthumous title for Ching-tsung. THY, chap. 1, p. 11

163. This refers to the circumstances of Ching-tsung's death. After a night of drinking with his eunuch companions, he was murdered in his room by Su Tso-ming and others. TCTC 243, pp. 7851-2 Pao-li 2/12 hsin-ch'ou [826]. CTS 17 shang/9b Ching-tsung Pen-chi says much the same thing only providing more names. Ching-tsung Pen-chi HTS 8/4a states simply that the emperor died in the 12th month, aged eighteen.

164. The President of the Board of Rites was an official with the rank of 3rd degree, 1st class. TFA, p. 79. This was a titular appointment for Te-yü, who was still serving in Che-hsi.

165. Vice-president of the Board of War was an official with the rank of 4th degree, 2nd class. TFA, p. 96. This was a substantive post, since Te-yü was being summoned to the capital for service.

166. TCTC 244, p. 7866, gives the date of Li Tsung-min's appointment as T'ai-ho 3/8 shen-hsü [829].

167. Cheng-hua Chieh Tu Shih is an alternate name for I-ch'eng Chieh Tu Shih. cf. citations for I-cheng chün, CKKCTMTTT, p. 1046 and Yung P'ing Chün, p. 222. cf. map for location. cf. TCTC, loc. cit.

168. Under the entry in TCTC 243, p. 7825 Ch'ang-ch'ing 3/3 jen-hsü [823], states: "Te-yü was sent out to become Civil Governor of Che-hsi and for eight years was not promoted." The accompanying note adds: "Not until Wen-tsung T'ai-ho 3 [829], owing to the recommendation of P'ei Tu, was Te-yü summoned from Che-hsi [when] he was again pushed out by Li Tsung-min and sent to serve as commander in Hua-chou." By my reckoning, this adds up to only six years.

169. Cheng T'an was an official and scholar during this period. He was opposed to the antagonistic policies of Tsung-min and Seng-ju and supported Te-yü against them. He has biographies in CTS 173 and HTS 165.

170. The Shih Chiang Hsüeh Shih was a scholar responsible for explaining the Classics in the University for the Sons of the State. TFA, p. 445 note. Cheng was removed from this post for supporting Te-yü, but Wen-tsung who loved literature and was fond of Cheng later reappointed him. cf. CTS 173/1a.

171. The date of Niu's appointment to the chief ministership is cited under the entry for T'ai-ho 4/1 hsin-mao [830], TCTC 244, p. 7869.

172. Examples of the banishment of Te-yü's supporters include P'ei Tu, footnote no. 185, and Cheng T'an, footnote no. 169.

173. The date of Te-yü's appointment as military governor of Hsi-ch'uan replacing Kuo Chao is given as T'ai-ho 4/10/wu-shen [830], TCTC 244, p. 7872.

174. President of the Board of War was an official with the rank of 3rd degree, 1st class. TFA, p. 96.

175. Ch'eng-tu, being a grand prefecture (fu), was headed by a Prefect (yin) who was an official with the rank of 3rd degree, 2nd class. TFA 682, no. 4. cf. also 684.

176. The old administrative seat is now in the two hsien of Ch'eng-tu and Hua-yang in Szechuan. CKKCTMTTT, p. 386.

177. Chien-nan was a province during the T'ang dynasty. cf. map for location. For a brief resumé of the history of this title, cf. THY 78, p. 1431.

178. Deputy Military Governor in Charge of Military Affairs for Chien-nan and Hsi-ch'uan. "...[T]hey were de facto Military Governors while the princes who were called 'Grand Military Governors' (chieh tu ta-shih) all remained at the capital." TFA, p. 669.

179. In a note after a memorial submitted by Wei Kao, then Military Governor of Hsi-ch'uan in TCTC 232, p. 7840, under the entry for Chen-yüan 3/1/ping-wu [787], the names of the eight kingdoms are given as follows: "Po Kou Chün, Ko Lin Chün, Pu Tsu Chün, Nan Shui Chün, Juo Shui Chün, Hsi Tang Chün, Ching Yüan Chün and Tu Pa Chün." These eight tribal kingdoms and Yün-nan (i.e. Nan Chao) sought an accommodation with China to escape the exactions of conscription and taxes demanded by Tibet. Wei Kao, then, on behalf of the court accepted Nan Chao's intention to submit and be transformed (kuei hua chih hsin 歸化之心) in order to take them away from the Tibetans, thereby weakening the Tibetans' resources.

180. Hsi Shan is west of Hua-yang hsien in Szechuan, CKKCTMTTT, p. 345.

181. Yün-nan of the T'ang period is centered on what is now Yünnan hsien (T'eng-yüeh Tao) in Yünnan province. CKRDCMYR, p. 26. As the home of the Nan Chao, it was often called Ta-li.

182. Tsung-min's biography states: In Yüan-ho 12 [816], Chief Minister P'ei Tu was sent out to campaign against Wu Yüan-chi and memorialized that Tsung-min become the Duty Officer in Charge of Daily Events and Investigation for the Chang-i Army Region." CTS 176/1b.

183. For p'an kuan cf. TFA 646 and also 568, no. 3.

184. Chang-i Military Region was originally called the Huai-ning Military Region. cf. map for location.

185. This incident is also recorded in TCTC 244, p. 7872, under the entry for T'ai-ho 4/7 jen-wu [830]. The title that P'ei Tu assumed was Shan-nan Tung Tao Chieh Tu Shih.

186. Shan-nan Hsi Tao was also known as Hsing Yüan Chieh Tu Shih, the name of a T'ang province. cf. map for location.

187. The parallel text in HTS 180/3a has a slight variation: "Thereupon the authority of these men shook the empire and the [position of their] faction was impregnable." (lao bu k'o p'o 牢不可破.)

188. Kuo Chao was the grandson of the famous T'ang general Kuo Tzu-i. He has biographies in CTS 120/14b; HTS 137/8b.

189. Nan Chao was an independent kingdom occupying the area south of modern day Szechuan, centering on what is now Yünnan Province. Chao in their language meant 'king.' Of the six kingdoms in this region, Ming-she, which united the rest, was southernmost, hence the name. cf. TCTC 235, p. 7651, note following the citation for Chen-yüan 10/6 jen-yin shuo [794]. cf. no. 203 for Nan Chao's earlier attempts to ally with China to escape the exactions of the Tibetans. For their raids on Hsi-ch'uan cf. TCTC 244, p. 7867, for the entry under T'ai-ho 3/11 ping-shen [829].

190. The modern historian Hsiang Ta disputes the accuracy of this figure of 4000 Chinese being carried off by Nan Chao. The K'ao-i cited in TCTC 244, p. 7877, cites Te-yü's own Hsi-nan Pei Pien Lu [a work since lost] as stating that

190. (continued) 5346 prisoners were repatriated. However, the Wen-tsung Shih-lu quotes a figure of 'around 4000'. This then was accepted as correct and used in both of Te-yü's biographies and the account in TCTC. In contrast, Te-yü in his second memorial seeking a reinstatement of Tu Yüan-ying's former titles, wrote: "After I, Te-yü, arrived at my post, I dispatched officials to the prefectures and sub-prefectures traversed by the barbarians, and one by one I made a thorough investigation. In each case, they got and brought in the names. On the lists which were prepared [it was said that] the barbarians had carried off 9000 people altogther..." HCIPC 12/p. 95. If this figure is accurate, how can these people be accounted for? First there are the 5346 who were recovered. Then Tu Yüan-ying's biography states 1000 or so died at Ta-to Ho [the demarcation between China and Nan Chao]. cf. CTS 163/4b. Finally there is a note in TCTC 244, p. 7873, that Nan Chao sent 2000 Chinese plus gold and silks to the Tibetans. These figures come to about 9000 altogether. Te-yü's reason for bringing down the figures was to lessen the blame on Tu Yüan-ying so that the court would restore his former titles. cf. HsiangTa Man Shu Chiao Chu, especially pp. 178-80.

191. This whole matter of Hsi Ta-mou's surrender of Wei-chou was the subject of a lengthy memorial which Te-yü presented to court after he became chief minister under Wu-tsung. To avoid repetition, its contents and its ramifications will be treated in full detail at that time. cf. HCIPC 12; pp. 64-5.

192. Wei-chou. The old city is situated 10 li west of Li-fan hsien in modern Szechuan province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 1117.

193. Min Shan was 500 li northwest of Wu-chou (Hui-chou of T'ang), i.e. Ch'eng-tu of the Ch'ing. It was the source of the Yangtze River. The mountain range continued for 1000 li without a break. TSFYFY, chap. 66, p. 2829.

194. Lung Shan in Lung hsien in modern Shensi Province, p. 1358. TSFYCY, p. 2830 states that it is north of Min Shan. The descriptions of the eastern and southern boundaries of Min Shan are exactly the same as those in the biography.

195. Ho-hsi is a province name. cf. map for location.

196. Lung-yu is a province name. cf. map for location.

197. The Tibetans were the most dangerous threat to China's southwest and western frontiers. During the rebellion of An Lu-shan, they occupied Ch'ang-an for a few days. At this particular time, their camps were close enough to the capital for the chief minister Niu Seng-ju to be afraid that they would use the surrender of Wei-chou as a pretext to attack. cf. no. 224. The Tibetans have their own chapters in the T'ang histories. CTS 196 shang, hsia; HTS 216 shang, hsia.

198. Wei Kao (746-806) was for 20 years the semi-autonomous military governor of Hsi-ch'uan. Despite this, he was loyal to the court and on their behalf stabilized this strategic area during a particularly disruptive time. He has biographies in CTS 140; HTS 158.

199. Niu's arguments against accepting the surrender of Wei-chou may be summarized as follows: 1) China had recently concluded a treaty with the Tibetans and should not violate it thereby antagonizing them; 2) Wei-chou itself was unimportant and its loss would not materially weaken them; 3) the Tibetans were camped close enough to Ch'ang-an that accepting the surrender might provoke them into attacking. CTS 172/7b-8a. cf. TCTC 244, p. 7878 T'ai-ho 5/9 [831]. An unstated reason was, of course, his jealousy of Te-yü's diplomatic achievement. In addition to this ad hominem argument was their fundamental difference over the court's activist initiative in state affairs.

200. Tsan-p'u was the Tibetan name for their king. M10-36395..61.

201. Ch'iung Hsia Pass is west of Jung-ching hsien in modern Szechuan. CKKCTMTTT, p. 362. cf. TCTC 244, p. 7897 T'ai-ho 6/5 chia-ch'en [832].

202. This incident is also chronicled in TCTC 244, p. 7878 T'ai-ho 5/9 [831].

203. Sui-chou is in the district of Hsi-ch'ang in modern Szechuan province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 1336. cf. also TSFYCY, chap. 74, p. 3185, for the move from Sui-chou to T'ai Teng.

204. T'ai Teng is now in the area east of Yen-ning Hsien in Szechuan province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 1121.

205. Yen is the name of a southern barbarian tribe. M10-33119.

206. cf. TCTC 244, p. 7873 comments on the tranquility of Shu.

207. Eunuch Overseers were eunuchs attached to the staffs of frontier commanders by the central government to monitor their activities. This was a major source of the eunuchs' military power and a source of eunuch interference in military field commands. cf. An Lu-shan, p. 74, 'eunuch controllers'.

208. The parallel text for Wang's return to the capital is in TCTC 244, p. 7880 T'ai-ho 6/11/i-mao [832]. Wang does not have a biography in either T'ang history.

209. Shu Mi (-Shih) were originally eunuchs who transmitted documents within the palace. Later secretarial and deliberative functions were added so that it became similar to the Imperial Chancellery in early T'ang. cf. Sun Kuo-tung, "The Development of the Three Department System of the T'ang Dynasty" gives a brief description of their functions, especially 112-6.

210. The emperor's evident displeasure at Seng-ju in the wake of the Wei-chou incident so upset Seng-ju that he was soon provoked into resigning from the chief ministership and was sent out to become the military governor for Huai-nan. cf. TCTC 244, p. 7880 T'ai-ho 6/11/i-mao [832].

211. According to CTS 17 hsia/7b, the Basic Annals of Wen-tsung, the date of Te-yü's appointment as President of the Board of War was T'ai-ho 6/12 ting-wei [832].

212. Huai-nan is the name of a contemporaneous province. cf. map for location.

213. According to ESWSPP, p. 7413, the date of Niu Seng-ju's appointment as military governor of Huai-nan was T'ai-ho 7/12 i-ch'ou [833].

214. Chung Shu Shih Lang. (Two) Vice-presidents of the Imperial Grand Secretariat. They held the rank of 3rd degree, 1st class, and were responsible for helping the presidents of the department (ling) in the exercise of their duties. TFA, p. 179.

215. Grand Scholar of the Academy of Assembled Worthies. They helped with the increased paperwork in the Imperial Grand Secretariat. TFA 16-7.

216. This phrase is likely similar to feng huan 風患 which is defined as a disease in which freedom [of movement] of the limbs has been lost (i.e. paralysis caused by a stroke). M12-43756..143.

217. The Tzu-ch'en hall was one within the Ta-ming Palace used for imperial audiences. cf. TFA, p. 154, no. 3; also 161, no. 1. cf. map of the Ta-ming palace complex (no. 4) at the end of vol. II taken from Hsü Sung's T'ang Liang Ching Ch'eng Fang K'ao. The Tzu-ch'en Hall is practically in the centre.

218. Wang Shou-ch'eng was a powerful eunuch who, allegedly, together with Ch'en Hung-Chih (or -ch'ing) poisoned Hsien-tsung. Owing to his contribution in putting Mu-tsung on the throne, he was placed in charge of the Shu-mi Yüan, the so-called Eunuch Secretariat. His two protégés Li Hsün and Cheng Chu (q.v.) discovered Sung Shen-hsi's anti-eunuch plots and exposed him by arguing that he was trying to replace Wen-tsung with one of his younger brothers. Sung was tried, convicted and banished. Wang later became a victim of Li and Cheng's own plots to remove the eunuchs when these two forced a confrontation between Wang and his own arch rival Ch'iu Shih-liang, which resulted in Wang being given poison. He has biographies in CTS 184 and HTS 208.

219. Cheng Chu, originally surnamed Yü, came from I-ch'eng in Chiang-chou. When Wang Shou-ch'eng was on tour, Cheng caught his eye. Cheng was well versed in medicine. His role in the 'Sweet Dew' Incident (q.v.) was to lead the troops from nearby Shen-yang to reinforce Li's massacre of the eunuchs at court. Relations between the two soured and communications at the critical moment broke down so that Cheng's forces played no part in the insurrection. He was later hunted down and ambushed. Cheng has biographies in CTS 169 and HTS 179.

220. The Sung Shen-hsi affair. Concerning this matter are the following citations from TCTC: "The emperor was distressed that the eunuchs were strong and flourishing. The factions which rebelled against, and murdered, Hsien-tsung and Ching-tsung were still by his side. Wang Shou-ch'eng, the General of the Army of Divine Strategy, was especially despotic and overbearing, abusing power and accepting bribes. The emperor was unable to control this. Once when the emperor secretly talked of this with the Han-lin Scholar Sung Shen-hsi, Shen-hsi requested that this pressure be gradually removed. The emperor raised him up to be the left assistant in the Department of State Affairs because he was very loyal, very cautious and reliable for carrying out matters. In the 7th month on the kuei-wei day, he was appointed Minister of State." TCTC 244, T'ai-ho 4/6 ting-wei pp. 7871-2 [830]. "The emperor and Sung Shen-hsi planned to exterminate the eunuchs. Shen-hsi

220. (continued) raised up the vice-president of the Civil Service Board Wang Fan to be Prefect of the Capital District and used a secret memorandum to inform him. Fan leaked the plans and when Cheng Chu and Wang Shou-ch'eng heard of it, they secretly made preparations. The emperor's younger brother, Tsou, Prince of Chang, was upright and had the respect of the people. Chu had the general surveillance officer in command of the Army of Divine Strategy Tou Lu-shu make the false accusation that Shen-hsi planned to set up the Prince of Chang [as emperor]. The emperor considered this to be true and was deeply angered...On the keng-tzu day of the third month, Shen-hsi was dismissed from ministerial rank to become one of the Presidents of the Grand Secretariat of the Right for the Crown Prince." pp. 7875-6. "There was a subsequent attempt to review the case but the plotters were afraid that the truth would be revealed, so that they merely pushed for a further banishment. The Prince of Chang became the Duke of Tsao-hsien and Shen-hsi became the Administrator-in-chief in K'ai-chou where he died." loc. cit. Finally, after the Sweet Dew Incident (q.v.), Wen-tsung said, "For a long time, I have known that this matter was a mistake. Treacherous men pressured me since it was a coup against the state. I was almost not able to protect my brother; moreover, Shen-hsi barely avoided execution. The eunuchs and also the outer court helped them. All this stemmed from my misunderstanding. In the past, had this occurred to Han Chao-ti, there certainly would not have been this injustice!" TCTC 245, K'ai-ch'eng 1/9/ting-ch'ou [836], p. 7927. CTS 167/6a-7a; HTS 152/9b-10a.

221. Prefect of the Capital District. They held rank of 3rd degree, 2nd class. TFA, p. 668, also footnote no. 2.

222. Li Hsün. Originally named Chung-yen. Grandson of the same clan as Li K'uei, chief minister under Su-tsung, and nephew of Li Feng-chi. He used his sessions with Wen-tsung discussing the I-ching to hide their machinations to wipe out the eunuchs. When the Sweet Dew plot was discovered at the palace, he tried to call in forces from the outside to salvage the situation. He was later killed when he tried to escape. He has biographies in CTS 169, HTS 179.

223. Wang Yai or Ya (d. 835) (tzu Kuang-chin) was a man from T'ai-yüan. He has biographies in CTS 169, HTS 179.

224. The Academy of the Four Gates. Within this group there were (6) Assistant Professors holding the rank of 8th degree, 3rd class. TFA 452-53.

225. Grand Secretary of the Imperial Chancellory. These four officials who held the rank of 5:1 acted as personal secretaries to the emperor handling incoming dispatches and outgoing decrees. TFA, p. 147.

226. Cheng Su. Came from Hsing-yang. As a chin-shih of Yüan-ho 3 [807], he was well versed in literature. He was a close supporter of Te-yü. He has biographies in CTS 176 and HTS 182.

227. Han Tz'u has no biography in either T'ang history.

228. Chiang-chou is in Hsin-chiang hsien in modern Shansi province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 932. It was in contemporaneous Ho-tung Chieh Tu Shih.

229. Shou 守 occupying provisionally. TFA, p. 3.

230. Titular Vice-president of the Department of State Affairs. Although officially only Vice-president, these (2) officials were actually in charge of directing the Presidents of the Six Boards of the Department of State Affairs, for no president (ling) had been named since 626 out of deference to T'ang T'ai-tsung, who had once held this post. The rank held was 2:2. TFA 4, p. 27.

231. Prefect of Jun-chou was a subsidiary title to the major one, Military Governor of the Chen-hui Army District. This Chen-hui Military District was a contemporaneous province name. cf. TSFYCY, chap. 25, pp. 1174-75, for its background. cf. map for its location. The date of Te-yü's appointment was T'ai-ho 8/11/i-hai [834], according to ESWSPP, p. 7418.

232. The claim that Te-yü was implicated in the alleged plot to supplant Wen-tsung with his brother Tsou, Prince of Chang, was patently false. The plot supposedly took place in T'ai-ho 5 [831] when Te-yü was serving in Shu. Also, the palace lady Tu was not sent home until T'ai-ho 8 [834], three years later. The fact that at the time when these charges were made the Prince was already dead made these charges more difficult to refute. cf. Hsin Chiu T'ang Shu Hu Cheng, chap. 17, pp. 290-91.

233. Left Assistant (of the Department of State Affairs). Wang's full title is given as Shang Shu Tso-ch'eng in TCTC T'ai-ho 8/12 kuei-mo, p. 7901 [834]. This position held the rank of 4:1. TFA, p. 28.

234. Vice-president of the Board of Finance. They held the rank of 4:2. They were responsible for looking after the grain, money, people, and lands of the empire and thus the distribution of taxes and tribute. TFA, p. 71.

235. The P'eng-lai Palace was another name for the Ta-ming Palace. TFA 335-36, no. 4.

236. Li Ku-yen (tzu Chung-shu) was a man from Chao-chün. He was a member of the Niu faction. He has biographies in CTS 173 and HTS 182.

237. Lu Sui (tzu Nan-shih). His ancestors came from Yang-p'ing. He has biographies in CTS 159 and HTS 142.

238. Chief Counsellor to the Crown Prince. There were four in all with the rank of 3:1. Their function was to accompany the Crown Prince to correct and reprove him and to advise and help him in matters of etiquette and the observance of ritual. A further note adds that these officials carried out only honorific functions. TFA, p. 572; also no. 3.

239. Administrator-in-chief. This official and the Senior Administrator (Ssu-ma) were responsible for helping with the administration of a superior prefecture (fu) and prefectures (chou) in order to maintain control over all things and to direct all current matters of the various services. Since Chiang-nan Hsi-tao Kuan Cha Shih was a governorship of middle rank (cf. YHCHTC, chap. 25, p. 743), the rank held by this official was 5:1. TFA, pp. 684 and 705.

240. Yüan-chou is in I-ch'un hsien in modern day Kiangsi Province. A note in TCTC, p. 7923, adds that it was 3580 li southeast of the capital.

241. Concerning this incident there is the following account: "In the capital it was falsely stated that Cheng Chu was making a golden pill for the emperor to swallow which required the hearts and livers of small children. The people were alarmed and afraid. When the emperor heard this, he was appalled. Cheng Chu, who had disliked from the beginning the prefect of the Capital District Yang Wu-ch'ing, said that these words came from a person in Wu-ch'ing's household. The emperor was angry and in the 6th month sent Wu-ch'ing to be tried by the censors. When Chu sought a post in the two ministries, the vice-president of the Imperial Grand Secretariat and Minister of State, Li Tsung-min, did not allow it, and Chu made slanderous statements about him to the emperor. At this time, when Tsung-min came to the aid of Wu-ch'ing, the

241. (continued) emperor angrily upbraided him and had him sent away. On the jen-yin day, he was demoted to become the prefect of Ming-chou." TCTC 245 T'ai-ho 9/4/wu-ch'en (835], p. 7904; also cf. CTS 176/7b-8a and HTS 175/4a.

242. This is an error in the SPPY text. In comparing the reading with the same passage in the Po-na edition, p. 15537, the character given is Ch'u 處 not Yü 虞 . Ch'u-chou was in contemporaneous Che-tung Kuan Ch'a Shih. It is present day Chekiang Province, 7 li southeast of Li-sui hsien. CKKCTMTTT, p. 851.

243. Li Han (tzu Nan-chi) was a 7th generation descendant of Tao-ming, Prince of Huai-yang. He was a chin-shih of Yüan-ho 7 [811]. He has biographies in CTS 171; HTS 78, appended to that of Prince Huai-yang.

244. Fen-chou was the administrative centre for contemporaneous Fen-ning Ch'ing Chieh Tu Shih. It is in Hsi-an fu, Fen Hsien in present day Shensi province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 397.

244a. Wang Fan (tzu Lu-yu) was a chin-shih of Yüan-ho 5 [809]. The part of his biography pertinent to the Sweet Dew Incident is translated as follows: ...In the eleventh month of T'ai-ho 9 [835] when Li Hsün was about to kill the eunuchs, he had Fan recruit thieves and bullies (hao-hsia 豪俠) and appointed him military governor in T'ai-yüan, entrusting him with the task of summoning henchmen. On the day Hsün was defeated, Fan returned to his residence in Ch'ang-hsing Li. That night he was arrested by the palace army and his whole family thrown in jail. After Fan was beheaded in Tu-liu Shu, his family, young and old alike, all died. CTS 169/7a. He also has a biography in HTS 179.

245. This insurrection is better known in history as the Sweet Dew Incident. It was the culmination of the plans made by Wen-tsung and two of his minor officials, Li Hsün and Cheng Chu, to rid the court of eunuchs. Following the failure of Sung Shen-hsi's similar intentions (cf. no. 220), the court became increasingly dominated by the eunuchs. Cheng, whose medicines had provided some relief for the effects of Wen-tsung's stroke and Li who was an expert in the I-ching, secretly conspired with the emperor to eradicate the eunuchs using the sessions discussing the I-ching as a cover. They promoted Ch'iu Shih-liang in order to offset the power of Wang Shou-ch'eng, their benefactor and the most powerful eunuch at court. With support from the emperor, Li and Cheng were able to dismiss chief ministers and banish eunuchs alike. They took away all but Wang's

245. (continued) ceremonial powers and finally had him killed. All the key positions at court and in the area surrounding the capital were given to trusted subordinates. Cheng himself occupied the strategic post of Military Governor of Feng-hsiang, while Li controlled the capital. However, there was a mild rift between the two and on the fateful day the actions of the two were not completely coordinated. On the jen-wu day T'ai-ho 9/11 [835], it was announced that 'sweet dew' had been found on the palace grounds. This was the sign from Heaven that the world had achieved the state of 'supreme peace' (t'ai-p'ing 太平). The emperor was urged to see it for himself and receive heaven's blessing, but he ordered the chief ministers to go first. Li announced that he thought it was false and that its discovery ought not to be announced. The eunuchs Ch'iu Shih-liang and Yü Chih-hung went to see it. After they left, Li ordered two supporting armies to advance, but only one came. The plot was discovered when Ch'iu Shih-liang, standing by the emperor's side, noticed Han Yüeh turning pale and sweating. Then a gust of wind blew aside a curtain and he could see a group of armed soldiers and hear the clang of their weapons. Ch'iu-liang then hurried the emperor back to the safety of the palace and called out the palace armies to kill the rebels. Li and Cheng were both killed; the latter had not been informed of the last-minute change in plans, so that he remained in Feng-hsiang and did not participate. The chief ministers Wang Yai and Ku Su and most of their families were slain. The eunuchs took advantage of the ensuing panic and confusion to harass and eliminate their enemies. In all, over a thousand people were slain. As a result, Wen-tsung was shut up in the palace and the eunuchs more than ever were in control of the court. cf. TCTC 7900-21 passim as well as biographies of Li Hsün and Cheng Chu and the other participants. For Wang Fan's connection, cf. no. 244a.

246. According to TFA, p. 823, all civil officials holding titles which did not bear any relation to an office, i.e. a sinecure, were divided into 29 groups. Those having rank of 3:2 carried the title of Yin-ch'ing Kuang-lu Tai-fu. According to CTS 17 hsia/8b, the Basic Annals of Wen-tsung, Te-yü already had this title in T'ai-ho 7/2 [832].

247. cf. footnote no. 90.

248. Ch'u-chou was located in contemporaneous Huai-nan Chieh Tu Shih and is in Ch'u Hsien in modern Anhwei Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 1032. According to a note in TCTC 245, p. 7923, it was 2564 li from the capital.

249. Yang-chou was the administrative centre for contemporaneous Huai-nan tao. It is now governed from Chiang-tu hsien in Kiangsu Province.

250. Chang Lu has no biography in either T'ang history.

251. Imperial Omissioners. These (6) officials of the left, responsible for picking up omissions of the emperor, were officials with the rank of 7:3. They belonged to the Imperial Chancellery. Those of the right belonged to the Imperial Grand Secretariat. cf. TFA, p. 151, 187. cf. Waley, Po Chu-i, pp. 41-2, for rendering this title into English.

252. Wang Chi has no biography in either T'ang history.

253. Wei Mo has no biography in either T'ang history.

254. Ts'ui Tang has no biography in either T'ang history.

255. Wei Yu-i has no biography in either T'ang history.

256. Imperial Reminders. These (6) officials were responsible for picking up what the emperor forgot. They held the rank of 8:3. Those of the left belonged to the Imperial Chancellery and those of the right to the Imperial Grand Secretariat. TFA, pp. 151-52, 187.

257. Wei Ch'u-lao has no biography in either T'ang history.

258. Fan Tsung-jen has no biography in either T'ang history.

259. The Kirghiz were the name of a Turkish tribe, one of the northern Ti who submitted to China early in the T'ang dynasty. During the first part of the Chen-yüan era they were defeated by the Uighurs and separated from China. At the end of the K'ai-ch'eng period, when they became strong and flourishing, they defeated and scattered the Uighurs, after which they again started sending envoys with tribute to the T'ang court. During the Five Dynasties period, they were absorbed by the Ch'i-tan. They were also known as the Chieh-ku 結骨, Ho-ku 紇骨, or Chü-wu 居勿. TSFYCY, chap. 45/1892.

260. Wu Chieh Ko Kaghan became K'o Kaghan after the defeat of the Uighurs by the Kirghiz. After recapturing the T'ai-ho Princess from them, he tried to use her to get the T'ang to loan him the fortress of T'ien-te to help regain his lost homeland. Shih Hsiung attacked and defeated him at

260. (continued) Sha Hu Shan, thereby recovering the princess. Eventually, he was killed by I Yin-ch'o at Chin Shan. cf. CTS 195/12b; TCTC 246 Hui-Ch'ang 1/8 [841] 7953-4 and following K'ao-i note.

261. The T'ai-ho Princess, the 19th daughter of Hsien-tsung, had been married off to a Uighur kaghan in 821. cf. CTS 195/10b. After her recovery by court troops, her title was changed to the An-tung Ta-ch'ang Princess. cf. THY 6/77-8 and TCTC 247 Hui-ch'ang 3/2 keng-yin [843] pp. 7974-5.

262. T'ien-te (-ch'eng) is now northwest of Wu La T'e Ch'i in Inner Mongolia on the border with Sui-yüan. CKKCTMTTT, p. 137.

263. T'ien Mou. The parallel text is to be found in TCTC 246 Hui-ch'ang 1/8 [841] p. 7952. He has a biography in HTS 148 attached to that of T'ien Hung-cheng.

264. The Sha-t'o were a barbarian tribe, the alternate name for the western tribes of Turks. At first they were part of the eastern-western Turks but then divided and ruled over the former lands of Wu-sun. There was a desert called Sha-t'o and therefore they were called by this name. cf. HTS 218/2b for their contribution to border defense at this time.

265. T'ui-hun = Tu Yü Hun were a barbarian tribe. cf. PWYF, p. 537; CTS 198; HTS 221 shang.

266. Hu Han-ya Kaghan, whose personal name was Chi Hou-ts'e, was a Hsiung-nu chieftain who submitted to, and came to the court of, Han Hsüan-ti in Kan-lu 3 [51 B.C.]. Rather than fight with him, Hsüan-ti gave him many rich gifts and treated him with great dignity in return for his loyalty to the Han. The conversion of the Hsiung-nu brought over a great deal of support from other border tribes to the Han. cf. TCTC Kan-lu 3/1 [51 B.C.] pp. 887-88; also HS 8/19a-b.

267. Chen I-hsing (tzu Chou-tao) was a man from Ying-chou. He received the chin-shih degree in Yüan-ho 7 [811]. He has biographies in CTS 173 and HTS 181.

268. Wei Chung-P'ing has no biography in either T'ang history.

269. 1 shih equals 1.75 bushels. cf. Fin Admin., p. XIII, Weights and Measures.

270. Wa Mo-ssu was a Uighur general. Originally, he was a supporter of Wu Chieh Kaghan but he broke away and submitted to China. As a result, he was named Left General of the Chin-wu Army and was awarded the imperial surname Li and the name Ssu-chung. cf. TCTC 246, p. 7952 et seq. and CTS 195/12b.

271. Ch'ih Hsin was a Uighur chief minister who belonged to the faction opposed to Wu Chieh. Together with P'u Ku and Na Chih-ch'o he did not submit to China. Finally, he was tricked by Wa Mo-ssu into visiting Wu Chieh and killed in his tent along with P'u Ku. CTS 195/12b.

272. Yu-chou. It is now southwest of Ta-hsing hsien in Ching-chao, Hopei Province, i.e. present day Peking. CKKCTMTTT, p. 613.

273. Pao Ta Cha is in Fu hsien in modern day Shensi Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 576.

274. Pa T'ou Feng is now south of Ch'ung-shan hsien in the vicinity of Chiang Tu Ssu in Shansi Province. CKRDCMYR, p. 509. There is no entry in CKKCTMTTT.

275. Chen-wu Chieh Tu Shih. cf. map for location.

276. Shuo-chou was in contemporaneous Ho-tung Chieh Tu Shih. It is in Shuo-p'ing fu in modern day Shansi Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 706.

277. Yün-chou was also in contemporaneous Ho-tung Chieh Tu Shih. It is now governed from Ta-t'ung hsien in modern day Shansi Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 968.

278. Chang Hsien-chieh has no biography in either T'ang history.

279. Tai-chou belongs now to Ying-men Tao (Tai hsien) in Shansi Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 179.

280. Liu Mien (tzu Tzu-wang) was a man from P'eng-ch'eng in Hsü-chou. His contribution to the campaign in Chao-i is discussed in detail in the prefatory article. He has biographies in CTS 161, and HTS 171.

281. Shih Hsiung was another military man from Hsü-chou. cf. Prefatory Article. He has biographies in CTS 161 and HTS 171.

282. Sha Hu Shan is better known as Hei Shan. cf. TCTC 247, p. 7972 note. It is 10 li south of Yü-lin in Shensi Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 991.

283. Parallel texts concerning the recapture of the T'ai-ho Princess are to be found in Shih Hsiung's biographies, CTS 161/11a-b and HTS 171/7a-b, as well as CTS 18 shang Wu-tsung pen-chi, p. 7a. TCTC 247 Hui-ch'ang 3/1/keng-tzu, p. 7971-2 [843].

284. Ssu-k'ung, Director of Public Works, was one of the Three Dukes, who held the highest ceremonial offices in the empire. They held the rank of 1:1, which was equal to that of Grand Marshal (T'ai-wei). cf. no. 387 and Director of Instructions (Ssu-t'u), no. 343.

285. Ch'ao Fan has no biography in either T'ang history. The parallel text in TCTC 247 Hui-ch'ang 3/3 [843], p. 7975, states that he became the commissioner for subduing and pacifying the Kirghiz.

286. An-hsi was one of the protectorates established to handle barbarian affairs in the border provinces. After the defeat of Kao Ch'ang at the beginning of the dynasty, the T'ang established An-hsi protectorate in the walled city of Chiao-ho. It is 20 li east of Tulu Fan hsien in modern day Sinkiang Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 304.

287. Pei-t'ing (-chen) is in Fu-yüan hsien in modern day Sinkiang Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 185.

288. Yü-men Pass is 150 li west of Tun-huang hsien in present day Kansu Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 234. In ancient times, it was an important road connecting China with the Western Region (Hsi-yu).

289. Grand Military Protectorate. cf. TFA, pp. 718-20.

290. Wei Hsiang (tzu Jo-weng) was a man from Ting Tao in Chi-yin. For his warnings against the dangers of military expansion, cf. HS 74/11b.

291. Chü-shih were one of the 36 states in the Western Region during the Han dynasty. They were also known as the Ku Shih. They lived in what is now Turfan chang chi in Sinkiang Province (i.e. the area under discussion).

292. Chia Chüan-chih (tzu Chien-fang) was the grandson of the famous Han statesman Chia I. For his warnings cf. HS 64/12a-b and TCTC 28 Ch'u-yüan 2 [47 B.C.] pp. 903-5.

293. Chu-ya Chün. Established as a Han commandery in Yüan-feng 1 [110 B.C.], it is now southeast of Hsiung-shan hsien (on Hainan Island) in Kwangtung Province. p. 738. Ironically, this was where Te-yü died in exile.

294. Ti Jen-chieh, (607-700) (tzu Huai-ying) came from Ching-chou, T'ai-yüan. He was an important official who openly criticized Empress Wu's plans, including those to expand the empire. cf. CTS 89/4a-b; HTS 115/3a-b; TCTC 206 Sheng-kung 1/winter 10 [897], pp. 6524-5.

295. The four Garrisons of Su-le. These were the four T'ang garrisons in Hsi-yü, Chiu-tzu. TSFYCY 65/2786, Yü-t'ien, (65/2792) Yen-shih (65/2787) and Su-le (65/2794). They were outposts for administering the Western Region and defending the empire against the Tibetans. Following the T'ien-pao era [742-755], all four fell to the Tibetans. CKKCTMTTT, pp. 202-3. They were northwest of the ancient fortified city of Sha-che, 9350 li from Ch'ang-an.

296. (Ah Shih Na) Hu-se-lo was the son of Ah Shih Na Pu Chen of the Pu Li She tribe. At the beginning of the Ch'ui-kung era [685-9], he was appointed general in the Yu-chin Guard and concurrently Meng-ch'ih Tu-hu. CTS 194 hsia/6a; HTS 215 hsia/9a.

297. An-tung Tu-hu hu. "At the beginning of the Tsung-chang era [668] after the defeat of the Korean kingdom of Kao-li, the An-tung Tu-tu fu was established in Ch'ao-hsien governing the city of P'ing-jang in order to control the various states of the eastern sea. ...At the beginning of the T'ien-pao era [742], it was again moved to the old prefecture of Liao-hsi. After the Chih-te era [756-7], it was abolished. It belonged to the military province of P'ing-lu. It is 270 li east of Ch'ao-yang hsien in modern Jehol Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 306.

298. The original text reads: "[Ti] Jen-chieh requested abolishing An-tung and restoring the Kao-shih as chieftains (Chün-chang)." CTS 89/4b. In TCTC 206 Shen-Kung 1/intercalary 10/chin-yin [697] p. 6525, Kao-shih is glossed as Kao-li. The pertinent sentence reads: "...then, Kao-shih being a distant country, have it protect An-tung." The object here is very clear--abandon distant commanderies to China's barbarian allies to defend, and concentrate men and supplies on closer, more easily defended ones.

299. This memorial has been preserved in Te-yü's collected works. HCIPC, chap. 12/64-5.

300. The parallel text reads Tu-fan ch'iu-chang 吐蕃酋長 instead of tsa-lu 雜虜.

301. The parallel text adds: hsing Wei-chou ts'e-shih Yü Ts'ang-chien pien ling 行維州刺史虞藏儉便領.

302. The parallel text reads hsi 喜 rather than t'an 嘆.

303. The parallel text reads ch'ou 仇 rather than pu tsu 不足.

304. It was recorded: "The chief minister and [a number of] high officials, seventeen in all, were ordered to swear a treaty with the Tibetan [President of the Board of Rites] Lu Na-lo west of the city. Liu Yüan-ting and Na-lo were sent back to Tibet to swear the treaty with their chief minister and his subordinate officials." TCTC 243 Ch'ang-ch'ing 1 Winter 10/kuei-chiu [821] p. 7800.

305. This allusion refers to the incident in 51/11 of the reign of Ch'in Chao Wang [252 B.C.] in which Po was forced to commit suicide for executing the troops of Chao K'uo who had surrendered after the battle of Shang-tang in order to prevent future rebellions. cf. SC 73/4b.

306. Tu-yu is 5 li east of Hsien-yang in modern Shensi Province. The Shih Chi biography of Po Ch'i states: "He went out 10 li beyond the western gate of Hsien-yang. When he arrived at Tu-yu, he was ordered to kill himself." CKKCTMTTT, p. 393.

307. Ch'en T'ang (tzu Tsu-kung), a man from Chia-ch'iu in Shan-yang, was a Han official during the reign of Han Yüan-ti who hunted down and beheaded the Hsiung-nu leader Chih Chih. Later he was banished to Tun-huang for avarice. He was then recalled to Ch'ang-an where he died. He was celebrated for his forcefulness and his military achievements which extended the awe and might of the Han to the various border tribes of the Western Territories. Despite his service to the court in defeating Chih Chih, he was going to be executed for calling an Imperial Prince an imposter; however, he was only banished. cf. HS 70/3a.

308. The parallel text reads an 按 rather than hsi 徙.

309. Chih Chih was the older brother of the Hsiung-nu shan-yü Hu Han Ya (cf. no. 295) who submitted to the Han. He refused to submit as had his brother and went westward to set up his own kingdom. During the reign of Han Yüan-ti, Kan Yen-shou and his colleague Ch'en T'ang, et al., raised an army and entered K'ang Chü and executed him. TCTC, chap. 28-29 passim.

310. The parallel text reads chou 州 not ch'uan 川.

311. The City Taken without Grief. There is another possibility for explaining the meaning of this title: "These two words 'wu yu' in Chinese mean to sleep in peace (Kao chen wu yu 高枕無憂). It can also come from the Sanskrit 'Wu yu wang' - Asoka. In Tibetan mythology, Asoka is the shih wang 世王 (Roi Universel) just like Hai-lung wang (Naga dan un lac). Kuan Lao-yeh later got it mixed up. Supposing the name of the walled city of Wei-chou 'wu yu' were not a Chinese name, then I suspect it cannot but be connected with Asoka." Jao Tsung-i, "The Position of Wei-chou in the History of Sino-barbarian relations during the T'ang dynasty," BIHPS, Vol. 39, part 2, 1969. Li Fang-kuei Festschrift, pp. 87-88.

312. The parallel text reads ch'eng ts'ung tz'u te 城從此得.

313. The parallel text reads i 以 rather than yü 欲.

314. Ho-huang. "I say that 'Ho-huang' indicates the region northeast of Ch'ing-hai." Ts'en Chung-mien, T'ung-chien Sui-T'ang Chi Pi Shih Chih-i, p. 291. Ch'ing-hai is in Ch'ing-hai Province more than 300 li west of Hsi-ning hsien. CKRDCMYR, p. 338.

315. The parallel text reads ch'ien ch'i chiu 遣其黨 instead of sui ch'ien chiu 遂遣黨.

316. Lun Mang-je. This incident is described in TCTC 236 Chen-yüan 18/1 [802], p. 7599. Also Wei Kao's biographies, CTS 140/3a and HTS 158/2b. A note in TCTC calls attention to the discrepancy in the date between the TCTC account and the biographies. In the latter it is said to be the 10th month. The former follows the date in the Shih-lu.

317. Kung Shu was a famous carpenter from classical times. Legge translates the pertinent passage from Mencius 'Li Lou Section A' as follows: "The power of vision of Li Lau [Lou], the skill of hand of Kung She [Shu] without the compass and square could not form circles and squares." In a further note, Legge adds, "Kung She, named Pan 班 or 般 was a celebrated mechanist of Lu..." Legge Classics, Vol. II, Mencius Book IV, Li Lau Part I, p. 288.

318. This refers to the Nan Chao raid in T'ai-ho 3 [829], cf. no. 189.

319. The parallel text reads pao kuei t'an ch'ing wei 報貴探情偽 not wen suo chi t'an chi ch'ing wei 聞所冀探其情偽.

320. The parallel text adds teng 等.

321. cf. no. 179 for the eight states.

322. Ch'iang is a general name for barbarians on China's western borders.

323. The parallel text does not have ta kuo 大國.

324. Ho-shui is the place where the Ch'ing River enters the Yangtze. It is in P'eng-shan hsien in present day Szechuan Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 290. cf. TCTC 7077 note states that it was in contemporaneous I-chou in Chien-nan Shi-ch'uan Chieh Tu Shih.

325. Ch'i-chi (Lao Weng ch'eng) is in Wei-wu city in Ch'eng-tu fu in Mao-chou in Szechuan Province. CKRDCMYR, p. 347. There is no entry in CKKCTMTTT.

326. The parallel text reads chi 機 not chi 基.

327. The parallel text reads sui i mien hsü 所以面許 not chi chü 繼具.

328. The parallel text reads ko chia 各加 not ch'ing i 請以

329. The parallel text reads ch'ao chih 朝旨 rather than chao shu 詔書.

330. The parallel text adds pi 逼.

331. Lu-chou, according to a note in the parallel text in TCTC, p. 7977, was one of the six barbarian prefectures in Ho-ch'ü on the western border of Yu-chou in contemporaneous Hsia-sui-yin Chieh Tu Shih. p. 613.

332. The parallel text reads ch'i ssu 豈思 rather than pu chih 不知.

333. The parallel text reads chü 聚.

334. The parallel text reads ch'u 初 not shih 時.

335. The parallel text does not have t'ou an 偷安.

336. The parallel text reads lei piao ch'en lun 累表陳論 rather than lei piao shang ch'en 累表上陳.

337. The parallel text reads pei san mu yü 被三木與 rather than p'i chih ku yü 披桎梏舁.

338. The parallel text reads jen chou 忍周 rather than hai yung 害用.

339. Ch'u Ling Wang. This allusion is taken from the Spring and Autumn Annals' account for Prince Chao of Lu, 4th year [658 B.C.]. "Autumn. 7th month. The Viscount of Ch'u, Marquis of Ts'ai, the Marquis of Ch'en, Baron of Hsü, Viscount of Tun, Viscount of Hu, and Huai-i attacked Wu, seized Ch'ing-feng of Chi and killed him." The Ku-liang commentary to the above has the following pertinent exchange: "King Ling sent men to bring Ch'ing-feng along and had him placed among the soldiers. He said, 'Are you the Ch'ing-feng of Ch'i who killed his prince?' Ch'ing-feng said, 'Sir, wait, I too have a little to say. Are you Wei, the Duke of Ch'u who murdered his elder brother's son and replaced him as prince?' All the soldiers laughed uproariously..." "The meaning of the Spring and Autumn Annals is to use the noble to control the ignoble, the worthy to control the degenerate and not use the rebellious to control the rebellious. Confucius said, 'When one attacks one's enemies with evil in one's heart, even though they are dead they have not submitted.' Is this not what this means?" Harvard Yenching Index Series, No. 11. Ch'un Ch'iu p. 353-4.

340. Chou Wen. I have been unable to find the source of this allusion.

341. Teng Shu. idem.

342. Hsi-ta-mou was given the posthumous post of General of the Right Palace Guard. TCTC 247 Hui-ch'ang 3/3 [843], p. 7978.

343. Director of Instructions was one of the 'Three Dukes.' They held the rank of 1:1. "The three Dukes helped the emperor keep yin and yang in harmony and to uphold peace within the country. They directed all matters..." TFA, p. 19. They were, of course, the highest honorary posts which the emperor could bestow.

344. Tse-lu was a province under the T'ang dynasty, cf. map for location. It is equally well known by its alternate name Chao-i.

345. Liu Ts'ung-chien was the son of Liu Wu. In a move similar to Li Chien, he suppressed news of his father's death and tried to gain court concurrence to being named his father's successor as military governor of Chao-i. Despite objections by Li Chiang which antici-

345. (continued) pated those of Te-yü, Ching-tsung allowed hereditary succession. For the whole of his tenure as military governor, he was an irritant to the court. He has biographies in CTS 161 and HTS 214.

346. Liu-hou. TFA, p. 825, note no. 2, explains it as follows: "The title liu-hou, word for word means 'official left behind'...After 777...it indicated the official left his post and designated his successor or who anticipated directly a vacancy before receiving imperial assent...I translate liu-hou as provisional official." For reasons of readability, it will be rendered as interim governor or governor-designate.

347. The ox-tailed pennant and broad axe were the symbols of the imperial mandate given to a general. M5-13642..2. cf. also Legge, Chinese Classics, Vol. III, Shoo King, pp. 300-1.

348. Ho-shuo. According to TFA, p. 826, note no. 1, Ho-shuo indicated the area north of the Yellow River, i.e. contemporaneous Ho-pei. cf. map.

349. Li Pao-chen was the nephew of Li Pao-yü, a loyalist general during the An Lu-shan rebellion who served as military governor of Chao-i. During Tai-tsung's reign, he changed his surname from An to Li. He helped to put down the rebellion of P'u-ku Huai-en and eventually became civil governor of Huai, Tse, and Lu-chou, serving for eight years in all. Realizing that Shang-tang (Lu-chou) occupied a strategic military position, he built up the army to a strength of 20,000 men. "By training a citizen army during the agricultural off-season, and promoting archery competitions and practice, within three years, he produced an instrument of war which was the best in the empire." CTS 132/2b and HTS 138/4a. During the "revolt of the four princes" (782-4) he remained loyal to the court.

350. The parallel text for this report is to be found in TCTC 247 Hui-ch'ang 3/4 hsin-wei [843], p. 7980.

351. For a detailed analysis of this succession crisis, cf. the prefatory article to this translation.

352. Li Chien loc. cit. He also has a biography appended to his father's biography in HTS 138.

353. Liu Wu was the grandfather of Liu Chen. He came from a family which for a long time served the military governors of P'ing-lu (modern Shantung). In Yüan-ho 15 [820] he killed his commander Li Shih-tao and brought to an end the revolt in P'ing-lu. As a reward, he was made Military

353. (continued) Governor of I-ch'eng. In Ch'ang-ch'ing 1/10 [821] he was transferred to be Military Governor of Chao-i.

354. Ch'ang-tzu (hsien) is west of Ch'ang-tzu hsien in modern day Shansi prov. CKKCTMTTT, p. 549.

355. Chin-yang is now the city of Lung-shan, T'ai-yüan hsien, T'ai-yüan fu, Shansi Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 306.

356. This is an allusion to Liu Ts'ung-chien's championing of Wang Yai's innocence, his continuing opposition to the eunuchs, and his willingness to help the court purge them. "...If treacherous officials are difficult to control, I will swear to the death to clear them from the emperor's side." TCTC 245 K'ai-cheng 1/2/kuei-wei [836], p. 7023.

357. The parallel text for this exchange is to be found in TCTC 247 Hui-ch'ang 3/4 hsin-wei [843], p. 7980.

358. Wei-chou was the administrative centre for contemporaneous Wei-po Chieh Tu Shih. It is east of Ta-ming hsien in modern Hopei. CKKCTMTTT, p. 1338.

359. Chen-chou was the administrative seat for contemporaneous Ch'eng-te Chieh Tu Shih. It is administered by Cheng-ching hsien in modern day Ho-pei Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 1326.

360. The strategic importance of the three commanderies in the region East of the Mountains is summed up in Tu Mu's advice to Te-yü: "...All of Chao-i's military provisions are [in the area] east of the Mountains. The two chou of Tse and Lu are situated entirely within the mountains where the earth is barren and the land narrow. The grain which had been put away is all gone, therefore the military governor often sits in Hsing-chou ostensibly to be close to the grain. The provisions and grain from [the area] East of the Mountains cannot be transported; moreover, the soldiers [in the area] West of the Mountains are indeed few and isolated. Truly this is where to strike at an empty place!..." CTW, chap. 751/11a-16a, p. 9850. Also TCTC 247 Hui-ch'ang 3 [843], pp. 7982-3 has a truncated version.

361. Li Hui (tzu Chao-tu), originally called Ch'an but was changed to avoid the taboo of Wu-tsung's temple name. He was a chin-shih of the Ch'ang-ch'ing period. For his mission to Ho-pei, cf. his biographies, CTS 173/8a-b; HTS 131/8b-9a; HCIPC 6/p. 32. Tzu Ho Chung-hsün chao and TCTC 247 Hui-ch'ang 3/4 [843], p. 7981.

362. The Chinese text reads Wu wei tzu sun chih mou yü ts'un fu che chih shih 勿為子孫之謀，欲存輔卑之勢. loc. cit.

363. Ho Hung-ching. His original name was Chung-hsün, but it was changed at the beginning of the Hui-ch'ang era. He was the son of Ho Chin-t'ao who became the military governor of Wei-po in T'ai-ho 3 [829] after the murder of Shih Hsien-ch'eng. During the campaign against Chao-i, Hung-ching was named Southern Commissioner for summoning punishment. At first, he was reluctant to join in the fighting but he was eventually goaded into it when Te-yü ordered Wang Tsai to march across Wei-po. He has biographies in CTS 181 and HTS 210.

364. Wang Yüan-k'uei was the son of Wang T'ing-tsou who revolted against T'ien Hung-cheng in Wei-po during the Ch'ang-ch'ing era. After a short struggle with the court, he was named military governor. Originally, they were of Uighur stock--the Ah Pu Ssu tribe. In the campaign against Chao-i, Yüan-k'uei was one of the court's most successful and dependable generals. He has biographies in CTS 142 and HTS 211.

365. Li Jang-i. (tzu Ta-hsin) was a man from Lung-hsi. He achieved his chin-shih in Yüan-ho 14 [819]...Being a supporter of Te-yü, he too was demoted when Hsüan-tsung came to the throne. He has biographies in CTS 176, HTS 181.

366. Tú-chih, the Office of Public Revenue, was one of the four sections of the Ministry of Finance. TFA, pp. 71, 74. The parallel text is TCTC 247 Hui-ch'ang 3/7 chia-chen [843], 7987.

367. Wang Tsai. His original name was Yen-tsai. He was the son of Wang Chih-hsing, an important general from Hsü-chou. During the campaign against Chao-i, in addition to being military governor of Chung-wu, he was also Commissioner for Attacking and Punishing for the Expeditionary Force from Ho-yang. Tsai was the instrument which ended Ho Hung-ching's vacillation. Ultimately, he captured Tse-chou and had Liu Chen's head sent back to the capital. He has biographies in CTS 156; HTS 172 appended to his father's.

368. Shih Hsiung was another military man from Hsü-chou. During the Hui-ch'ang era, he helped Lui Mien defeat the Uighurs and recapture the T'ai-ho Princess at Sha Hu Shan. Against Chao-i, he was appointed Li Yen-tso's deputy in order to urge him on to further action, ultimately replacing him as

368. (continued) military governor of Chin-hsiang. Owing to his great generosity, his troops were extremely devoted and loyal. In order to fulfill the bizarre prediction of the hunchback in the marketplace of Lu-chou, he was named to capture the rebel capital. He has biographies in CTS 161; HTS 171.

369. Hsing-chou is in Hsing-t'ai hsien Chih-li (i.e. Ho-pei) Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 669.

370. Ming-chou is in Yung-p'ing hsien in Chihli (i.e. Ho-pei) Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 647.

371. Tz'u-chou is in Tz'u Hsien in Chihli (i.e. Ho-pei) Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 1184.

372. Tse-chou is in Chin-ch'eng hsien in modern Shansi Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 1222.

373. Lu-chou (Shang-tang) is in Ch'ang-chih hsien in modern Shansi Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 1176. This was the administrative centre for contemporaneous Tse-lu (Chao-i) Chieh Tu Shih.

374. T'ai-yüan is in T'ai-yüan hsien in modern Shansi Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 143. This was the administrative centre for contemporaneous Ho-tung Province.

375. Heng-shui is east of Fen-yang hsien in modern Shansi Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 1217.

376. Yü-she (hsien) is in Yü-she hsien (Chi-ning Tao) in modern Shansi Province. CKRDCMYR, p. 632. cf. CKKCTMTTT, pp. 1027-8.

377. Li Shih (tzu Chung-yu) was a man from Lung-hsi. He achieved his chin-shih in Yüan-ho 13 [817]. During the difficult days following the Sweet Dew Incident, he served at court as a chief minister. In order to overcome the difficulty posed by the continuing disagreement between Chang Chung-wu and Liu Mien, he was summoned to replace the latter as military governor of Ho-tung. In this position, he was driven out of T'ai-yüan by the rebels led by Yang Pien. Li was later sent to Lo-yang where he occupied various minor positions. He has biographies in CTS 172 and HTS 131 in the section on chief ministers from the imperial house.

378. Yang Pien has no biography in either T'ang history. The parallel text for this rebellion is to be found in TCTC 247 Hui-ch'ang 4/1/i-yu shuo [844], pp. 7995-8.

379. Ma Yüan-kuan has no biography in either T'ang history. cf. the aforementioned parallel text.

380. Liu-tzu Lieh. The parallel text op. cit., p. 7997, states that this was the name of the place. A further note states that the place name derives from the fact it was lined and planted with willow trees. In T'ai-yüan hsien in modern Shansi Province there is a place called Liu-tzu Yü. CKKCTMTTT, p. 632.

381. Lien-ho is an agrarian group which maintained public order and linked together [groups of] ten families. M9-29153..8.

382. Hsing-ying was a military camp for an expeditionary force, i.e. fighting against the rebellion in Chao-i. TFA, p. 176.

383. Hu San-hsing's comment concerning Te-yü's rhetorical flourish states: "At this time, the intentions of the emperor and ministers were harmonious and their discussions agreeable. Liu Chen's power was already weak, certainly the court was not willing to abandon [the campaign] and not punish him. Te-yü said this to arouse Wu-tsung in order to make it clear that Yang Pien could not be pardoned." TCTC 247 Hui-ch'ang 4/1 hsin-ch'ou [844], pp. 7997-8 note.

384. Wang Feng was at this time commissioner in charge of horses and men for the expeditionary force from Ho-tung. He has biographies in CTS 161 appended to that of Wang P'ei. Also in HTS 171.

385. T'u men Pass is also known as Ching-hsing Pass. "It is on Ching-hsing Mountain southeast of Ching-hsing hsien in Chihli, (Ho-pei) touching on the border with Huo-lu hsien. It is also called T'u-men Pass. ...Since Ch'in-Han times, it has been, militarily speaking, a strategic place." CKKCTMTTT, p. 119.

386. Lü I-chung has no biography in either T'ang history.

387. Grand Marshal had the rank of 1:1. "There were no designated functions but if there were no worthy individuals to bear this title, then no one bore it." TFA 19-20.

388. According to CTS 18 shang, the Basic Annals of Wu-tsung, 11a, it says 1000 households. Te-yü's other biography in HTS 180/8a gives additional information concerning the origin of this title: "Te-yü again stated that his ancestors had been enfeoffed in Chao. When the eldest grandson, Kuan-chung, was born, he was given the tzu San-chao. The intent was to hand it down to the first born and not to the younger brothers. When I was enriched and ennobled earlier, it had been already changed to Chung-shan. All my ancestors lived in Chi and wanted to be enfeoffed as Wei. The emperor allowed this, and then, it [Te-yü's title] was changed to Duke of Wei-kuo."

389. The date of the bestowal of Wu-tsung's honorific title was Hui-ch'ang 5/1 i-yu shuo, i.e. the first day of the new year. CTS 18 shang/12b.

390. Chiang-ling(-fu) is now governed from Chiang-ling hsien in Ho-pei Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 328.

391. Hsing-nan Chieh Tu Shih. cf. map for location.

392. According to TCTC 248, p. 8023, Hsüan-tsung's accession took place on Hui-ch'ang 6/3 ting-mao [846], three days after the death of Wu-tsung. cf. also CTS 18 hsia/1a Hsüan-tsung pen-chi.

393. Liu-shou was the official in charge of the capital during imperial absences. TFA, p. 686.

394. Imperial Commissioner for the defense of the district of the Eastern Imperial Domain, Ju-chou and the [Eastern] capital. The Tung-chi-tu Fang Yü Shih was the administrative area for the eastern capital. Ju-chou was just beyond its borders in neighbouring Shan-kuo Chieh Tu Shih. TFA, p. 714, note no. 2, quotes CTS 44: "After the Chih-te period [756] in the large commanderies (chün) and in places of great strategic importance, Imperial Commissioners for Regional Defense (fang yü shih) were created in order to direct military matters. The Prefects held most of the responsibility, but they were not granted the field colours (ching 旌) and the insignia of command (chieh)節. That is to say, they did not have the same powers as Military Governors (Chieh Tu Shih) but had more or less the same assignment. In other words, the title of Imperial Commissioner for Regional Defense gave to the Prefect the military power to organize resistance against rebellions."

395. This is a shortened form of Wu-tsung's full imperial title 'Wu-tsung Chih-tao [Shao-su] Hsiao Huang-ti'. THY, chap. 2, p. 13.

396. Po Min-chung (tzu Yung-mei) was the nephew of the famous poet, Po Chü-i, and a chin-shih of the Ch'ang-ch'ing era. When Wu-tsung assumed the throne, he was summoned to be Hanlin Scholar and later Grand Secretary of the Imperial Secretariat. During Hsüan-tsung's reign, he ultimately served as Chief Minister. He has biographies appended to those of Po Chü-i in CTS 166 and HTS 119.

397. Ling-hu T'ao, (tzu Tzu-chih) was the nephew of Ling-hu Ch'u. He achieved his chin-shih in T'ai-ho 4 [830]. He has biographies appended to Ling-hu Ch'u's in CTS 172 and HTS 166.

398. T'ai-kō. According to TFA, p. 185, it cites Tz'u Yüan's definition of this as the Department of State Affairs.

399. Ts'ui Hsüan (tzu T'ai-shou) was also a chin-shih. In Hui-ch'ang 5/3, owing to his inability to get along with Te-yü, he was sent out to become the Civil Governor of Shan-huo. He has biographies appended to that of Ts'ui Lüeh in CTS 163 and HTS 160.

400. According to TCTC 248 Hui-ch'ang 5/5 jen-hsü [845], p. 8015. CTS 18 shang Wu-tsung pen-chi says the 3rd month. Neither of his biographies gives a date.

401. This recommendation by Po Min-chung was not acted upon since Ts'ui continued to serve in the provinces until much later.

402. Li Hsien has no biography in either T'ang history.

403. Concerning these factional machinations against Te-yü, the T'ung Chien K'ao-i cited on page 8029 of TCTC cites this passage verbatim and gives its source as the Wu-tsung Shih-lu. "However T'ao and Hsüan were not at the capital at this time and these events did not take place at this time. The Shih-lu is wrong."

404. Minor Protector of the Crown Prince. One of the three to hold this position which held the rank of 2:2. TFA, p. 571.

405. The date of Te-yü's demotion is given in TCTC 248 Ta-chung 1/2 kuei-wei 847. CTS 18/3a Hsüan-tsung pen-chi gives ting-mao.

406. Ch'ao-chou is in Ch'ao-an hsien in modern Kwang-tung Province. CKKCTMTTT, pp. 1178-9. It was in contemporaneous Ling-nan Chieh Tu Shih.

407. Senior Administrator was a member of the staff administering a chou. It held the rank of 5:4. TFA, p. 705.

408. According to TCTC 248 Ta-chung 1/winter/12/wu-hsü [847], this was the date of Te-yü's demotion. This was 48 days after the announcement of the decision of the censorate's review of the case.

409. Yung-ning hsien is in Lo-ning hsien in Honan Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 229. According to CTS 173/7b, Wu Ju-na had served as Chief of Subordinate Staff (wei) in Yung-ning hsien in Ho-nan fu.

410. Wu Ju-na came from Feng-chou. He was a chin-shih, and a nephew of the former Prefect of Ch'ao-chou Wu Wu-ling. Earlier, when his uncle had been convicted of taking bribes, Te-yü, as Chief Minister, had had him banished and Ju-na did not advance. He then attached himself to the faction of Li Tsung-min and Yang Ssu-fu to make slanderous attacks against Te-yü. After the accession of Hsüan-tsung when the faction regained power, he served in many important posts. He has a biography in CTS 173 attached to that of Li Shen.

411. This case involved Ju-na's younger brother Wu Hsiang when he served as chief of subordinate staff in Chiang-fu. According to the facts of the case, he had been charged originally with misusing funds allocated for travelling expenses (ch'eng liang ch'ien) and taking advantage of his office to marry a certain commoner, Yen Yüeh. When Li Shen had his duty officer, Wei Hsing, investigate this matter, the crime of bribery was clear and obvious and Wu was executed according to the law. When the censor Ts'ui Yüan-tsao reviewed the case, he decided that the charge of bribery had been correct, but Yen Yüeh was the daughter of an official family and the details of the case were not quite the same as those originally stated. Since Yüan-tsao did not come to a definite decision, Te-yü had him banished to Yai-chou. When Ju-na had the case reviewed a second time, Yüan-tsao, who now hated Te-yü, was used and misled by Ts'ui Hsüan, Po Min-chung and Ling-hu T'ao, and

411. (continued) said that although Hsiang had been guilty of accepting bribes, the crime was not punishable by death. After three officials were sent down to examine the case in detail, Te-yü and those who had supported him were all banished. Ju-na and Yüan-tsao were both rewarded by Ts'ui, Po and Ling-hu, and for several years, occupied high office. TCTC, p. 8014, 8031 and CTS 173/7b. cf. Wang Mang-sheng's Discussions on the Seventeen Histories, chap. 91, p. 1021, "A few from the crowd sought to topple Shen in order to get at Te-yü."

412. Treasury Officer. TFA, p. 694. "Administrator of the Office of Finance."

413. Ch'ao-yang is in Ch'ao-yang hsien in Kwangtung Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 1179.

414. Yai-chou is southeast of Ch'ing-shan hsien (Ch'iung-yai hsien), i.e. on Hainan Island, in Kwangtung Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 795.

415. Chu-yai chün is southeast of Ch'iung-shan hsien in Kwangtung Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 738. CKRDCMYR, p. 286, adds the fact that it is 30 li southeast of Ch'iung-shan hsien.

416. Wang Ming-sheng in his article 'The date of Li Te-yü's banishment and death' (Li Te-yü Pien Ssu Nien Yüeh) in his Discussions on the Seventeen Dynastic Histories, chap. 91, pp. 1023-4, argues that Te-yü died a year later, i.e. Ta-chung 4 [850] at the age of 64 (sui). The key argument sustaining this thesis is based on Te-yü's 'Eulogy to Wei Chih-i' (Chi-wei Hsiang Chih-i Wen) in Te-yü's collected works, HCIPC, Pieh-chi 7/153, which uses the date Ta-chung 4. In refutation, Ch'en Yin-k'o in his article 'Discerning and Corroborating Hearsay about the Date of Li Te-yü's Banishment and Death and the Return of his Body for Burial' in Ch'en Yin-k'o hsien-sheng Lun-chi seizes upon the fact that Te-yü refers to Wei as P'u-yeh. After an exhaustive examination of the relevant material, Professor Ch'en concludes that this title of P'u-yeh could not have been used to refer to Wei prior to Ta-chung 10 [856] so that this eulogy is a forgery. cf. pp. 323-4. Despite such persuasive arguments supporting the validity of the date given in the biography, the recent punctuated edition of CTS published in the People's Republic cites Wang's date as being correct. cf. p. 4531, note no. 2. In TCTC, the announcement of death is dated Ta-chung 3 intercalary 11th month chia-hsü [849].

417. Liu San-fu was Te-yü's faithful servant. He has biographies in CTS 177 and HTS 183.

418. Huai Tien refers to the region of the Huai River. M7-7682..31. This alludes to Te-yü's service in Huai-hsi.

419. Yin-ch'üeh hsien is south of Loyang hsien in modern Honan Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 285. CKRDCMYR, p. 13, adds that it is 55 li south.

420. There were in fact two villas of this name set up by Te-yü. The other one was in Tsan-huang hsien (i.e. his home district) in modern Ho-pei Province. According to the Chu T'an Lu written by K'ang Ping in 895, the P'ing-ch'üan estate in question was 30 li south of Lo-yang. M4-3902.. 389.

421. For further information concerning the contents of this exotic garden, cf. P'ing-ch'üan shan chü ts'ao mu chi HCIPC pieh-chi 9/156.

422. E. D. Edwards, Chinese Prose Literature, Vol. I, pp. 150-51 has a translation of what is left of this piece. Hereinafter cited as Edwards, Prose Lit.

423. This work also known as T'ing Shih was presented to court on T'ai-ho 8/9 [834]. Cf. CTS 17 hsia/12a, the Basic Annals of Wen-tsung. For a detailed description of this work, cf. The Imperial Catalogue (Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu Tsung-shu T'i-yao), chapter 140. cf. also Edwards op. cit. pp. 92-93.

424. This work exists vestigially in Hsü T'an Chu, edited by Ch'ao Tsai-chih, chapter 3, pp. 49-50.

425. According to the entry in the Imperial Catalogue, chap. 150, this work contains Te-yü's writing on discussions of history written when he lived in retirement after his situation had changed. It now comprises the wai-chi section of his collected works.

426. The Auxiliary Secretary of the Board of Sacrifices. cf. TFA, p. 87.

427. Li Shan is 50 li west of Ts'ang-yü hsien in modern Kwanghsi Province. CKRDCMYR, p. 661. There is no entry in CKKCTMTTT. This was in contemporaneous Kuei-kuan ching-lüeh shih.

428. Hsiang-chou is in Hsiang-hsien in modern Kwangsi Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 943.

429. The return of Te-yü's titles. The remonstrance official Liu Yeh, the son of Liu San-fu (cf. note no. 417) from Chu-jung, said to the emperor, "The father and son, Li Te-yü [and Li Chi-fu both] served as chief minister, they have meritorious achievements and traces of their reputations, after being banished their blood relations are about to die out and his career is already a void. It would be fitting to take pity on him and bestow on him an office." Winter/10th month, ting-hai, an edict restored to Te-yü the titles of T'ai-tzu Shao-pao, Duke of Wei kuo, and granted him the title of Vice-president of the Department of State Affairs (P'u-yeh). TCTC 250 Hsien-t'ung 1/9/hsin-hai [860], pp. 8090-1. This is a very truncated version of Yeh's memorial preserved in his CTS biography 177/22b-23a. The K'ao-i discussion of this, to be found after the above citation from TCTC, argues after an investigation of the various historical sources that this memorial may be a later fabrication since it refers to 'last year' ch'ü nien when talking of Te-yü's son being promoted because of an amnesty from I-tsung. All this occurred in Hsien-t'ung 1, not 2. This point need not detain us here; however, it is significant that it did take the death of Hsüan-tsung and the absence of Po Min-chung and Ling-hu T'ao from court affairs to bring about the restoration of Te-yü's titles and offices.

430. Ch'en-chou was in contemporaneous Hu-nan Kuan Ch'a Shih and is now in Ch'en hsien in Hunan. CKKCTMTTT, p. 861.

431. Kuei-yang Chün is now administered by Ch'en hsien in modern Hunan Province. CKKCTMTTT, p. 709.

432. [Yang] Yu-chi. From the biography of Mei-Sheng of the Han dynasty, there is the following account: "Yang Yu-chi was an expert in archery from Ch'u. Standing 100 paces away from poplar leaves, he had, out of 100 targets thrown up, 100 bull's-eyes. For hitting 100 bull's-eyes the size of poplar leaves, he may be called skilled at archery. But what he stopped at was still only within 100 paces." cf. HS 51/19b.

433. Yen Chu came from Hui-chou in Wu. He was the son of Yen Fu-tzu (Yen Chi 嚴忌). For a brief comment on his literary talents, cf. HS 64/9a.

434. Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju. (tzu Ch'ang-ch'ing) He came from Ch'eng-tu in modern Szechuan. He has biographies in SC 117 and HS 57.

435. Hsiao Ho was the first Chief Minister of the Han dynasty. He has biographies in SC 39 and HS 53.

436. Ts'ao Shen succeeded Hsiao Ho as Chief Minister. SC 54/6b; HS 39/10b.

437. This is an allusion to a line from the Analects, Book XV, Wei Ling Kung, chap. 13, which Legge translates as follows: "The Master said, 'Was not Tsang Wan-[Wen-]chung like one who had stolen his situation? He knew the virtue and talents of Hui of Liu-hsia, and yet did not procure that he should stand with him in court." The phrase ch'ieh wei is glossed 'as if he had got it by theft and secretly held possession of it.' The following note entitled this section, 'Against the jealousy of others' talents,' Legge, Chinese Classics, pp. 298-99. This likely alludes to the charges of Te-yü's reputed haughtiness and undeserved high rank made by his many detractors.

438. Chui tao chih mo 錐刀之末 is a metaphor for trivial things. M11-4053..14.

439. The following anecdote is the source of this phrase: "Once there was a man from Ch'i who sought after gold. On a clear morning, he dressed and put on his hat and went into town. Arriving at a goldsmith's, he snatched some gold and ran. When a constable apprehended him, he asked, 'with all those people there, why did you take someone else's gold?' 'When I grabbed the gold, I did not see the others, I saw only the gold,' he said." Lieh-tzu, chap. 8/16a, SPPY edition. This alludes to Te-yü's blindness to all but his own goals.

440. Li Lou, normally written 離婁, is an allusion to the Mencius Book IV, part 1, chap. 1. Legge translates it as follows: "The power of vision of Li Lau, and the skill of hand of Kung Shu, without the compass and square could not form squares and circles." cf. note no. 347. A further note adds: "Li Lau called also Li Chu carries us back to a very high Chinese antiquity. He was, it was said, of the time of Hwang-ti, and so acute of vision, that at the distance of 100 paces, he could discern the slightest hair." Legge, Chinese Classics, Vol. II, p. 288. This allusion reinforces the point of no. 439.

441. Ch'ing-p'ing 青萍 the name of a famous sword. M12-42564..534.

442. Ts'ui ku 摧枯 smashing rotten stumps is a metaphor for something easily done. M5-12609..20.

443. Chien-ling 建铃 is also a metaphor for something easily done. M4-95744..167.

444. Concerning this there is the following account: "Chen-kuan 17/2 [643] it was decreed that the likenesses of the Director of Instructions, Duke of Chao, Chang-su Wu-chi and others, 24 meritorious officials in all, be sketched and painted in the 'Pavilion of Pre-eminence'." CTS 3/7b, Basic Annals of T'ai-tsung, part b. cf. TCTC 196 Chen-kuan 17/2 wu-shen [643], p. 6185.

CHARACTER TEXT AND GLOSSARY

Chang Chiang	張絳	pr. n.
Chang Chung-wu	張仲武	pr. n.
Chang Shu Chih	掌書記	recorder
Chang Shui	漳水	Chang River
Chang Yüan-i	張元益	pr. n.
Ch'ang shih	長使	Senior Administrator
Chao-i	昭義	pl. n.
Chen-chou	鎮州	pl. n.
Chen-hai chün chieh tu	鎮海軍節度	pl. n. and title
Ch'en Hsing-t'ai	陳行泰	pr. n.
Ch'en-hsü Chun	陳許軍	pl. n.
Ch'eng-te	成德	pl. n.
Cheng Chu	鄭注	pr. n.
Chi Ch'eng	冀城	pl. n.
Chi Chia Ssu	黠戛斯	Kirghiz, Turkish tribe
Chi hsien Ta-hsüeh shih	集賢大學士	Grand Scholar of the Academy of Assembled Worthies
Chi Shih	冀氏	pl. n.
Chi Shih Chung	給事中	Grand Secretary of the Imperial Chancellery
Ch'i ts'ao Yüan	起草院	pl. n.
Chia Su	賈餗	pr. n.
Chiang-chou	絳州	pl. n.

Chiang-ling yin	江陵尹	Prefect of Chiang-ling
Chieh Li	頡利	pr. n.
Chieh Tu Shih	節度使	military governor
Chieh Tu Ta Fu Shih	節度大副使	deputy grand military governor
Chih Chieh Tu Shih	知節度使	in charge of military affairs
Chien Ch'a Yü Shih	監察御使	examining censor
Chien chün	監軍	eunuch overseer
Chin-chou	晉州	pl. n.
Ching-ssu T'ing	精思亭	Pavilion of Essential Thought
Ch'ing-liu	清流	'pure' ranks
Ch'ing-p'ing	青萍	'green duckweed'--the name of a famous sword
Chih Chih Kao	知制誥	responsible for editing imperial edicts and proclamations
Chih Yen Chi Ch'ien K'o	直言極諫科	abbreviated form for the examination for speaking frankly and criticising without restraint
Chin-tzu Kuang-lu Tai-fu	金紫光祿大夫	sinecure title
Ch'iu Shih-liang	仇士良	pr. n.
Chou	州	prefecture
Ch'üeh chiu ch'ien	榷酒錢	liquor tax
Chung Shu She-jen	中書舍人	grand secretary of the imperial secretariat

Chung Shu Shih-lang	中書侍郎	Vice-president of the Department of State Affairs
Chün	軍	military region, i.e. the geographic base for an army
chün	郡	commandery
fu	府	grand prefecture
Han Hsin	韓信	pr. n.
Han-lin Hsüeh shih	翰林學士	Han-lin Scholar
Han-lin Yüan	翰林院	Han-lin Academy
Ho-chung	河中	pl. n.
Ho Hung-ching	何弘敬	pr. n.
Ho-pei	河北	pl. n.
Ho-shuo	河朔	pl. n.
Ho-tung	河東	pl. n.
Ho-yang	河陽	pl. n.
Hsi-ta-mou	悉怛謀	pr. n.
Hsien	縣	sub-prefecture
Hsien Liang Fang Cheng Chih Yen Chi Ch'ien K'o	賢良方正直言極諫科	examination for those worthy, virtuous, and righteous men capable of speaking frankly and criticising without restraint
Hsien-tsung	憲宗	pr. n.
Hsing-chou	邢州	pl. n.
Hsing-yüan	興元	pl. n.
Hsiung-wu Chün	雄武軍	pl. n.
Hsüan-wu Cha	宣務柵	pl. n.
Hsüeh E	薛嵩	pr. n.

Hsüeh Mao-ch'ing	薛茂卿	pr. n.
Hsüeh P'ing	薛平	pr. n.
Hsüeh Sung	薛嵩	pr. n.
Hu Pu Shang Shu	户部尚書	President of the Treasury Board
Huai-hsi	淮西	pl. n.
Hui-ch'ang	會昌	reign title
Hui-ho	回紇	Uighurs
Jun-chou	潤州	pl. n.
K'ao Kung Lang-chung	考功郎中	Senior Secretary of the Board for Examining Merit
Kao Wen-tuan	高文端	pr. n.
Kao Yüan-wu	高元武	pr. n.
K'o Tou Tien	科斗店	pl. n.
Ku	酤	liquor monopoly
Kuan Ch'a Shih cf. Lien-chen	觀察使	Civil Governor
Kung Pu Shih Lang	工部侍郎	Vice-president of the Board of Public Works
Kung Shu	公輸	pr. n.
Kuo I	郭誼	pr. n.
Li Chi-fu	李吉甫	pr. n.
Li Chiang	李絳	pr. n.
Li Chien	李絹	pr. n.
Li Ching	李靖	pr. n.
Li Feng-chi	李逢吉	pr. n.
Li Hui	李回	pr. n.
Li Pao-chen	李抱真	pr. n.

Li Pao-yü	李抱玉	pr. n.
Li P'i	李丕	pr. n.
Li Pu Shang Shu	禮部尚書	President of the Board of Rites
Li Pu Shih Lang	吏部侍郎	Vice-president of the Civil Service Board
Liang-i	量移	the administrative practice of reducing the distance from the capital of an official previously banished
Li Shih	李石	pr. n.
Li Te-yü	李德裕	pr. n.
Li Tsai-i	李載義	pr. n.
Li Tsung-min	李宗閔	pr. n.
Li Yen-tso	李彥佐	pr. n.
Lien-chen cf. Kuan-ch'a shih	廉鎮	Civil Governor
Lin-ming	臨洛	pl. n.
Liu Chen	劉稹	pr. n.
Liu-hou	留後	interim or acting governor
Liu Hsi	劉系	pr. n.
Liu Hsing-shen	劉行深	pr. n.
Liu Hung-i	劉弘逸	pr. n.
Liu K'uang-chou	劉匡周	pr. n.
Liu Mien	劉沔	pr. n.
liu-shih	留使	portion of the taxes retained for use in the prefecture
liu-shou	留守	Regent
Liu Ts'ung-chien	劉從諫	pr. n.

Liu Wu	劉悟	pr. n.
Lu Chün	盧鈞	pr. n.
Lü I-chung	呂義忠	pr. n.
Ma Yüan-kuan	馬元貫	pr. n.
Mang-ch'e (Ang-ch'e) Kuan	芒車(昂車)關	pl. n.
Ming-chou	洺州	pl. n.
Mao-yüeh	旄鉞	ox tailed pennant and ax
Men Hsia Shih Lang	門下侍郎	Vice-president of the Imperial Chancellery
Nan Chao	南詔	pl. n.
Niu Seng-ju	牛僧孺	pr. n.
P'an-kuan	判官	officer in charge of daily events attached to the staff of an expeditionary army
Pao-li	寶曆	reign title
P'ei Chih-ch'ing	裴志清	pr. n.
P'ei Wen	裴問	pr. n.
P'eng-lai Tien Ta-ming Palace	蓬萊殿 大明宮	pl. n.
Pien-chou	汴州	pl. n.
Ping Pu shang Shu	兵部尚書	President of the Board of War
Ping Pu Shih Lang	兵部侍郎	Vice-president of the Board of War
P'ing Chang Shih or Chung Shu Men Hsia P'ing Chang Shih	平章事 中書門下平章事	Chief Minister, Minister of State

P'ing-ch'üan	平泉	pl. n.
P'ing-lu	平盧	pl. n.
Pu-ch'üeh	補闕	Imperial Commissioner
P'u-ku Huai-en	僕固懷恩	pr. n.
Sha Hu Shan	殺胡山	pl. n.
Sha-mi or Sha-men	沙彌或沙門	Buddhist monk
Sha-t'o	沙陀	Turkish tribe
Shan-nan Tung-tao	山南東道	pl. n.
Shan-tung	山東	pl. n.
Shang-chou	上州	superior prefecture
Shen-ts'e chün	神策軍	Army of Inspired Strategy
Shih Chiang Hsüeh Shih	侍講學士	Scholar responsible for explaining the text of the Classics
Shih Chung	侍中	President of the Imperial Chancellery
Shih Hsiung	石雄	pr. n.
Shih Hui Kuan	石會關	pl. n.
Shih-i	拾遺	Imperial Reminder
Shu	屬	pl. n.
Shu Mi Yüan (shih)	樞密院(使)	Eunuch Secretariat
Ssu-chou	泗州	pl. n.
Ssu-hu	司戶	Treasury Officer
ssu-ma	司馬	Chief Administrator
Ssu-men Chu-chiao	四門助教	Assistant Professor in the Academy of the Four Gates

Ssu Pu Yüan Wai Lang 祠部員外郎		Auxiliary Secretary in the Board of Sacrifice
Ssu-t'u	司徒	Director of Instructions
Sung-shih	送使	portion of the taxes retained for use in the province
Ta Li P'ing Shih 大理評事		Secretary of Inquiry for the Supreme Court
T'ai-hang shan	太行山	T'ai-hang Mountains
T'ai-hang Pan	太行阪	T'ai-hang Slope
T'ai-ho Kung-chu	太和公主	T'ai-ho Princess
T'ai-kō	臺閣	Department of State Affairs
T'ai-tzu Pin-k'o 太子賓客		Chief Counsellor to the Crown Prince
T'ai-tzu Shao-pao 太子少保		Minor Protector to the Crown Prince
T'ai-wei	太尉	Grand Marshall
T'ai-yüan	太原	pl. n.
Tao	道	province, circuit
Tien Ch'eng-ssu	田承嗣	pr. n.
Tien Chung Shih Yü Shih 殿中侍御史		Court Censor for Palace Affairs
Tien-ching Kuan / T'ai-hang Kuan	天井關 / 太行關	pl. n.
T'ien Hung-cheng	田弘正	pr. n.
T'ien Jung	田榮	pr. n.
Tsa-liu	雜流	miscellaneous ranks
Tsai Hsiang	宰相	Chief Minister
Tsan-huang Po	贊皇伯	Marquis of Tsan-huang
Tsan-p'u	贊普	Tibetan king

Tse-lu	澤路	pl. n.
Tz'u-shih	刺史	Prefect of a superior prefecture
Ts'ui Ku	崔嘏	pr. n.
Ts'ui Hsüan-tu	崔玄度	pr. n.
Tu-chih	度支	Office of Public Revenue
T'ui-hun Tu-yü-hun	退渾 吐谷渾	western barbarian tribe
T'u-men	土門	pl. n.
T'u-t'u Ch'eng-ts'ui	吐突承璀	pr. n.
Tun-t'ien Yüan Wai Lang	屯田員外郎	Auxiliary Secretary in Charge of Military Colonies
Tung Chi, Ju [-chou] Tu Fang Yü Shih	東畿汝都防禦使	Defence Commissioner for the Eastern Domain, Ju-chou and the [Eastern] Capital District
Tung K'o-wu	董可武	pr. n.
Tung-tu Liu-shou	東都留守	Regent for the Eastern Capital
Tzu-ch'en (Hall)	紫宸	pl. n.
Tz'u-chou	滋州	pl. n.
Wan Shan	萬善	pl. n.
Wang Chih-hsing	王智興	pr. n.
Wang Feng	王逢	pr. n.
Wang Hsieh	王協	pr. n.
Wang Mao-yüan	王茂元	pr. n.
Wang Shou-ch'eng	王守澄	pr. n.
Wang T'ing-ts'ou	王廷湊	pr. n.
Wang Tsai	王宰	pr. n.
Wang Yai	王涯	pr. n.

Wang Wu-chün	王武俊	pr. n.
Wang Yüan-k'uei	王元逵	pr. n.
Wei	尉	chief of subordinate staff
Wei-chou	魏州，維州	pl. n.
Wei Kuo Kung	衛國公	Duke of Wei Kuo
Wei-po	魏博	pl. n.
Wu Chung-wu	吳仲武	pr. n.
Wu-tsung	武宗	pr. n.
Yang Chih-ch'eng	楊志誠	pr. n.
Yang Ch'in-i	楊欽義	pr. n.
Yang Pien	楊弁	pr. n.
Yao-shan	堯山	pl. n.
Yeh-fei	夜飛	"Night Flyers" - name of a military unit
Yen-ko	煙閣	Pavilion of Pre-eminence pl. n.
Yen-t'ieh shih	鹽鐵使	salt and iron commissioner
Yin	尹	prefect of a grand prefecture
Yin Ch'ing Kuang Lu Tai Fu	銀青光祿大夫	honorific title
Yu-chou	幽州	pl. n.
Yu (tso) P'u Yeh	右（左）僕射	Right (Left) Head of the Department of State Affairs
Yü-she	榆社	pl. n.
Yü shih Chung ch'eng	御史中丞	vice-president of the Board of Censors
Yü shih Tai fu	御史大夫	President of the Board of Censors
Yüan-chou	袁州	pl. n.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHARACTER LIST

Chang Chiang	張 絳	pr. n.
Chang Yüan-i	張 元 益	pr. n.
Ch'en I-hsing	陳 表 行	pr. n.
Ch'en Jung	陳 榮	pr. n.
Chia Chih-yen	賈 直 言	pr. n.
chung-hsing	中 興	mid-dynasty restoration
Ho-tung	河 東	pl. n.
Ho-yang	河 陽	pl. n.
Huai-hsi	淮 西	pl. n.
I-ch'eng	義 成	pl. n.
Kao Yüan-wu	高 元 武	pr. n.
Kuan-nei	關 內	pl. n.
Li Shih-kuei	李 士 貴	pr. n.
Li Shih-tao	李 師 道	pr. n.
Li T'ien	李 恬	pr. n.
Li Tsai-i	李 載 義	pr. n.
Li T'ung-chieh	李 同 捷	pr. n.
Li Yen-tso	李 彥 佐	pr. n.
liang-shui	兩 稅	double tax system
Liu Ch'eng-hsieh	劉 承 偕	pr. n.
Liu Hsi	劉 渙	pr. n.
Liu Hsing-shen	劉 行 深	pr. n.
Liu K'uang-chou	劉 匡 周	pr. n.
Lu Chün	盧 鈞	pr. n.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHARACTER LIST (continued)

Lu-lung	盧龍	pl. n.
P'ing-lu	平盧	pl. n.
Shang-tang cf. Lu-chou	上黨	pl. n.
Shih Yüan-chung	史元忠	pr. n.
sui kuan	隨貫	"according to the string"
T'an Chao-i	談朝義	pr. n.
Ti-wu Shou-chin	第五守進	pr. n.
T'ien Hung-cheng Hsing	田弘正 田興	pr. n.
Ts'ang-ching	滄景	pl. n.
Ts'ui Ku	崔瑎	pr. n.
Ts'ui Hsüan-tu	崔玄度	pr. n.
Tung Chung-chih	董重質	pr. n.
Tung K'o-wu	董可武	pr. n.
Wang Chao	王釗	pr. n.
Wu Chung-shu	吳仲舒	pr. n.
Wu Yüan-chi	吳元濟	pr. n.
yamen	牙門	official's office or general's camp
Yang Chih-ch'eng	楊志誠	pr. n.
Yang Chung-ching	楊仲經	pr. n.
Yü Hung-chih	魚弘志	pr. n.
Yüan-ho	元和	reign title
Yün-chou	鄆州	pl. n.

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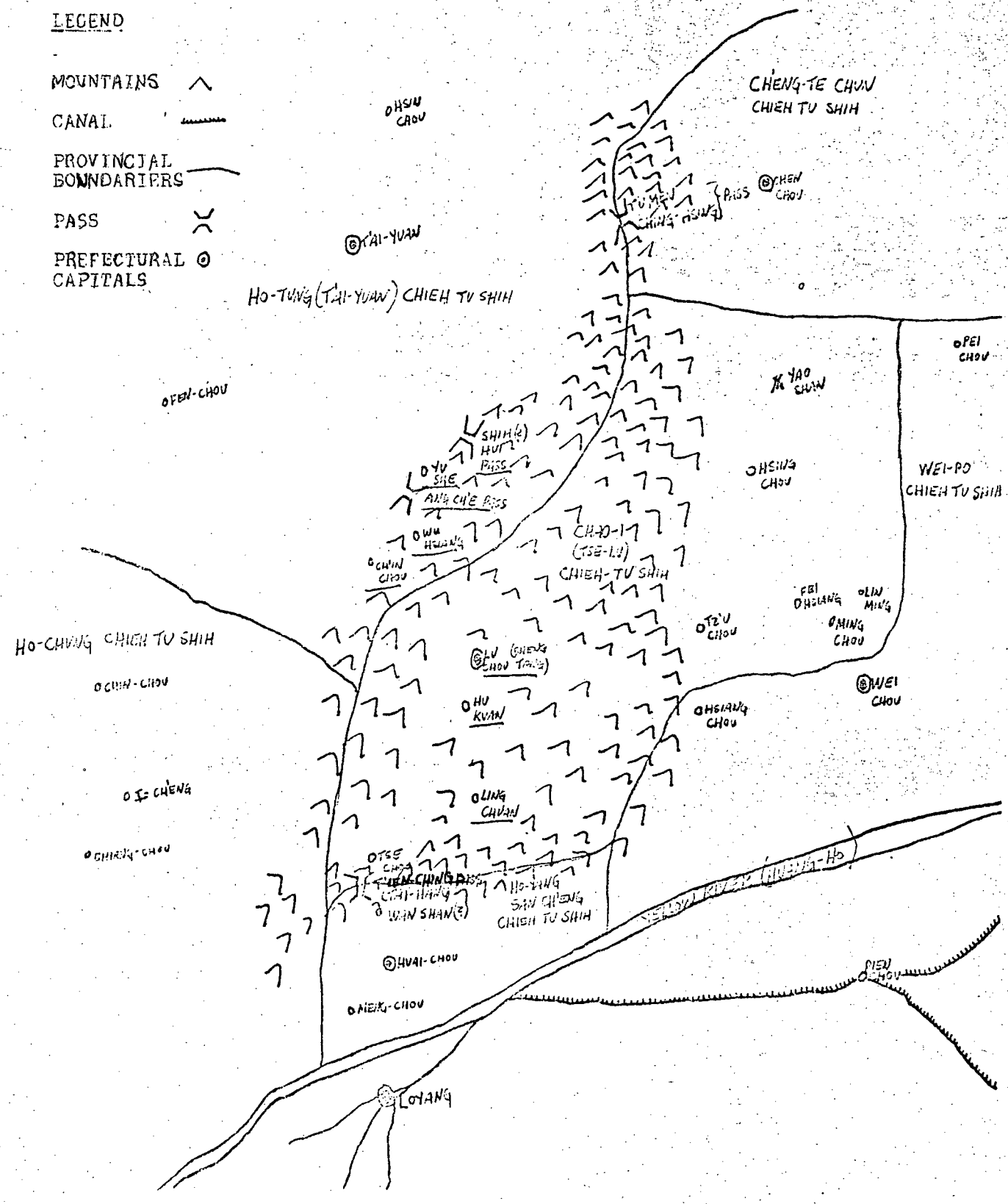
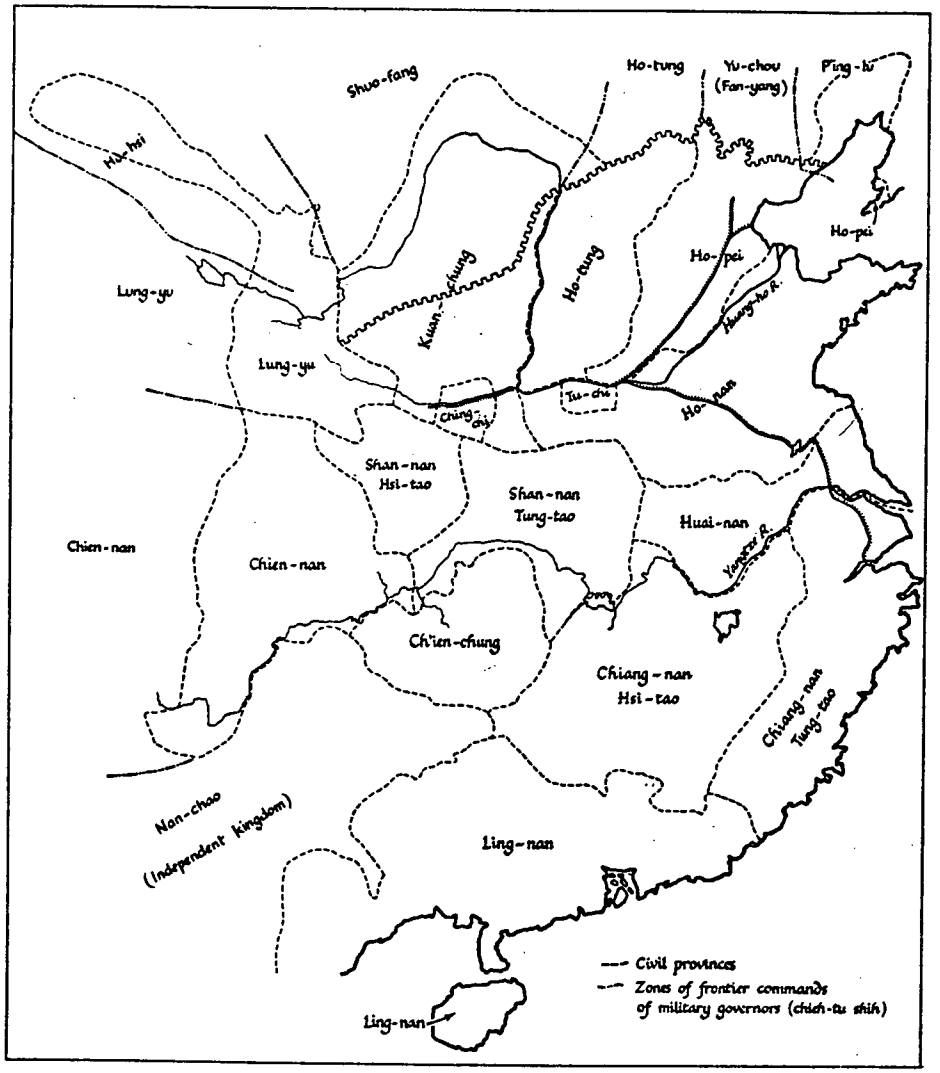
SKETCH MAP OF CHAO-I AND SURROUNDING AREA

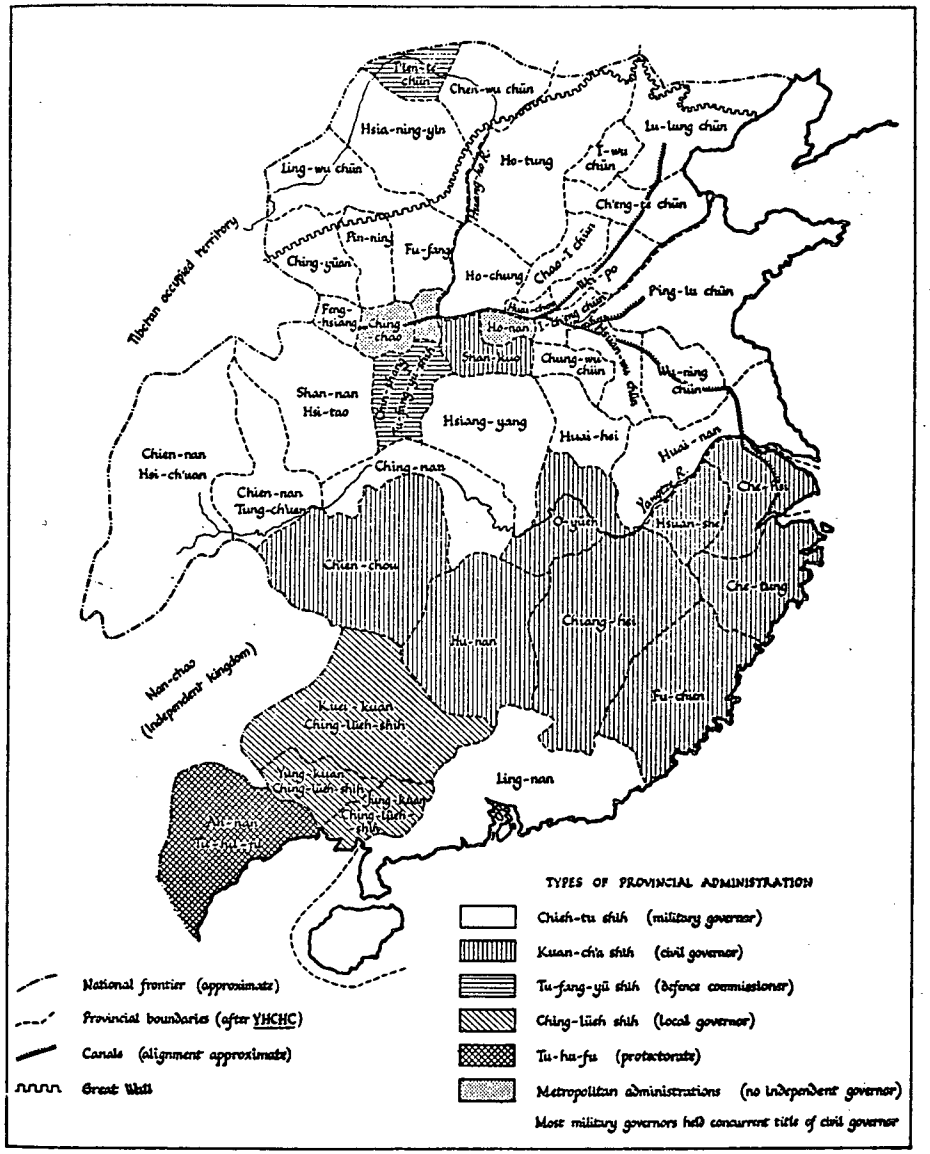




Map 1. Provincial boundaries in 742.

At this date civil provinces had no centralised administration, and the frontier governors no territorial civil jurisdiction.

Until 733 Shan-nan hsi-tao and Shan-nan tung-tao formed the single province of Shan-nan; Chiang-nan hsi-tao, Chiang-nan tung-tao and Ch'ien-chung formed the single province of Chiang-nan; the Metropolitan Districts Ching-chi and Tu-chi formed parts of Kuan-chung and Ho-nan respectively.



Map 2. Provincial boundaries in 810.

Some provinces were commonly known by alternative names (see note on Province-Names).