

A HISTORY OF CH'ENG-HAN

by

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis centers on a family surnamed Li in the first half of the fourth century. The Lis were originally inhabitants of the eastern Szechwan region and belonged to the indigenous non-Chinese grouping of that area, the Pa people, also referred to as the Lin Chün Man. They moved to the Shensi area around the beginning of the third century and returned to Szechwan a century later in a large group of migrants fleeing internal disorders and famine. In Szechwan they came into conflict with the local officials representing the Chin dynasty and eventually established an independent state there which existed from 306 to 347. The state was known first as Ch'eng and then, after 338, as Han.

My thesis consists of introductory material followed by an annotated translation. In the introduction I first present a general overview of the history of the period and Ch'eng-Han's place in it. I then go on to discuss several aspects of the history of the state. First the Pa people and their origin myth centering on Lin Chün is discussed, then an investigation is made of the various sources for the history of Ch'eng-Han. It is determined that the primary sources are the works of Ch'ang Ch'ü, the Hua-yang kuo-chih and the Shu Li Shu, and that this Shu Li Shu or a section of the Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu based upon it is the ultimate source of the Chin Shu account. Next the scale and historical import of the migrations of the period are considered and finally the relation of the Li family to religious Taoism, particularly with regard to Fan Ch'ang-sheng, is dealt with.

This is followed by the translation. It is a conflation of a basic text, Chin Shu 120 and 121, with chapters 8 and 9 of the Hua-yang kuo-chih as well as occasional passages from other portions of these two works and the Wei Shu and the Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu, the last work being preserved only in quotations in later encyclopedias. My purpose in making this translation has been to present as complete as possible a record of the events important in the history of the Ch'eng-Han state.

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## INTRODUCTION

In 298 A.D. a group of migrants perhaps numbering as high as 100,000 arrived at the Chien-ke pass which separates the Szechwan region from what was then termed Han-chung, southeastern Shensi province. These migrants were driven by years of famine and war to seek the preservation of their lives in other regions. Most of them entered Szechwan. Among these migrants was a family surnamed Li 李, led by Li T'ie and his brothers Li Hsiang and Li Liu. This family was to control this corner of China for the next half-century, maintaining a semblance of order while the rest of China was torn apart by war and ravaged by the incursions and invasions of non-Chinese nomadic, pastoral peoples. In this thesis it is my aim to present the history of this Li family and the state they established, first called Ch'eng 成 and later Han 漢 and known to later historians as Ch'eng-Han, Li Ch'eng or Hou Shu (Latter Shu) 後蜀<sup>1</sup>. It is hoped that this study will shed light on such questions as the reasons for the fall of the Western Chin regime, the nature of the large-scale migrations of this period, the relationships between Chinese and non-Chinese inhabitants of southwestern China, the history and identity of the minority group of which the Li family was a member and the role played by religion, specifically religious Taoism, in the history of the period.

The Szechwan region is sometimes referred to as Pa and Shu or simply Shu. These are the names of non-Chinese

groupings of peoples which existed in Szechwan before the Ch'in unification. Pa occupied the eastern portion of Szechwan comprising primarily the Chia-ling Chiang 嘉陵江 drainage basin and the Yang-tze basin below the point where the Chia-ling joins it. Shu was situated in the west, centering on the Min Chiang basin and the upper reaches of the Yang-tze. The Pa-Shu region enjoys several characteristics which would tend to promote its independence. It is well protected by natural barriers. To the north and northeast there are mountains. To the east there are the three gorges of the Yang-tze. The Yang-tze also forms the boundary to the south, separating Pa-Shu from Nan-chung, modern Kueichow and Yunnan. To the west there are the beginnings of the Tibetan plateau. The southern and western regions were fairly sparsely populated with non-Chinese peoples still for the most part on a tribal level of social organization. Moreover the region was very prosperous. Since the construction of irrigation works by Li Ping 李冰 in the Ch'eng-tu plain during the Ch'in period, this area has always been self-sufficient in food and today it supports a population of seventy million. The area also enjoyed wealth derived from trade with the non-Chinese peoples to the south and west. Thus it is not surprising that Szechwan has been the site for a number of independent regimes. Han Kao Tsu, the first emperor of the Han dynasty, first established his base of power in this region and then relied upon it in unifying the empire. During the confusion after the fall of Wang Mang at the

beginning of the first millenium Kung-sun Shu 公孫述 established himself independently, calling his state Shu. He was soon defeated. At the end of the Latter Han Liu Pei 劉備 established his state of Shu Han which lasted over sixty years, being unified into the new Chin dynasty in 265. When the Chin empire began to fragment due to internal dissension the Pa-Shu region was the first part to slip from central government control.

### Historical Background<sup>2</sup>

The roots of the disturbance which brought about the fall of the Western Chin must be sought in the first years of its establishment. The Ssu-ma family had exercised effective control since 249 when they killed many of their opponents. When Ssu-ma Yen 司馬炎 came into power in 265 he formally usurped the throne and established the Chin dynasty. In an attempt to create a barrier of loyal adherents against the uncommitted forces outside the capital Yen (now Emperor Wu) enfeoffed twenty-seven members of the Ssu-ma family and gave them control of contingents of troops of varying sizes. In 280 when the state of Wu was subdued and the empire reunified, Emperor Wu ordered a drastic retrenchment and demobilization of official government troops. Commanderies were left with only fifty or one hundred troops. This action was intended to reduce the power of the provincial Governors and limit their independance but it left them ineffective in maintaining order, and increased, by comparison, the power of the

members of the imperial family<sup>3</sup>. However, the results of this policy did not make themselves felt until after 289 when Emperor Wu ordered the various kings to leave Luo-yang and take up residence in their respective fiefs, at the same time appointing many of them Inspector-generals at the head of large bodies of troops.

In 290 Emperor Wu died and his son, Chung 衷, ascended the throne as Emperor Hui. This Emperor Hui is generally considered to have been mentally unfit. In return for Chia Ch'ung's 賈充 support in securing the throne for Ssu-ma Yen on the death of his father, Emperor Wu had married his son Chung, then Heir Apparent, to Ch'ung's daughter, the later Empress Chia. Empress Chia exercised effective control of the government from 291 to 300. She ruled with a calculated viciousness, deposing and killing the Empress Dowager Yang and her brother the regent Yang Chün 楊駿 as well as anyone else who stood in her way. The final outrage was when she deposed and eventually killed the Heir Apparent Yü 苻, son of the concubine Madame Hsieh. At this King Lun 倫 of Chao 趙 and King Chiung 囧 of Ch'i 齊 united to imprison Empress Chia and kill her adherents. King Lun assumed power and in 300 usurped the throne. During the one year that Lun remained in power his advisor Sun Hsiu 孫秀 was in many ways the effective ruler. In 301 King Chiung of Ch'i, King Yung of He-chien 河間王顥 and King Ying of Ch'eng-tu 成都王穎 raised troops against Lun. Lun and Sun Hsiu were killed by a subordinate and the Emperor (Hui) was restored while King Chiung of Ch'i gained effective

control, which he exercised for the last half of the year of 301. After this he was killed by King Yi of Ch'ang-sha 長沙王乂, who was in turn set upon by Kings Yung and Ying. One of Yi's subordinates turned him over to King Yung's general and King Ying thereby came to power. King Ying was at least nominally the chief figure in the government from 304 through 306. However, during this period he was attacked and driven from his capital of Yeh by a force led by King Yüeh 越 of Tung Hai 東海, deserted by the Hsiung-nu leader Liu Yüan 劉淵 who declared himself independent in 304 and forced to flee first to Luo-yang and then to Ch'ang-an. In 306 Ch'ang-an fell to troops led by King Yüeh and later that year both King Ying and King Yung of He-chien were killed. Emperor Hui died in the eleventh month of this year and King Chih 熾 of Yü-chang 豫章 was elevated to become Emperor Huai 懷帝 with King Yüeh as regent.

It was during this period, commonly referred to as the Disorders of the Eight Kings, that the Li clan established itself in Szechwan. Upon entering Szechwan they quickly fell in with the Governor of I province Chao Ch'in 趙殷, with Li T'ie's younger brother Li Hsiang in particular receiving high appointments from Ch'in. The Li clan's support of Chao Ch'in can probably be attributed to two factors: both the Lis and Ch'in hailed originally from the commandery of Pa-hsi, and both were followers of the Heavenly Master sect of religious Taoism advocated by Chang Lu 張魯. In 300 an imperial edict transferred Chao Ch'in

to a largely ceremonial position, that of Grand Elder ( ta ch'ang-ch'iu 大長秋 ) and replaced him with the Bailiff ( nei-shih 內史 ) of Ch'eng-tu Keng T'eng. This transfer may have been the result of memorials submitted by Keng advocating the return of the migrants to their original homes and implicitly criticizing Chao Ch'in's close relations with them; but it is also said that Ch'in was related by marriage to the deposed Empress Chia<sup>4</sup>. Ch'in refused to obey this edict and declared himself independent. Keng T'eng was killed trying to take possession of the provincial capital. At this juncture Chao Ch'in made the mistake of killing Li Hsiang and thereby arousing the enmity of the Li clan, who joined with their fellow migrants to kill Chao Ch'in. They then entered the service of Luo Shang 羅尚, who had been dispatched to subdue Ch'in. Soon thereafter the central government ordered the return of all migrants to their original homes. This caused a rift between the Li clan and Luo Shang. Li T'e was selected to lead the migrants and they collected together in a camp near Mien-chu. Hsin Jan, a member of King Lun of Chao's clique was at the time serving under Luo Shang and when Lun fell he sought desperately for a way to renew himself with the court. Toward this end he turned his attention to the migrants and sought to hasten their return to Shensi. There were also elements of avarice in this, for he planned to seize their possessions as they left. This finally resulted in armed conflict between the migrants and Luo Shang's forces. At first Shang did not fare so well,

and Li T'ie gained control of much of western and northern Szechwan, but the native populace were unhappy with the troops he had garrisoned in their midst and they revolted against him. In the ensuing battle Li T'ie and Li Tang, his eldest son, were killed and command devolved upon T'ie's younger brother Li Liu. Liu wished to surrender and had already sent hostages when Li Hsiung, T'ie's eldest son led a force against Luo Shang and the other Chin forces which had been dispatched to subdue their revolt. In 303 he assumed the title Great General and in 304 proclaimed himself King of Ch'eng-tu. It was during this time that he first gained the support of Fan Ch'ang-sheng, who furnished him with supplies and moral support. In fact, before assuming the title of King, Hsiung had offered the position to Fan. In 306 at the encouragement of Worthy Fan, Hsiung declared himself Emperor of the Ch'eng dynasty. It is not hard to imagine that these events must have seemed peripheral to those involved in the contests for power in the capital, and for this reason the central government did not turn its attention to solving the problem of the migrants.

By 307 the fratricidal wars between royal princes had come to an end but this did not lead to a period of peace during which the empire could be reconsolidated. Instead, 307 is the beginning of the era known as the Disorders of Yung-chia 永嘉 (307-312). This period is characterized by the rise of Hsiung-nu power and the overrunning of the North China plain by Liu Yüan, his successor Liu Ts'ung 聰.



and his most important general, Shih Le 石勒. In 311 both Luo-yang and Ch'ang-an fell to their forces and Emperor Huai was captured. Liu Ts'ung had Emperor Huai killed in 313 and the Heir Apparent Yeh 業 was made Emperor Min in Ch'ang-an. However, in 316 Ch'ang-an fell again and Emperor Min was captured, being put to death in the following year. This marks the end of the Western Chin and Ssu-ma Jui 睿 was named Emperor Yüan 元, the first emperor of the Eastern Chin, in Chien-k'ang, south of the Yang-tze. The central government also had to suppress a revolt led by Tu T'ao 杜弢 in the Hupei-Hunan region during this period. Although there were several revolts against the rule of Li Hsiung, Chin was unable to send sufficient support and they were soon repressed. In fact the Ch'eng state, officially declared in 306 was able to expand and by 313 it controlled all of the provinces of Liang, I and Ning, although its control of Ning was ephemeral.

The period after Emperor Yüan's accession was a time of resettlement and organization. In 319 Shih Le broke away from Liu Ts'ung's successor Liu Yao 劉曜 and established himself as King of Chao, the same title claimed by Yao. Later historians have referred to Yao's regime as Former Chao and Shih Le's as Latter Chao. Now these two states battled against each other, between them driving the last Chin forces from North China. Emperor Yüan had depended on representatives of the Wang clan of Lang-yeh in establishing himself in South China, particularly Wang Tao 王導 and Wang Tun 敦. From 322 to 324 Wang Tun revolted

from his base of power as Governor of Ching province in Hupei. Wang Tun's death in 324 averted calamity, but it pointed up a weakness in the Chin state. Two centers of power formed within the Eastern Chin state, one on the lower reaches of the Yang-tze near the capital, the other on the upper reaches in the Hupei-Hunan region. The position on the upper reaches of the Yang-tze was the logical place from which to raise an attack upon Ch'eng-Han, however the commander of this region tended to concern himself primarily with affairs downstream, secondly with the northern region and the reconquest of the central plain and only paid minor heed to affairs in the Szechwan region. In 327 Su Chün<sup>蘇山峻</sup>, who had been instrumental in the defense against Wang Tun, raised arms in revolt and was killed the following year. At the same time pressure from the non-Chinese warlords of North China did not cease. The aristocracy of the Eastern Chin regime were primarily immigrants from the central plain, and they felt a strong longing for their lost homeland. In spite of this, the current fashion favored a rather dissolute lifestyle centering upon refined debates and a cultivated aloofness which did not accord well with the martial determination necessary to reconquer North China and very little effort was made in this regard.<sup>5</sup> It is therefore not surprising that, faced with internal dissension, the threat of invasion from the north and a definite malaise of spirit, little attention was paid to the Li clan's occupation of the southwestern corner of the empire and no major effort

was made to reconquer it.

During this same period Ch'eng-Han enjoyed relative peace. With the exception of a disastrous attack upon the Ti leader Yang Nan-ti 楊難敵 in 321 Li Hsiung concerned himself primarily with the region to his south and southwest, Ning province. There were campaigns against Chin officials and rebelling aborigines there in 320, 323 and 326. Finally in 332 Li Shou was sent in a large-scale attack on the region which resulted in the surrender of the Chin Governor of Ning province and the incorporation of the entire South-central region into the Ch'eng empire the following year. This marks the greatest expansion of the Ch'eng-Han state. Unfortunately Li Hsiung died in 334 and the problem of the succession threw the state into disorder. Li Hsiung had appointed the son of his elder brother, Li Pan 潘王, to succeed him. Hsiung's natural sons plotted to kill Li Pan and placed Li Ch'i 期 on the throne the same year. Ch'i remained on the throne until 338 when Li Shou, the son of Li T'ie's younger brother Hsiang<sup>+</sup>, usurped his position and killed him. This internal fighting inevitably weakened the state and from this point on the territory under its control began to shrink. In 336 the Chin Governor of Kuang 廣 province, Teng Yüeh 鄧岳, retook two cities in Kueichow. In 339 he went on to reconquer Ning province for Chin, while Li Sung 李松 encroached upon Ch'eng's eastern borders.

勢 . Li Shou died in 343 and was succeeded by his son Shih . By this time the store of goodwill accumulated by the

efficient and liberal rule of Li Hsiung had been dissipated by the cruelties and excesses of Ch'i, Shou and Shih. When Li Shih's younger brother Kuang 廣 sought to be named his successor Shih executed two of his most reliable advisers and compelled Kuang to commit suicide. The following year the Grand Protector Li I<sup>+</sup> 李奕 rebelled and was killed. Finally in 347 the Chin General Pacifying the West Huan Wen 桓溫 led an expedition which exterminated the Ch'eng-Han state. Li Shih fled to Han-chung where he surrendered. That same year certain former generals of the Ch'eng-Han state tried to raise the son of Fan Ch'ang-sheng, Fan Pen 范贇, to the position of emperor and re-establish the state. They were defeated the next year, and Szechwan was once again incorporated into the Chin empire.

## THE PA PEOPLE

### The Myth and its Identification with Minority Groups

The earliest extant source of the myth recorded at the beginning of Chapter 120 of the Chin Shu is the chapter on the Southern Man barbarians of the Hou Han Shu.<sup>6</sup> This work was compiled by Fan Yeh 范曄, who based himself upon earlier sources. The Li Hsien 李賢 (651-684) commentary to the passage states that this story comes from the Shih Pen 世本 and cites parallel passages from this source. The dating of the Shih Pen is uncertain but it seems to date from no later than the early Han or the second century B.C.<sup>7</sup> The Shih Pen is a genealogical work arranged according to clan names and this myth was no doubt originally appended to the entry for the surname Pa. As such, it seems likely that at least one function of this myth was to justify the rule of the Pa clan over the other inhabitants of the region.

In the Hou Han Shu account the Lin Chün myth is attributed to the Man of Pa and Nan commnderies. Geographically, this denotes a region comprising southeastern Szechwan province as well as parts of northwestern Kueichow, southwestern Hupei and possibly northwestern Hunan. The HHS also records one element of this myth which our text omits. It states that when Lin Chün died his soul was transformed into a tiger and the people of the Pa clan, believing that tigers drink human blood, engaged in human sacrifice to this spirit.

The Hou Han Shu also mentions a people called the Pan-shun 板盾 (shield) Man.<sup>8</sup> A member of this tribe from Lang-chung is said to have performed a service for King Chao-hsiang 昭襄王 of Ch'in by killing a white tiger which had been terrorizing the region with a crossbow made of white bamboo. At the time of Han Kao-tsu's unification of the empire these tribesmen aided him in pacifying the Ch'in region (modern Shensi) and in recognition of this achievement they were exempted from all taxes except a yearly head tax of forty cash. The Pan-shun people referred to this tax as tsung 資 and this word comes to be used as a name of the tribe.<sup>9</sup> In its account of the origins of Li T'ie's ancestors our text combines elements from both these sections of the Hou Han Shu. First, the Lin Chün myth is recorded, then the tsung tax is mentioned, this time its imposition being attributed to the Ch'in, and finally the participation in Han Kao-tsu's conquest is recorded. Now the Pan-shun Man are said to occupy the banks of the Chia-ling River, the region directly north of and contiguous with Pa commandery. In fact our Chin Shu text states that, "The Pa people called this tax tsung ...." and that Han Kao-tsu changed the name of the dwelling place of these Tsung people to Pa commandery. Clearly, the Chin Shu editors took the Tsung people or Pan-shun Man to be a subgroup of the Lin Chün Man and further identified this larger group with the Pa people. The first occurrence of the name Pa is as the name of a barony located in eastern Szechwan in 533 B.C.<sup>10</sup> It may well have been ruled by a

member of the Pa clan which we read about in the HHS but it seems unlikely that it actually encompassed all those peoples which we would term Pa or Lin Chün Man. Thus when we speak here of the Pa people we refer not to the descendants of the subjects of some previous ruler of the Pa country but rather those inhabitants of eastern Szechwan who were ethnically related and shared the Lin Chün myth.

### The location of places mentioned in the myth

Since we have determined that the legend of Lin Chün is an origin myth common to the Pa people, the identification of place names referred to in the myth should inform us of the location of the Pa people in ancient times.

Let us begin with those elements of which we are most sure. We can be fairly confident that the I Shui referred to in our story is the modern Ch'ing Chiang 清江 of southwestern Hupei. It is so identified by both Sheng Hung-chih 盛弘之 in his Ching-chou Chi 荊州記 and by Li Tao-yüan 李陶淵 in his commentary to the Shui Ching 水經.<sup>11</sup> It was also referred to as the Yen Shui 鹽水 or Salt Stream which is significant considering that the name of the place where Lin Ch/n chose to erect his city was called Yen-yang, a name which might mean "the northern bank of the Yen". However it would seem that the upper reaches of the ancient I Shui were not exactly the same as those of the modern Ch'ing Chiang. Specifically, the Li-tai yü-ti yen-ke t'u 歷代輿地輟革圖 of Yang Shou-ching shows the upper

reaches of the I Shui in this period to follow the path of the modern Ta-sha He 大沙河, now considered a tributary of the Ch'iang Chiang.<sup>12</sup> This position is also followed by the editors of the Hu-pei t'ung-chih 湖北通志, who show the origins of the river in the Han dynasty near modern Chien-shih 建始<sup>13</sup> and is confirmed by the establishment of a Yen Shui prefecture east of modern Shih-nan 施南 during the Northern Chou dynasty.<sup>14</sup>

Let us turn to the identification of Wu-luo-chung-li Shan. There is first the question of the proper name of this mountain. Li Hsien's commentary to the HHS cites Shih Pen reading only Wu-tan 巫誕 while Hui Tung in citing from the same source reads Wu-tan luo-chung shan 巫蠻落鍾山.<sup>15</sup> The T'ung Tien 通典 gives Wu-le-chung 武樂中 shan.<sup>16</sup> None of these resemble Chinese place names, if we are indeed to take the entire four or five character string as one place name. One scholar has suggested that the first two characters of the Shih Pen version of the name has been interpreted as meaning the Tan people of the Wu region.<sup>17</sup> This is an interesting suggestion, but if true this use of Tan as a tribal name is several centuries earlier than any other known example. Moreover, later sources, including Sheng Hung-chih and Li Tao-yüan, agree in following the HHS and CS reading. If the entire phrase is to be taken as one name then it is likely that it is in origin non-Chinese.

As regards the location of the mountain there seems to be general agreement in placing it south of the Yang-tze and north of the Ch'ing Chiang between Shih-nan and Ch'ang-



yang. One most commonly finds locations cited northeast of Ch'ang-yang, either seventy-eight or two hundred li.<sup>18</sup> However a local gazeteer of the Shih-nan district gives a location eighty li east of Shih-nan.<sup>19</sup> Yüan Shan-sung 袁山松 and Li Tao-yüan mention a mountain cave containing two large stones, one referred to as the yang stone and the other referred to as yin stone. These stones were thought to possess supernatural power and were used to control the weather. This is a fascinating custom but bears no relation to the myth under discussion. The identification seems to be based on the identification of the yang 陽 stone with the variegated ( tang 石易) stone of our text. This is the stone which Lin Chün stood upon when he shot the salt spirit who together with her fellow spirits was obscuring the sun. Thus if this cave is to be connected with Lin Chün it must derive from a different version of the myth. It is not certain that there ever actually was a specific mountain which was identified as being the site of the origin of the Pa people, but we can safely say that tradition connects them to the southwestern corner of Hupei province.

#### Archaeological evidence

Two excavations of the late 1950's supply us with the best archaeological evidence to date concerning the Pa culture.<sup>20</sup> These are the excavations of burial sites at Tung-sun-pa 冬筍壩 near modern Chungking on the Yang-tze and Pao-lun-yüan 寶輪院 near Chao-hua 昭化 on the upper reaches of the Chia-ling River. Both these sites belong to

the region of the Pa cultural sphere. Resurrecting the distinction made in the Hou Han Shu we would say that the Tung-sun-pa site is in the area of the Man of Pa and Nan commanderies while that of Pao-lun-yüan should belong to the Pan-shun Man. The high degree of similarity between the mode of burial and burial assemblages of the two sites reinforces our contention that these two groups are part of the same ethnic group.

The most distinctive feature of these sites is the practice of boat burial. At both sites bodies were found in shaft graves with the body placed in a boat rather than a coffin. It is the earliest strata of burials, dated to the Warring States era by the editors of the report of these excavations, which fully show this burial practice. Later tombs evolved through a stage of placing the body in a coffin which is then put in a boat to the complete elimination of the boat, with the latest tombs displaying the painted tiles common to Chinese tombs of the Han period. These tombs can thus be seen to parallel the Sinicization of the Pa people.<sup>21</sup>

There are two elements of the inscriptions and figures found on objects unearthed from these two sites which merit mention. The first is the prevalence of the tiger motif. We read that the Pa people believed that Lin Chün had transformed into a tiger upon his death and that the Pan-shun Man were famous for the hunting of tigers. They were also referred to as the White Tiger Exempted Barbarians (pai-hu fu i 白虎復夷).<sup>22</sup> The second feature is a group

of symbols which some have identified as a writing system.<sup>23</sup> There is as yet insufficient evidence to ascertain that this is in fact a writing system as opposed to merely a body of artistic motifs, but it is clear that they form a group distinct from Chinese orthography or ornamentation. Both of these features are found in the Shu region as well as Pa however they seem to predominate in the Pa region and it has been suggested that their occurrence in Shu is a remnant of Pa people who had been stationed there for the purpose of garrisoning it against rebellion.<sup>24</sup>

Cliff burials are found widely distributed through the Pa region.<sup>25</sup> From literary sources we know that at least part of these burials were originally boat burials as well.<sup>26</sup> Others contained coffins hewn from a single large tree and in this respect resembled the boat burials and differed from the traditional Chinese coffin composed of six boards. In the Szechwan region these cliff burials are called Man-tzu-tung 蠻子洞 or "barbarians' caves". Unfortunately we are lacking in solid archaeological investigations of the burial sites and hence it is difficult to make exact comparisons. There seems to be quite a bit of variation within cliff burials. While some were indeed buried in boats, others were first exposed and then the bones were interred, either in a coffin or a small container. Further, the distribution of these burials is much broader than that of the Pa culture. Besides the upper reaches of the Yang-tze they are found commonly in the

region southwest of Tung-t'ing Lake and the Fuchien-Kiangsi-Chekiang region as well as Borneo, Cambodia and Burma. The only common feature of all these sites seems to be the placement of the body (or the bones where there is prior exposure) in a cave, natural or man-made, in a cliff by a river or other body of water. Ling Shun-sheng believes that the boat burial was the earliest form of cliff burial practiced.<sup>27</sup> If so, then we should perhaps consider that the Pa boat burials, found on terraces by river banks, are variant forms of this same type of burial and the use of shaft graves is an adaptation to the topography of the region. As to the variation in methods of interment, this may reflect either the borrowing of some of these burial practices by other ethnic groups with their own tradition of, for example, exposure, or differences in social status of the people buried.

#### The Ethnic Identity of the Pa People

We have seen from archaeological and historical evidence that the Pa people occupied eastern Szechwan from quite an early time, practiced boat burial and often made use of tiger ornamental motifs. While they practiced agriculture a large part of their economy centered on hunting and fishing. They were able hunters and warriors, as is shown by their pursuit of such dangerous game as tigers as well as their use as a military force from the time of Han Kao-tsu on. They tended to settle on the banks of streams and rivers and some of them seem to have

actually lived on boats.<sup>28</sup> From these facts and their burial of the dead in boats we surmise that the river played an important part in their lives.

There were several subgroups of the Pa people. The Hua-yang kuo-chih lists the following groups among the inhabitants of the Pa region<sup>29</sup>: Tsung, P'u, Chü 苴, Kung 共, Jang 獐, and Tan 蜃. We have already mentioned the Tsung and P'u. The other groups are little known. Chü occurs as the name of a small country in northeastern Szechwan during the Chou period and these people are probably remnants of the inhabitants of that state.<sup>30</sup> Both the Jang and the Tan peoples have been connected with the practice of cliff burial.<sup>31</sup> Tan is also the name of the 'boat people' who now live scattered along the southeastern coast of China, however their identification with the Tan mentioned here is uncertain.<sup>32</sup> Nothing is known of the Kung. The ethnic identity of the P'u people remains a mystery, but in early sources they are always treated as distinct from the Pa and seem to have inhabited a different region.<sup>33</sup> It seems likely that the Jang and Tan can be grouped together with the Tsung as subgroups of the Lin Chün Man.

The ethnic identity of the Pa people has been the subject of much speculation but the question is far from being resolved and is perhaps not resolvable. I shall attempt to briefly summarize the possibilities below.

Miao-Yao peoples are now found over a wide region of south China stretching from the eastern coast to Kueichow

province and as far north as Hunan. In the Hou Han Shu the account of the Pa and Nan commandery Man is preceded by that of the Man of Ch'ang-sha and Wu-ling commanderies. These peoples had their own distinctive origin myth centering on a dog ancestor named P'an-hu 槃瓠. This myth is now found among the Yao and this is a fairly strong basis on which to connect the two groups. The Miao do not possess this myth, having instead a myth of a great flood and a surviving brother and sister who repopulate the world.<sup>34</sup> It is uncertain when they adopted this myth or if they ever possessed the P'an-hu myth. If not then they should be seen as a group distinct from but related to the P'an-hu Man. The HBS refers to both the Ch'ang-sha-Wu-ling Man and the Pa and Nan commandery Man by the term Man. Further, their territories seem to have overlapped for Wu-ling is a later name for the Ch'ien-chung commandery which the Chin Shu says was established to govern the Pa people. Finally, the modern Miao are fond of singing and believe that on death the soul of a man can turn into a tiger,<sup>35</sup> resembling the ancient Pa in both these respects. This evidence would support an identification of these peoples.

The other two possibilities are Thai and Austroasiatic. Neither can be linked as strongly to the Pa as the Miao can but they must be considered. Thai peoples seem to have been the earliest still extant inhabitants of southwestern China. The Lao 佬 who inhabited the Kueichow region at the time of our narrative have been linked to the Thai. Further the modern Thai are valley dwellers,

incontrast to the Miao who inhabit mountainous regions. This, however, cannot necessarily be projected back into antiquity. A recent linguistic study of Austroasiatic words found in Chinese and Chinese historical sources offers evidence for the presence of Austroasiatic peoples in the middle Yang-tze region<sup>36</sup>, thus bringing them into contact with Pa culture. Austroasiatic peoples, both Mon-Khmer and Vietnamese, possess tiger myths and the belief that humans can turn into tigers is also found.<sup>37</sup>

All of this evidence is quite inconclusive. What we can say with fair certainty is what the Pa were not. They were not Tibeto-Burmans and they are not to be identified with the ancien Ti 氏. The Ti were a group of Tibeto-Burman peoples occupying the northwestern corner of Szechwan and parts of Shensi and Kansu. They differ markedly from the Pa people in custom and lifestyle. The Li clan has been repeatedly identified as Ti by Chinese historians, solely on the basis of a statement in the Chin Shu that when Li T'ie's ancestors moved to Lüeh-yang, a center of Ti habitation, they were referred to as Pa Ti. This is clearly no more than the application of the name of the dominant local non-Chinese group to all non-Chinese in the region.<sup>38</sup>

### SOURCES

The focus of this study is the state of Ch'eng-Han<sup>39</sup>, one of the Sixteen Kingdoms which fragmented the northern and western portions of the empire while the 'orthodox' succession of six Chinese dynasties maintained control in the south, particularly south of the Yang-tze. Our basic text will be the record of this Ch'eng-Han state in the official, orthodox history of the Chin dynasty, the Chin Shu 晉書. Chapter 120 and 121 of this work is the 'yearly chronicles' ( tsai-chi 載記 )<sup>40</sup> of this state arranged in the form of biographies of the rulers of this state, the Li 李 clan. In this section I shall examine the textual history of the Chin Shu as well as those works which may have served as sources for the compilation of this account by the T'ang editors.

#### Chin Shu

The Chin Shu is one of a number of works compiled by imperial commissions during the early part of the T'ang dynasty. These works were 'official histories' ( cheng-shih 正史 ) for those of the Six Dynasties of the preceding era of disunion which did not at this time possess a standard historical record. The T'ang emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 ordered the compilation of the Chin Shu in a decree of 646, naming Fang Hsüan-ling 房玄齡, Ch'u Sui-liang 褚遂良 and Hsü Ching-tsung 許敬宗 to direct the work. The work was completed no later than 648.<sup>41</sup> As the officially recognized orthodox version of the history of the period the Chin Shu



has enjoyed a careful and continuous transmission to the present day.

The T'ang editors of the Chin Shu have been severely criticized by later historians who did not feel that the level of quality of the Chin Shu was consistent with the high standards set by the earlier 'official histories', the Shih Chi 史記, Han Shu 漢書, Hou Han Shu 後漢書, and San Kuo Chih 三國志.<sup>42</sup> This is particularly true with regard to the tsai-chi. Many of the states treated in the tsai-chi of the Chin Shu controlled considerable areas over protracted periods of time and their importance is at least equal to that of some of the dynasties which controlled the north while Chin maintained a precarious existence in the southern extremities of the traditional Chinese world. However, the constraints of the concept of legitimacy have served to deny these states their proper place in the history of the period. Instead they are relegated to a chapter or two near the end of the relevant 'orthodox' history. They are treated summarily and undue stress is placed upon their relations with the current 'legitimate' dynasty. It has also been suggested that the T'ang editors distorted historical fact in order to provide didactic examples for the current T'ang ruler.<sup>43</sup> I have found no evidence for this in the portion of the Chin Shu devoted to Ch'eng-Han and it is not directly relevant to my study. Of more importance is the brevity necessarily required by the small amount of space devoted to each state. The Chin Shu does not present us with nearly as full and complete a

record of the history of Ch'eng-Han as an independent dynastic history would have.

In an attempt to remedy this state of affairs I have created a conflated text, drawing upon other historical sources<sup>44</sup> for the period to supplement the Chin Shu record. My goal in doing so is to provide as complete a record as possible of the major events in the history of the Ch'eng-Han state. I have chosen the Chin Shu as my basic text because it is the most complete, continuous, integral source.<sup>45</sup> I shall now proceed to discuss those works which the Chin Shu editors may have used in compiling the Chin Shu and those which I have used in supplementing it.

#### Hou Han Shu

In tracing its sources we must divide our text into two portions: the account of Lin Chün, the legendary ancestor of the Pa people to which the Li clan belonged, and the record of the actual historical events surrounding the Ch'eng-Han state. The Lin Chün myth seems to be taken from the section on the Man barbarians of Pa and Nan commanderies of the Hou Han Shu.<sup>46</sup> The Hou Han Shu was compiled by Fan Yeh 范曄 (398-446) primarily on the basis of earlier histories of the Latter Han.<sup>47</sup> The Li Hsien commentary to this portion of the HHS states that the Lin Chün myth was also found in the Shih Pen 世本. The date of the Shih Pen is somewhat in question, but as it was a source for Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (145-86 B.C.) in his compilation of the Shi Chi it must be no later than very

early Han.<sup>48</sup> We also know that the HHS account is not an exact copy of the Shih Pen, at least as the Shih Pen was transmitted in the T'ang dynasty, because Li Hsien quotes a different name for the mountain from which Lin Chün is said to have emerged.<sup>49</sup> It is possible that Fan Yeh took as his direct source not the Shih Pen but rather one of the other recensions of Latter Han history which preceded him. We have no direct evidence that any of these works contained accounts of the Lin Chün Man but later encyclopedias record passages from both the Hsü Han Shu 續漢書 of Ssu-ma Piao 司馬彪 (240-306) and the Hou Han Shu of Hua Ch'iao 華山喬 which are now found in the same chapter of the HHS under the heading of the Southwestern Barbarians ( hsi-nan-i 西南夷 ).<sup>50</sup> In any case we can be reasonably sure that the ultimate source for this legend was the Shih Pen.

#### Hua-yang Kuo-chih

Turning to the history of the state of Ch'eng-Han, we are fortunate in having an account written by one who was an eye-witness to and participant in many of the events described. Ch'ang Ch'ü 常璩 attained the rank of Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary ( san-chi ch'ang-shih ) under the reign of Li Shih, the last ruler of Ch'eng-Han. It is recorded that Ch'ang encouraged Li Shih to surrender and was later taken into the service of Huan Wen.<sup>51</sup> His Hua-yang Kuo-chih in twelve chüan survives to this day and provides a much more complete record of the rise and fall of Ch'eng-Han than the Chin Shu. It was composed after the

fall of Ch'eng-Han in 347 and before his death (date unknown). The Hua-yang Kuo-chih can be looked upon as one of the earliest local gazeteers. It attempts to set forth the history of the southwestern portion of China, including modern Szechwan, Kueichow, Yünnan and parts of Shensi from earliest times up until Ch'ang Ch'ü's day. As such, only a portion of the entire work deals with Ch'eng-Han. A second work, alternatively referred to as the Shu Li Shu 蜀李書, Han chih Shu 漢之書 or Han Shu 漢書 is also attributed to Ch'ang.<sup>52</sup> This work, in ten chüan, dealt solely with Ch'eng-Han. It existed until the T'ang dynasty but was later lost in transmission.<sup>53</sup> One would expect a high degree of similarity between these works, however the few passages of the Shu Li Shu which have been preserved show considerable difference in wording when compared to the Hua-yang Kuo-chih and there is at least one event recorded which is not found in current versions of the HYKC but which has found its way into our Chin Shu text.<sup>54</sup> This suggests that the Shu Li Shu was a source, directly or indirectly, for the Chin Shu editors (see below, sub Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu ).

A word should be said at this point about the condition of the modern version of the Hua-yang Kuo-chih. Although this work has survived to the present day it has not done so without suffering the omissions and additions of a rather haphazard transmission. This work never enjoyed the status of an officially recognized history and consequently by the time that Li Ch'i 李至 edited the

earliest edition which has come down to us in 1204 the text was already in a very confused state. Li Ch'i collated many earlier editions and put the text essentially into its present order.<sup>55</sup> He was forced to supplement the last portion of the records of Ch'eng-Han because all material concerning Li Shih's reign had already dropped out of the text.<sup>56</sup> In spite of his no doubt considerable efforts many undecipherable passages remain.

Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu

This work by Ts'ui Hung 崔鴻 of the Northern Wei consists of a Record ( lu 錄 ) for each of the sixteen 'illegitimate' states which existed in this period. We can be quite specific about the time of compilation of the section of this work dealing with Ch'eng-Han. Ts'ui Hung's biography states that the major portion of this work was finished in 508 but that its completion had to await the acquisition of materials concerning Ch'eng-Han which could not be obtained until 522.<sup>57</sup> Ts'ui does not specify exactly which work it was that he obtained in 522 but earlier he describes it as "the work which Ch'ang Ch'ü wrote concerning the time when Li Hsiung and his sons occupied Shu". We can safely identify this as the Shu Li Shu mentioned above.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately both the Shu Li Shu and the Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu are preserved only in fragmentary quotations, still, by comparison of quotations from these two works concerning a certain event with the Hua-yang Kuo-chih account we can see that the Shih-liu kuo

ch'un-ch'iu more closely resembles the Shu Li Shu.<sup>59</sup> This is particularly significant because if the same comparison is widened to include the Chin Shu we find that the Chin Shu account also most closely resembles this Shu Li Shu-Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu tradition.<sup>60</sup> It is possible to make further observations concerning the interrelationship of the Chin Shu and quotations from these two works but they give no aid in determining which was directly ancestral to the Chin Shu because abridgement was common in making such quotations and hence the absence of any given element in a quotation does not prove its absence in the original.

#### Wei Shu

Finally we must consider the Wei Shu 魏書 of Wei Shou 魏收 (506-572). This work gives a very summary account of important events in the history of Ch'eng-Han.<sup>61</sup> Chou I-liang has shown that the Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu was Wei Shou's basic source in dealing with the Sixteen Kingdoms.<sup>62</sup> The portion of the Wei Shu concerning Ch'eng-Han does not show striking similarity to those portions of the Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu which we now possess. Be that as it may, the brevity of the Wei Shu account assures that it was not a major source in the compilation of the Chin Shu.

In summation then, we can say that the Chin Shu editors made use of the Hou Han Shu and either the Shu Li Shu or the Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu. It is impossible to

determine whether any use was made of the Hua-yang Kuo-chih because anything in that work may have also been in the Shu Li Shu . In any case the primary source for the history of Ch'eng-Han was the works of Ch'ang Ch'ü and as the Hua-yang Kuo-chih is his only surviving work it provides a unique, first-hand account of Ch'eng-Han. It is our most complete single source and our most reliable.

### MIGRATIONS AND MIGRANTS

Massive migrations characterized the first half of the fourth century in China. One scholar has termed this one of the two largest migrations in Chinese history. He computes that in the nine year period between 289 and 307 alone over two million participated in migrations, driven by wars, famine and pestilence.<sup>63</sup> These migrations are intimately related to events surrounding the founding of the state of Ch'eng-Han and in this section we shall examine those relations.

The first movements in these migrations was the emigration of huge numbers of people from Ch'in 秦 and Yung 雍 provinces (modern Shensi and Kansu provinces). During the decade of the 290's this region of China suffered repeated hardship, including drought, famine and pestilence. This situation was further exacerbated by the rebellion in 297 of a group of Ti and Ch'iang tribesmen (Tibeto-Burmans) led by Ch'i Wan-nien 齊萬年.<sup>64</sup> The following year we observe the first of the large-scale migrations of this period as masses of people are forced to migrate in search of food. The biography of Li T'ie translated below records that over a hundred thousand entered the region of Han-chung 漢中 (southeastern Shensi).<sup>65</sup> Li T'ie and his clan were among the members of this first migration.

From the Han-chung region two courses of migration were available: the first involved descending the Han River into Hupei, the second was to enter the Szechwan region



through the pass at Chien-ke 劍閣. Li T'e and his fellow travellers followed this second path. T'e was probably retracing the route followed by his grandfather Hu in migrating from the Szechwan region to Han-chung and eventually into central Shensi almost a century earlier.<sup>66</sup> This migration was not without incident. The Chin central government sent a representative, Li Pi to restrain these migrants from entering Szechwan. It was necessary for the migrants to bribe this man in order to enter the Chien-ke pass.<sup>67</sup>

The participants in this first migration were a mixed group. They included Chinese, non-Chinese and peoples at intermediate levels of Sinicization. The group is best seen as a number of smaller groupings, each centering about a strong leader or leading family and comprised of his retainers and those local peasant families who allied themselves to him for protection. Men like Yen Shih and Jen Hui must have been representatives of important Chinese clans in the region, and they naturally found positions of prominence within the migrant community. There were also groups of Ti tribesmen led by their own "Marquis-Kings" who participated in the migration.<sup>68</sup> We may hypothesize that these were Ti who had accepted a more Sinicized, sedentary life-style, since they fled from rather than participating in the Ch'i Wan-nien rebellion, however their maintenance of tribal nobility suggests that they are far from being totally assimilated into the Chinese community. This is not the case with the Li clan. That they were originally non-

Chinese seems to have been a well-known fact. They were referred to by the people of Shensi as the Pa clan or Pa Ti and later historical accounts are careful to stress that they are originally Tsung.<sup>69</sup> However by this time they must have been so Sinicized as to present no significant contrast with the Chinese inhabitants of the region. They were educated in the Chinese language, for members of the Li family had held government offices prior to the migration and Li Hsiang had even been recommended as 'filial and pure' ( hsiao-lien 孝廉 ), a largely honorary title used to recruit those of exceptional promise, both literary and moral, for positions in the central government.<sup>70</sup> Further, their followers were attached to them by ties of gratitude and mutual self-interest rather than the claims to royalty found among the Ti still in a tribal level of social organization. Finally, when Li T'ie later forged a wanted poster he did not hesitate to list his Li clan among the 'powerful families of the six commanderies' as opposed to the non-Chinese Ti.<sup>71</sup>

It was inevitable that a large group such as this should cause serious dislocations when entering a new area. Faced with the necessity of obtaining sustenance the migrants seem to have followed two paths. The first was to hire themselves out as laborers to landlords of the Szechwan region in return for a portion of the produce.<sup>72</sup> The second was to maintain the groupings formed during migration and rely upon combined military might to forcibly acquire the necessities of life. The Li clan chose this

latter path. Chao Ch'in, who originally hailed from Pa-hsi, just as the Li clan did, recruited them to serve as his henchmen. The Chin Shu describes their actions at this time as 'engaging solely in robbery and plunder'.<sup>73</sup> However this characterization may be colored by the Chin Shu editors' prejudice towards Chao Ch'in and the Li clan, both of whom later rebelled against the central Chin authority. Li Hsiang is mentioned in connection with the suppression of a rebellion of non-Chinese peoples during this period and held the office of Grand Administrator of Ch'ien-wei<sup>74</sup>, and this cannot be dismissed as simple 'robbery and plunder'.

Regardless of the exact nature of the actions of the Li clan during this period it is undeniable that a direct result of the entry of the migrants was a period of several years of war, first between the migrants and Chao Ch'in and then between the migrants and Luo Shang. This plus the added burden of feeding the extra population gave rise to a second wave of migration, this time from Szechwan. This group of migrants was composed primarily of former inhabitants of Szechwan, driven out by the newcomers, though no doubt some migrants from Shensi also continued through Szechwan to other regions. Again there were two primary routes of migration, the first descending the Yangtze to the east to Ching province (modern Hupei and Hunan), the second into the sparsely settled regions to the south (modern Kueichow and Yünnan). This wave of migration was large enough to seriously decrease the population of Szechwan in spite of the large numbers of immigrants from

the north.<sup>75</sup> Thus we read that upon the capture of Nancheng 南鄭 in the Han-chung region the entire population was moved to Szechwan in order to make up for a portion of the lost population.<sup>76</sup>

It is an oversimplification to treat these movements in terms of definable groups. These routes of migration were followed in varying degrees throughout Chinese history. For the region and era under consideration the migrations centering around the turn of the century were no doubt the most important, but it is likely that people continued to migrate from the Shensi-Kansu region into Szechwan and from the Szechwan region to the south and east whenever there was internal disorder or natural calamity. During Li Shou's reign (338-343) the population had decreased to the extent that Shou ordered every household with over three adults in the surrounding area to be moved to Ch'eng-tu in order to bolster the population.<sup>77</sup> Thus we see that these migrations posed a constant problem to whoever was in control of the region and always tended to be a destabilizing influence.

TACISM AND FAN CH'ANG-SHENG

The region of Szechwan has been of singular importance in the development of religious Taoism. During the time when Kung-sun Shu established himself there independently it was the site of the creation of many of the apocryphal documents. These apocrypha were prognostications making use of currently accepted esoteric knowledge in a attempt to influence the political world. Many of the beliefs basic to these apocrypha, such as the Five Elements ( wu-hsing 五行 ) theory and its infinite correlatives in the realms of color, taste, sound and direction, were the stock in trade of a group of shamans or magicians who held great importance in popular religious life. This group had a strong influence on the foundation of religious Taoism.

In the late second century of our era groups of people began to arise around religious figures in both the Szechwan region and in south-central China.<sup>78</sup> These groups came to hold political as well as religious authority over their believers. Although it may be overstating the case to describe them as millenarian they did have a conception of a theocracy which would carry out comparatively radical social reforms. This tendency is reflected in the term used to describe the group active in central China. They were called the Way of the Great Peace and they hoped to establish a utopia, a land of eternal peace, as the name suggests.

In Szechwan the primary figure connected with this movement was Chang Lu 張魯.<sup>79</sup> His family was originally

from Kiangsu but his grandfather Ling 陵 had moved to Shu in order to pursue Taoist studies. Ling first began accepting followers and received five bushels of rice from each new member of his church. This custom was maintained and from it derives one of the common names for this group, the Way of the Five Bushels of Rice. Chang Ling transmitted his position to his son Heng 衡, who in turn transmitted it to his son Lu. In fact there is no hard historical evidence for the existence of this group of Taoist adherents before Chang Lu. We do know that Lu's mother was some sort of a shamaness and exercised a strong influence over the Pastor of I province Liu Yen 劉焉. Yen entrusted Chang Lu with important positions and dispatched him to the Han-chung region. He was still there when Yen died and his son Liu Chang 劉璋 succeeded to his position. Chang killed Lu's mother and all her relatives. Chang Lu consequently rebelled and established himself independently in Han-chung.

From the beginning one of Chang Lu's greatest sources of support came from the Pa people.<sup>80</sup> The Pa region was contiguous with Han-chung and the customs of the Pa people made them receptive to the religious ideas espoused by Chang Lu. In historical sources we read that they 'all served ghosts and spirits' and that they 'revered and believed in shamans'.<sup>81</sup> Large numbers of Pa people moved from the Pa region to Han-chung in order to follow Chang Lu. Among these migrating people were the ancestors of the Li clan. Thus by the time of Li Hsiung the Li clan had been

Taoists for at least four generations.

It is the nature of Chinese historical sources to center upon the official life of a class of government officials. References to Taoism occur only when they intrude upon the political world, such as when a Taoist religious leader revolts. Practically no mention is made of its continuing influence upon the lives of adherents. The Taoist church set up a community of followers who shared a lifestyle as well as a set of beliefs. One of the more commonly mentioned features of Chang Lu's church was the establishment of Houses of Righteousness ( i-she 義舍 ) where grain and meat would be set out free for the taking, on the stipulation that one eat only his fill and no more under threat of divine retribution.<sup>82</sup> Further, believers were incorporated into a strict hierarchy of Ghost-troops ( kuei-tsu 鬼卒 ), Ghost-people ( kuei-min 鬼民 ) and Libationers ( chi-chiu 祭酒 ), all serving a Celestial Master ( t'ien-shih 天師 ). We would expect that under such conditions believers would develop a strong sense of community and common purpose. I believe that this sense of community was instrumental in winning for the Li clan the support of the populace of Szechwan.

We first see evidence of this type of support in the Li clan's dealings with Chao Ch'in. The Chin Shu seeks to explain the alliance between Chao and the Li's on the basis of their both hailing originally from Pa-hsi commandery.<sup>83</sup> This was no doubt a factor and it is not unlikely that Chao Ch'in was of Tsung stock, just as the Lis were. However the

Lis had been living in Shensi for a very long time previous to this and one would expect that such ties would diminish over such a length of time. The Hua-yang Kuo-chih <sup>84</sup> states that Chao Ch'in's ancestors had also migrated in order to follow Chang Lu, thus they were also followers of the Celestial Master sect of Taoism and this must have been important in promoting good relations between Chao Ch'in and the Lis.

The relationship between Li Hsiung and Fan Ch'ang-sheng<sup>85</sup> is much more explicitly presented in our sources. Fan appears in our records as the classic Taoist recluse. He lived in seclusion cultivating the Tao on Ch'ing-ch'eng mountain, where over a thousand families were under his patronage. We read that the common people served him like a god.<sup>86</sup> Even his name Ch'ang-sheng, meaning 'long life', smacks of the quest for immortality. Li Hsiung originally wished to establish Fan as ruler but Fan, in proper Taoist fashion, refused. Our text gives every indication the Li Hsiung had an earnest belief in and reverence for this venerable man of the Way. When Hsiung finally ascended the throne he made Ch'ang-sheng his Chancellor and honored him with the title Grand Preceptor of the Four Seasons, Eight Periods and Heaven and Earth.<sup>87</sup> He and his followers were exempted from all taxes. A man like Fan Ch'ang-sheng, revered by the common people, must have had great influence. In China the justification for the right to rule was always based upon the personal virtue ( te 德 ) of the ruler. It was because a man behaved according to accepted



standards of propriety and displayed a sterling model to his fellows that Heaven chose him to rule. One of the traditional proofs of such virtuous rule was the ability to draw out from seclusion those lofty-minded sages who had fled civilization because of the depraved state of the world. In this type of milieu it is easy to imagine the weight that the support of a man of Fan Ch'ang-sheng's stature would carry. Fan Ch'ang-sheng died fairly early in the reign of Li Hsiung<sup>88</sup> however his influence remained and after Huan Wen had forced the surrender of Li Shih a group of former Ch'eng-Han subjects joined in trying to reassert their independence by pushing forward Ch'ang-sheng's son Fan Pen as ruler of a re-established Ch'eng.<sup>89</sup> However they were soon subdued.

There are also elements in the makeup of the Ch'eng-Han state and in the actions of its rulers which some scholars have tried to link to Taoism.<sup>90</sup> Chinese historians of the regime have criticized the Ch'eng rulers for not creating clearly delineated ranks with appropriate sumptuary rules. The 'Confucian' system of thought is fundamentally a conservative doctrine which seeks to maintain the status quo. Accordingly, they believed in the value of a rigid, predetermined hierarchy which should be maintained at all costs. In philosophical Taoism we do not find a specific refutation of this doctrine, and it would be wrong to see earlier Taoist thinkers as advocating such modern concepts as the equality of mankind or human rights, however in many ways their position did conflict with the

prevailing Confucian position. Rather than egalitarianism it would perhaps be better to see a primitive anarchism at the root of these beliefs. The Taoists believed in the existence of a golden age in high antiquity before man had become corrupted by society and the myriad rules and restrictions which men create to govern their interactions. Their position would be to simply ignore all distinctions of rank and status, which are at best transitory, rather than the active replacement of these with some more egalitarian system. Religious Taoism was a movement that arose from a peasant base and while there was a definite hierarchy within the church it does not seem to have been based on considerations of wealth or status. Thus it would be proper to describe this movement as in a sense egalitarian. Now what we are dealing with in the case of Li Hsiung and his successors is not the elevation of men from the lower levels of society, but rather the absence of the trappings and regalia of office as well as a fixed system for the appointment and promotion of officials. While in some aspects this situation can be related to the ideas of simplicity espoused by philosophical Taoists I see no necessary connection with the Taoist church. The followers of Chang Lu seem to have had a very well-defined bureaucratic structure which contrasts strongly with what is reported for Ch'eng-Han. When we read in the biographies of Li Ch'i and Li Shih that they ignored the established court officials and promoted new figures to high positions it is probably best to see these actions as the result of

factionalism and the attempt of an emperor to gather around him a group of ministers who were personally loyal to him. R.A. Stein <sup>91</sup> has attempted to link this type of state organization, or lack thereof, with accounts in Chinese historical works concerning Ta Ch'in, a term which seems originally to have referred to the Roman empire but which Stein believes came to be used for the name of a utopia upon which Taoist concepts of the perfect state were projected, and the surrounding aborigines. He finds in the proto-democratic selection of leaders within tribes without hereditary rulers the source for the egalitarianism of religious Taoism. This suggests that even if we can discern some sort of egalitarianism within the Ch'eng-Han state which can be compared to that attributed to the Taoist church it may arise from the Li clan's non-Chinese origin rather than any direct connection to the church. I think it is better to search for the reasons for the lack of a clearcut hierarchy in the Ch'eng-Han state in the current political situation and the nature of the Li family's power. Ch'eng-Han was a non-Chinese state in rebellion against the recognized legitimate authority and surrounded by other rebels. Li Hsiung's policy of reappointing to their original post all those who submitted to him allowed the continuance of local centers of power within and on the borders of his state. It must have been tempting for any local leader acknowledging Ch'eng-Han sovereignty to switch sides if he felt he was not being accorded the treatment he deserved. There were certainly other places where he could

always turn for aid in resisting the Lis. This is shown by the repeated surrender and rebellion of the Ti leaders Yang Nan-ti, Wei Wen etc. as well as Chinese officials such as Li I and his son Li Chao. We should also consider the origins of the Li clan's support. They were pushed forward by fellow immigrants from the Shensi region. During the early part of the dynasty the bureaucracy was staffed primarily with their fellow migrants who had known the family before its precipitous rise to power. Li T'ie and his relatives had gained their support through acts of charity and good will, not because of military might. It is to be expected that these friends and fellow migrants would have high expectations when one of their number rose to such high position, and if these expectations were not met dissatisfaction was inevitable. This situation was exacerbated by the lack of administrative experience of members of the Li clan. Only Li Hsiang is recorded to have held other than a military post under the Chin and he died before Li T'ie declared his independence. Nor do we find a great deal of experience in the conduct of government among his followers. These factors all tended to diminish the amount of control the Ch'eng-Han ruler could exert over his officials. Thus, while it is not possible to exclude the influence of some form of Taoist thought, philosophical or religious, upon the administration of Ch'eng-Han, considerably more evidence concerning the bureaucratic structure of the state would be necessary to affirm it.

There is another incident which is interesting because

it involves the personal conduct of the Ch'eng ruler Li Hsiung. When Li Hsiung's mothers died it is recorded that he was greatly distraught and did not wish to bury her.<sup>92</sup> R.A. Stein claims that this was the practice among the followers of Ch'en Jui 陳瑞, a man who raised a Taoist rebellion in the Szechwan region in 276.<sup>93</sup> If true this would indeed be a substantive link between Li Hsiung and religious Taoism. Unfortunately I have been unable to find any reference which mentions this custom in connection with Ch'en Jui.

In any case, I believe it is safe to say that the Li clan were adherents of religious Taoism and that this belief affiliation was important in gaining the support of fellow believers.

# INTRODUCTION - NOTES

1 Li Hsiung declared the name of his state to be Ch'eng when ascending the imperial throne in 306. Li Shou changed the name to Han upon his accession in 334. The Shih-liu Kuo Ch'un-Ch'iu refers to the state as Hou Shu while Ch'ang Ch'ü wrote a history of the state which was initially called the Book of Han and later renamed the Book of the Lis of Shu (Shu Li shu 蜀李書).

2 This historical survey is based upon the appropriate chapters of the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien and the Annals of the Chin Shu as well as Lao Kan, Wei, Chin, Nan-pei ch'ao shih, pp. 37-67 and Miyakawa Hisayuki (1967), pp. 38-72. Huang Fan-kuang's article on the history of Ch'eng-Han was also of great use.

3 Another aim of the demobilization was the confiscation of weapons which could be minted into money. This effort was unsuccessful as most of the retiring soldiers kept their weapons, and in fact it contributed to later disturbances as many soldiers sold these weapons to non-Chinese on the northern frontier.

4 Huang Fan-kuang, p. 138 refers to Chao Ch'in's ties by marriage to Empress Chia as does Miyakawa Hisayuki (1967) p.60 but I have been unable to find any allusion to this fact in original sources.

5 See Lao Kan, pp. 62-3.

6 Hou Han Shu 86/2840. Hereafter abbreviated HHS.

7 See the section on sources above, note 46.

8 HHS 86/2842-3.

9 Lǚ Ssu-mien (1948), p. 77 rejects this explanation. He believes that the people were originally referred to as Tsung 宗, and that the cowrie radical ( pei denoting money) was added to this character to specify the tax which these Tsung people paid. This position has been refuted by Chao Li-sheng in his article " 'Tsung Jen' yǔ 'Tsung Jen' ".  
 ".

10 Iso Chuan 35/Huan 9/2.

11 Sheng's work, of Liu Sung date, is cited in HHS 86/2840, n. 3. Yang Shou-ching, Shui Ching chu-shu, 37/33a-b.

12 Section 50.

13 Hu-pei t'ung-chih (1934), p. 187.

14 Ku Tsu-yü, 86/3513. Ti-ming 1401.3 says that this

prefecture was established in the Chin.

T'ung Tien 997.3 says that the origin of the Ch'ing Chiang is Tu-t'ing Mountain 都亭山. Ti-ming 948.4 gives a location for this mountain two hundred li northwest of Shih-nan. This is impossible as it would necessitate that the river cross the Yang-tze.

15 HHS 86/2840, n. 2. It is uncertain what Hui Tung's source was since the Shih Pen was lost by his time and none of the reconstructions collected in Shih Pen pa chung gives this reading.

16 Hsü Chung-shu (1959), p. 32.

17 Ti-ming 509.2. Ch'ang-yang hsien chih 長陽縣志 quoted in the subcommentary to Shui Ching chu-shu 37/32a.

18 Shih-nan hsin-chiu fu-chih he-pien 施南新舊府志合編 (1871) 4/4a. The same work mentions a Chung-li Shan west of the walled city but does not connect it to Lin Chün.

19 Shui Ching chu-shu 37/32a.

20 Ssu-ch'uan ch'uan-kuan-tsang fa-ch'üeh pao-kao (1960).

21 Ibid., p. 88.



22 HYKC 1/3.

23 Ssu-ch'uan ch'uan-kuan-tsang fa-ch'üeh pao-kao (1960), p. 54; Wei Ch'ü-hsien, "Pa-Shu wen hua (2)", pp. 64-70; Hsü Chung-shu, pp. 36-44. Hsü tries to show parallels between elements of this Pa 'script' and the pictographic script used by the Nakhi.

24 Ssu-ch'uan ch'uan-kuan-tsang fa-ch'üeh pao-kao (1960), p. 86. Elements which we here define as characteristic of Pa culture are found in burial sites in the Shu region only in late Warring States period, presumably after the Ch'in conquest of the two regions.

25 The following discussion is based on Ling Shun-sheng, BIHP 23/2, pp. 639-79.

26 Ling cites travel diaries of two Ch'ing dynasty writers, Hsü Ts'uan-ts'eng 許王贊曾 and Wang Ch'ang 王昶 who report cliff burials with boats. Ling, p. 644.

27 Ibid., p. 645.

28 HYKC 1/7.1 records a memorial by the Grand Administrator of Pa commandery, one Tan Wang 但望, in which he mentions that over five hundred families were living on boats at the confluence of the Yang-tze and Chia-

ling Rivers.

29 Ibid. 1/2.10.

30 See Shih Chi 70/2281-2.

31 T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi , 76/2b; T'ung Tien  
185/985.1.

32 Lin Hui-hsiang, v. I, p. 138-44.

33 See Shang Shu cheng-i ( Shih-san ching chu-shu ed.  
, 11/15b; Tso Chuan 370/Chao 9/2; Ch'un-ch'iu Tso Chuan  
cheng-i , ( Shih-san ching chu-shu ed. ), 20/3a.

34 Ma Ch'ang-shou (1941).

35 David Crockett Graham (1954), p. 185-200.

36 Jerry Norman and Tsu-lin Mei, pp. 276-77.

37 See A. Landes, "Les mœurs et superstitions  
populaire des Annamites (1)", p. 355 and Mrs. Leslie Milne  
(1924), p. 355.

38 Among scholars making this mistake are Lao Kan  
(1971), p. 53; T'ang Ch'ang-ju (1955), p. 145; Huang Fan-  
kuang, p. 119; and Fu Le-ch'eng (1968), vol. I, p. 266. The

error of this position is pointed out clearly by Chang Kuan-ying, (1957), p. 70.

39 The state was originally called Ch'eng 成. When Li Shou assumed the throne in 338 he changed the name to Han 漢.

40 The tsai-chi comprise thirty chapters of the Chin Shu dealing with states which did not accept the sovereignty of the central government.

41 See Michael Rogers, The Chronicle of Fu Chien: A Case of Exemplar History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968) pp. 15-6. The original decree is recorded in T'ang Hui-yao (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935, Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu ed.) 69/1091. See also Yang Lien-sheng, "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty" in Studies in Chinese Institutional History (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1961) p. 119-120, who, basing himself on the Chiu T'ang Shu thinks that the work was begun in 644 and that the decree of 646 merely reconfirmed appointments.

42 Liu, Chih-chi 劉知幾, Shih-t'ung t'ung-shih 史通通釋 (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu ed. 1935) 10/v.2, p.39. See also Rogers, p.16.

43 Rogers, p. 32-73.

44 Besides the works discussed below I have also made use of the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien 資治通鑑 by Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光, 4 vol., (Peking, 1957).

45 The Hua-yang Kuo-chih gives a fuller account of events, but events during the reign of Li Hsiung are divided between two chapters (8 and 9) and textual problems are much more significant than in the Chin Shu.

46 HHS 86/2840. Comments concerning the Pa people and Han Kao-tsu may be based on 86/2842, but other sources also record this.

47 For a discussion of the textual history of the Hou Han Shu see Hans Bielenstein, "The Restoration of the Han dynasty", Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities 26 (1954): 9-20 and Liao Chi-lang 廖吉郎, Liang-Chin shih-pu i-chi k'ao 兩晉史部選籍考 (Taipei: Chia-hsin shui-ni kung-ssu, 1966) pp. 59-73.

48 See the Cheng-i 正義 commentary to Shih Chi 1/1.

49 See above, p. 16.

50 Ssu-ma Piao: T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 820/2b-3a and HHS 86/2849. Hua Ch'iao: T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 808/1b, 3b and HHS 86/2849. If these passages are identified correctly the

TPYL editors have somewhat abridged them.

51 Chin Shu 98/2569.

52 Yen Chih-t'ui 彦之推, Yen-shih chia-hsün 彦氏家訓  
(Shanghai: Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ed. 1937) 6/147 identifies the  
Han chih Shu with the Shu Li Shu. Liu Chih-chi, Shih-t'ung  
t'ung-shih 12/ 39 records that Ch'ang Chü wrote a Han Shu  
in ten chüan and that its name was changed to Shu Li Shu  
when it entered the Imperial Library's collection.

53 See Chang Tsung-yüan, Sui-shu ching-chi chih k'ao-  
cheng, Erb-shih-wu shih pu pien ed., p.4970.

54 TPLYL 811/7b. Cf. Chin Shu 121/3040.9-10.

55 Li Ch'i's preface is reprinted at the beginning of  
the modern Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu edition of the Hua-  
yang Kuo-chih.

56 HYKC 9/128.1.

57 Wei Shou 魏收, Wei Shu (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü,  
1974) 67/1504-5.

58 In the passage cited above Liu Chih-chi also makes  
reference to the Hua-yang Kuo-chih. In his commentary to  
this passage P'u Ch'i-lung claims that both these works

were used in the compilation of the Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu . This is certainly possible but there is no evidence for it.

59 Compare the passage cited at TPYL 398/6a to the Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu version quoted at TPYL 123/7a and the HYKC version, HYKC 9/119.8. Chapter 123 of the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan is the source for most of what survives from the Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu concerning Ch'eng-Han. Rogers, p. 20, believes this chapter may derive directly from an abridged version rather than the full 100 chüan edition.

60 The passage cited above appears in a very truncated form in the Chin Shu . Here we may compare TPYL 363/3a, 123/7a and CS 121/3035.10.

61 Wei Shu 96/2110-2113.

62 Chou I-liang 周一良, Wei-Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao shih lun-chi (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1963) pp. 245-254. Cited in Rogers, p. 22. Chin Shu 121/3039.8 speaks of Li Shou sending emissaries to a Chin Mu-ti 晉穆帝. A nearly identical line occurs in Wei Shu 96/2111.4 where it is clear that the person referred to is Wei Mu-ti. Chou believes that this line derives ultimately from the Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu . Hence this line does not prove that the Wei Shu was used in compiling the Chin Shu tsai-chi . Cf. text, p. 148.

63        Liu Shan-li, " Chin Hui-ti shih-tai Han-tsu chih ta liu-hsi ", Yü-kung 4/11. p. 14.

64        TCTC 82/2616-18.

65        CS 120/3022.13. The Chin Shu reads 'several tens of thousands of families'. If we assume a family size of five this easily exceeds one hundred thousand.

66        Li T'e's biography states that his ancestors had migrated to Han-chung in order to join Chang Lu. Later T'e's grandfather Hu 虎 led five hundred families to serve Ts'ao Ts'ao and they were sent to Lüeh-yang in Shensi. CS 120/3022.8-10.

67        CS 120/3023.1-4.

68        CS 120/3025.13. HYKC lists six surnames of the Ti leaders. The term "Marquis-King" is probably a compromise between the Ti's own appellation, no doubt King ( wang 王 ), and the standard Sinocentric method of referring to foreign, non-Chinese rulers only by terms of inferior rank.

69        See the section on the ethnographic identity of these people above, p. 14.

70        CS 120/3031.6. He also held various offices on the

commandery level, including Master of Records ( chu-pu ).

71 CS 120/3025.13.

72 CS 120/3025.9-10.

73 CS 120/3023.7-8. See also HYKC 8/107.6-7. We should note in this respect that the HYKC was also a work compiled after the reabsorption of Ch'eng-Han into the Chin state for the intended consumption of Chin readers.

74 CS 120/3031.12, HYKC 8/108.6.

75 See TCTC 85/2682. Liu Shan-li (p. 14) estimates that altogether between six and seven hundred thousand migrated from Szechwan to the east and south during this period. This migration continued at an undetermined rate for some time. Tu T'ao's rebellion of 311-315 in the Hupei region was based upon migrants from Szechwan. The migrations into Ning province in turn contributed to a migration from this province south to Chiao 交 province (modern Kuanghsi-Kuangtung and northern Vietnam). See TCTC 86/2719.

76 CS 121/3036.15-3037.1.

77 CS 121/3045.14-15. It seems that at this stage of Chinese history there was no shortage of cultivable land,



rather the problem was to find enough farmers to clear and cultivate it.

78 See Holmes Welch, Parting of the Way p.113-23.

79 The primary source of information concerning Chang Lu is San Kuo Chih 8/263-5. See also HYKC 2/17.

80 HYKC 2/17 makes repeated reference to Pa people allying themselves to Chang Lu.

81 HHS 86/2840; CS 120/3022.8.

82 HYKC 2/17.2. Merchants selling goods at inequitable prices were thought to face the same type of punishment.

83 CS 120/3023.6.

84 HYKC 8/109.1.

85 The only secondary source concerning Fan Ch'ang-sheng is T'ang Ch'ang-ju, "Fan Ch'ang-shen yü Pa-Ti chü Shu te kuan-hsi". Fan's family was originally from Fou-ling, but they were transferred together with five thousand other families to western Szechwan in 251. (HYKC 1/11.8-9) At the time of our narrative over one thousand of these families had placed themselves under Fan's patronage. Fan was also called Yen-chiu 延久 and Chiu-ch'ung 九重. Only

one book is attributed to Fan, a work on the I Ching, and this attribution is based on a later source. (See above, Sources, n. 53).

86 TPYL 123/7b.

87 HYKC 9/120.3. CS 121/3036.9 reads simply "Grand Preceptor of Heaven and Earth". The 'eight periods' refers to the solstices and equinoxes.

88 SKCC, quoted in TPYL 123/7b places his death in the fourth month of 319.

89 See CS 8/194-5, 58/1583.

90 R.A. Stein (1963) pp. 33-35.

91 *ibid.*

92 CS 120/3037.8.

93 R.A. Stein, p. 33. The only reference I have been able to find to Ch'en Jui is HYKC 8/105.3-6. There we find a restriction as to who is permitted to engage in mourning but not rejection of the practice of burial.

**CHAPTER 120**

Li T'ie

Li T'ie 李特, sobriquet Hsüan-hsiu 玄休, was a man of Tang-ch'ü 宕渠 in the commandery of Pa-hsi 巴西.<sup>1</sup> His ancestors were the descendants of Lin Chün 庾君.<sup>2</sup> Of old Wu-luo Chung-li 武羅鍾離山 mountain<sup>3</sup> collapsed, revealing two caves, one as red as cinnabar and one as black as lacquer. A man emerged from the red cave who was named Wu Hsiang 務相, surnamed Pa 巴. In all, four clans emerged from the black cave: I 日<sup>4</sup>, Fan 樊, Po 柏<sup>5</sup>, and Cheng 鄭. These five clans emerged together and all contested to become divine.<sup>6</sup> Thereupon they assembled and thrust their swords into the cave roof, (agreeing that) he who was able to make it stick would become Lin Chün. None of the swords of the other four surnames would stick but Wu Hsiang's sword hung from it. Again, taking earth they made boats and, embellishing them with designs, floated them on the water, saying, "He whose boat stays afloat we shall take as Lin Chün." Again Wu Hsiang's boat alone floated. Thereupon he was consequently proclaimed Lin Chün. Boarding his earthen boat and leading his followers he descended the I Shui 夷水.<sup>7</sup> When he arrived at Yen-yang 鹽陽<sup>8</sup> the female water spirit of Yen-yang stopped him, saying, "This place has both fish and salt and the land is broad and vast. I shall live with you. You should stay here and travel no more." Lin Chün replied, "I am to be ruler and in my search for a territory to settle I cannot stop."<sup>9</sup> At night this salt spirit would lodge with Lin Chün but in the morning she would always leave, turning into a flying creature. The

other spirits<sup>10</sup> would all follow her in flight, obscuring the sun and turning daylight into dusk. Lin Chün wished to kill her but couldn't distinguish which she was, nor did he have any sense of direction . This continued for ten days<sup>11</sup>, then Lin Chün presented the salt spirit with a green thread, saying, "Wrap this around your neck and if you find it suitable I will live with you. If it does not fit I intend to leave you." The salt spirit accepted it and put it on . (The next day) Lin Chün stood upon a variegated rock<sup>12</sup> and, looking for (a creature) with a green thread upon its breast, knelt and shot it, striking the salt spirit. When the salt spirit died the myriad spirits who were flying with her all departed and the heavens then cleared.<sup>13</sup> Lin Chün again boarded his earthen boat and descended to I-ch'eng 夷城.<sup>14</sup> At I-ch'eng the stone bank curved and the river also curved. Lin Chün saw that it resembled the shape of a cave and sighed, saying, "I have newly emerged from a cave and now will again enter this one. What am I to do?" Then a section of the bank over thirty feet wide collapsed forming a series of steps which Lin Chün ascended. On top of the embankment was a flat stone ten feet square and five feet high . Lin Chün rested on top of it and, casting lots, made calculations, all of which he had inscribed on stone. Accordingly he erected a city by its side and inhabited it.<sup>15</sup> Afterwards his tribe consequently became numerous. When Ch'in unified all under heaven they were made part of Ch'ien-chung 黔中 commandery<sup>16</sup> and were taxed lightly , each person paying

forty cash a year.<sup>17</sup> The Pa people called this tax tsung 貢 and were therefore referred to as the Tsung people.<sup>18</sup> When Han Kao-tsu was King of Han he enlisted the Tsung people to pacify the three Ch'in (Shensi). When this was accomplished they requested to return to their native place. Kao tsu, because their achievement was equal to that of his followers from Feng 豐 and P'ei 沛, exempted them from taxes and changed the name of their region to Pa commandery.<sup>19</sup> The earth (of this region) yields the bounties of salt, iron, cinnabar and lacquer<sup>20</sup> while the people are by nature fierce and brave as well as being adept at song and dance. Han Kao-tsu loved their dances and commanded the Department of Music (yüeh-fu) to practice them. Hence the modern Pa-yü 巴渝 dance.<sup>21</sup> At the end of the Han dynasty Chang Lu 張魯 lived in Han-chung 漢中<sup>22</sup>, teaching the populace by means of the Way of the Spirits. The Tsung people believed in shamans and many went to follow him. At the time when the world fell into great disorder they moved from Tang-ch'ü in Pa-hsi to Yang-ch'ü-pan 楊車坂 in Han-chung, robbing and plundering passing travelers. The local populace was troubled by them and called them the Yang-ch'ü Pa.<sup>23</sup> When Ts'ao Ts'ao conquered Han-chung T'ie's grandfather<sup>24</sup> at the head of five hundred families submitted to him. Ts'ao Ts'ao appointed him General and moved them (he and his followers) to Lüeh-yang 略陽.<sup>25</sup> The northern region referred to them as Pa Ti 巴氏 (or the Pa clan 巴氏).<sup>26</sup>

T'ie's father Li Mu 李穆 was Eastern Ch'iang Hunting

Commandant (tung Ch'iang lieh Chiang 東羌獵將).<sup>27</sup>

When T'ie was young he served in the province and commandery governments and was remarked at by his contemporaries. He was eight feet tall<sup>28</sup>, brave and martial, adept at riding and archery, grave and resolute, gifted with a generosity of character. During the Yüan-k'ang 元康 reign period (291-99) the Ti leader Ch'i Wan-nien 齊萬年 rebelled. The region west of the passes (Shensi and Kansu)<sup>29</sup> was in confusion and disorder and for a succession of years there was a great famine. The peasantry thereupon migrated in search of grain and those who entered Han-ch'uan 漢川<sup>30</sup> together numbered in the tens of thousands of families. T'ie, following the migrants, was about to enter Shu when, reaching Chien-ke 劍閣<sup>31</sup> he squatted on the ground, took a deep breath and, gazing about the towering defile, said, "Liu Ch'an 劉禪 had control of a place such as this and yet he was bound in submission by another."<sup>32</sup> Surely he must have been a man of but common talent." Yen Shih 閻式<sup>33</sup>, Chao Su 趙肅, Li Yüan 李遠, and Jen Hui 任回 who were travelling with him all were impressed by this statement.<sup>34</sup>

At first, when the migrants had reached Han-chung they submitted a memorial petitioning that they be allowed to lodge and board in Pa and Shu. The Court Conference did not agree to this and sent the Attendant Censor (shih-yü-shih 侍御史)<sup>35</sup> Li Pi 李苴 bearing credentials of authority to comfort and mollify them as well as to observe them and see that they were not allowed to enter Chien-ke. Li Pi,

arriving at Han-chung, accepted a bribe from the migrants and on the contrary memorialized, saying "The migrants number more than a hundred thousand, more than the one commandery of Han-chung can support. To the east towards Ching 荊 province the torrents are rapid and precipitous, moreover they are without boats and ships. Shu has stockpiled reserves (of grain) and the people, moreover, are enjoying a rich harvest. They should be allowed to go in search of food." The court followed this advice and the migrants consequently dispersed throughout I 益 and Liang 梁 provinces and could not be stopped.<sup>36</sup>

In the first year of the Yung-k'ang 永康 reign period (300) an imperial edict summoned the Governor ( tz'u-shih 刺史 ) of I province, Chao Ch'in 趙殷, to be Grand Elder ( ta ch'ang ch'iu 大長秋 ) and replaced him with the Bailiff ( nei-shih 內史 ) of Ch'eng-tu 成都, Keng T'eng 耿騰.<sup>37</sup> Ch'in consequently plotted to revolt, secretly concealing the ambition to carve off a piece of territory for himself as Liu Pei had done.<sup>38</sup> He then emptied his granaries, distributing the grain to the migrants in order to win the support of the masses. The members of Li T'e's tribe were all from Pa-hsi, the same commandery as Chao Ch'in, and many were brave and strong. Ch'in entertained them richly so as to make them his instruments. Therefore T'e and the others gathered together in masses and engaged themselves solely in robbery and plunder. The people of Shu were troubled by them. Keng T'eng secretly submitted a memorial maintaining that: "The migrants are hardened and brave



while the men of Shu are cowardly and weak. The guest and the host cannot control each other and this will certainly be the first step toward disorder, (therefore) they should be sent back to their original location. If they are placed in a strategic location I fear that the disasters of Ch'in 秦 and Yung 雍 provinces will gather again in Liang and I. This will certainly bequeath to this dynasty an insecure position in the west."<sup>39</sup> Chao Ch'in heard of this and was offended. At the time over a thousand military and civil officials of I province had already gone to welcome T'eng. \* [Because Chao Ch'in had not yet vacated the provincial capital Keng T'eng was still in the commandery capital. Ch'in recruited Luo An 羅安 and Wang Li 王利 et al from Li Hsiang's clique to seize T'eng. They inflicted a great defeat at Hsüan-hua in Kuang-han. He killed the bearer of the imperial rescript. T'eng argued that he wanted to enter the walled capital of the province. The (Attendant Official of the) Department of Merit Ch'en Hsün 陳恂 remonstrated with him, saying, "Now both province and commandery are being administered and the antagonism created between the troops of the two grows daily greater. If you enter the city there will certainly be a great disaster. It would be better to remain secure in the smaller city while summoning the various prefectures to unite into fortified villages in order to prepare for the Ti barbarians from Ch'in. The Colonel of the Western Barbarians Ch'en Tsung will soon arrive and we should wait to see what happens. Otherwise, you can retreat and occupy Ch'ien-wei, to the west crossing

at Chiang-yüan 江原<sup>40</sup> in order to protect against the unexpected. T'eng did not follow this advice.

\*[Winter, twelfth month.](HYKC 8/107.9-11) He lead his troops into the provincial capital (Ch'eng-tu). \*[T'eng entered the city. He climbed the West gate. Chao Ch'in sent his intimate Tai Mao 代茂 to capture T'eng. Tai Mao warned him and left.](HYKC 8/107.12) Ch'in sent his troops to oppose T'eng and they battled at the Western Gate. T'eng lost and was killed.<sup>41</sup> \*[T'eng threw himself from the top of the city wall of the commandery capital. His subordinate Tso Hsiung 左雄 carried T'eng's son Ch'i 奇 off on his back and relied on a peasant, Sung Ning 宋寧, to hide him. Ch'in sought to buy him with a reward of a thousand pieces of gold but Sung Ning would not turn him in. Chao Ch'in was defeated soon after and he was able to escape death. The commandery officials all fled or went into hiding. Only Ch'en Hsün presented himself to Ch'in with his hands tied behind his back, requesting that the proper funeral services be accorded T'eng. Ch'in admired his sense of duty and did not kill him. Hsün and the Functionary of the Department of Civil Affairs ( hu-ts'ao yüan 戶曹掾 ) Ch'ang Ch'ang 常敞 together prepared a coffin and burial mound and buried him.](HYKC 8/107.12-14)

Ch'in proclaimed himself Great Inspector-general ( ta tu-tu 大都督 ), Great General ( ta Chiang-chün 大將軍 ) and the Pastor ( mu 牧 ) of I province. \*[He made the Prefect of Wu-ling Tu Shu 杜淑 of Shu 蜀 commandery, the Lieutenant Governor Chang Ts'an 張榮, Chang Kuei 張龜 of Pa-hsi,

Marshal of the Western Barbarians ( hsi-i ssu-ma 西夷司馬 ) Hsi Ni 龔尼 and the Prefect of Chiang-yüan 江原 Fei Yüan 費遠 of Ch'ien-wei his Senior Administrators of the Left and Right, Marshal(s) and Military Advisors(s). He transferred the Grand Administrator of Ch'ien-wei Li Hsiang 庠 to be General Intimidating Bandits. He summoned the Prefect of Lin-ch'ung 臨邛令 Hsü Yen 徐弇 of Fou-ling to be Yamen Commandant. None of those whom he summoned to court positions dared to ignore the summons. Chao Ch'in also named the Grand Administrator of Kuang-han Chang Cheng 張徵<sup>2</sup>, the Grand Administrator of Min-shan 汶山 Yang Pin 楊郾 and the Prefect of Ch'eng-tu Fei Li 費立 to be Libationers of the Army ( chün-chi-chiu 軍祭酒 )]\* (HYKC 8/108.5-7) T'ie's younger brother Hsiang with his brothers, his brother-in-law Li Han 李含, Jen Hui, Shang-kuan Ching 上官品<sup>3</sup>, Li P'an 李攀 of Fu-feng 扶風, Fei T'a 費佗<sup>4</sup> of Shih-p'ing 始平, and the Ti Fu Ch'eng 苻成, Wei Po 隗伯\*[and Tung Sheng 董勝 ]\*(HYKC 8/108.8) as well as others led four thousand riders to ally themselves to Chao Ch'in. Ch'in made Hsiang<sup>5</sup> his General Intimidating Bandits ( wei-k'ou Chiang-chün 威寇將軍 ) and sent him to cut off the northern road. Hsiang had formerly been Eastern Ch'iang Worthy General ( tung-Ch'iang liang Chiang 東羌良將 ) and was conversant in military strategy. He made no use of flags and banners (for relaying commands), instead his troops would form ranks at the raising of a lance. He executed three people under his command for not following orders and thereafter there was no indiscipline in the

ranks. Chao Ch'in disliked the precision and discipline of his troops<sup>46</sup> and wished to kill him but had not yet spoken of it. The Senior Administrator ( chang-shih 長史 ) Tu Shu and the Marshal ( ssu-ma 司馬 ) Chang Ts'an said to Ch'in, "The Tso Chuan says that the five great officers should not be located on the borders.<sup>47</sup> You, sir, have just taken up arms, yet you dispatch Li Hsiang to command a strong force in the field. This benighted one is dismayed by this. Moreover he is not of our race and his heart must be different from ours.<sup>48</sup> I think it impermissible for one to turn his halberd end-for-end and give it to another. I ask that you consider this." Ch'in with a sober expression replied, "Your words accord perfectly with my ideas. One could say, "It is Shang who can bring out my meaning."<sup>49</sup> Heaven has sent you to fulfill my plan." Just then Li Hsiang appeared at the gate requesting an audience with Ch'in. Ch'in was delighted and summoned Hsiang to enter. Hsiang wished to observe Ch'in's intentions, so he bowed twice, entered and said, "The central states are in great disorder now and the basic principles of government are no longer adhered to. It should prove impossible to restore the Chin royal house. Your Path reaches to Heaven and Earth while you Virtue covers all the realms. The circumstances of T'ang and Wu (founders of the Shang and Chou dynasties) truly are present here today. You should respond to the heavenly timing and accord with the people's hearts by rescuing the people from the mud and ashes and giving the people's sentiment something to rally around. Thus the

whole world can be subjugated, not merely Yung 庸 and Shu."<sup>50</sup> Ch'in said angrily, "How can these be the words proper to a subject." He commanded that Tu Shu and the others discuss this, whereupon they submitted a memorial accusing Hsiang of Grand Treason and Heresy. Ch'in then executed him along with his sons, nephews and other relatives, over thirty people.<sup>51</sup> Chao Ch'in was worried that T'e and the others would cause trouble so he sent someone to explain the situation to them, saying, "Hsiang said something improper and his offense merited execution. It does not extend to his brothers." Hsiang's corpse was returned to T'e and T'e's brothers were reinstated as army commanders in order to pacify their troops. The Yamen Commandant ( ya-men Chiang 牙門將 ) Hsü Yen requested that he be made Overseer of the Army ( chien-chün 監軍 ) for Pa-tung 巴東. Tu Shu and Chang Ts'an obstinately refused to agree to this. Yen was angered by this and with his own sword killed Shu and Ts'an in Chao Ch'in's council chamber. Shu and Ts'an's subordinates then killed Yen. All of them<sup>52</sup> were Ch'in's intimate advisers.

T'e and his brothers, because they bore enmity towards Ch'in, withdrew with their troops to Mien-chu 縣竹.<sup>53</sup> \* [Ch'in dispatched the former Prefect of Yin-p'ing 陰平 Chang Heng 張衡 and Fei Shu 費恕 of Sheng-ch'ien to soothe T'e and regain his allegiance. Both were killed by T'e. ]\*(HYKC 8/108.10-11) Ch'in feared that the court would attack him and sent the Senior Administrator Fei Yüan, the Grand Administrator ( t'ai-shou 太守 ) of Ch'ien-wei

Li Pi, and the Protector-General ( tu-hu 督護 ) Ch'ang Chün 常俊 in command of over ten thousand men to cut off the northern road, encamping at Shih-t'ing 石亭 in Mien-chu. T'ie secretly gathered together a force of over seven thousand<sup>54</sup> and made a surprise attack on Fei Yüan's army by night. Yüan's troops scattered and (T'ie) set his encampment afire. Eight or nine out of every ten of his troops died. T'ie advanced and attacked Ch'eng-tu. When Ch'in heard that an army had arrived he was terrified and did not know what to do.<sup>55</sup> Li Pi, Chang Cheng and others<sup>56</sup> cut the bar of the gate by night and fled; military and civil officials all dispersed. Chao Ch'in, alone accompanied by his wife and children, fled in a small boat as far as Kuang-tu 廣都, where he was killed by an underling, Chu Chu 朱竺. \*[His eldest son Ping 昂 was in Luo-yang and he also was executed. ]\*(HYKC 8/109.1) When Li T'ie arrived in Ch'eng-tu he allowed his troops to plunder the city, mortally wounding the Western Barbarian Army Protector ( hsi-i hu-chün 西夷護軍 ) Chiang Fa 姜發 and killing Ch'in's Senior Administrator Yüan Ch'ia 袁詒 and the Commander of the Guards which Ch'in had appointed.<sup>57</sup> T'ie sent his Yamen Wang Chiao 王角 and Li Chi 李基 to Luo-yang to set forth Chao Ch'in's crimes.

Previous to this Emperor Hui had named the Governor of Liang province, Luo Shang 羅 , to be General Pacifying the West ( p'ing-hsi chiang-chün 平西將軍 ), entrusting him with the offices of Colonel of the Western Barbarians ( hsi-i hsiao-wei 西夷校尉 ) and Governor of I province.<sup>58</sup>

Leading the Yamen Commandant Wang Tun 王敦, the Territorial Commandant ( tu-wei 都尉 ) of Shang-yung 上庸 I Hsin 義欽, the Grand Administrator of Shu 蜀 commandery Hsü Chien 徐儉, the Grand Administrator of Kuang-han 廣漢 Hsin Jan 辛冉 and others, over seven thousand in all<sup>59</sup>, he entered Shu. When T'e heard that Shang was coming he was very frightened and sent his younger brother Hsiang<sup>+</sup>

to greet him upon the road and present him with precious gifts. Shang was most pleased and made Hsiang<sup>+</sup> his Inspector of Cavalry ( chi-tu 騎督 ). T'e and his younger brother Liu 流 feasted Shang with oxen and wine at Mien-chu. Wang Tun and Hsin Jan both<sup>60</sup> advised Luo Shang, saying, "T'e and the rest are vagrants. They devote themselves solely to robbery and violence and are fit for immediate public execution. You should take advantage of this opportunity to behead them." Shang would not accept their advice. Hsin Jan had known T'e previously and therefore said to him, "When old acquaintances meet if it is not good luck (that brings them together) then it must be bad." T'e was deeply alarmed by this remark.<sup>61</sup>

Shortly thereafter there was a tally sent down to Ch'in and Yung provinces ordering that in all cases where migrants had entered Han-ch'uan 漢川 the tally was to be sent to their present location summoning them to return. \* [The Censors ( yü-shih 御史 ) Feng Kai 馮該 and Chang Ch'ang 張昌 assumed the positions of Attendant Official for Ch'in and Yung provinces, in charge of the return of the migrants. Over ten thousand households were

moved. ]\*(HYKC 8/109.9-10) T'e's elder brother Fu who had heretofore remained in their native region came (to T'e) on the pretext of welcoming his family. When he arrived in Shu he said to T'e, "The Central States are in disorder, they are not worth returning to." T'e agreed and began to think about occupying Pa and Shu by force. In recognition of his achievement in chastising Chao Ch'in the court appointed T'e General Propagating Majesty ( hsüan-wei chiang-chün 宣威將軍) and enfeoffed him as the Marquis of Ch'ang-le Hsiang 長樂鄉侯. Li Liu was made General Arousing Majesty ( fen-wei chiang-chün 奮威將軍) and enfeoffed as Marquis of Wu-yang 武陽侯. When the sealed documents of investiture came down to I province they stipulated item by item rewards for those migrants who had joined with T'e in chastising Ch'in. At the time Hsin Jan \*[who was originally used by King Lun of Chao]\*(HYKC 8/109.7) had been summoned to court out of regular rotation and did not wish to comply with the summons. He also wished to take Chao Ch'in's destruction to be his own achievement, so he 'put to sleep' the court command and did not respond with the truth. All the people hated him for this. Luo Shang sent his Attendant ( ts'ung-shih 從事) to urge the migrants to move, giving them until the seventh lunar month to get on the road. \*[T'e repeatedly dispatched Yen Shih of T'ien-shui to Luo Shang requesting that he delay his execution of the command and that a temporary extension be granted until autumn. He also presented Shang and Feng Kai with bribes and they permitted this (extension). When autumn arrived they again



requested an extension until winter. Hsin Jan and Li Pi thought this impermissible and wanted to move the migrants no matter what. Yen Shih explained the advantages and disadvantages of compelling the migrants to move to the Lieutenant Governor Tu T'ao 杜弼 and he also wished to grant the refugees a year. Hsin Jan and Li Pi opposed this and Shang followed their advice. Tu T'ao turned in his 'Flowering Talent' tablet of state and returned home because he knew that his plans would not be employed.

\*[At the time there was a white rainbow which stretched over the major city, with its head in a small village and its tail in the Eastern Mountain. The Attendant Official at Headquarters Ma Hsiu inquired of Yen Shih, "What omen is this?" Shih replied, "This omen means that there is the ether of ten thousand corpses below, pressing hard upon the city. It is not an auspicious portent. However 'Calamities from Heaven can be avoided.'<sup>62</sup> and if the General Quelling the West (Shang) is able to indulge the refugees the disaster will dispel of itself."]\*(HYKC 8/109.10-14) Hsin Jan was by nature avaricious and cruel. He wished to kill the leaders of the migrants and seize their possessions so he circulated an order to send them on their way. He also ordered the Grand Administrator of Tzu-t'ung 梓潼 Chang Yen 張演 to set up barriers at the various strategic places and search (the migrants) for valuables.<sup>63</sup> T'ie and the others were adamant in their requests, asking an extension until the fall harvest.<sup>64</sup> The migrants were scattered through Liang and I provinces,

working as hired laborers. When they heard that the province and commanderies were pressing them to leave all were troubled and bitter and at a loss for what to do. Knowing that T'e and his brothers had repeatedly requested a reprieve all were moved by this and relied upon them. Moreover the rains were about to begin and the grain crop had not yet matured. The migrants had nothing to use as provisions for the journey so they flocked to T'e. T'e then established a large encampment at Mien-chu 縣竹<sup>65</sup> order to house the migrants and sent to Hsin Jan to plead for leniency for himself. Jan was furious and sent people to distribute wanted posters for T'e and his brothers to all major thoroughfares, offering a large reward. T'e, seeing them, was greatly alarmed and took all of them back with him. He and his brother Hsiang<sup>+</sup> changed the terms of the poster to read "He who can send the head of one of the leaders of the six commanderies Li, Jen 任, Yen 閔, Chao 趙, Yang 楊 or Shang-kuan 上官 or of the Marquis-Kings of the Ti 氏 and Sou 叟<sup>66</sup> will be rewarded with a hundred rolls of cloth." Since the migrants were already unhappy about moving all went and allied themselves with T'e; galloping their horses and donning quivers, combining their voices they gathered like clouds. Within a fortnight to a month the multitude numbered over twenty thousand. Li Liu also gathered together several thousand. T'e then divided them into two camps, with T'e occupying the northern camp and Liu occupying the eastern one.<sup>67</sup>

T'e sent Yen Shih to see Luo Shang and petition for an

extension of the deadline. When Shih arrived he saw that Hsin Jan was constructing fortifications at strategic points and thoroughfares, planning to seize the migrants. He sighed and said, "When one makes a wall when there are no bandits there must be a grudge preserved therein. Now he hastens the construction; disorder is imminent."<sup>68</sup> Knowing that Hsin Jan and Li Pi in the end could not be dissuaded from their plans he took leave of Luo Shang to return to Mien-chu. As he was leaving Shang said to him., "You will convey my message to the migrants. I have listened to your petition with leniency." Shih replied, "You, sir, are confused by treacherous advice and I you do not see the reason for leniency. The common people are weak but cannot be treated lightly. When pressed unreasonably the anger of the masses is not easily transgressed. I fear it will be a disaster of considerable scale." Shang said, "However I do not deceive you. Be on your way." When Yen Shih arrived back at Mien-chu he said to T'e, "Although Shang said this he cannot necessarily be believed. Why? Shang has not established awe-inspiring punishments while Jan and the others each has control of a strong body of troops. If one day they should rebel they will be more than Shang can control. We really should prepare ourselves." T'e accepted this advice.

\*[Ninth month (of 301). An army was dispatched and stationed at Mien-chu , purportedly in order to cultivate wheat but in fact to guard against anyone escaping. ]\*(HYKC 8/110.2) Jan and Pi plotted together, saying, "Marquis Luo

is avaricious but indecisive and day by day the migrants are able to unfold their treacherous plans. Li T'e and his brothers all have martial talents. We will become the prisoners of stable-boys. We should devise a decisive strategy. We need not ask (Shang) about it again." They then sent the Territorial Commandant ( tu-wei 都尉 ) of Kuang-han commandery Tseng Yüan 曾元 and the Yamens Chang Hsien 張顯 and Liu Ping 劉並 to secretly lead thirty thousand infantry and cavalry to surprise T'e's camp. Luo Shang heard of this and also sent the Protector-general T'ien Tso 田佐 to aid Tseng. T'e knew of this in advance and repaired his armor and sharpened his weapons, going on alert in order to await them. When Tseng Yüan and the others arrived T'e lay in peaceful repose, unmoving. Waiting until the troops had half entered he emerged from ambush and attacked them. Casualties were extremely heavy and T'ien Tso, Tseng Yüan and Chang Hsien were killed. Their heads were sent to be shown to Luo Shang and Hsin Jan. Shang said to his staff, "These caltiffs were as good as gone, but Hsin Jan would not listen to me, thereby increasing the bandits' power. Now what are we going to do?"

Thereupon the people of the six commanderies proclaimed T'e their leader. T'e ordered the Inspector of Regiments for the People of the Six Commanderies ( liu-chün-jen pu-ch'ü tu 六郡人部曲督 ) Li Han 李含, the Prefect ( ling 令 ) of Shang-kuei 上邽 Jen Ts'ang 任藏, the Prefect of Shih-ch'ang 始昌 Yen Shih, the Grandee

Remonstrant ( chien-i ta-fu 諫議大夫 ) Li P'an , the  
 Prefect of Ch'en-ts'ang 陳倉 Li Wu 李武 , the Prefect of  
 Yin-p'ing Li Yüan and the Grand Commandant Leading Troops ( chiang-ping t'ai-wei 將兵太尉 ) Yang Pao 楊褒 to submit a  
 memorial nominating T'ie Great General Stabilizing the North  
 ( chen-pei ta-chiang-chün 鎮北大將軍 ), assuming the  
 government and appointing and enfeoffing in accordance with  
 the precedent of Liang T'ung 梁統 serving Tou Jung 竇周<sup>69</sup>  
 and nominating his younger brother Liu General Stabilizing  
 the East ( chen-tung Chiang-chün 鎮東 ) to aid in the  
 pacification and unification. Then T'ie advanced his troops  
 to attack Hsin Jan at Kuang-han.<sup>70</sup> Each time Jan's troops  
 emerged to battle T'ie defeated them. Shang sent Li Pi and  
 Fei Yüan to lead a force to rescue Jan but they feared T'ie  
 and did not dare to advance. His wisdom and strength  
 exhausted Jan fled to Chiang-yang 江陽.<sup>71</sup> T'ie entered and  
 occupied Kuang-han, making Li Ch'ao 李超 Grand  
 Administrator . Advancing, he attacked Shang in Ch'eng-tu.  
 Yen Shih sent Luo Shang a missive reprimanding him for  
 giving credence to slanderers and wishing to attack the  
 migrants and also setting forth T'ie and his brothers  
 achievements on behalf of the dynasty which had pacified  
 the I region. \*[Luo Shang wrote a warning admonishing Yen  
 Shih. Shih replied, "Hsin Jan resorts to all sorts of  
 treachery while Tu Ching 杜景(文) (=Tu T'ao [Ching-wen] ? )  
 explodes like a madman. Tseng Yüan is a mere lackey and  
 T'ien Tso cannot control his blood-lust. Li Shu-p'ing (Li  
 Pi) has talents suitable to administering a court position

but doesn't have the heart to be a military commander. He (they?) might be said capable of bettering Ch'iang tribesmen already beaten into exhaustion but no more. I previously discoursed for you and Tu Ching-wen upon the relative advantages of moving (the migrants) and letting them stay. All men long for their native land and who would be unwilling to go. However when they first took up migrant labor in search for food families were scattered, moreover they encountered torrential rains and when they requested an extension until the winter harvest it was refused. It is no wonder they fight like a cornered deer fighting off a tiger. I only fear that they will be restricted too much and that they will not be willing to meekly stretch forth their necks and await the blade. Having accepted my words it was granted that they would not be dealt with too harshly. Then last Ninth-month they were all assembled and in the tenth month the order to set on the road arrived in the villages. What kind of action is this? Making no reference to the approval already granted, importunate counsels were followed. Now Hsin Jan has fled like a slave and Li Shu-p'ing has absconded. In this process of dissolution and fragmentation the danger will eventually devolve upon yourself. This is what is meant by, "If you don't know to bend the chimney-pipe and move away the firewood you will end up with burnt guests."<sup>72</sup> ]\*(HYKC 8/110.9-13) Reading the letter Shang realized that they were going to have great ambitions so he barricaded himself in Ch'eng-tu and requested help from the two provinces of

Ning and I. Thereupon T'ie proclaimed himself Commissioner Bearing Credentials ( shih ch'ih-chieh 使持節 ), Great inspector-general ( ta tu-tu 大都督 ) and Great General Stabilizing the North<sup>73</sup>, assuming the government and enfeoffing and appointing all in accordance with the precedent of Tou Jung in He-hsi 河西 (Shensi-Kansu). His elder brother Fu became General of Doughty Cavalry ( p'iao-chi Chiang-chün 驃騎將軍 ); his younger brother Hsiang<sup>+</sup> became General of Spirited Cavalry ( hsiao-chi Chiang-chün 驍騎將軍 ); his eldest son Shih<sup>+</sup> 始 became General of Martial Majesty ( wu-wei Chiang-chün 武威 )<sup>74</sup>; his second son Tang 蕩 became General Stabilizing the Army ( chen-chün Chiang-chün 鎮軍 ); his youngest son Hsiung 雄 became General of the Van ( ch'ien Chiang-chün 前 ); Li Han became Colonel of the Western Barbarians 西夷校尉; Han's sons Kuo 國 and Li 離, Jen Hui, Li Kung 李恭, Shang-kuan Ching, Li P'an and Fei T'a became Commanders ( Chiang-shuai 將帥 )<sup>75</sup>; Jen Ts'ang, Shang-kuan Tun 上官惇, Yang Pao, Yang Kui 楊珪, Wang Ta 王達 and Ch'ü Hsin 麴歆 became Retainers ( chua-ya 爪牙 ); Li Yüan, Li Po 李博, Hsi Pin 夕斌, Yen Ch'eng 嚴整, Shang-kuan Ch'i 上官琦, Li T'ao 李濤 and Wang Huai 王懷 became subordinates<sup>76</sup>; Yen Shih became principal advisor ( mou-chu 謀主 ); and He Chü 何巨 and Chao Su became T'ie's close advisers. At the time Luo Shang, being avaricious and cruel, had become the bane of the common folk, while T'ie, for the people of Shu had restricted the law code to three articles, granted amnesties on debts and granted emergency

loans, paid courtesy calls on worthies and given employment to those blocked in their official careers. Both military and civil administrations were strictly disciplined. The common people made up a rhyme that went:

Li T'e is still okay,

Luo Shang does us slay.

Luo Shang was repeatedly defeated by T'e. He then interposed a long wall, erecting palisades along the river from Tu-an 都安<sup>77</sup> to Ch'ien-wei 犍為<sup>78</sup> for over seven hundred li holding T'e at bay. \*[T'e et al garrisoned Kuang-han.

\*[First year of T'ai-an (302). Spring. Luo Shang's Yamen Hsia K'uang 夏匡 assaulted Li T'e at Li-shih 立石, but was unsuccessful.](HYKC 8/110.14-111.1) The King of He-chien 河間 王 Yung 纘 sent the Protector-general Ya Po 衙博 and the Grand Administrator of Kuang-han Chang Cheng to chastise T'e.<sup>79</sup> The Colonel of the Western Barbarians Li I 毅 also sent five thousand troops to aid Luo Shang. Shang sent the Protector-general Chang Kuei to encamp at Fan-ch'eng 繁城<sup>80</sup>, (thereby) attacking T'e from three sides. \*[Ya Po had just sent the Military Advisor Meng Shao 蒙劬 to persuade Li T'e to surrender. Shang sent Po a letter, saying, "Long ago I received Li Liu's missive expressing an earnest desire to surrender."<sup>81</sup> Due to the situation at the time (?)<sup>82</sup> he was able to return to banditry. I have heard the Li T'e places trust in his lower officials while Li Liu and Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> with seven or eight thousand troops daily make incursions against us. Their perfidious treachery is



unfathomably cunning. You must use great care in holding them at bay." Po did not comply with this. ]\*(HYKC 8/111.2-4) T'ie ordered (his sons) Tang and Hsiung to make a surprise attack on Ya Po. T'ie personally struck at Chang Kuei and Kuei's force suffered a great defeat. Tang engaged Ya Po in battle for several consecutive days and as his defeats accumulated Po's dead came to number over half. Tang pursued Po to Han-te 漢德<sup>83</sup>, whence he fled to Chia-meng 葭萌.<sup>84</sup> Tang advanced and plundered Pa-hsi. The Vice-administrator ( ch'eng 丞 ) of Pa-hsi commandery<sup>85</sup> Mao Chih 毛植 and the Five Officials ( wu-kuan 五官 ) Hsiang Chen 襄珍<sup>86</sup> surrendered the commandery to Tang. Tang showed his concern for those who had first attached themselves to him and the common people placed their trust in him. Advancing Tang attacked Chia-meng and Po again fled to a distant place, his troops all surrendering to Tang.<sup>87</sup>

In the first year of the T'ai-an 太安 reign-period (302)<sup>88</sup> Li T'ie proclaimed himself Pastor of I province, Inspector-general of Military Affairs for the Two Provinces of Liang and I ( tu-tu Liang, I erh-chou chu-chün shih 都督梁益二州諸軍事 ), Great General ( ta Chiang-chün 大將軍 ) and Great Inspector-general ( ta tu-tu 大都督 ). Changing the year-period to Chien-ch'u 建初 (Establishing the Beginning) he proclaimed a general amnesty. Then he advanced and attacked Chang Cheng. Occupying a high, strategic position Cheng held off T'ie for a succession of days. At the time T'ie and Tang had separated into two camps. Cheng waited until T'ie's camp was empty and sent

infantry through the mountains to attack him. T'ie was not successful in repelling the attack and, hemmed in by mountain defiles, his troops did not know what to do. Luo Chun 羅準 and Jen Tao 任道 both exhorted T'ie to retreat but T'ie calculated that Tang would certainly arrive and therefore would not permit it. Cheng's troops arrived in increasing numbers and the mountain road was extremely narrow, only allowing one or two people to pass at a time. Tang's force was unable to advance. He said to his Marshal ( ssu-ma 司馬 ) Wang Hsin 王辛, "My father is deep in the midst of the bandits. This is my dying day." Then, donning a second layer of armor and grasping a long lance with a great yell he drove straight ahead. Pushing forward his blade as if intent upon death, he killed more than ten of the enemy. Cheng's troops came to rescue their comrades but Tang's troops were all fighting to the death and Chang Cheng's force consequently scattered. T'ie argued for allowing Cheng to return to Fou 浮.<sup>89</sup> Tang and Wang Hsin entered and said, "Cheng's army has endured successive battles and his troops are wounded and mutilated, both wisdom and courage exhausted. You should take advantage of this fatigue to seize him. If you release him and deal with him liberally he will tend to the wounded and gather those who have fled. When the remnants of his army are re-united it will not be easy to deal with him. T'ie followed this advice and again advanced to attack Chang Cheng. Cheng broke through the encirclement and fled. Tang pursued him by land and water and in the end killed him, taking his son

Ts'un 存 alive and sending him back with Cheng's corpse.

Chien Shih 騫碩 was named Administrator of Te-yang 德陽太守 and conquered territory as far as Tien-chiang 犍江<sup>90</sup> in Pa commandery.

When T'ie was attacking Chang Cheng<sup>91</sup> he sent Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> with Li P'an, Jen Hui, and Li Kung to encamp at P'i-ch'iao 匹橋<sup>92</sup> in order to defend against Luo Shang. Shang sent a force to do battle but Hsiang<sup>+</sup> and company defeated it. Shang again sent several thousand men to fight and Hsiang<sup>+</sup> again trapped and defeated them, capturing a great amount of arms and armor and attacking and burning the gate (of his encampment). Li Liu advanced and encamped north of Ch'eng-tu. Luo Shang sent the Commandant ( chiang 將) Chang Hsing 張興 to pretend to surrender to Hsiang<sup>+</sup> in order to determine Hsiang<sup>+</sup>'s true situation.<sup>93</sup> At the time Hsiang<sup>+</sup>'s force numbered no more than two thousand, and Chang Hsing returned by night to inform Luo Shang of this. Shang sent ten thousand elite troops<sup>94</sup> holding sticks in their mouths (to insure silence) to follow Hsing and surprise Hsiang<sup>+</sup>'s camp by night. Li P'an died fighting to repulse this force and Hsiang<sup>+</sup> with his troops and officers fled to Liu's fortifications. There they combined their force with that of Liu and struck back at Shang's army. Shang's army was set in disorder and defeated and only one or two out of ten returned. The Chin Governor of Liang province Hsü Hsiung 許雄 sent an army to attack T'ie which T'ie defeated. \* [The General of the Western Expedition (King Yung of He-chien) then sent the Overseer of the Army Liu

Ch'en 劉沈 to lead the western expedition. Because there were affairs in the Central States it did not come to a successful conclusion.<sup>95</sup> The Colonel of the Southern Barbarians Li I dispatched Sou troops to aid Luo Shang. His army was often defeated and Li T'e's position grew daily stronger. Second year (303). Spring. First month. First day. ]\*(HYKC 8/111.9-10) Advancing to the attack T'e destroyed Shang's marine force and went on to plunder Ch'eng-tu. The Grand Administrator of Shu commandery Hsü Chien surrendered the small city (of Ch'eng-tu) to T'e. T'e named Li Chin 李瑾<sup>96</sup> Administrator of Shu commandery in order to pacify it. Luo Shang sealed himself within Ch'eng-tu. Liu advanced and camped west of the Yang-tze.<sup>97</sup> Shang was frightened and sent an emissary to sue for peace.

At this time the people of Shu, fearing for their safety, erected village fortifications and requested T'e's commands. T'e sent people to comfort them. \*[Li Hsiung sent a missive remonstrating that T'e should take hostages and not disperse his elite troops. Li Liu also remonstrated to this effect. T'e angrily said, "The great affair is already settled. We should merely pacify the people. Why should we act suspiciously and not stop this siezing and killing?" ]\*(HYKC 8/111.12-13) The Attendant Official of I province Jen Ming 任明<sup>98</sup> advised Luo Shang saying, "Li T'e has not only treacherously rebelled, assaulting and terrorizing the common people. He has also dispersed his followers throughout the many fortified villages. He is arrogant, neglectful and unprepared. This is Heaven destroying him.

You should inform the various villages and, secretly arranging a date, strike him from within and without. You are certain to defeat him."<sup>99</sup> Shang followed this advice. \* [Letting Jen Jui (Ming) down over the city wall with a rope, he sent him to transmit his order to the various villages, arranging to chastise T'e together on the tenth day of the second month (March 14, 303). He personally wrote a secret message, "By the Willow Stream." ]\*(HYKC 8/111.14-112.1) Jen Ming first pretended to surrender to T'e and when T'e asked of the situation within the city he replied, "The rice and grain is already almost exhausted. All that is left is goods and silk." He therefore asked leave to visit and check up on his family. T'e permitted this. Jen Ming secretly persuaded the various villages and all of them accepted his orders. He returned and reported to Shang, who agreed to dispatch his troops at the appointed time. The various villages also agreed to come to meet him at the same time.

Second year (303). Emperor Hui sent the Governor of Ching province, Tsung Tai 宗岱<sup>100</sup>, and the Administrator of Chien-p'ing 建平, Sun Fu 孫阜, to rescue Shang. Sun Fu had already taken up a position in Te-yang and T'e sent Li Tang to lead Li Huang 李璜 to the aid Jen Ts'ang in repelling him. Shang sent a great force to surprise T'e's camp. The battle continued for two days but T'e's force, being smaller, was no match for Shang's and suffered a great defeat. Gathering together and reuniting what remained of his troops he withdrew to Hsin-fan 新繁.<sup>101</sup>

When Shang's force sought to return (to Ch'eng-tu) T'e again pursued them and they battled back and forth over a distance of thirty-odd li . Shang sent forth a huge force to repulse T'e and T'e's army suffered a severe defeat. Li T'e, (his elder brother) Li Fu and Li Yüan were beheaded, their corpses burned and their heads transmitted to Luoyang 洛陽. T'e reigned for two years. When his son Hsiung arrogated to himself the title of King ( wang 王 ) he posthumously canonized T'e as King Ching 景王 . When he usurped the title of emperor he posthumously honored T'e as Emperor Ching, with the temple name Shih-tsu 始祖. 102

Li Liu

Li Liu 李流, sobriquet Hsüan-t'ung 玄通, was Li T'ie's fourth younger brother. He was fond of learning when young and adept at archery and riding. The Colonel of the Eastern Ch'iang ( tung-Ch'iang hsiao-wei 東羌校尉 ) He P'an 何攀, claiming that he had the courage of a Meng Pen 孟賁 or Hsia Yü 夏育<sup>103</sup>, selected Liu to be Commandant of the Eastern Ch'iang ( tung-Ch'iang tu 東羌督 ). When he sought safety in I province the Governor Chao Ch'in esteemed him highly. At the time when Ch'in had Li Hsiang gather together a personal army Liu also summoned the young men from his native region, amassing several thousand. When Hsiang was killed by Ch'in, Liu aided Li T'ie in settling the migrants, defeating Ch'ang Chün at Mien-chu and quelling Chao Ch'in at Ch'eng-tu. When the court assessed their merit they named Liu General Arousing Majesty and enfeoffed him as the Marquis of Wu-yang 武陽.

When Li T'ie assumed the reins of government he appointed Liu General Stabilizing the East. Occupying the eastern camp, he was called Protector-general of the East ( tung-tu-hu 東督護 ). T'ie often put Liu in command of elite troops in order to hold off Luo Shang. When T'ie reduced the small city of Ch'eng-tu<sup>104</sup> he ordered the migrants of the six commanderies to divide and enter the city through different entrances while the strong and brave among them were sent to command the fortified villages. Liu said to T'ie, "Your Excellency possesses a miraculous martial talent and has already conquered the small city, however the

produce of the outlying regions has not yet been collected and our arms and foodstores are not plentiful. You should take the sons and younger brothers of the great clans of the province and commanderies as hostages and, sending them to Kuang-han, hold them in two camps, then gathering together some crack troops, establish strict defenses." He also wrote a letter to T'ie's Marshal Shang-kuan Tun expounding at length on the proposition that surrender should be accepted as if entertaining one's enemy. T'ie would not accept this advice.

After T'ie had died most of the people of Shu rebelled and the migrants were very frightened. \*[Li Hsiung named Li Li 李離 the Grand Administrator of Tzu-t'ung .<sup>105</sup>]\*(HYKC 8/112.3) Liu and his nephews Tang and Hsiung collected their remaining forces and returned to Ch'ih-tsu 赤祖.<sup>106</sup> Liu guarded the eastern camp while Tang and Hsiung guarded the northern one. Liu proclaimed himself Great General, Great Inspector-general and Pastor of I province.

At the time Tsung Tai and a marine force of thirty thousand was encamped at Tien-chiang. Sun Fu, in the van, reduced Te-yang capturing the protecting general T'ie had appointed, Chien Shih, while the Administrator Jen Ts'ang and company retreated to Fou-ling Prefecture 涪陵縣.<sup>107</sup> \*[Third month.]\* Luo Shang sent the Protector-general Ch'ang Shen 常深 to encamp at P'i-ch'iao and the Guards of the Ivory Gate Tso Fan 左記, Huang Hung 黃旬 and He Ch'ung 何冲 to attack the northern camp from three sides.<sup>108</sup> \*[The Ti and Ch'iang tribesmen within the encampment ,



led by Fu Ch'eng , Wei Po and Shih Ting 石定 , rose in rebellion in response to Tso Fan and Huang Yin, (Hung) attacking Li Tang and Li Hsiung. Li Tang's mother Madame Luo donned armor and attacked their ranks. Wei Po wounded Madame Luo with his own hands. Although wounded in the eye her fighting spirit grew more ardent. At the time Fu Ch'eng and Wei Po had been fighting within the encampment while Tso Fan and Huang Yin had been assaulting its exterior from morning until midday. The encampment was about to be reduced. Just then Li Liu, having defeated Ch'ang Shen, and Li Tang and Li Hsiung, having defeated Yao Shen, returned and, meeting with Tso Fan and Huang Yin, inflicted a severe defeat upon them. ]\*(HYKC 8/112.7-9) Liu personally led Tang and Hsiung in an attack upon Ch'ang Shen's fortifications. Overwhelmed, Shen's troops scattered like stars. They pursued them to Ch'eng-tu where Luo Shang shut himself up behind the gates. While galloping in pursuit Tang ran into a lance implanted in the ground at an angle<sup>109</sup> and was mortally wounded. \*[Madame Luo and Li Hsiung concealed this fact and observed no mourning in order to quiet the hearts of the troops. ]\*(HYKC 8/112.9-10) Since Li T'ie and Li Tang had both died while Tsung Tai and Sun Fu had arrived again Li Liu was very frightened. Moreover the Administrator Li Han urged Liu to surrender and Liu was about to follow his advice. Li Hsiung and Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> remonstrated in succession but Liu would not accept their advice. He sent his son Shih<sup>++</sup> 世 and Li Han's son Hu 胡 as hostages to Fu's camp. Li Hu's elder brother, Li Han's son Li, hearing that his

father wished to surrender returned at a gallop from Tzu-t'ung wishing to remonstrate, but did not arrive in time. He withdrew and plotted with Li Hsiung to surprise Sun Fu's camp, saying "If we succeed I agree to alternate every three years with you as ruler." <sup>110</sup> Hsiung said, "We can decide our plans now but if the two old men do not agree what will we do?" Li replied, "We should take care of them now and if we cannot control them then we should carry out the big plan (seize power). Although the old gentleman is your uncle the situation leaves us no choice. My father will be under your command, what more can he say?" \*[Li Hsiung then spoke to the men of the six commanderies, inciting them with recitations of Luo Shang's incursions against them, frightening them with the prospect of sharing together the calamities which had befallen the people of Shu and setting forth that it was the proper time to become rich and famous by attacking Sun Fu. Thus he was able to defeat Sun Fu. The members of Sun Fu's army who were killed were extremely numerous, while Tsung Tai died of illness. The army of Ching province withdrew.]\*(HYKC 8/112.12-14) Hsiung was very pleased and attacked Luo Shang's encampment. \*[Ashamed of his own shortcomings Li Liu entrusted military affairs to Li Hsiung. Hsiung repeatedly defeated Shang.]\*(HYKC 8/112.14) Shang took refuge in the larger city (of Ch'eng-tu). Hsiung forded the (Yang-tze) river and killed the Administrator of Min-shan Ch'en T'u 陳圖, thereby entering the walled city of P'i 郪城. <sup>111</sup> Liu moved his encampment and occupied it. The populace of

the three Shu all were defending themselves in strategic places and constructing fortifications, leaving the cities all empty. Li Liu could capture nothing from the countryside and his troops were starving and distressed. Fan Ch'ang-sheng, a man of Fou-ling 涪陵人 范長生, had led over a thousand families to live on Ch'ing-ch'eng shan 青城山.<sup>112</sup> Shang's Military Advisor ( ts'an-chün 參軍 ) Hsü Yü 徐與 of Fou-ling requested to be made Administrator of Min-shan, wishing to enlist the aid of Fan Ch'eng-sheng and attack Liu on two fronts. Shang would not permit this and Hsü Yü resented it. He asked to be sent west of the (Yang-tze) River and subsequently surrendered to Li Liu.<sup>113</sup> He persuaded Fan Ch'ang-sheng to supply Liu's army with foodstores. Thus Liu's army was again in a state to inspire fear.

Liu had always esteemed Li Hsiung as having the virtue of an elder and always said, "The one who will raise our house is certainly this man.", ordering his sons to honor and serve him. When Liu's illness became critical he said to his various military leaders, "The General of Doughty Cavalry (Li Hsiang<sup>†</sup>) is lofty and benevolent and in his knowledge and decisions has many stratagems. He is certainly capable of carrying out great affairs. However the General of the Van (Li Hsiung) is brave and martial and seems to be the choice of Heaven. You should all take orders from the General of the Van and make him King of Ch'eng-tu." He then died. At the time he was fifty-five years of age. The various generals joined in elevating

Hsiung to leader. When Hsiung usurped the imperial title he posthumously honored Liu with the title King Wen of Ch'in 秦文王.

Li Hsiang

Li Hsiang 李序, sobriquet Hsüan-hsü 玄序, was Li T'e's third younger brother. When young he was known for his ardent spirit. He served at the commandery level as Investigator ( tu-yu 督郵 ) and Master of Records ( chu-pu 主簿 ); in both cases he was commended for being appropriate for the position. In the fourth year of the Yüan-k'ang 元康 reign period (294) he was named Filial and Pure ( hsiao-lien 孝廉 )<sup>114</sup> but did not respond to the summons. Later because he was adept at riding and archery he was recommended to be Worthy Commandant ( liang-chiang 良將 ) but again did not go (to fill the position). Because his talents encompassed both civil and military virtues the province recommended him as Accomplished Prodigy ( hsiu-i 秀異 ) but he steadfastly refused on pretext of illness. The province and commandery would not listen to him and sent up his name the Army Protector of the Middle ( chung hu-chün 中護軍 ) insistently summoned him. He had no choice but to respond to this and was made Inspector of Cavalry for the Middle Army ( chung-chün tu-chi 中軍督馬 ). He was adroit and nimble with bow and horse, possessing above-average physical strength, and people of his day compared him to Wen Ang 文鶯.<sup>115</sup>

Because Luo-yang was in a state of disorder he left his position citing illness. He was by nature chivalrous and liked to aid those in difficulty. Men of his native place vied to ally themselves to him. When he sought refuge in Liang and I provinces together with the migrants from

the six commanderies if he met one who was starving or ill on the road Hsiang would invariably protect and nurture them and give them succor, distributing bounty to the impoverished. Thus he won the hearts of the masses. When he arrived in Shu Chao Ch'in esteemed him highly and in discussing military tactics with him would always praise his views. Chao Ch'in would often say to his intimates, "Li Hsüan- hsü is the Kuan Yü 關羽 or Chang Fei 張飛 of today." <sup>116</sup> When Ch'in was about to turn to treason he entrusted Hsiang with a position of utmost intimacy. He then memorialized naming Hsiang Inspector of Regiments ( pu-ch'ü tu 部曲督 ) and caused him to gather together the strong and brave men from the six commanderies , amassing over ten thousand. In recognition of his achievement in suppressing the rebellion of the Ch'iang 羌 <sup>117</sup> Ch'in memorialized that he be made General Intimidating Bandits, be permitted use of a red banner and curved canopy <sup>118</sup>, be enfeoffed as Marquis of Yang-ch'üan-t'ing 陽泉亭 and be presented with one million cash and fifty horses. On the day that he was executed none of the men of the six commanderies failed to shed tears for him. He was at the time fifty-four.

CHAPTER 120 NOTES

1      Tang-ch'ü was located seventy li northeast of modern Ch'ü 渠 according to Ku Tsu-yü, Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao 68/2953 while Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta tz'u-tien (hereafter referred to as Ti-ming) 449.1 does not give an exact distance. I follow Ku Tsu-yü 68/2919 in placing the administrative center of Pa-hsi commandery twenty li east of modern Lang-chung 蘭中. Ti-ming 148.3 and Morohashi 8745.60 would locate it to the west of Lang-chung and since Lang-chung is on the eastern bank of the Chia-ling river this would necessitate placing it on the western bank of the river. However the name Lang-chung, already in use at this time, would seem to refer to the Chia-ling River or Lang Chiang 蘭江 as it is also named which surrounds present Lang-chung on three sides and hence could not have referred to a place west of the river.

Hua-yang Kuo-chih (hereafter abbreviated HYKC) 9/119.1 says that T'ie hailed from Lin-wei in Lüeh-yang commandery but that his ancestors were Tsung people from Tang-ch'ü in Pa-hsi. Lin-wei was eighty li southeast of Ch'in-an prefecture in Kansu and was the administrative center of Lüeh-yang commandery. See Ku Tsu-yü 59/2596, Ti-ming 840.1 and 1293.1.

2      The name Lin Chün means literally 'Lord of the Granaries', a rather peculiar name for the legendary founder of a group of people, especially one which relied

so heavily upon hunting and fishing as opposed to agriculture. It may represent a non-Chinese word. The text to this point is identical with the Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu (hereafter abbreviated SKCC) quoted in T'ai-p'ing yü-lan (hereafter referred to as TPYL) 123/5a. TPYL does not quote the story concerning Lin Chün.

3 See the section on the Pa people for a discussion of the location of this mountain and variant forms of its name.

4 Hou Han Shu 86/2840 has 暉, which the commentary states is read shen. TPYL 37/5b quoting the Shih Pen reads Hui 暉.

5 HHS and TPYL (cited above) agree in reading Hsiang for Po.

6 HHS reads, "They did not yet have a ruler and all served ghosts and spirits." The text here follows, with minor changes, the Shih Pen as quoted in TPYL 37.

7 The modern Ch'ing Chiang 清江 of southwestern Hupei. See above, p.15-16.

8 Perhaps to be identified with the Yen-shui 鹽水 prefecture established under the Northern Chou, located forty li east of modern Shih-nan 施南. See above, p. PAGE.



9 Translation uncertain. HHS says only, "Lin Chün refused."

10 HHS reads "the myriad insects".

11 HHS says 'over ten days' while the subcommentary in Hou Han Shu chi-chieh (hereafter cited as HHSCC) 86/9a-b quotes Hui Tung who cites the Shih Pen as reading 'seven days and seven nights'. It is unknown what Hui Tung's source was as the original Shih Pen was lost about a thousand years ago and this passage is not quoted in any source that I am familiar with. See above, p. PAGE.

12 The subcommentary to the HHS cites the Shui Ching chu and the Ching-chou chi 荊州記 of Sheng Hung-chih 盛弘之 speaking of a mountain cave containing a yang 陽 stone and a yin stone. Sheng surmises that this is the stone which Lin Chün stood upon in shooting the water spirit. Thus it would seem that the version he knew read yang 陽 for tang 𤑔 (variegated). However, descriptions of this place do not accord well with events in our tale and I believe this identification is incorrect.

13 This portion concerning the gift of a green thread follows with minor variations the Shih Pen as quoted in the commentary to the HHS account. The HHS says only, "Lin Chün waited for his opportunity and shot and killed her."

(adopting the emendation of ssu 忍 to ssu 伺 after Hui Tung, HHSCC 86/5b).

14 It is also possible that this place is to be identified with the Yen-shui mentioned in note 8 above. This reference to I-ch'eng seems anachronistic since presumably the city which Lin Chün goes on to erect is this I-ch'eng of 'Barbarian City'.

15 The Li Hsien 李賢 commentary to the HHS states that the preceding is also found in the Shih Pen. HHS includes all of the preceding except the events surrounding the founding of I-ch'eng. It continues, "When the Lin Chün dies his soul has become a white tiger for generation after generation. Because the Pa clan believes that tigers drink men's blood they sacrifice men to him."

16 Shih Chi 5/313 records the taking of Ch'ien-chung commandery by Ssu-ma Ts'o 司馬錯 in the twenty-seventh year of King Chao-hsiang's reign (280 B.C.), while the chapter on Southwestern Barbarians says that Ch'in took Ch'u's Pa and Ch'ien-chung (SC 116/2993). Ch'ien-chung commandery was administered at the walled city of Ch'ien-chung twenty li west of Yüan-ling 沅陵 in Hunan and controlled northeastern Hunan and parts of Kueichow and Hupei. It is not inconceivable that a city on the mid-reaches of the Ch'ing Chiang, where we would place the sites mentioned in the Lin Chün myth, would fall within the administrative sphere of

Ch'ien-chung commandery however the region normally associated with Pa, i.e. eastern Szechwan, would almost certainly have been administered from within Szechwan. Hou Han Shu 86/2841 says that King Hui of Ch'in (337-311) unified Pa-chung 巴中. One would be tempted to conclude that our Ch'ien-chung is a mistake for Pa-chung, however SKCC, quoted in TPYL 123/5a, offers a much closer parallel to our text in this section and it reads Ch'ien-chung.

17 Wei Shu 96/2110 reads 'thirty cash'. HHS 86/2842 mentions a tax of forty cash in connection with the Pan-shun Man under the Han dynasty, where it is one of the rewards given by Han Kao-tsu in return for the aid of the Pan Shun Man in pacifying the Shensi region. In the section dealing with the Man of Pa and Nan commanderies the same work (86/2841) speaks of their leaders yearly paying a tax or tribute of two thousand sixteen cash, and a 'loyalty tribute' of one thousand eight hundred cash every three years while each household paid eighty-two feet ( ch'ih 尺 ) of cloth and thirty hou 銖 of chicken feathers (the commentary says this equals one hundred forty-nine, presumably feathers) yearly.

18 Lū Ssu-mien has attacked this explanation of the origin of the term tsung. See above, n. 10 of the introductory material.

19 Feng was a city within P'ei prefecture, east of

modern P'ei in Chiangsu ( Ti-ming 408.1). Han Kao-tsu first raised troops in this region and he exempted its inhabitants from taxes after unifying the empire.

20 The Shih-liu kuo ch'un-ch'iu , quoted in TPYL 123/5a reads, "The earth possesses the benefits of salt and lacquer and the people thereby prosper." HYKC 1/2.3-4 gives a more extensive list of local products.

21 Yü is another name for the Chia-ling river. The SKCC continues, "Their descendants became numerous and divided into several tens of clans." (TPYL 123/5a). HYKC 1/4.2 parallels this passage, but includes the following declaration by Kao-tsu, "This is the song sung when King Wu attacked Chou, the last Shang ruler." See HHS 86/2842.

22 Southeastern Shensi. The commandery of this name was administered at Nan-cheng 南鄭, two li east of the modern Nan-cheng in Shensi. Ti-ming 1102.3. HHS 86/2843 records an uprising of the Pan Shun Man in support of a group of Yellow Turbans in Pa commandery in 188.

23 There is a Yang Chü mentioned in HYKC 9/119.6 as one of the men who moved to Lüeh-yang with Li T'e's grandfather Hu after Ts'ao Ts'ao conquered Han-chung. This seems a more likely origin for the appellation Yang Chü Pa. I have not been able to find any reference to a place Yang Chü.

24 HYKC 9/119.5 and TPYL 123/5a agree that the name of T'ie's grandfather was Hu 虎. Li Hsiung's biography (CS 121/3036.6) gives this name as Wu 武 since Hu was tabooed in the T'ang. See CS 121/3050, n.2.

25 A commandery of Ch'in province administered at Lin-wei prefecture. See above, n.1.

26 It has been suggested that Pa Ti 巴氏 is a mistake for Pa shih 巴氏 or the Pa clan. Shih and ti are very easily confused graphically. SKCC (TPYL 123/5a) and HYKC 9/119.6 both read Pa jen 巴人 or 'Pa people' and both the HHS and CS accounts of the Lin Chün myth make frequent reference to Pa shih. The Chin Shu editors (120/3032.4), pointing out that the Pa people are not Ti, accept this alternate reading. However, the term Ti may have been applied more generally to all non-Chinese peoples in a region where the Ti predominated and the term Pa Ti occurs again at HYKC 8/115.8. I see no compelling reason to choose one reading over the other, but what must be taken note of is that this passage, however read, does not indicate that the Pa people are Ti.

27 Cf. HYKC 9/119.3. SKCC reads the same with minor variations and continues, "Mu altogether had five sons: Fu, T'ie, Hsiang, Liu and Hsiang<sup>+</sup>." (TPYL 123/5a).

28 By modern measurement approximately 6 feet 4 inches.

This measurement and those below are based upon Wu Ch'eng-luo (1937). It is not unlikely that there is an element of exaggeration involved.

29 HYKC 8/106.11-12 places this rebellion in 298 and specifies that it is the Ti of the Kuan-chung (Shensi) region and the Ma-lan 馬蘭 Ch'iang who had rebelled. SKCC reads, "The Ti Ch'i Wan-nien disturbed and threw into disorder the commanderies of T'ien-shui 天水, Lüeh-yang, Fu-feng 扶風 and Shih-p'ing 始平." (TPYL 123/5b).

30 This is another name for Han-chung. Its use here is perhaps anachronistic, as the name of Han-chung commandery was changed to Han-ch'uan only in the Sui, however it is obviously derived from the Han River which flows through the region and the name may have been in popular usage before its official adoption under the Sui. Ti-ming 1102.2.

31 This pass is located to the north of modern Chien-ke prefecture in northern Szechwan. Ti-ming 1149.2.

32 Liu Ch'an was the last ruler of the Shu Han regime established by Liu Pei. His surrender to Teng Ai is recorded in San Kuo Chih 33/900.

33 SKCC reads Yen Yü 閼或 (TPYL 123/5b). His name is consistently given as Yen Shih in HYKC and the Chin Shu.

34 HYKC 8/106.12 also mentions He Chü 何車, Li Yüan 李遠 and the Ti-Sou and Ch'ing-Sou 青叟 as members of the company. The preceding paragraph is closely paralleled in SKCC, as quoted in TPYL 123.

35 HYKC 8/106.14 gives Li Pi's office as Attendant Official of the Office of Civil Affairs ( hu-tsao ts'ung-shih 戶曹從事 ).

36 HYKC 8/106.12-14 provides the only extant parallel for this paragraph and it makes no mention of the bribe. I and Liang provinces administered the region of Szechwan and southeastern Shensi. The administrative center of Liang province was Nan-cheng (see above, n. 19) while I province was administered at Ch'eng-tu.

37 CS 9/97.1 reads Keng Sheng 耿勝 for T'eng. TCIC 83/2647 follows the reading of 'T'eng'. Sheng is a simple graphic confusion for this character.

38 Liu Pei established the Shu Han regime which survived in Szechwan for over sixty years.

At this point the HYKC (8/107.5-6) contains the following lines not found in the Chin Shu : "In the beginning, because the Yellow Frognistication of the Stars of Master Chao ( Chao hsing huang chan 趙星黃占 ) said, 'He whose star is yellow shall be king.' Chao Ch'in secretly harbored plans to revolt. The land of Shu is surrounded on

four sides by mountain and one can establish oneself safely there." The interpretation of this prognostication is unclear.

39 HYKC 8/107.7-8 has a fuller version: "'The migrants are hardened and tough while the people of Shu are cowardly and weak. Guest and host cannot benefit each other. They should be returned to their original location. Otherwise they can be allowed the mountainous region of the three eastern commanderies so that we may observe their situation. Small beginnings must not be allowed to grow. The disasters of Ch'in and Yung will be moved to Liang and I provinces.' He also stated that, 'The granaries and storehouses are exhausted and there is nothing with which to meet the exigencies of an attack. This will certainly increase the dynasty's worries in the west.'" The 'disasters of Ch'in and Yung provinces' referred to are of course the disorders attendant upon Ch'i Wan-nien's rebellion which had driven the migrants from this region into Szechwan originally.

40 Chiang-yüan was located ten li east of modern Chungking. Ti-ming 327.2.

41 The Chin Shu Annals record this event under the twelfth month of the first year of Yung-k'ang \*\*\*\*CHECK (early 301) and explicitly implicates Li Hsiang as well as Chao Ch'in. It further mentions that the Grand



Administrator of Ch'ien-wei Li Mi 李密, the Grand Administrator of Min-shan Huo Ku 霍固 and the Colonel of the Western Barbarians Ch'en Tsung 陳總 were also killed. (CS 4/97.1-2) HYKC 8/107.14-108.4 describes Chao Ch'in's defeat and killing of Ch'en Tsung.

42 HYKC here originally read Chang Wei 微, as does CS 4/99. HYKC 194.12 and 195.2 agree with all instances in the Tsai-chi in reading Cheng. See also CS 120/3030 n.11.

43 The Chin Shu text originally read Shang-kuan Tun 上官惛. I have followed the Chin Shu editors and HYKC 8/108.7. See CS 120/3032 n.6.

44 HYKC 8/108.8 reads T'a 他 for T'a 佗.

45 According to HYKC 8/108.6 previous to this appointment Hsiang held the position of Grand Administrator of Ch'ien-wei.

46 HYKC follows this description of Hsiang's effective control of his troops with the statement, "Hsiang's subordinates were undisciplined and unruly and Ch'in and the others were worried about them." (8/108.9) This seems somewhat contradictory and the latter statement may reflect Ch'in's justification of his own act.

47 Tso Chuan (Harvard-Yenching Index ed.) 376/Chao

11/4, James Legge, The Chinese Classics V, p.635.

48 See Tso Chuen 220/Ch'eng 4/7, which Legge (p.355) translates, "The work of the historiography Yih says, 'If he is not of our kin, he is sure to have a different mind.'" "

49 This is a reference to Lun Yü (H-Y Index ed.) 7/3/8. Pu Shang was a disciple of Confucius, more commonly known as Tzu-hsia. Cf. Legge I, p.157.

50 Yung is the name of a state which existed in the Han-chung region during the Chou. Shu refers to Szechwan.

51 HYKC 8/108.9 says that Chao Ch'in executed Hsiang and over ten others, including his elder brother's son Hung 弘. Only Li Fu and T'e were older than Hsiang, and T'e had only three natural sons, Shih, Tang and Hsiung, therefore this must have been Li Fu's son.

HYKC 8/108 roughly parallels the Chin Shu in this section, but omits Chao Ch'in's conversation with Tu Shu and Chang Ts'an as well as his encounter with Li Hsiang. TCTC 84/2653 follows the Chin Ch'un-ch'iu 晉春秋 in placing this event in early 301. HYKC 8/108 implicitly places it in the winter of 300.

52 HYKC 8/108.11 has, "Both these men (presumably referring to Tu Shu and Chang Ts'an) were Chao Chin's

intimate advisers."

53 Mien-chu was thirty-five li north of modern Te-yang in Szechwan. Aoyama Sadao 620b. Ti-ming 1189.1.

54 HYKC 8/108.12 reads 'over seven hundred'. TCTC 84/1654 follows the Chin Shu .

55 HYKC 8/108.13 reads, "The people within the city walls were terrified."

56 HYKC 8/108.13 lists also the Palace Squire Ch'ang Mei 常美 and Fei Yüan.

57 Most editions of the Chin Shu read 'Yüan Chih '. The Chin Shu editors have emended to Ch'ia primarily on the basis of Hua-yang Kuo-chih 8/109.2, where his office is given as Prefect of Hsiang-tu 相都. HYKC also mentions a Hsi Ni who was also killed. See CS 120/3030, n.8.

58 CS originally read 'Governor of Liang 涼 province'. I follow the CS editors (120/3033, n.9) in emending on the basis of HYKC 8/109.2 and Shang's CS biography, CS 57/1552.12.

59 HYKC 8/109.4-6 reads, "He (Shang) was supplied with one thousand 'tally-protecting' ( wei-chieh 衛節) troops, the two thousand troops of Liang province and was also

assigned the one thousand five hundred volunteer troops of the Territorial Commandant of Shang-yung 上庸, altogether four thousand five hundred men. The Grand Administrator of Tzu-t'ung Hsü Chien of Yüeh-ling was named General Promoting Ardency for Shu commandery while Hsin Jan of Lung-hsi became Grand Administrator of Kuang-han. Luo Shang memorialized again, requesting that the Yamen Commandant Wang Tun and his seven thousand troops enter Shu." Thus it would seem that Luo Shang had a total of eleven thousand five hundred men under his command rather than just the seven thousand mentioned here. CS here follows SKCC (TPYL 123/6a).

60 HYKC 8/109.7 records only a speech by Wang Tun and makes no mention of Hsin Jan in this connection. This speech is partially indecipherable due to textual problems and I will not translate it here. 8/109.8 records that Wang Tun was killed shortly after this, in the third month of 301, in a campaign to suppress a rebellion by the Ch'iang of Min-shan.

61 HYKC 8/109.7-8 interjects Hsin Jan's summons out of rotation to return to the capital before the encounter between Li T'ie and Hsin Jan. In the Chin Shu this summons is recorded somewhat later, at CS 3025.7.

62 Cf. Shu Ching ( Shih-san ching chu-shu ed.) 8/21a, which Legge III, p. 207 translates, "Calamities sent from

Heaven may be avoided, but from calamities brought on by one's-self there is no escape."

63 HYKC 8/109.14-110.1 reads, "Hsin Jan and Li Pi again informed Luo Shang that previously, during the time of Chao Ch'in's disorders the migrants had wrongfully siezed many goods and that he should take advantage of their move to erect barriers in order to confiscate these goods.

64 The order of events in the Chin Shu text is somewhat confused. HYKC 8/110.1-2 gives the seventh and eighth month as the dates when the barriers mentioned above were established. Thus this request for an extension until fall must have been made before this time. Perhaps this passage refers to the request for a further extension until winter mentioned in the HYKC quotation above.

65 Ku Tsu-yü 67/2894 places Mien-chu thirty-five li north of modern Te-yang in northern Szechwan. Cf. Ti-ming 1189.1.

66 It is unclear whether this should be taken as two distinct ethnic groups or whether Sou is here a generic term for non-Chinese. HYKC 2/23.1 and 23.12 refer to individual people as Ti-Sou, which suggests that Sou parallels I 夷 in usage in that it is often appended to the names of minority groups without any change in sense.

HYKC 8/110.3 continues after the wanted poster in the

following manner, "The migrants originally had no intention of leaving and now all were alarmed and fled to T'e."

67 HYKC 8/110.2-3 places this event in the eighth month of 301. The last sentence there reads, "Shu will fall into disorder."

68 During the disorders preceding the foundation of the Latter Han a group of local officials in the Shensi-Kansu region gathered together and elected one of their number, Tou Jung, to act as temporary leader with the title of Great General until an effective central government was re-established. See HHS 23/796-7 and 34/1165. HYKC 8/110 records the assumption of these offices and also T'e's assumption of the title Pastor of I province in the tenth month of 301, but makes mention of the Tou Jung story only after the capture of Kuang-han.

69 Kuang-han was a commandery administered at Kuang-han prefecture. Modern Sui-ning 遂寧 in Szechwan. Ti-ming 1158.4.

70 Modern Lu prefecture in Szechwan. Ti-ming 328.2. HYKC 8/110.8 says that Jan fled to Te-yang, southeast of modern Sui-ning. This seems more probable.

71 This biography of Huo Kuang records the story of a man who was warned to make these changes and did not and

consequently nearly lost his home to fire. The moral is to use foresight and thereby avert disaster. HS 68/2958. I read t'ü 突 for chiu 究 based on the Han Shu reading.

72 HYKC 8/110.4 does not mention the offices of Commissioner Bearing Credentials and Great Inspector-general. Moreover, it places all of these appointments in the tenth month, before the attack upon Kuang-han.

73 HYKC makes no mention of Li Shih. On the contrary Li Tang is described as T'e's eldest son.

74 HYKC reads 'Generals'.

75 In HYKC Li Yüan, Li Po and Hsi Pin are included in the preceding group, which is labelled 'advisers' ( ts'an-tso 參佐), while Yen Ch'eng, Shang-kuan Ch'i, Li T'ao and Wang Huai are omitted.

76 In HYKC Yen Shih, He Chü and Chao Su are all referred to as 'followers' ( pin-ts'ung 賓從). (8/110.4-6)

77 In the vicinity of Kuan 灌 prefecture. Ku Tsu-yü 67/2873 would locate it twenty li east of Kuan whereas Ti-ming 948.2 says ten li.

78 Ten li east of P'eng-shan 彭山 in Szechwan. ( Ti-ming 1036.4). Seven hundred li seems a bit of an exaggeration

for this distance.

79 HYKC 8/111.1 says that Ya Po encamped at Tzu-t'ung. It also states that Chang Cheng's appointment was in fact a reappointment to a position he had previously held and that he was occupying Te-yang.

80 The walled city of Fan was located to the northeast of modern Hsin Fan. Its name was changed to Hsin Fan only under the Northern Chou, however the city is sometimes referred to by this name anachronistically in the Chin Shu. Ti-ming 1287.2.

81 I have been unable to find any reference to a letter from Li Liu to Luo Shang. Moreover, at this time Li Liu was not in command of the migrants. There may be some confusion with events surrounding Li Liu's surrender after Li T'e's death. See below, CS 120/3030.

82 Interpretation uncertain.

83 Ku Tsu-yü 68/2924-5 lists a Chin-shou 晉壽 east of Kuang-yüan 廣元 and a city of Chia-meng to the northwest. This place was called Chia-meng originally. The name was changed to Han-shou under Shu Han and the Chin-shou under the Chin. Under Ch'eng-Han it reverted to its original name of Chia-meng until the region was reincorporated into the Chin realm. Ti-ming 1058.3 gives a location fifty li



southeast of Chao-hua which can probably be identified with the location given for Chin-shou. Ushioda Fukizō, "Kandai Seinan Shina no Rekishichiri ", p.24 locates the city in the Han at modern Chao-hua.

84 Northeast of modern Chien-ke, Szechwan. Ti-ming 1105.2.

85 The commentary to HYKC 8/111.4 states that the text 'Pa-hsi' is an error for Tzu-t'ung through confusion with its occurrence above.

86 HYKC reads Hsiang Pan 到平. (8/11.5) It also says that the Grand Administrator of Tzu-t'ung Chang Yen 張演 had fled before their surrender.

87 HYKC 8/111.5-7: "Ya Po's talents encompassed both the civil and military. He was esteemed by the Great General of the Western Expedition (King Yung). When he was first Grand Administrator of Yin-p'ing he was removed from office by the Attendant Official Mao Fu 毛扶 of Pa commandery. For this reason Ya Po had a grudge against the men of Liang province. At the time of the western expedition the General of the Western Expedition Hsü Hsiung had the task of defending Yang-mien. When the enemy had not yet arrived he heard the call of a crane and retreated. Ya Po wished to place the blame on (the Governor of) Liang province, accusing him of not furnishing supplies. The Attendant

Official at Headquarters of Liang province memorialized this affair and Po thereby was indicted. The central government then named Hsü Hsiung to the post of Governor of Liang province." HYKC then continues with the expedition of Liu Ch'en recorded below, following CS 120/3028.11.

88 SKCC, quoted in TPYL 123/6a and TCTC 86/2677 place T'e's assumption of these posts and changing of the reign title in the first month of 303. The dating here may be a confusion with T'e's assumption of the title Great General in the fifth month of 302 recorded in CS 4/99. See CS 120/3033, n.12.

89 Modern Mien-yang in Szechwan. Ti-ming 820.3.

90 HYKC 8/111.7 records this under the eighth month of 303.

91 Ten li south of Hsin-tu 新都 prefecture. Ti-ming 636.1.

92 Modern He-ch'uan 合川 in Szechwan. Ti-ming 1084.1. The Hu San-hsing commentary to TCTC 84/2679 says that tien 墊 here should be read tieh. Both readings are listed as place names in Pa in the Kuang-yün. See Shih-yün hui-pien p.254 and 311.

93 HYKC 8/111.8 reads 'in order to reconnoiter his

troops'.

94 HYKC reads 'Sou troops' and gives no number. (ibid.)

95 CS 89/2306, Liu Ch'en's biography, puts these events in different light. Ch'en was dispatched to attack Li Liu by the central government, however he was detained on the way by King Yung of He-chien, who wished to recruit him into his service. When an imperial rescript specifically commanded Ch'en to proceed on to Szechwan Yung siezed his troops.

96 TCTC 85/2678 reads Li Huang 李璜 and this is also the reading followed below, CS 120/3029.3 and 121/3036.5. Li Chin is not mentioned elsewhere and the two characters are easily confused due to graphic similarity. See CS 120/3034, n.14.

97 HYKC 8/111.11 gives the location of his encampment as Chien-shang 儼上. I have been unable to locate this place.

98 HYKC 8/111.13 gives this name as Jen Jui 任叡 while the Chin Shu biography of Luo Shang (57/1553) reads Jen Jui 錢. TCTC 85/2678 follows the HYKC reading. See CS 120/3034, n. 15.

99 SKCC contains this speech by Jen Ming, then continues with T'e's defeat and death. TPYL 123/6a-b.

100 Here I follow CS 43/1241.12, 57/1553.3 and 60/1634.3 in reading Tsung 宗 for Sung 宋. See CS 4/112. n.22.

101 A later name for Fan-ch'eng. See above, n. 71.

102 HYKC 8/112.3 states that Luo Shang did not pursue this victory, sending only a mobile brigade against Li Tang. TCTC 85/2677-8 places Li T'e's capture of Ch'eng-tu in the first month of 303 and his death in the second. However the uprising against T'e did not occur until the third month.

103 Both of these men were renowned for their courage. They lived during the Warring States period and were frequently cited as examples of courageous men by later writers. Meng Pen is said to have been unafraid of crocodiles, rhinoceroses and tigers while Hsia Yü is said to have frightened three armies by his voice alone. See the commentary to Shih Chi 79/2407, 101/2739, Wen-hsüan ( Liu-ch'ien ed.) 8/24b and Chan-kuo ts'ie ( Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu ed.) I, 5/47.

104 There were two walled cities of Ch'eng-tu. The smaller was the capital of Shu commandery while the larger was the capital of I province.

105 A commandery administered at modern Tzu-t'ung. Ti-

ming 818.2.

106 Ch'ih-tsu was northeast of modern Mien-chu. Ku Tsu-yü 67/2894.

107 Modern P'eng-shui 彭水 prefecture in Szechwan. Ti-ming 820.2. HYKC 8/112.5 reads Fou(-ch'eng) and geographically this is more likely.

108 HYKC 8/112.5 mentions Chang Kuei in place of Huang Hung. When Huang is later mentioned (112.7) his first name is written , read yin .

109 The interpretation of this phrase ' i\_mao ' 倚矛 is uncertain. It may refer to a lance placed in the earth at an angle to gut approaching horsemen. HYKC 8/112.9 reads 'a Sou (barbarian) long lance'.

110 No further mention is made of this pact. R.A. Stein cites this as an example of Taoist ideals of equalitarianism. See T'oung Pao 50 (1963), p.34. Specifically he states that it resembles the practices attributed to Ta Ch'in 大秦 and found among the aborigines. Ta Ch'in, in turn, he believes is a projection of the Taoist vision of utopia.

111 North of modern P'i in Szechwan. Ti-ming 859.3. HYKC 8/113.3-4 places the death of Ch'en T'u in the sixth month

and the capture of P'i in the seventh month of 303.

112 Fifty li southeast of Kuan prefecture in Szechwan. This mountain has much significance in religious Taoism. It is the fifth Heavenly Grotto ( tung-t'ien 洞天 ) and is the subject of a book by the T'ang alchemist and mythographer Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜廣庭 (850-933). Ku Tsu-yü 66/2830.

113 HYKC 8/113.7 says that Li Hsiung appointed Hsü Yü to the post of General Pacifying the West.

114 The Grand Administrator of a commandery was responsible for recommending to the central government those people who exhibited virtuous conduct and hence were suitable for holding office. The practice was instituted by Han Wu-ti. See T'ung Tien 13/73.3.

115 A man renowned for his physical strength. See CS 104/2725 and the P'ei Sung-chih commentary to SKC 28/766.

116 Kuan Yü and Chang Fei were famous generals in the service of Liu Pei during the Three Kingdoms period.

117 This campaign is otherwise unknown.

118 The Li Shan commentary to Wen Hsüan (Yih-wen ed.) 57/7b says that these were the ceremonial insignia appropriate to a General or Governor.

CHAPTER 121

Li Hsiung

Li Hsiung 李雄, sobriquet Chung-chün 仲儻, was Li T'e's third son. Once his mother, Madame Luo 羅氏, dreamt of a pair of rainbows ascending to Heaven from their door with one of the rainbows stopping midway. Soon thereafter she gave birth to Li Tang. Later when Madame Luo was drawing water she suddenly fell into a sleep-like state, and dreamed of a huge snake encircling her body. She became pregnant as a result and fourteen months later gave birth to Hsiung. She would often say, "If one of my two children dies first the other will certainly attain to great status." In the end Li Tang died first. Hsiung was eight feet three inches in height<sup>1</sup> and had a beautiful appearance. \*[A physiognomist physiognomized him, saying, "This man will become important. There are four signs of this: His eyes are like storied clouds, his nose is like a turtle or dragon, his mouth is square like a vessel and his ears seem to look at each other. He is destined to be a man of importance, and his rank will undoubtedly surpass that of the Three Dukes.]\* (TPYL 123/7a) When young he was known for his ardent spirit and each time he would make the rounds of his native place men of discernment would value him highly. \*[When Hsiung was young Hsin Jan physiognomized him and said that he was destined to be noble.]\* (HYKC 9/119.8-9) There was a certain Liu Hua 劉化, a Taoist magician, who would always tell others, "The men of Kuan-chung 關中 and Lung<sup>2</sup> will all migrate south. Among the sons of the Li family only Chung-chün has an extraordinary



appearance and in the end will be a ruler of men.<sup>3</sup>

When T'ie raised troops in Shu and assumed control of the government he made Hsiung General of the Van.<sup>4</sup> When Li Liu died Hsiung proclaimed himself Great Inspector-general ( ta tu-tu ), Great General ( ta Chiang-chün 大將軍 ) and Pastor ( mu 牧 ) of I province with his capital in the walled city of P'i . When Luo Shang sent a commander to attack Hsiung, Hsiung struck and routed him. \* [ Luo Shang launched repeated assaults upon P'i. Li Hsiung sent P'u T'ai 朴泰 of Wu-tu to deceive Shang, saying, "Due to their famine-ravaged, isolated, perilous situation Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> and Li Hsiung fight and blame each other every day. Hsiang<sup>+</sup> wants to lead the people west of the Yang-tze in search of grain. If an army were to come under cover, with me inside the city to respond, the city could be taken." Luo Shang thought this true and offered him huge amounts of gold and jewels. P'u T'ai said, "I have not succeeded yet. It will not be too late to claim my reward after I have brought results." He also asked that a man be dispatched to accompany him and keep a watch on him, to which request Luo Shang agreed. P'u T'ai agreed to set a fire, upon which Wei Po and the various forces would assault P'i. Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> set an ambush along the road. He erected a long scaling device up to (the wall of) Wei Po's encampment. When Po's army saw the fire arise they all scrambled to descend the ladder. Li Hsiung then seized the opportunity to spring the ambush and strike at them, inflicting a heavy defeat upon Luo Shang's forces. Li Hsiung directly pursued the retreating army,

arriving by nightfall at the city wall (of Ch'eng-tu). Shouting out "Long live!" and saying, "The walled city of P'i has already been taken." he entered the smaller city. Only then did Luo Shang realize (who they were) and take refuge in the larger city. ]\*(HYKC 8/113.7-11) Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> attacked Ch'ien-wei, thereby cutting off Shang's line of supply. \*[Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> separately assaulted Ch'ien-wei, cutting off Luo Shang 's line of supply and capturing the Grand Administrator Kung Hui 龔恢 of Wu-ling. When Kung Hui had previously been Prefect of Hsi prefecture in T'ien-shui Jen Hui had been his subordinate. Jen Hui asked him, "Do you recognize your old subordinate?" Kung Hui replied, "I only recognize you, that's all." The commandery officials had scattered in all directions and only the (Attendant Official of) the Department of Merit Yang Huan remained to attend upon and protect Kung Hui. Jen Hui addressed him, saying, "You , sir, are a man of principles. I fear that it is not within my power to save you. You should leave while there is time." Yang Huan replied, "How can betraying one's ruler in order to preserve one's own life compare with dying in the preservation of duty." Consequently they were both killed.

\*[Li P'u was named Grand Administrator of Ch'ien-wei.

\*[Li Hsiung captured Wei Po alive. Hsiung knew that Po was mortally wounded. Wei Po's daughter was the wife of Liang Shuang. She was used by Li Hsiung and for this reason Wei Po was not killed.

\*[Intercalary twelfth month. ]\*(HYKC 9/113.11-14)

Shang's army was suffering great hunger and (Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup>) attacked him even more spiritedly. Consequently he left his Yamen Luo T'e 羅特<sup>5</sup> to maintain the defenses and, abandoning the city, fled at night.<sup>6</sup> Luo<sup>7</sup> opened the gates and received Hsiung and thus Ch'eng-tu fell. At the time famine was severe among members of Hsiung's army and he led his troops to go in search of supplies to Ch'i, where they dug up wild taro and ate it.<sup>8</sup> The people of Shu scattered, descending to Chiang-yang 江陽 in the east and entering the seven commanderies to the south.<sup>9</sup> Because Fan Ch'ang-sheng of Hsi-shan 西山 lived in seclusion pursuing the Tao and cultivating his spirit<sup>10</sup> Hsiung wished to establish him as ruler and serve him as an official. Ch'ang-sheng adamantly refused, \*[saying, "If one projects forward to the Grand Beginning the five processes converge in the chia-tzu year (304). The throne will come to the Li clan, it is not the proper time for me (to rule).] \*(TPYL 123/7a) Strongly deprecating himself, Hsiung did not dare to assume control of the government and all affairs, no matter how minor, were decided by the brothers Li Kuo 李國 and Li Li 李離. Kuo and the others served Hsiung even more diligently.

The various military commanders insistently requested that Hsiung ascend the throne and in the first year of the Yung-hsing 永興 reign period (304) he usurped the title of King of Ch'eng-tu, proclaiming a general amnesty within his territory and establishing the reign-title of Chien-hsing 建興 (Establishing the Rise).<sup>11</sup> He abolished the Chin code

of laws and established a new code in seven articles. He appointed his uncle Hsiang<sup>+</sup> to be Grand Tutor ( t'ai-fu 大傅 ), his elder brother Shih<sup>+</sup> be Grand Protector ( t'ai-pao 大保 ), the General Repelling the Charge ( che-ch'ung chiang-chün 折衝 ) Li Li to be Grand Commandant ( t'ai-wei ), the General Establishing Majesty ( chien-wei chiang-chün 建威 ) Li Yün 李雲 to be Minister over the Masses ( ssu-t'ü 司徒 ), the Military Aide ( i-chün 翊軍 ) Li Huang to be Minister of Works ( ssu-k'ung 司空 ), and the Talented Official ( ts'ai-kuan 材官 ) Li Kuo to be Grand Steward ( t'ai-tsai 大宰 ), while others each received appropriate appointments. He posthumously honored his great-grandfather Hu<sup>12</sup> with the title of Duke Huan of Pa commandery ( Pa-chün Huan-kung 巴郡桓公 ), his grandfather Mu with that of King Hsiang of Lung-hsi ( Lung-hsi Hsiang wang 隴西襄王 ), his father T'e with that of King Ching of Ch'eng-tu ( Ch'eng-tu Ching wang 成都景王 ), and his mother Madame Luo with that of Queen Mother ( wang t'ai-hou 王太后 ). \* [He also bestowed the posthumous title of King Lieh of Ch'i 齊烈王 upon his eldest uncle Fu, that of King Wu of Liang 梁武王 upon his uncle Hsiang, that of King Wen of Ch'in 秦文王 upon his uncle Liu and that of Duke Chuang-wen of Kuang-han 廣漢壯文公 upon his elder brother Tang. He appointed his uncle Hsiang<sup>+</sup> Grand Tutor, his elder step-brother Shih<sup>+</sup> Grand Protector, his maternal elder cousin Li Kuo Grand Steward, Kuo's younger brother Li Li Grand Commandant, his younger cousin Li Yün Minister over the Masses, Li Huang Minister of Works, Yen Shih Prefect of the

Secretariat, Yang Pao Archer-in-waiting, Fa (?) to be Palace Attendant, Kuei (Prefect) of the Secretariat, Hung (?) Governor of I province, Hsü Yü General Stabilizing the South and Wang Ta Preceptor of the Army. He appointed a full complement of officials.]\* (HYKC 9/119.12-120.1) Fan Ch'ang-sheng came to Ch'eng-tu from Hsi-shan riding in a white cart. Li Hsiung welcomed him at the gates and holding a minister's tablet<sup>13</sup> led him to his seat. He appointed Fan his Chancellor ( ch'eng-hsiang 丞相 ) and honored him with the title Worthy Fan (Fan Hsien 范賢 ). Ch'ang-sheng exhorted Hsiung to assume the imperial title and Hsiung thereupon usurped the imperial throne, proclaiming a general amnesty within his territory and changing the reign title to Yen-p'ing 晏平 .<sup>14</sup> He posthumously honored his father T'e as Emperor Ching and his mother Madame Luo as Empress Dowager ( t'ai-hou 太后 ). He augmented Fan Ch'ang-sheng's title to Great Teacher of Heaven and Earth ( t'ien-ti t'ai-shih 天地太師 )<sup>15</sup> and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Hsi-shan ( Hsi-shan hou 西山侯 )<sup>16</sup>, exempting his followers from military conscription and granting him all the taxes (deriving from his followers). At the time Li Hsiung had just made a rough beginning in establishing the state and since he had heretofore lacked a bureaucratic standards the various commanders relied on personal favor in contesting for position and rank. His Prefect of the Secretariat ( shang-shu ling 尚書令 ) Yen Shih submitted a memorial saying, "In establishing a state's bureaucratic system it is always<sup>17</sup> best to continue past precedents. Under the old

system of the Han and Chin dynasties only the Grand Commandant and the Grand Marshal ( ta ssu-ma 大司馬 ) commanded troops. The Grand Tutor and Grand Protector are offices for fathers and elder brothers with the function of discussing moral questions while the Minister over the Masses and Minister of Works are in charge of the varying duties of the five relationships and the differentiation of the nine types of soil.<sup>18</sup> The Ch'in dynasty (221-206 B.C.) established the office of Chancellor to have general control over the myriad springs of action. Towards the end of the reign of Han Wu-ti (140-86 B.C.) the Great General was elevated above others to control the government. Now the state has just been established and the various affairs (connected with this establishment) are not yet complete. Whenever one of the high officials or commanders is demoted in rank he clamors for dispensations that are not in accordance with classical precedents. It would be appropriate to establish regulations in order to provide a framework (for assigning positions). Hsiung followed this advice.

\*[Because the Governor of Liang province Hsü Hsiung had not advanced in his chastizing of the 'bandits' he was summoned to the imperial jail in a cage cart. Only the Army Protector and the Grand Administrator of Han-kuo 漢國 Tu Meng-chih 杜孟志, the Commander of the Battle Chao Wen 趙文 and the Grand Administrator of Ching province (?)<sup>19</sup> of Tzu-t'ung guarded Han-chung.

\*[First year of Yung-hsing 永興 (304). Spring, first

month. Luo Shang arrived in Chiang-yang. The provost of the army Hsin Pao 辛寶 proceeded to Luo-yang to submit a memorial. An imperial rescript gave Luo Shang temporary control of the three commanderies of Pa-tung 巴東, Pa and Fou-ling, with the right to supply himself with the military taxes of the three.

\*[Winter. Luo Shang moved and encamped at Pa commandery. He dispatched an army to raid Shu, which beheaded Li Hsiung's grand-uncle Jan 冉 and took prisoner the sons of Li Hsiang's wife Madame Tsan, Li Shou and his brother.<sup>20</sup>

\*[Twelfth month. Li Hsiung's Grand Commandant Li Li attacked Han-chung, killing the Commander of the Battle Chao Wen.

\*[First year of Yung-chia 永嘉 (307). Spring. Luo Shang established roadblocks as far as Han-an and P'o-tao.<sup>21</sup>

\*[At the time the people of I province had migrated to Ching and Hsiang provinces as well as Yüeh-sui and Tsang-k'e. Luo Shang established<sup>22</sup> commanderies and prefectures in accordance with their present locations, also appointing Military Advisors to the various villages.

\*[Third month. The migrants from the Kuan-chung region Teng Ting 鄧定, Hung Ti 旬氏 et al. rebelled, plundering Tung-ch'en-shih 東辰勢 in Han-chung. The Grand Administrator of Pa-hsi Chang Yen<sup>+</sup> 張燕, leading the Yamen Wu Chao 武肇 and the Vice-administrator of Han-küo commandery Hsüan Ting 宣定, dispatched troops to besiege

them. Hung Ti sought rescue from Li Hsiung.]\* (HYKC 8/114.1-7)

\*[Summer. Fifth month.]\* Li Hsiung dispatched Li Kuo and Li Yün to plunder Han-chung.<sup>23</sup> \*[When Tu Meng-chih heard of Li Li's arrival he ordered Chang Yen to release the siege and take refuge in the provincial capital. When Chang Yen had first assaulted Teng Ting, Ting's troops were starving and he pretended to surrender, presenting Chang Yen with a gold vessel which he accepted. Seven days later Hung Ti arrived and Teng Ting returned to Tung-ch'en-shih. Chang Yen advanced and besieged him, disregarding Tu Meng-chih's words. When Li Li arrived he first assaulted the camp of Wu Chao, overcoming it. He next assaulted Hsüan Ting, also defeating him. Chang Yen was afraid to do battle and fled at the head of one hundred cavalry. Li Li and company severely defeated the provincial army. The Yamen Ts'ai Sung 蔡松 retreated and announced to Tu Meng-chih, "The provincial army has already been defeated. We cannot await (the arrival of the) rebel army." Tu Meng-chih was frightened. The Army Protector wished to make a stand within the city walls and spoke to Tu, saying, "Although the bandits come in great numbers they are not fighting on their own territory."<sup>24</sup> Li (Hsiung) to the southeast is being pressed on all sides. He will certainly not divide his troops and station them outside his territory. He only intends to rescue Teng Ting and Hung Ti." Tu Meng-chih replied, "Not so. Li Hsiung has dared to proclaim himself Emperor, hoping to gain control of the empire. Having



dispatched a large force, he will certainly take Han-chung. Although we have a fortified city the courage of the people has been broken. We cannot await the 'bandits' with them." Tu Meng-chih then opened the city gates and withdrew. The Army Protector returned to the north. Tu Meng-chih entered a large valley wooded in mulberry trees. With several thousand families and thousands of carts accompanying him Tu could only advance a few tens of li each night. Because his father had had a dispute with Tu Meng-chih Ching-tzu 荊子<sup>25</sup> of Tzu-t'ung assembled his sons and brothers and pursued him, catching up to him at the mouth of the valley. Tu fled abandoning his son(s). Ching-tzu captured his son(s) as well as over a thousand families of retainers and peasants. The Attendant Official of the Department of Merit of Han-kuo commandery Wu Chien 毋建 alone grasped a staff and said, "Although I am unworthy I am the great official of one state and when that state perishes I cannot survive. I will refuse to serve the 'bandits' to my death." He starved to death in that valley.]\* (HYKC 8/114.8-115.1) The Governor of Liang province Chang Yin 張殷 fled to Ch'ang-an.<sup>26</sup> Kuo and the others reduced the city of Nan-cheng<sup>27</sup> and moved all the inhabitants of Han-chung to Shu.

\*[The people of Han-chung, driven by the robbing and plundering of Li Feng fled eastward to Ching and Mien provinces.<sup>28</sup>

\*[A man of Han-chung, Chü Fang 句方 informed Luo-yang of these occurrences and led a group of minor officials and residents to re-occupy Nan-cheng.

\*[Second year (308). An imperial rescript acknowledged Luo Shang's merit in chastizing Li T'ie and supplemented him with the official positions of Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary and Inspector-general for the two provinces (of Liang and I) while advancing his title to Marquis of I-ling 夷陵. His eldest son Yü 宇 received (?) the title Territorial Commandant of Chariots ( chü tu-wei 車都尉. His younger son Yen-shou 延壽 was appointed Territorial Commandant of Cavalry.

\*[Liang province had been laid in ruins by Li Hsiung. Chin now named Huang-fu Shang 皇甫商 to be Governor of Liang province, however he was unable to assume office<sup>29</sup> and the Bailiff of Shun-yang 順陽 Chang Kuang 張光 of Chiang-hsia was instead made Governor, with his seat of government at Hsin-ch'eng.]\* (HYKC 8/115.1-4)

Earlier the southern regions had been ravaged by successive years of famine and pestilence and those who had died numbered in the hundreds of thousands. The Colonel of the Southern Barbarians ( nan-i hsiao-wei 南夷校尉) Li I 李毅 steadfastly maintained his position and refused to surrender. Hsiung induced the Chien-ning I barbarians 建寧夷 to attack him. When Li I died of illness the city fell and over three thousand brave soldiers died while over a thousand wives and daughters were sent to Ch'eng-tu.<sup>30</sup>

\*[Third year (309). Winter.]\* At the time Li Li was occupying Tzu-t'ung. His Divisional Commandants ( pu-chiang 部將) Luo Yang 羅義 and Chang Chin-kou 張金苟 and others<sup>31</sup> killed Li Li and Yen Shih and with the city of

Tzu-t'ung submitted to Luo Shang. \*[The Grand Tutor Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup>, Li Yün and Li Huang assaulted Luo Yang. They were defeated and Li Yün and Li Huang were killed. Yün and Huang were Li Hsiung's first cousins and held the positions of (Minister over the Masses)<sup>32</sup> and Minister of Works respectively.

\*[Twelfth month. Hung Ch'i et al. sent Li Li's mother and sons to Luo Shang. Shang beheaded them and divided up Li Li's family possessions.]\*(HYKC 8/115.4-5) Shang sent his Commandant ( chiang 將) Hsiang Fen 向奮 to encamp at I-fu 宜福 in An-han 安漢<sup>33</sup> in order to press Li Hsiung. Hsiung led a body of troops to attack Fen but was unsuccessful. \*[Fourth year (310)]\* At the time Li Kuo was stationed in Pa-hsi 巴西. His subordinate, Wen Shih 文碩<sup>34</sup> killed Kuo and surrendered Pa-hsi to Luo Shang.

\*[Originally Ch'iao Teng of Pa-hsi had gone to request troops of the General Stabilizing the South. The General Stabilizing the South had no troops but memorialized recommending Ch'iao Teng for the positions of General Promoting Ardency ( Yang-lieh-chiang-chün ) and Bailiff of Tzu-t'ung so that he might recruit volunteers from the people of the Three Pa, Shu and Han(-chung) in order to reconquer the territory. He first launched an expedition against Tang-ch'ü, killing Li Hsiung's Grand Administrator for Pa-hsi, Ma T'uo.<sup>35</sup> He then withdrew and occupied Fou. The General for Repelling the Charge Chang Luo advanced and occupied He-shui in Ch'ien-wei commandery. The people of Pa and Shu made a saying which went: Ch'iao Teng is

headquartered at Fou-ch'eng, Wen Shih is at Pa-hsi, Chang Luo guards He-shui, How can the Pa Ti be able to advance.](HYKC 8/115.6-8) Hsiung thereupon withdrew and dispatched his Commandant Chang Pao to make a surprise attack on Tzu-t'ung, capturing it. \*[Hsiung's commander Chang Pao's younger brother Ch'üan<sup>36</sup> was in the midst of Hung Ch'i's troops. Li Hsiung dispatched Chang Pao to act as a double-agent, promising to appoint him to replace Li Li. Pao was by nature fierce and brave. He first killed a man and then fled to Tzu-t'ung. There he secretly linked up with his intimates. Presently Luo Shang sent an emissary on a good-will mission to Hung Ch'i. When Hung Ch'i and company left the city to see the emissary off Chang Pao closed the city gates behind him. Ch'i and company fled to Pa-hsi. Having obtained Tzu-t'ung, Li Hsiung appointed Chang Pao Grand Commandant. Hsiung personally led an assault on Hsiang Fen, who fled. Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> was dispatched to assault Ch'iao Teng. Teng had originally siezed Hsiang<sup>+</sup>'s son Shou hoping to tempt Hsiang<sup>+</sup> (to surrender). Now he was being attacked fiercely with no relief in sight and he returned Li Shou to Hsiang<sup>+</sup>.](HYKC 9/120.7-10) Shortly thereafter Luo Shang died<sup>37</sup> and Pa commandery was in disorder .

\*[An imperial rescript appointed the Grand Administrator of Ch'ang-sha P'i Su of Hsia-p'i (T'ai Hun)<sup>38</sup> to be Governor of I province, holding simultaneously the offices of Colonel of the Western Barbarians and General Promoting Ardency with command of the volunteer force and

the General Quelling the West. He was to advance and take control of the Three Passes (Yang-p'ing Kuan, Chiang Kuan and Pai-shui Kuan).<sup>39</sup> At the time Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> was making a vigorous assault on Ch'iao Teng. P'i Su encamped at Pa-tung. The General Quelling the West Chang Shun 張順 and Yang Hsien 楊顯 were ordered to rescue Ch'iao Teng. Luo Shang's son Yü 宇 was filled with hate and resentment and would not furnish Ch'iao Teng with supplies. When P'i Su arrived in Hsia-p'i he wished to set the officeholders in order and they were all frightened.

\*[Winter. Twelfth month. P'i Su arrived in Pa commandery. Chao P'an 趙攀 and Yen Lan 閻蘭 et al. of T'ien-shui, who had surrendered, killed P'i Su by night. Su, sobriquet T'ai-hun 泰混, was a man of Hsia-p'i. The Territorial Commandant of Chien-p'ing Pao Chung 暴重 killed Luo Yü and Chao P'an. Pa commandery fell into disorder and in the end was not able to rescue Ch'iao Teng. Subsidiary officials of the three ministries submitted the name of the Overseer of the Army for Pa-tung and General Cresting the Army ( kuan-chün chiang-chün ) Han Sung 韓松 of Nan-yang to be Governor of I province and Colonel of the Western Barbarians, with his seat of government to be at Pa-tung.](HYKC 8/115.9-14) Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> attacked Fou, reducing the city and capturing the Grand Administrator of Tzu-t'ung, Ch'iao Teng. Then riding on the tide of victory he advanced to attack Wen Shih, killing him.<sup>40</sup> Hsiung was greatly pleased and proclaimed a general amnesty, changing the reign-title to Yü-heng 王衡.

\*[Fifth year (311). Spring. Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> captured Ch'iao Teng. Li Shih<sup>+</sup> was dispatched to lead Li Feng in an assault on Pa-hsi. Wen Shih was killed.](HYKC 9/120.10-11)

\*[Ching and Hsiang provinces fell into disorder. The Ti Fu Ch'eng and Wei Wen created disorder in I-tu 宜都.<sup>41</sup> They ascended to the west to Pa-tung. Li Hsiung's force assaulted P'o-tao, causing the Grand Administrator of Ch'ien-wei Wei Chi 魏記 to flee and killing the Grand Administrator of Chiang-yang Yao Hsi 姚襲.

\*[Second month. The Ti Wei Wen et al. rebelled at Pa-tung. Pao Chung launched a campaign against them but did not defeat them. He killed the Governor Han Sung. Sung, sobriquet Kung-chih was a man of Nan-yang. He was the grandson of the Wei Great Minister over the Masses Han Chi 韓暨. Pao took personal control of the affairs of the three ministries.

\*[Third month. The civil and military officials of the three ministries and the subordinate officials of the Grand Administrator of Pa-tung together imprisoned Pao Chung together with his wife and sons at I-tu and killed them. They then joined in recommending the Grand Administrator of Pa commandery Chang Luo, sobriquet Ching-chih 景治, to carry out the affairs of the three ministries. Chang Luo established his seat of government at Chih<sup>42</sup> and personally launched a campaign against Wei Wen at Kung-ch'i (?) 宮圻, defeating him and effecting his surrender. In a matter of weeks Wei Wen again rebelled, siezing the Grand Administrator of Pa commandery Huang K'an 黃龔 and setting

him up as a puppet-ruler. Huang K'an was at the end of his rope and wished to commit suicide. The Registrar Yang Yü 楊預 sought to dissuade him, saying, "Wei Wen's previous evil-doings are known throughout the Szechwan and Yang-tzu River basin region. When he kidnapped Your Excellency who did not feel himself threatened? Who would believe this empty and false title (which he has bestowed upon you)? You should let General Chang (Luo) know of your earnest sincerity. Why must you act rashly like this?" Huang K'an replied, "The 'bandits' have already cut off the highway. How do you propose to inform him of this?" Yang Yü then wrote a missive for Huang K'an and gave it to his younger brother that he might flee from the Ti barbarians and present it to Chang Luo. Luo said, "I was already aware that Tzu-hsüan (Huang K'an?) 子宣 exudes sincerity." When Wei Wen heard of this he angrily imprisoned Huang K'an and, siezing Yang Yü, he questioned him concerning the circumstances surrounding the sending of the letter. Huang K'an said, "I did not send it." Wei Wen then grilled Yang Yü for a day and night but he would not speak. Wei Wen wished to kill Huang K'an but Yang Yü died while being caned and, moved by Yü's loyalty, Wen spared him. Chang Luo dispatched an army to chastize Wei Wen which returned defeated. Chang Luo personally led a campaign against him and, suffering a great defeat, himself perished. Luo, sobriquet Ching-shih, was a man of Liang 梁 in He-nan. Thus there were no longer any (Chin officials?) remaining in Pa. Plundering the people on the run Wei Wen ascended to the

west and surrendered to Li Hsiung. Li Hsiung's commander Jen Hui captured the Grand Administrator of Ch'ien-wei, Wei Chi. Civil and military officials of the three ministeries joined in recommending the Marshal Quelling the West ( p'ing-hsi ssu-ma ) Wang I 王異 to carry out the affairs of the three ministeries, also acting as the Grand Administrator of Pa commandery.<sup>43</sup> The Governor of Liang province Chang Kuang again established his seat of government in Han-chung.

\*[Sixth year (312). The Dragon-soaring General, Grand Administrator of Chiang-yang Chang Ch'i 張啓 of Ch'ien-wei together with Luo Ch'i 羅琦 of Kuang-han killed Wang I. I, sobriquet Yen-ming 彦明, was a man of Shu. Chang Ch'i again(?) took charge of the affairs of the three ministeries while Luo Ch'i assumed the post of Grand Administrator of Pa commandery. Chang Ch'i died of illness. Ch'i, sobriquet Chin-ming 進明, was a man of Ch'ien-wei. He was the grandson of the General of Chariots and Cavalry of the state of Shu-Han Chang I 翼. The civil and military officials of the three ministeries again joined together in recommending the Grand Administrator of Fou-ling Hsiang Ch'en 向沈 of I-yang 義陽 to fill the post of Colonel of the Western Barbarians. Leading officials and peasants, he entered Fou-ling to the south.

\*[First year of Chien-hsing (313). Spring. Hsiang Ch'en died. Many of the people of Fou-ling suffered from the plague. The Grand Administrator of Shu commandery Ch'eng Jung 程融 of Chiang-yang, the Grand Administrator



of I-tu Yang Fen 楊芬 of Ch'ien-wei, the Marshal of the Western Barbarians Ch'ang Hsin 常歆 of Pa commandery and the Prefect of Tu-an Ts'ang Hung 倉弘<sup>44</sup> of Shu commandery et al. joined in recommending the Grand Administrator of Min-shan Lan Wei 蘭維 of Fou-ling to be Colonel of the Western Barbarians.

\*[At the time the central plain had already fallen into disorder and there were troubles east of the Yang-tze, hence there was no place to look to for aid or relief. Ch'eng Jung et al. together led the officials and peasants to exit from Chih to the north, hoping to go down to Pa-tung. They were consequently defeated and captured by Li Hsiung's commanders Li Kung and Fei Hei.

\*[Fifth month. The (Chin) Governor of Liang province Chang Kuang launched a campaign against Li Yün 李運 of Fou-ling, a member of Wang Ju's clique. Wang Chien 王建 of Pa-hsi was erecting a mountain at P'an-she-pien 盤蛇便 and (Chang Kuang) suspected that he desired to rebel. Li Yün and Wang Chien fled and took refuge in Kou Shan 构山. Chang Kuang dispatched an army to assault and defeat them, killing them. Wang Chien's son-in-law Yang Hu 楊虎 rebelled, taking refuge in Huang-chin Shan. Chang Kuang launched a campaign against him. Yang Hu abandoned his camp by night and hurriedly returned and encamped at E Shui 厄水, a place forty li distant from the provincial capital. Chang Kuang dispatched his son Meng-ch'ang 孟蒼 to chastize him. They battled, alternately winning and losing. Chang Kuang sought aid from the King of the Ti of

Wu-tu, Yang Mao-sou. Yang Hu also sought rescue from Yang Mao-sou. Originally Mao-sou's son Yang Nan-ti had sent his adopted son Shih Chia 適賈 to Liang province to privately purchase for him the son of a good scion. Chang Kuang was angered by this and had him flogged to death. For this reason Yang Nan-ti hated Chang Kuang, and said, "When you first came it was after a great famine and both the troops and the populace relied on us Ti to live. (Now) a Ti has committed a minor offense yet he cannot be pardoned!" He secretly planned to launch a campaign against Chang Kuang. Shortly thereafter Chang Kuang and Yang Hu requested rescue.

\*[Autumn. Eighth month. Yang Mao-sou dispatched Nan-ti leading cavalry to enter Han-chung, outwardly saying that he was to aid Chang Kuang but really responding to Yang Hu's request. When he reached the provincial capital Chang Kuang feasted him with wine and oxen. Chang Kuang then dispatched him together with Chang Meng-ch'ang to chastize Yang Hu. Meng-ch'ang himself took the vanguard while Yang Nan-ti brought up the rear. After engaging Yang Hu in battle for a long period Chang Meng-ch'ang was struck from the rear by Yang Nan-ti and severely defeated. Meng-ch'ang was captured alive and killed.<sup>45</sup>

\*[Ninth month. Chang Kuang died of exasperation. The people of the province joined in recommending that the Grand Administrator of Shih-p'ing Hu Tzu-hsü 胡子序 be given control of the province.

\*[Winter. Tenth month. Yang Hu and Ti tribesmen

assaulted the provincial capital vigorously and Hu Tzu-hsü was unable to defend it. Abandoning the city he withdrew and fled and the Ti Yang Hu thus obtained the city. He exhumed Chang Kuang's grave and burnt his corpse. Yang Nan-ti obtained Chang Kuang's musicians and concubines and proclaimed himself Governor. Yang Hu led the officials and peasantry in entering Shu. A man of Han-chung, Chang Hsien+張咸, and others launched a campaign against Yang Nan-ti, who withdrew and returned. Chang Hsien re-entered Shu. At this time the three provinces had fallen to Li Hsiung. ]\*(HYKC 8/115.14-117.8)

Li Hsiung trusted in the words of witches and sorcerers and observed many taboos, to the point where when his mother, Madame Luo died he did not want to bury her.<sup>46</sup> It was only when his Minister of Works, Chao Su, remonstrated with him that he followed Chao's advice. Hsiung wished to observe the full three years of mourning and though the various officials adamantly remonstrated (against this) Hsiung would not agree with them. Li Hsiang+ said to the Minister of Works Shang-kuan Tun 上官惇, "Just now our troubles have not yet ceased. I wish to stubbornly remonstrate so as to not permit our ruler to complete the period of mourning. What do you think about this?" Ch'un replied, "The observance of a three year period of mourning extends from the Son of Heaven down to the common people. It is for this reason that Confucius said, "Why must Kao-tsung be referred to as an example of this, The ancients all did so."<sup>47</sup> However since Han and Wei times the world

has been plagued by many troubles. The ancestral temple is of utmost importance, and cannot long be left unattended. Therefore (rulers) have put off their mourning garments of sackcloth and white hemp and made do with expressing their extreme grief." Hsiang<sup>+</sup> said, "Jen Hui is about to arrive. This man is decisive in carrying out affairs and, moreover, His Majesty often finds it difficult to oppose his suggestions. Let us await his arrival and make our request together with him." When Jan arrived he and Hsiang<sup>+</sup> together had an audience with Hsiung. Hsiang<sup>+</sup> removed his cap and, shedding tears, strongly requested that Hsiung for the good of all abandon the mourning practices. Hsiung, wailing and weeping, would not permit this. Jen Hui knelt and advanced, saying, "Now the kingly enterprise has just been established and the myriad affairs have only been put into a rough outline. If without a ruler for only one day the people of the empire will panic. Of old King Wu 武王 reviewed his troops in white armor<sup>48</sup> and Marquis Hsiang of Chin 晉襄侯 joined the battle wearing mourning garments stained with black.<sup>49</sup> How could this have been what they desired? It was because they compromised their principles for the sake of the empire (that they did these things). I request that your majesty divorce himself from his emotions and follow the exigencies of the moment. May you ever prosper and may Heaven protect you." Then, using force, he helped Hsiung to rise and made him shed his mourning garments and take personal control of the government again.

and Fou-ling and men from distant regions arrived continuously. Thereupon Hsiung proclaimed a liberal policy: All those who surrender will be reappointed to their previous positions. He humbled himself and was loving to others.<sup>51</sup> In all his appointments he found men with the appropriate talents and I province was thereby pacified.

\*[Afterwards Teng Chih of Fu-feng, Yang Hu et al. each led several thousand families of migrants to enter Shu. Li Feng was named Great General of the Northern Expedition and Governor of Liang province, Jen Hui was named Great General Stabilizing the South, Colonel of the Southern Barbarians and Governor of Ning province, and Li Kung was named Great General of the Eastern Expedition, Colonel of the Southern Man and Governor of Ching Province. Li Hsiung and Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> were diligent and sympathetic to the peasants within the state while Li Feng, Jen Hui and Li Kung gathered together the migrants outside the borders. It was said that they met with success. The Ti Fu Ch'eng and Wei Wen, having surrendered, had again rebelled and personally wounded Hsiung's mother but when they came (to submit) Hsiung pardoned all their crimes and accorded them favored treatment, making them commanders. Ch'en An of T'ien-shui surrendered Lung-yu. The King of the Wu-tu Ti Yang Mao-sou offered tribute and proclaimed his allegiance. Tu T'ao sent an emissary from Hsiang province seeking aid. The Chin Governor of Liang province Chang Chün 張駿 sent a missive seeking friendly relations. King Ch'ung 沖 of the Han-chia I sent his son as hostage. Shortly thereafter Shen Chao 審

紹 of Chu-t'i led a group of people to surrender. Ts'uan Chiang 繆 孟 and Meng Hsien 蒙 險 of Chien-ning granted him their trust. Further, every day and month brought more adherents. ]\*(HYKC 9/120.11-121.1) He usurped the title of Empress ( huang-hou 皇后 ) for his wife, Madame Jen. The Ti King Yang Nan-ti and his brothers were defeated by Liu Yao 劉 曜, fled to Chia-meng, and sent their sons as hostages. The bandit leader of Lung-hsi 隋 西, Ch'en An 陳 安 also submitted to Hsiung.<sup>52</sup>

\*[Li Feng was stationed in the north and had several times achieved the surrender of his enemies. Li Tang's son Li Chih 稚 was encamped at Chin-shou<sup>53</sup> and was worried by Feng's achievements.

\*[First year of T'ai-hsing (318). Li Feng rebelled at Pa-hsi. Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> was sent on an expedition against him but tarried long at Tzu-t'ung, not daring to advance. Li Hsiung himself arrived in Fou and Hsiang<sup>+</sup> consequently beheaded Li Feng. Li Shou was named to replace Li Feng and given authority for affairs in the north of Liang province.<sup>54</sup> ]\*(HYKC 9/120.5-7)

(Hsiung) dispatched Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> on an expedition against Yüeh-sui 越 嵩. The Grand Administrator Li Chao 李 釗 surrendered.<sup>55</sup> Hsiang<sup>+</sup> advanced via Hsiao-hui 小 會 and attacked the Governor of Ning province, Wang Hsün 王 遜. Hsün sent his Commandant Yao Yüeh 姚 岳<sup>56</sup> with a force of men to repel the attack. Hsiang<sup>+</sup>'s troops suffered a defeat and further encountered protracted rain. Hsiang<sup>+</sup> retreated and the majority of his troops were lost in

scrambling to cross the Lu <sup>盧</sup> river. When Chao arrived in Ch'eng-tu Li Hsiung treated him very generously and matters of court ceremonial and mourning ritual were all decided by Chao.

\*[First year of the T'ai-ning reign-period (323). The Ssu-sou tribesmen of Yüeh-sui rebelled, assaulting and besieging Jen Hui and the Grand Administrator Li Ch'ien <sup>李謙</sup>. The General of the Southern Expedition Fei Hei was dispatched to rescue them.

\*[First year of the Hsien-he reign-period (326). Summer. The Ssu-sou were defeated.

\*[Second year (327). Li Ch'ien transferred the populace of Yüeh-sui commandery to Shu.]\*(HYKC 9/122.1-2)

When Yang Nan-ti fled to Chia-meng Hsiung's General Pacifying the North ( an-pei chiang-chün 安北將軍 ) Li Chih had sought to comfort him through generous treatment and had allowed (him and) his brothers to return to Wu-tu <sup>武都</sup>.<sup>57</sup> There relying on his strategic position he committed many illegal acts.<sup>58</sup> Li Chih requested he be allowed to attack him. Hsiung sent the Palace Director of the Army ( chung ling-chün 中領中 ) Li Han <sup>含</sup><sup>59</sup> and the Generals Yüeh Tz'u <sup>樂次</sup>, Fei T'a, and Li Ch'ien <sup>李乾</sup> to attack Hsia-pien <sup>下辯</sup><sup>60</sup> from Pai-shui Bridge <sup>白水橋</sup>, while the General of the Eastern Expedition ( cheng-tung chiang-chün 征東將軍 ) Li Shou led Han's younger brother Wu <sup>許</sup> in attacking Yin-p'ing. Nan-ti dispatched an army to block him and Shou was unable to advance whereas Han and Chih made a long forced march to Wu-chieh <sup>武街</sup>.<sup>61</sup> Nan-ti

sent some men to cut off their return route and attacked them from all four sides. He captured Li Han and Li Chih and killed several thousand<sup>62</sup> of their troops. Han and Chih were the sons of Hsiung's elder brother Tang and Hsiung was sorely grieved over their fate.<sup>63</sup> He did not eat for several days and every time he spoke he would break into tears, severely castigating himself for his role in the affair.

Later Hsiung intended to establish Li Tang's son Pan 班 as Heir Apparent. Hsiung himself had over ten sons<sup>64</sup> and the various officials all wanted him to select one of his own sons. Hsiung said, "When I first took up arms I was merely raising my hand to protect my head. I originally had no designs on the positions of King or Emperor. At that time, when the empire was in great disorder and the ruling family of the Chin was roaming about homeless the emotions of all were aroused to the cause of duty and to the determination to rescue the world from the muck and mire. Then my revered elders were prodded and encouraged to assume a place above kings and dukes. As for the original foundation of this enterprise, the achievement derives from the former Emperor (T'ie). My elder brother was the legitimate successor, the rightful occupant of the Imperial throne. Generous and virtuous, enlightened and sagacious, surely he was the chosen of Heaven. Then just as this great endeavor was nearing completion he died in the midst of battle. Pan is benevolent and filial in comportment and nature, fond of learning and precocious. He will certainly



be a famous vessel." \*["When Sun Ch'üan had carved off the region east of the Yang-tze (Chiang-tung), although Sun Ts'e had laid the foundation his son only attained to the rank of Marquis, and the San Kuo Chih declared this a cause for shame.<sup>65</sup> When Duke Hsüan of Sung cast aside his own son and established his younger brother the 'Superior Man' thought that he knew men.<sup>66</sup> I intend to repair the shame of the San Kuo Chih and carry on the tradition of Duke Hsüan's estimable conduct."]\*(HYKC 9/121.12-14) Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> and the Minister over the Masses Wang Ta remonstrated, saying, "The former kings' establishment of the rightful successor was the means whereby they guarded against the sprouts of usurpation. You must pay heed to this. The Baron of Wu's abandonment of his son an establishment of his younger brother was the reason why there was the disaster of Chuan Chu 專諸.<sup>67</sup> Duke Hsüan 宣 of Sung did not establish Yü-i 與夷 but rather established Duke Mu 穆 and in the end there was Sung Tu's 宋督 revolt.<sup>68</sup> Your speaking of your nephew, how can it compare with your own son? I fervently hope that Your Majesty will consider this matter." Hsiung did not follow this advice and in the end established Pan (as Heir Apparent).<sup>69</sup> Hsiang<sup>+</sup> withdrew and wept, saying, "Disorder begins from here."

Chang Chün 張駿 sent an envoy<sup>70</sup> to present Hsiung with a missive exhorting him to abandon the Imperial title and declare allegiance to Chin. Hsiung wrote in reply, "I was wrongly pushed forward by officials (to be ruler), however originally I had no desire to be Emperor or King.

\*[To be a commander patrolling the rivers of sands of Kuei province has been my constant desire.](HYKC 9/122.14-123.1) Entering (the court) I have hoped to be an official sharing in the achievement of the founding of the dynasty, withdrawing (from the court) I have hoped to be a commander protecting the border, sweeping out all dirt and dust in order to stabilize the Imperial Domain. But the Chin ruling house has been in decline and no sound of virtue has been raised. I have passed months and years craning my neck looking to the east. When I was favored to receive your missive my situation was like one in a dark room, what was I to do?<sup>71</sup> I know I should (?) follow the distant example of Ch'u and Han and pay homage to I-ti 義帝.<sup>72</sup> No principle of the Ch'un Ch'iu 春秋 is greater than this." Chün<sup>73</sup> thought his words important and sent a succession of emissaries to call to him. Pa commandery sounded an alarm, reporting that there was an army from the east. Hsiung said, "I have on occasion been concerned that Shih Le 石勒 would 'overstep the fence' and invade and encroach upon the King of Lang-yeh 琅邪王 (Chin Yüan-ti 元帝) and the thought unsettled me greatly. I never expected that they would be able to raise troops. It makes me happy." Many of Hsiung's refined remarks were of this nature.

Because the Central Plain was lost to disorder Hsiung repeatedly sent envoys to have audience and present tribute. (hoping to) divide the empire with Emperor Mu.<sup>74</sup> Chang Chün controlled the provinces of Ch'in and Liang. Previously he had sent Fu Ying 傅穎 to request the

right to transit Shu in order to submit memorials to the capital, which Hsiung did not permit. Now Chün sent the Attendant Official at Headquarters ( chih-chung ts'ung-shih 治中從事) Chang Ch'un 張淳 to declare allegiance to Shu, entrusting to him the task of obtaining the right of transit. Hsiung was delighted and said to Ch'un, "Your ruler's heroic reputation is known throughout the world. His location is strategic and his troops strong. Why does he not declare himself Emperor of one region?"<sup>75</sup> Ch'un replied, "Because although my ruler's ancestors generation after generation had loyal and meritorious achievements, they were not able to wipe out the empire's disgrace nor save the masses from their imperiled state, for this reason my ruler forgets to eat as the sun sets and pillowing his head on his halberd awaits the morning. Because the King of Lang-yeh was able to restore the dynasty east of the Yangtze my ruler lends his support over a distance of ten thousand li. When he is on the verge of completing the achievement of a Huan 桓 or Wen 文<sup>76</sup> how can you talk about his taking it for himself?" With a mortified expression Hsiung said, "My father and grandfather were also officials of the Chin. In the past when I took refuge in this place with the people of the six commanderies I was pushed forward by my confederates to be ruler and consequently we have the situation as it is today. If the King of Lang-yeh can restore the Great Chin dynasty in the Middle Kingdom I also should lead my troops to his aid." Ch'un returned and submitted a memorial to the capital which pleased the

Emperor.<sup>77</sup>

At this time Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> died. \*[Third year (328). Winter. Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> died. He was posthumously humously awarded the rank of Minister of State and was canonized King Hsien of Han. Li Shou returned for the funeral. Li Wu was appointed Great General of the Northern Expedition and Governor of Liang province to replace Shou. Li Pan was ordered to fill the position of General Controlling the Army ( fu-chün-chiang-ch/n 撫軍 ) and repair the military encampment at Chin-shou. \*[Fifth year (330).]\*(HYKC 9/122.2-3) His son Shou was made Great General and Colonel of the Western Barbarians and leading the General of the Southern Expedition ( cheng-nan 征南 ) Fei Hei 費黑 and the General of the Eastern Expedition Jen Shao 任邵 he attacked and reduced Pa-tung 巴東 .<sup>78</sup> The Grand Administrator Yang Ch'ien 楊謙 retreated and fortified Chien-p'ing 建平 .<sup>79</sup> Shou separately dispatched Fei Hei to plunder Chien-p'ing and the Chin Overseer of the Army ( chien-chün 監軍 ) Wu-ch'iu Ao 毋丘奧 retreated and occupied I-tu .

\*[Sixth year (331). Spring. Li Shou returned. Jen Shao was dispatched to encamp at Pa.

\*[Li Hsiung appointed his son Yüeh General of Chariots and Cavalry, stationing him at Kuang-han.

\*[Autumn. Li Shou marched on Yin-p'ing.<sup>80</sup>

\*[Winter. Fou-ling was fortified.]\*(HYKC 9/122.5-6) Hsiung sent Li Shou to attack Chu-t'i 朱提, taking Fei Hei and Ang P'an 印攀<sup>81</sup> as the vanguard. He also sent the

General Stabilizing the South ( chen-nan chiang-chün 鎮南 )  
 Jen Hui on an expedition against Mu-luo 木洛 in order to  
 divide aid and supplies from Ning 寧 province.

\*[Seventh year (332). Autumn. Li Shou launched an expedition to the south against Ning province. Fei Hei was named his Marshal and together with Shao P'an<sup>82</sup> et al. formed the vanguard. They entered from Nan-kuang, at the same time sending Jen Hui's son T'iao 詔 to enter from Yüeh-sui. Winter, tenth month. Li Shou and Fei Hei arrived at Chu-t'i. The Grand Administrator of Chu-t'i Tung Ping 董炳 sealed the city. The Governor of Ning province Yin Feng dispatched the Grand Administrator of Chien-ning Huo Piao 霍彪, the aristocrat Ts'uan Shen 夔深 et al. to aid Tung Ping. At the time Li Shou had already besieged the city and wished to resist this force. Fei Hei said, "I expect that within the walled city they are short of foodstores. Although Huo Piao and company have arrived they have not brought much food. You should allow them to enter the city so that they may aid in consuming the city's grain. I only regret that they are so few. Why should we resist them?" Huo Piao and company all entered the walled city. But for a long time the city did not fall and Li Shou wished to launch an all-out assault on it. Fei Hei remonstrated, "The road to the south-central region is perilous while the people are fond of rebelling. We must wait until both their scheming and courage are exhausted. We need only restrain them for a protracted period and we will gain a victory with our army intact to seek for more.

Why get upset over penned-up animals?" Li Shou could not be dissuaded from doing battle and in the end he did not gain a victory. Afterwards he entrusted all military affairs to Fei Hei.

\*[Eighth year (333). Spring, first month. Tung Ping, Huo Piao et al. emerged and surrendered. Our awe resounded through the thirteen commanderies.]\*(HYKC 9/122.6-11) The Governor of Ning province Yin Feng 殷奉 surrendered and Li Hsiung consequently possessed the south-central region.

\*[Third month. Governor Yin Feng surrendered the province and presented tokens of his loyalty. He was transferred to Shu. Li Shou was given control of Ning province. When the southern barbarians had first been pacified the members of his force were very strictly disciplined, but later they turned to oppressing and robbing the populace.]\*(HYKC 9/122.11-12) Hsiung thereupon declared a general amnesty and sent Li Pan to attack and pacify the I barbarians of Ning province, at the same time naming Pan (General) Controlling the Army.

\*[Autumn. Men of the province of Chien-ning Mao Yen, Luo T'un et al. rebelled, killing the Grand Administrator Shao P'an. The Grand Administrator of Tsang-k'ue Hsieh Shu declared his commandery for Chin. Li Shou defeated him.

\*[Ninth year (334). Spring. A portion of Ning province was cut off to form Chiao province. Huo Piao was made Governor of Ning province while Ts'uan Shen of Chien-ning was named Governor of Chiao province.

\*[Li Shou was enfeoffed King of Chien-ning.]\*(HYKC

9/122.12-13)

\*[Third month. Li Shou returned. ]\*(HYKC 9/123.3)

In the eighth year of the Hsien-he reign period (334)<sup>83</sup> ulcers formed on Li Hsiung's head and he died in the sixth month.<sup>84</sup> At the time he was 61 sui and had been on the throne for thirty years.<sup>85</sup> He was given the counterfeit posthumous title of the Martial Emperor (Wu-ti 武帝) and the temple name Grand Exemplar (T'ai-tsung 太宗) while his tomb was called An-tu Ling 安都陵.

Hsiung was by nature generous and sincere. He reduced punishments and simplified the legal code and attained to great renown. The Ti leaders Fu Ch'eng and Wei Wen rebelled after having already surrendered and with their own hands wounded Hsiung's mother but when they came (to submit) Hsiung pardoned all their crimes and accorded them favorable treatment. For this reason both Chinese and barbarian were contented and his majesty overawed the western lands. At the time the whole world within the seas was in great disorder and Shu alone was without troubles, therefore people submitted to him one after the other. Hsiung established schools on the commandery and prefectural levels and appointed a historian. In his moments of respite from the hearing of audiences and the perusal of memorials he was never found without a book in his hand. His taxes were three hu of grain per adult male per year, with adult females paying half this amount, while the household tax was no more than a few chang of silk and a few liang of cotton. Wars were few, corvee labor

infrequent and the common people prospered. The village gates were not closed and the people did not rob one another.<sup>86</sup> However Hsiung's mind was fixed on effecting the submission of distant lands and for this state funds were insufficient therefore whenever the various commanders presented gold, silver or precious jewels they usually received an office in recompense. The Chancellor Yang Pao

remonstrated, saying, "Your Majesty is the ruler of the empire and should embrace and control all within the Four Seas. How is it that there is the buying of gold with official positions?" Hsiung excused himself with an evasive answer. On a later occasion Hsiung got drunk, pushed the Prefect of the Palace Secretariat ( chung-shu ling 中書令 ) and ordered the Prefect of the Grand Provisioner ( t'ai-kuan ling 太官令 ) flogged. Pao advanced and said, "The demeanor of the Son of Heaven should be characterized by majesty, that of the princes by gravity.' How could there be a Son of Heaven who acts like a drunkard!" Hsiung thereupon released (the Prefect of the Grand Provisioner. Hsiung once went on a small outing for no reason. From his rear Yang Pao galloped past him holding a halberd. Hsiung thought this strange and asked him about it. He replied, "To support all the weight of the empire is like my galloping an ill-natured horse holding a halberd. If one speeds him on then one fears harming oneself, if one allows him to go slowly one fears his losing his way. It is for this reason that when my horse galloped I did not restrain him." Hsiung came to his senses and returned. Hsiung ran



his state without imposing ritual and his officials had no fixed emoluments. \*[Many official positions came to be redundant.]\*(HYKC 9/121.4) Rank and seniority were not discriminated and commoners and nobles did not differ in their clothing and insignia. \*[Bribes were transmitted openly and rewards and punishments were not administered clearly.]\*(HYKC 9/121.4) When his armies were on the march they made no use of commands and when using troops he did not divide them into divisions or squads. If in battle (his commanders) met with success they did not yield to each other in claiming merit, if they met with defeat they did not come to each other's rescue. In attacking a city or reducing a town they always put the capture of prisoners and the taking of plunder first. These were the reasons for his failure.<sup>87</sup>

Li Pan

Li Pan 李班, sobriquet Shih-wen 世文, \*[was Li Tang's fourth son. He was adopted by Li Hsiung when young.]\*(HYKC 9/123.6) He was first appointed General Quelling the South ( p'ing-nan Chiang-chün 平南 ) and later established as Heir Apparent.<sup>88</sup> Humble, self-deprecating and open to suggestions, Pan was loving and respectful towards scholars and worthies. From He Tien 何點 and Li Chao on Pan took all of them as teachers. He also summoned the famous scholar Wang Chia 王嘏 as well as Tung Jung 董南虫 of Lung-hsi and Wen K'uei 文舉 of T'ien-shui 天水 to be among his retainers and friends. He would often say to Tung Jung and the others, "When I consider King Ching 景 of Chou's Heir Apparent Chin 晉<sup>89</sup> or the Heir Apparent of the state of Wei (Ts'ao) P'i 丕<sup>90</sup> or the Heir Apparent of the state of Wu 吳, Sun Teng 孫登<sup>91</sup>, all of them surpassingly excellent in their appreciation and knowledge of literature, I never fail to feel ashamed. How lofty and enlightened were the worthies of antiquity whom none of posterity are able to equal. \*[He was proper in manner and deportment and diligent in inquiring from However he was given to frivolous actions and his failing was (an addiction to) hunting.]\*(HYKC 9/123.8-9) By nature kind to all, in everything Pan adhered to the correct path. At the time the various sons and brothers of the Li family were all fond of extravagance and Pan often warned and rebuked them. Everytime the court held a great conference Hsiung would invariably order Pan to participate. It was Pan's

opinion that, "In antiquity in bringing land under cultivation it was divided equally and both rich and poor obtained their proper place<sup>92</sup> whereas today the noble are occupying uncultivated land on a grand scale while the poor have no land to farm and the wealthy sell their excess produce. How could this be the kingly principle of the great equality?" Hsiung accepted this criticism. When Hsiung was abed with illness Pan waited upon him day and night. When young Hsiung had fought in many battles and had suffered many wounds. Now as his illness became severe the scars all began suppurating and bursting. Hsiung's sons Yüeh and the others all thought this disgusting and avoided him but Pan would suck the pus off, with no expression of distaste. Everytime he tasted medicine (for Hsiung)<sup>93</sup> he would be brought to tears and he would not take off his official robes and cap. Such was his filial piety and sincerity.

When Hsiung died Pan succeeded to the usurper's throne and delegating responsibility for the administration of the affairs of the Court Secretariat ( shang-shu 尚書 ) to him made Li Shou regent. Pan remained in the palace observing the mourning ritual while the affairs of government were all entrusted to Shou and the Minister over the Masses He Tien, the Prefect of the Secretariat Wang Hual 王瓌 and others. At the time Li Yüeh was stationed in Chiang-yang 江陽. Because Pan was not a direct descendant of Hsiung Yüeh thought it most unjust (that Pan should succeed to the throne). Now he returned for the observance of the mourning

ritual and secretly plotted with his younger brother Ch'i 期 about the matter. Li Wu 珩 exhorted Pan to send Yüeh back to Chiang-yang and to appoint Ch'i Governor of Liang province, stationed in Chia-meng. Because Hsiung had not yet been buried Pan could not bring himself to do this. Trusting of others and dwelling in liberality, his heart was without the slightest pettiness. At the time there appeared two paths of white structive energy which girded the heavens. The Chief Grand Astrologer ( t'ai-shih ling 大史令 ) Han Pao 韓豹<sup>94</sup> memorialized, "In the palace there is the ether ( ch'i 氣 ) of secret plots and weapons. Beware of someone among your relatives." Pan's eyes were not opened. In the ninth year of the Hsien-he reign period (334), when Pan was engaged in night-crying, Yüeh killed him in the palace where Li Hsiung's body was being held in state.

\*[Winter, tenth month, kuei-hai day (Dec. 5, 334). Li Ch'i and Li Yüeh killed Pan at Lin-tz'u. They also killed Pan's elder brother, the (General?) Directing the Army Li Tu. His younger brother Li Wu fled to Chin. Ch'i falsely canonized Li Pan the Fractious Heir Apparent (Li T'ai-tzu). Li Shou posthumously canonized him as the Sorrowful Emperor (Ai 哀 Huang-ti). His sons Yu 幽 and Yung 頤 were killed by Li Ch'i. Pan and his brothers, five in all, all met violent deaths. Four of them left no descendants. Li Wu under the Chin administration held consecutively the posts of Grand Administrator of Pa, Hsiang-yang and I-tu commanderies and Dragon-soaring General. In the third year

of the Yung-he reign period (347) he died in battle at Shan-yang following the (Great General of the) Western Expedition.]\* (HYKC 9/123.10-12) At the time he was forty-seven sui and had been on the throne one year. Hsiung's son Ch'i was chosen to inherit the throne from him.

Li Ch'i

Li Ch'i 李期, sobriquet Shih-yün 世軍, was the fourth son of Li Hsiung. Discerning, wise and fond of learning, by the time of his capping he was competent at composition. He did not esteem wealth but was fond of distributing his bounty and humbly solicited and accepted advice. When Ch'i had first been named General Establishing Majesty Li Hsiung had ordered his various sons as well as the other sons and younger brothers of the imperial household to rely upon their past beneficence and sincerity to assemble groups of men. At most they were able to assemble a few hundred while Ch'i alone reached over a thousand men. \*[He was made General Pacifying the East.]\* (HYKC 9/123.13) Most of the people he recommended by memorial Hsiung accepted so that many of the senior administrative officials of the various bureaux had advanced through his patronage.

Having killed Li Pan, Ch'i wished to establish Li Yüeh as ruler. However, because Ch'i was raised by the wife of Li Hsiung, Madame Jen 任氏<sup>95</sup>, and because of his many talents, Yüeh yielded the throne to him. He thereupon usurpingly assumed the position of Emperor and, proclaiming a general amnesty, he changed the reign-title to Yü-heng 玉恆 (Jade-like constancy). He executed Pan's younger brother Tu 都 and sent Li Shou to attack Tu's younger brother Wu 琚 at Fou. Abandoning the city, Wu surrendered to Chin.<sup>96</sup> Ch'i enfeoffed Shou as King of Han 漢王 and appointed him Governor of Liang province, Colonel of the Eastern Ch'iang and Army Protector of the Middle (chung

hu-chün 中護軍), administering the affairs of the Secretariat. He enfeoffed his elder brother Yüeh as King of Chien-ning 建寧, appointing him Minister of State (hsiang-kuo 相國) and Great General and also entrusting him with the administration of the affairs of the Secretariat. He established his wife, Madame Yen 閔, as Queen. \*[Ch'i's elder brother Li Pa 霸 was made Palace Director of the Army and Great General Stabilizing the South. His younger brother Pao was named Great General Stabilizing the West, Colonel of the Western Barbarians and Grand Administrator of Min-shan while his elder cousin Li Shih<sup>+</sup> was made Great General of the Eastern Expedition, replacing Yüeh.]\*(HYKC 9/124.1-2) He appointed his General of the Guard (wei chiang-chün 衛) Yin Feng to the posts of Chancellor of the Right (yu ch'eng-hsiang 右丞相) and General of Doughty Cavalry and the Prefect of the Secretariat Wang Huai<sup>97</sup> to the post of Minister over the Masses.

\*[Autumn. The (Colonel?) Director of Retainers Ching Ch'ien 景騫 was named Prefect of the Secretariat, the General of the Southern Expedition Fei Hei was named Director of Retainers and Li Pan's uncle Luo Yen was named Archer-in-waiting.]\*(HYKC 9/124.3-4) Considering that he had personally planned the 'great affair' (usurpation) and had brought it to fruition, Ch'i slighted all the former officials. Outside the court he trusted and employed the Prefect of the Secretariat Ching Ch'ien, the (Squire of the) Secretariat Yao Hua 姚華 and T'ien Pao 田褒. Pao was lacking in other talents but during Hsiung's reign he had

urged the establishment of Ch'i as Heir Apparent and for this reason he was favored most highly. Within the court he trusted the eunuch Hsü Fou 許澹 et al.. The affairs of the administration of the state were seldom again referred to the major officials, both rewards and punishments being decided by a mere handful of people. Thus the guiding ropes of government became entangled.<sup>98</sup> \*[Li Pan's(?) uncle Luo Yen plotted with the Minister ( hsiang ) to the King of Han (Shou), Shang-kuan Tan 上官澹 of T'ien-shui, to take Ch'i by surprise and enthrone Pan's son Yu. Word of the plot leaked out and Luo Yen and Shang-kuan Tan were killed. Pan's mother nee Luo, Li Han's son Yen 嚴 and Li Chih's wife nee Tsan were also executed.]\* (HYKC 9/124.4-5) The Archer-in-waiting of the Secretariat ( shang-shu c'u-veh 尚書僕射 ), the Duke of Wu-ling 武陵 Li Tsai was falsely accused of plotting to rebel, imprisoned and executed.<sup>99</sup>

Earlier the Chin General Establishing Majesty Ssu-ma Hsün 司馬勳 had encamped at Han-chung.<sup>100</sup> Ch'i dispatched Li Shou to attack and reduce his position. Consequently a supervising official was appointed and Nan-cheng was garrisoned.

Li Hsiung's sons Pa and Pao both died without displaying any symptoms of illness beforehand<sup>101</sup> and everyone said that Ch'i poisoned them. At this the great officials all were secretly fearful and the people were uneasy.<sup>102</sup> Heaven rained down a great fish in the midst of the palace, yellow of color. Further, a pig and a dog mated in the palace.<sup>103</sup> Many were they whom Ch'i executed,



confiscating their wives, daughters and possessions in order to fill his inner apartments. . Both within and without the people were filled with fear and on the roads and highways they gave each other veiled looks. Remonstrators were charged with crimes and the people were intent on avoiding misfortune by any expedient. Ch'i also poisoned his General Pacifying the North Li Yu 李幽.<sup>104</sup> Yu was Li Shou's adopted younger brother. Thereupon Ch'i plotted with Li Yüeh, Ching Ch'ien, T'ien Pao and Yao Hua to attack Li Shou et al. by surprise, intending to rely on the excuse of the burning of the Shih bridge 市橋<sup>105</sup> to send out troops. Ch'i also repeatedly sent the Palace Attendant-in-ordinary ( chung ch'ang-shih 中常侍 ) Hsü Fou to Shou's headquarters to spy on his activities. When Ch'i killed Li Yu, Shou was greatly alarmed and he was also suspicious of Hsü Fou's frequent comings and goings. Therefore at the head of ten thousand infantry he marched from Fou on Ch'eng-tu, memorializing that Ching Ch'ien and T'ien Pao were throwing the government into disorder and saying that he (Shou) was raising the 'troops of Chin-yang 晉陽<sup>106</sup> in order to remove the evil at the side of the ruler. He made Li I+ 李爽 his vanguard. When Shou arrived at Ch'eng-tu Ch'i and Yüeh had not anticipated his coming and had made no preparations beforehand.<sup>107</sup> Shou consequently took the walled city and encamped his troops right up to the city gate.<sup>108</sup> Ch'i dispatched a Palace Attendant ( shih-chung 侍中 ) to pay his respects to him. Shou memorialized that the Minister of State, King Yüeh of

Chien-ning, the Prefect of the Secretariat, Duke of He-nan 河南公 Ching Ch'ien, the Secretaries T'ien Pao and Yao Hua, the Palace Attendant-in-ordinary Hsü Fou, the General of the Western Expedition Li Hsia 李段 and the General Li Hsi 李西 et al. all, harboring treachery, disordering the government and planning to overturn the altars of soil and grain, were guilty of treason and that their crimes merited extermination. Ch'i accepted this and thereupon killed Yüeh, Ching Ch'ien and the others. Counterfeiting a command from Madame Jen Shou deposed Ch'i, making him Duke of Ch'iung-tu prefecture 邱都縣 and secluding him in a subsidiary palace. Sighing, Ch'i said, "That the ruler of the empire should be reduced to the duke of a small prefecture. It would be better to die." In the fourth year of the Hsien-k'ang reign period (339) Ch'i hung himself.<sup>109</sup> At the time he was twenty-five sui of age<sup>110</sup> and had been on the throne for three years.<sup>111</sup> He was given the posthumous title Imprisoned Duke (Yu Kung 幽公). When he was buried he was granted a phoenix carriage with nine tassels<sup>112</sup>, everything else following the etiquette appropriate for a king. All of Hsiung's sons were killed by Li Shou.<sup>113</sup>

\*[Fifth year (339). Ch'i's wife and sons were transferred to Yüeh-sui. Li Shih then sent a man to Yüeh-sui to execute his sons.]\*(HYKC 9/124.8)

Li Shou

Li Shou 李壽, sobriquet Wu-k'ao 武考, was the son of Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup>. He was clever and fond of learning, broad in his refinement and capacity. When young he esteemed proper demeanor, in this way differing from the other sons of the Li clan. Li Hsiung considered his talent remarkable and thought him capable of bearing heavy responsibilities. He appointed Li Shou General of the Van, giving him charge of the military affairs of Pa-hsi, then promoted him to General of the Eastern Expedition. At the time he was nineteen sui of age and he recruited the recluse Ch'iao Hsiu 譙秀 to be his retainer so as to get the full benefit of his counsel. Shou's majesty and graciousness achieved reknown in Pa-hsi. When Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> died Li Shou was promoted to Great General, Great Inspector-general and Palace Attendant, was enfeoffed as Duke of Fu-feng and was delegated supervision of the affairs of the Secretariat. \*[From the time when he replaced his father as commander his ambition was set on achieving merit and fame. Therefore whether on an expedition against the east or marching on the south he always achieved results.]\*(HYKC 9/124.9) On an expedition against Ning province, by assaulting and besieging for over a hundred days he completely pacified the various commanderies. Li Hsiung was greatly pleased and enfeoffed Shou as King of Chien-ning.<sup>114</sup> When Li Hsiung died it was his dying wish that Li Shou act as regent.<sup>115</sup> When Li Ch'i ascended the throne Shou's title was changed to that of King of Han, he was granted the revenues of

(the?) five commanderies of Liang province for his sustenance and named Governor of Liang province.<sup>116</sup> \*[When Li Ch'i killed Li Pan, Li Shih originally wanted to ally himself to Shou and plot together to chastize Ch'i. Shou did not dare to do this. Li Shih then angrily sought to persuade Li Ch'i to sieze Shou. Ch'i feared Li Wu in the north and wished to make use of Li Shou to chastize him and therefore would not permit it. Having been enfeoffed at Han Shou marched north on Wu. Shou set out to Wu the benefits of leaving and offered him safe passage. Li Wu was thus able to descend the Yangtze to the east to Wu (i.e. Eastern Chin) from Pa.]\* (HYKC 9/124.10-11)

Li Shou's awesome reputatcn reached afar and Li Yüeh, Ching Ch'ien et al. deeply feared him, which caused Shou great worry. He replaced Li Wu in occupying Fou. Whenever he was due to attend court he would announce that there were threats of incursions upon the borders and they could not be left unguarded and thus he would avoid attending court.<sup>117</sup> Noticing that Li Ch'i, Li Yüeh and their brothers, over ten men in all, were all just at the peak of their manhood and that, moreover, they all controlled strong contingents of troops, Li Shou feared for his own safety and repeatedly called upon and made respectful overtures to Kung Chuang 龍壯 of Pa-hsi. Although Kung Chuang did not respond to these offers of employment \*[he feared he would be harmed and, left with no choice,]\* (HYKC 9/124.13) he did pay several calls on Shou. At the time Min-shan had collapsed and the waters of the Yang-tze had

dried up. Li Shou considered these evil signs<sup>118</sup> and would always ask Kung Chuang about methods whereby to secure his own safety. Because Li T'e had killed his father and uncle Kung Chuang wished to make use (of Shou) in order to revenge their death, but had not yet had an opportunity. He therefore counseled Li Shou, saying, "If Your Excellency is able to discard the small in order to pursue the large, to trade safety for danger then you may found a state and cut off a territory and have a long rule as a feudal lord, your name will be greater than the Dukes Huan or Wen and your reputation will be transmitted to a hundred generations." Li Shou accepted this and secretly joined with the Senior Administrator Luo Heng 羅恆<sup>119</sup> of Lüeh-yang and Hsieh Ssu-ming 解思明 of Pa-hsi in plotting to occupy Ch'eng-tu and declaring allegiance to Chin. \*[Presently Shou's adopted younger brother returned from Ch'eng-tu ill and died on the way. Shou then claimed that Li Yüeh had poisoned him. In order to delude his followers he forged a letter from Jen T'iao saying that Li Ch'i and Li Yüeh should depose Shou. They believed him.]\*(HYKC 9/125.2-3) Shou then swore his followers, military and civil, to an oath of allegiance \*[promising to reward them with the spoils within the city (of Ch'eng-tu)]\*(HYKC 9/125.3-4), and, obtaining several thousand men, fell upon Ch'eng-tu, capturing the city. \*[His son Li Shih acted as his agent within the city and opened the gates. He thus captured Li Ch'i and Li Yüeh and executed over ten of their relatives.]\*(HYKC 9/125.4) He allowed his troops to take prisoners and plunder. They went

so far as to violate the daughter(s) of Li Hsiung and the wives of the various members of the Li family. The casualties were many and the plundering ceased only after several days.<sup>120</sup>

Luo Heng and Hsieh Ssu-ming together with Li I<sup>+</sup>, Wang Li 王利 et al. urged Shou to proclaim himself General Stabilizing the West, Pastor of I province and King of Ch'eng-tu, to acknowledge allegiance to Chin \*[and name Kung Chuang Senior Administrator so that he might proclaim it to their underlings. They also urged that Shou order Li Ch'i sent to Chin.]\* (HYKC 9/125.5-6) However, Jen T'iao together with the Marshal Ts'ai Hsing 蔡興, the Palace Attendant Li Yen 李堃 and Chang Lieh 張烈 urged him to declare his independence. Li Shou ordered that the matter be submitted to milfoil divination and the diviner said, "You may be Son of Heaven for a few years." Jen T'iao said happily, "One day would be enough, how much more a few years." Hsieh Ssu-ming said, "How can being Son of Heaven for a few years compare with being a feudal lord for a hundred generations?" Shou replied, "'If a man in the morning should hear the right way, he may die in the evening without regret.'<sup>121</sup> Marquis Jen's suggestion is the best plan." Consequently in the fourth year of the Hsien-k'ang reign period (338) he usurped the counterfeit throne, declared a general amnesty and changed the reign-title to Han-hsing (Rise of the Han).<sup>122</sup> He made Tung Chao 董皎 his Minister of State, Luo Heng and Ma Tang 馬常 his right-hand men, Li I<sup>+</sup>, Jen T'iao and Li Hung instruments and

Hsieh Ssu-ming his chief counsellor. Shou tried to recruit Kung Chuang to be Grand Preceptor with a 'comfortable carriage' and a shu of silk<sup>123</sup>, but Chuang persistently refused, so he was granted special permission to attend court in a white silk cap and belt<sup>124</sup> and was allowed to occupy the position of a teacher or friend. Selecting those who had been passed over or had come to dead ends in their careers, Shou placed them in the front ranks (of officialdom). He posthumously honored his father Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup> as Emperor Hsien <sup>獻</sup> and his mother Madame Tsan <sup>詹氏</sup> as Empress Dowager, establishing his wife Madame Yen as Empress and his eldest son Shih as Heir-apparent. \*[Luo Heng was named Prefect of the Secretariat, Hsieh Ssu-ming Grand Administrator of Kuang-han, Jen T'iao General Stabilizing the North, Governor of Liang province in charge of northern affairs and Colonel of the Eastern Ch'iang, and Li I<sup>+</sup> was made General Stabilizing the West and Colonel of the Western Barbarians. The various commandery officials and court officials were all replaced with his own retainers and aides. Chiao province was abolished and Shou's nephew Li Ch'üan was made General Stabilizing the South, Colonel of the Southern Barbarians and Governor of Ning province. From this time the various scions of the Li clan in Ch'eng-tu no longer controlled troops or power. The old officials of Li Hsiung's time and men of the six commanderies were all cast aside.]\*(HYKC 9/125.7-9)

\*[Autumn, seventh month (338)]\* Someone indicted the Grand Administrator of Kuang-han Li Ch'ien for plotting

with the great officials to depose Shou. Shou ordered his son Kuang and the great officials to convene a conference in the front audience hall \*[and establish a pact of brotherhood with them. Li Hung 李閔 was promoted to General Stabilizing the East and Governor of Ching province and transferred to garrison Pa commandery.](HYKC 9/125.9-10) He transferred Li Ch'ien to become Grand Administrator of Han-chia. There was a great wind and a violent storm and lightning struck the main gate to the palace. Li Shou reproached himself severely and commanded the various officials to exhaust their loyal counsels without fear or taboo.

\*[Eighth month. The heavens poured down a continuous stream of rain, harming the crops. The common people suffered from famine and pestilence. The Minister Dwelling Among the People Kung Chuang submitted a sealed memorial which read, "Your servant has heard that concealed virtue will certainly have its manifest reward. For this reason when Yü Kung 于公 judged his cases he raised the village gate to await enfeoffment.<sup>125</sup> In my humble opinion Emperor Hsien (Li Hsiang<sup>+</sup>) was generous, benevolent and full of grace and pardoned many offenses. His numinous virtue was vast and penetrating and this has been passed down to Your Majesty. Your Majesty is innately loyal and earnest. When you received the dying command to erect your standard (to establish virtue?)<sup>126</sup> your intentions were equal to those of Chou Po 周勃 and Huo Kuang 霍光.<sup>127</sup> Your sincerity penetrated to the divine spirits. However, the hearts (of



Li Ch'i et al. ) were counter to reason and they overturned the bequeathed instructions.<sup>128</sup> 'Kuan' and 'Ts'ai'<sup>129</sup> having arisen, slanderers and flatterers multiplied. Great principles supersede blood ties. (Wishing to) rectify disorder and bring salvation in this time of danger you pointed to the starry chronograms above and made clear declaration to Heaven and Earth, then establishing a covenant with your troops by smearing the blood of a sacrificial victim on your lips<sup>130</sup> you declared the allegiance of your state to Chin. Heaven responded (with favorable portents) and the people were delighted. A white fish jumped into your boat<sup>131</sup>, booming thunder served to increase your majesty and a violent wind accorded with the righteous course. Your divine sincerity was honest and forthright and more brilliant than the sun and moon. However your advisors did not comprehend this and created an administration according to the exigencies of the moment. Incessant rains have inundated our territory for nearly one hundred days and the crops have been harmed. On top of this there is famine and epidemic and the common people are desperately hoping for relief. Perhaps Heaven seeks in this way to show a mirror to Your Majesty. Moreover the action of the previous day will do no more than avert calamity.<sup>132</sup> Your Majesty in your earnestness originally had no aspirations to imperial power but the present situation has continued unchanged for a long time and who within the empire can still clearly discern this and know of Your Majesty's original intentions? Moreover

the prognostications of the Darkened Palace<sup>133</sup> are difficult to know while you have in fact gone contrary to your sworn covenant. If one morning there should be an emergency in your territory both those within the court and without would arise in riot. You must think deeply on long range plans and make lasting provisions for your descendants. I humbly maintain that you should accord with your former covenant and establish ties with Wu-kuei (Chien-k'ang)<sup>134</sup> in order to draw near to the Son of Heaven. He will certainly honor and esteem you and enfeoff you and your descendants for generations. Although you will thus be demoted in rank one grade, your numinous virtue will linger eternally, your ancestral temple will be maintained and you will experience unlimited prosperity. The ruler and minister above will have their merits inscribed while the common people below will enjoy peaceful repose. While penetrating the high principles of the empire and promoting the fair precepts of truthfulness and circumspection, you stand before the Emperor with hands clasped low before you and chant poems and perform the rites. Above you will compete with the Wei <sup>韋</sup> clan of P'eng(-ch'eng) for excellence<sup>135</sup> while below you will be rivalling the virtue of Duke Huan of Ch'i and Duke Wen of Chin.<sup>136</sup> Would this not be auspicious? Some of your advisers say that if the people of the two provinces (of Liang and I) ally themselves to Chin they will certainly be honored while the people of the six commanderies will not find it advantageous. Of old when Liu Pei entered Shu the

people of the Ch'u region were honored while in the time of Kung-sun Shu the migrants were aided and given repose.<sup>137</sup> However when Han invaded Shu over half the populace were casualties and when Chung Hui 鍾會 and Teng Ai 鄧艾 campaigned against Liu Pei they released their troops to plunder and at that time who still took any cognizance of whether a man was from Ch'u or Shu? Some of your advisers do not understand the foundations of safety and security and are jealous of their titles and positions. The feudal lords of antiquity had their own great officials, Minister over the Masses and Minister of Works. The states of Sung and Lu were both thus. As for the outlying kingdoms of the Han, they also had Ministers of State. If you now loyally submit to Chin they will only exalt and esteem you. How should it be the case that they would diminish you. Of old the reason why the Grand Administrators and Prefects under Liu Pei served (only) in the provinces and commanderies was that the state had perished and the ruler had been replaced. If today you submit yourself in loyalty (you) the ruler will flourish while your officials will rely upon you. How can you discuss these two prospects on the same day? Some of your advisers say that I should act as Fa Cheng 法正 did.<sup>138</sup> Your Majesty covers me like Heaven and nourishes me like Earth, indulging me with those things which give me repose. As to fame and glory, I would not enter official service, whether it be in the (Shu) Han or the Chin dynasty. Why should I imitate Fa Cheng? Some of your advisers say that Chin will certainly demand hostages

and when they summon troops to campaign against the northern barbarians how shall we respond to them? In my opinion Chin is not worried about a foot-long sword (i.e. an insignificant force). When the whole state submits, Chin's majesty will encompass the four seas and its territory will be enlarged ten thousand li. Why should they demand hostages? The barbarians in the north are also our problem. Now we constantly have a threat to the northeast. Even if Chin summons troops it will only be to reinforce the Han river. This will still be two sides less than at present which will be in danger.<sup>139</sup> The responsibilities placed upon your servant are extremely heavy. Forgetting the deilements of my own exhaustion and illness I am truly grateful for my favorable treatment. I hope that my insignificant words may serve to supplement in some small way an illustrious era. My constant fear is that I shall die without having expressed my foolish thoughts, thus criminally turning my back on the grace and consideration you have accorded me. Reverently I advance and kneeling request my punishment." Li Shou was displeased but was constrained by his former words and hid his feelings.

\*[Ninth month. The Archer-in-waiting Jen Yen 任 顔, Li Hsiung's wife's younger brother, plotted rebellion. He was executed and Hsiung's son Li Pao 李 豹 and company were also killed.<sup>140</sup>

\*[Fifth year (339). Spring, second month. A Chin commander attacked Pa commandery, capturing Li Hung. Hung

was Li Kung's son. Originally Li Shou had promised to give Hung all the territory east of Niu-pi<sup>141</sup> but those in charge of the government objected and Shou desisted. Shou did not increase his troop strength either and it was for this reason that he was captured. Li Hung's younger brother bore a grudge over this, causing a rift between him and the officials of the court. At the time Li Shou was gravely ill. Luo Heng and Hsieh Ssu-ming et al. again urged him to submit to Chin. Presently Pa commandery fell and Shou thought that if he allied himself to Chin now they would think it due to their military might. For this reason he was unable to come to a decision and the plan was dropped.

\*[Third month. Li I<sup>+</sup> was appointed General Stabilizing the East, replacing Li Hung.

\*[Summer. The Grand Administrator of Chien-ning commandery, Meng Yen 孟彦, leading the people of the province bound the Governor of Ning province Huo Piao and sent him to Chin and surrendered the province to Chin. The General of the Right, Li Wei-tu, was dispatched to chastize them. At the time Li Ch'üan was in Yüeh-sui.<sup>142</sup>

\*[Autumn. The Secretary Li Shu 李璩 of Kuang-han was again dispatched as Censor to enter the South-central region. Li Shu's grandfather I had previously been the Governor of Ning province for the Chin and he had old ties with many of the men of the south. It was for this reason that he was sent. Li Shu's elder cousin Li Yen 演 submitted a memorial from Yüeh-sui urging Li Shou to return to loyalty to the Chin, abandoning the title of Emperor and

proclaiming himself King. Shou was angered and had him killed.

\*[The General of Chariots and Cavalry Wang T'ao 王韜 was made Military Advisor.]\*(HYKC 9/125.11-127.5)

Shou dispatched his Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary Wang Chia and the Palace Attendant-in-ordinary Wang Kuang 王廣 to pay his respects to Shih Chi-lung 石季龍.<sup>143</sup> Chi-lung had previously sent Shou a missive wishing to be his ally in invading and plundering (Chin) and promising to divide the empire with him. Shou was greatly pleased and proceeded to construct ships on a grand scale. Troops were put on alert and ordered to mend their armor while both officials and infantry readied provisions. The Prefect of the Secretariat Ma Tang was named Inspector-general of the Six Armies and Credential and Halberd Holder. \*[Sixth month of the third year of Han-hsing (340). Li Shou issued a rescript saying, "The remnant ashes of the Chien-k'ang have long escaped divine punishment. Now I intend to raise a myriad to personally carry out the heavenly judgement." Ninth month.]\*(TPYL 123/8a-b) A camp was erected on the eastern march and a great inspection held with an army of over seventy thousand men. His marine forces came up the Yang-tze River. As they passed Ch'eng-tu their drums and the clamour of their shouts filled the river and Li Shou mounted the city wall in order to observe them. His many officials<sup>144</sup> all said, "Our country is small and our troops few, while Wu-kuei<sup>145</sup> is distant and inaccessible. It will not be easy to plan to take it." Hsieh Ssu-ming also

insistently remonstrated with the utmost sincerity and Shou thereupon ordered his various officials to discourse upon the advantages and disadvantages of this course of action. Kung Chuang remonstrated, "How can Your Majesty's allying himself with the northern barbarians compare with allying himself with Chin? The barbarians are a nation of wolves. After Chin has perished you will not be able to escape facing north and serving them. If you contend with them for the empire then we are in a different position of relative strength from them. In this one can see the established precedent of the states of Yü 虞 and Kuo 虢<sup>146</sup>, a clear warning from the past already resolved themselves. I ask that Your Majesty consider this well." The various officials all thought Kung Chuang's words correct and prostrated themselves and tearfully remonstrated. Li Shou thereupon desisted and his troops all cheered and wished him a long life.

The Great General Stabilizing the East Li I<sup>+</sup> was dispatched on an expedition against Tsang-k'e. The Grand Administrator Hsieh Shu 謝恕 took refuge in the walled city and held him off for several days and he did not take the city.<sup>147</sup> Presently Li I<sup>+</sup>'s provisions were exhausted and he led his troops back.

Li Shou granted his Heir-apparent command of the Great Generals and charge of the affairs of the Secretariat.<sup>148</sup>

Li Shou was heir to Li Hsiung's liberality and frugality. When he had newly usurped the throne he followed the course of Li Hsiung's governing and did not make

manifest his ambitions and desires. Now Li Hung and Wang Chia returned from Yeh 鄴 full of praises for Shih Chi-lung's awesome strength and the beauty of his palaces as well as the prosperous and thriving condition of Yeh. Li Shou heard that Shih Chi-lung made cruel use of corporal punishments while Wang Hsün<sup>149</sup> also used killing and punishments to control his underlings and both were able to rule their states. Li Shou admired and envied them and whenever someone committed a minor offence Shou would kill him without ceremony in order to establish his majesty. Because the suburbs and outlying districts of the capital were not full and the city itself was empty and there was a shortage of skilled craftsmen as well as tools and machines Li Shou moved households with three or more adults from the surrounding commanderies in order to fill up Ch'eng-tu. He erected an Imperial Armoury and an Imperial Storehouse, mobilizing the skilled workmen of the province and commanderies to fill them. He erected palaces and buildings and commanderies to fill them. He erected palaces and buildings be as extravagant as possible. He also enlarged the Grand Academy ( t'ai-hsueh 太學 ) and erected a Banquet Hall.<sup>150</sup> The peasantry was exhausted by the corvee labor and their sighs filled the roads. Nine out of ten families longed for disorder. His Archer-in-waiting of the Right Ts'ai Hsing earnestly remonstrated (against these actions) but Shou thought it was slander and had him executed. The Archer-in-waiting of the Right Li I++ 李山疑 had often fallen afoul of the imperial will through straightforward



comments and due to the accumulated anger of these encounters Li Shou accused him of some other crime, imprisoned and executed him.

\*[Sixth year (343). The six commanderies Hsing-ku 興古, Yung-ch'ang 永昌, Yün-nan 雲南, Chu-t'i, Yüeh-sui, and He-yang 河陽 were separated from Ning province to become Han 漢 province.]\*(TPYL 123/8b)

\*[Summer, fourth month (of 343). The (Chin) Governor of I province Chou Fu 周撫 and the Grand Administrator of Hsi-yang 西陽 Ts'ao Chü 曹據 attacked Li Shou, defeating his general Li Heng 李恆 at Chiang-yang.]\*(CS 7/185)

When Li Shou's illness became critical he often saw Li Ch'i and Ts'ai Hsing haunting him. Eighth year (342).<sup>151</sup> Li Shou died. At the time he was forty-four sui <sup>152</sup> and had been on the throne five (six) years.<sup>153</sup> He was falsely given the posthumous title Chao-wen Ti 昭文帝 (Illustrious, cultured Emperor) and the temple name Chung-tsung 中宗 (Middle Exemplar). His burial tomb was called An-ch'ang Ling.

When Li Shou first was made King he was fond of learning and loved scholars, and was himself close to the path of goodness. Everytime he would read of a good commander, a worthy minister or one who had meritorious achievements he would always recite it over and over to himself. For this reason he was able to attack and conquer in all four directions and expand the state a thousand li . While Li Hsiung displayed his benevolent heart above, Li Shou also exhausted sincerity below and was called a worthy

minister. When he assumed the imperial throne he altered the ancestral temple, establishing his father Hsiang<sup>+</sup> in the Temple of the Primordial Ancestor of the Han (Han Shih-tsu miao 漢始祖廟) and Li T'ie and Li Hsiung in the Temple of Great Ch'eng (ta-Ch'eng miao 大成廟). He also sent down a missive saying that he was of a different clan from Li Ch'i and Li Yüeh. All the institutions of government were altered. From the great ministers on down he mostly used his own subordinates and aides and the old officials from the time of Li Hsiung and the men of the six commanderies all were cashiered. When Li Shou first fell ill Hsieh Ssu-ming et al. again argued for recognizing the royal house (of Chin) but Shou did not comply. Li Yen submitted a missive from Yüeh-sui urging Shou to return to allegiance, abandoning the title of Emperor and proclaiming himself King. Li Shou was angered and killed him in order to frighten Kung Chuang, Hsieh Ssu-ming et al. <sup>154</sup> Kung Chuang wrote seven poems<sup>155</sup>, attributing them to Ying Ch'ü 應璩 (190-252), in order to rebuke Li Shou. Shou replied, "Perusing these poems I know your intentions. If these poems are the work of a contemporary author they are the words of a worthy savant. If they are the work of an ancient author they are merely the common words of a dead ghost." Shou always wished to emulate the actions of Emperor Wu of the Han (r. 140-87 B.C.) and Emperor Ming of the Wei (r. 227-239) and was embarrassed to hear of affairs of the time of his father and cousins. Those submitting memorials were not permitted to speak of the government of

the previous generation because Li Shou thought himself better than them.

Li Shih

Li Shih, sobriquet Tzu-jen 子仁, was Li Shou's eldest son. Originally Shou's wife Madame Yen had no children. When Li Hsiang<sup>†</sup> killed Li Feng he took Feng's daughter for Li Shou. She gave birth to Shih. Li Ch'i prized Shih's bearing and appearance and appointed him General Assisting the Army ( yi-chün chiane-chün 翊軍 ) and heir apparent to the King of Han (Shou). Shih was seven feet nine inches in height<sup>156</sup> and his waist measured fourteen spans. He was adept at adapting to the exigencies of the moment<sup>157</sup> and he impressed the people of his time. When Li Shou died Shih inherited the counterfeit throne, proclaiming a general amnesty and changing the reign-title to T'ai-he (Great Harmony).<sup>158</sup> He honored his mother Madame Yen as Empress Dowager and his wife Madame Li<sup>159</sup> as Empress.<sup>160</sup>

The Chief Grand Astrologer Han Hao 韓皓 memorialized that the Dazzling Deluder (Mars) was 'guarding' the constellation Heart<sup>161</sup> and that this was because the rituals of the ancestral temple had been discontinued. Li Shih ordered the various officials to debate this matter. His Minister of State Tung Chiao and Palace Attendant Wang Chia were of the opinion that Emperors Ching (Li T'e) and Wu (Li Hsiung) had caused the enterprise to flourish while Emperor Hsien (Li Hsiang<sup>†</sup>) and King Wen (Li Liu) had inherited their foundation, that the closest relatives are never distant and that they should not be alienated or estranged. Shih ordered that Li T'e and Li Hsiung should again be sacrificed to and that they should both be styled

King of Han.

Li Shih's younger brother, the Great General King Kuang 廣 of Han, in view of the fact that Shih had no sons, sought to be named Imperial Brother-heir but Shih would not permit it. Ma Tang and Hsieh Ssu-ming, considering that Shih's siblings were not many and that if he discarded one of them he would be even more isolated and imperiled, insistently urged him to permit it. Li Shih suspected Ma Tang et al. of plotting with Kuang. He dispatched his Grand Protector Li I<sup>+</sup> to attack Li Kuang at Fou(-ch'eng) and ordered Tung Chiao to arrest and behead Ma Tang and Hsieh Ssu-ming<sup>162</sup>, exterminating their families to the third generation. Li Kuang was demoted to Marquis of Lin-ch'ung and committed suicide. Hsieh Ssu-ming was a strategist and remonstrated forcefully. Ma Tang had won the hearts of the people. From this time on there were no more men of principles or remonstrants.

Li I<sup>+</sup> raised troops from Chin-shou and rebelled.<sup>163</sup> Many of the men of Shu followed him and his force reached several tens of thousands. Li Shih climbed the city walls and fought to repel them. Li I<sup>+</sup> riding alone rushed the gate and one of the gatekeepers shot and killed him. His force then collapsed and scattered. Having "executed" Li I<sup>+</sup>, Shih proclaimed a general amnesty and changed the reign-title to Chia-ning 嘉寧 (Excellent Tranquility).

Originally there had been no Lao<sup>164</sup> tribesmen in the Shu region. Now they began to emerge from the mountains. As far north as Ch'ien-wei and Tzu-t'ung they were scattered.

throughout the mountain valleys in over a hundred thousand villages. They could not be controlled and were a major source of trouble for the peasants. Since Li Shih was haughty and miserly and by nature loved wealth and beauty he would often kill a man in order to seize his wife. \*[He also took Li I+'s daughter to be Empress]\*(WS 96/2112.7) Wild and lascivious, he paid no heed to affairs of state. While the I-lao barbarians rebelled and created disorder his defenses were scattered and deficient, and the borders of the state shrank daily. In addition there were poor harvests. By nature fearful and jealous, Li Shih killed and maimed the great officers, making unrestrained use of punishments.<sup>165</sup> Men were all filled with fear and trepidation. He repudiated and dismissed the ministers and aides of his father and ancestors, drawing to him and employing inferior men of his personal following. These various lackeys relied on this to display their power and good fortune, \*[erecting and decorating residences. He paid no heed to the remonstrances of his officials.]\*(WS 96/2112.10) Li Shih also constantly remained in the inner palace and seldom saw the officials of state. The historian repeatedly set forth the warning of calamitous portents. Shih then supplemented Tung Chiao with the title Grand Preceptor ( t'ai-shih 太師 ) exalting him in name but in fact hoping to make him share in the the baleful influence of the portents.

The Grand Marshal ( ta ssu-ma 大司馬 ) Huan Wen led a marine force on a campaign against Li Shih.<sup>166</sup> Wen

bivouacked at Ch'ing-i 青衣.<sup>167</sup> Li Shih mobilized a large army to guard against attack and also sent Li Fu and Tsan Chien 答堅 with several thousand men from Shan-yang to He-shui in order to hold off Huan Wen. It was said that Huan Wen would ascend by means of footpathss and the commanders all wanted to set an ambush south of the Yang-tze in order to await the royal troops. Tsan Chien disagreed and led the armies to cross from north of the Yang-tze towards Ch'ien-wei at Yüan-yang Bend 鴛鴦石.<sup>168</sup> Huan Wen emerged south of the Yang-tze from Shang-yang. Only when he had arrived at Ch'ien-wei did Tsan Chien discover that he was on a different route from Huan Wen. He then turned back and crossed to the north of the Yang-tze at Sha-t'ou Ford 沙頭津.<sup>169</sup> By the time Tsan Chien arrived Huan Wen had already reached Ch'eng-tu's Shih Li Mo . Tsan's forces scattered of itself. Reaching the city walls Huan Wen set fires and burned the gates to the larger city. Li Shih's troops were terrified and none remained resolute of will (to resist). His Overseer of the Palace Secretariat ( chung-shu chien 中書監 ) Wang Chia and Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary Ch'ang Ch'ü 常璩 et al. urged Li Shih to surrender . Shih asked the Palace Attendant Feng Fu 馮孚 about it. Fu replied, "Of old when Wu Han 吳漢 campaigned against Shu he completely exterminated the Kung-sun 公孫 clan.<sup>170</sup> Now Chin has issued a missive saying that they will not pardon the Lis. I fear that even though surrender there is no way of assuring your safety." Shih thereupon went out through the eastern gate by night and fled with

Tsan Chien to Chin-shou.<sup>171</sup> He then sent a letter of surrender to Huan Wen which read, "Seventeenth day of the third month of the second year of the counterfeit Chia-ning reign-period. Li Shih of Lüeh-yang prostrates himself, guilty of a capital crime. With all humility I address His Excellency, the Great General. My forebears were migrants, who, relying upon natural defenses and taking advantage of a dispute came into illegal possession of Min and Shu.<sup>172</sup> In my benighted weakness I came to control the last few threads of this enterprise. Stealing a few seasons of peace I have not yet been able to change my plan. I have impertinently troubled your vermilion carriage<sup>173</sup> to brave perilous defiles. My unreasoning and doltish soldiers have transgressed against the Heavenly Majesty. Mortified and ashamed, my essence and spirit dissolve and scatter. I would gladly accept the executioner's blade in order to consecrate the drums of your army.<sup>174</sup> As for the Great Chin dynasty, the guiding principles of Heaven are vast and expansive and Chin's bounty extends to the four seas while its charity outshines the sun. In harried confusion I cast myself into the wilderness. That same day I arrived in Pai-shui-ch'eng 白水城 and respectfully sent my personally appointed Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary Wang Yu 王幼 bearing a missive announcing my surrender and also ordering the provincial and commandery officials to discard their halberds and release their staffs (i.e. throw down their weapons). I am a fish in a dried-up pond awaiting its imminent demise." Presently he appeared at the gate of Huan



Wen's encampment with his hands tied behind his back accompanied by a carriage carrying his coffin. Huan Wen released his bonds, burned his coffin and transported Li Shih together with his uncle Li Fu, his cousin Ch'üan 權 and over ten other relatives to Chien-k'ang. Shih was enfeoffed Marquis who returns to Loyalty ( kui-i hou 歸義侯). In the fifth year of Sheng-p'ing 升平 (361) he died in Chien-k'ang. He occupied the throne five years before his defeat.<sup>175</sup>

Li T'ie first raised troops in the first year of the T'ai-an reign period (302) and the state went through six generations and forty-six years before perishing in the third year of the Yung-he 永和 reign period of Emperor Mu (347).

The Historian's Comments

The Historian comments:

In antiquity when the virtue of the Chou dynasty was just coming into prominence King T'ai of Chou suffered the hardships connected with crossing Liang mountain.<sup>176</sup> When the Han throne seemed eternal, Empress Hsüan mobilized troops to cross the Huang River.<sup>177</sup> Thus we know that the rift which caused the Jung 戎 and Ti 狄 barbarians to disrupt China has been deep since ancient times. How much more so is this true of the mixed races of Fa and P'u 濮.<sup>178</sup> Their varieties are truly numerous. They rely upon plunder and robbery provide for the necessities of their life and through long practice savage fierceness has become habit. Li T'e inherited vicious cunning from earlier generations and in his youth was bold in valorous errantry. When he gave a great sigh at the Chien-ke gate his ambition was to swallow up all of Szechwan.<sup>179</sup> When Chin's administrative net lost its knots <sup>180</sup>, taking advantage of Luo Shang's indecision he and his followers galloped their horses and donned quivers, with one voice they gathered like clouds.<sup>181</sup> They slaughtered and massacred Shu and Han-chung and ate grass in Pa and Liang.<sup>182</sup> Not half a bean was left in the fertile fields and the ashes of broken bones covered Hua-yang.<sup>183</sup> Truly it was the ruler losing the Way that brought about this degradation.

Chung-chün (Li Hsiung) was innately outstanding and cut a martial figure. He was praised for his extraordinary majesty. Through many years of carrying a lance he was able

to bring the hegemonic enterprise to flourishing. He tread upon Liu Pei's former base of power and subsumed under his rule the former territory of Kung-sun Shu. He taxed lightly and rectified decadent customs. He simplified the laws and thereby delighted his new country. Thus he had the appearance of conforming to the standards of a good ruler, but in fact he was Sun Ch'üan's<sup>184</sup> inferior. Now raising one's (natural) son to be Heir Apparent is the teaching common to the sages of the past and for him to continue one's body and receive one's foundation is the great model which our predecessors have cultivated. However, Hsiung was ignorant of the far-reaching plans of running a country and only maintained the minor virtues of a common fellow. He transmitted the control of his state to his adopted son and entrusted strong troops to his own posterity. No one bothered to gather up his abandoned bones for the rifts which caused them (his successors) to take up arms were already deep. Before the stars had made one Jupiter cycle (twelve years) disorders overturning the 'nest' had arrived. Although some may say this was the path of Heaven (i.e. fate) was it not also the plans of men?

Li Pan incurred disaster through liberality and love while Ch'i hastened his disaster through cruel violence. These were different paths but equally mistaken, different methods but the same destruction. Li Wu-k'ao (Shou) relied upon the inherited power of his family and exhausted his troops in stealing the throne. His crimes were those of Chou Tai 周世宗 a hundred fold over while his poison was

worse than that of Ch'u Wei 楚圍.<sup>185</sup> He was fortunate indeed to be able to die a natural death. Li Tzu-jen (Shih) carried on where he left off and was a successor to his benighted cruelty. Leading the remaining ashes of the state he dared to oppose a great country. When he issued armor to make a dawn expedition his reasons were the same as those of a cornered animal but when he cut the bar of the gate and fled in the night then he was not loyal like a bird that approaches one.<sup>186</sup> His head should have been hung from the gate of the capital in order to make capital punishments clear but instead he was honored like Liu Ch'an had been.<sup>187</sup> Was this not indeed favored treatment!

#### EULOGY:

When the Chin loosened the reins upon its future baleful influence accumulated.<sup>188</sup> Heaven displayed an upside-down turtle and dragons fought in the field.<sup>189</sup> Li T'e took advantage of a quarrel to steal our Pa and Yung 庸. The dynasty lasted for five generations, nearly four cycles (48 years). Usurping, killing and taking over the country, the tracks of their benighted insanity followed each other. When virtue is not cultivated even strategic locations cannot be relied upon.

CHAPTER 121 - NOTES

- 1        Approximately six feet seven inches.
  
- 2        Modern Shensi and Kansu provinces.
  
- 3        This entire first paragraph, except for the comment concerning his 'ardent spirit' is found in the Shu Li Shu, quoted in TPYL 398/6a. It is also paralleled in SKCC, quoted in TPYL 123/7a, where we do find the 'ardent spirit' comment.
  
- 4        Cf. CS 120/3027.3.
  
- 5        The proper reading of this name is uncertain. HYKC 8/114.1 says, "He left the Yamen Chang Luo 張羅 to hold ( ch'ih 持 ) the city." and this ch'ih is very easily confused with t'e. HYKC goes on to say that in the confusion Shang lost his tally and halberd of authority and that Luo T'e picked them up from behind. Here the T'e may be excrescent, an interpolation from the ch'ih above (CS 121/3050, n.1 quotes this passage reading ch'ih ). However the Chin Shu editors point out that Chang Luo is mentioned several times after this (HYKC 8/115.8; 116.3,6; 9/120.7,11), always as a Chin official and are unwilling to conclude that it was definitely Chang Luo who surrendered Ch'eng-tu to Hsiung.
  
- 6        HYKC 8/114.1 continues, "Ey the end of the night when

Li Hsiung awoke, Shang had already fled far away."

7 See above, note 5.

8 Ch'i was located south of modern San-t'ai prefecture in Szechwan. G.A. Stuart (1911), p. 29 identifies this 'wild taro' as Alocasia macrorhiza.

9 The commentary to the Hsu Han Shu (23/800) quotes a work titled Ti-li chih 地理志 which lists these seven commanderies as Ts'ang-wu 蒼梧, Yü-lin 鬱林, He-p'u 合浦, Chiao-chih 交止, Chiu-chen 九真, Nan-hai 南海 and Jih-nan 日南.

10 SKCC (TPYL 123/7a) reads, "seeking the resolution to lead and cultivate (the ch'i ?)." ( ch'iu tao-yang chih chih 求導養之志). The Chin Shu reading seems better. Hsi-shan is to be identified with the previously mentioned Ch'ing-ch'eng-shan. Chin Shu chiao-chu 121/2b says that this name, literally Western Mountain, derives from its location to the west of Chiang-yüan. This occurrence originally read 'Shan-hsi'. See CS 3050, n.3.

11 HYKC 9/120.1 gives the name of this reign title as Ta-wu 太武. This seems to be a mistake for the name of the state, Ta Ch'eng 大成. The Chin Shu records that Hsiung established the reign-period T'ai-wu 太武 in 306 when he assumed the title Emperor, but the CS editors emend this to

Yen-p'ing 晏平, and the Ta-wu of HYKC may be a late emendation to the text based upon this CS reading. See CS 121/3036.8, 3050 n. 4; TCTC 86/2720.

12 CS originally read Wu 武, avoiding the T'ang taboo of the word hu 虎. HYKC 9/119.12 reads Hu.

13 The hu 笏 was a jade tablet held by ministers while in attendance upon the ruler in order to write down commands, etc.

14 CS originally read T'ai-wu 太武. See above, n.11.

15 HYKC originally read Grand Preceptor of the Four Seasons, Eight Periods and Heaven and Earth ( ssu-shih pa-chieh t'ien-ti t'ai-shih 四時人節天地太師 ). The first four characters have dropped out or been edited out of the modern HYKC but they are preserved in the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien k'ao-i, TCTC 86/2721. HYKC 9/120.3 places this welcoming of Fan Ch'ang-sheng to Ch'eng-tu in 304, after Hsiung's assumption of the title King. WS 96/2111 agrees with CS and TCTC.

16 WS 96/2111 reads 'King of Hsi-shan'.

17 Reading tung 動 for hsün 熏 following Ku Kuang-ch'i.

18 The five relationships are usually given as the

relationships between father and son, ruler and subject, husband and wife, elder and junior and that between friends. See Mencius (H-Y Index ed.) 20/3a/4.

The nine types of soil refer to the soil composition, described as hard dark-orange, salty, dried marsh, etc. The Chou Li ( Shih-san ching chu-su ed.) 16/7a-b lists these different types of soil and the type of nightsoil appropriate to each.

19 A name has dropped out of the HYKC text at this point. Further, the administrative head of a province should hold the position of Governor, rather than the commandery level position of Grand Administrator.

20 The brother referred to is probably Li Fu 李福, although Shou also had an adopted younger brother named Li Yu 李猷. Below we find them in the control of Ch'iao Teng (HYKC 9/120.9-10) and it was probably he who was responsible for their initial seizure.

21 Han-an was sixty li east of modern Chiang-an 江安 while P'ao-tao is modern I-pin 宜賓, both in Szechwan. Ti-ming 1103.1 and 1080.3.

22 Reading shih 施 for shu 書 following Ku Kuang-ch'i.

23 HYKC 8/114.7-8 records that Li Li, Li Huang, Li Yün and Li Feng were sent on this mission, but makes no mention



of Li Kuo. TCTC 86/2728 gives only Li Li, Li Huang and Li Yün. CS 57/1564 says that the city in which Teng Ting was besieged was Ch'eng-ku 成固. This city was located eighteen li northwest of modern Ch'eng-ku 城固 in Shensi. Perhaps this is to be identified with the Tung-ch'en-shih mentioned above, which I have been unable to locate.

24 This expression is based upon Iso Chuan 451/Ting 8/3, which Legge, p. 769 translates, "All behave like visitors." The idea is that because they are not defending their own home territory their courage is transitory and not true courage.

25 An early collator of the HYKC notes that there seems to be a mistake in this name.

26 Thirteen li northwest of modern Ch'ang-an prefecture in Shensi province. Ti-ming 550.4.

27 Two li east of modern Nan-cheng in Shensi. It was the administrative center of Han-chung commandery. Ti-ming 600.2.

28 This paragraph originally followed the following three paragraphs in the HYKC. I have moved it to this position for the sake of continuity. Mien province was established in Hupei under the Northern Chou. Ti-ming 401.2.

29 CS 60/1638 records that Huang-fu Shang, after having been defeated by the forces of Chang Fang was sent incognito carrying an imperial rescript in the emperor's hand to the Grand Administrator of Chin-ch'eng, in the course of which he was captured by King Yung of He-chien and put to death. CS 4/101 places Shang's defeat in the ninth month of 303 so he must have died in late 303 or early 304.

30 The version of events recorded in HYKC 4/52-3 differs considerably from this. The reason for the rebellion of the aborigines is stated to be the failure to keep a promise of clemency for Li Jui 李叡, who had taken refuge among them. Further it is recorded that the city did not fall but that rather Li I's daughter Hsiu 秀 was chosen to replace her father until her brother Chao arrived. The only mention of Li Hsiung is to say that his revolt prevented reinforcements from arriving. HYKC places his death in the third month of 306. Cf. CSc 121/46

31 HYKC 8/115.4 also mentions Hung Ch'i 荀琦 of T'ien-shui.

32 This title has dropped out of modern editions of HYKC. Here I follow the Ku Kuang-ch'i emendation.

33 North of Nan-ch'ung 南充 prefecture in Szechwan.

Ti-ming 310.2.

34 HYKC 8/115.6 reads shih 石 for Shih, while 9/120.10 is the same as our text.

35 Ch'iao Teng's father had been killed by Ma T'uo and Li Hsiung. After Ch'iao Teng executed T'uo he ate his liver. See HYKC 11/201.5-6, which places this event before Li Li's death.

36 Or perhaps, "Chang Pao's younger brothers were all ( ch'üan 全 ) in the midst...". There is no other known mention of a Chang Ch'üan.

37 HYKC 8/115.8-9 reads: "Autumn. Seventh month. Luo Shang passed on in Pa commandery. Shang's sobriquet was Ching-chih 敬之, although one source says that his name was Chung 仲 and his sobriquet Ching-chen 敬真. He was a man of Hsiang-yang and passed through the offices Squire to the Vice-administrator of the Secretariat and Grand Administrator of the commanderies of Wu-ling and Ju-nan. He was transferred to Liang province and had assumed office (when he died)."

38 Ku Kuang-ch'i notes that this name is excrescent. It is P'i Su's sobriquet.

39 Yang-p'ing 陽平 Pass was northwest of modern Mien

prefecture in Shensi. Chiang 江 Pass was east of modern Feng-chieh and is today referred to as Ch'ü-t'ang-ch'üeh 唐關. Pai-shui 白水 Pass was northwest of Chao-hua in northern Szechwan, and was also called Kuan-t'ou 關頭. Ti-ming 40.2, 957.2, 329.2, 347.3.

40 HYKC 9/120.10 says that Hsiang<sup>+</sup> sent Li Shih leading Li Feng to attack Wen Shih. See below. Ch'iao Teng's biography (HYKC 11/201.13) places his capture in the third year of Yung-chia, i.e. 309. This may be a textual error as three and five are easily confused in Chinese.

41 Northwest of modern I-tu prefecture in Hupei. Ti-ming 457.1.

42 Chih was located west of modern Fou-ling prefecture in Szechwan. Ti-ming 628.3.

43 From HYKC 12/241.7 we know that the three ministries referred to here are those attached to the offices of General of the Western Expedition, Colonel of the Western Barbarians and Governor of I province.

44 Omitting ch'ang 常 as excrescent following Ku Kuang-ch'i.

45 CS 57/1565 has a slightly different version of these events. The reason given for Yang Nan-ti's betrayal of

Chang Kuang is Chang's refusal to pay a bribe while Yang Hu presented many gifts and further persuaded Nan-ti that even more riches could be obtained by attacking Chang Kuang. Also, Chang's son's name is given as Yüan 援 and he is said to have been killed in battle by a stray arrow. Chang Kuang is reported to have held out against a siege from summer to winter, after these events had occurred, before dying.

46 R.A. Stein believes this reflects a Taoist custom. See the section on Taoism and Fan Ch'ang-sheng above.

47 Lun-yü 30/14/40, Legge vol.I, p. 291.

48 Han Fei-tzu chi-shih (Ch'en Ch'i-yu ed.) 1/4 records that King Wu led 3000 troops clothed in armor of white cloth (or covered with white cloth?) to attack King Chou of Shang.

49 See Tso Chuan 143/Hsi 33/3, which Legge, p.225 translates, "The Ch'iang Jung were called into the field on the spur of the moment. The marquis (joined the army) wearing his son's garb of unhemmed mourning, stained with black, and also his mourning scarf."

50 Modern P'eng-shui prefecture in Szechwan. Ti-ming 1105.1.

51 HYKC 9/121.1 reads shou jen 受人 'accepts (the

suggestions) of others' for 'loves others'.

52 TCTC 92/2915 records Yang Nan-ti's flight to Han-chung in 323, and says that the cause of this flight was Nan-ti's reception of the news of Ch'en An's death at the hands of Liu Yao. The chronological framework of the HYKC at this point is then somewhat confused.

53 Chin-shou is another name for Chia-meng. It was used under the Chin, both before and after the Ch'eng-Han rebellion.

54 Following the emendation of Ku Kuang-ch'i.

55 The chronology here has been confused in both CS and HYKC. There were two expeditions against Ning province, one in 319-20, the second in 323. Li Chao was captured in 320 and sent to Ch'eng-tu, but escaped and was renamed Grand Administrator of Yüeh-sui. He and Wang Tsai 王載 were again defeated by Li Hsiang<sup>†</sup> in 323 and surrendered before Hsiang<sup>†</sup> went on to be defeated at T'ang-lang. HYKC 9/121 mentions only the expedition of 320, and mistakenly places the battle at T'ang-lang in the third month of that year. CS here seems to refer only to the second expedition. See TCTC 92/2911, CS 6/195, CS 81/2110, HYKC 4/54.2-4.

56 CS 81/2110 reads Yao Ch'ung 崇, while HYKC 4/54.2-4 is the same as our CS text.

57 HYKC 9/121.9 and TCTC 92/2915 agree in reporting that Li Chih accepted a bribe in return for this. TCTC places these events in the latter half of 323, whereas Sung Shu 98/2403-4 mention it under 321. Huang Fan-kuang, p. 186 says that HYKC 4 also places this event in 321 but to the best of my knowledge there is no mention of Yang Nan-ti in this chapter.

58 HYKC 2/24.2 says that he attacked and routed the Ch'eng Grand Administrator of Yin-p'ing Luo Yen 羅演, who was Li Chih's maternal uncle.

59 HYKC 2/24.2-3 reads 王令 for Han 令. HYKC9/121.10-11 gives the graphic form which we find in our CS text. It also mentions that Han held the position of Palace Attendant.

60 West of Ch'eng 成 prefecture in Kansu. This pien is more commonly written 鞞. Ti-ming 50.4. Cf. TCTC 92/2916.

61 East of Ti-tao 狄道 prefecture in Kansu. Ti-ming 507.4.

62 HYKC 9/121.10 says that the dead numbered over a thousand.

63 HYKC records that Li Hsiung had intended to turn

over his throne upon his death to Li Han. (ibid.)

64 HYKC 9/121.12 says that Hsiung had fifteen sons by concubines.

65 Ch'en Shou castigates Sun Ch'üan in this regard in his Comment ( p'ing 評 ) to the first chapter of the history of the Wu state, SKC 46/1113.

66 Duke Hsüan passed on the throne to his younger brother He rather than his son, the Heir Apparent Yü-i 與夷. This He then gave the throne to Yü-i upon his own death. However He's son Feng 馮 was sent to the state of Cheng and because of the rival claims to the throne this engendered a series of wars between Sung and Cheng. These in turn aroused dissension within the state of Sung, leading to Sung Tu (or Hua Tu 華督)'s assassination of Yü-i and establishment of Feng as Duke Chuang. The Superior Man refers to moral judgements appended to the Tso Chuan. Here the comment referred to is found at 10/Yin 4/4. See SC 38/1622-3, Tso Chuan 10/Yin 4/4, 25/Huan 2/5.

67 The baron of Wu Chu Fan 諸樊 had three younger brothers of which the youngest was the most worthy. He passed his throne on to his younger brother, intending that it should eventually devolve upon this youngest brother, Cha 札. However when the time came Cha refused the throne and the son of the second brother was enthroned, becoming



King Liao 僚. Chu Fan's son Kuang thought that he should have received the throne and hired Chuan Chu to assassinate King Liao. SC 86/2516-8.

68 See above, note 67.

69 HYKC 9/122.1 records the appointment of Li Pan to the position of Heir Apparent under the winter of 322.

70 HYKC 9/122.13-123.3 records that Chang's emissaries were the Fu Ying and Chang Ch'un of the next paragraph and in HYKC it is they who "consider (Hsiung's) words important" at the end of this paragraph.

71 There is a frequently encountered saying, 'do not disgrace a dark room' ( bu wu an-shih 不污闇室 ) which means that one should not do anything improper, even when there is no one to observe the impropriety. HYKC 9/123.2 reads, "My emotions all come to me darkly." ( ch'ing chün an chih 情鈞闇室 ), where chih seems fairly clearly to be a mistake for our texts shih 室.

72 After the overthrow of the Ch'in dynasty Hsiang Yü who had proclaimed himself King of Ch'u, and Liu Pang, who had been given the title King of Han joined in raising King Huai of Ch'u to the imperial throne, with the title I-ti, or the Righteous Emperor. The next year this emperor was killed by Hsiang Yü. He was in fact never more than Yü's

puppet. This seems a rather strange allusion to make and one wonders if it does not imply a certain amount of doubt concerning the Chin emperor and his future. See SC 7/315.

73 HYKC attributes this reaction to the emissaries Chang Ch'un and Fu Ying.

74 The CS text reads Chin Emperor Mu, who did not come to the throne until 345, over a decade after Hsiung's death. The line is taken from Wei Shu 96/2111.4 where it is not Chin Emperor Mu but T'o-pa Ch'i-lu 拓跋珪 who was posthumously canonized as Emperor Mu who is mentioned. See CS 121/3050, n.6.

75 CS 86/2236.15 reads, "Why does he not declare himself Emperor and amuse himself with one region." This portion of Chang Chün's biography gives us a background for Ch'un's speech. After arriving in Ch'eng he suggested that Ch'eng ally with itself Chang Chün to attack the Ti. This angered Hsiung and he planned to have Chang Ch'un waylaid on the road but Chang found out about it and confronted Hsiung. Hsiung then tried to persuade Ch'un to stay and enter his service, but was unsuccessful. The speech in our text is Hsiung's final address as Chang Ch'un leaves.

76 Duke Huan of Ch'i and Duke Wen of Chin were two of the five pa or Hegemons of the Spring and Autumn period. They were viewed by later Chinese as a type of secondary

model. They were not the sages that would receive the Mandate of Heaven but they unified the empire by force of arms and helped to secure the position of the Chou royal house. It is such a role that Chang Ch'un claims here that Chang Chün was fulfilling.

77 This paragraph finds no parallel in the HYKC but is in large part identical with CS 86/2236-7.

78 Pa-tung commandery was administered northeast of modern Feng-chieh in Szechwan. Ti-ming 148.4.

HYKC 9/122.3-4 gives a fuller list of the titles conferred upon Li Shou at this time. It includes Inspector-general of Inner and Outer Military (Affairs), Middle Army Protector and acting head of the Secretariat.

79 Modern Wu-shan 巫山 prefecture in Szechwan. Ti-ming 614.2. CS 7/177.10 lists this under the tenth month of 330.

80 TCIC 94/2979 goes on to record that Yang Nan-ti surrendered to Shou.

81 HYKC quoted below reads Shao 邵 for Ang 𡗗.

82 Also referred to as Ang P'an by CS. See above.

83 HYKC 9/123.3-4 says that Hsiung died on Aug 7, 334 while SKCC, quoted in TPYL 123/7b gives August 11, 334 and

CS 7/178 agrees with them in placing it in the sixth month of 334. The date here is in error. See CS 121/3051, n.9.

84 Here jih 日 (day) seems to be a mistake for yüeh 月 (month). Since both the HYKC and the SKCC date given in the previous note are near the end of the sixth month, while SKCC is clear in stating that Hsiung fell ill in the fifth month, he must have been sick more than six days.

85 In accordance with our determination that Hsiung's death occurred in 334 the Chin Shu editors believe that this figure should be emended to thirty-one. This takes the assumption of the title of Great General in 303 as its starting point. The modern edition of the HYKC (9/123.3) reads thirty, however Ku Kuang-ch'i believes that Li Ch'i changed the HYKC text on the basis of the CS Tsai-chi .

86 HYKC 9/121.3 reads, "The village gates were not closed and no one picked up lost articles on the highways. There was no one who rotted in prison and punishments were not used indiscriminately."

87 R.A. Stein has sought to interpret some of these statements as reflecting Taoist influence upon the Ch'eng-Han state. See the section on Taoism.

88 HYKC lists this event in the winter of 322, while TCTC records it under 324. See HYKC 9/122.1, TCTC 93/2921.

89 Pan seems to have made a mistake here. T'ai-tzu Chin was the Heir Apparent to King Ling <sup>景</sup> of Chou. King Ching was Chin's younger brother Kuei <sup>貴</sup>. Chin died before coming to the throne. Ying Shao's Feng-su t'ung-i ( I'ung-chien ed.) 2/12 records that Chin was a precocious youth and at age fifteen had a conversation with Shih K'uang <sup>師曠</sup>, the music master, in which Chin predicted his own death. I have found no passages connecting Chin to imperial patronage of worthy literati, which seems to be the point of these allusions. See also Ch'ien-fu lun (SPPY ed.) 9/15b-16a.

90 Ts'ao P'i, the later Emperor Wen of the Chin dynasty, was himself famous as an author, although only fragments of his most important work, the Tien lun <sup>典論</sup> survive. SKC 2/88 records that he sponsored the compilation of an encyclopaedic-type work called the Huang lan <sup>皇覽</sup> in over a thousand chapters. Also, one of the few portions of his Tien lun to survive is a work of literary criticism, the Lun wen or Discourse upon Literature.

91 Sun Teng was the Heir Apparent to Sun Ch'üan <sup>權</sup>, the founder of the Three Kingdoms state of Wu. Teng died in 241 before coming to the throne. He had a reputation for learning. See SKC 59/1363-66.

92 This is a reference to the well-field system of land allocation which later Chinese believed was followed during

the Chou dynasty. Under this system a section of land is divided into nine plots, eight of which are farmed privately while one is worked communally.

93 Cf. Li Chi ( Shih-san ching shu-shu ed.) 5/15a, which Legge, Li Chi, Book of Rites , v.I, p. 114 translates, "When a ruler is ill, and has to drink medicine, the minister first tastes it. The same is the rule for a son and an ailing parent."

94 HYKC 9/123.14 reads Han Yüeh 韓約. This is probably the result of graphic confusion.

95 HYKC 9/123.12 says that Madame Jen adopted Ch'i because his mother, surnamed Jan 冉, was of lowly birth.

96 HYKC 9/124.5 records that his commanders Chiao Kuai 焦會 and Luo K'ai 羅凱 also surrendered with him.

97 The CS editors punctuate so as to indicate that Prefect of the Secretariat was one of the offices conferred upon Yin Feng, however as we see from the HYKC quotation below this office was given to Ching Ch'ien, therefore here it must be the former office of Wang Huai. Cf. CS 121/3041.11.

98 HYKC 9/124.6 reads, "He spurned and ignored the high officials of his father's time. The administration of

Justice fell into disorder.

99 HYKC 9/124.5 places the execution of Li Tsai in 336, after Luo Yen's rebellion.

100 CS 7/180.12 records the dispatching of Ssu-ma Hsün to Han-chung in the eleventh month of 336.

101 HYKC 9/124.4 says they both died of sudden illnesses.

102 HYKC (ibid.) reads, "The great officials began to have doubts about their continued safety while relatives became estranged."

103 Cf. HYKC 9/128.3 where it is also reported that trees flowered in the winter.

104 Four li west of modern Ch'eng-tu. Ti-ming 206.3.

105 HYKC 9/124.7 records that Yüeh advocated the distribution of largess in order to recruit an army to appose Shou, but Ch'i refused because he was sure Shou held no danger for him personally.

106 Kung-yang chuan (H-Y Index ed.) 460/Ting 13/7 records that Lord Shang Yang raised troops from the Chin-yang (T'ai-yüan) region in order to eliminate the influence

of Hsün Yin 荀寔 and Shih Chi-she 士吉射 upon the Wei ruler. It was later often used as a justification for what were in fact rebellions.

107 CScc at this point quotes a collator of the Chin Shu who remarks that HYKC does not explicitly support the claim that Li Ch'i poisoned Li Yu. He feels that Shou only made this claim as an excuse to attack Ch'i. See CScc 121/13b.

108 The Japanese Tokugawa edition of the Chin Shu (121/9b) reads, "...encamped his troops at the palace gates."

109 WS 96/2111.7-8 agrees with CS in stating that Ch'i killed himself, however HYKC 9/124.7-8.11 and CS 7/181.4 say that Shou killed him. HYKC also places Ch'i's death in the fifth month of 338 while CS 7 places it in the fourth month of the same year.

110 HYKC 9/124.8 gives twenty-four.

111 This should read five years. Ch'i ruled from 333 to 338.

112 Li Chi 38/15b says that nine tassels were appropriate for the flag of the Son of Heaven.



113 HYKC 9/124.8 says that over ten of Ch'i's brothers were killed by Shou.

114 WS 96/2111.10 says that this kingdom consisted of twelve commanderies of the Nan-chung region.

115 HYKC 9/124.9-10 records that when Li Hsiung fell ill Shou waited in attendance upon him and that Hsiung delegated his power of command to Shou.

116 SKCC adds that his administrative center was in Fou.

117 HYKC 9/123.12 refers to these required court appearances as ch'ao-chin 朝覲, which designate the ceremonial visits of a vassal upon his lord in the spring and autumn respectively. See Chcu Li 18/12a-b.

118 HYKC 9/124.14 says that Shou considered these to be evil signs because of the words of Liu Hsiang 劉向. I have been unable to discover what words of Liu Hsiang this refers to.

119 The Po-na edition of the Chin Shu, 121/6a, reads Luo Huan 羅桓, as does the Tokugawa edition, 121/10a. HYKC reads Heng. See CS 121/3052, n.14.

120 HYKC 9/125.5 inserts before the last phrase of this

sentence the passage, "...many were slain and maimed...". SKCC also parallels the last section of this paragraph and is closer to CS than the HYKC is. TPLY 123/8a.

121 A quotation from the Analects, Lun Yü 6/4/8, Legge, p.168.

122 At this point he also changed the name of the state to Han. See WS 96/2111.11.

123 Li Chi 1/15a states that when a Great Official has reached the age of seventy he should be summoned with a 'comfortable carriage' ( an-chü 安車 ). I Li 22/12a says that a Great Official should be summoned with a shu of silk. A shu 束 was five liang 兩.

124 These were traditional mourning clothes. See Li Chi 29/17a. In CS 94/2442 we read that after Kung's father and uncle(s) were killed by Li T'e he did not give up mourning for years afterward. Here he must still be observing this mourning after more than three decades.

125 Yü Kung was a local judicial official under the Han who is said to have always resolved his cases fairly and to the satisfaction of those concerned. Once when the gate to his village fell down he had it rebuilt high enough to allow an official's carriage to pass through because he was sure that the 'concealed virtue' which he had accrued

through years of fair administration would one day be repaid through the enfeoffment of one of his sons. In the end his family held the position of Marquis for generations. See Han Shu 71/3041, 3046.

126 It is uncertain whether the chieh of this expression, chien-chieh 建節 is to be taken to refer to a tally of authority or a standard of virtue.

127 Chou Po and Huo Kuang were officials who acted more or less as regents and assured the stability of the dynasty after the deaths of Han Kao-tsu and Emperor Wu respectively. See HS 40/3051-62 and 68/2931-58.

128 This must refer to Li Ch'ü, Yüeh and cohorts.

129 These are the brothers of the Duke of Chou who revolted during his regency. See Shu Ching 17/1a-4b. Legge, v. III, p.487.

130 This was the traditional way of sealing an oath. Cf. Tso Chuan 16/Yin 7/1.

131 Shih Chi 4/120 records that when King Wu of Chou was crossing the Yellow River a white fish jumped into his boat. This was thought to portend his eventual defeat of Shang. The allusions following this no doubt also have some sort of historical reference but they are too vague to

locate.

132        The intended reference of this remark is uncertain.

133        Morohashi 20814.78 quotes a commentary to Chuang-tzu (H-Y Index ed.) 16/6/33 where the Darkened Pavilion is explained as a place where the ruler should quietly contemplate the Way. I have been unable to locate this commentary in any modern edition of the Chuang-tzu. The hsüan is the color associated with the north and this palace is said to have been located in this section of the capital.

134        Chien-k'ang was the seat of government of the Eastern Chin regime. The name Wu-kuei derives from Wu prefecture and Kuei-chi commandery. The administrative center of Kuei-chi was in Wu commandery and it was common to refer to the region by this compound name. See Ti-ming 372.4.

135        This was a family that held the position of Chancellor for generations. See Shih Chi 96.

136        See above, n. 76.

137        Liu Pei founded the Three Kingdoms era state of Shu Han in Szechwan. Kung-sun Shu established himself independently in Szechwan after the fall of Wang Mang and

before the reunification of China under the Latter Han.

138 Fa Cheng persuaded the Governor of I province Liu Chang 劉璋 to give his support to Liu Pei. See SKC 37/957.

139 Presumably this refers to the threat from Chin troops to the east and south.

140 TCTC 96/3024 records that at this time all the remaining sons of Li Hsiung were killed.

141 West of modern Chien-yang 簡陽 prefecture in Szechwan. Ti-ming 170.4.

142 CS 7/181 places this event in the third month of 339, and places Li Hung's capture in the fourth month. It also refers to Li Hung as "Shih Chi-lung's general". This is incorrect. See CS 7/189-190, n. 19 and CS 73/1923.

143 Also known as Shih Hu 虎, the ruler of the Latter Chao state.

144 TCTC 96/3038 attributes this speech to Hsieh Ssu-ming. TPYL 123/8a-b agrees with the CS.

145 See above, note 134.

146 Yü and Kuo were neighboring states during the

Spring and Autumn period. Yü allowed troops of the state of Chin to pass through its territory in order to attack Kuo. After Kuo was defeated the troops went on to attack and subjugate Yü. See Iso Chuan 96/Hsi 5/9.

147 Hsieh had rebelled against Ch'eng-Han rule in 333.  
HYKC 9/122.12.

148 TCTC 96/3046 records this appointment under the twelfth month of 341. SKCC does not mention the month. TPYL 123/8b.

149 Wang Hsün replaces Li I as Chin Governor of Ning province. He is mentioned often above.

150 WS 96/2111 parallels this paragraph quite closely, but does not contain the preceding sentence.

151 CS 7/186 and HYKC 9/127.6 agree in placing Shou's death in 343. CS lists it under the eighth month. See CS 121/3052, n. 15, TPYL 123/8b.

152 SKCC, quoted in TPYL 123/8b, gives Shou's age at death as forty.

153 In accordance with our revision of the date of Shou's death to 343 this should be emended to read 'six years'. CS 121/3052, n. 16.

154 Cf. above HYKC 9/127.3-4 and CS 3045.1-2.

155 TCTC 96/3035 records this under late 339 with the following variants: Tu Hsi 杜襲 for Kung Chuang; ten chapters for seven. TCTC 96/3038-9 records that after failing in his attempt to persuade Shou to submit to Chin Kung, Chuang feigned deafness and never again came to Ch'eng-tu.

156 Approximately six feet three inches. A span was sometimes three inches and sometimes five. Here it is probably five, giving a girth of approximately 66.5 inches.

157 Compare Chuang-tzu 38/14/38-9, which Watson translates, "Have you never seen a well sweep? Pull it, and down it comes; let go, and up it swings. It allows itself to be pulled around by men; it doesn't try to pull them. So it can go up and down and never get blamed by anybody." Burton Watson (1970), p. 160.

158 WS 96/2112.5 records that Shih sent an emissary to present tribute, presumably to the T'o-pa Wei.

159 Po-na ed. 121/8a and Tokugawa ed. 121/13a read Madame Chi 李.

160 The above paragraph is closely paralleled in SKCC,

quoted in TPYL 123/8b. The portion of chapter 9 of HYKC dealing with Li Shih's reign is an addition by Li Ch'i and not the work of Ch'ang Ch'ü. It makes no significant divergences from the Chin Shu text and I shall make no reference to it.

161 Heart ( hsin 心 ) was the fifth of twenty-eight lunar mansions against which the ancient Chinese plotted the movements of the planets. It is located in Scorpio and Antares. To 'guard' ( shou 守 ) is, according to Joseph Needham, a technical term meaning to remain in one constellation for longer than twenty days. See Needham, Science and Civilization in China , vol. III, p. 399, 235, 240.

162 TCTC 97/3067 records this under the eighth month of 345. WS 96/2112.5-6 is unequivocal concerning Li Kuang's intentions. It says that Kuang was planning to make a surprise attack on Li Shih.

163 TCTC 97/3072 places this rebellion under the winter of 346.

164 The Lao 獠 are to be identified with the modern Ke-lao 猓, who are related to the Thai peoples. The Lao lived in pile dwellings, did not possess the crossbow and are said to have a custom of drinking water through the nose. See Inez de Beauclair, "The Keh Lao of Kweichow and



their history according to the Chinese records" in Tribal Cultures of Southwest China , p.148-89, E.G. Pulleyblank, "The Chinese and their neighbours in Prehistoric Times", p. 31-35, Ruey Yih-fu (1948).

165        WS 96/2112.7 reads "... , punishments were cruel and indiscriminate."

166        The Annals of the Chin Shu record the launching of this expedition on the tenth of December, 346. At the time the court was under the control of the Empress of the deceased Emperor K'ang. Huan Wen made this expedition on his own initiative, only submitting a memorial before embarking.

167        North of modern Ya-an 雅安 prefecture. Ti-ming 569.2.

168        Northeast of modern Ch'ien-wei on the Yang-tze. Ku Tsu-yü 72/3070, quoted in CSc 121/20a.

169        Twenty li north of P'eng-shan in Szechwan. Ti-ming 407.1.

170        This refers to the reunification of Szechwan into the Han empire after the defeat of Kung-sun Shu in 36 A.D. See HHS 13/543.

171 CS 8/193.11 puts Li Shih's surrender on April 25, 347. The same source places Huan Wen's attack upon Ch'eng-tu on the i-mao 乙卯 day of the third month, however there was no i-mao in the third month of that year and this may be a mistake for second month. See CS 8/216, n. 6, where on the basis of the letter of surrender below, the CS editors would emend the date of surrender to April 13.

172 i.e. Szechwan.

173 The vermillion carriage is said to be used by an imperial emissary, or alternately by high officials. See the commentary to Wen Hsüan (Liu-ch'ien ed.) 46/10a and 21/8b.

174 In ancient China it was the practice to consecrate the war drums with the blood of a sacrificial victim, human or otherwise. Human sacrifice for this purpose is no longer recorded for this period. See Iso Chuan 142/Hsi 33/3, Legge p. 225.

175 CS 8/193 records the revolt of Teng Ting and Wei Wen the following month, thier enthronement of Fan Pen and final subjugation in 349.

176 It is recorded that King T'ai, ancestor of the later Chou dynasty, suffered incursions from the Jung and Ti. He tried to appease them with goods and valuables but

they were not satisfied and desired his territory. So as to avoid subjecting the inhabitants to war T'ai left the region and crossed over to the other side of the Liang mountain. However, the populace, rather than accept rule by the barbarians, moved their entire community to King T'ai's new location. See SC 4/113-14. Ti-ming gives a location five li northwest of Ch'ien prefecture in Shensi for Liang mountain.

177 The Huang River marked the boundary of Han control in Central Asia at this period. This probably refers to the expedition launched against the Ch'iang in 61 B.C. by Chao Ch'ung-kuo 趙充國. However I have found no reference connecting this expedition with the Empress or Emperor Hsüan (73-49 B.C.). See Han Shu 69.

178 The P'u are first mentioned in the Shu Ching as participating in the Chou conquest of Shang. During the Chou period we find them primarily in Hupei province but by our period Tso Ssu describes them as being dispersed throughout the Szechwan region. Their ethnic identity is uncertain. See Shang Shu cheng-i (Shih-san ching chu-shu ed.), 11/15b, Wen Hsüan (I-wen yin-shu-kuan ed.) 4/17a.

179 Ching-luo 井洛 refers to stars which represent Min-shan. See Wen Hsüan (I-wen ed.) 4/26a.

180 This metaphor bases itself upon the common

description of the administration of a state as a net controlled by guide ropes of kang-chi 綱紀 which the emperor grasps.

181 Cf. CS 120/3025.14.

182 Cf. 121/3035.15. After reducing Ch'eng-tu Li Hsiung and his forces were forced to withdraw to Ch'i and eat wild taro. Liang refers to Liang province, administered at Nan-cheng.

183 Sun Ch'üan was the founder and first ruler of the Three Kingdoms era state of Wu (222-280).

184 I have been unable to identify these two figures, if they are indeed people's names.

185 In times of hardship the people sometimes resorted to splitting the bones of the dead to burn as firewood. Hua-yang is another name for the Shu region and in particular Ch'eng-tu.

186 This is a reference to the Pi 比 hexagram of the I Ching . The commentary to this line says that a bird that approaches is to be spared while one which turns its back and flees should be killed. The import is that Li Shih was deserving of death. See Chou I cheng-i (Shih-san ching chu-shu ed.) 2/13a.

187 Liu Ch'an was the last ruler of the Three Kingdoms state of Shu Han. After surrendering he was enfeoffed and accorded favorable treatment. See SKC 33/901-2.

188 The pai-liu 百六 (one hundred six), which I have translated 'baleful influences', refers to numerology. In a cycle of 4.617 years one hundred and six were inauspicious. See Wen Hsüan (I-wen ed.) 47/31b.

189 Both of these are inauspicious portents. See HS 26/1293, Chou I cheng-i 1/26b.

190 Yung refers to the Han-chung region.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BIHP	Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology
CS	Chin Shu
CScc	Chin Shu chiao-chu
HHS	Hou Han Shu
HS	Han Shu
HYKC	Hua-yang Kuo-chih
SC	Shih Chi
SKC	San Kuo Chih
SKCC	Shih-liu Kuo Ch'un-ch'iu
TPYL	T'ai-p'ing Yü-lan
WS	Wei Shu