

THE LIANG-CHOU REBELLION

184-221 A.D.

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The Liang-chou (涼州) insurrection initiated the series of major rebellions which caused the downfall of the Later Han. It certainly lasted the longest of all. Strangely, and unlike most of even its ephemeral competitors, it has never been accorded a monograph in the Chinese dynastic histories¹. The fact that its first leaders were barbarian mercenaries, *viz.*, the "little" Yüeh-chih of the Köke-nör region, may have prompted the omission. Even after the command had passed, in the main, to Chinese officers, they kept, for the historian, the character of lawless brigands. And no doubt the proclaimed aims of the rebellion were less high-sounding than those of the others.

The information offered below was pieced together from scattered fragments in collecting material for the history of the Köke-nör Yüeh-chih. When this was published elsewhere², a full account of the insurrection seemed out of place, but it may be justifiable on its own merits. The gap it fills in the histories is perhaps of little importance. However, hardly a century was to pass before other barbarian auxiliaries, Huns, Hsien-pi, and Ch'iang, began to overthrow their employers and to set up their turbulent and short-lived states in Northern China. As a forerunner of this cataclysm the Liang-chou rebellion commands some interest.

It began with the special corps attached to the Commissioner of Ch'iang Affairs (recruited from the Little Yüeh-chih tribe of the Upper Hsi-ning-ho³) who mutinied at their camp at Lien-chü 令居⁴ in October-November, 184, lead by the Yüeh-chih Pei-kung Po-yü 北宮伯玉, Li Wên-hou

¹ Only the *Hsü Hou-Han shu* of Hao Ching devotes a biography to Han Sui (8, 1a-5a), but it remains sketchy and the story gets into its stride hardly before 211 A.D. The late compilation (written in 1272) passed unnoticed by the general historiography.

² *ZDMG*, XCI (1937), pp. 262 ff, esp. pp. 269-270.

³ Officially named "Obedient Barbarians of Huang-chung" 湟中義從胡. The corps was established by the Commissioner Têng Hsün 鄧訓 in c. 89 A.D., *Hou Han shu* 46, 5a, from the *Tung-kuan Han-chi*, v. *ZDMG*, l.c., pp. 268-69 and 265, n. 2. They were ranked among the "most brave and fearsome soldiers of the time", *Han-chi* of Chang Fan, fragm. 13b, *Hou Han shu* 100, 1b, v. *ZDMG*, l.c., p. 268, n. 4.

⁴ On the K'o-k'o [Köke]-ch'uan to the north-west of the present Yung-têng (P'ing-fan).

李文侯, and others⁵. They slew the Commissioner Lêng Chêng 冷徹 (伶 |) and found immediate support among the Ch'iang tribes of the South Ordos as well as of the Upper Huang-ho territories. The country was already seething with discontent at the misrule and corruption of the local officials⁶, and still restless after the "Yellow Turban" rebellion which had swept it a few months earlier⁷. True to custom, the Governor, Tso Ch'ang 左昌, had embezzled the funds provided for a defence force, thus making it possible for the insurgents to occupy the prefecture of Chin-ch'êng 金城⁸ which was to remain their main stronghold henceforth. The prefect, Ch'ên I 陳懿 was killed in the mutineers' camp. Several of his officers retained as hostages, now joined the rebels' cause; among them Pien Chang 邊章 and Han Sui 韓遂, both to play prominent parts in the future⁹. Tso Ch'ang found himself invested in the provincial capital, Chi 冀¹⁰, and was only with difficulty relieved by Kai Hsün 蓋勳. The insurgents turned against Hsia Yü 夏育 who had been appointed the new Ch'iang Commissioner¹¹.

⁵ Since the remaining sources state their nationality in this form, 與 in *Hou Han shu* 117, 12b must be interpolated. Cf. also n. 22 for Wang Kuo and n. 30 for Sung Chien.

⁶ As to irregularities in the contemporary administration of Liang-chou among other places, v. *Hou Han shu* 108, 10a (simony scandal concerning the Governor Mêng To 孟他, cf. also *San-fu chieh-lu*, fragm. 2, 13a-b) and for 184 especially *Hou Han shu* 88, 6a = *Hou Han chi* 26, 9b-10a: the Governor Liang Ku 梁鵠 is the famous calligrapher, a rather objectionable character, cf. *Hou Han shu* 84, 8a, and particularly the biographical data in Wei Hêng's *Ssü-t'í shu-shih*, fragm. 5b-6a, also *Lei-lin* 8, in *Shinagaku* VIII (1935-6), p. 111.

⁷ Liang Ku must have been recalled in connection with the rebellion in the summer of 184. For "Yellow Turban" revolts in Ho-hsi, v. n. 25.

⁸ I.e., the modern prefectures of Lan-chou-fu and Hsi-ning-fu. The prefecture town Yen-ya 允吾 lay on the northern bank of the Huang-ho near the mouth of the Hsi-ning-ho; the district town Chin-ch'êng on the southern bank of the river to the south-west of present Kao-lan (Lan-chou-fu).

⁹ For biographical data for Pien and Han, v. *Wei-lüeh* (*Tien-lüeh*), fragm. 5, 5a, and the *Hsien-ti ch'un-ch'iu* ap. com. to *Hou Han shu* 102, 1a-b. Both were Secretaries to the prefecture (從事), Pien in charge of military matters. He had previously held the office of magistrate of Hsin-an (in Ho-nan). Han, a younger man (born c. 145), had tried unsuccessfully to interest the Marshall Ho Chin 何進 in a policy directed against the eunuchs. Both appear already on the funeral inscription for the prefect Yin Hua 殷華 (died on Sept. 16, 178) which is preserved in the *Ku-wên-yüan* 19, 7a-8b (allegedly deriving from Wei Chi. Pien is supposed to have originally been named Yün 允 and Han Yüeh 約. These forms are used, as a rule, by the *Hou Han chi* of Yüan Hung and occasionally by other sources; the inscription, however, writes 邊竿—certainly corrupt—and 韓遂, v. l. 緒. The actual stele has not survived.)

¹⁰ On the Wei to the east of present Kan-ku (Fu-ch'iang).

¹¹ A man of some experience who had held command under Tuan Ying 段穎 in the Ch'iang campaigns of 159 and 168, and had been Wu-huan Commissioner for 174-177, v. *Hou Han shu* 95, 6a, 8b-9a, 120, 5a-6b. He seems to have made his escape, as the *Hou Han chi* 28, 9b mentions him as one of the lieutenants of Kuo Fan 郭汜 in 195. He attacks the Imperial convoy before Hua-yin on Nov. 20, but is beaten back.

Kai Hsün suffered a severe defeat at Hu-p'an 狐槃¹². The provincial authorities were thus, for the time being, overpowered¹³.

The shock which their collapse caused the government was grave, and it was even considered at the capital whether the province should not be abandoned¹⁴. The initiative, however, still rested with the rebels. Already, in April 185, their cavalry, several myriads strong and lead by Pien Chang and Pei-kung Po-yü, had broken into the Wei valley and threatened Ch'ang-an. Huang-fu Sung 皇甫嵩, the conqueror of the "Yellow Turbans", was entrusted with the defence, but was beaten. A new army¹⁵ under the command of Chang Wên 張溫, made generalissimo on the occasion, was just able to hold its own. Not until November did Chang succeed in inflicting a defeat upon the enemy in a battle near Mei-yang 美陽¹⁶. The rebels turned back to the West. Yet the detachments sent out in their pursuit met with little success. The main body under Chou Shên 周慎 tried in vain to surround Pien Chang in Yü-chung 楡中¹⁷. After they had withdrawn, the insurgents remained in undisturbed possession of Chin-ch'êng prefecture¹⁸.

The old leaders, Pien Chang, Pei-kung Po-yü, and Li Wên-hou, all passed from the scene in the winter of 186, some at least killed in mutual quarrels¹⁹. Obviously taking advantage of this situation, the

¹² Near Chi (v. n. 10).

¹³ The main authorities for the early history of the rebellion are *Hou Han shu* 8, 5b, 117, 12a, 12b, 102, 1a, fullest 88, 6a-b = *Hou Han chi* 26, 10a-b, and the *Hsien-ti ch'un-ch'iu*, l.c.

¹⁴ *Hou Han shu* 88, 4b-5a, *Hou Han chi* 25, 2a-b. As a matter of fact the governors proved able to hold only Chi and its immediate surroundings. Tso Ch'ang was now recalled and replaced by Sung Nieh 宋臬 (for the reading, v. *Hou Han shu chi-chieh* 58, *chiao-pu* 2a-b), followed by Yang Yung 楊雍, who was followed in his turn by Kêng T'u 耿圖, at the latest in 186.

¹⁵ Composed largely of barbarian auxiliaries. The Wu-huan, already rather unreliable during the campaign, staged a parallel revolt in 187, but were subdued in 188, *Hou Han shu* 8, 6b-7a, 120, 2a, most fully 103, 1a-b, *Hou Han chi* 25, 5a-b, 11b.

¹⁶ To the west of present Wu-kung.

¹⁷ To the north-west of the present town (Chin-ch'êng).

¹⁸ For the campaign, v. *Hou Han shu* 8, 6a, 101, 3a (biography of Huang-fu Sung; some additional details in Huang-fu's biography in the fragments of Hsieh Ch'êng's *Hou Han shu*, fragm. 4, 11b-12a, and the biography of Chang Wên *ibid.* 13a, and in the *Han-chi* of Chang Fan, 17a), *Hou Han chi* 25, 2a-b, 4a, fullest *Hou Han shu* 102, 1b, 4b-5a and *San-kuo-chih* (*Wei*) 6, 1a in the biography of Tung Cho 董卓 (who held his first military command in this campaign and acquitted himself well), and esp. *San-kuo-chih* 46 (*Wu* 1), 1b, and in the *Yang-kung tsai-chi*, ap. com. *ibid.*, 3a. The memorial of Liu T'ao 劉陶 in *Hou Han shu* 87, 4b-5a dates from the time before the battle of Mei-yang. Finally, see also *Hou Han shu* 66, 9b.

¹⁹ *Hou Han shu* 102, 2a would lead us to believe that all three were slain by Han Sui, but the story here and in the following (where it can be checked) suffers from excessive and careless condensation. Han came into prominence much later. *Wei-lüeh* fragm. 5, 5a reports Pien Chang to have died from illness (the reference to him for 188 in *Hou Han shu* 99, 4a = *Hou Han chi* 25, 11b is anachronistic).

Governor Kêng T'u²⁰ launched a new attack against the rebels in the spring of 187. However, his untrained levies mutinied before he had passed Ti-tao 狄道, and killed him and his lieutenant, Ch'êng Ch'iu 程球. Li Hsiang-ju 李相如, the prefect of Lung-hsi 隴西²¹, joined the insurgents, now under the command of Wang Kuo 王國²². Fu Hsieh 傅燮, the prefect of Han-yang 漢陽²³, resisted bravely and fell in battle²⁴. Thus, Kêng's ill-fated enterprise only resulted in restoring the rebels' power. In fact, they extended their sway over the whole of Liang-chou for the first time²⁵. In 188, Wang, in his turn, felt strong enough to repeat the offensive against the lower Wei valley. In December he laid siege to Ch'ên-ts'ang 陳倉²⁶, but the strength of the fortress withstood the assault and Wang's demoralised troops suffered a crushing defeat in March 189 at the hands of Huang-fu

²⁰ V. n. 14.

²¹ In the main, the valley of the T'ao-ho and of the Li-shui (Ta-hsia-ho), and the country to the south of the uppermost reaches of the Wei. Seat of the prefect was Ti-tao, the present Lin-t'ao.

²² Also a Yüeh-chih according to the *Hsien-ti ch'un-ch'iu*. Admittedly *Hou Han shu* 8, 6b calls him a native of Han-yang, and so do the biography of Tung Cho, *ibid.* 102, 2a and a fragment of the Kai Hsün biography in the *Hsü Han shu* of Ssü-ma Piao, fragm. 4, 9b. But both the first passages suppose that he either joined the rebels at Han-yang or was elected their leader there, whereas the fullest account of the events of 187, *viz.*, the biography of Fu Hsieh in *Hou Han shu* 88, 5a, makes it clear that he was already in command before. He is called "rebel from Chin-ch'êng" (金城賊) there, and "native of Ti-tao" in *Hou Han chi* 25, 4b. Cf. n. 30.

²³ The former T'ien-shui 天水, comprising the country to the north of the Upper Wei and across the river up to the upper Hsi-han-shui.

²⁴ *Hou Han shu* 8, 6b, 102, 2a (cf. n. 19), fullest 88, 5a-b. *Hou Han chi* 25, 4b records "the revolt of Wang Kuo in Ti-tao" in April 187 and the remaining events 25, 5b-6b only in June 188; v. also *Wei-lüeh*, n. 33.

²⁵ Revolts in the prefectures to the west of the Huang-ho in connection either with the "Yellow Turbans" or the Yüeh-chih rebellions are recorded by Ssü-ma Piao, *Hsü Han shu*, fragm. 4, 9a for Wu-wei 武威 ("Yellow Turbans"; modern Liang-chou), *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 8, 9b for Tsu-lai 祖厲 (Yüeh-chih rebellion, leader Ch'ü Shêng 麴勝; west of Ching-yüan), and the stele of Ts'ao Ch'üan 曹全 for Lu-fu 祿福 ("Yellow Turbans"; modern Su-chou, Nov. 20, 185, v. *Chin-shih ts'ui-pien* 2, 2b. To the literature concerning this important document add for *Hou Han shu* 8, 3a and 97, 3a, also the stele of Chu Kuei 朱龜, Ni Tao, *Liu-i-chih-i-lu* 47, 30a). Ts'ao had apparently to flee, and his case cannot have been isolated. A whole set of new Prefects were appointed and tried to reach their posts after the victory of Mei-yang in the winter of 185. We learn, however, from the biography of Chao Ch'i 趙岐, prefect designate of Tun-huang, that he and his colleagues were captured by Pien Chang on the way (*Hou Han shu* 94, 8a-b, epitomising the *San-fu chüeh-lu*). In Wang Kuo's army before Han-yang was the "former" (古, called so possibly only for reasons of loyalty) prefect of Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉 (Su-chou-fu) Huang Yen 黃衍. All this suggests the exercise of some control over Ho-hsi by the rebels. For the reorganization of its administration in 197, v. n. 38.

²⁶ At the junction of the Ch'ien-shui with the Wei, East of the present Pao-chi.

Sung, who proved, a second time, the saviour of the dynasty. Wang Kuo was deposed and succeeded by Yen Chung 閻忠²⁷ who, however, soon died. Strife broke out among his deputies and the rebel forces split up and scattered²⁸.

The rebellion might then have been suppressed, but the political upheaval which shook the capital soon afterwards prevented Huang-fu Sung's splendid victory from bearing full fruit. The revolt was allowed to continue, though it never recovered the menacing character of 185 and 188. It was to be only local from now on. No general command of the rebels was ever again set up. Three separate forces remained important. The first under Sung Chien 宋建, who settled in Fu-han 枹罕²⁹ and adopted the style "King of the Sources of the (Huang-)ho, Pacifier of Han" 河首平漢王, *i.e.*, claimed full sovereignty and, indeed, proclaimed year-titles and established his own independent administration³⁰. He broke away from the empire completely and took no part in the internecine struggles of the Chinese factions. The main insurgent force, commanded by Han Sui, continued to hold Chin-ch'êng³¹. A third detachment camped near Huai-li

²⁷ A native of Han-yang (T'ien-shui) who had served previously as magistrate of Hsin-tu (in Ssü-ch'uan). He approached Huang-fu Sung with an ambitious reform programme in 184, and on his proposal being rejected went over to Pien Chang, v. *Hou Han shu* 101, 2a-3a (excerpting Ssü-ma Piao's *Chiu-chou ch'un-ch'iu* fragm. 4a-5b). The family was counted among the notables of T'ien-shui, *Wei-lüeh* fragm. 16, 4a (biography of Hsieh Hsia 薛夏).

²⁸ *Hou Han shu* 8, 7a, 101, 3a-b, 102, 2a, 7, *Hsü Han shu* fragm. 4, 9b (biography of Kai Hsün), *Hou Han chi* 25, 10a-11a. For Yen Chung, v. also Wang Ts'an, *Han-mo ying-hsiung chi*, fragm. 43b.

²⁹ The present Lin-hsia (Tao-ho, Ho-chou) on the Ta-hsia-shui.

³⁰ *Hou Han shu* 102, 9b, *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 1, 16b, 9, 2b, proclamation of Ch'ên Lin 陳琳, *Wên-hsüan* 44, 13a. *Hou Han shu* 9, 6a reads wrongly 朱建, 102, 9b 宗 |, *Wei-lüeh (Tien-lüeh)*, fragm. 5, 5a 宋揚. In the East, his authority extended to Lin-t'ao 臨洮 (Min-chou) and Ti-tao, at least in 217, v. *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 15, 4b (the text is out of order: insert 討 夏侯淵 and 宋建, as suggested already by Ch'ien Ta-chao, *San-kuo-chih pien-i* 1, 21a; the passage has been misplaced after events occurring in 218). In general, Sung's state corresponded to the prefecture Lung-hsi in its frontiers under the Eastern Han; for the western limits, v. n. 71.

The *Hsien-ti ch'un-ch'iu* calls Sung Chien a Yüeh-chih and the same may be inferred from the way in which the *Wei-lüeh*, fragm. 5, 5a, couples Sung with Pei-kung Po-yü. *Hou Han shu* 102, 9b and *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 1, 16b, make him a native of Lung-hsi (v. n. 21) and *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 9, 2b a native of Fu-han. As in the case of Wang Kuo (v. n. 22) the Chinese historian's craving for accuracy induced him to fabricate a "domicile" out of the place-name with which he found his subject associated in the records.

³¹ It is only now that Han becomes a leader. He is credited with leadership by some sources at an earlier date, but this derives from his later prominence and is disproved by the contemporary documents.

槐里 on the middle Wei³² under Ma T'êng 馬騰, a former officer of Kêng T'u, who had joined the rebels in 187³³. In 192, during the confusion of the Tung Cho crisis, Han and Ma unexpectedly found themselves a force in court politics³⁴ and succeeded in obtaining legal status, being granted the high titles of "General guarding the West" 鎮西將軍 and "General campaigning in the West" 征西將軍, respectively³⁵. Ma, who in the meantime had extended his control to Mei 郿³⁶, attempted to take Ch'ang-an by *coup de main* in 194 and to dislodge the triumvirate of Li Chüeh 李傕, Kuo Fan 郭汜, and Fan Ch'ou 樊稠. He had the full support of Han Sui, while Liu Yen 劉焉 sent him a contingent from Shu. The allies, however, were beaten back by Kuo and Fan. Pursued by Fan Ch'ou, Han came to an agreement with him at Ch'ên-ts'ang and was able to retreat to Chin-ch'êng. Ma joined him there with the rest of his troops³⁷.

There is reason to assume that Ma's enterprise was viewed not unfavourably by the court. Nevertheless, its failure weakened the rebels and provided the government with the opportunity to extend its authority over the prefectures to the West of the Huang-ho, and to form them into a new province, Yung-chou 雍州 (麴 |)³⁸. Liang-chou also had been reoccupied about this time³⁹. The provincial government retained Chi, the capital, but

³² To the south-east of the present Hsing-p'ing.

³³ Biography in *Wei-lüeh* (*T'ien-lüeh*), fragm. 23, 49-5a. He claimed descent from Ma Yüan 馬援 on his father's side. His mother was a Ch'iang. Cf. also *Hsien-ti chuan*, ap. *Hou Han shu* 102, 6b.

³⁴ Tung Cho speaks at the beginning of 190 about correspondence of Han Sui (and Pien Chang!) with the court, v. Hua Chiao, *Hou Han shu*, fragm. 2, 4a (abbreviated in *Hou Han shu* 84, 9b-10a).

³⁵ *San-kuo-chih* (*Wei*) 6, 4b, 36 (*Shu*) 6, 3a. *Hou Han chi* 27, 13b records the titles "General pacifying the Ch'iang" 安羌將軍 for Han Sui, and "General pacifying the Ti" 安狄將軍 for Ma T'êng after their defeat in 194!

³⁶ On the northern bank of the Wei, opposite the present town.

³⁷ *Hou Han shu* 9, 3a, 86, 6b, 105, 1a = *San-kuo-chih* 31 (*Shu* 1), 2a, fullest *Hou Han shu* 102, 6b (partly following the *Chiu-chou ch'un-ch'iu*, fragm. 8b-9a), *San-kuo-chih* (*Wei*) 6, 4b-5a, and *Hou Han chi* 27, 7a-b and 13a-b (dividing the events wrongly between 192 and 194). For some details, v. also Liu Ai, *Han Hsien-ti chi*, ap. *com. Hou Han shu* 102.

³⁸ *Hou Han shu* 9, 3a, *Hou Han chi* 27, 14a. It comprised the prefectures Wu-wei, at the same time capital of the province, Chiu-ch'üan, Chang-yeh 張掖 (Kan-chou), and Tun-huang. Han-tan Shang 邯單商 was appointed Governor, v. biography of Chang Mêng 張猛 in the *Wei-lüeh* (*T'ien-lüeh*), fragm. 5, 7a (with wrong date 196). For the names of the prefects and the collapse of the new administration in 206, v. n. 48.

³⁹ *Wei-lüeh*, fragm. 23, 4b (v. n. 33) requires the governor Wei Tuan 韋端 to have held office in 198 (or 200?, v. n. 42), *San-kuo-chih* (*Wei*) 25, 3a in 200. Later, Wei was recalled to the capital as Master of the Imperial Horse (太僕: he perhaps ends his career as Minister of War, 太尉) and was succeeded in Liang-chou by his son,

exercised, it seems, little control except in Han-yang prefecture⁴⁰. In 196, when the chaos in and around Ch'ang-an would have given a concerted action some chance of success, Han and Ma became estranged. Ma T'êng, defeated by Han, returned to Huai-li⁴¹ and some time about 198 established relations with Chung Yu 鍾繇, the representative of Ts'ao Ts'ao (Wei Wu-ti) in the Wei valley⁴². A formal alliance was concluded through the good offices of Chang Chi 張既 in 202, when Ts'ao was about to resume his attack on Yüan Shang 袁尙 and Yüan T'an 袁譚. Ma gained official recognition from Ts'ao and the title "General campaigning in the South" 征南將軍, and handed over his sons as hostages⁴³. He sent a strong reinforcement, commanded by his eldest son, Ch'ao 超, which made a decisive contribution to the victory at P'ing-yang 平陽, won over Kao Han 高幹, Kuo Yüan 郭援, and their Hun auxiliaries⁴⁴. Ma also supported Ts'ao with auxiliary contingents during the revolts of Chang Shêng 張晟 in Ho-wei, of Wei Ku 衛固 in Ho-tung, and of Chang Yen 張琰 in Hung-nung in 205-206⁴⁵. He came, as a matter of fact, increasingly under Ts'ao's tutelage which Han Sui, on the other hand, could still avoid. Han too had entered into relations with Chung Yu in 198 (or 200?) and had received Ts'ao Ts'ao's recognition and the title "General campaigning in the West" 征西將軍, or had at least been offered both⁴⁶. But it was not until 209 that Ts'ao's growing power compelled him to come to terms, to conclude an

K'ang 康 (till 212, v. p. 127). The exact dates for Wei Tuan's investiture and recall are, unfortunately, not known; the *San-fu chüeh-lu*, fragm. 2, 2a (from *T'ao Yüan-ming chi* 10, 6a) gives only the year of his entry into the civil service, 178. Wan Ssü-t'ung is certainly wrong in inserting Wei's name as governor of Liang-chou from 189 onwards in the *San-kuo Han-chi fang-chên mien-piao*. According to *Hou Han shu* 86, 6b (cf. 9, 3a and 102, 6b) Ch'ung Shao 种劭 (died 194) was appointed Governor of Liang-chou and I-chou 益州 in 190 (v. also *Hou Han chi* 27, 6a (13a 岐州!)), but this was undoubtedly done "in partibus" and the same purely titular character applies to the appointment of Li Yo 李樂 (died 198) to the governorship of Liang-chou on Jan. 21, 196, at An-i.

⁴⁰ The northern parts of which had been constituted a new prefecture, Yung-yang 永陽, in January 194, v. *Hsien-ti ch'i-chü-chu* ap. *com.* to *Hou Han shu* 33, 3b; the part round Huan-tao 獮道 (to the east of Lung-hsi = Kung-ch'ang) was made into the prefecture Nan-an 南安 in 188, *Ch'in-chou-chi*, *ibid.*

⁴¹ *Wei-lüeh*, fragm. 23, 4b and 9, 2a.

⁴² *San-kuo-chih* (*Wei*) 10, 3b, 13, 1b, *Hou Han chi* 29, 5b-6a; Chung's mandate is, however, dated 4 Jan., 200, in 9a.

⁴³ *Hou Han shu* 102, 9b.

⁴⁴ *San-kuo-chih* (*Wei*) 10, 4a, 13, 1b-2a, 15, 4b, 18, 6a, 36 (*Shu* 6), 3a = *Wei-lüeh*, fragm. 23, 5a, v. also Ssü-ma Piao, *Chan-lüeh*, fragm. 2b-3a (for the offer from the enemy's side).

⁴⁵ *San-kuo-chih* (*Wei*) 13, 2a, 15, 4b, 7b-8a, 16, 3a-b, 18, 6a-b.

⁴⁶ See the sources enumerated in n. 42 and 43.

alliance, and to send a son to Yeh as a hostage⁴⁷. Even then the move may have been of a tactical nature only, aimed at securing his rear, when, in 210, he embarked on an invasion of Yung-chou, already disorganised⁴⁸, and probably re-established his supremacy there⁴⁹.

The weight of the new authority which Ts'ao was consolidating made itself more and more felt in the Wei valley. Ma T'êng was forced to answer a call to the capital in 210, where, although he received the high title of "Commander of the Guards" 衛尉, he was kept a virtual prisoner. His troops, however, continued to serve under Ma Ch'ao⁵⁰. In the spring of 211 Chung Yu attempted to break into the Wei valley with an army for the purpose, so he alleged, of attacking Chang Lu 張魯 in Han-chung⁵¹. This enterprise was the signal for all the local commanders to sink their rivalries and to unite in defence of their possessions thus seriously threatened. The

⁴⁷ Thus *Wei-lüeh*, fragm. 7, 1b-2a. *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 13, 1b speaks of the hostage already in 197, but the narrative is too summary. In either 204 or 205 Ts'ao appointed Tu Chi 杜畿 Commissioner for Ch'iang Affairs and prefect of Hsi-p'ing (*San-kuo-chih* 16, 3a: dated as intervening between Tu's appointment to the office of Ssü-k'ung ssü-chih 司空司直—a post re-created only in Jan.-Feb., 203, and fully organised in 204; v. *Hou Han shu* 9, 5a and esp. *Hsien-ti ch'i-chü-chu ap. com. to Hou Han shu* 37, 3a—and his appointment to the governorship of Ho-tung in the early autumn of 205), and "some years after 204" Yang Pei 楊沛 Ch'iang Commissioner (*Wei-lüeh*, fragm. 12, 5a). Both presentations were only nominal, but constituted an unfriendly act against Han Sui (or Sung Chien?, v. n. 71).

⁴⁸ The Governor Han-tan Shang, installed in 194 (n. 38) and left practically independent, had been slain in 206 by the prefect of Wu-wei, Chang Mêng 張猛, v. *Hou Han shu* 9, 6a, *Hou Han chi* 29, 16a (商郎! *Chin-lou-tzû* 6 (13A), 9a 皇甫商!) and Chang's biography in *Wei-lüeh (Tien-lüeh)*, fragm. 5, 7a-b (with wrong date 209). The prefect of Chiu-ch'uan Hsü Ch'i 徐揖 was killed in a quarrel with the local family Huang 黃 by Huang Ang 黃昂 at about the same time. Huang Ang was attacked and slain by Yang A-jo 楊阿若 but Huang Hua 黃華 re-occupied the district and was able to hold it (*Wei-lüeh*, fragm. 19, 3a-b and 18, 3a-b = *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 18, 7a). The prefect of Chang-yeh also (whose name is not known) perished in a local riot, simultaneously with Hsü Ch'i's death (*Wei-lüeh*, fragm. 19, 3a). The prefect of Tun-huang Ma Ai 馬艾 died about 200, and the administration passed into the hands of a council elected by the local gentry (*San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 16, 10a, and 18, 8a). On the recommendation of Chang Mêng (張雅 is a clerical error) a new prefecture Hsi-hai 西海 round the Ghashün-nör was split off Chang-yeh and established in 195, v. *Chin-shu* 14, 15a. What happened there before 220 remains unknown.

⁴⁹ As Han Sui approached Wu-wei the people revolted and Chang Mêng committed suicide, v. *Wei-lüeh*, fragm. 5, 7b, *Hou Han shu* 95, 6a-b (following *Tung-kuan Han chi*, fragm. 21, 5b. For the final pacification of the territory in 220-221, v. pp. 129-30.

⁵⁰ *Hou Han shu* 102, 9b, *Hou Han chi* 30, 8a (2081), *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 6, 6b, *Wei-lüeh*, fragm. 23, 5a, *San-kuo-chih* 36 (*Shu* 6), 3a, and notably *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 15, 4b.

⁵¹ *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 1, 12b, 27, 3b and Wang Ch'ên, *Wei-shu ap. com. San-kuo-chih* 21, 6a.

ten allies⁵², of whom Han Sui and Ma Ch'ao had now become the most powerful, marched East⁵³ and took up a position at T'ung-kuan 潼關. Ts'ao Ts'ao faced them in person. By a skilful manœuvre he inflicted, on Nov. 8, an overwhelming defeat on the confederates, and thus gained one of the most brilliant and fruitful victories of his career⁵⁴.

The effect of the defeat upon the dominions of Han and Ma was not immediate, yet it marked the turning point of their fortunes. Ts'ao returned to the East in January 212, after having taken Ch'ang-an and An-ting 安定⁵⁵. For his lieutenants, mopping-up operations⁵⁶ and the reorganisation of the local administration⁵⁷ of the lower Wei valley had to take first place. Ma Ch'ao used the respite thus gained to fall upon Liang-chou⁵⁸, which surrendered after little resistance. Wei K'ang defended Chi, but capitulated in September 212 after an eight-months' siege. Hsia-hou Yüan⁵⁹ failed to relieve the city in time⁶⁰. Ma received succour from Chang Lu and concluded an alliance with the kings of the Ti 氐, Ch'ien-wan 千萬 of Pai-ch'ing 百頃 (Ch'iu-ch'ih 仇池), and A-kuei 阿貴 of Hsing-kuo 興國⁶¹. The new structure, however, collapsed as early as the winter of 213 when the population rose under the leadership of some of the old officers of Wei K'ang (whom Ma Ch'ao had executed)⁶². After this, all reasonable chance of successful

⁵² Full list in *Wei-lüeh (Tien-lüeh)*, fragm. 23, 5a.

⁵³ Cf. *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 16, 4a.

⁵⁴ *Hou Han shu* 9, 5b, 102, 9b, *Hou Han chi* 30, 8b, fullest *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 1, 12b-13b, cf. also 10, 9b, 17, 6a, 18, 5a, and 9, 2a, 4b, 15, 4b, 17, 4b, 18, 6b, 36, 3b, *Wei-lüeh*, fragm. 7, 1a-b, *Ts'ao Man chuan ap. com. Hou Han shu* 9, 5b, and *San-kuo-chih* 1, 13a, Wang Ch'ên, *Wei-shu* *ibid.*

⁵⁵ I.e., Lin-ching 臨瀝, to the north of the present Ching-ch'uan (Ching-chou).

⁵⁶ Of Han's and Ma's confederates, Ch'êng I 成宜 and Li K'an 李堪 had fallen in battle at T'ung-kuan, Yang Ch'iu 楊秋 surrendered at An-ting. Ch'êng Yin 程銀, Hou Hsüan 侯選 and Liu Hsiung-ming 劉雄鳴 were defeated again at Lan-t'ien 藍田 early in 212 and pushed back into Han-chung, Liang Hsing 梁興 fell in battle at Hu 鄠, v. *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 1, 13b, 9, 2b, 16, 9b, 17, 6a, and *Wei-lüeh*, fragm. 7, 3b-4a. The command was held by Hsia-hou Yüan 夏侯淵 with headquarters at Ch'ang-an.

⁵⁷ At first entrusted to Chang Chi, v. *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 15, 4b. The territory conquered was established as Yung-chou 雍州 in February, 213 (*Hsien-ti ch'ün-ch'iu ap. Tai-p'ing yü-lan* 157, 2b), and Hsü I 徐奕 appointed Governor (*San-kuo-chih* 12, 5a). Chang Chi succeeded him in 214.

⁵⁸ As reconstituted in c. 194, v. p. 124.

⁵⁹ V. n. 56.

⁶⁰ *Hou Han shu* 102, 9b, *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 9, 2b, 18, 8a, 25, 3b, 36 (*Shu* 6), 3b.

⁶¹ *Wei-lüeh*, fragm. 22 (*Hsi-jung chuan*), 1b, cf. *Sung-shu* 98, 1a (*Wei-shu* 101, 1a).

⁶² Yang Fou 楊阜, Chiang Hsü 姜敘, Yin Fêng 尹奉 (| 鳳), Chao Ang 趙昂, Chao Ch'ü 趙衢 and others. V. *Hou Han shu* 102, 9b, *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 1, 16b, 6, 6b, 9, 2b, fullest 25, 3b-4a (wrongly dated October, 211), and the biographies quoted from the *Lieh-nü-chuan* of Huang-fu Mi, *ibid.*

resistance was gone. Ma fled to Han-chung. He returned with new troops, but the conspirators had already called in Hsia-hou Yüan, and Ma had to retreat without daring to offer battle⁶³. He joined forces with Liu Pei (Shu-han hsien-chu) whom he supported in the siege of Ch'êng-tu in July 214. He died in Shu in 222, without having seen the North again⁶⁴. Han Sui who had deployed his troops near Hsien-ch'in 顯親⁶⁵, had to fall back on Lüeh-yang 略陽⁶⁶ to avoid encirclement. He was forced by a diversionary movement to give battle in the tract occupied by the Ch'iang tribe of the Ch'ang-li-shui 長離水⁶⁷. This ended in the annihilation of Han's army⁶⁸. Hsia-hou turned now against the Ti, took Hsing-kuo⁶⁹, and proceeded to attack Sung Chien. Fu-han fell in September–October 217, and Sung and his ministers were executed. Hsia-hou's lieutenant, Chang Ho 張郃, crossed the Huang-ho and reached the territory of "Little Huang-chung" 滎中 to the east of the Kōke-nōr, the seat of the Yüeh-chih tribe which had been the prime movers of the rebellion⁷⁰.

This last action brought Hsia-hou's conquering progress to a temporary halt. In the spring of 215 he had led his army back to join in Ts'ao's expedition against Han-chung. After the debacle at the Ch'ang-li-shui, Han Sui had fled to Chin-ch'êng and from there to Hsi-p'ing 西平⁷¹. Few troops

⁶³ *San-kuo-chih* (Wei) 9, 2b.

⁶⁴ *San-kuo-chih* (Wei) 6, 6b, 36 (*Shu* 6), 3b–4a, and 43, 2a, 32, 3b, 33, 3b, 40, 3a and the sources quoted in the commentaries. Part of the troops which remained to him went over to Ts'ao Ts'ao after the conquest of Han-chung in 215, v. *San-kuo-chih* (Wei) 18, 6b. Ma T'êng and his wife and Ch'ao's younger children had already been executed in Hsü in 212, Ch'ao's wife had been captured in Chi in 213 and his older children were burned in Chin-ch'êng, v. *Hou Han shu* 9, 5b, *Hou Han chi* 30, 8b, and Ch'ên Lin in *Wên-hsüan* 44, 14b. Yet another son was killed by Chang Lu in 215, v. *Wei-lieh* (T'ien-lieh), fragm. 23, 5b.

⁶⁵ To the south-east of T'ien-shui (Ch'in-chou).

⁶⁶ Lung-ch'êng-chên 隴城鎮 near Ch'in-an.

⁶⁷ Also near Ch'in-an, v. *Shui-ching-chu* 17, 6a.

⁶⁸ *San-kuo-chih* (Wei) 1, 16a, 9, 2b.

⁶⁹ North-east of Ch'in-an. A-kuei fell in battle, whereas Ch'ien-wan fled to Ma Ch'ao, v. *Wei-lieh* 22, 1b. *San-kuo-chih* 1, 16a and 9, 2b does not distinguish the two and gives the name of Ch'ien-wan only.

⁷⁰ *ZDMG*, 1937, p. 264. For the campaign against Sung, v. the sources named in n. 30 and *Hou* (= *Hsü*) *Han shu* 22, 4a, *San-kuo-chih* (Wei) 17, 4b. Whereas the other sources have Sung captured and decapitated, Fu Hsüan says he burned himself (*Fu-tzu*, fragm. ed. Ch'ien Pao-r'ang 2, 21b or Yen K'o-chün, *Ch'üan-chin-wên* 50, 9b: the sacrifices of cattle Fu is intrigued about we find described as a Ch'iang custom elsewhere).

⁷¹ Modern Hsi-ning. The name of the prefecture occurs for the first time in 204 or 205, v. n. 47, and it was most probably founded by the rebels; whether by Han or by Sung it is difficult to decide. The name of the prefecture town "West Capital" 西都 (already in *San-kuo-chih* (Wei) 3, 1b and 5, 6a) points rather to "King" Sung

remained at his command, and these of doubtful loyalty. Even his son-in-law, Yen Hsing 閔行, was planning his betrayal⁷². Han's first plan was to cut his way through to Shu. But after Hsia-hou's unexpected withdrawal he took heart again, levied fresh troops, and crushed Yen Hsing, who in the meantime had openly joined Ts'ao Ts'ao's cause. Han died after this victory. His lieutenant's, Ch'ü Yen 麴演, Chiang Shih 蔣石, T'ien Lo 田樂, and Yang K'uei 陽達, offered the corpse's head to Ts'ao whom it reached at Wu-tu in July 215. Ts'ao magnanimously accepted the submission not only of the subservient but also of Ch'êng-kung Ying 成公英 and Kuo Hsien 郭憲 who had kept faith with Han Sui to the end⁷³.

He was content, for the time being, with a formal recognition of his overlordship. A garrison was put into the strategically important Chin-ch'êng, and the able Su Tsê 蘇則 appointed prefect⁷⁴. In the other prefectures the existing regime was left untouched, Hsi-p'ing in particular in the hands of Ch'ü Yen. Occupied only too fully on other fronts, Ts'ao Ts'ao did not intervene even when, in 218, general war broke out between these petty despots and plunged the country west of the Huang-ho into anarchy⁷⁵. Not until the early summer of 220 was an attempt made to re-establish effective administration, and the province Liang was revived under the Governor Tsou Ch'i 鄒岐⁷⁶ and new prefects nominated. This was

Chien who, anyhow, had the closer relations with the Yüeh-chih country to the immediate west. On the other hand, the biography of Yen Hsing (*Wei-lieh*, v. n. 72) reports Yen to have been given command of Hsi-p'ing by Han. This is suggestive, but not a full proof of Han Sui's overlordship; the investiture and Han's own retreat to Hsi-p'ing may have taken place only after Sung's kingdom had already been lost.

⁷² He had participated in the rebellion from the beginning and derived some prestige from this. His parents had been hostages with Ts'ao Ts'ao since 209 and had been left alive, whereas Ts'ao had already executed the son and grandson of Han Sui, v. *Wei-lieh*, fragm. 7, 1b–2b.

⁷³ *Hou Han shu* 102, 9b, 22, 7a (correct 病死 to 被殺 in accordance with the quotation in the commentary to *San-kuo-chih* 42, 1b), *San-kuo-chih* (Wei) 1, 16b, 6, 6b, fullest *Wei-lieh*, biography of Yen Hsing (v. n. 72) and biographies of Ch'êng-kung Ying (joined Han about 189, fought under Chang Chi after 215 (v. n. 78), died 220) and Kuo Hsien, fragm. 18, 3b–4b and 4b–5a.

⁷⁴ At the close of 215, the post having previously been offered to Yang Fou (n. 62), v. *San-kuo-chih* (Wei) 25, 4b. The biography of Su Tsê, *ibid.* 16, 1b, and the memorial of Chang Chi quoted in the commentary from the *Wei ning-ch'ên tsou-shih* of Ch'ên Shou describe in detail the havoc caused by the insurrection; the prefectural town numbered not more than 500 households.

⁷⁵ Ch'ü Yen in Hsi-p'ing, Yen Chün 顏俊 in Wu-wei, Ho Luan 和鸞 in Chang-yeh, Huang Hua in Chiu-ch'üan (v. n. 48) all adopted the title of general. In 219 Yen was slain by Ho, and Ho in his turn by Wang Pi 王祕 of Wu-wei, v. *San-kuo-chih* 15, 5a–b.

⁷⁶ Until then, all the conquered territories up to Tun-huang had been subordinated to Yung-chou, created with Ch'ang-an as capital in 213 (v. n. 57), *San-kuo-chih* 15, 5b.

answered by open rebellion. But this time troops were available and the revolt was suppressed by Su Tsé and Fei Yao 費曜 (| 耀) before the year was out⁷⁷. A new revolt in Chiu-ch'üan, and uprisings of the Lu-shui-hu 盧水胡, the Ch'iang and the Ting-ling 丁令, were subdued in 221 by Chang Chi, who had succeeded Tsou Ch'i in the governorship, and the generals Ts'ao Chên 曹真, Fei Yao, and Hsia-hou Ju 夏侯儒⁷⁸. Only now could Ho-hsi be considered secure for the new dynasty⁷⁹ which, in March 222, also resumed the official trade with the west, so long interrupted⁸⁰. The revolts in Hsi-p'ing of Ch'ü Kuang 麴光 in 222 or 223, and of Ch'ü Ying 麴英 in 227, bore a purely local character⁸¹. They show the insurrection still lingering in the place from which it had issued some fifty years earlier.

⁷⁷ Ch'ü Yen had already revolted in the spring after Ts'ao Ts'ao's death (Feb. 16, 220) had become known, but submitted again. Of the newly-appointed prefects only Kuan-ch'iu Hsing 卍丘興 was able to maintain himself in Wu-wei, whereas Hsin Chi 辛機 was ousted from Chiu-ch'üan by Huang Hua, and Tu T'ung 杜通 from Chang-yeh by Chang Chin 張進. Su Tsé relieved Kuan-ch'iu, beleaguered in Wu-wei, decapitated Ch'ü who had pretended to be coming to his aid, and took Chang-yeh by assault. Huang Hua, threatened in the rear by the administrator of Tun-huang, Chang Kung 張恭, surrendered with Chiu-ch'üan (he reappears in 257 as governor of Yen-chou 兗州), v. *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 2, 1b, 9, 6b, 15, 5b, 28, 2b, fullest 16, 1b-2a, 18, 8a-b, and the memorial of Chang Chi quoted in 28, 2b from the *Wei ming-ch'ên tsou-shih*.

⁷⁸ *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 15, 5b-6b (Ch'êng-kung Ying also had taken a prominent part in the campaign), Wang Ch'ên, *Wei-shu ap. com. San-kuo-chih* 2, 8b (for the battle of December 2, 221).

⁷⁹ In 220 Chang Mu 張睦 was appointed prefect of Hsi-hai (v. memorial of Chang Chi, n. 77) and was succeeded in 221 by P'ang Yü 龐淸, v. *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 18, 7a. Tun-huang was given to Yin Fêng (v. n. 62) in 220, and he was able to reach his post with the help of Chang Kung (*ibid.* 18, 8b). A full reorganisation of the administration did not take place, however, until Ts'ang Tz'ü 倉慈 became prefect, c. 228 (*ibid.* 16, 10a-b). His successors, until the end of the dynasty, were Wang Ch'ien 王遷, Chao Chi 趙基, and Huang-fu Lung 皇甫隆, v. *Wei-lieh*, fragm. 13, 3b-4a.

⁸⁰ When Chang Kung was appointed Agent for the Western Trade 戊巳校尉. The seat of the agency was Kao-ch'ang 高昌 (Khocho), but later Tun-huang, v. *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 2, 8b, 18, 8b, *Wei-lieh*, fragm. 2, 5b. During the insurrection one foreign embassy only (from Khotan) had reached the Imperial court (*Hou Han shu* 9, 5a). For the re-establishment of the official Western trade, v. esp. *San-kuo-chih* 16, 10a-b and 27, 1a-b.

⁸¹ *San-kuo-chih (Wei)* 15, 6b, 3, 1b. Between the two, Yen Pao 嚴苞 had held the prefectureship, v. *Wei-lieh*, fragm. 16, 3a-b. The Ch'ü (麴, 鞠, 糶), by the way, despite their close connection with the rebellion, belonged to a family of the local Chinese gentry which was to provide the rulers of Turfan from 507 to 640. The same applies to the Kuo 郭 from whom the Empress Ming-yüan Kuo huang-hou (*San-kuo-chih* 5, 6a) was descended.

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