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**Ssu-ma I (179–251): Wei statesman and Chin founder. An
historiographical inquiry**

Fairbank, Anthony Bruce, Ph.D.

University of Washington, 1994

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Ssu-ma I (179-251): Wei Statesman and Chin Founder,
An Historiographical Inquiry

by

Anthony Bruce Fairbank

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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1994

Approved by *J. A. Bull*
(Chairperson of Supervisory Committee)

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Doctoral Dissertation

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Abstract

Ssu-ma I (179-251): Wei Statesman and Chin Founder,
An Historiographical Inquiry

by Anthony Bruce Fairbank

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Professor Jack L. Dull
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Ssu-ma I (179-251) was one of the great military and political figures of third century China. He served the Ts'ao imperial house for over thirty-five years, and died as the de facto Prime Minister of the Ts'ao Wei state (220-266); yet he is known to history primarily as the founding emperor of the subsequent Chin dynasty (266-420), a status first conferred upon him fourteen and a half years after his death. A proper assessment of Ssu-ma I's role in history must confront the contradiction between his actual position as a Wei statesman and his posthumous designation as a Chin emperor. An investigation into this problem reveals that it stems from the traditional historical portrayal of this man.

In an effort to understand the complex historiographical strata pertaining to Ssu-ma I's life and career, this dissertation traces the evolution of the historical record pertaining to Ssu-ma I as it evolved from the third century to the seventh. During this time, the image of Ssu-ma I as the Chin dynastic founder took shape and was codified by T'ang historiographers of the mid-seventh century in the first chapter of the imperially commissioned *Chin shu* (History of the Chin), a work which is still extant.

The dissertation consists of two parts. The first,

which is made up of six chapters, traces the history of historical writing about Ssu-ma I from the production of primary documents during his lifetime through the compilation of the *Chin shu* during the early T'ang dynasty. By tracing the development of these records, it is possible to see the growing importance dynastic history writing came to have in the Chinese historiographical tradition, and how this shaped the view of Ssu-ma I as a dynastic founder rather than a Wei statesman.

The second part of the dissertation, consisting of two chapters, constitutes a translation and study of *Chin shu* 1, the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan." This document is the only complete extant account which treats Ssu-ma I as its main subject, and is therefore a source of primary importance for the study of Ssu-ma I. The first of the two chapters consists of an annotated translation of this account, while the second undertakes a study of the makeup of the chapter, and reveals how the T'ang compilers drew upon previous materials, and shaped them for their own purposes. The "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" is shown to be an account which seeks to portray Ssu-ma I as an exemplary general and statesman, but also criticizes him for being part of the eventual demise of the Wei dynasty.

The portrayal of Ssu-ma I which has come down to us is therefore a contradictory one. On the one hand, he is shown to be a great leader, as all dynastic founders should be; but on the other hand, he is linked with the eclipse of the Wei dynasty and is therefore portrayed as a vicious and ultimately disloyal statesman. It is the conclusion of this study that a proper account of Ssu-ma I must recognize and look beyond the dynastic ideology which has permeated the historiographical treatment of this man since the late third century. Only then will it be possible to sift through the historical evidence and reconstruct a balanced view of this important third century figure.

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To My Parents
Liv and Barbara
and
To My Children
Michelle and Sarah

INTRODUCTION

SSU-MA I AND CHIN DYNASTIC HISTORY

Ssu-ma I (179-251) was one of the great military and political figures of third century China. He served the Ts'ao ruling family for over thirty-five years, and died as the de facto Prime Minister of the Ts'ao Wei state (220-266) at the advanced age of seventy-three. During his long and active life, Ssu-ma I participated in many of the great military and political events of the first half of the third century as one of the outstanding officials of the Wei. An examination of his life consequently reveals to us many important aspects of contemporary developments in statecraft, warfare, social structure, local administration and imperial bureaucracy. Yet Ssu-ma I is known to history, not as an eminent Wei statesman, but as the founding emperor of the Chin dynasty (266-420); a status first conferred upon him fourteen and a half years after his death. The image of Ssu-ma I as founding emperor of the Chin has led to the unspoken implication that he had in fact sought to establish his family as the rulers of China, and that he was therefore an ambitious and ultimately disloyal official, since, in order to gain the throne, his family had to first overthrow the ruling Ts'ao family. A proper assessment of Ssu-ma I's role in history must therefore confront this contradiction between his actual position as a Wei statesman and his

posthumous designation as the founding emperor of the Chin.

In an effort to understand who Ssu-ma I was and what role he actually played in the history of third century China, it is necessary first to understand the nature of the information we have pertaining to him. This dissertation therefore attempts an examination of the development of the historical record pertaining to Ssu-ma I, taking into account the ways in which he was portrayed, and paying attention to the various ideas and ideals which had a bearing on that record. Through this study it becomes clear that the record of Ssu-ma I, which evolved from the late third to the mid seventh centuries, was in essence the product of an evolving tradition of Chinese imperial dynastic history writing--a tradition which was both official in nature and dynastic in orientation.

Within the genre of official history writing, the history of the Chinese world at any particular time was recounted in terms of the rise and fall of the dynastic house then in power, and also discussed the relative contributions (or hindrances) to that dynastic house made by the notable people of the age. Ssu-ma I was certainly one of the most notable people of his age, and thus would figure prominently in any account of the third century. Since he was so intimately involved with the Wei dynastic house, it stands to reason that any account of him would discuss him in terms of his contributions to that dynastic house. The

political and historiographical developments subsequent to his life however dictated that Ssu-ma I be treated in terms of his contributions to the Chin dynastic house, and thus his portrayal in history is that of a founding emperor of the Chin rather than a prominent statesman of the Wei.

The image of Ssu-ma I as the founding emperor of the Chin originated with the formal establishment of Chin rule in early 266. On the day following the accession of his grandson, Ssu-ma Yen (236-290), to the imperial throne, Ssu-ma I was posthumously designated August Sovereign Hsüan and Eminent Ancestor of the Chin house.¹ Imperial titles and ancestral temple designations were also given at that time to Ssu-ma I's two eldest sons, Ssu-ma Shih (208-255) and Ssu-ma Chao (211-265). This bestowal of posthumous sovereignty was a symbolic recognition of the important role these three men were seen to have played in the rise of the Ssu-ma family to political power within the Wei state; and the accordance of a position as lofty as that assumed by Ssu-ma Yen also served as an essential element in the proper observance of filial piety and dynastic loyalty. With these bestowals, Ssu-ma Yen formally acknowledged that Heaven had shown favor not only to him as the new reigning emperor, but also to his three ancestors who had laid the foundation of

¹Ssu-ma Yen ascended the imperial throne on the seventeenth day [*ping-yin*] of the twelfth month of the second year of the Hsien-hsi era, which is equivalent to 8 February 266. Ssu-ma I was therefore first designated emperor on 9 February 266. See *Chin shu* 3.50, 52.

the imperial enterprise. Therefore, in accordance with Chin dynastic politics and the rules of ancestral veneration, Ssu-ma I was officially linked to the establishment of Chin power, and formally acknowledged as the founding emperor of the Chin dynasty.

The status of posthumous emperor was a relatively new feature of Chinese imperial rule when it was applied to Ssu-ma I and his sons in the mid 260s. It had been applied to Ts'ao Ts'ao (155-220), who had been designated August Sovereign Wu two days after his son, Ts'ao P'i (187-226), had come to the imperial throne as the first ruling emperor of the Wei dynasty.² And it had also been applied to Sun Chien (156-192), who had been designated August Sovereign Wu-lieh when his son, Sun Ch'üan (182-252), assumed the title of emperor of the Wu dynasty in 229.³ In all of

²Ts'ao P'i ascended the imperial throne on the twenty-ninth day [*hsin-wei*] of the tenth month of the first year of the Yen-k'ang era of the Han (=11 December 220). See the commentary to *San-kuo chih* 2.75 which cites the *Hsien-ti chuan* (Account of Emperor Hsien [of the Han]). For a discussion of the accession of Ts'ao P'i and the relevant documents preserved in the *San-kuo chih* commentary, see the article by the late Carl Leban, "Managing heaven's mandate: coded communication in the accession of Ts'ao P'ei, A.D. 220," in David T. Roy and Tsuen-hsuei Tsien eds., *Ancient China: Studies in Early Civilization* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1978), pp. 315-341.

Ts'ao Ts'ao was posthumously designated Emperor Wu of the House of Wei on the first day [*kuei-yu*] of the eleventh month of the first year of the Huang-ch'u era of the Wei (=13 December 220). See *San-kuo chih* 2.76.

³*San-kuo chih* 47.1134, "Account of the Ruler of Wu," states that Sun Ch'üan ascended the throne as emperor of the House of Wu on the thirteenth day [*ping-shen*] of the fourth month of the seventh year of the Huang-wu era of the Wu (=23

these cases, the men recognized with posthumous sovereignty were seen to have contributed politically and militarily to the ascendancy of the newly proclaimed imperial family. The crucial links between these "founding fathers" and the new emperors thus consisted of both their blood ties and the meritorious contributions made toward the rise of the new ruling houses. Without blood ties, these men could not have been honored as founding members of the dynasty; and without their political contributions, these ancestors could not have been elevated to the status of "emperor."⁴

The formal bestowal of posthumous imperial status upon these meritorious members of the imperial family played an important role in the politics of the newly emerged dynasty, for it served as recognition of the means by which the

May 229). On that same day he posthumously designated his father, Sun Chien, Emperor Wu-lieh of the House of Wu.

For a study and translation of the *San-kuo chih* account of Sun Chien, see Rafe de Crespigny, *The Biography of Sun Chien* (Canberra: The Australian National University, Centre of Oriental Studies, Occasional Paper No. 5, 1966).

⁴Blood ties were of course a crucial element in the assignment of posthumous sovereignty, and also provided a necessary link for later generations who sought a basis for their own legitimate imperial rule. As will be shown in Chapter Three below, the blood tie with Ssu-ma I gave the Eastern Chin founder, Ssu-ma Jui, a critical link with the Chin house. Another such case is that of Liu Hsiu, the Later Han founder, who used his blood tie to the Former Han founder, Liu Pang, as a basis for his claim to the Han throne. These issues, and the many other matters pertaining to the establishment of legitimation in early imperial China, are outlined in Hok-lam Chan, *Legitimation in Imperial China: Discussions Under the Jurchen-Chin Dynasty (115-1234)* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1984), pp. 19-48. See in particular pp. 32-33.

imperial family had come to power, and thus pointed to the basis of its right to rule. With the political context clearly established, the official historiographical treatment of these ancestors followed in due course. As we shall see with Ssu-ma I and the Chin, his posthumous status as Chin emperor required that he be discussed not as a Wei statesman as the reality of his career would demand, but as a great leader who laid the foundation for Chin rule.

In terms of writing an actual historical account of Ssu-ma I (within the official tradition), it was necessary that he be accorded all the care and dignity due any Chinese sovereign. The record of his life and career would therefore be framed in an imperial annals (*chi*) rather than a biography (*chuan*), that his given name would be taboo (*hui*), and that he be provided with a lofty pedigree dating back to hoary antiquity. All of these devices helped to elevate Ssu-ma I as an historical figure, and provided his Chin successors with an esteemed and worthy ancestor befitting a great dynastic house. Within the Chinese tradition of imperial historiography Ssu-ma I belonged to the Chin, and any account of his life written by historians who worked under the Chin, or any subsequent imperial house, would treat him as a founding Chin emperor rather than as a "mere" Wei statesman.

The reason for this imperial treatment lies within the official historiographical tradition itself. For scholars

working and writing within the confines of a Chinese imperial bureaucracy, the notion of loyalty to the ruling house was everywhere present. And for those working within the historiographical bureaucracy, adherence to state orthodoxy was certainly more than just a casual expectation. In the case of historians writing during the period of Chin rule itself (266-420), it would have been unthinkable to have portrayed Ssu-ma I as anything other than the founding ancestor of the Chin house. For historians writing under the ruling houses subsequent to the Chin (the Liu-Sung, Ch'i, Liang and T'ang dynasties), the ideal of loyalty to one's imperial house remained a strong one, and so the orthodox recounting of Chin dynastic history served to reenforce that and other important principles. This was particularly true for the early T'ang under emperor T'ai-tsung.

It is the aim of this dissertation, therefore, to trace the development of the historical record pertaining to Ssu-ma I and observe, 1) how that process evolved, and 2) what ideals it sought to advance. This work is therefore divided into two parts. Part I examines the chronological progression of the official historical writing about Ssu-ma I from shortly after his death to the completion of the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" some four centuries later. By taking a chronological approach to this subject we can see just what works were written when, by whom, and under what

circumstances. We can also see, due to the unusually prolonged period during which this record evolved, just how the tradition of imperial history writing evolved in China from the Han through the early T'ang dynasties. Such a survey is indeed rewarding since it shows how this tradition grew from an unofficial, privately initiated system under the Former Han to a highly developed, imperially sponsored section of the state bureaucracy under the early T'ang.

Part II constitutes a translation and study of the final complete record of Ssu-ma I, the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan," which comprises the first chapter of the *Chin shu*. The translation allows the reader access to this account, here translated for the first time into any language, so that the content and contours of this example of official history may be studied and appreciated. The accompanying study of the text reveals the sources used by the T'ang historians in assembling this record, and examines what ideas and ideals they sought to advance in their account. As we shall see, the T'ang compilers drew on the many earlier Chin histories but clearly put their own interpretive stamp on the source material they had at hand. Their final product, the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan," portrays Ssu-ma I as a strong military leader and adept statesman, but also discretely condemns his role as the founding emperor of the Chin.

The historiography of the account of Ssu-ma I is

unmistakably colored by the imperial ideology which lay behind it. The pre-T'ang accounts of Ssu-ma I were largely favorable and suitably pro-Chin in their orientation, while the T'ang account itself lauds Ssu-ma I's accomplishments as a paragon of the Chinese statesman-general, but finds it necessary to condemn his connection to the eclipse of the Wei. The "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" clearly bears the imprint of its imperial patron, T'ang T'ai-tsung, who, as a reigning emperor of considerable authority, saw to it that the account of Ssu-ma I would both praise his actions and councils as a wise and capable official, but would also condemn the inappropriateness of his link to the overthrow of a his ruling house. For the *Chin shu* compilers, Ssu-ma I was an outstanding Wei statesman, but had to be faulted for his role as a Chin founder.

PART I
THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF SSU-MA I
AND THE CHIN DYNASTY

CHAPTER ONE
HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS AND THEIR TRANSMISSION
IN CHINA'S EARLY EMPIRE

In the study of history, it is often easy to overlook the fact that our knowledge of a certain time and place is dependent upon the nature of the historical sources at our disposal. In the case of Ssu-ma I and the world in which he lived, there exist a number of historical sources which reveal various aspects of the man, his career and the events of his age. However, before using these materials, we must pause and consider the nature of these sources and ask what kinds of information they intend to convey. It is important to keep in mind just who or what the subjects of these works were, and remain sensitive to the intended purpose, or purposes, of these sources. As modern Western historians, we embrace concepts of history which are considerably different from those of our ancient predecessors, and are removed further still from those of the historians of early imperial China. It is important, therefore, to devote some attention to a survey of the historical record pertaining to our subject, so that we may be better aware of the nature of these sources and note how they shape our knowledge of Ssu-ma I and his age.

As was noted in the Introduction, the basic source for the study of Ssu-ma I is the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan,"

which constitutes the first chapter of the seventh century *Chin shu* (History of the Chin). However this account, while the only complete surviving record which treats Ssu-ma I as its main subject, is neither primary nor comprehensive. There is a temporal gulf of four centuries separating this account from its subject, and there is also an ideological aspect to it which separates it further still from what the modern historian may expect a thorough biographical account to be. In its format and approach, the annals does not seek to portray the life of its subject in a biographical sense which would be familiar to the modern reader, Western or otherwise. Nor does it seek to submit its subject to a comprehensive or critical inquiry. The fundamental nature and purpose of the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" is to portray Ssu-ma I as the founding emperor of the Chin dynasty: a purpose which is readily apparent from the designation of the account as an "annals" (a term used only for imperial rulers), and is in keeping with the overall function of the *Chin shu* as a dynastic history. The "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" therefore does not satisfy the modern historian's goal of comprehensive inquiry and interpretation; however it must serve as a source for the modern historian seeking an understanding of Ssu-ma I and his age, and thus requires a thorough examination of how it came to be, and an analysis of what it has to say.

While the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" serves as the major

extant account of Ssu-ma I, it is by no means the earliest such record. During the centuries immediately following Ssu-ma I's death, pertinent historical works of various kinds were compiled; but it is a lamentable fact of history that most of these records have perished over the centuries. However, we are fortunate enough to know what many of these records were, as well as to have excerpts of some of them preserved in various extant sources. An investigation into the material pertaining to these records allows us to reconstruct the process of history writing which took place during the centuries following Ssu-ma I's death, and see specifically what ideas and ideals informed the works concerning this man and the world in which he lived.

This investigation into the historiographical record pertaining to Ssu-ma I will therefore take into account three aspects of the sources as they evolved over the four centuries from Ssu-ma I's lifetime through the compilation of the *Chin shu* (History of the Chin) in the mid seventh century. First, we shall consider the variety of written documents which served as the fundamental source material for historical records of third century China. Second, we shall examine what is known of the many historical works compiled during the third, fourth and fifth centuries pertaining to Ssu-ma I and the Western Chin dynasty. And third, we shall take a look at how the seventh century *Chin shu* came to be compiled and examine what this canonical

account has to say about Ssu-ma I. The purpose of the present chapter therefore is to begin this process with a brief inquiry into the nature and variety of written documents during the early empire--paying particular attention to documents and records keeping of the third century--and noting how these formed the basic raw materials for the dynastic history writing of subsequent centuries.

Written Documents and the Chinese Imperial State

While the practice of historical writing as an independent scholarly endeavor came to be formally recognized by bibliographers only in the third century A.D.,¹ the practice of maintaining various kinds of written records claimed a hallowed tradition from earliest times. In fact, one of the great cultural achievements attributed to the legendary sage-rulers of antiquity was the invention of writing. A passage from the "Great Commentary" (*ta chuan*) to the *Changes* states that:

In high antiquity, men used knotted chords in governing. The sages of a later age changed these to written documents (*shu-ch'i*). The hundred officials were thus governed, and the myriad people were thus supervised.²

¹For a discussion of the bibliographical work of Hsün Hsü (ob. 289) and its implications for the study of history in the third century see Chapter Two, pp. 55-60, below.

²*Chou I chu-shu* 8.8a (Shih-san ching chu-shu ed.); Richard Wilhelm, trans., *The I Ching or Book of Changes*, Translated into English by Cary F. Baynes (Princeton:

This tradition was reiterated by Pan Ku (32-92) in his remarks concerning the development of writing in early China as found in the section on the "Six Arts" (*liu i*) in his "Monograph on Arts and Letters" (*I-wen chih*) in Chapter 30 of the *Han shu*.³ Later scholars such as Hsü Shen (ca.58-ca.147), Wei Heng (ob. 291), Hsiao T'ung (501-531), and the second T'ang emperor T'ai-tsung (599?-649) also adhered to this tradition, but introduced some changes as to just who was responsible for the introduction of writing.⁴ What is important for all of these authors however is the close relationship between written documents and governing.

Another aspect of the tradition may be seen in a quote attributed to Confucius in which he points out the

Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 335.

³See *Han shu* 30.1720-21.

⁴See the remarks made by the lexicographer Hsü Shen in the "Postface" to his *Shuo-wen chieh-tzu* (Script Explained and Graphs Explicated) which may be found in *chüan* 15A of that work. Wei Hung, who was an official at the Western Chin court was an authority on Chinese writing and wrote a treatise entitled "*Ssu-t'i shu-shih*" (Aspects of the Four Forms of Writing) which is preserved in his *Chin shu* biography. His remarks on the origins of Chinese writing may be found in the opening lines of that treatise in *Chin shu* 36.1061. Hsiao T'ung's comments on writing may be found in the early lines of his preface to the *Wen hsüan* (Selections of Refined Literature). An English rendering of this preface may be found in David Knechtges trans., *Wen hsüan or Selections of Refined Literature*. Volume One: Rhapsodies on Metropolises and Capitals (hereafter *Wen xuan*), (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 73-91. The comments by T'ang T'ai-tsung on Chinese writing may be found in his "*Chih*" (Imperial Pronouncement) appended to the biography of the Eastern Chin calligrapher Wang Hsi-chih (321-379; alt. 303-361) in *Chin shu* 80.2107.

importance written documents play in the knowledge of proper traditional practices. In the *Analects* we read the following:

The Master said, 'I am able to discourse on the rites of the Hsia, but the state of Ch'i does not furnish sufficient supporting evidence; I am able to discourse on the rites of the Yin, but the state of Sung does not furnish sufficient supporting evidence. This is because there are not enough records and men of erudition. Otherwise I would be able to support what I say with evidence.'⁵

While Confucius here is bemoaning the fact that he cannot properly support his knowledge of the rites of the past, he also points out that written documents, along with learned men, serve as vital transmitters of the important knowledge and practices of the past.

Regardless of what the true function of the earliest Chinese writing may have been, the orthodox view in early imperial China held that the maintenance of written documents was a fundamental aspect of good government. Illustrative of this attitude at the outset of the Former Han period (202 B.C.-A.D. 9) is an anecdote concerning the first Prime Minister of the Han, Hsiao Ho (ob. 193 B.C.). The following passage is taken from Ho's *Shih-chi* biography, and describes his activities during Liu Pang's (the Lord of

⁵*Lun-yü* 3/9. The translation is taken from D.C. Lau, *The Analects*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1979). "Records and men or erudition" is Prof. Lau's rendering of the terms *wen* "writings" and *hsien* "worthy men."

P'ei=King of Han) capture of the Ch'in capital, Hsien-yang, in 206 B.C.:

When the Lord of P'ei reached Hsien-yang, all of his Generals fought with each other to get to the storehouses containing precious metals, silks and other valuable goods, and take a portion [for themselves]. Hsiao Ho alone first entered and seized the statutes, commands, charts and documents of the Ch'in Prime Minister and Imperial Secretaries and stored them away. . . . Therefore the reason that the King of Han was able to know all about the empire's strategic points, the size of the population, the areas of strength and weakness, and what grieved the people, was that Ho had obtained all of the Ch'in charts and documents.⁶

Such an anecdote, although probably intended by its author to illustrate Hsiao Ho's exemplary behavior, shows the importance official documents played in the early imperial state. In order to govern well, a ruler must have in his possession various kinds of records pertaining to both practical aspects of administration (e.g., written laws, tax and population figures, administrative regulations, maps, official communications, etc.) and the guiding wisdom of past rulers. This latter category included such diverse records as: poems, songs, letters, essays, ritual codes, sayings of the so-called "masters," chronicles of bygone states, pronouncements of former kings, and numerous other types of writings, both official and private.

⁶*Shih-chi* 53.2014; Burton Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian of China* (hereafter *Records*), 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 1:125-26.

With the rise of the centralized Chinese state under the Ch'in and Former Han dynasties, the relationship between written documents and the practice of government became increasingly sophisticated. In practical terms, the wide-ranging presence of China's imperial bureaucracy gave rise to a dependence upon the creation and transmission of administrative writings simply to maintain the network of communication so vital to centralized rule. The imperial government relied upon documents to disseminate its laws and directives, and the day-to-day business of the state was conducted by means of a variety of written documents.⁷

In addition to these practical types of documents however, administrators of the new imperial state also came to acknowledge the importance of writings of a more formal and instructive nature which would guide them in the general principles of rulership and statecraft. These of course consisted of the various hallowed writings of the past, and came to include newly composed writings of Han statesmen, best exemplified in the work of such men as: Lu Chia (288-

⁷Archaeological research has provided numerous examples of these kinds of Ch'in and Han documents. See for example A.F.P. Hulswé's recent study of the Ch'in legal documents discovered in Hupei province, *Remnants of Ch'in Law* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985); and Michael Loewe's two volume *Records of Han Administration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) which makes a careful study of one variety of documents used for administrative purposes in the northwest reaches of the empire during the Former Han period. Pages 25-47 of Volume One, "Written communications and their delivery," present a detailed discussion of the materials used and means of conveying administrative documents on the Han frontier.

ca.140 B.C.), Chia I (200-168 B.C.) and Tung Chung-shu (ca. 179-93 B.C.).⁸ The didactic writings which arose during this first century of imperial rule were quite varied in their content, and represented diverse strains of political and social thought. But the diversity represented by these works and their advocates gradually gave way to an emerging orthodox view which was formalized early in the reign of Emperor Wu (reg. 141-87 B.C.).

In 136 B.C. Emperor Wu officially established the primacy of Confucian learning by creating scholar-officials known as Erudites (*po-shih*) for five classics of the Confucian tradition.⁹ In addition to this, at some other time in his reign, he also ordered a renewed effort to be undertaken for the collection and storage of written

⁸In addition to the various memorials and other writings preserved in the *Han shu* biographies of these men, works of political philosophy attributed to each of these authors are preserved in the *Hsin yü* (New Conversations) of Lu Chia, the *Hsin shu* (New Writings) of Chia I, and the *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* (Luxuriant Gems of the Spring and Autumn) of Tung Chung-shu. While the authenticity and attribution of each of these collections remain subject to debate, it is clear from the historical record that the advice and writings of these men were very influential upon their contemporaries and those of later generations.

⁹These were the *I* (Changes), *Shu* (Documents), *Shih* (Odes), *Li* (Rites), and the *Ch'un-ch'iu* (Spring and Autumn). The date of the establishment of these Erudites is given in *Han shu* 6.159. Homer H. Dubs discusses the list of the five classics in his *History of the Former Han Dynasty* (hereafter *HFHD*), 3 vols. (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1938-55), 2:32 note 3.7.

documents.¹⁰ These two acts by Emperor Wu at once established the primacy of classical Juist learning within the imperial state, and set up an archival system wherein the diverse documentary heritage of the empire could be stored and thereby consulted. Pan Ku (32-92) describes the process of early Former Han records collecting as follows:

When the Han arose, they changed the failing of the Ch'in, collected a great many pieces of writing (*p'ien chi*), and on a wide scale inaugurated a means of submitting documents. But by the reign of Emperor Wu, documents were missing and bamboo strips were incomplete; rites had been ruined and music deteriorated. The sagacious ruler gave a sigh and said, "I am truly troubled by this!" He thereupon established a policy of storing documents, and created officials to write things down. Everything down to the transmitted sayings of the various masters filled the imperial archives (*mi-fu*).¹¹

¹⁰Our source of information for this is the discussion by Pan Ku given below.

¹¹This is taken from Pan Ku's Preface to the "Monograph on Literature" found in *Han shu* 30.1701. The term here translated as "imperial archives" is *mi-fu*, which may be literally translated as "secret storehouse." The *mi* in this case however refers to things which are restricted, i.e., things within the imperial palace, and therefore is often rendered as "imperial." Throughout the traditional literature there are many terms used to refer to the repositories of imperial literature. In some cases these are referred to by some authors as "libraries," while I tends to use the term "archives." It does not seem to me that the Chinese systematically distinguished between different types of storage places for literature but, as we shall see in the discussion of Lo-yang's documentary repositories below, we know that different buildings existed simultaneously and appear to have housed different kinds of written materials. Since I am not as yet able to detect

In addition to their role of instituting a more visible state orthodoxy, Emperor Wu's policies also served to strengthen the link between imperial government and the written word. The imperial archives functioned as the central repository of China's accumulated literary wealth (and therefore of its intellectual heritage) which was then utilized by statesmen and scholars in search of knowledge, guidance or instruction. More significantly, classical studies soon became a clear route to success within the imperial bureaucracy, and thus heightened the degree of importance these writings had for literate men within the empire.¹² Written records and the conduct of imperial government were now inseparable.

The imperial sponsorship of classical learning and the implementation of archival reform under Emperor Wu were

differences between what we would call libraries (places where completed books are stored) and archives (places where raw documents are stored), I employ the term "archive(s)" to refer to those places where imperially held documents of various kinds were kept.

¹²Hsiao Kung-ch'üan points out that, "With the Five Classics instituted as the official learning, . . . The *Odes* and *Documents* could bring material advantage and honor; classical studies were sufficient to qualify one for the official career." While Hsiao's point seeks to show that Confucian studies under Emperor Wu had "attained unprecedented prosperity," it is also clear that the transmission and study of classical texts (and other related didactic writings) to be used in preparation for, and engagement in, government service had come to hold a position of much greater importance in the imperial period. See Kung-chuan Hsiao, *A History of Chinese Political Thought*, Translated by F. W. Mote, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 472.

indeed important steps in the evolution of the role of written records in the imperial state; but the decades following Emperor Wu's reign apparently witnessed a decline in archival activity. Pan Ku informs us that Emperor Ch'eng (reg. 33-7 B.C.) felt the need to undertake a renewed effort at collecting books and replenishing the imperial archives. Pan Ku explains the process as follows:

In the reign of Emperor Ch'eng, since books had become scattered and lost, [the emperor] sent an Internuncio, Ch'en Nung, to go and seek out lost books within the empire. He issued an edict calling for the Grandee of Radiant Emolument, Liu Hsiang, to collate classics, commentaries, [works of the] various masters, and collections of poems and rhapsodies; the Colonel of the Infantry, Jen Hung, to collate military texts; the Prefect Grand Astrologer, I Hsien, to collate numerological and divination texts; and the Attendant Physician, Li Kuei-kuo, to collate medical texts. When each book was completed, Hsiang listed its contents and brought together its essential points. He then recorded it and submitted it to the throne.¹³

We may infer from the brief statement, "books had become scattered and lost," that archival activity at the Han capital had fallen into neglect during the decades following the reign of Emperor Wu, and that this neglect prompted Emperor Ch'eng to undertake these bibliographic activities.

¹³*Han shu* 30.1701, "Preface to the 'Monograph on Arts and Letters.'" *Han shu* 10.310, "Annals of Emperor Ch'eng," lists this as having occurred in the autumn of 26 B.C. See Dubs, *HFHD*, 2:386.

The bibliographic project inaugurated by Emperor Ch'eng in 26 B.C. constituted the most comprehensive and systematic effort yet undertaken by a Chinese government to gather and categorize the empire's important literature. The work of Liu Hsiang (77-6 B.C.) and his colleagues in the imperial archives established an important standard of archival and bibliographic practice which was emulated and elaborated upon by generations of similar officials over the next two millennia.¹⁴ The project itself extended over a number of years and was not in fact completed until Hsiang's son, Liu Hsin (ca. 50 B.C.- A.D. 23), was commanded sometime during the reign of Emperor Ai (reg. 7-1 B.C.) to bring his father's work to completion. Liu Hsin had been a participant in the project from the outset, and was the man credited with the authorship of the final catalogue of the archives, the *Ch'i lüeh* (Seven Summaries).

The *Ch'i lüeh*, which we now possess in abbreviated form, serves as an invaluable source of information concerning the content and categories of imperially held literature at the end of the Former Han period. From it we can see what of China's literary heritage was extant at that

¹⁴This type of work found its greatest expression in the enormous bibliographic project undertaken by the Ch'ing dynasty's Ch'ien-lung emperor (reg. 1736-1796) in his *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* (Complete Library of the Four Treasuries) project. For a discussion of this project see R. Kent Guy, *The Emperor's Four Treasuries, Scholars and State in the Late Ch'ien-lung Era* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1987).

time, and we can also gain an understanding of how the various works contained in the imperial archives were categorically arranged. The official impetus for this bibliographic enterprise attests to the importance the state gave to written documents, and the various categories of the literature itself reveal a great deal about how the compilers viewed the nature and function of these pieces.

What we know of the *Ch'i lüeh* and its categories stems from Pan Ku's "Monograph on Arts and Letters" (contained in *Han shu* 30) which is itself an abridgment of Liu Hsin's work. In his preface to the monograph Pan Ku tells us that Hsin's catalogue was divided into seven parts, the first of which consisted of a general discussion followed by six categories: classics, masters, verse and rhapsodies, military texts, divination and numerological texts, and medical texts.¹⁵ Of these categories the one recognized as the most important was of course the classics--that category of literature which had been patronized by the state since the time of Emperor Wu, and which continued to be the primary focus of attention by Han rulers and scholars. What is notable about these categories for us however is the fact that there was no distinct division among them for works of history.

The absence of a separate category devoted to history

¹⁵These categories are listed at the end of Pan Ku's preface to the "Monograph on Arts and Letters" in *Han shu* 30.1701.

reveals that the catalogue editors did not perceive a need for such a category; but more importantly, it suggests that the literature of the time was not written with such a generic division in mind. Historical records of various types did exist within the Chinese literary tradition, and Chinese scholars were intimately familiar with the idea of looking into the past (an idea which was fundamental to the classics), but the position of history as an independent genre of writing had not yet emerged during the Former Han. There was of course the great historical work of Ssu-ma T'an and his son Ssu-ma Ch'ien which eventually served to transform the nature of history writing in China, but for nearly two centuries following the creation of their *Shih-chi* (Historical Records [completed ca. 90 B.C.]) no other similar works were produced, and thus the establishment of their type of writing as a distinct genre was slow in coming. Instead, Liu Hsin listed their work in the classics section under the heading of the Lu chronicle known as the *Ch'un-ch'iu* (Spring and Autumn) which had been designated a classic during the reign of Emperor Wu.

It is under the rubric of "Spring and Autumn" that Liu Hsin and Pan Ku list all of the various historical works preserved in the Han imperial archives; and in his introduction to this section of his bibliography, Pan Ku discusses the hallowed tradition and function of history writing. But as ancient a tradition as the official

maintenance of records was seen to be, the rulers of the Former Han did not establish their own official historians, and it was up to the private initiative and genius of Ssu-ma T'an and his son to establish a new form of history writing which eventually served as the model for the official historiography which came into being under the Later Han dynasty, and evolved as a distinct genre of writing during the second century.

Institutional Aspects of Imperial Records Keeping

As is well known, the Former Han dynasty came to an end after two centuries of rule when Wang Mang successfully arranged for the abdication of the infant sovereign of the Liu family and ascended the throne as the first ruler of the Hsin dynasty on 10 January, A.D. 9. Wang Mang's reign, which lasted until A.D. 23, was short-lived, yet was characterized by drastic reforms in government and bureaucratic practice.¹⁶ In the institutional aspects of records keeping and history writing, however, he did not offer any significant departures from the practices of the Former Han.

The violent end of Wang Mang's regime in October of

¹⁶Information on Wang Mang and his reign may be most conveniently found in Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe eds., *The Cambridge History of China*. Volume 1 *The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.- A.D. 220* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 223-240. The standard historical account of Wang Mang is given in *Han shu* 99A, B, C, which has been translated by Dubs in *HFHD*, 3:125-474.

A.D. 23 came as the result of local rebellions and anti-Hsin military campaigns, which subsequently grew into widespread civil warfare lasting, to one degree or another, for more than a decade. Out of this civil war came numerous claimants to the Han throne, and eventually a restored Han dynasty under the leadership of one Liu Hsiu, known to history as Emperor Kuang-wu (reg. 25-57), was proclaimed in northeastern China on 5 August, A.D. 25.¹⁷ Wang Mang, as well as the Han emperors before him, had made his capital at Ch'ang-an, and it was there that he had been killed by lead elements of advancing Han armies. As Liu Hsiu's forces expanded into the Yellow River valley in late 25, a new imperial capital was established at Lo-yang.¹⁸ While this was done out of expediency, since Ch'ang-an was not yet under Liu Hsiu's control, the establishment of the capital of the nascent Later Han state at Lo-yang created a clear break with the past, and affected a removal of the administrative center of the empire from its war-torn seat in Ch'ang-an to a new base in the east.

While the empire itself was a decade away from being

¹⁷Liu Hsiu's political control prevailed only in a couple of provinces in the northeast in the summer of A.D. 25. Since opposing forces still held Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an, Hsiu proclaimed his ascent to the throne in Hao prefecture, Ch'ang-shan commandery, Chi province. See T'an Ch'i-hsiang ed., *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi*, vol. 2 (Ch'in, Western Han and Eastern Han Periods), Eastern Han 47-48/4-2; and *Hou Han shu* 1A.22/1.

¹⁸*Hou Han shu* 1A.25/3 dates this at 27 November A.D. 25.

pacified, one of the many pressing issues confronting Liu Hsiu and his supporters in Lo-yang was the creation of a proper administrative infrastructure in the new capital. Given the numerous economic and military concerns which formed much of the young government's pressing agenda, it is very revealing to find that the new emperor was concerned enough about the status of the imperial archives to order the transfer of all books and documents from the imperial archives at Ch'ang-an to new quarters in Lo-yang. We find in the preface to the biographies of Juists in the *Hou Han shu*, for instance, a number of statements which indicate the new emperor's appreciation of classical learning and of the men and materials which transmitted that learning. The opening lines of the preface have this to say about Liu Hsiu's activities at the outset of his reign:

In the past, during the interval between Wang Mang and [the] Keng-shih [Emperor] (ca. A.D. 20-25), the empire was divided and in chaos. The rites and music were split up and broken, while the canonical writings were fragmented and scattered. With Kuang-wu's restoration, [owing to the fact that he was] very fond of the classical arts, before he had even gotten down from his carriage, he first went and called upon the scholarly and refined [men of the empire, had them] seek out and collect missing writings, and reassemble what had been neglected and lost.¹⁹

The passage indicates that Liu Hsiu called for what appears

¹⁹*Hou Han shu* 79A.2545/1-2, Preface to the "Grove of Juists."

to have been a book collecting project as soon as he had established his government in Lo-yang. Further on in this same preface we read,

When Kuang-wu had moved back to Lo-yang, the classics, documents and imperial archives had been transported on more than two thousand vehicles. From that time on, they grew to be three times what they were before.²⁰

The inference to be made here is that Liu Hsiu arranged for both the transportation of the surviving archives from Ch'ang-an to Lo-yang, and called for the reassimilation of the other extant writings into the holdings of the restored imperial house. Clearly, Liu Hsiu perceived a value in championing the salvation of the empire's literary heritage, whether out of a true commitment to scholarship, or for its value as a propaganda device in demonstrating to any supporters the appropriateness of his service as China's new ruler.²¹ Whatever his motives, Liu Hsiu was committed to preserving the literary heritage of the past.

The details of the transmission of documents from Ch'ang-an to Lo-yang are lost to us; but we do know

²⁰*Hou Han shu* 79A.2548/1.

²¹Of course, one of the important elements in Liu Hsiu's propaganda arsenal was the dissemination of so-called prognostication texts (*ch'an-shu*) which foretold his coming to the throne. For a brief discussion of Liu Hsiu's use of these texts, see Kung-chuan Hsiao, *A History of Chinese Political Thought*, pp. 521-23. An extensive discussion of these texts may be found in Jack L. Dull, "A Historical Introduction to the Apocryphal (*Ch'an-wei*) Texts of the Han Dynasty," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1966.

something of the archives that existed in Lo-yang after the founding of the Later Han, as well as the bureaucratic system which was put in place to maintain those archives. Hans Bielenstein's study of Later Han Lo-yang offers a great deal of information on the libraries of the capital and the activities which went on there. He points out that there were four main palace libraries in Lo-yang: the Eastern Lodge (*Tung-kuan*), the Magnolia Terrace (*Lan-t'ai*), the Stone Chamber (*Shih-shih*), and the Hall of All-Embracing Brightness (*Hsüan-ming-tien*).²² Of these, the first two were the most important for the storage of government documents, classics and other important literary works, and served as the work place for numerous officials and famous scholars over the nearly two centuries of Later Han rule.

Since Former Han times, the administration of the palace libraries was placed under the jurisdiction of the Palace Assistant Secretary (*yü-shih chung-ch'eng*) and his subordinate officials. In his study of Han-time bureaucracy, Bielenstein describes the function of this official as follows:

He had his office on the Magnolia Terrace within the palace precincts, was in charge of charts, registers, and imperial books, passed on to the throne memorials from the Three Excellencies, the Nine Ministers, and

²²See Hans Bielenstein, "Lo-yang in Later Han Times," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 48 (1976), pp. 28-31, 37. I have slightly altered Bielenstein's English renderings of some of the library names.

the local administration, and transmitted imperial edicts addressed to the commanderies and kingdoms.²³

The duties of the Palace Assistant Secretary included the supervision of various subordinates which included Foreman Clerks (*ling-shih*) and Gentleman Archivists (*mi-shu lang*) who were in charge of the accurate copying, editing and storage of texts in the imperial collections.

This bureaucratic arrangement which underwent slight modifications during the Former Han, was adopted by Liu Hsiu and his successors and continued for more than one hundred thirty years under the Later Han until the year 159. At that time, a specific post for imperial librarian was created. As Bielenstein explains:

That year the office of Superintendent of the Imperial Archives (*mi-shu chien*) at the rank of 600 *shih* was created for the first time and placed in the ministry of the Grand Master of Ceremonies. He was in charge of charts and books, of standardizing ancient and current simple and compound characters, and of reconciling textual variants, i.e. he became the chief librarian of the various imperial book collections in the Southern and Northern Palaces of Lo-yang.²⁴

This new office certainly reflected the need for a more sophisticated and specialized system of imperial records

²³Hans Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1980), p. 9.

²⁴Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, p. 23. I have substituted my "Superintendent of the Imperial Archives" for Bielenstein's "Inspector of the Imperial Library."

keeping in Han times, and as such serves as an indicator of the growing importance archival activities had finally come to have during the mature years of the Later Han period.

While the archival bureaucracy which existed in the Former Han period appears to have been engaged in only sporadic episodes of book collecting, and was only beginning to develop some sophistication as a records keeping institution, the Later Han period witnessed a more consistent and highly developed process of archival activity. Bielenstein's data on the Lo-yang libraries include references to numerous projects which were commissioned by the imperial government to be undertaken in one or more of the four libraries mentioned, in addition to the more mundane tasks of archival maintenance which included the participation of "some of the most famous literati of Later Han."²⁵

The most important development, however, which took place in the practice of imperial records keeping during the Later Han period was the utilization of state documents for the purpose of compiling imperially sponsored historical records. The first case of this kind of activity occurred late in the reign of Emperor Ming (reg. 57-75) when that ruler ordered a number of scholars to work in the Magnolia

²⁵See "Lo-yang in Later Han Times," pp. 29-31. On p. 30 Bielenstein points out that "the Eastern Lodge enjoyed an enormous prestige under the Later Han, both as a library and as a center of literary activity."

Terrace and compile an account of the reign of Emperor Kuang-wu. Though innovative at the time, this project proved to be the initial undertaking in what was to become a standard practice of most Chinese ruling houses that followed.

What we know of the project comes from information contained in the *Hou Han shu* biographies of some of the participants, the most important of whom were Pan Ku (32-92) and Ma Yen (17-98). In the biography of Pan Ku we are told that, after being favorably received by Emperor Ming,²⁶ he was sent to the office of the Gentlemen Archivists and assigned to be a Foreman Clerk in the Magnolia Terrace. There he, along with Ch'en Tsung, Yin Min and Meng I, completed a *Shih-tsu pen-chi* (Basic Annals of the Epochal Ancestor).²⁷ In the biography of Ma Yen, the list of participants is expanded to include Ma Yen and Tu Fu, who "worked on the records of the Chien-wu era (25-56)," an

²⁶Pan Ku had been arrested for privately compiling a history of the Former Han which his father, Pan Piao (A.D. 3-54), had begun. Through the intercession of his prominent brother, Pan Ch'ao (32-102), Ku was released and introduced to Emperor Ming, who put his historical abilities to constructive use. Biographical information concerning Pan Ku and his career may be found in *Han shu* 100A-B (Pan Ku's "Autobiographical Postface"), and in *Hou Han shu* 40A.1330-40B.1387. A convenient summary in English of Pan Ku's life and literary career may be found in Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, 1:479-481.

²⁷*Hou Han shu* 40A.1334/3-5. "Epochal Ancestor" (*Shih-tsu*) was the posthumous temple name of Emperor Kuang-wu.

undertaking which occurred in the year A.D. 72.²⁸

Elsewhere in the *Hou Han shu* we also find a brief reference to two others who also worked in the archives with Pan Ku "writing a narrative of Han history (*shu Han shih*)."²⁹

Although the wording of each account varies somewhat, they clearly refer to the same project, and when taken together provide a list of eight scholars who were commissioned by the imperial government to write this history of Emperor Kuang-wu's reign. Such a commitment of personnel certainly indicates an unprecedented interest on the part of Emperor Ming and his government in the writing of dynastic history.

According to comments in Pan Ku's *Hou Han shu* biography, the work consisted of "basic annals" (*pen-chi*), "biographies" (*lieh-chuan*) and "records" (*tsai-chi*) in twenty-eight *p'ien*.³⁰ The result of these labors therefore stood in its own right as an important and unique work of

²⁸*Hou Han shu* 24.859/3-4, "Biography of Ma Yen." The text dates Ma Yen's appointment to the archives as the fifteenth year of the Yung-p'ing era, or A.D. 72.

²⁹*Hou Han shu* 14.558/5-6. These were Liu Fu, a member of the imperial family, and Chia K'uei (30-101), a prominent scholar of the classics. See also the brief comment in Chia K'uei's biography in *Hou Han shu* 36.1235/7.

³⁰*Hou Han shu* 40A.1334/4-5. The category of *tsai-chi* was first used here as a somewhat deprecatory term to be applied to the non-legitimate rulers of the period following Wang Mang and prior to Emperor Kuang-wu. This term was used again by the T'ang compilers of the *Chin shu* in their coverage of the various rulers of the so-called "Sixteen states" (*shih-liu kuo*) which held sway over certain parts of north China in the early fourth century.

Chinese historiography. The record of Emperor Kuang-wu's reign serves as the first example of imperially sponsored history writing of any kind, and also appears as the first case in which a ruling house called for the compilation of an account of its own past. With this project, we witness the inauguration of the phenomenon of official history writing--the process by which state documents maintained in well-organized and properly manned archives were used as the primary source material for compiling a historical record of that state. This is what is meant by the Chinese term *kuo-shih* (state history).

The appearance of the account of Emperor Kuang-wu's reign was followed by the imperial sponsorship of Pan Ku's continuing work on a history of the Former Han dynasty--a work which was begun privately by Pan Ku's father, Pan Piao (A.D. 3-54), and completed by his sister, Pan Chao (ca. 49-ca. 120), upon imperial order shortly after his death. The resulting work, the 100 *chüan Han shu* (History of the Han), was the first history which took as its subject the rise and fall of a single ruling house, and thus constitutes the first example of a Chinese dynastic history.³¹ The Later Han period continued to develop a tradition of imperial

³¹For a discussion of Pan Ku's history of the Han, and a debate over the bias and reliability of this work, see the discussion between Clyde Sargent in his article, "Subsidized History: Pan Ku and the Historical Records of the Former Han Dynasty," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 3 (1944): 119-143, and Homer Dubs in his, "The Reliability of Chinese Histories" *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 6 (1946):23-43.

sponsorship of important scholarly projects, many of which were undertaken within the various imperial libraries of Lo-yang.³² The link between state and scholarship which had begun under Emperor Wu of the Former Han continued to grow under many of the Later Han rulers, and the practice of state sponsored history writing continued as part of this evolution.

During the second century, the work begun with the account of the reign of Emperor Kuang-wu was added to and continued in three installments, and thus grew to be a lengthy contemporary history of the restored Han dynasty from its beginnings down to the late second century. In a manner similar to the process by which Pan Ku and the others had put together the original record in the Magnolia Terrace, the subsequent installments of the record of the Later Han were all compiled in another of the imperial libraries, the Eastern Lodge (*Tung-kuan*). In the years 120, 152 and ca. 175, the second, third and fourth installments of what became known as the *Tung-kuan Han chi* (Eastern Lodge Record of the Han) were commissioned. As with the first instalment, these later additions arose from the input of many scholars working in the imperial archives, and grew to be a lengthy account of some 140 *chüan* compiled in the

³²See Bielenstein, "Lo-yang in Later Han Times," pp. 29-31 for some examples.

"annals and biographies" format of the *Shih-chi* and *Han shu*.³³ The *Tung-kuan Han chi* thus became the third great product of Chinese history writing of the early imperial era, and served as an important example of how contemporary dynastic history could be written.

Documents and Official History in the Wei state

The Later Han period witnessed an increasingly large and diverse output of literature from the members of its official class. This literature included classical scholarship, various genres of eulogistic court writings, private verse composition and official and private historical compilations. Much of this literary activity was centered around the imperial court at Lo-yang; but toward the end of the second century, political deterioration at court led to a decentralization of imperial power which was accompanied by a rising regional diversity in politics,

³³*Sui shu* 33.954 "Monograph on Literature" states that the *Tung-kuan Han chi* existed in 143 *chüan*, and that it covered the period from the reign of Emperor Kuang-wu (r. 25-57) to that of Emperor Ling (r. 168-189). The standard account of the compilation of the *Tung-kuan Han chi* in English remains Bielenstein's remarks in his "The Restoration of the Han Dynasty, with Prolegomena to the Historiography of the *Hou Han shu*," (hereafter "Restoration"), *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 26 (1954):10-11.

The scholarship of Professor Wu Shu-p'ing has done much to aid our understanding of the compilation and content of the *Tung-kuan Han chi*. See his "*Tung-kuan Han chi* ch'u-t'an" in *Wen shih* 28 (1987):77-92, and 29 (1988):95-129. He has also given us the definitive edition of this work. See his *Tung-kuan Han chi chiao-chu* (Chengchou?, Honan: Chung-chou ku-chi ch'u-pan she, 1987).

literature and thought. In the 190s, this regional diversity was intensified by the outbreak of an empire-wide civil war which eclipsed in scope anything hitherto known in imperial China. Among the political consequences of this civil war were the enfeeblement of the Han ruling house and the rise of the Ts'ao family to the position of new rulers of the Chinese state. A further consequence of the civil war was the rise of separatist states in the south and the west which challenged the Ts'ao rulers in their efforts to hold sway over the entire Chinese empire.³⁴ The three decades of warfare and strife which lasted from about 190 to about 220 brought forth a new era in the history of China's early empire in which the form, structure and make-up of the Chinese state emerged anew, yet persisted as the core of Chinese civilization and tradition.

The hundred years or so from the 70s to the 170s witnessed the birth and evolution of official history writing based in Lo-yang, and thus gave rise to an important model for any subsequent development of official historiography. After more than two decades of the civil warfare which had torn apart the Han state, a new state began to take shape in northeast China under the leadership of the

³⁴A survey history of this period in English is now available in a two part article by Rafe de Crespigny. See his "The Three Kingdoms and Western Chin: A History of China in the 3rd Century AD," in *East Asian History* 1 (1991):1-36 and 2 (1991):143-165. For his discussion of the civil war, see pp. 1-13 in part one.

dominant military man of the time, Ts'ao Ts'ao (155-220). In the spring of 216, Ts'ao Ts'ao, who had been the acknowledged leader of north China for well over a decade, assumed the noble title of King of Wei, and as part of his lands, privileges and duties, established a fully functioning state and ancestral bureaucracy at his base in the city of Yeh in Chi province. As part of the ongoing effort to revive a centralized imperial bureaucracy, Ts'ao Ts'ao and his advisors recognized the need to establish a proper mechanism for maintaining an efficient flow of correspondence and official documents. To this end, sometime in 216, he established a Director of the Imperial Archives (*mi-shu ling*) and an Assistant Archivist (*mi-shu ch'eng*). The terse remarks we have about the duties of these officials state simply that "The Imperial Archivists managed the memorializing of affairs by the Master Writers (*shang-shu*)."³⁵ From this we may understand that the primary concern was with the maintenance of the official documents coming to Ts'ao Ts'ao (then the King of Wei) from his many officials, associates and even adversaries. While we know that Ts'ao Ts'ao did collect documents from his defeated enemies,³⁶ there is no indication in our sources

³⁵This is stated in Shen Yüeh's "Monograph on the Hundred Officials" in *Sung shu* 40.1246.

³⁶The following line from the third century *Wei lüeh* (Abridged History of the Wei) describes actions taken by Ts'ao Ts'ao following his defeat of Yüan Shao in the famous battle of Kuan-tu in the year 200: "When Shao was defeated

that he undertook any kind of book collecting project as had been the case under Liu Hsiu at the outset of the Later Han.

The official concern with written materials was essential to Ts'ao Ts'ao's success against the many rivals who challenged his authority within his new domain, as well as those who had established themselves in opposition to the emerging Wei state. Ts'ao had in fact gathered around him many talented men of letters whom he employed as political and military advisors. In his discussion of the career of one of these literary men (Wang Ts'an [177-217]), Ronald Miao states that they were "employed by Ts'ao as political advisers and court secretaries. It was their ability to comment upon contemporary political conditions no less than their skill in drafting letters and documents that constituted their usefulness."³⁷ In other words, these men offered advice, and also formed a crucial part of Ts'ao Ts'ao's capacity to generate and maintain a documentary infrastructure.

One of the many sad consequences of the troubles which led to the outbreak of civil war in late second century Han

and fled, the Grand Progenitor (Ts'ao Ts'ao) sent someone to search and read through Shao's record room." See *San-kuo chih* 23.669, n1. For a discussion of this battle and Ts'ao Ts'ao's use of documents in this episode, see Carl Leban, "Ts'ao Ts'ao and the Rise of Wei: the Early Years," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1971, pp. 370-374.

³⁷Ronald C. Miao, *Early Medieval Chinese Poetry: The Life and Verse of Wang Ts'an (177-217)* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982), pp. 81-82.

China was the destruction of many of the written records which had been accumulated in the imperial archives of Lo-yang. Hans Bielenstein offers us a description of what the sources have to say about this bibliographic tragedy:

In the year A.D. 191, the warlord Tung Cho seized the person of Emperor Hsien (reg. 189-220) and forced him to move from his capital, Lo-yang, to Ch'ang-an. Before the troops departed from Lo-yang, the city was looted and partly burned. The *Hou Han shu* describes how in the various libraries the books written on bamboo slips were torn to pieces and destroyed and how the silk scrolls were used as curtains and canopies if they were big or sewn into sacks if they were small. The Minister Over the Masses, Wang Yün, saved a number of books and carried them on 70 odd chariots with the army. En route, many of the chariots were abandoned, and less than half of them arrived at Ch'ang-an.³⁸

This type of tragedy occurred numerous times throughout China's imperial history, and therefore necessitated a series of efforts by states emerging from the ashes of civil war to try to recover lost books and revive the imperial archives. In the early third century, the emerging Wei state found itself confronted with this very task.

Ts'ao Ts'ao had established officials to manage the preparation, transmission and receipt of official documents, but it seems that it was not until his son, Ts'ao P'i (187-226), came to the throne as the first reigning emperor of

³⁸Bielenstein, "Restoration," p. 9; *Hou Han shu* 66.2174, 79A.2548. See also *Sui shu* 32.906.

the Wei state in December of 220,³⁹ that work on rebuilding the Lo-yang archives was undertaken. At that time, the duties of overseeing official correspondence (the drafting of edicts, memorials, charters, etc.) and maintaining imperial archives were split and placed under the separate management of a Director of Palace Writers (*chung-shu ling*) and Superintendent of the Imperial Archives (*mi-shu chien*) respectively. The "Monograph on the Hundred Officials" in Shen Yüeh's (441-513) *Sung shu* (History of the Sung) describes the latter office as follows:

[The Superintendent of the Imperial Archives] was in charge of arts and letters [*i-wen*], charts and documents [*t'u-chi*]. This was the same duty as that of the *Chou kuan's* External Scribe [*wai-shih*], who was in charge of the records from the Four Quarters and the Documents of the Three Augusti and the Five Sovereigns.⁴⁰

Shen Yüeh's monograph does not give us much detail about the archival bureaucracy of Wei times, but his comments make it clear that this office was in charge of maintaining archives, and not concerned with the creation and transmission of documents, a duty entrusted to the Palace Writers.

While we know little of any active government book

³⁹Ts'ao P'i's posthumous title was Emperor Wen (reg. 220-226). For a list of the precise reign dates of the Wei and Chin rulers, see Appendix A.

⁴⁰*Sung shu* 40.1246/6-7.

collecting projects at the outset of the Wei period of rule, we do know that archival work was undertaken in Lo-yang, and that during the reign of Emperor Wen (r. 220-226) this work produced the first Chinese encyclopedia, the *Huang lan* (August Compendium). Information about this project is given in a passage from the *Wei lüeh* (Abridged History of the Wei)⁴¹ biography of one of the compilers, Wang Hsiang (ob. ca. 222).

An edict was received to compile the *Huang lan* (August Compendium), and Hsiang was made acting superintendent of the Imperial Archives. From the Yen-k'ang era [April-December 220] on, he began compiling and collecting. After a few years [the work] was complete, and was placed in the imperial archives (*mi-fu*). Altogether it had more than forty sections (*bu*), with each section containing several tens of pieces (*p'ien*). In total it consisted of more than eight million characters.⁴²

A couple of lines from Ch'en Shou's (233-297) *San-kuo chih* (Records of the Three States) biography of another early Wei official, Liu Shao, shows that Wang Hsiang was not the sole contributor to this endeavor.

During the Huang-ch'u era [220-226]. . . [Shao] received an edict to gather together the Five Classics

⁴¹The *Wei lüeh* was privately compiled sometime in the 250s by a Wei subject named Yü Huan. It is the earliest known history of the Wei dynasty and is extensively quoted by P'ei Sung-chih in his commentary to Ch'en Shou's *San-kuo chih*.

⁴²*San-kuo chih* 23.664, n1/4, commentary to the biography of Yang Chün.

and sundry books, arrange them according to categories, and make the *Huang lan*.⁴³

It is not clear from the context of his biography whether or not he did this in his capacity as Gentleman Archivist (*mi-shu lang*), an office he held at the outset of the Wei, or as a Gentleman of the Master Writers (*shang-shu lang*), a post he was transferred to "during the Huang-ch'ü era." It makes sense that such a project would be undertaken by the officials in the bureau of archivists only, so we may assume that Liu Shao worked on this encyclopedia as a member of the imperial archives.

The administration of the archives is not clearly detailed in our sources, but we know that it was headed by a Superintendent of the Imperial Archives and staffed by an Assistant Archivist (*mi-shu ch'eng*), a number of Gentleman Archivists (*mi-shu lang*) and a number of Gentleman Collators (*chiao-shu lang*).⁴⁴ As had been the case during the Later Han, these officials were charged with assembling and maintaining the various books, charts and other documents which were deemed appropriate for the imperial collection. Liu Hsin's surviving catalogue of the Former Han imperial

⁴³*San-kuo chih* 21.618, "Biography of Liu Shao."

⁴⁴This information adheres to that given by Shen Yüeh in his "Monograph on the Hundred Officials" in *Sung shu* 40. 1246. Shen Yüeh does not mention Gentlemen Collators, but evidence of their existence may be found in a passage quoted in P'ei Sung-chih's commentary to *San-kuo chih* 21. See *San-kuo chih* 21.622, n5/1 and 8.

archives gives us a good picture of what types of writings were included in the collection at that time, even though the makeup of Chinese literature, as well as its categorization, had changed from the first century to the third. In the case of the Wei archives, however, we do not have a surviving catalogue, so precise comparison cannot be made.⁴⁵

We do know that, in addition to the *Huang lan*, some bibliographic work was done in the Wei archives at Lo-yang. One particular scholar, Cheng Mo (213-280), is mentioned in this regard. The opening lines of his biography, which is contained in chapter 44 of the *Chin shu*, state,

He began his career as a Gentleman Archivist, examining old texts and weeding out superfluous trash. The Director of the Palace Writers, Yü Sung, remarked, "From now on, the 'vermillion and purple' (good and bad) are differentiated."⁴⁶

No other information on Cheng Mo's archival work is given in the *Chin shu* or in the *San-kuo chih*. The *Sui shu* "Monograph on Bibliography," however, does have this to say:

The House of Wei replaced the Han. They gathered together what had been lost, and stored [that material]

⁴⁵Some picture of the literary output of this period can be gained from a number of reconstructed "Monographs on Literature" by various Ch'ing scholars. These may be found in *Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1955). Vol. 3, pp. 3165-3330 has two Three States monographs, and Vol. 3, pp. 3653-3965 has four Chin monographs.

⁴⁶*Chin shu* 44.1251.

in the three halls of the interior and exterior Imperial Archives. The Wei Gentleman Archivist, Cheng Mo, first systematized the "palace classics."⁴⁷

From these remarks we may gather that Cheng Mo, sometime in the 230s,⁴⁸ set about categorizing and collating the texts then in the possession of the Wei state, an undertaking which had not been done, or done well, before.

One point about Cheng Mo deserves particular attention. In the *Sui shu* account of his work, the phrase "palace classics" is mentioned. The Chinese words here are *chung* 'middle' and *ching* 'classic,' which I have rendered as "palace classics" in the belief that it is meant to refer simply to the holdings of the imperial archives. The Chung-hua shu-chü editors of the 1973 edition of the *Sui shu* text, however, have added a wavy line next to these words indicating that they are to be taken as a book title. Furthermore, if one looks in Morohashi Tetsuji's *Dai Kan-Wa jiten* (s.v. #73.226), they will find listed a *Chung ching pu*, or "Palace Classics Register," which is defined as a book compiled by Cheng Mo, and which cites this *Sui shu* passage as its evidence. The question which arises from this is, Did Cheng Mo compile a catalogue of the Wei archives, or did he simply systematize their holdings? The

⁴⁷*Sui shu* 32.906/5.

⁴⁸Since he was born in 213, we know that Mo was 20 *sui* in 232, and was therefore of sufficient age to begin his career of service with the Wei state. It seems likely, therefore, that his work was done sometime in the 230s.

fact that some authors take this to be a book title⁴⁹ demonstrates a need to discuss this issue in greater detail, but such a discussion would be rather cumbersome here, and will therefore be avoided. Suffice it to say that there is no direct evidence to support the notion that Cheng Mo compiled a catalogue of the Wei archives. Instead, he should simply be regarded as the first to organize and systematize the holdings of the Wei archives.

It is clear that the Wei state took the maintenance and transmission of documents seriously, and a survey of the bureaucracy and personnel of the time shows that there was a sophisticated infrastructure for the official conveyance of documents, as well as a host of officials who were talented men of letters.⁵⁰ But what involvement did the Wei state have in the compilation of official history? From an institutional standpoint, the Wei state did establish an office which was concerned with compiling a state history. This was the office of the Gentlemen Compilers (*chu-tso lang*), which was established during the T'ai-ho era [227-233] and was made subordinate to the ministry of the Palace Writers. The *Chin shu* "Monograph on Bureaucracy" describes this office as follows:

⁴⁹Yao Ming-ta, in his *Chung-kuo mu-lu-hsüeh nien-piao* (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1940), p. 8, also sidelines *chung ching* as though it were a book title.

⁵⁰*San-kuo chih* 21 contains biographies of a number of literary men who served in the Wei documentary bureaucracy.

A Gentleman Compiler held the same duties as the Scribe of the Left (*tso shih*) during the Chou. During the Later Han, charts and documents were located in the Eastern Lodge; therefore famous scholars were sent to "compile" (*chu-tso*) in the Eastern Lodge. There was the term [compiler], but there still was no such office. During the T'ai-ho era [227-233] of Emperor Ming of the Wei, an edict was issued establishing [the office of] Gentleman Compiler. From that time on there was such an office, which was subordinate to the Ministry of the Palace Writers.⁵¹

We will recall that the "compilers" of the Later Han period were in charge of assembling the historical account of that state, and this was also the case during the Wei when the office of Gentleman Compiler was established.⁵²

We may now see that two separate offices were established in the Wei bureaucracy for, 1) maintaining an orderly repository of documents (the Superintendent of the Imperial Archives and his staff), and 2) compiling a historical record of the Wei state (the Gentleman Compilers). Both of these offices were subordinate to the Palace Writers, and therefore served as an extension of the imperial will regarding the production and preservation of

⁵¹*Chin shu* 24.735/7-8. An earlier source for this is *Sung shu* 40.1246/10-11, but the *Chin shu* passage is clearer and more comprehensive.

⁵²This is made clear in the discussion of the office of Gentleman Compiler in the seventh century compendium, *Ch'u-hsüeh chi* (Record of First Studies). See Hsü Chien (659-729) et al. comp. *Ch'u-hsüeh chi* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), 12.398.

official documents.

We may now look at the question of just what the Wei compilers produced in the way of official history. It is clear that official historical work pertaining to the Wei state was undertaken during the Wei period of rule (220-266), but the details of precisely who did what, and when they did it, are not clear. In the *San-kuo chih* biography of Wei Chi (ob. 229), we read that during the T'ai-ho era [227-233], while still a Master Writer, "he received an edict to serve as Director of Compilation (*tien chu-tso*), and made a *Wei kuan-i* (Wei Official Ceremonial)."⁵³ While these terse remarks are hardly conclusive, it does appear that within the first decade of the Wei period of rule, imperial sponsorship of bureaucratic (if not historical) compilations was undertaken.⁵⁴

Other sources give us information pertaining to actual compilations of Wei history being undertaken at the court in Lo-yang. For instance, the *Wen-chang hsü-lu* (Narrative

⁵³*San-kuo chih* 21.612. It is my feeling that the term *tien chu-tso* is not an official title, but rather a kind of ad hoc designation employed for a specific task or project. It therefore seems likely that the compilation he was to oversee was the *Wei kuan i*, and not a history of the Wei. As will be seen below, however, the T'ang historian Liu Chih-chi (661-721) feels that Wei Chi worked on a draft history of the Wei.

⁵⁴Later, during the Ching-ch'u era [237-239], Liu Shao (one of the compilers of the *Haung lan*) received an edict to compile another bureaucratic work, the *Tu-kuan k'ao-k'e* (Regulations for the Examination of Metropolitan Officials). See *San-kuo chih* 21.619/12.

Record of Literature) of Hsün Hsü (ob. 289) mentions a certain Sun Kai (ob. 261) who served in various offices in the Wei bureaucracy, including Gentleman Compiler, and who compiled a *Wei shu* (History of the Wei).⁵⁵ While the relevant passage is not clear as to whether he did this before he became a Gentleman Compiler, the fact that the office of Gentleman Compiler was usually held concurrently makes it possible that he could have held that position at any point in his career; and that would have allowed him access to the necessary archives needed to compile a Wei history. No other information is given about Sun Kai's history, and therefore our picture of this project is rather sketchy.

The seventh century *Chin shu* (History of the Chin) has further information about the compilation of Wei histories during this period. In the biography of Fu Hsüan (217-278) we read that, at the outset of his official career,

[Hsüan] was appointed [to the office of] Gentleman of

⁵⁵The relevant passage is included in P'ei Sung-chih's commentary to the Biography of Liu Shao in *San-kuo chih* 21.622, note 4, and reads as follows:

When he was twenty *sui*, Kai served as Chief of Staff of Accounts Clerks, and was then summoned to be a Gentleman of the Palace. He compiled a *Wei shu*. He was transferred to be an Erudite and Senior Officer of the Right of the Minister Over the Masses. He then returned to enter [the office of] Gentleman Compiler. In the second year of the Ching-yüan era [261] he died while in office.

The phrase "returned to enter [the office of] Gentleman Compiler" allows for some speculation that he may have held that office before.

the Palace. Due to the fact that both he and Miao Shih of Tung-hai [commandery] were well known at that time, they were selected to enter [the office of] Gentlemen Compilers, where they wrote and gathered [material] for a history of the Wei.⁵⁶

In this case we have somewhat more precise information, but we still do not know when the project was undertaken (possibly during the late 230s or 240s?), who this Miao Shih was (he is mentioned nowhere else in our sources, leading us to believe that his name is a mistake for Miao Hsi (189-245) who was a well known literatus of the time and was from Tung-hai), or whether or not they actually completed any part of their history. What is clear from this passage however is that there was an effort on the part of the central government in Lo-yang to maintain a historical record of the Wei state, and that the office of the Gentlemen Compilers played a central role in that effort.

Finally, another passage in the *Chin shu* offers us what we know to be reliable information about an official Wei history which was actually completed. In the biography of Wang Ch'en (ob. 266), we find the following:

During the Cheng-yüan era [254-256], [Ch'en] was

⁵⁶*Chin shu* 47.1317/3. The last phrase reads: *chuan chi Wei shu*. The *Wei shu* of this phrase could be taken to mean either "a history of the Wei" (in the general sense), or the title of a historical work, "History of the Wei." The ambiguity of the Chinese language here allows for either interpretation. The editors of the 1974 *Chung-hua shu-chü* edition of the *Chin shu* do not place a wavy sideline next to the characters indicating that they do not take this to be a book title.

transferred to the office of Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary, Palace Attendant, and Director of Compilation. He, along with Hsün I and Juan Chi, compiled a *Wei shu* (History of the Wei). In many cases there were things which were avoided as taboo; it was not like the veritable record of Ch'en Shou.⁵⁷

In this case, we know when this work was done (in the mid-250s), and we know that it was actually completed, since it appears in the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature"⁵⁸ and is extensively quoted by P'ei Sung-chih in his commentary to Ch'en Shou's *San-kuo chih*.

Wang Ch'en's *Wei shu* therefore constitutes the first (and probably the only) attestable official history of the Wei which was compiled during the Wei period itself. However, the criticism made of this work in Wang Ch'en's *Chin shu* biography raises an important issue concerning the source of sponsorship of this work. It was indeed an official compilation, that is to say, it was sponsored by the government, and was, as far as we can surmise, compiled in the Wei imperial archives at Lo-yang. However, during the mid-250s the Wei state was already in the hands of the Ssu-ma family, which had displayed more than passing interest in maintaining its grip on the reins of the Wei government since their rise to power following Ssu-ma I's

⁵⁷*Chin shu* 39.1143.

⁵⁸*Sui shu* 32.955 has "Wei shu, 48 *chüan*, compiled by the Chin Minister of Works, Wang Ch'en."

(179-251) coup against Ts'ao Shuang and the young Wei ruler (Ts'ao Fang) in 249. In October of 254, Ts'ao Fang was in fact deposed by Ssu-ma I's eldest son, Ssu-ma Shih (205-255), who then installed a fourteen year old puppet, who was later killed (in 260) upon orders of Shih's younger brother, Ssu-ma Chao (211-265). This was the atmosphere in which the first official history of the Wei state was compiled, and which undoubtedly explains why there may have been a less than straightforward recording of the facts, and perhaps a less than laudatory treatment of the Wei ruling house than may otherwise be expected.⁵⁹

The writing of official history during the Wei period is therefore a rather difficult matter to understand with any certainty, since the available records offer a sketchy outline of just what was undertaken during the four and a half decades of Wei rule. The discussion of Wei histori-

⁵⁹Donald Holzman, in his study of the life and poetry of Juan Chi (210-263), takes a solidly anti-Ssu-ma stand in his description of the politics of the time and has this to say about the historical record of the Wei as it pertains to the period of the 240s and 250s:

All we know of the politics of this period and of the tendencies of the Ts'ao Shuang and Ssu-ma I factions has been irreparably falsified by the historians who first described them under the strict censorship of the Ssu-ma. . . . The censorship exercised by the Ssu-ma when they assumed complete control as the Chin dynasty was so thorough that nothing remains, except violent criticism of Ts'ao Shuang and his clique from the high officials--the Old Guard--whose positions were perhaps menaced by the new reforms.

See Holzman's *Poetry and Politics: The Life and Works of Juan Chi, A.D. 210-263*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 13-14.

ographical activity given by the T'ang historian Liu Chih-chi (661-721) presents a more convenient, yet slightly different picture of how Wei official history came to be written.

During the Huang-ch'u [220-226] and T'ai-ho [227-233] eras, [the Wei government] first commanded the Master Writers Wei Chi and Miao Hsi to draft annals and biographies; but after several years their work was not completed. [The government] then commanded the Palace Attendants, Wei Tan and Ying Chü, the Superintendent of the Imperial Archives, Wang Ch'en, the Attendant Palace Gentleman of the General-in-Chief, Juan Chi, the Senior Officer of the Right of the Minister Over the Masses, Sun Kai, and the Colonel Director of Retainers, Fu Hsüan, jointly to compile and establish [a text]. Following this, Wang Ch'en, on his own, worked on the project and brought to completion a *Wei shu* (History of the Wei) in 44 *chüan*. In many cases in his text there were things which were avoided as taboo. It really was not a veritable record.⁶⁰

We can see that Liu Chih-chi repeats the criticism of the *Wei shu* found in Ch'en's biography, but his account of how it came to be written describes a more coherent, progressive process than is indicated in our sources above. He begins his account by referring to a draft project by Wei Chi and Miao Hsi, which is unattested in our sources, and moves on to describe a large, unified effort undertaken by a full roster of officials, and then states that this effort

⁶⁰See P'u Ch'i-lung comm., *Shih t'ung t'ung-shih*, (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1980), 12.346.

was subsequently consummated by the individual efforts of Wang Ch'en. Liu Chih-chi suggests that the evolution of Wei official history was an orderly process of one step building upon the other until the final product was completed.

An alternate picture, given in our other sources above, leads us to conclude that the process was not so systematic, and that the Sun Kai, Fu Hsüan and Wang Ch'en projects were in fact done at different times and under different circumstances. If this were the case, an historical account written by Sun Kai earlier in the Wei period, for instance, could well have been set aside by Wang Ch'en in his efforts to write a revisionist, pro-Ssu-ma Wei history. The fact is that we do not know precisely how Wei history came to be written during this period.

The evidence available to us however does demonstrate that by the mid third century the process of writing history had become an integral part of the imperial bureaucratic process. The important connection between written documents and the practice of imperial government which had been recognized and supported during the Former Han period, grew and developed during the Later Han with the addition of an officially sustained bureaucratic structure. This provided for the orderly maintenance of official documents and spawned the compilation of historical works pertaining to the state and the imperial family which ruled it. By the end of the half century of Wei rule, the link between

written records, government archives and official history writing had been adequately forged so that it could be developed during the subsequent Chin period and well beyond.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ORIGINS OF CHIN DYNASTIC HISTORY

The Ts'ao family, which had ruled the Wei state for half a century, did not lose its political power as the result of rebellion or warfare, but rather, they had been supplanted from within their own government by members of the Ssu-ma family. These new power holders were Ssu-ma I and his two eldest sons, Ssu-ma Shih and Ssu-ma Chao. The period of political ascendancy for these three men in the Wei state lasted from the time of Ssu-ma I's coup in February of 249 to the period shortly after the death of Ssu-ma Chao in September of 265. Five months following the death of Ssu-ma Chao, Chao's son and heir, Ssu-ma Yen (236-290), received the formal abdication of the twenty year old Wei ruler, Ts'ao Huan (245-302). On 8 February 266, Ssu-ma Yen ascended the imperial throne as the first ruling emperor of the House of Chin.¹

The transition of imperial power from Wei to Chin was a gradual and relatively bloodless process, as had been the case with the Han-Hsin transition in A.D. 9. The kind of

¹The *San-kuo chih* gives the date of the Wei abdication as the 13th day [jen-hsü] of the 12th month of the 2nd year of the Hsien-hsi era of the Wei, which is equivalent to 4 February 266 of the Western calendar. See *San-kuo chih* 4.154. The *Chin shu* gives the date of Ssu-ma Yen's ascent to the throne as the 17th day [ping-yin] of the 12th month of the first year of the T'ai-shih era of the Chin, which is equivalent to 8 February 266. See *Chin shu* 3.50.

rebellion and civil war which had characterized the Ch'in-Han, Hsin-Later Han, and Later Han-Wei transitions was absent here, and therefore allowed for the infrastructure of the imperial government and the very buildings and personnel of the imperial capital to remain intact. While the nature of the Wei-Chin political transition has attracted the interest of historians concerned with issues of political legitimation in which the Ssu-ma family was vilified as usurpers, or issues of social history in which the Ssu-ma rise to power was characterized as a victory of the "aristocratic" forces in Chinese society, our interests here lie with the more mundane issue of what the new Ssu-ma rulers sought to do with the documentary and historiographical legacy they inherited from the Wei.

Records Keeping in the Western Chin

As inheritors of the Chinese state in the mid-third century, the Chin rulers both sought to perpetuate those elements of imperial rule which by that time had become traditional (the institution of the imperial family, central and local administrative organs, patronage of Juist scholarship, etc.), and tried to establish new policies which reflected their own ideas of what they felt a revitalized Chinese state under Ssu-ma rule ought to be.²

²Any of several survey histories in Chinese of the Wei Chin nan-pei-ch'ao period include discussions of early Chin policies pertaining to land holding, taxation, social

This of course is what any new imperial house did in order to maintain a link with the past, and yet to show that it would bring new solutions to the art of governing in an effort to overcome the failings of the previous ruling house. Many Chin policies did represent a clear departure from those of the Wei, but in the area of documentary administration and historical compilation, the Chin essentially refined and developed the Wei system, rather than establishing anything which was fundamentally new.

The first decade and a half of Chin rule under Ssu-ma Yen (known posthumously as Emperor Wu, reg. 266-290) witnessed a great deal of discussion and activity on matters of imperial policy, which touched on a wide variety of subjects. The surviving records indicate that the Chin court at Lo-yang was headed by an energetic emperor and staffed by a host of capable officials, whose surviving memorials and records of court discussions attest to their wide-ranging concerns and broad learning.³ In the area of

structure and other government policies. For two different views see, for instance, Chang Pin-sheng, *Wei Chin nan-pei-ch'ao shih* (Taipei: Yu-shih wen-hua shih-yeh kung-ssu, 1978), pp. 215-230, and Wang Chung-lo, *Wei Chin nan-pei-ch'ao shih* (Shanghai: Shang-hai jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1979), pp. 142-186. For a discussion in English of Chin economics and land tenure, see Lien-sheng Yang, "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 9.2 (1946): 107-185; reprinted in Yang's *Studies in Chinese Institutional History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 119-197.

³Accounts of many of these ministers, and samples of their writings, may be found in chapters 33 through 48 of the *Chin shu*.

archival administration, we are told that Ssu-ma Yen placed the Imperial Archivists under the ministry of the Palace Writers, and abolished the office of Superintendent of the Imperial Archivists.⁴ It would appear that this move was intended to streamline the documentary bureaucracy, or at least unify the functional leadership of that bureau, since the Superintendent of the Palace Writers then presided over all documentary activities. The offices of Imperial Archivist and Gentlemen Compiler, however, continued to function within the larger ministry of Palace Writers.

Throughout Ssu-ma Yen's reign there was for the most part only one incumbent in the office of the Superintendent of Palace Writers, a member of the Chin old-guard loyalists named Hsün Hsü (ob. 289). Hsü presided over the documentary undertakings of the early decades of Chin rule (from 266 to 287), which included the maintenance of the flow of documents from the throne to the various officials throughout the state, as well as the preservation of those documents deemed worthy of inclusion in the imperial archives.⁵ During Hsün Hsü's tenure, two of the more important projects overseen by his ministry were the

⁴This is pointed out in *Sung shu* 40.1246/8, and *Ch'u-hsüeh chi* 12.294.

⁵One noteworthy case which appears in our sources is the command calling for the copying and storage of the literary collection of the Shu statesman Chu-ko Liang (181-234). The memorial accompanying the newly edited collection is dated 25 March 274. See *San-kuo chih* 35.929-31.

compilation of a new imperial bibliographic catalogue, and the "archaeological" retrieval of a group of ancient texts in Chi commandery (northeastern Ssu province). These two projects, along with the other standard activities pertaining to the maintenance of imperial records attest to the highly literate environment which prevailed at the Chin court.

Our information pertaining to the bibliographical enterprises of Hsün Hsü is terse, but provides us with sufficient knowledge to ascertain their scope and value. In Hsü's *Chin shu* biography we read the following:

Soon [Hsü] served as acting Superintendent of the Imperial Archives and, along with the Director of the Palace Writers, Chang Hua, drew upon Liu Hsiang's *Pieh lu* to set in order records and documents.⁶

The nature of this work is clarified in the Preface to the "Monograph on Literature" in the *Sui shu*. We read there,

The Superintendent of the Imperial Archives, then drew upon the "palace classics" and compiled the *Hsin pu* (New Register). It was divided into four sections, and included all of the collected books. The first was called *Chia pu*, and recorded the books [in the category of] the Six Arts and Minor Studies. The second was called *I pu* and had the various masters and schools of old, the masters and schools of recent times, military texts, military schools, and artisans. The third was called *Ping pu* and had: historical records (*shih-chi*), past precedents (*chiu shih*), The August Compendium

⁶*Chin shu* 39.1154/1.

Register (*Huang lan pu*), and sundry matters (*tsha shih*). The fourth was called *Ting pu* and had: poems and rhapsodies, pictures and encomia, and the documents from the tomb in Chi commandery. Altogether, the four sections contained 29,945 *chüan*.⁷

This information, although brief, raises several points of interest. First, we read in both passages that Hsün Hsü served as Superintendent of the Imperial Archives at a time when this office supposedly had been abolished. Hsü is the only official mentioned as having served in this office during Emperor Wu's reign, and we may infer (if the texts are not themselves in error) that this may have constituted a special appointment pertaining to this project alone. Second, we see that another important official of this reign, Chang Hua (232-300), assisted in this endeavor in the capacity of Director of the Palace Writers, a post which he held from 271-279.⁸ It appears, therefore, that during the 270s these two officials, holding special appointments within the Chin documentary bureaucracy, presided over a project intended to systematically arrange and categorize the holdings of the Chin imperial archives much in the way that Liu Hsiang and Liu Hsin had done at the end of the Former Han period.⁹

⁷*Sui shu* 32.906/6-9.

⁸The post was only filled from 270 to 281.

⁹For a brief discussion of the Former Han project, see Chapter One, pp. 23-26 above.

From the *Sui shu* monograph we learn that this project in fact bore fruit as the *Hsin pu* (New Register), a bibliographic catalogue which established a new, fourfold division of Chinese literature. Before discussing this latter point however, we should note that once again we see the term "palace classics" (*chung ching*) which had been mentioned in the discussion of the archival work done by the Wei official Cheng Mo. As was mentioned in that discussion (see Chapter One, pp. 45-47), most scholars regard that term as a reference to the title of a bibliographic catalogue compiled by Cheng Mo. If that were the case, then the monograph passage cited above would read, "[Hsün Hsü] drew upon [Cheng Mo's] *Chung ching* and compiled the *Hsin pu*." The implication of this is that Hsü's catalogue was an updated version of Mo's *Chung ching*, a view which certainly gains substance from the term *hsin* (new) in the title. It is my view, however, that the term "palace classics" simply means "books in the imperial collection" and that Cheng Mo did not compile a catalogue. In examining this passage we see that Hsün Hsü and his associates drew upon, not a previous bibliographic work (except for the example of the Former Han imperial catalogue), but simply surveyed the materials in the Lo-yang archives to make their catalogue.

The next issue of note concerns the classification system established under Hsü's guidance. As we compare it with the Former Han catalogue preserved in the *Han shu*

"Monograph on Arts and Letters," we see that, instead of the six divisions into which Liu Hsiang and Liu Hsin divided the literature of their time, Hsü's catalogue divided the literary holdings of the empire into four divisions. Furthermore, and of particular interest to us here, the third of these four divisions was devoted to works which may be categorized as "history." This of course departs from the Former Han practice of grouping historical works under the heading of "classics" (under the listing for the *Spring and Autumn Annals*), and thus indicates that historical writing had come to be recognized as an independent category of literary endeavor.

The documentary cataloguing done by Hsün Hsü, Chang Hua and their subordinates took stock of the empire's evolving literary output and, in so doing, clearly acknowledged the important place historical works had grown to occupy in Chinese literature. If their fourfold division may be interpreted as having been arranged in descending order of importance (which the designations *chia, i, ping, ting* would imply), we have, roughly speaking, "classics" at the top, followed by "masters," then "histories," and finally, "belles-lettres." While the contents of these groups may not fit precisely into these four categories,¹⁰ it is clear

¹⁰Hsü Shih-ying, in his history of Chinese bibliography, points out some of the questionable categorizations in these groupings. For instance, he asks what the difference is between "military texts" (*ping shu*) and "military schools" (*ping chia*), and questions why the

that historical records and related genres were now of sufficient quantity and importance to merit their own exclusive place within the general sphere of Chinese literature. This newly recognized status also demanded that literate scholars and officials who sought to serve the state, or at least engage in dialogue with its representatives, now devote their attention and study to historical works as they would other types of literature such as classics, the writings of the masters, new and old, as well as the polite literature generated by scores of their predecessors. In third century China, history writing had become an fundamental part of official literature.

In addition to the work undertaken to organize and categorize the holdings of the imperial archives, the members of the Chin archival bureaucracy turned their attention to another important project which called upon their abilities as scholars as well as catalogers of documents. The project in question involved the recent discovery of a group of texts found in an ancient tomb located in Chi commandery, some 85 miles northeast of Lo-yang in Ssu province. The information pertaining to this discovery is conflicting in terms of the date of the

encyclopedia *Huang lan pu* should be listed along with historical records. Finally, he does not think it makes sense to place the works unearthed from the tomb in Chi commandery in the last category, when they in fact include all four types of literature. See his *Chung-kuo mu-lu-hsüeh shih* (Taipei: Chung-hua wen-hua ch'u-pan shih-yeh wei-yüan-hui, 1954), pp. 33-34.

discovery, the identification of the occupant of the tomb, and the details of the work which was carried out on the texts, but for our purposes here we may begin by citing the brief passage from the *Chin shu* annals which mentions the discovery of the tomb. Under the entry for the tenth month of the fifth year of the Hsien-ning era [December 279], we read,

Men in Chi commandery unlawfully dug open the tomb of King Hsiang of Wei (reg. 317-295 B.C.). There they obtained bamboo strips upon which were written more than one hundred thousand words in small seal ancient script. These were stored in the imperial archives.¹¹

Details of the literary contents of the tomb are given in the *Chin shu* biography of one of the Gentleman Compilers who worked on the project, Shu Hsi (ca. 264-ca. 303), in which we are told that Emperor Wu ordered the texts to be placed in the archives, where they were then sorted and copied out in the current script.¹²

Aside from the obvious benefit of discovering a number of new texts (such as the so-called "Bamboo Annals" which recorded China's earliest history) and texts which could be

¹¹*Chin shu* 3.70/7-8. There is a long textual note to this passage which cites alternative information concerning the date of the discovery of the tomb, and notes that in Wang Yin's *Chin shu* (on which see Chapter Three below) there is a passage stating that the discovery was made in the tomb of King An-li of Wei (reg. 276-242 B.C.).

¹²See *Chin shu* 51.1432-33, "Biography of Shu Hsi."

compared with received versions of works on hand (such as the *I-ching*, *Kuo-yü* and *Tso-chuan*), the monumental task of sorting out the bamboo strips and rewriting the texts in modern script demonstrated the benefits afforded by the existence of a large body of literate officials upon whom the emperor could call to undertake this work. In a detailed study of the records pertaining to this find, for instance, the modern scholar Chu Hsi-tsu lists more than a dozen officials who worked on this project during the two decades of its operation.¹³ It is clear from the available records that there were a number of very learned men within the Chin documentary bureaucracy who could decipher the ancient script, make comparisons with the extant texts, and arrange the new texts in a readable order. The success of the project demonstrates that the Chin court was indeed well equipped to handle the vast array of documentary material which was of interest to the emperor and his government.

The Historiographical Origins of the Chin

The projects mentioned above attest to the highly evolved literary environment of the Chin court with regard to records keeping and the maintenance of the empire's

¹³See Chu Hsi-tsu, *Chi-chung shu k'ao* (A Study of the Chi Tomb Documents), (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1960), pp. 45-63 which discusses the various people known to have been involved in the editing of these texts. In his discussion of the period during which the project was undertaken, he argues that it took place during the years 281 to 300. See pp. 37-43.

important literature, but we have not mentioned the court's capacity or interest in the writing of official history. As was pointed out briefly above, the office of Gentlemen Compiler continued to exist within the ministry of the Palace Writers, and was engaged in the compilation of historical records pertaining to the reigning dynasty. A single line in the *Sung shu* account of these officials offers an informative remark about their duties.

According to the system of the Chin, when an Assistant Gentleman Compiler first reached his post, he had to compile an account of a prominent official.¹⁴

This information indicates that the Chin indeed had a systematized approach to history writing, a system which provided trained historians and a growing body of written accounts which served as basic source material for a record of the dynasty.

Another piece of information about the Chin Gentlemen Compilers tells us that they were also charged with the compilation of the court records known as "Diaries of Activity and Repose" (*ch'i-chü chu*). These diaries constituted official accounts of events, discussions and activities of the imperial court, and were assembled for each reign era of a particular emperor's period of rule. Hans Bielenstein describes them as follows:

The subject of the Diaries was the activities of the

¹⁴*Sung shu* 40.1246/12, "Monograph on the Hundred Officials."

emperors, not only their public ones, but also their private activities within the palace, where the officials of the outer court were not permitted. Therefore, officials belonging to the inner court, the palace, must have participated in making these continuous entries about the sayings and doings of the emperors.¹⁵

As far as is known, these records were not compiled during the Wei period, but did exist during the Later Han.¹⁶ As for the Chin, the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" lists four diaries for the reigns of Emperor Wu and his successor, Emperor Hui, and mentions that the Liang palace library had contained diaries for the Yung-chia and Chien-hsing eras (of the third and fourth Chin emperors) as well.¹⁷

The court diaries may be seen as the core material from which a history of the Chin would be made, and certainly this activity constituted an important part of the Gentlemen Compilers' duties. In addition to this and the seemingly requisite task of biographical compilation, the imperial compilers undoubtedly worked with the archivists and other members of the ministry of the Palace Writers to maintain an

¹⁵Bielenstein, "Restoration," p. 22.

¹⁶The origins of the court diaries is obscure, but it is generally acknowledged that they were kept during the Later Han period. See Bielenstein, "Restoration," pp. 21-22, and the discussion of the sources by Denis Twitchett in his recently published *The Writing of Official History Under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 8, note 15.

¹⁷*Sui shu* 33.964. There are also sixteen diaries listed there for the Eastern Chin period.

ongoing collection of other types of official documents such as: edicts, memorials, charters, letters, memoranda, official dirges, eulogies, etc. All of these types of official material were preserved in the imperial archives in the form of copies of promulgated documents or as part of the collected writings of noted officials. It is this material which provides the balance of the source matter, which is then pieced together with narrative, used to compile the historical record of the state. It is among this material that the primary sources pertaining to the life and career of Ssu-ma I were kept.

Little is known of the efforts to maintain the ongoing record of the Chin state during the reign of Emperor Wu. We read in Chang Hua's biography that Hua was highly regarded by his contemporaries (including the emperor) for his intellect and his knowledge of history, and therefore, "the Chin history and the ritual and law codes were placed under Hua's [management]."¹⁸ The text here says *Chin shih*, which should be taken in the general sense as "Chin history," or "Chin state history" (*Chin kuo-shih*) and not the title of a specific book. Given the lack of other precise information, we must assume that Chang Hua was in charge of the Gentlemen Compilers, whose job it was to maintain the compilation of the Chin state history, but no information is given in our sources to indicate that Chang Hua and his subordinates ever

¹⁸*Chin shu* 36.1070/12.

produced an historical work.

While we lack information on the specifics of the compilation of the Chin record, we do know that there was a discussion at Emperor Wu's court pertaining to the subject of just how the origins of Chin history should be treated in historiographical terms. Clearly, the fortunes of the Chin house did not begin when Ssu-ma Yen ascended the imperial throne in February of 266; it was in fact the actions of Ssu-ma I and his sons which had brought about the rise of the Chin state and dynasty. The question of precisely when those actions took place served as the centerpiece of discussion on the historiographical origins of the Chin.

Little information concerning the discussion at Emperor Wu's court is preserved, but we are told that its purpose was to establish a chronological point of origin for a history of the Chin, and that two different views on the matter were advanced. One view, which was offered by Hsün Hsü, in his capacity as Superintendent of the Palace Writers, advocated that the Cheng-shih era (240-249) of the Wei be taken as the starting point; while the other view, offered by an otherwise unknown Gentleman Compiler named Wang Tsan, proposed that the period only from the Chia-p'ing era (249-254) on be treated. No other information about this discussion is given except for the fact that the conflicting opinions were unresolved and that no decision on

the matter was made.¹⁹

Given the lack of detail concerning this discussion, we are forced to speculate as to what the motivating factors behind these two proposals were. The proposal by Hsün Hsü, that a history of the Chin begin with the early 240s, would suggest that he felt the years of the Ts'ao Shuang - Ssu-ma I co-regency (239-249) represented the nascent period of Chin dynastic fortunes. Wang Tsan's view, on the other hand, would indicate that he saw the period of Ssu-ma I's political dominance following the 249 coup as the time when the Chin began its rise. Such speculation, whichever side is taken, asserts that the political position of Ssu-ma I figured as the central focus in the reasoning of both men, and that the origins of the Chin were thought to be linked with him.

In a recent article dealing with Six Dynasties historiography, Professor Chou I-liang mentions this court discussion and offers his own speculation as to why these officials sought the origins of Chin dynastic history in the Wei period. Specifically, he inquires as to the reasoning behind Hsün Hsü's opinion. In Prof. Chou's view, it is necessary to first look at Hsün Hsü as a person, and note that he had become loyal to the Ssu-ma family "during the last years of the Wei" and had assumed a position of

¹⁹See *Chin shu* 40.1173-74, "Biography of Chia Mi," for the terse discussion on the court conference.

considerable favor with Ssu-ma Yen before and after he had become emperor. According to his *Chin shu* biography, Hsü was ridiculed by upright officials of his day as being blatantly obsequious and was so favored by the emperor that he was, in certain respects, a threat to the stability of the state.²⁰ Chou uses these comments to point out that Hsün Hsü was a die-hard Ssu-ma supporter and that he wanted to go back to the earlier part of the Wei period so that he could "give the Ssu-ma founders a semblance of the 'utmost virtue' attributed by Confucius (*Lun yü* 8/20) to King Wen of Chou who served the Shang while he had possession of two thirds of the empire, and thus play down the sharp contradiction brought about by the assassination of Ts'ao Mao (in 260) and the usurpation of the throne (in 266)."²¹

According to Chou's speculation, Hsün Hsü's periodization was motivated by extreme loyalty and devotion to the Ssu-ma rulers, and he therefore sought to cover up the evident blemishes on their record by treating a host of unrelated events from further back in the Wei period. Professor Chou's view, which focuses on the hypothesized ideological consideration that the Ssu-ma rise to power was the result of a villainous usurpation. Such reasoning

²⁰These remarks may be found in *Chin shu* 39.1153/12, 1157/3-4 and 1157/12.

²¹See Chou I-liang, "Wei Chin nan-pei-ch'ao shih-hsüeh yü wang-ch'ao shan-tai," in *Pei-ching ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao* (*che-hsüeh, she-hui, k'o-hsüeh pan*) 1987, No. 2, pp.26-31. The comments referred to here are on p. 27.

ignores the chronological issue brought up by the two courtiers and fails to address the issue of the underlying difference between a starting date of 240 as opposed to 249. Both chronologies would have to treat the villainous events alluded to by Chou, so the only issue of debate would seem to be whether or not to treat the co-regency period as essential to a coverage of the Chin rise to power. Professor Chou's comments, though elegantly stated, do not shed any further light on this issue.

As best as we can tell, the reign of Emperor Wu produced and organized a substantial amount of primary source documents which were stored in the imperial archives in Lo-yang. It is likely as well that some efforts were undertaken to write draft biographies of many of the prominent statesmen of the age; but it appears that no official account of the Chin state was assembled at that time. While the reign of Emperor Wu may be regarded as having established important groundwork for the compilation of a history of the Chin, the actual process of compiling an official account of the rise and early years of the Chin had to wait until the rule of Emperor Wu's son and successor, Ssu-ma Chung (259-307).

On 16 May 290, Ssu-ma Yen, known to history as Emperor Wu of the Chin, died in his fifty-fifth year in the imperial palace in Lo-yang.²² Emperor Wu was succeeded by his son,

²²According to the entry in the *Chin shu* annals, the

Ssu-ma Chung, who was thirty-two *sui* at the time. Chung, who is known to history as Emperor Hui (r. 290-307), was reputed to have been mentally incompetent and his reign was characterized by the dominance of his empress's family at court, and the civil wars which broke out among his imperial relatives during the years 300-306. Politically speaking, Emperor Hui was no more than a puppet who was used by various factions for their own purposes during his sixteen and a half years on the throne. In the realm of Chin historiography, however, his reign witnessed the first official compilation of a Chin dynastic history.

Early in Emperor Hui's reign, the institution of Superintendent of the Imperial Archives was reestablished, and there were created one Gentleman Compiler and eight Assistant Gentlemen Compilers, all of whom were responsible for the state history.²³ Furthermore, these officials now served in their own bureau, separate from the Palace Writers. It is not clear who was responsible for this institutional change, but it does indicate that there was

emperor died in the Hall of Cherishing Brilliance on the twentieth day (*chi-yu*) of the fourth month of the first year of the T'ai-hsi era (=16 May 290). See *Chin shu* 3.80/6-7.

²³*Chin shu* 4.90, "The Annals of Emperor Hui," gives the date of the reestablishment of the office of the Superintendent of the Imperial Archives as 10 April 291. *Sung shu* 40.1246 and *Chin shu* 24.734 discuss the arrangement of the Gentlemen Compilers. It is pointed out in the *Chin shu* passage that the individual Gentleman Compiler was also referred to as the Chief Gentleman Compiler (*ta chu-tso lang*) and was in charge of historiographical duties.

perhaps a recognition that the compilers and archivists were specialized enough in their tasks and responsibilities to warrant an independent place within the Chin bureaucracy.

The documentary activities of Emperor Wu's reign demonstrated that the Chin state was indeed capable of employing a host of talented literary men in the cataloging and text editing projects undertaken at that time, and the historiographical climate appears to have enjoyed similar fortunes during the first decade of Emperor Hui's reign. Toward the end of that first decade, the empress's nephew, Chia Mi, was made Superintendent of the Imperial Archives, and in that capacity participated in another court conference which sought once again to set the temporal origins for a Chin history.

The evidence available to us suggests that the conference was held sometime in the year 298,²⁴ and that it was attended by the members of the bureau of the Imperial Archives. With the renewal of the discussion of Chin origins, Chia Mi offered the opinion that a history of the Chin ought to begin with the Chin's own T'ai-shih era (266-274). The matter was then sent to the Chin high ministers for discussion. According to a passage in Chia Mi's *Chin shu* biography, several of these ministers, which included such luminaries as the Minister over the Masses, Wang Jung,

²⁴Two of the conference participants, Lu Chi and Shu Hsi, were known to have been Gentlemen Compilers in that year.

the Minister of Works, Chang Hua, and the General of the Command Army, Wang Yen, agreed with Chia Mi's proposal. A lesser number agreed with Hsün Hsü's previous proposal that the Cheng-shih era be taken as the starting point, while two Erudites echoed the view which had previously been advanced by Wang Tsan that the Chia-p'ing era should be taken as the beginning. This time a decision was made and Chia Mi's view was adopted.²⁵

Although the T'ai-shih era had been decided upon as the starting point for a state history of the Chin, no direct evidence exists which tells us that such a history was actually compiled. Other evidence, however, does allow us to speculate that a historical work was put together as a result of this conference, but that it did not conform to the temporal delineation advocated by Chia Mi and his supporters.

While the *Chin shu* passage informing us of the court discussion under Emperor Hui does not give the specific year of this conference, or tell us precisely what was said there, other sources reveal pieces of information which may help us to better understand the early stages of the compilation of the Chin historical record. It seems that two participants in the historiographical conference who were not mentioned in the *Chin shu* passage were the well-

²⁵This information is taken from *Chin shu* 40.1174/2-5, "Biography of Chia Mi."

known literary men Lu Chi (261-303) and Shu Hsi (ca.264-ca.303). These men, who were each serving as Gentlemen Compilers during the year 298, also offered opinions on the subject of the proposed temporal limits of a Chin history. A fragment from Kan Pao's (fl. 325) *Chin chi* (Annals of the Chin) states that,

The Superintendent of the Imperial Archives, Chia Mi, requested that Shu Hsi be made Assistant Gentleman Compiler. He objected to Lu Chi's discussion of the temporal limits for a history of the Chin.²⁶

From other sources it is known that Lu Chi was serving at that time as a Gentleman Compiler,²⁷ and that he had in fact advanced an opinion on the subject of a Chin history. Given that little other evidence of this conference exists, we are fortunate in that we have a fragment of Lu Chi's opinion preserved for us in an eighth century source, the *Ch'u-hsüeh chi* (Record of First Studies).

While the matters discussed by Lu Chi probably covered various aspects of the Chin history question, the preserved fragment centers on the topic of the treatment of the Chin founders. The fragment runs as follows:

The Three Ancestors had actually died while

²⁶Cited in *chüan* 57 of the Sui period encyclopedia, *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao* (Documentary Gleanings from the North Hall), compiled by Yü Shih-nan (558-638).

²⁷In the preface to his "*Tiao Wei Wu-ti wen*" (Dirge for Emperor Wu of the Wei), Lu Chi mentions that he took up the post of Gentleman Compiler in the eighth year of the Yüan-k'ang era (=298). See *Wen hsüan* 60.16a (Hu K'o-chia ed.).

officials [of the Wei], and therefore they should be written about as officials, and so must be given biographies (*chuan*). This is what is referred to as a veritable record (*shih-lu*). Yet in name they are equal to rulers, and therefore in consideration of the written documents pertaining to rulers, one has no choice but to call their records "annals" (*chi*), thus according with the idea of posthumous sovereignty.²⁸

As mentioned in the passage from Kan Pao's history, Shu Hsi objected to Lu Chi's opinion on the Chin history, but we have no way of knowing what his particular objections may have been. Lu Chi's statement given here indicates that he felt that the Chin founders should be included in a history of the Chin and that they should be treated in annals rather than biographies. Lu Chi's direct statements on the temporal question are not preserved, but it is clear from his discussion here that he did advocate coverage of the late Wei period through inclusion of annals treating the Three Ancestors (Ssu-ma I, Ssu-ma Shih, and Ssu-ma Chao). For Lu Chi then, a history of the Chin had to include a formal treatment of the period prior to the T'ai-shih era--an opinion which we may conjecture was the basis of Shu Hsi's objection.

While it is nowhere explicitly stated that Lu Chi and Shu Hsi were in attendance at the court discussion, it is not unreasonable to assume that Gentlemen Compilers usually

²⁸*Ch'u-hsüeh chi* 21.503.

attended court discussions (especially ones dealing with matters of dynastic history). Furthermore, the existence of Lu Chi's opinion and mention of Shu Hsi's objection to it serve as strong evidence of their participation.

Determining the presence of Lu Chi and Shu Hsi at this conference adds to our understanding of the process by which the Chin historical record developed, but the real importance of these two men lies in the fact that they each worked on the Chin historical record during the years immediately following the conference, and thus became the first official historians of the Chin imperial house.

It is lamentable that virtually nothing of these authors' work exists save for a couple of lines attributed to Lu Chi, and brief mention of their existence by later sources. The first mention of Lu Chi's work on Chin history occurs in Liu Hsieh's (ca.465-ca.522) *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* (Embellishments on the Heart of Literature) and may be found under a discussion of historical accounts:

Records about the Chin dynasty are numerous. Lu Chi made a start, but did not cover the whole field.²⁹

Such a terse statement, which is intended to comment on Lu Chi's contributions to history writing about the Chin, tell us little more than the fact that Liu Hsieh considers his to

²⁹See Fan Wen-lan, comm. *Wen-hsin tiao-lung chu* (Hong Kong: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1960), p.285; and the English translation in Vincent Yu-chung Shih, trans. *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1983), p. 177.

be the first such effort, and that it was not comprehensive. In the eighth century, the historian Liu Chih-chi (655-721) also mentions that Lu Chi first compiled an "Annals of the Three Ancestors."³⁰ Although Lu Chi's *Chin shu* biography does not mention his Chin history writing, the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" records a *Chin chi* (Annals of the Chin) in four *chüan* under his name.³¹

Our knowledge of Shu Hsi's work is based on a brief notice toward the end of his *Chin shu* biography which states that he compiled a *Chin shu chi chih* (Annals and Monographs for a History of the Chin).³² In the above mentioned notice by Liu Chih-chi, that historian follows his remarks on Lu Chi with the statement that "the Assistant Gentleman Compiler Shu Hsi also compiled ten monographs." No mention of Shu Hsi's writing on Chin history is made by Liu Hsieh, nor is any record of a Chin history under his name preserved in the *Sui* and *T'ang* bibliographies.

The available evidence therefore offers us a mixed picture of the work of these two men. At first it appears that they each wrote a historical work of their own; but a closer look raises some doubt about this, and suggests that they simply wrote different sections of a single Chin history. Again, we are forced to speculate, but it is

³⁰See *Shih t'ung t'ung-shih* 12.349.

³¹*Sui shu* 33.958.

³²*Chin shu* 52.1432/9.

plausible that the office of the Gentlemen Compilers, which was at that time headed by Lu Chi and staffed by Shu Hsi and others, would have produced a single work, the authorship of which would be attributed to the head of that office, Lu Chi. If we accept this interpretation of the evidence, then we may conclude that the historiographical conference of 298 resulted in the commissioning of an official history of the Chin which included annals of the "Three Ancestors" and of Emperor Wu, and also included ten monographs supplied by Shu Hsi. Such an arrangement is reminiscent of the *Tung-kuan Han chi* project of the Later Han in which sections of what was to become a larger work were compiled in stages and attributed to the chief historiographer presiding over each portion.

It was at the end of the third century then that the first Chin history, or perhaps the first instalment of what was expected to be an ongoing official Chin history, was compiled. While virtually nothing of this work remains today, we can say that it was clearly an official compilation with regard to the initiative calling for its creation (stemming from a court conference), the personnel who put it together (the Gentlemen Compilers), and the sources used to write it (material from the imperial archives). Finally, and of particular importance here, this work established that the historiographical origins of the Chin lay within the period of Ssu-ma I's rise to power, and

also included the period of ascendancy of his two sons, Shih and Chao.

The history compiled under Lu Chi's direction certainly figured as the most important development in the official history of the Western Chin period, but it was not the only project undertaken at that time. We know of two other scholars who also wrote historical works pertaining to the Chin, but information concerning them is sketchy to say the least. The first writer, Wang Ch'üan (fl. 290?), who served at one time as Prefect of Li-yang prefecture (Huai-nan commandery, Yang province),

often privately recorded Chin events and 'conduct descriptions' [*hsing-chuang*] of meritorious officials. Before he could bring them to completion, he died.³³

This is the extent of the information we have about him and his work, and all we can really learn from this is that Wang Ch'üan was an official in the Chin bureaucracy and that he undertook the private compilation of Chin history. The only other information we have about Ch'üan is that he was the father of the Eastern Chin historian, Wang Yin, and as such may be seen as one who passed on his knowledge and interest, if not his materials, concerning Chin history to his son.³⁴

³³*Chin shu* 82.2142/6-7, "Biography of Wang Yin." Liu Chih-chi repeats this anecdote in *Shih t'ung t'ung-shih* 12.349-50, adding only that his work was undertaken prior to that of Lu Chi and Shu Hsi.

³⁴On the historical work of Wang Yin see Chapter Three below.

The only other Chin historian we know about from this period is a scholar named Hsün Ch'ò (fl. 310), who was a grandson of Emperor Wu's Superintendent of the Imperial Archives, Hsün Hsü. Hsün Ch'ò was well read and talented and had served as an Attendant Palace Gentleman to the Minister Over the Masses during the last years of the Yungchia era (307-313). At the time when the ethnic Ch'ieh military leader, Shih Lo (274-333), overran the Chin capital in 311, the lives of Ch'ò and a few other capable officials were spared so that they could be put to work as attendants in Shih Lo's court. It is not known when he died.³⁵

In addition to this terse information about his life, Ch'ò's *Chin shu* biography informs us that he wrote a *Chin hou-shu* (Later History of the Chin?) in fifteen *p'ien*, and that it survived into later ages (although nothing remains of it today).³⁶ This of course tells us practically

³⁵Hsün Ch'ò's brief biography may be found in *Chin shu* 39.1158/1-2. There are also a few other scattered references in the *Chin shu* which mention him during his time with Shih Lo. See for instance *Chin shu* 35.1051/7, 44.1259/11, 62.1691/8 and 104.2723/11.

³⁶The *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" gives the following entry: "*Chin hou lüeh chi* (Later Abridged Record of the Chin?), five *chüan*. Compiled by the Chin Grand Administrator of Hsia-p'i [commandery], Hsün Ch'ò." See *Sui shu* 33.960. The *Sui shu* also lists two other works by Ch'ò. One was a *Pai-kuan piao chu* (Annotated Tables of the Hundred Officials) in sixteen *chüan* (see 33.968), and the other was a *Ku chin wu-yen shih mei wen* (Splendid Writings of Pentasyllabic Verse, Old and New?) in five *chüan* (see 35.1084).

nothing of the content or nature of the work, but we may speculate that it was a private compilation which sought to continue the record begun by Lu Chi and Shu Hsi.³⁷ And as far as we know, Hsün Ch'ò was the last scholar of the Western Chin period to compile a history of that dynasty.

At this point it may be convenient to pause and tabulate these early works of Chin history. The information we have thus far on these first Chin historians is summarized on the table below in which are listed their names, the title of their work, and the probable date during which their work was done.

As we shall see in the next chapter, the Western Chin period ended in civil war and barbarian invasion during the first decades of the fourth century, and the imperial court was forced to flee south of the Yangtze river for its survival. Such an end to this first period of Chin rule was

 Table I
 Chin Histories Written
 During the Western Chin Period

Wang Ch'üan	Draft Chin History	ca. 290
Lu Chi and Shu Hsi	<i>Chin chi</i>	299?
Hsün Ch'ò	<i>Chin hou-shu</i>	310?

indeed catastrophic for the Ssu-ma ruling house, and in fact

³⁷The word *hou*, "later," in the title may be an indication that this was a continuation history.

spelled the end of five centuries of Chinese imperial rule centered in north China. It is possible to view this broad sweep of history as one in which the art and practice of Chinese imperial rule was created and passed through a number of important stages in its evolution. In the realm of history writing, we can see its evolution from an undefined, privately-initiated practice under the Former Han to one in which Chinese rulers recognized it as an integral part of the documentary and didactic functioning of imperial statecraft. History writing of course did not have the high position enjoyed by classical scholarship or ritual practice within the state structure, but it had clearly become a very important ingredient in the education of the learned official class and an indispensable part of government practice.

CHAPTER THREE
CHIN HISTORIES WRITTEN DURING
THE EASTERN CHIN PERIOD

During the first two decades of the fourth century, the Chinese state and the imperial government which ruled it underwent a series of crises which led to the collapse of Chinese rule in the north, and brought about the removal of the government to the south of the Yangtze river. These events at once signalled the end of China's early empire, and witnessed the termination of the Chin ruling line which had been inaugurated by Ssu-ma Yen in early 266. As the Chinese government was reestablished in the south, and the Chin house achieved a restoration under a new member of the Ssu-ma clan, the comprehensive historical assessment of what eventually came to be known as the Western Chin period began.

Beginning with the Eastern Chin, Chinese history writing of the Southern Dynasties period (318-589) witnessed the rise and flourish of various formats, subjects and genres; but the primary emphasis remained on the compilation of dynastic history (both officially and privately written). Accounts of the Chin ruling house figured prominently among these works and, as we shall see, it was during this period that the portrayal of Ssu-ma I as a dynastic founder was developed and codified. This point is important due to the

fact that the image of Ssu-ma I which evolved during the Southern Dynasties period provided the foundation upon which the T'ang compilers of the *Hsin Chin shu* created their own portrayal, and therefore constitutes an integral part of the canonical account which has come down to us today.

The Chin Restoration

At the outset of the fourth century prolonged civil wars among powerful members of the imperial family (from 300 to 306) sapped the strength of the state and brought great hardship and ruin to many areas of the north, including the imperial capital of Lo-yang.¹ In addition to the devastation caused by these civil wars, numerous local rebellions and barbarian uprisings also broke out in the north.² The rise in strength and advancement to power of various northern "barbarian" groups soon posed a grave

¹These civil wars are referred to by Chinese historians as the *Pa-wang chih luan*, or "Eight Kings Insurrection;" a designation given them by the Ch'ing historian Chao I (1727-1814) in chapter 8 of his *Nien-erh shih cha-chi*. Recent treatment of these wars may be found in Chu Tsung-pin, "'Pa-wang chih luan' pao-fa yüan-yin shih-t'an," *Pei-ching ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao--che-hsüeh, she-hui, k'o-hsüeh pan*, (1980) No. 6, pp. 2-15; and Anthony B. Fairbank, "Kingdom and Province in the Western Chin: Regional Power and the Eight Kings Insurrection (A.D. 300-306)," M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1986.

²These uprisings, known in Chinese as the *Yung-chia chih luan*, or "Uprisings of the Yung-chia era [307-313]," are enumerated in Chang Tse-hsien and Chu Ta-wei eds., *Wei Chin nan-pei ch'ao nung-min chan-cheng shih-liao hui-pien* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1980), pp. 54-167. See also the study by Chin Fa-ken, *Yung-chia luan hou ti pei-fang hao-tsu* (Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1971).

threat to the weakened Chinese state; and in the years immediately following the civil wars, the military successes of these groups began to accumulate. In 311, the imperial capital was besieged, the Chinese emperor was captured, and the remaining government was forced to move west to Ch'ang-an.³ Five years later, Ch'ang-an too was overrun and a second Chinese emperor was taken prisoner and eventually put to death at the hands of the ascendant barbarians.⁴ With the loss of Ch'ang-an in 316 and the death of the emperor a little more than a year later, the state was without a center and the ruling house was without a head. The barbarian forces which had been gaining strength over the previous decade or so now held sway in the north, and the remnants of the imperial house and Chinese government scrambled to reestablish a base of power in the southeastern

³This event is outlined in *Chin shu* 5.122 (where the date of the attack is given as 29 June 311) and in *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 87.2763. See also Arthur Waley, "Loyang and Its Fall," *History Today* 4 (1954):7-10, reprinted in Waley's *The Secret History of the Mongols and other Pieces*, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1963), pp. 47-55.

⁴The *Chin shu* annals record that the capital was attacked by the Hsiung-nu leader Liu Yao in the eighth month of Chien-hsing 4 [September 316], and that the emperor was taken prisoner on 17 December 316. He was then removed to Liu Yao's base at P'ing-yang where he was eventually put to death on 7 February 318. See *Chin shu* 5.130-32; Ssu-ma Kuang (1019-1086) comp., *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* (Peking: Kuchi ch'u-pan-she, 1956), 89.2833-35, 90.2851. An account of Liu Yao is given in *Chin shu* 103.2683-2703. Yao's capital of P'ing-yang was located in the administrative seat of P'ing-yang commandery, Ssu province (located 10 km. west of modern Lin-fen city, Shansi province). See T'an Ch'ih-shiang, *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi*, Vol. 3 (San-kuo--Hsi-chin shih-ch'i), 35-36 2/4.

provincial capital of Chien-yeh, situated on the south bank of the Yangtze River (known then simply as the Chiang) seventy miles or so inland from the Eastern Sea.⁵

Following the siege and capture of Lo-yang in June and July of 311, an imperial clansman named Ssu-ma Jui (276-323), then the King of Lang-yeh and Military Governor of Yang province, was acclaimed as the head of an alliance of provincial leaders seeking to oppose the barbarian forces.⁶ Over the next several years (312-317) the Chinese government suffered one defeat after another as commandery seats were overrun, local officials were captured, and ministers,

⁵Chien-yeh and its environs is shown in T'an Ch'i-hsiang, *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi*, Vol. 3: 55-56 1/4 and inset. A brief history of Chien-yeh (modern Nanking) may be found in Barry Till, *In Search of Old Nanking* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., 1982), pp. 3-17. See also Paul S. Levine, "The Development of the Medieval City in South China: Chien K'ang from the Second to the Sixth Centuries A.D.," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1979.

⁶Ssu-ma Jui inherited the title of King of Lang-yeh from his father, Ssu-ma Chin (256-290), upon the latter's death in 290. See *Chin shu* 38.1121-22. The precise year of Jui's appointment as Military Governor of Yang province (of which Chien-yeh was the administrative seat) is not given. His annals states that he was appointed to that position sometime during the early part of the regency of Ssu-ma Yüeh (from 306 to 311). See *Chin shu* 5.144. In his "Chin fang-chen nien-piao," the Ch'ing scholar Wan Ssu-t'ung (1638-1702) lists Ssu-ma Jui as Military Governor of Yang province from 307-313. See *ESWSPP*, 3:3394-96. In his own compilation of Chin Military Governors published in the 1930's, the historian Wu T'ing-hsieh (1866-1947) cites Jui as Military Governor during the years 310-315. See *ESWSPP*, 3:3425. The *Chin shu* annals for Ssu-ma Jui goes on to state that "When Emperor Huai was captured and taken to P'ing-yang (311), the Minister of Works, Hsün Fan, and others circulated a call-to-arms throughout the empire and acclaimed His Majesty (Ssu-ma Jui) as head of an alliance (*meng-chu*)." See *Chin shu* 5.144/7-8.

generals and thousands of commoners were killed in the fighting. With the increasing failure of the government in the north, Ssu-ma Jui's position as leader in the Yangtze delta region took on more importance and he soon came to be regarded as the greatest hope for the survival of the Chinese state.

Meanwhile, on 7 June 313, a young nephew of the recently deceased emperor was enthroned in Ch'ang-an as the fourth reigning emperor of the Chin house. His name was Ssu-ma Yeh, and he was then in his twelfth year.⁷ As the Chin house sought to maintain a foothold in the Wei river valley, the government formed around the new emperor formally placed the area of the lower eastern seaboard under the command of the thirty-six year old Ssu-ma Jui. Jui had established his garrison at the city of Chien-yeh and had gathered a number of capable commanders and administrators around him. Soon he began to establish military control in his area of administration, and in 315 he was proclaimed the Chin government's Prime Minister and Supreme Commander of All Central and Regional Military Affairs.⁸ As the King of Lang-yeh's successes in the south began to accumulate, the remaining forces in the north continued to lose ground

⁷Ssu-ma Yeh was known posthumously as Emperor Hsiao-min. The date of his ascent to the throne is recorded in *Chin shu* 5.126. For Ssu-ma Yeh's place in the genealogy of Western Chin rulers, see Figure 1 below.

⁸*Chin shu* 6.144/9.

against their barbarian attackers until the capital at Ch'ang-an itself was overrun and the emperor taken prisoner in December of 316.

With the news of the emperor's abduction at the hands of their enemies, the surviving members of the Chinese government turned to Ssu-ma Jui to bring about a restoration of the dynasty and state from his base at Chien-yeh. In the summer of 317, dozens of Chinese officials urged the King of Lang-yeh to accept the imperial title and serve as their leader,⁹ but the fact that the recently captured emperor was still alive precluded him from accepting. It was clear, however, that the situation in the north was hopeless, and as a result, the formation of a new imperial government south of the Yangtze continued at Chien-yeh.

The *Chin shu* annals inform us that on 23 April 318 news of the death of the Chin emperor reached the south.¹⁰ The throne was therefore vacant in name as well as in fact; and the officials at Chien-yeh thus renewed their offer of the imperial title to Ssu-ma Jui. On 27 April 318 he accepted the honor and ascended the throne as the fifth reigning

⁹On 6 April 317, Jui was made King of Chin (see *Chin shu* 6.145/5); and in July of 317, a memorial urging accession to the imperial throne was submitted to Jui. The memorial is preserved in *Wen hsüan* 37.23a-30a, *I-wen lei-chü* 13.250-51, and *Chin shu* 6.145-148. Translations of this piece may be found in Erwin von Zach, *Die Chinesische Anthologie* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), 2:684-89; and David R. Knechtges, "Han and Six Dynasties Parallel Prose," *Renditions* (1990), pp. 102-110.

¹⁰*Chin shu* 6.149.

emperor of the Chin house.¹¹

Ssu-ma Jui's acceptance of the imperial title and subsequent establishment of a new reign era (*t'ai-hsing* "Great Rising") served to recognize formally the process of restoration which had been underway during the previous few years, but it also inaugurated a new era for both the Chinese state and the Chin dynasty itself. Administratively speaking, the geo-political landscape had been transformed by the loss of the provinces north of the Huai river, as the Chinese heartland fell under the sway of the new barbarian rulers. Such a situation was unprecedented and without doubt figured as the greatest tragedy suffered by China's imperial rulers up until that time. Due to the fact that the condition was never reversed, it may certainly be viewed as the end of the age of China's early empire, and the beginning of the period of Chinese rule in the south--a period which lasted until the Sui conquest of the Ch'en state in early 589.

Dynastically speaking, Ssu-ma Jui's ascent to the imperial throne brought about a revival of the Chin house, and inaugurated a new ruling lineage within the Ssu-ma clan. Prior to Ssu-ma Jui, Chin rulers had all been descendants of Ssu-ma I's second son, Ssu-ma Chao (211-265). With Ssu-ma Jui on the throne, the line of descent now extended from

¹¹Ssu-ma Jui was known posthumously as Emperor Yüan. The date of his ascent to the throne is given in *Chin shu* 6.149.

Ssu-ma I's fifth son, Ssu-ma Chou (227-283), the first King of Lang-yeh (see Figure 1 below).¹² Of course it was

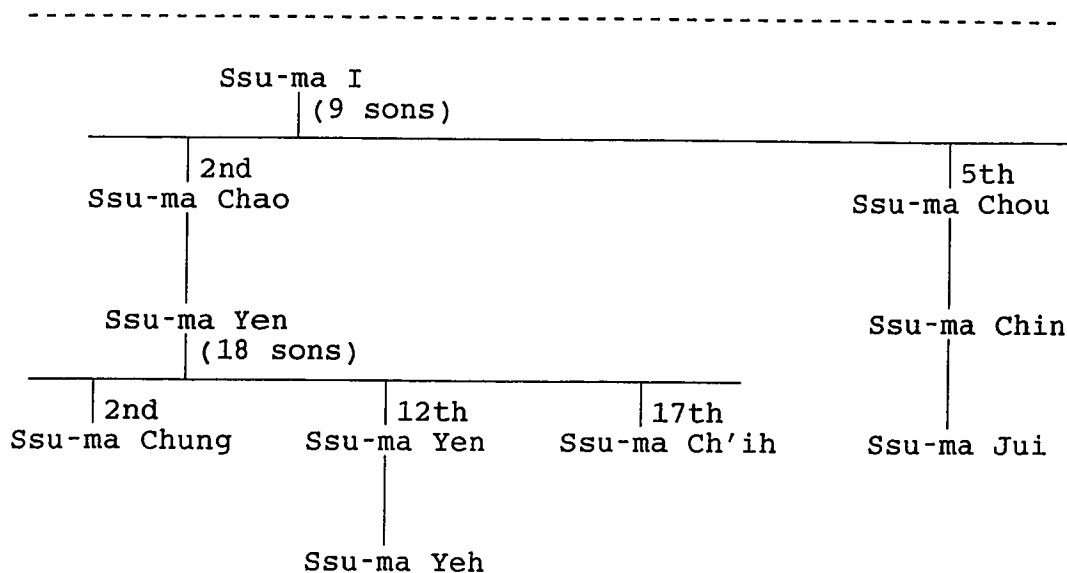


Figure 1
The Two Chin Ruling Lineages
Descended From Ssu-ma I

important for Jui's status as a legitimate ruler of the Chin house that he be a part of the Ssu-ma clan, and thus an heir to the accomplishments of his worthy predecessors. But since he was not a member of the former ruling lineage, it was necessary for him to establish a viable link with that line through common ancestry. It is at this point that Ssu-ma I gained greater importance by providing that link, and thus served as the founding ancestor for both ruling Chin

¹²Ssu-ma Chou was made king of Lang-yeh in the general redistribution of kingdoms which took place on 5 October 277; see *Chin shu* 3.68. Chou's biography may be found in *Chin shu* 38.1121-22.

lineages.

The fact that Ssu-ma Jui was Ssu-ma I's great-grandson provided him with a sound basis of dynastic legitimation, and allowed him to claim succession to the undertakings of his third century forbears. However, the political events which had forced the move south, combined with the inauguration of a second ruling lineage, gave rise to the view that a distinctly new period of Chin rule had commenced and, consequently, that another one had ended. It is at this point that a new phase in the writing of Chin history began.

Chin Historians of the Early Fourth Century

As part of the efforts to restore the dynasty and government at Chien-k'ang,¹³ various administrative proposals were made to Ssu-ma Jui by the many officials and leaders gathered around him. Among these men, the most important was a contemporary of Jui's named Wang Tao (276-339).¹⁴ Tao had been a close advisor to Ssu-ma Jui for a

¹³On 14 November 313 the name of the city Chien-yeh was changed to Chien-k'ang in order to avoid the taboo on the personal name of the reigning emperor, Ssu-ma Yeh, who had come to the throne on 7 June 313. See *Chin shu* 5.127, 15.469. The name Chien-k'ang was retained throughout the Southern Dynasties period.

¹⁴Wang Tao's biography may be found in *Chin shu* 65.1745-54. Tao is also the subject of numerous anecdotes in Liu I-ch'ing's (403-444) fifth century collection of tales, *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*; see the biographical notice on Wang Tao and index to the places where he is mentioned in Liu's work in Richard B. Mather trans., *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A*

number of years, and had been the one who urged him to move to the garrison at Chien-yeh during the uncertain years of the Yung-chia era (307-313).¹⁵ In 317, as the Chien-k'ang government began to take shape, Wang Tao submitted two memorials in which he called for the revival of institutions which he felt to be essential to the conduct of proper government. The first memorial called for the founding of imperial schools (*hsüeh-hsiao*), and the second urged the establishment of imperial historiographers (*shih-kuan*).¹⁶ Of course, neither of these suggestions represented an innovation on Wang Tao's part, but rather they served to advocate what he felt were important elements of a properly administered Chinese state and therefore worthy of a ruler's attention. As we shall see, both of these proposals were adopted, and the process of regenerating the fragmented Chinese state came to embrace the traditionally revered disciplines of pedagogy and history writing.

In April of 317, Wang Tao had been appointed to a host

New Account of Tales of the World (hereafter *Tales*) (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), p. 595. See also Hektor Meyer, *Wang Tao--Gründungsminister der Ost-Chin; eine kritische Darstellung nach dem Shih-shuo-hsin-yü und seinem Kommentar*. Berlin: Frei Universität, 1973.

¹⁵*Chin shu* 6.144 states, "At the outset of the Yung-chia era, drawing upon Wang Tao's plan, [Ssu-ma Jui] first garrisoned Chien-yeh."

¹⁶The text of the memorial on schools is preserved in Wang Tao's biography. See *Chin shu* 65.1747-48. The memorial concerning historiographers may be found in *Chin shu* 82.2149-50, "Biography of Kan Pao."

of official posts, one of which was that of acting Superintendent of Palace Writers. It was in that capacity as head of the soon-to-be emperor's secretariat that he submitted a memorial concerning the establishment of historiographers. The text of this memorial reads as follows:

As for the traces of emperors and kings, there is none which should not be written down, and manifest as exemplary models to be handed on without omission. August Sovereign Hsüan ranged widely in subduing the Four Seas; and August Sovereign Wu received the abdication from the Wei. Such complete virtue and great achievement rank them among the superior sages. Yet if their records and accounts are not preserved in the royal archives, the resonance of their virtue will not resound upon the pipes and strings.

Your Highness is sagely and brilliant, and now presides over this grand restoration. Thus it would be most appropriate to establish a state history, and compile an imperial annals; [so that] above, You may display the fervence of the ancestral house, and below, chronicle the achievements of those who have assisted the mandate. Strive for a veritable record which will serve as a standard for later ages. Satisfy the hopes of those under Your rule, and enlighten the minds of man and spirit. Such is truly the ultimate good of tranquility and ease, and the broad foundation of a sovereign ruler.

It would be most appropriate to establish historiographers, and command the Assistant Gentleman Compiler Kan Pao and others to bring to completion such

writings and compilations.¹⁷

Amidst the various efforts to establish a sound Chinese administration in the south, Tao's proposal attracts our attention for two reasons. First, it seeks to reaffirm the didactic function of history writing, which "serves as a standard for later ages"; and second, it calls for the compilation of a Chin dynastic history, which should "display the fervence of the ancestral house, and . . . chronicle the achievements of those who have assisted the mandate." Put in these terms, it is clear that Tao's emphasis on history writing centers on its role as an element of Chinese rulership. He supports the view that history should manifest the exemplary virtues of rulers in general (and the Ssu-ma in particular), and teach those under their rule the proper course of action to take in order to maintain peace and stability. Simply put, Wang Tao urged that a reestablished Chinese polity adhere to the imperial principles of the past, and in doing so, must demonstrate and extol the worthiness of the Ssu-ma house to uphold those principles. On one hand, this was to be done through the establishment of institutions to disseminate the orthodox political view (i.e., government schools), and on the other, through the establishment of historiographers charged with the compilation of a dynastic history.

On 7 January 318, both of Wang Tao's proposals were put

¹⁷*Chin shu* 82.2149-50, "Biography of Kan Pao."

into effect as Ssu-ma Jui called for the establishment of historiographers and an Imperial Academy (*t'ai-hsüeh*).¹⁸ While this move clearly sought to link Ssu-ma Jui with the esteemed practices of past rulers and thereby enhance his position as leader, it also served to revive the process of Chin dynastic history writing which had been interrupted by the chaotic events of the previous two decades.

It appears that, while the process of maintaining court records and other official documents continued during the tumultuous early decades of the fourth century, the court sponsored undertaking of compiling a state history did not. As was seen in Chapter Two, some private compilation of Chin histories was done, but there is no evidence to suggest that the courts of the ill-fated Emperors Huai and Min took steps to continue the activities of Lu Chi and his associates. It was at Wang Tao's urging then that the process of Chin dynastic history writing was revived in 318; and it appears

¹⁸*Chin shu* 6.149, "Annals of Emperor Yüan," states simply that, "On the nineteenth day [*ting-mou*] of the twelfth month of Chien-wu 1, the Minister of Works, Liu K'un, was made Grand Commandant. [His Majesty] established historiographers and set up an Imperial Academy." For the history of the Imperial Academy in Han times see, Hans Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, pp. 19, 139-141; and Twitchett and Loewe eds., *The Cambridge History of China*, 1:464-65, which has the following to say about its function: "Its object was to train men for office; and it became an instrument for fostering the Chinese traditional way of public life, which comprised a respect for the achievements of the past, a close association between scholarship and success in service, and the claim that imperial government rested on the principles of Confucius rather than those of Shen Pu-hai or Shang Yang (p. 465)."

that this revived historiographical activity was placed under the supervision of the official mentioned by Tao in his memorial, Kan Pao (fl. 325).

In taking up the question of Chin history writing at the restored court at Chien-k'ang, the question which first must be considered is that of the condition of the imperial archives. If historical work was to be undertaken, what materials did the court compilers have at their disposal? As was mentioned above, the events at the outset of the fourth century brought considerable destruction to the imperial capital, and we are told that Lo-yang was plundered and burned on more than one occasion. There are some indications that the imperial archives suffered from this, but we have no specific information concerning their precise fate or the steps which may have been taken to rescue the surviving records, of which there were certainly some.

It is recorded however that as part of Ssu-ma Jui's administrative efforts prior to, and during, his tenure as emperor, a number of men were recruited into positions which dealt with archival and compiling activities. One person about whom we know something is a man named Hua T'an (ca.247-ca.324), who was a southerner who had served the Chin court since the 280s. Known as a man of learning and ability, he was in his late sixties during the Chien-hsing era (313-317) when Ssu-ma Jui recruited him to serve on his staff as a Military Consultant Libationer. What is

pertinent to our discussion here is the fact that sometime between 315 and 317, T'an recommended two scholars to Ssu-ma Jui just prior to submitting a memorandum requesting his own retirement. The two officials, Kan Pao and a man named Fan Yao, appear to have been given official positions as a result of this recommendation, but T'an's request for retirement was denied. In fact, in 317, T'an was appointed to the office of Superintendent of the Imperial Archives; a post which he firmly declined, but was nonetheless invested in during the following year.

The appointment of Hua T'an to the position of Superintendent of the Imperial Archives in 318 is itself a strong piece of evidence indicating that there was indeed a functioning archive in Chien-k'ang at the outset of Ssu-ma Jui's reign. In the absence of any narrative concerning the transmission of documents from Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an to the south, we must conclude from the attested survival of some Western Chin court documents that such a transmission was undertaken.¹⁹ While Hans Bielenstein's assertion that "it is hardly probable that any considerable part of the archives survived the transfer south"²⁰ certainly conveys

¹⁹*Sui shu* 33, "Monograph on Bibliography" Pt. 2, lists numerous collections of court diaries (*ch'i-chü chu*), historical case precedents (*ku-shih, chiu-shih*), institutional regulations (*i-chu*) and other official compilations from the Western Chin period. See *Sui shu* 33.964, 966, 968-69

²⁰Bielenstein, "Restoration," p. 9.

the gravity of the damage done to the Chin capitals and to the stores of documents contained in them, the survival of Western Chin official documents, as well as a host of other writings, indicates that at least some material was transferred south during the years of Jui's administration in the Yangtze delta. While we lack evidence of the actual process of the transmission of documents from one court to another, the simple fact that a great deal of history writing about the Western Chin took place during the years immediately following the founding of the Eastern Chin leads us to conclude that a suitably large amount of material was indeed available to these writers.

Assuming that there was a working archive in Chien-k'ang which contained a fair amount of pertinent material from the fallen Chin court, we may now consider just who may have worked there, and what the product of their labors was. By sifting through our sources, it is possible to compile a list of names of six scholar-officials who served as compilers under the direction of the Superintendent of the Imperial Archives, Hua T'an.

Beginning with Kan Pao, we read in his *Chin shu* biography simply that, "for his talent and ability, he was summoned to be a Gentleman Compiler"; but find no mention of the specific date of this appointment. The context of the passage however indicates that it was sometime during the

315-317 period,²¹ and therefore suggests that the above-mentioned recommendation by Hua T'an resulted in his appointment to the position of Gentleman Compiler. A line in the biography of another appointee, Wang Yin (ca.270-ca.340), adds to our picture of the archival work at Chien-k'ang during this period:

At the outset of the T'ai-hsing era [318-321], when the canons and statutes were gradually being made ready, [the emperor] summoned [Wang] Yin and Kuo P'u both to serve as Gentlemen Compilers; and they were directed to compile a history of the Chin.²²

Later in this same section of Yin's biography, we are told of another Gentleman Compiler named Yü Yü (fl. 324) who must have held that position at about the same time. To this we may also add a piece of information from Hua T'an's biography which states that, at the outset of the T'ai-hsing era, he recommended two more scholars, Chu Feng and Wu Chen, to serve as Assistant Gentleman Compilers.²³ Nothing else is said about these men, but as T'an was the Superintendent of the Imperial Archives when he made this recommendation, we may assume that it was accepted.

The picture which emerges from all of this is that with the restoration of the Chin state and ruling house, so too

²¹See the opening lines of his biography in *Chin shu* 82.2149.

²²*Chin shu* 82.2143, "Biography of Wang Yin."

²³*Chin shu* 52.1454, "Biography of Hua T'an."

was there a restoration of historiographical activity in Chien-k'ang. From the data presented above it is therefore possible to compile the following table of historiographical personnel serving in about the year 320:

 Table II
 Historiographical Personnel
 Serving in Chien-k'ang, ca. 320

Superintendent of Palace Writers	- Wang Tao
Superintendent of the Imperial Archives	- Hua T'an
Gentleman Compiler	- Kan Pao
Gentleman Compiler	- Wang Yin
Gentleman Compiler	- Kuo P'u
Gentleman Compiler	- Yü Yü
Assistant Gentleman Compiler	- Chu Feng
Assistant Gentleman Compiler	- Wu Chen

The substantial number of names on this list demonstrates that there was indeed a commitment to the maintenance of records and the compilation of historical records at the restored imperial court, and that this enterprise was thought to be worthy of the efforts of the state's newly recruited young scholars, many of whom came from the south. From the point of view of the Chin administrators, this historiographical work was important both as a means of legitimizing their position as rulers (since written records had traditionally been linked to good rulership), and as a means of incorporating southern scholars into the Chin state

structure.

The call for the compilation of an official Chin history certainly served as an ideological focus for the Chin house, and helped to bolster Ssu-ma Jui's position as legitimate heir to the earlier Ssu-ma rulers; and in terms of history writing itself, the historiographical undertakings begun at Chien-k'ang gave rise to the compilation of both official and private works pertaining to the Chin. During the early decades of the Eastern Chin period, at least four such histories are known to have been prepared by men who had served as compilers in the capital of the restored dynasty. The works and the men who compiled them are shown in the table below. Of these four histories, the most important was the official Chin chronicle compiled

 Table III
 Four Chin Histories
 of the Early Fourth Century
 (Chüan numbers are taken from *Sui shu* 33.955, 958.)

Kan Pao	<i>Chin chi</i> (Annals of the Chin)	23 <i>chüan</i>
Wang Yin	<i>Chin shu</i> (History of the Chin)	93 <i>chüan</i>
Yü Yü	<i>Chin shu</i> (History of the Chin)	44 <i>chüan</i>
Chu Feng	<i>Chin shu</i> (History of the Chin)	14 <i>chüan</i>

under the direction of Kan Pao, while the other three consisted of private works made following the authors' period of service in the archives. Since none of these works has survived intact, we have only fragmentary evidence

and knowledge of their content; but this sparse evidence does provide some basic information.

Kan Pao's *Chin chi* was the first official history to be completed during the Eastern Chin period, and therefore serves as the initial representation of the historiographical methods and ideals advocated by the restored Chin court. In terms of the methods used in compiling the history itself, we may assume that the same fundamental procedures of archival collection and historical compilation which obtained at the Western Chin court were also put into practice at Chien-k'ang. Unfortunately, comments concerning the process of the compilation of the *Chin chi* itself are terse in the extreme. We are told simply that, upon approval of Wang Tao's memorial by Ssu-ma Jui, Kan Pao undertook the supervision of the state history (*kuo-shih*).²⁴ No direct information concerning the names of the officials who assisted Kan Pao,²⁵ how long the project took, or even the date of its completion is given. We are informed only that the content of the *Chin chi* covered the years from Emperor Hsüan to Emperor Min, and that it was twenty *chüan* when completed.²⁶ From the use of the term

²⁴*Chin shu* 82.2150/1.

²⁵The list of names given in Table II above serves as our best guess as to who may have participated in this project.

²⁶*Chin shu* 82.2150, "Biography of Kan Pao." The passage reads: "[He] compiled a *Chih chi*, which covered the fifty-three years from Emperor Hsüan through Emperor Min.

chi, "annals," in the title we know it was compiled in the chronicle format.

Mention of the period covered by the history however is significant since it indicates that, in the mind of Kan Pao and his associates, Chin history indeed began with Ssu-ma I (Emperor Hsüan)--a view which echoes that held by Lu Chi and the Western Chin historians of a generation earlier. Unlike those historians however, we do have a bit more knowledge of Kan Pao's specific view of Ssu-ma I and his role in the history of the Chin dynasty. As was the practice of many Chinese historians of the early imperial period, Kan Pao appended to his annals a "general discourse" (*tsung-lun*) which offered his own view of many of the important people, events and issues of the period covered. While we have only fragments of Pao's actual history, we are fortunate enough to possess the complete text of his discourse, which is preserved in Chapter 49 of the *Wen hsüan* and Chapter 5 of

It was twenty *chüan* in all." The mention of fifty-three years as the time span from Emperor Hsüan to Emperor Min is somewhat confusing since Ssu-ma I died in 251 and Emperor Min did not come to the throne until 313--a span of at least sixty-three years. The fifty-three years being referred to here is most likely the period of formal Chin rule dating from Ssu-ma Yen's first year of rule [T'ai-shih 1 (=265)] through Emperor Min's last year of rule [Chien-hsing 5 (=317)], a period of precisely fifty-three years.

Information concerning the number of *chüan* which made up this text varies according to the source being consulted. *Sui shu* 33.958 lists 23 *chüan*; *Chin shu* 82.2150 lists 20 *chüan*, while *Chiu T'ang shu* 46.1991 and *Shih-t'ung t'ung-shih* each list 22 *chüan*. This disparity in *chüan* numbers exists for many of the pre-T'ang Chin histories, and it remains unclear to me precisely how to resolve these differences.

the *Chin shu*.²⁷

The discourse is quite long, and touches on many aspects of Western Chin history, not the least of which is the character and actions of its founding ancestor, Ssu-ma I. The first section of the discourse has this to say about the founder:

In the past, our Eminent Ancestor, the August Sovereign Hsüan, with unsurpassed talent and grand capacity, responded to the cycle and took office. When the Grand Ancestor of the Wei [Ts'ao Ts'ao] first established the foundation, His Majesty deliberated upon and planned military and state affairs, and his excellent strategies were successful every time. Thereupon he was granted a carriage of high office, and galloped about in earnest through three reigns.

By nature, His Majesty was as abstruse and detached as a fortress or storehouse, yet he was able to be generous and accommodating. He enacted cunning plans in order to manage things, yet he understood others and excelled at selecting and appointing subordinates. Therefore men both worthy and ignorant turned to him, and the great and small expended their strength in his service. Thus he took Teng Ai from the intervals of agriculture, and chose Chou T'ai during his tours of duty. Appointing them to civil and military duties, they each excelled in their tasks.

Therefore he was able to capture Meng Ta in the

²⁷See *Wen hsüan* 49.4b-18b and *Chin shu* 5.132-37. The *Chin shu* text of this piece constitutes a somewhat abridged version of the earlier *Wen hsüan* text. There are numerous graphic variations as well as a significant number of passage omissions and slight rearrangements of common text. There is a German translation of the *Wen hsüan* text in Zach, *Die Chinesische Anthologie*, 2:913-925.

west, and defeat Kung-sun Yüan in the east. [He fended off the well trained troops of Chu-ko Liang every time, and in the east he held out against the allied strength of the men of Wu.] Within, he wiped out Ts'ao Shuang, and without, he attacked Wang Ling. His divine strategies alone were decisive, and in his punitive campaigns he was victorious everywhere. Bringing the sundry lords under his control, supreme power resided in him.²⁸

Aside from the many textual problems which arise from this piece, we see in it a clear description of some of the important facets of Ssu-ma I's career, character and accomplishments. Kan Pao begins by discussing in glowing terms Ssu-ma I's official service to the early Wei rulers and his tremendous acumen as a military strategist and political adviser. Next, he points out that he was a man of strong character and discerning judgment who was therefore a natural leader. Finally, Pao enumerates some of Ssu-ma I's great military accomplishments against the enemies of the Wei state, and points out the position of political dominance which he achieved at the end of his career by remarking that "supreme power resided in him."

In addition to its function as a convenient summary of Ssu-ma I's career as a Wei statesman, Kan Pao's essay also portrays a man who was supremely talented and successful--a

²⁸*Wen hsüan* 49.4b-5b. Even in this brief opening passage there are a number of differences between the *Wen hsüan* and *Chin shu* versions of this text. I have chosen to quote the *Wen hsüan* text in the belief that it represents an earlier, less tainted version of the piece.

man who was clearly destined ("responding to the cycle") to establish a great ruling house.²⁹ The fact that Kan Pao wrote this piece in his capacity as an official historian serving the Chin house is entirely relevant to his treatment of Ssu-ma I. As had been pointed out by Lu Chi at the court of Emperor Hui, the Chin founders (Ssu-ma I and his sons Shih and Chao) had lived and served as Wei officials, but had since been posthumously designated sovereigns, and therefore had to be treated in history as rulers. Following this principle, Kan Pao makes it clear that Ssu-ma I's actions, though they may have been meritorious in their own right, manifested an ability which was not only statesmanlike, but regal.

The official tone of Kan Pao's discussion may be gauged by a comparison with the first official pronouncement of Ssu-ma I's role as the Chin founder as stated in the opening

²⁹The idea of "responding to the cycle" constitutes part of the so-called "Five Agents" (*wu hsing*) theory of dynastic legitimation first formulated by the third century B.C. school of the philosopher Tsou Yen. Hok-lam Chan summarizes the idea as follows:

This school postulated that the primal mechanism of all changes came from the cyclical rotations of the five major agents (*wu-hsing*) or powers (*wu-te*) of the basic cosmic forces: Earth, Wood, Metal, Fire, and Water. . . . Under this scheme, the pulsations of the Five Agents are related to changes in cosmic configurations and, by extension, to changes in all human activities, including human affairs. As each season is governed by an agent, so it was believed that each dynasty rules by virtue of a particular cosmic element. . . . See Chan, *Legitimation in Imperial China*, p. 26.

This cyclical legitimation theory played an important role in Chinese historiography from the Later Han period on.

lines of Ssu-ma Yen's (Emperor Wu) inaugural edict of 8 February 266. In this edict, promulgated some sixty years prior to Kan Pao's writing, the newly ascended emperor states unequivocally Ssu-ma I's (King Hsüan) position as the founder of the Chin house.

In the past, Our August Ancestor, King Hsüan, with sagacity, wisdom, reverence and brilliance, widely responded to the cycle of time, gave wide development to sovereign undertakings, and inaugurated the great foundation.³⁰

Such hyperbolic proclamations are certainly befitting an occasion such as the formal establishment of a new ruling house, and come as no surprise when they are made by the grandson and regnal heir of the man in question. What is most striking however is the similarity in tone between the official edict and the official history. Both are clearly laudatory and speak with the same acutely pro-dynastic voice. Although admittedly terse, such evidence suggests a strong relationship in outlook between official Chin state orthodoxy and an evolving official Chin historiography.

While a proper evaluation of Kan Pao's history would require a study of his complete discourse and a careful sifting through the extant fragments of the *Chin chi*, it is clear from the evidence seen thus far that this work served as an important precedent in Chin history writing. The comprehensive coverage and laudatory tone of this

³⁰See *Chin shu* 3.51/8.

official chronicle surely served the recovering Chin house well as a record of its past. The work was praised as "a fine history" by Pao's contemporaries and successors³¹--a status which surely added to the success of the project. This first complete Chin chronicle therefore established a firm periodization for the Western Chin, recorded the important events of the early decades of the Chin house and sustained and enhanced the view that Ssu-ma I was indeed the great dynastic founder of that house.

The next work of importance compiled during the early years of the Eastern Chin period was Wang Yin's *Chin shu*. As was mentioned above, Wang Yin had served in the imperial archives at Chien-k'ang and had therefore gained firsthand knowledge of the records pertaining to the Chin, and had most likely been a participant in the compilation of the *Chin chi*. Wang Yin also gained exposure to Chin history writing from his father, Wang Ch'üan, who had begun privately compiling Chin historical records during the late Western Chin period, but had not brought his writings to

³¹The earliest comment we have concerning the assessment of Kan Pao's history is taken from a fragment of Ho Fa-sheng's (fl. 415) *Chin chung-hsing shu* preserved in Li Shan's (?-689) commentary to the *Wen hsüan*. The comment pertaining to Pao's history reads: "Its critiques and discourses were incisive and balanced. Everyone lauded and praised it." See *Wen hsüan* 49.3b. Kan Pao's *Chin shu* biography has the following remark: "Its text was terse, concise and straightforward, but capable of tact. Everyone praised it as a fine history." See *Chin shu* 82.2150. Liu Chih-chi's comment is nearly identical to that of the *Chin shu*. See *Shih t'ung t'ung-shih* 12.350.

completion before his death.³² This dual exposure to Chin historical materials therefore gave Wang Yin excellent preparation to carry out his own work in Chin history.

What we know of Wang Yin's work differs in nature from our knowledge of Kan Pao's *Chin chi*. While we have the complete text of Kan Pao's general discourse on Chin history to offer us an indication of that author's historical views, we know little about the circumstances of its compilation. For Wang Yin's work, on the other hand, we have information which sheds light primarily on the circumstances surrounding its composition, and offers some critical remarks pertaining to Yin's ability as an historian; but we have none of Yin's discourses which might give us a sense of his historical views. The material we do have concerning Wang Yin and his history is contained primarily in his *Chin shu* biography. The following passages describe something of his intellectual character and discuss how he came to privately compile a history of the Chin.

Yin had maintained himself with Juist simplicity, and did not interact with those of power and influence. Possessed of broad learning and being widely read, he took up his father's previous undertakings, [and consequently] was well versed in the past affairs of the Western Capital. . . .

Wang Yin had gained merit from his participation in the suppression of [the rebellion of] Wang Tun

³²*Chin shu* 82.2142/6-7; *Shih t'ung t'ung-shih* 12.349-50.

[324], and was granted the noble title of Marquis of P'ing-ling village. At that time, the Gentleman Compiler, Yü Yü, was privately compiling a *Chin shu* (History of the Chin), yet he had been born and raised in the southeast and did not know about affairs at the central court. Numerous times he had inquired about these matters from Yin, and also availed himself of what Yin had written and plagiarized from it, so that his knowledge gradually broadened. Following this, he came to detest Yin, which was evident in his speech and countenance. Yü was himself a member of a prominent family, and had close ties with the powerful and eminent. He joined with them to form a clique, and condemned Yin, so that the latter was eventually removed from office due to slander. Dismissed from officialdom, he returned home.

As he was poor and without materials to use, his work could not be completed. He then joined [the entourage of] the General Who Campaigns in the West, Yü Liang, in Wu-ch'ang. Liang provided him with paper and brushes, and the work was then able to be completed. He then went to the capital and submitted it to the throne.³³

The image conveyed by these passages is that Wang Yin was devoted to learning and was apparently determined to carry on his father's undertaking, either out of filial devotion or intellectual interest.³⁴ What is clear is that

³³*Chin shu* 82.2142, 2143, "Biography of Wang Yin."

³⁴Whatever Yin's motivation, the continuation of the historical compilation begun by his father constitutes another of many examples of father-son continuity in history writing so prevalent in the Chinese tradition. The most famous examples of this tradition are of course Ssu-ma T'an and Ssu-ma Ch'ien, and Pan Piao and Pan Ku. As we shall

Wang Yin's historical endeavors were carried out over a number of years and, if the anecdote concerning Yü Yü may be believed, persisted despite the hardships visited upon him by an influential and jealous rival. After being dismissed from his official position at court however, Wang Yin found patronage under the powerful statesman Yü Liang (289-340) who served as a provincial military commander based in Wu-ch'ang commandery (about 320 miles up the Yangtze River from Chien-k'ang) from 334 until his death in 340. Liang, who had been Superintendent of the Imperial Archives during the reign of Emperor Ming (reg. 323-326), and had succeeded Wang Tao as Superintendent of the Palace Writers during 326-328, would seem a sympathetic sponsor of historiographical activity; although his sponsorship of Wang Yin may very well have been motivated by the intense factional politics of the time.³⁵ Whatever the details of the connection between Wang Yin and Yü Liang, the circumstances afforded by Liang's patronage allowed Wang Yin the time and facilities to finish his Chin history as a private individual and submit it to

see, the southern dynasties and early T'ang witnessed several other such cases.

³⁵Yü Liang was a prominent member of one of the great families of the early Eastern Chin period and was intimately involved with the faction-ridden politics of the 320s and 330s. Liang is the subject of numerous anecdotes in the *Shih-shuo hsün-yü* (see the references in Mather, *Tales*, p. 608), and has a biography in *Chin shu* 75.1915-24.

the throne in the year 340.³⁶

The work which Wang Yin compiled was in fact quite long. The *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" informs us that this history was originally 93 *chüan* in length,³⁷ placing it on a par with Pan Ku's 100 *chüan Han shu* (History of the Han), and Ssu-ma Piao's 80 *chüan Hsü Han shu* (Continued History of the Han). The format of the work was "annals and biographies," and it also contained a number of chapters devoted to monographs which Yin labelled *chi*, or "records."³⁸ From the fragments which remain of his work, it is clear that its coverage spanned the entire Western Chin period beginning with the reign of Emperor Hsüan (Ssu-ma I) and continued down through the reign of Emperor Min.

Wang Yin's *Chin shu* thus constituted a second comprehensive treatment of the Western Chin period and stood as a sizable companion to Kan Pao's *Chin chi*. The imposing scope of Yin's work would seem to have made it a likely candidate for service as the standard treatment of the

³⁶The only place where this date is given is in *Shih-t'ung t'ung-shih* 12.350.

³⁷*Sui shu* 33.958. *Shih t'ung t'ung shih* 12.350 and *Chiu T'ang shu* 46.1989 each give 89 *chüan*.

³⁸Extant portions of these "records" may be found in a collection of fragments of Wang Yin's *Chin shu* compiled by the Ch'ing scholar T'ang Ch'iu (1804-1881). These fragments, along with citations of their sources are contained in pp. 193-241 of T'ang Ch'iu's *Chiu-chia chiu Chin shu chi-pen* (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1937). More about these fragment collections is given in Appendix D at the end of this dissertation.

period, and in fact later encyclopedias quoted extensively from it, giving the impression that it was indeed an important source of information about the Western Chin. Later historians however did not offer a favorable review of Wang Yin's talents as an historian. The final passage in his *Chin shu* biography makes the following comments concerning his abilities:

Although Yin was fond of writing, his composition and diction were undeveloped and crude, confused and without order. Those portions of his work in which some order may be seen, are ones which were written by his father. Those portions in which the composition and structure are chaotic and confused, and in which the meaning cannot be understood, were written by Yin.³⁹

The second comprehensive Chin history appears to have been received as a work of uneven value, and therefore did not supercede Kan Pao's official account. However, if the large number of quotations preserved in later sources serves as an indication of acceptance, Wang Yin's *Chin shu* clearly found an interested readership among subsequent scholars, thus establishing it as an influential alternative to the orthodox view of Kan Pao's *Chin chi*.

Two other scholars from the early fourth century, Yü Yü and Chu Feng, also made contributions to the writing of Chin

³⁹*Chin shu* 82.2143/7-8. Liu Chih-chi echoes this evaluation of Wang Yin's work with very similar wording in his *Shih t'ung*. See *Shih t'ung t'ung-shih* 12.350.

history. As was the case with all of these historians, Yü Yü had served as a Gentleman Compiler, and he seems to have held that post throughout much of the 320s. In addition to serving as a subordinate officer on the staffs of various prominent men of his time, he also held the post (sometime around 325) of Assistant in the Imperial Archives. An active member in court and provincial affairs, Yü Yü appears to have had a long government career and died at home at an advanced age, perhaps around the year 330.⁴⁰

Yü's *Chin shu* biography does not discuss his work on Chin history. As is traditional, the account focuses on his official career, and includes four samples of his official writings (memorials and the like); it is only at the end of his biography that we learn of his literary activities. After pointing out his preference for classics and histories (as opposed to other subjects of study) his biography concludes by listing his three major works, which include a *Chin shu* in 40-plus *chüan*.⁴¹ The *Chin shu* says nothing else about Yü Yü's Chin history except for the damning anecdote in Wang Yin's biography, thus leaving the impression that Yü Yü was something of an unprincipled hack. Other evidence in Yü's biography and elsewhere in the *Chin*

⁴⁰Yü Yü's biography is in *Chin shu* 82.2143-47.

⁴¹The two other works were also histories: *Kuei-chi tien-lu* (Canonical Record of Kuei-chi) in 20 *p'ien*, and *Chu Yü chuan* (Accounts of Various [members of the] Yü [family]) in 12 *p'ien*. These works are no longer extant.

shu however indicates that he was in fact devoted to Confucian principles, was a sought-after official, and produced numerous worthwhile literary compositions.

What we know of his *Chin shu* itself comes from an entry in the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" which states that the Sui imperial library possessed a *Chin shu* written by Yü Yü in 26 *chüan* (which was originally 44 *chüan*), and covered the period down through the reign of Emperor Ming (reg. 323-326).⁴² As is the case with the other Chin histories being discussed here, Yü's history, parts of which were already lost in Sui times, exists today only in fragments preserved in various sources from the T'ang and pre-T'ang period. Given the title, and what can be gleaned from the fragments, we know that the work was of the annals and biographies format, but there is no evidence that Yü compiled any tables or monographs. From a passage preserved in the tenth century *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, we know that Yü's work covered "the reign" of Emperor Hsüan, and thus conformed to the temporal standards established by his predecessors and colleagues.

The quality of Yü's work may be judged from a comment made by Liu Chih-chi in which he ranks Yü among the top historians of his era. Liu has this to say about the prominent historians of the Southern Dynasties period:

Wang Yin, Yü Yü, Kan Pao and Sun Sheng of the Eastern

⁴²*Sui shu* 33.955.

Chin . . . these are all especially fine historiographers and excellent choices among compilers.⁴³

Elsewhere in the *Chin shu*, we also find Yü Yü being used as a standard of comparison with another historian. In the biography of the Chin historian Hsieh Ch'en, it states that "his talent and learning were above those of Yü Yü."⁴⁴ It appears that such a comparison was not meant to demean Yü, but rather to praise Hsieh Ch'en. In the face of this kind of evidence, it appears that Yü Yü was not viewed as a petty plagiarizer, but rather had achieved some respect as an historian. The fact that his history did not reach the Sui imperial library intact, and that his work did not receive anything close to the attention which Kan Pao and Wang Yin's had received by later commentators and compilers, leads us to believe that his work did not challenge the standing of the already extant Chin histories.

Another member of the early group of Chin Gentleman Compilers, Chu Feng, also authored a *Chin shu*. Our knowledge of Chu Feng's career is confined to the previously mentioned comment concerning his recommendation to the office of Assistant Gentleman Compiler by Hua T'an in 318. Information on his Chin history comes only from the *Sui shu*

⁴³*Shih t'ung t'ung shih* 11.311. This passage is taken from Liu Chih-chi's general discussion historiographers (*shih-kuan*).

⁴⁴*Chin shu* 82.2152/6. More about Hsieh Ch'en will be discussed below.

bibliographical entry which states that the Sui archives possessed a *Chin shu* in 10 *chüan* (originally 14 *chüan*), which had not been completed, and covered [the Western Chin and] the years down through the reign of Emperor Yüan (reg. 318-323). It lists as the compiler "the Chin Gentleman of the Palace Writers, Chu Feng."⁴⁵ From this last piece of information we may assume that, following his work at the imperial archives, Chu Feng went on to serve in the bureau of the Palace Writers, and at some time during his career privately compiled a Chin history similar to that of Yü Yü.

Chu Feng's impact as an historian appears to have been less conspicuous than that of Yü Yü. Nothing of his work is mentioned in the *Chin shu* or in Liu Chih-chi's *Shih-t'ung*, and therefore no judgement of his ability comes down to us. All we have to go on is the fact that his history was cited in some commentaries and encyclopedias of the T'ang and pre-T'ang period, which serves as an indication that his work did attain some degree of readership.

Following upon Chu Feng, we know of two other Chin histories which were written during this early period. The first of these was written by a learned official named Hsieh Ch'en (ca. 294-ca. 345) who was active at the Chin court during the 340s, and at some point during that time was appointed to the office of Gentleman Compiler in recognition of his talent as an historian. Being versed in the classics

⁴⁵*Sui shu* 33.955.

and histories, Ch'en wrote commentaries to the *Mao Shih* (Mao Version of the *Odes*), the *Shang shu* (Hallowed Documents) and to Pan Ku's *Han shu*; and he also compiled a *Hou Han shu* in 100 *chüan*.⁴⁶ For us, Ch'en's important work was in compiling a *Chin shu* in 30-plus *chüan*, which may have been done during his tenure as a Gentleman Compiler. Unfortunately, no part of his *Chin shu* survives, and no mention of it is made in any source other than our present *Chin shu*.

Given the absence of information on Ch'en's work, we cannot speculate on its content or quality other than to say that, with a length of 30-plus *chüan*, it is probable that it covered the Western Chin period, and perhaps the early decades of the Eastern Chin, as was the case with Yü Yü and Chu Feng. It seems likely that a man of such scholarly accomplishments, who had been appointed to office because of his historical work, would have made a sound contribution to the historical record of the Chin dynasty. The absence of his work among later commentators and critics, and from the Sui imperial archives, however raises questions about the circulation of this work and the acceptance with which it was met.

Finally, we come to the work of an official named Ts'ao Chia-chih. Little is known about this man except that he

⁴⁶Information on these works is given in Ch'en's biography in *Chin shu* 82.2152, and in *Sui shu* 32.913, 916, 917, and 33.954.

wrote a *Chin chi* in ten *chüan* and served sometime during the Eastern Chin as a Consultant (*tzu-i*) to a General of the Van whose name has not come down to us.⁴⁷ Chia-chih is mentioned nowhere in the *Chin shu* and thus survives only as the author of the work attributed to him, and of which we have a dozen fragments. From these fragments we can see that his work covered the Western Chin period only, and that it must have been of sufficient value to be included in the commentaries to such works as the *Wen hsüan* and *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*.

In sum, we see that there was a great deal of attention devoted to the compilation of Chin histories during the early decades of the fourth century. While all of the historians at one time served as Gentlemen Compilers, only one of the six works known to us was compiled as a result of direct official initiative, the rest having been private undertakings. And of these works Kan Pao's *Chin chi* and Wang Yin's *Chin shu* stood as the greatest products of the period.

The most significant aspect of the early fourth century histories is that they maintained, and in so doing codified, the treatment of Ssu-ma I as the historical founder of the dynasty; and thus all accounts of the early Chin would treat his career and accomplishments as essential to the beginning

⁴⁷This information comes from an entry in *Sui shu* 33.958.

of the story of the rise of the Chin. As was mentioned in the first part of this chapter, the solidification of Ssu-ma I's role as dynastic founder also benefitted Ssu-ma Jui and his imperial successors of the Eastern Chin line by linking them directly with Ssu-ma I and his heirs through the lineage of Ssu-ma Chao. The historical treatment of Ssu-ma I as the Chin dynastic founder rather than a Wei statesman was by no means innovative, since it followed the form established by state ritual and dynastic practice, but numerous histories written in the early decades of the Eastern Chin period did secure this format and would serve as the historiographical standard for centuries to come.

Chin Chroniclers of the Late Fourth Century

The writing of Chin history which took place after the move south of the Yangtze River in the second decade of the fourth century was greatly influenced by the archival and compilation work which occurred at the newly established capital of Chien-k'ang. As we have seen, most of the authors of Chin histories from this period began their historiographical work as Gentleman Compilers in the capital, and then went on to compile their own private histories at a later point in their careers. Furthermore, the court itself had called for an official history to be written. It may be said, therefore, that Chin history writing of the early fourth century was to some extent

court-influenced, at least in the circumstances of its development. By contrast, one of the distinguishing factors of Chin history writing of the late fourth century was that it arose amidst a provincial setting. The historians who wrote during this later period spent much of their careers, not as Gentleman Compilers at the imperial court, but rather as functionaries on the staffs of officials serving in the provinces. Given this situation, Chin historians of the late fourth century may be seen as having functioned in a more provincially-oriented environment.

This shift in historiographical activity from court to province paralleled an overall trend in the politics of the time which witnessed the rise of provincial power holders who also served as the chief molders of the political scene at court. This change in the makeup of the Eastern Chin balance of power took place in the mid 340s, and coincided with the passing away of a number of old-guard court officials.⁴⁸

These changes initially centered around a dispute over who would be the successor to Emperor Ch'eng (reg. 326-342). The absence of a single dominant voice at court gave rise to

⁴⁸Dennis Grafflin outlines the nature of this change as follows, "The death of this first generation leadership (Wang Tao, Ch'ih Chien, Yü Liang), followed two years later [342] by the demise of Ch'eng Ti, triggered a series of far-reaching changes." See his "Social Order in the Early Southern Dynasties: The Formation of the Eastern Chin," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1980, p. 176.

a debate over two possible successors: Emperor Ch'eng's young son, Ssu-ma P'i (just 2 *sui* at the time), and Ch'eng's younger brother, Ssu-ma Yüeh (21 *sui*). Ch'eng's son was the choice favored by tradition, and was championed by a group of court officials led by Ho Ch'ung (262-346), who was also serving as head of the Northern Provincial Command (*pei-fu*). An argument which favored the older Ssu-ma Yüeh as a choice was advocated by a group headed by Yü Ping (296-344), who was in charge of the Western Provincial Command (*hsi-fu*). The Yü faction prevailed in the choice of Emperor Ch'eng's successor, and Ssu-ma Yüeh was enthroned as the fourth emperor of the restored Chin house in the summer of 342.

Despite the fact that there was a new, mature emperor on the throne, he did not actually rule, and the split along factional and provincial lines persisted. As it states in a line from the *Chin shu* annals pertaining to the early days of Ssu-ma Yüeh's reign,

At that time, His Majesty remained in his 'mourning hut' and did not speak. He entrusted the government to Yü Ping and Ho Ch'ung.⁴⁹

A little more than a year later, on 6 November 343, the status of these two men was raised further when Yü Ping was made Military Governor of the six provinces of Ching, Chiang, Ssu, Yung, I and Liang, as well as Governor of Chiang province; and Ho Ch'ung was made Superintendent of

⁴⁹This line is taken from *Chin shu* 7.184, under the date which corresponds to 1 August 342.

the Palace Writers, Military Governor of Yang and Yü provinces, Governor of Yang province, and Intendant of the Affairs of the Master Writers. In tandem with these high offices they were also recognized as de facto regents for the new emperor.⁵⁰

While it was clear that these two officials held supreme power at court and in the provinces of the Eastern Chin state, a third official, named Huan Wen (312-373), was also given provincial authority at this time. Elevated to the post of Military Governor of Hsü and Yen provinces, and Governor of Hsü province, Huan Wen was a relative newcomer to the upper echelon of Chin officialdom, but circumstances would soon put him in a position to become one of the most powerful men in the provincial, and subsequently, the court administration.

The son of a commandery Grand Administrator, Huan Wen rose through the ranks to become Chief Minister of Lang-yeh kingdom, as well as General Who Supports the State, sometime during the reign of Emperor Ch'eng (reg. 326-342). Huan Wen's fortunes were aided by his friendship with a member of the influential Yü family, Yü I (305-345), who had recommended Wen for an official position at Emperor Ch'eng's court, and may have been influential in Wen's selection as

⁵⁰*Chin shu* 7.186.

the husband of a Ssu-ma princess.⁵¹ It seems likely that his inclusion in the provincial power allotment of 343 was orchestrated by the Yü faction in a desire to sponsor a newcomer who would support their interests in the face of Ho Ch'eng's influence.

In the year 344 further changes touched the Chin court when the recently enthroned emperor became ill and died. The short lived Emperor K'ang (reg. 342-344) was succeeded by his son, Ssu-ma Tan (who was just 2 *sui* at the time), and a new regency was established under the new Empress Dowager, Ch'u Suan-tzu (324-384). Further changes at court arose when Yü Ping died on 29 December, followed seven months later by the death of his younger brother, Yü I, on 16 August 345.

The establishment of an infant on the throne, the creation of a regency under the empress dowager and the passing of the two leading members of the Yü faction certainly shook the balance of power at court and also spawned a realignment of power in the provinces. With the death of Yü I, the key position of the Western Provincial Command (centered in Ching province) became vacant. Yü I had wanted one of his sons to inherit the governorship of Ching province, but the still-present voice of Ho Ch'ung at court forced a compromise candidate to be chosen for the

⁵¹Huan Wen's early career is outlined in the early lines of his biography which may be found in *Chin shu* 98.2568-2580.

position.⁵² Accordingly, in October of 345, Huan Wen was chosen for that role and elevated to the position of General Who Pacifies the West, Military Governor (Holding Credentials) of the Six Provinces of Ching, Ssu, Yung, I, Liang, and Ning, Acting Colonel Protecting the Southern Barbarians, and Governor of Ching province.⁵³ Huan Wen was now the major power holder in the Western Provincial Command of the Chin state, and had thus been placed in a position to exercise considerable influence on the political fate of his time. As the history of the subsequent three decades bears out, Huan Wen was ambitious and capable enough to wield that influence to great effect.

Huan Wen's elevation to provincial power in October of 345 was followed some four months later (21 February 346) by the death of Ho Ch'ung. With Ho Ch'ung's death, the Northern Provincial Command passed to the leadership of a man named Yin Hao (306-356), who would eventually emerge as an opponent of Huan Wen during the 350s. Added to this provincial arrangement was the establishment of two more officials as regents for the young emperor (posthumously known as Emperor Mu, reg. 344-361). These officials, who served with the blessing of the empress dowager, were Ssu-ma Yü (320-372), who was a younger brother of the Eastern Chin

⁵²A discussion of this debate may be found in Ho Ch'ung's biography. See *Chin shu* 77.2030/4-7.

⁵³*Chin shu* 8.192, 98.2569.

founder, Ssu-ma Jui; and Ts'ai Mo (281-356), who was an elder partisan of the Yü faction. With the array of political power holders which emerged in the mid-340s, a new era in the political history of the Eastern Chin came about in which the center of power was not clearly defined, and the imperial court no longer served as the primary arena of political and intellectual activity.

The decentralization of political power at mid-century, and the rise of provincially-based, nationally-potent officials served to recast the landscape of political and scholastic patronage in the Chin state. In the case of Chin history writing during this period, it is possible to observe that the three historians about whom we know something were linked, not primarily to the court, but to political power holders based in Ching province. As we shall see, Sun Sheng (?302-?373), Teng Ts'an (fl. 377), and Hsi Tso-ch'ih (ca. 320-384) each served significant portions of their official careers on provincial staffs, and in particular served one or more Governors of Ching province. Furthermore, in the course of their service, the two most important of these historians, Sun Sheng and Hsi Tso-ch'ih, were directly involved with the most powerful statesman of the time, Huan Wen.

The first historian of this group, Sun Sheng, serves as an outstanding example of the provincial ties which characterized the careers of many of the literary men of the

mid to late fourth century. Sheng served on the staffs of four of the great provincial leaders of his day, T'ao K'an, Yü Liang, Yü I and Huan Wen; and himself became Grand Administrator of Ch'ang-sha commandery sometime in the 350s.⁵⁴ Of his many official posts, however, Sun Sheng's most extensive official involvement was as an advisor on the staff of Huan Wen.

In 345, Sheng joined Huan Wen's provincial staff in Ching province as a Military Advisor (*ts'an-chün*), and served with him for the next ten years. In the course of his service Sheng participated in two successful military campaigns (in 347 and 354) and was himself ennobled for his contributions on behalf of the state.⁵⁵ Following the second campaign, Sheng was appointed (possibly in 356) to the post of Grand Administrator of Ch'ang-sha commandery (in eastern Ching province) and subsequently served as Superintendent of the Imperial Archives in Chien-k'ang. Without specifying the date, his *Chin shu* biography states that Sheng died at the age of seventy-two *sui*.

As was the case with all of the historians in this study, we are told that Sun Sheng was well read and devoted to learning. He was a writer of ability and reputation who

⁵⁴Sun Sheng's career is outlined in his biography in *Chin shu* 82.2147-49.

⁵⁵As Governor of Ching province and General Who Campaigns in the West, Huan Wen undertook military campaigns to the west in 347, and to the north in 354.

composed numerous works of poetry, *fu*, and various discourses; and he was also reputed to be one of the ablest conversationalists of his day. His greatest intellectual accomplishments however were his two historical works, *Wei-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (Chronicle of the House of Wei), and *Chin yang-ch'iu* (Chronicle of the Chin). Both of these histories were well received in their day, but it is Sheng's Chin history which is of particular interest to us here.

The *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" notes that Sheng's *Chin yang-ch'iu* was thirty-two *chüan* in length and covered the period down through the reign of Emperor Ai, which lasted from 361-365. From the designation *yang-ch'iu*, which is a variant of *ch'un-ch'iu* (employed to avoid the taboo on the name of a Chin empress), we know that the work was compiled in chronicle format; and from extant fragments, we know that it covered both the Western and Eastern Chin periods down through Sun Sheng's own lifetime. Finally, Sheng's *Chin shu* biography comments favorably, yet somewhat stereotypically, on his work by stating that, "The diction of the *Chin yang-ch'iu* was straightforward and its reasoning sound. All praised it as a good history."⁵⁶ This comment is augmented by the previously quoted assessment made by Liu Chih-chi in which he ranked Sun Sheng among the finest historians of the Eastern Chin period.⁵⁷

⁵⁶*Chin shu* 82.2148/10-11.

⁵⁷See p. 118 above, and *Shih t'ung t'ung-shih* 11.311.

The existing records do not comment on precisely when Sun Sheng wrote his history of the Chin dynasty, but there is some evidence indicating that the compilation of his *Chin yang-ch'iu* was a prolonged endeavor which lasted throughout much of his career. While the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" states that Sheng's work covered the period down through the reign of Emperor Ai (361-365), it is possible to show that the *Chin yang-ch'iu* covered events beyond that. An anecdote in Sheng's *Chin shu* biography mentions that Huan Wen read Sheng's history and became angry when he came across a less than favorable account Sheng had presented of his defeat at Fang-t'ou, a battle which occurred in the year 369.⁵⁸ Further evidence that Sheng's coverage reached at least to 369 is provided by a passage from the *Chin yang-ch'iu* preserved in Liu Chün's (458-521) commentary to an anecdote in *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* 11/6, which discusses Huan Wen's preparations for the northern campaign of 369.⁵⁹ There are in fact a number of problems surrounding the exact circumstances of the compilation of the *Chin yang-ch'iu*,⁶⁰

⁵⁸This anecdote appears in *Chin shu* 82.2148/11-12. Information on Huan Wen's defeat against the forces of Mujung Wei's (r. 360-370) state of Former Yen may be found in *Chin shu* 8.212, 98.2576, and 111.2853. Wen's campaign to the north took place in the summer and fall of 369.

⁵⁹See Yang Yung ed., *Shih-shuo hsin-yü chiao-chien* (Hong Kong, 1969), p. 446; and Mather, *Tales*, p. 295.

⁶⁰Professor Jao Tsung-i has published a brief study of some of the questions surrounding the compilation and transmission of the *Chin yang-ch'iu*. He focuses particular attention on the fact that two texts of that work were

but for our purposes here it is sufficient to note that the work was finished toward the very end of Sheng's long life, and may have coincided with his tenure as Superintendent of the Imperial Archives.

From this evidence alone, we may assume that Sheng simply compiled his history of the Chin as a career-end activity undertaken in tandem with his duties as the state's chief archivist; but evidence that Sheng began work on his history early in his career exists in another anecdote from the *Shih-shuo hsün-yü*. In this case we see Sun Sheng being asked about his historical endeavors by an official named Ch'u P'ou (303-349). The first part of the anecdote runs as follows:

Ch'u P'ou once asked Sun Sheng, "When will your history of the dynasty⁶¹ be completed?"

Sun replied, "It should have been finished long ago, but in public life I've no leisure, so it's dragged on until now."⁶²

produced, one of which was transmitted to the northeastern state of Yen. See his "Tun-huang yü T'u-lu-p'an hsieh-pen Sun Sheng *Chin ch'un-ch'iu* chi ch'i 'ch'uan chih wai-kuo' k'ao" (A Study of the Tun-huang and Turpan texts of Sun Sheng's *Chronicle of the Chin*, and its Transmission Outside China), *Han-hsüeh yen-chiu* 4.2 (1986):1-5.

⁶¹The Chinese text reads *kuo-shih*, which I usually render as "state history": a term used to refer to the state or dynastic house contemporary with the speaker. The state or dynasty being referred to in this passage therefore is the Chin. Hence the reference here must be to Sheng's *Chin yang-ch'iu* rather than to his *Wei-shih ch'un-ch'iu*.

⁶²Mather, *Tales*, p. 411; Yang Yung, *Shih-shuo hsün-yü chiao-chien*, p. 600.

If this anecdote can be believed, we may conclude that Sun Sheng began work on his history as early as the late 340s, and that he may have worked on it sporadically over a period of more than two decades. That being the case, he may have only found the "leisure" to finish this long undertaking at the end of his career, perhaps as the Superintendent of the Imperial Archives. Whatever the specifics were, Sun Sheng clearly devoted much of his own time and attention to the compilation of the *Chin yang-ch'iu*. The result of his labors therefore was a privately initiated and privately completed history of the Chin dynasty.

One important question which must now be considered is that of precisely what coverage did Sheng's history offer of the early Chin period, and in what manner was Ssu-ma I portrayed in this work. In the absence of any general discourse in which Sun Sheng may have discussed these matters, we must turn to the extant fragments of the *Chin yang-ch'iu* for clarification of these issues.

The collection of fragments of the *Chin yang-ch'iu* made by the Ch'ing scholar T'ang Ch'iu includes more than two dozen separate pieces which he has arranged under the headings of the three Chin founders: Emperor Hsüan, Emperor Ching and Emperor Wen. The existence of these pieces makes it clear that Sheng's history covered the period prior to Ssu-ma Yen's accession to the imperial throne in early 266, and thus included events of the "reigns" of the Three

Ancestors as an important part of the story of early Chin rule. As is the case with the other pre-T'ang Chin historians in this study, an understanding of Sun Sheng's historical style and views would require a careful examination of the extant fragments--a task which lies beyond the scope of this dissertation. A quick look at the fragments however does reveal that Sheng treated Ssu-ma I with due dynastic allegiance by referring to him with the designations "Hsüan-wang" (King Hsüan) and "Kao-tsu" (Eminent Ancestor), thus carrying on the official form and tone of his predecessors and fellow Chin officials.

We can say with confidence that Sun Sheng's *Chin yang-ch'iu* was completed sometime in or shortly after the year 370, thereby becoming the first work of Chin history to be compiled in about twenty-five years. With its coverage of the entire Western Chin, and its treatment of more than fifty years of the Eastern Chin period, the *Chin yang-ch'iu* certainly constituted the most comprehensive history of the Chin to date. This, combined with the apparently high quality of its writing and content, made it one of the crowning achievements of Eastern Chin history writing.

Shortly after the time of Sun Sheng, a minor historian named Teng Ts'an made his own contribution to the record of the Eastern Chin dynasty by compiling a *Chin chi* (Annals of the Chin) in ten *chüan*. Despite the generous number of *chüan*, which might suggest that this work covered an

extensive span of Chin history, the fact is that it only treated the period of the first two Eastern Chin emperors, Yüan and Ming, whose combined reigns covered the years 318-326.⁶³ The preserved fragments of Ts'an's history do show, however, that his coverage of Emperor Yüan extended back at least to the year 303, and that the author appears to have devoted considerable attention to the rise and reign of that ruler.⁶⁴

As for the life and career of Teng Ts'an, only a few facts are known. His family came from Ch'ang-sha commandery and his father served as Grand Administrator in two different posts, and rose to the office of Grand Minister of Agriculture.⁶⁵ As the son of a prominent official Ts'an certainly received a good education, and matured to become a sought-after candidate for local office on more than one occasion. Although he was initially disinclined toward taking up office, he did accept a courteous summons to serve as Outrider on the staff of the Governor of Ching province,

⁶³Teng Ts'an's *Chin shu* biography states simply that he compiled a *Yüan Ming chi* (Annals of [Emperors] Yüan and Ming) in ten *p'ien*. See *Chin shu* 82.2151. The *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" states that there was a *Chin chi* (Annals of the Chin) in eleven *chüan*, which covered the period through the reign of Emperor Ming, and that it was compiled by the Ching province Mounted Escort (*pieh-chia*) Teng Ts'an of the Chin. See *Sui shu* 33.958.

⁶⁴T'ang Ch'iu's *Chin chi chi-pen*, pp. 43-53, contains about fifty fragments from Ts'an's work pertaining to the reign of Emperor Yüan, whereas there are only about eleven pertaining to Emperor Ming.

⁶⁵Teng Ch'ien's biography is in *Chin shu* 70.1866.

Huan Ch'ung (328-384). Since Huan Ch'ung, a younger brother of Huan Wen, served as Governor of Ching province from 377 to 384, we may place Ts'an's period of official activity at some point during that time, most likely from 377 on. It is not known for how long he served on the Ching provincial staff, or what offices, if any, he may have held after that. The only other pertinent fact that we have about him is that sometime during his life he made a commentary to the *Lao-tzu*. Any subsequent activities, including the date of his death, are unknown.

While Teng Ts'an's history of the early years of the Eastern Chin does not figure into our study of the historical record pertaining to Ssu-ma I and the Western Chin, his work and career contribute to our picture of the historical activity which took place in Ching province during the third quarter of the fourth century. Other prominent historians and writers such as Yüan Hung (328-376), who compiled a *Hou Han chi* (Annals of the Later Han) in thirty *chüan*, and Fu T'ao (ca. 317-396), who, as a Gentleman Compiler, worked on the state history (*kuo-shih*) in the archives at Chien-k'ang, also served on the staff of Huan Wen and other governors of Ching province.⁶⁶ Although

⁶⁶Yüan Hung and Fu T'ao both have biographies in *Chin shu* 92, "The Literary Park." Yüan Hung's *Hou Han chi* is still extant, and his tetrasyllabic praise songs "Encomia from the Preface on Famous Courtiers of the Three States" are preserved in *Wen hsüan* 47.23a-35a, and in his *Chin shu* biography. Fu T'ao, who served on Huan Wen's staff during his northern campaign against the state of Former Yen in

compilation work was still being carried out at the capital, there is significant evidence which indicates that much of the historical scholarship of the time was undertaken by men who were attracted to service in the provinces, and in Ching province in particular.

The third of our late Eastern Chin historians, Hsi Tso-ch'ih, certainly fits into this pattern of provincial service. Born into a prominent family from Hsiang-yang commandery (in northern Ching province), he began his career as an Attendant (*ts'ung-shih*) on Huan Wen's provincial staff, and achieved a good reputation as an official. Later in his career however, probably in the late 360s, Tso-ch'ih angered Huan Wen and was demoted and then sent to serve as Grand Administrator of Heng-yang commandery (south of Ch'ang-sha commandery in Ching province). Following what may have been a three year stint in Heng-yang, he returned to his home in Hsiang-yang and, when that area fell to the forces of Fu Chien's (338-385) Former Ch'in state in 379, he was taken prisoner. However, due to his reputation as an able scholar, he was treated well in Fu Chien's capital at Ch'ang-an, but owing to a foot ailment which he had developed during his time in Heng-yang, Fu Chien detained him no longer and allowed him to return to Hsiang-yang,

369, wrote an essay on "Rectifying the Huai[-nan Region]" which is preserved in his *Chin shu* biography. T'ao subsequently served on the staff of Huan Huo (320-377) sometime during his tenure as Governor of Ching province 365-377.

where he died in 384.⁶⁷

Hsi Tso-ch'ih seems to have spent his entire career in Ching province, and was intimately involved with Huan Wen's administration throughout the latter's rise to dominant power in the 360s and early 370s. Tso-ch'ih's historical labors may or may not have been inaugurated early in his career, as had been the case with Sun Sheng, but the available records state that it was during his time in Hengyang that he wrote his great history, the *Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu* (Chronicle of the Han and Chin) in fifty-four *chüan*. This would place the date of the compilation of this history sometime around the year 371, just prior to Huan Wen's death, and at the same time as Sun Sheng's *Chin yang-ch'iu*.

Tso-ch'ih's history was written essentially during a period of exile from his duties with Huan Wen, and may in some way have been influenced by this circumstance. In fact, his *Chin shu* biography states that his motives for compiling the work stemmed largely from a desire to thwart Huan Wen's covetous intentions toward the Chin throne. Such motives are indeed difficult to confirm, especially since the history is no longer available to us for consultation, and we have no other statements by the author which overtly

⁶⁷Biographical information on Hsi Tso-ch'ih is taken from *Shih-shuo hsün-yü* 4/80, the commentary to that passage, and from his biography in *Chin shu* 82.2152-58. See also the recently published study of Hsi Tso-ch'ih by Liu Ching-fu in Chung-kuo Wei Chin nan-pei-ch'ao shih-hsüeh-hui pien, *Wei Chin nan-pei-ch'ao shih lun-wen chi* (Chi-nan: Ch'i-Lu shu-she, 1991), pp. 322-338.

demonstrate an opposition to Huan Wen's position of power. It is possible however to discuss other aspects of Hsi Tso-ch'ih's history which pertain to the writing of Chin history in the 370s.

One important point to be made is that the *Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu* was unique among the many pre-T'ang Chin histories in both its coverage and its underlying historical conception. First of all, this work encompassed a time span of nearly three hundred years, as it began with the reign of the Later Han Emperor Kuang-wu (reg. 25-57) and concluded with the reign of the Western Chin Emperor Min (reg. 313-318). Such extensive coverage had not been undertaken since Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih-chi*, and thus it would seem that Hsi Tso-ch'ih must have begun his work early in his career for him to have amassed such a large and diverse amount of information. The result of his labors, regardless of how long they persisted, was a work of impressive length and originality.

A second important aspect of the *Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu* is Hsi Tso-ch'ih's unique historical viewpoint, which is indicated in the title, and reflected in his treatment of events pertaining to the early Western Chin period. The "Han Chin" of the title of course pertains to the designations of the two ruling houses of Han and Chin; in this case the Later Han and the Western Chin. With the absence of their names in the title, one is prompted to ask:

What kind of treatment did this work give to the Wei, Shu and Wu ruling houses? Happily, this question is addressed in Hsi Tso-ch'ih's *Chin shu* biography as follows:

When he came to the period of the Three States, Shu, due to the fact that it was ruled by the [Han] imperial house, was treated as legitimate (*cheng*). Although Wu of Wei had received the Han abdication and had in turn abdicated to the Chin, its [succession] was still regarded as a usurpation (*ts'uan-ni*). At the time of Emperor Wen's conquest of Shu (263), Han was considered to have perished and the Chin to have begun.⁶⁸

According to this assessment of the *Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu* made by the T'ang compilers of the *Chin shu*, Hsi Tso-ch'ih's historical view pronounced that there were only two legitimate ruling houses (the Han and the Chin) which held sway during the long period covered by his work. Shu was simply a continuation of the Han, while the houses of Wei and Wu bore no legitimate claim to sovereignty in the Chinese empire. Furthermore, according to this view, the origins of the Chin came with the military conquest of Shu at the end of 263, rather than with the abdication of the Wei in early 266. Such views indeed contradicted the standard picture of the Han-Wei-Chin succession codified by Ch'en Shou in his *San-kuo chih* (Record of the Three States), and by most of the subsequent historians who treated that period.

⁶⁸*Chin shu* 82.2154/7-8.

Hsi Tso-ch'ih's actual views concerning the history of mid-third century China however are more complex than the scheme set forth by the T'ang *Chin shu* compilers above. Two important points bear further examination. First, did Hsi Tso-ch'ih really view Shu-Han as the legitimate continuation of the Later Han; and second, was late 263 taken to be the actual starting date of the Chin? Both of these questions address issues which touch upon the political role and historical treatment of the early Ssu-ma rulers.

In this case we are fortunate, in the absence of the *Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu*, to have an important discourse written by Hsi Tso-ch'ih shortly before his death in which he discussed his historical views on these and other questions. In this discourse, which is preserved in Tso-ch'ih's *Chin shu* biography, he addresses the question of whether or not a number of descendants of the Ts'ao Wei ruling house should be treated as nobility. His answer is that they should not, due to the fact that the Wei dynasty was not a legitimate ruling house, in contrast to the Chou, the Han and, of course, the Chin. In discussing his reasons why this was the case, he points out the qualifications a legitimate ruling house must possess. First, it must exercise sovereignty within the whole empire, not just a part of it; and second, it must be morally upright--a possessor of the Royal Way (*wang tao*). During the period covered by his history, these two basic characteristics were found only in

the ruling houses of the Han and Chin.

Hsi Tso-ch'ih's essay, which is often given the title "Discourse on Chin's Succession to the Han," makes the following comments pertaining to the fact that, after the end of the Han (in A.D. 220), there was in truth no ruling house in China. Here are two portions of this rather long discourse which discuss this issue:

In the past, the Han house lost the imperium, and the Nine Provinces became fragmented and divided. The Three States took advantage of this lapse, and for several generations established themselves as three legs of a tripod. Shield and spear were in daily use, and blood flowed for a hundred years. Although each state possessed stability in its own area, they were actually in a condition of turmoil. . . .

During the fifty or sixty years following the decline of the Han, the empire was like a seething cauldron. Wu and Wei violated the norms of obedience and waxed strong, while the men of Shu held to their rectitude (*cheng*) and became weak. The three houses were unable to form one, and the myriad families were neglected and without a sovereign.⁶⁹

At one point in his discussion of the Wei, Tso-ch'ih asks, How. . . could people who held temporary control over a few provinces, and exercised their might only within their borders, be promoted as rulers of the age?⁷⁰

According to Hsi Tso-ch'ih's historical point of view, the Han did indeed come to an end with the abdication of

⁶⁹*Chin shu* 82.2155/6-7 and 82.2157/5-6.

⁷⁰*Chin shu* 82.2156/3.

Emperor Hsien in 220. Furthermore, the state of Shu (nor any of the other two) was not considered sovereign since it ruled only a small part of the empire. The state of Shu did however hold a special place in Tso-ch'ih's historical view due to the fact that it was somehow ethically superior to the others. It is for this latter reason, rather than from any conviction of their legitimacy, that Hsi Tso-ch'ih chose to use the reign eras of the state of Shu to provide the chronological framework for his work, thus giving the impression that Hsi Tso-ch'ih sided with Shu instead of Wei in the legitimation issue. The fact was, he sided with neither.

The second point, that true rulers must be morally upright, not just militarily successful, is shown in this passage:

Now you may consider Wei to have possessed the virtue of successor kings, but their embodiment of the Way was insufficient. They possessed the achievement of tranquilizing disorder, but the Sun and Liu each established their own states and brought about the threefold array. It is because their embodiment of the Way was insufficient that they could not be regarded as having controlled the age. And if those years were not controlled by the Wei, then the Wei could never have been the masters of the empire. If the Royal Way was deficient among the Ts'ao, then the Ts'ao could not have been kings for even one day.⁷¹

⁷¹*Chin shu* 82.2155/15-2156/1.

In short, legitimate rule applies only to those who are worthy of it. If there is no ruling house which fulfills the necessary requirements then, in Tso-ch'ih's view, there is no ruling house. According to this line of thinking, the years following the Han were characterized by a condition of chaos in which "the myriad families were neglected and without a sovereign."

For the purposes of writing a chronicle however Hsi Tso-ch'ih had to assign his annual accounts to the reign eras of some ruling house. It is out of this necessity, and from the conviction that Shu was the morally superior of the three states, that he chose to adopt their reign eras to provide the chronological structure of the post-Han years of his work.

We may now move on to the question of how Hsi Tso-ch'ih may have treated the early Ssu-ma ancestors in his chronicle. As we have seen above, the Ssu-ma gained their political position from within the Wei state, and in the end ascended the throne upon receiving the Wei abdication in early 266. If, according to Hsi Tso-ch'ih, the Wei was not a legitimate ruler of the empire, then what basis did the Ssu-ma have for their own legitimacy? And what role, if any, did Ssu-ma I have in that basis? As we have learned from the T'ang compilers, the *Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu* inaugurated the Chin chronology following the fall of Shu in late 263/early 264. But as we have seen from Hsi Tso-

ch'ih's own discourse, he did not view that as a transfer of legitimate authority from one house to the other. In other words, Tso-ch'ih did not see the origins of Chin power as stemming from the assumption of a Shu-Han mandate. In his view there was no existing mandate to be assumed.

What then was the basis of Ssu-ma rule? For Hsi Tso-ch'ih, one important element was the accumulation of meritorious achievements which brought peace and stability to the empire. As he states in the following passage,

Those who did away with the great harm of the Three States, tranquilized the internecine struggles of the last years of the Han, lifted ignorance from the Nine Regions, and established flourishing achievements for a thousand years, were all men of the Ssu-ma clan.⁷²

Neither here or elsewhere in the discourse does Hsi Tso-ch'ih declare a particular event or deed as being the single determining factor of the Ssu-ma right to rule. Instead it was the general process of bringing peace to the empire (through the military campaigns of Ssu-ma I, Ssu-ma Shih and Ssu-ma Chao) during the 250s and 260s, and the final unification under Ssu-ma Yen in 280 which he views as the basic accomplishment of the Chin founders. Of course, as a loyal official of the Chin house, he points out that this was all undertaken as part of their meritorious efforts in benefitting the world.

⁷²*Chin shu* 82.2155/12-13.

Finally, as part of his comments discussing the meritorious acts of the Chin founders, he offers this extensive review of Ssu-ma I's role in laying the Chin foundation:

Emperor Hsüan was forcibly coerced during the years of his prime by the authoritarian house of Wei. But as an inchworm momentarily bends itself, so too did he remain lax, and thus bridled his martial pursuits. Obscuring his brilliance and covering his radiance, the dragon hid in the lower ranks. Lowering his head and rooting his feet, he bowed low and held his breath. There were intolerable troubles in the Way, and he was treading on a dangerous, frost covered path. Such a situation indeed could be called precarious!

When Wu of Wei died, Emperor Hsüan secured escape from great troubles. First, he went south and captured Meng Ta. In the east, he cleansed the remote recesses by the sea. To the west, he repressed strong Shu, and subsequently pacified the Chinese states. He smashed the vanguard of Wu's invading forces, and swept away Ts'ao Shuang's resentful clique. He planted the ancestral roots in order to straddle the Central Peak; and he nurtured a host of talents to assist his sons and brothers. Once his will to command the age had expanded, his extraordinary undertaking became secured.⁷³

Ssu-ma I was the one who initiated the process of rectifying the world, and had shown great wisdom, skill and patience in doing it. Hsi Tso-ch'ih portrays him as a heroic figure who wisely waited until the time was right to put his great

⁷³*Chin shu* 82.2155/7-10.

plans into action, and once he did, achieved an "extraordinary undertaking."

Hsi Tso-ch'ih's "Discourse on Chin's Succession to the Han" is a fascinating document which merits serious study in and of itself. However, for now it serves us well as an indication of the historical views which, as noted in the memorial which accompanies the text, Hsi Tso-ch'ih had held "for thirty and more years," and thus certainly permeated his *Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu*. While a careful study of the extant fragments of the *Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu* must await a separate inquiry, it is clear from this brief look that this was a unique text with a unique view of Chin history. For Hsi Tso-ch'ih, the Chin founders did not succeed in their undertakings because of their dominant position within the Wei state, they succeeded *in spite of* their position in the Wei state, a situation which made their accomplishments all the more heroic.

As it turns out, Sun Sheng and Hsi Tso-ch'ih's Chin histories were to be the last such works produced during the period of actual Chin rule. There were some works produced during the very last years of the Eastern Chin, but they were compiled at a time when the court was already dominated by Liu Yü and those who assisted in the founding of the Liu Sung dynasty in 420, and as such will be discussed in the next chapter. At this point, it will be useful to review the table given below in which the various Eastern Chin

authors, their works and possible dates of composition are given.

The Chin histories compiled during the Eastern Chin period demonstrated that Chinese history writing was indeed a flourishing enterprise at that time in an official, but even more so, in a private capacity. Furthermore, these works showed the diversity of opinion and approaches to the

 Table IV
 Chin Histories of the
 Eastern Chin Period

Kan Pao	<i>Chin chi</i>	ca. 320
Yü Yü	<i>Chin shu</i>	324
Chu Feng	<i>Chin shu</i>	326
Wang Yin	<i>Chin shu</i>	340
Hsieh Ch'en	<i>Chin shu</i>	340s?
Ts'ao Chia-chih	<i>Chin chi</i>	340s?
Sun Sheng	<i>Chin yang-ch'iu</i>	370?
Hsi Tso-ch'ih	<i>Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu</i>	372?
Teng Ts'an	<i>Chin chi</i>	377?

subject of Chin history which prevailed within the ranks of many of that period's finest scholars. And finally, these Eastern Chin historians established much of what was to become the standard account of the early years of the Chin, and provided the core elements of the historical treatment of Ssu-ma I: a man who by historiographical convention and tradition was regarded as nothing other than the founder of

the Chin dynasty.

CHAPTER FOUR
CHIN HISTORIES WRITTEN DURING
THE SUNG, CH'I AND LIANG DYNASTIES

The last quarter of the fourth century in southern China witnessed a number of critical changes in the alignment of political power at the Eastern Chin court, and, as the fifth century began, it became clear that the long reign of the Ssu-ma family would soon end. After much factional strife and perilous military activity, the evanescent political authority of the Ssu-ma rulers was finally eclipsed by the emerging power of a new military leader from within the state. On 7 July 420, the formal end of Chin rule came about when the thirty-five year old Chin emperor, Ssu-ma Te-wen (386-421), abdicated the throne in favor of this leader, Liu Yü (363-422), who thereupon became the founding emperor of the Sung dynasty (420-479).

The change from Chin to Sung was therefore a gradual one, in much the same way the Wei-Chin transition had been more than a century and a half before. From an historiographical point of view, the gradual demise of Chin rule appears to have prompted some historians to undertake a kind of "summing up" or "bringing to a close" of the Chin historical record. As we shall see, the second decade of the fifth century produced no less than three Chin histories which sought to complete the account of Eastern Chin rule

which had lain untreated since the time of Sun Sheng in the early 370s. By the end of the Chin period, therefore, a total of some fifteen historical works pertaining to various portions of the Chin had been produced; a fact which testifies to the growing vitality of both official and private history writing during that time, the diversity of viewpoints pertaining to the Chin, and to the general appeal of the period as a subject for historical inquiry.

Following the actual termination of Chin rule, the subsequent fifty years of the Sung period did not see any great diminution in the interest in Chin history, and we know that there were at least a half a dozen Chin histories compiled during that period. From what we can tell, the works appear to have been continuation chronicles focusing on the completion of one or another of the Eastern Chin chronicles, and thus served as efforts to further round out the Chin record. It was not until the Ch'i (479-502) and Liang (502-557) periods that substantial efforts at writing comprehensive histories of the Western and Eastern Chin were produced. And among those it was the 110 *chüan Chin shu* (History of the Chin) by Tsang Jung-hsü (425-488) which served as the consummate product of pre-T'ang Chin historiography. While Tsang Jung-hsü's work was not the last complete Chin history to be written during this period, it did serve the later T'ang compilers of the *Hsin Chin shu* (New History of the Chin) as the text upon which they based

their own version.

The post-Chin, pre-T'ang period therefore served as an era in which a great deal of attention was paid to Chin history writing. Spanning a time of about one hundred years during the reigns of the Sung, Ch'i and Liang dynasties (from ca. 415 to ca. 515), more than a dozen Chin histories were compiled; and these, when added to the many previous compilations already extant, rendered a total of some twenty-seven histories covering all or part of the duration of Chin rule. For nearly a century and a half following the creation of these works, no further efforts at writing Chin history are known to have been made; and we may thus infer that scholars of that time considered the abundance of Chin histories then available to have served as sufficient coverage of the period. These works, which had served as the final word on Chin history for so long, were called into question only when T'ang T'ai-tsung (r. 626-649) commanded the compilation of a new, imperially sponsored Chin history. When the *Hsin Chin shu* was completed in 648 it superceded these previous works and has served as the main account of the Chin down to this day.

The purpose of this chapter then is to provide a survey of this last, pre-T'ang phase of Chin history writing, and note just what histories were written and who wrote them. Since most of the work undertaken during this period of writing focused on the Eastern Chin, and therefore did not

directly deal with our subject of Ssu-ma I, the treatment of these histories here will be less detailed than that of the previous works which dealt with Ssu-ma I and the Western Chin. In Chapter Three it was pointed out that many of the pre-T'ang Chin histories are extant today only in fragmentary form, and therefore some discussion will be given here concerning these fragments and the sources in which they are preserved. By providing this kind of information, it is hoped that the reader will better understand the nature of our sources and how they shape our image of this somewhat obscure phase of Chin historiography.

The Last of the Chin

The century of Chin administration in the south was never characterized by strong central rule, and the decades preceding the final demise of the Chin house were in many ways a heightened continuation of this condition rather than any radical departure from it. The greatest manifestation of this ongoing imperial weakness may be seen in the domination of the Chin court and provinces by Huan Wen (312-373), who was discussed in the last chapter. For nearly three decades, from 345 until his death in 373, Huan Wen had wielded increasing military and political power, and it is generally acknowledged that, had he not died when he did, he

would have taken the Chin throne for himself.¹ The death of Huan Wen in 373 brought an end to his faction's domination at court, and therefore created an opening for political change. Rather than leading to the reassertion of any kind of central imperial authority however, this opening paved the way for the rise of a military faction led by Hsieh An (320-385) and various senior members of his family.²

The Hsieh faction dominated the Chin court for the next decade and won great renown for presiding over a military victory against invading forces from the northern state of Former Ch'in in the famous battle of the Fei River in 383.³ With this victory the military contribution of this group was undeniable, but their own fortunes soon turned when another faction emerged in the capital, this time led by a

¹A convenient summary of the politics of the mid-Eastern Chin may be found in Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), pp. 110-113. Zürcher points out (p. 112) that, "The next puppet emperor Chien-wen (371-373), a scholar and *ch'ing-t'an* adept with Buddhist sympathies, was probably expected to yield the throne to Huan Wen, but the whole scheme was ended by the latter's death in 373."

²Biographies of Hsieh An and other members of his immediate family are gathered together in chapter 79 of the *Chin shu*.

³For a discussion of mythmaking and the exaggerated role recorded for Hsieh An in the battle, see the study by Michael Rogers in "The Myth of the Battle of the Fei River (A.D. 383)," *T'oung Pao* 54 (1968):50-72.

member of the imperial family, Ssu-ma Tao-tzu (364-402).⁴

Ssu-ma Tao-tzu and his group came to openly dominate the court upon the death of Hsieh An in 385, and ruthlessly controlled Emperor Hsiao-wu (r. 372-396) and the courtiers around him for the following ten years or so. Resistance to Ssu-ma Tao-tzu's clique eventually arose in Ching province, and a group which included the son of Huan Wen, Huan Hsüan (369-404),⁵ moved against Tao-tzu's party following the latter's murder of the emperor in late 396.⁶ In mid May of 397, several of these provincial leaders led a coup against Tao-tzu and his party, and forced the execution of Tao-tzu's cousin and ally, Wang Kuo-pao (ob. 397).

Ssu-ma Tao-tzu was not removed from power at that time, but a sizable, yet unstable, alliance against him was growing in the provinces. Through his own maneuverings, Huan Hsüan eliminated his rivals and soon came to dominate this provincial alliance, and thereby brought about a situation at century's end in which the Chin state was once

⁴Ssu-ma Tao-tzu was the seventh son of Ssu-ma Yü (320-372) who reigned briefly (eight months) as emperor before his death in 372. Ssu-ma Yü is known to history as Emperor Chien-wen, and it was his fifth son, Ssu-ma Ch'ang-ming (372-396), who became his successor, known as Emperor Hsiao-wu (r. 372-396). Ssu-ma Tao-tzu was therefore the younger brother of the reigning emperor, Hsiao-wu. Tao-tzu's biography may be found in *Chin shu* 64.1732-40.

⁵Huan Hsüan's biography is in *Chin shu* 99.2585-2603.

⁶Emperor Hsiao-wu was replaced by his imbecile teenage son, Ssu-ma Te-tsung (382-419), posthumously known as Emperor An (r. 396-419).

again vulnerable to the ambitions of a leader from the Huan family.

The weakened condition of the Chin imperial government was further exacerbated by the outbreak of a local rebellion in the eastern coastal region of the Chin state. This rebellion, which was led by a local Taoist "magician" named Sun En, became a direct threat to the state when Sun En raised an army of local adherents and occupied the region of Kuei-chi commandery in 399.⁷ This was followed by Sun En proclaiming himself "General-Chastiser of the East" and marching on the imperial capital. During the next couple of years, Sun En won a number of small victories over the Chin imperial troops, but the tide of battle turned with the military successes of two government commanders, Liu Lao-chih and Liu Yü.

Liu Lao-chih was a veteran of the defense against Fu Chien's forces in 383, and had shown distinction as a military leader on subsequent occasions.⁸ Liu Yü was a younger officer who served on Lao-chih's staff and came to show his own capabilities during the Sun En campaigns.

⁷A summary of this rebellion and the political events which transpired at the end of the Eastern Chin is given in Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest*, pp. 154-58. An extensive collection of source materials pertaining to the Sun En rebellion has been gathered together in Chang and Chu, *Wei Chin nan-pei-ch'ao nung-min chan-cheng shih-liao hui-pien*, pp. 231-335.

⁸Liu Lao-chih's biography may be found in *Chin shu* 84.2188-91.

Eventually, in 402, Sun En and his forces were defeated at the hands of these two leaders, who consequently emerged as the Chin state's greatest defenders.

Although the threat of Sun En and his forces had been for the most part eliminated, Huan Hsüan and his group were also gaining strength in the provinces and, on the pretext of suppressing remnants of Sun En's rebels, mobilized an army for a march toward the capital. In the spring of 402, the Chin cause was further imperilled when Liu Lao-chih went over to Hsüan's side, entered the capital with him, and presided over the execution of Ssu-ma Tao-tzu and others. For the next two years, Huan Hsüan ruled as virtual dictator, and on 2 January 404 accepted the abdication of the Chin emperor and ascended the throne as the first emperor of the Ch'u dynasty. The ambitions of the Huan family were fulfilled and the era of Ssu-ma rule had seemingly come to an end.

It is at this point, however, that the fortunes of Liu Yü began to rise. Liu Yü had been gaining popularity for his mopping up campaigns at the end of the Sun En episode, and had remained ostensibly loyal to the Chin cause. With Huan Hsüan's usurpation, Yü rose to become head of a conspiracy to rid the state of him, and he headed a pro-imperial force which marched on the capital, and eventually brought about the demise of Hsüan just three months after he took the throne.

Liu Yü, now standing at the head of the government, restored the Chin emperor and commenced his own rise to absolute supremacy.⁹ The final fifteen years of the Chin were therefore years in which Liu Yü laid the foundation for his own ascent to the throne. According to Professor Zürcher, in order to accomplish this,

he imitated the example of the great Huan Wen, *i.e.*, before realizing his final aspirations he attempted to enlarge his already immense prestige and martial fame by extensive campaigns in the North.¹⁰

These campaigns, which were undertaken against various of the northern states, achieved remarkable, though short-lived, success. Between 408-410 he overcame the rulers of Later Yen in the northeast; and in 416-418 he actually captured the former capitals of Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang. Although these former seats of Chinese imperial power were soon lost again, Liu Yü's reputation at Chien-k'ang soared as he demonstrated his accomplishments in the field as a leader of imperial stature.

With his prestige so great, it shortly became clear that Liu Yü possessed not only imperial stature, but also imperial intentions. Upon his return from his northern

⁹Since Liu Yü eventually became emperor of the Sung dynasty, the record of his life and career is given in the first three chapters of Shen Yüeh's *Sung shu* (History of the Sung), "Basic Annals of Emperor Wu, Parts 1, 2, and 3."

¹⁰Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest*, p. 157.

campaigns, Yü arranged to be made Prime Minister (*ch'eng-hsiang*) and was enfeoffed as Duke of Sung.¹¹ Five months after that, the hapless Chin emperor was murdered and his younger brother, Ssu-ma Te-wen (386-421), was enthroned in his stead.¹² These machinations were played out for a further eighteen months when all was ready for the thirty-five year old Chin emperor to abdicate the throne to Liu Yü, then in his fifty-eighth year. In early July of 420 the Chin dynasty finally came to an end.

The Sung Historians

As the summary above reveals, the last seventy years or so of Chin rule were characterized by the rise and fall of various military leaders and their factions, who in turn successfully perpetuated the weakened condition of the Chin imperial house. During this prolonged age of political uncertainty and instability, however, some attention was paid to the state sponsorship of scholarship and records

¹¹No precise date is recorded for this event. Both the *Chin shu* and *Sung shu* record it as taking place in the sixth month of the fourteenth year of the I-hsi era of Emperor An [July/August 418]. See *Chin shu* 10.266 and *Sung shu* 2.44.

¹²The *Chin shu*, which dates this event as 28 January 419, also relates the following apocryphal story about its circumstances:

Previously a prognostication said, "After [Ssu-ma] Ch'ang-ming there will be two emperors." Liu Yü was preparing to receive the throne, so he secretly sent Wang Shao-chih to strangle the emperor, and then he set Emperor Kung [Ssu-ma Te-wen] on the throne in order to adhere to the reference to two emperors. See *Chin shu* 10.267/5-6.

keeping. For example, we read in the *Chin shu* annals that in the summer of 384 one hundred students were added to the enrollment of the Imperial Academy (*t'ai-hsüeh*), and that early in the following year a State Academy (*kuo-hsüeh*) was established.¹³ Later, possibly in 388,¹⁴ an official named Hsü Kuang (352-425) was appointed Gentleman Archivist and sent to carry out collation work in the archives, work which we may be certain he did not undertake alone. In addition, it is clear from the attested existence of court diaries for the entire Eastern Chin period,¹⁵ as well as from the information and documents which have survived from this time, that the practice of records keeping was indeed maintained throughout these years.

The writing of state history however was not pursued for several decades following the compilation of the histories of Sun Sheng and Hsi Tso-ch'ih, and it was not until the year 406 that an official, at what was then the Chin court controlled by Liu Yü, suggested that the time had

¹³See *Chin shu* 9.233, 234.

¹⁴Hsü Kuang's biography mentions simply that during the reign of Emperor Hsiao-wu (r. 373-396) he was appointed Gentleman Archivist and directed collation work in the Imperial Archives. See *Chin shu* 82.2158/5 and *Sung shu* 55.1548/1. The precise date of Kuang's appointment to the archives is not given in our sources, but the twentieth century scholar, Liu Ju-lin, gives evidence from a fragment of T'an Tao-luan's (fl. 462) *Hsü Chin yang-ch'iu* (Continued Chronicle of the Chin) that this appointment occurred in 388. See Liu's *Tung-Chin nan-pei-ch'ao hsüeh-shu pien-nien* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1987), p. 101.

¹⁵See *Sui shu* 33.964-65.

come to once again assemble a state history. In a situation reminiscent of Wang Tao's recommendation made some ninety years earlier that Kan Pao write a Chin history, here we have an unnamed Master Writer urging the same thing of Hsü Kuang in order to fill in the lacuna of the previous three and a half decades. The terse memorial, preserved in Hsü Kuang's biography, reads as follows:

The Scribe of the Left related words, and the Official of the Right wrote down events. The *Ch'eng* and *Chih* appeared in Chin and Cheng; and the *Spring and Autumn* was composed by the scribes of Lu. Since [the beginning of this] sagacious age, there have been those who have made records of the restoration, [so that] the airs of the Way and the sovereign canons shine upon the historical registers. Yet since the T'ai-ho era [366-371], we have passed through three reigns, and their profound airs and sage traces have quickly become matters of the past.

I and others have made careful investigations, and feel that it would be appropriate to command the Gentleman Compiler Hsü Kuang to write to completion a state history.¹⁶

The terseness of this memorial leads one to suspect that it must be an abridgement of a longer piece; but the message contained within what we have makes it clear that some at court felt that the time had come to add to the growing corpus of Chin histories.

¹⁶The text of this memorial may be found in the biographies of Hsü Kuang in *Chin shu* 82.2158/9-11 and *Sung shu* 55.1548/10-12. The *Sung shu* narrative gives the date of the memorial as the second year of the I-hsi era (406).

Those in power at Chien-k'ang (Liu Yü and his associates) agreed that such an endeavor should be undertaken, and an edict was issued commanding Hsü Kuang to begin work. As is so often the case in our sources, nothing is said of the historian's process in writing his work, and all we are told is that ten years later, in 416, Kuang submitted his finished history to the throne. This work, written in chronicle format, was the *Chin chi* (Annals of the Chin) in 46 *chüan*. Given the fact that Hsü Kuang took ten years to write his history, that he had access to the imperial archives, and that his opus was of a substantial length, we may charitably assume that his was a work of some depth and that it achieved the purpose of completing the coverage of Chin history down to his own time. The fact is, however, that we do not know anything about the content of Hsü Kuang's *Chin chi* as there are no extant fragments nor any critical appraisals in our sources. Whatever the specific nature of his work may have been, Hsü Kuang's *Chin chi* nevertheless stands as the first work of Chin history, official or private, to be produced in several decades, and undoubtedly served to help complete the record of the Eastern Chin period.

At the same time Hsü Kuang was working on his official history, another scholar, Wang Shao-chih (380-435), was expanding researches begun by his own father into the history of their era. Wang Shao-chih was a descendant of

the Wang I (276-322) branch of the famous Wang clan of Lang-yeh commandery, and his father, Wang Wei-chih, had achieved some success as an official, reaching the post of Prefect of Wu-ch'eng prefecture (located in the region just north of the Yangtze River estuary). Wei-chih, we are told, was a well-read man who had been interested in Chin history and official writings, and it is mentioned in the biography of his son that Wei-chih wrote out the important official documents (edicts, memorials and the like) of his time, and kept meticulous records of the events pertaining to the T'ai-yüan (376-396) and Lung-an (396-401) eras. Shao-chih continued his father's interests and drew upon these materials to privately compile a *Chin An-ti ch'un-ch'iu* (Chronicle of Emperor An of the Chin).¹⁷ The context of Shao-chih's biography implies that this work was carried out early in his career and therefore prior to the end of Emperor An's reign (which spanned from 396 to 419). This of course would make the coverage of the reign incomplete, and would also raise the question as to how a work written prior to the sovereign's demise could be given a title taken from that ruler's posthumous designation.¹⁸

¹⁷This is discussed in the first several lines of Wang Shao-chih's biography in *Sung shu* 60.1625.

¹⁸One possibility is that the work was in fact only a partial treatment of this reign and was known by contemporaries by another title. Following the death of the emperor, the work may have been circulated with a new title reflecting the emperor's posthumous designation.

The result of Wang Shao-chih's researches, however uncertain our knowledge may be of them, impressed his contemporaries to the extent that one or more of them within the ranks of the bureaucracy recommended that he be given an appointment to an historiographical post. Their suggestion was followed, the appointment was made, and Shao-chih took up the post of Assistant Gentleman Compiler. His basic task, it seems, was to continue his work on later Chin history, a task which was now to be done in an official capacity.¹⁹ The imperial archives at Chien-k'ang thereby became the workplace for two Chin histories.

We do not know when Wang Shao-chih began compiling his Chin history, but it states in the *Sung shu* that he brought his coverage down to the ninth year of the I-hsi era, or 413. If we presume that he finished writing shortly after that date, then his work would have been completed at about the same time as that of Hsü Kuang. As for the content of this work, we may note that it is listed in the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" simply as *Chin chi* (Annals of the Chin) in 10 *chüan*, and thus gives us no specific information on the precise coverage contained within its pages.²⁰ Furthermore, there are no extant fragments of this *Chin chi* which may give us some sense of its content and quality, but

¹⁹This information is taken from Shao-chih's biography in *Sung shu* 60.1625.

²⁰*Sui shu* 33.958.

Shen Yüeh does point out that Wang Shao-chih's history was well-written and served as "a fine history for later ages."²¹

One speculative notion we may wish to entertain concerning the nature of this work is that Shao-chih drew upon his extant history pertaining to the reign of Emperor An and expanded it with the use of materials from the imperial archives and perhaps with the consultation of his colleagues, among whom would have been the sixty year old Hsü Kuang. The resulting work may possibly have been a new "edition" of the *Chin An-ti ch'un-ch'iu* with the new, homogenized, official-sounding title of *Chin chi*.

Finally, there is a rather interesting aspect to Wang Shao-chih's career which must be noted. It is clear that the historiographical work undertaken at Chien-k'ang during the period of 406-416 was done under the auspices of a Chin government run by Liu Yü; and it was Liu Yü who, noticing Wang Shao-chih's literary and historical abilities, appointed him to various posts within the documentary bureaucracy of the capital. It was during this time, and in his capacity as one of Liu Yü's confidants, that Wang Shao-chih was dispatched by Liu Yü to do away with the Chin emperor, Ssu-ma Te-tsung (Emperor An). Shao-chih's *Sung shu*

²¹The line in his biography says, "[He was] good at narrating events, [and his] wording and discussions were laudable. His was a fine history for later ages." See *Sung shu* 60.1625/6-7.

biography tells us simply that, "As for the death of Emperor An, Kao-tsu [Liu Yü] had Shao-chih and the emperor's intimates secretly poison him."²² The substance of the action is related also in the apocryphal story from the *Chin shu* annals cited above in note 12, but the means of assassination is said to have been different in each case (poisoning vs. strangulation). While such conflicting evidence may detract from the credibility of this story, it is nonetheless intriguing to contemplate that Wang Shao-chih actually had a direct role in bringing the story of Emperor An to an end.

The labors of Hsü Kuang and Wang Shao-chih testify to the existence of a revived interest in Chin history writing at the end of the Chin period; and their state patronage demonstrates that interest indeed prevailed at the official level. At the private level, we do know that there was at least one man who compiled a Chin history on his own either before or during his service as a Chin official in the provinces. This man was Liu Ch'ien-chih (fl. 417) who served toward the end of the Chin as Chancellor (*hsiang*) in the duchy of Shih-hsing, which was located one hundred miles or so north of Nan-hai commandery (the government seat of Kuang province [modern Canton]). Shih-hsing commandery had been granted as a duchy to Wang Tao at the outset of the Eastern Chin period, and Liu Ch'ien-chih served as the chief

²²*Sung shu* 60.1625/9-10.

official to the Duke of Shih-hsing, Wang Tao's great grandson, Wang Hui.²³

There is very little information in the histories about Liu Ch'ien-chih. He is not given a biography, and he appears in the *Chin shu* only once and in the *Sung shu* twice. From these scant references, however, we do learn that, as the chief official of Shih-hsing commandery, he led a military campaign to quell an uprising in neighboring Kuang province. We know from the *Chin shu* annals that this occurred in the year 417; and we learn from an account in the *Sung shu* that his campaign was successful, and resulted in his appointment as Governor (*tz'u-shih*) of Kuang province.²⁴ In addition to these reports of his success as a provincial official, we are told that Ch'ien-chih was "fond of learning, and compiled a *Chin chi* in 20 *chüan*."²⁵ This terse line is echoed by information in the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" that there was a *Chin chi* (Annals of the Chin) in 23 *chüan* compiled by the "Sung Palace Attendant Grandee Liu Ch'ien-chih."²⁶

Nothing else in the sources is said of Liu Ch'ien-chih

²³Wang Hui is mentioned briefly in *Chin shu* 65.1755/3. There it is stated that he inherited the title of Duke of Shih-hsiang commandery, and that "at the end of the I-hsi era [405-419]," he served as Roving and Attacking General (*yu-chi Chiang-chün*).

²⁴See *Chin shu* 10.266 and *Sung shu* 50.1446/7-9.

²⁵*Sung shu* 50.1446/6-7.

²⁶*Sui shu* 33.958.

as an historian and therefore we learn nothing from them of the scope and content of his history. There is, however, evidence preserved in fragments of his history which demonstrates that the scope of his work covered the entire Eastern Chin period. The fragments collected by T'ang Ch'iu reveal that Ch'ien-chih's history spanned the period from Emperor Yüan to Emperor An.²⁷ From the above mentioned evidence we may conclude that Liu Ch'ien-chih's *Chin chi* was both privately compiled, and that it stood as the first complete (except perhaps for the last couple of years of the Chin) history of the Eastern Chin yet compiled.

Hsü Kuang, Wang Shao-chih and Liu Ch'ien-chih thus served as the last Chin historians who actually wrote during the Chin period itself, although it was clear that they authored their works during a time which must be considered the nascent years of the Sung. As for the Sung period proper (420-479), we see that there were at least a half dozen scholars who turned their attention to the compilation of Chin history. Most of this work was done as a matter of private interest for these men but, as we shall see, early in the Sung imperial interest was demonstrated by an order commanding that an official compilation of Chin history be made.

As we have seen before, the rise of a new ruling house was usually accompanied by a survey and reorganization of

²⁷See T'ang Ch'iu, *Chin chi chi-pen*, pp. 55-56.

the imperial archives, and this was often followed by historiographical work. For the Sung, this precedent was followed by the third ruler, Emperor Wen (r. 424-453), when he appointed the state's ablest man of letters, the famous poet Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433), to the post of Superintendent of the Imperial Archives. This post had been offered to Hsieh Ling-yün as a means of reprieve from a nearly four year period of exile, but the poet only reluctantly responded to the call, since his devotion to Buddhism, love of nature, and distrust of politics drew his heart toward a life of contemplation at his rural estate in Kuei-chi commandery instead.²⁸ Ling-yün did take up the post sometime after April 426 and soon found himself ensconced in the Sung repository of literature charged with the task of "putting in order the documents of the imperial archives, and supplementing and filling in any omissions or lacunae."²⁹ Furthermore, we are told, "Since the entire

²⁸The *Sung shu* biography of Hsieh Ling-yün states that shortly after Emperor Wen came to the throne, Ling-yün, was summoned to be Superintendent of the Imperial Archives. He was twice summoned, but did not respond. The emperor [then] had the Grandee of Radiant Emolument, Fan T'ai (355-428), send a letter to Ling-yün, urging him earnestly. Only then did he take up his post. (See *Sung shu* 67.1772.)

The details of Hsieh Ling-yün's life and a discussion of the circumstances surrounding this appointment are given in J.D. Frodsham, *The Murmuring Stream: The Life and Works of the Chinese Nature Poet Hsieh Ling-yün (385-433)*, Duke of K'ang-lo, 2 Vols. (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1967). See in particular Vol. 1, pp. 53-58.

²⁹*Sung shu* 67.1772/2.

period of the Chin house, from beginning to end, was without a history by one historian, [the emperor] commanded Ling-yün to compile a Chin history."³⁰

Hsieh Ling-yün's ability and reputation were such that he was at that time "accepted without question as the greatest poet of the day,"³¹ and possessed a fine family background (he was a third generation descendent of the Fei River hero, Hsieh An), two lofty attributes which certainly would make him a welcome presence at the Sung court. But the post and task to which he had been appointed were most likely a disappointment to him, since these in no way placed him amidst the inner circle of the Sung government. Again, Prof. Frodsham points out, "Since Ling-yün's gifts were literary and philosophical rather than purely scholastic, the dry labours of compilation on which he was engaged could have afforded him but small satisfaction."³² The result of this combination of discontents was that Ling-yün did not complete his work. We are told in his biography that he "roughly set up sections and categories, [but] the history in the end was not completed."³³ In fact, Hsieh Ling-yün

³⁰*Sung shu* 67.1722/2-3.

³¹Frodsham, *Murmuring Stream*, Vol. 1, pp. 53-54.

³²Frodsham, *Murmuring Stream*, Vol. 1, p. 58.

³³*Sung shu* 67.1772/3, and *Nan shih* 19.539/6. See also text note no. 52 appended to Ling-yün's biography in the *Sung shu*, which discusses the discrepancies between the *Sung shu* and *Nan shih* versions of this passage.

remained at his post as Superintendent of the Imperial Archives for less than two years, after which time he sought and received a leave from his official duties to return to his beloved estate in Kuei-chi.³⁴

Such a brief period in the archives, it seems, would not have produced much headway in the compilation of a comprehensive history of the Chin. And while we do not know what the projected length of Ling-yün's history was to have been, the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" informs us that the Sui archives had a *Chin shu* (History of the Chin) in 36 *chüan* compiled by Hsieh Ling-yun.³⁵ The compilation of an account of 36 chapters in such a brief period of time was by no means a minor accomplishment and, if we speculate that the completed work might have been 100 *chüan* or so,³⁶ may have represented approximately one third of the whole. Hsieh Ling-yün's tenure in the archives, though relatively short, proved to have actually been quite productive.

Hsieh Ling-yün's incomplete history, not surprisingly, is no longer extant, but we are fortunate enough to have ten

³⁴Through the examination of one of Hsieh Ling-yün's poems, Frodsham demonstrates that he departed the capital on the morning of 1 April 428. See Frodsham, *Murmuring Stream*, Vol. 1, p. 61.

³⁵*Sui shu* 33.955.

³⁶Judging from the other full-length histories which had been compiled during the pre-T'ang period, a work in the "annals and biographies" format was usually about that long. It is possible to see such examples in the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature."

fragments of his work preserved in T'ang Ch'iu's collection of pre-T'ang Chin histories.³⁷ From these fragments we can see that the work was indeed compiled in "annals and biographies" format (which the title *Chin shu* suggests), and that it also had monographs (*chih*), or at least a "Monograph on Bureaucracy," since five of the fragments are written in a format consistent with that category. Of the fragments preserved, there is also part of a discourse which was most likely appended to the "Annals of Emperor Wu" section of the history. Finally, there is no evidence from these fragments which indicates at what temporal point Ling-yün began his Chin history. The existence of fragments treating the reigns of Emperors Wu, Hui and Huai indicates that he may have commenced his account only with the ascent of Ssu-ma Yen to the throne in 266. This means that he did not cover the early years of the Chin, which would have included the career of Ssu-ma I and his sons.

Hsieh Ling-yün's brief period of service in the Imperial Archives proved an unsatisfactory experience for him, but it did demonstrate on the part of Emperor Wen of the Sung an awareness that Chin history writing was an endeavor worthy of the talents of the state's greatest man of letters. However, the termination of the project after Ling-yün's departure from his post, also demonstrates that

³⁷See T'ang Ch'iu, *Chiu-chia chiu Chin shu chi-pen*, pp. 377-78.

the compilation of a complete Chin dynastic history was not a task high on the list of government priorities. Instead, the writing of Chin history would be left to the interests and labors of other scholars of the time.

One of these other scholars who devoted some time to the study of the Chin was the famous historian, P'ei Sung-chih (372-451). P'ei Sung-chih was an older contemporary of Hsieh Ling-yün, and had witnessed firsthand the transition of power from Chin to Sung. He had served as an official on the staff of Liu Yü during the latter's early rise to power, and even accompanied him on his northern campaign to recover Lo-yang in 416, at which time he served as a Master of Records (*chu-pu*) on Yü's provisional provincial staff in Ssu province. Through his abilities as a literary man and as a capable administrator, he gained favor with the new Sung emperor and held numerous official posts, both in the capital and in the provinces, during the first three decades of Sung rule.³⁸

As a scholar P'ei Sung-chih is best known for his commentary to Ch'en Shou's (233-297) *San-kuo chih* (Record of the Three States). This work was commissioned by Emperor Wen of the Sung at the same time that Hsieh Ling-yün was working in the archives on his history of the Chin. In Sung-chih's case the work was completed, and on 8 September

³⁸The standard biography of P'ei Sung-chih may be found in *Sung shu* 64.1698-1701 and in *Nan shih* 33.862-64.

429, he submitted it to the throne along with the customary self-deprecatory memorial.³⁹ In his memorial he states that he worked on the commentary for only two years or so; but the large amount of material brought together in his work testifies to Sung-chih's energy, exhaustive knowledge of the topic, and to the existence of the many historical works then extant in the imperial archives which could be used to round out Ch'en Shou's history of third century China.

Over the next two decades P'ei Sung-chih held a number of different posts, including Grand Administrator of Yungchia and, later, Lang-yeh commanderies. Toward the very end of his long life (he died in his eightieth year) he was appointed to continue work on the Sung state history, but died (in 451) before he could complete any work on it. Over his long career, P'ei Sung-chih had authored numerous writings, many of which were official in nature.⁴⁰

³⁹Perhaps the most active student of P'ei Sung-chih and his *San-kuo chih* commentary is Prof. Lu Yao-tung. See for example his "P'ei Sung-chih yü *San-kuo chih* yen-chiu," in *Kuo-li pien-i-kuan kuan-k'an* 3.1 (1974): 1-34, and "*San-kuo chih chu* yü P'ei Sung-chih *San-kuo chih tzu-chu*," in Hsü Cho-yün ed., *Chung-kuo li-shih lun-wen chi*, (Taipei: Shangwu yin-shu-kuan, 1986), pp. 257-272. For a brief discussion in English, including a translation of P'ei Sung-chih's memorial, see Leban, "Ts'ao Ts'ao and the Rise of Wei," pp. 29-35.

⁴⁰Lu Yao-tung has assembled a list of ten items written by P'ei Sung-chih. These include three accounts written during Liu Yü's northern campaign, a genealogy of the P'ei family and some court diaries. See "P'ei Sung-chih yü *San-kuo chih* yen-chiu," pp. 2-3.

Included in these writings was a *Chin chi* (Annals of the Chin), about which next to nothing is known. The *Chin chi* is mentioned in passing at the end of his *Sung shu* biography without any discussion of its length or coverage, and it is not mentioned in the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature." We do have two fragments of this work gathered in T'ang Ch'iu's collection which are listed under the reigns of the Eastern Chin emperors Mu (r. 344-361) and An (r. 396-419). From this we may hypothesize that his work constituted an annalistic history of the Eastern Chin, but there is no way to know when in his life he may have compiled this work.

Even though P'ei Sung-chih's *Chin chi* is no longer extant, the tremendously broad scope of his *San-kuo chih* commentary shows that he had an intimate and critical knowledge of the various Chin histories which had been compiled down to his time, and suggests that any work he may have done on that period would have had a sound documentary basis and an compelling historical perspective. It is both a mystery and a tragedy that we do not know more of this compilation.

Following the work of Hsieh Ling-yün and P'ei Sung-chih, we are ignorant of any further Chin history writing until possibly thirty years or so later. The next historian for whom we have any information is Ho Fa-sheng (fl. 458), a man who is mentioned only three times in our sources and about whom very little is known. One piece of fairly

reliable information we have about Ho Fa-sheng is an incidental reference made to him in Shen Yüeh's account of his ancestors given in the "Autobiographical Postface" found in *chüan* 100 of the *Sung shu*. In Shen Yüeh's discussion of the career of one of his uncles, Shen Po-yü, we read that Po-yü,

served as acting Advisor to the Grand Intendant, the King of Chiang-hsia, Liu I-kung; and he, along with the Audience Attendants, Hsieh Ch'ao-tsung and Ho Fa-sheng, collated texts in the Eastern Palace.⁴¹

Liu I-kung (413-465) was the fifth son of Liu Yü and the uncle of the reigning emperor, Hsiao-wu (r. 453-464), for whom he served as a leading minister throughout his reign. We know that I-kung was made Grand Intendant (*t'ai-tsai*) on 7 December 457, and that he kept that title until he was murdered by Hsiao-wu's successor on 18 September 465.⁴² The assignment of Shen, Hsieh and Ho to Liu I-kung's staff probably occurred early during this eight year period, so we can at least assign a *floruit* date to Ho Fa-sheng of 458.

Since this is the only mention of Ho-Fa-sheng in the *Sung shu*, we need to look to the indispensable *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" to discover that he was the compiler of a history entitled *Chin chung-hsing shu* (History

⁴¹*Sung shu* 100.2465/8-9.

⁴²For these two dates, see *Sung shu* 6.119 and 7.144.

of the Chin Restoration) in 78 *chüan*.⁴³ Both the title of the work and the note in the monograph entry indicate that this history covered the entire Eastern Chin period. In the absence of any further information on the compilation of this work, we are forced to hypothesize that it was compiled sometime after his experience in the Eastern Palace archives. From the above mentioned *Sui shu* entry we know that Ho Fa-sheng eventually became Grand Administrator of Tung-hsiang commandery, a post which he would have occupied only after many years of service to the Sung state, and thus may have worked on his Chin history sometime in the 460s or possibly even the 470s.

Investigation into Ho Fa-sheng's motives or background for writing a Chin history yields some interesting speculations. We may first consider his service on Liu I-kung's staff to have been in some way inspirational since he was working in one of the archives in the imperial capital. But what may have been even more influential was the fact that when he was sent to do collation work as a member of Liu I-kung's staff, he most likely had some involvement with a history writing project then being undertaken by the Grand Intendant himself. We read in I-kung's biography that "during the Ta-ming era (457-464) he compiled a state history; and Shih-tsu [Emperor Hsiao-wu] himself wrote a

⁴³*Sui shu* 33.955.

biography for I-kung."⁴⁴ In addition to this, at a time shortly before his appointment to the office of Grand Intendant, I-kung compiled a historical work called *Yao chi* (Record of Essentials) in five *chüan*. This, we are told, was a history covering the period from the Former Han down through the T'ai-yüan era of the Eastern Chin (206 B.C. - A.D. 396). The work was submitted to the throne and was of sufficient quality to have subsequently been placed in the imperial archives.⁴⁵

Neither of Liu I-kung's historical compilations is listed in the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature," so nothing more is known about them; but his interest and labors in the field of history may have produced some experience and inspiration for Ho Fa-sheng during the time he spent in I-kung's service. Although there is no direct evidence to demonstrate this kind of link to an interest in Chin history, it seems to be a plausible motivation.

Another source gives us a colorful, yet somehow less plausible, explanation for Ho Fa-sheng's motives and interest in Chin history. In the *Nan shih* (History of the Southern Dynasties) compiled by the T'ang historian Li Yen-shou in 659,⁴⁶ there is an anecdote which asserts that Ho

⁴⁴*Sung shu* 61.1651/6.

⁴⁵*Sung shu* 61.1649/1.

⁴⁶Information on Li Yen-shou and his historical works may be found in David McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp.168-

Fa-sheng achieved his history in a less than honorable manner. The following passage is taken from the *Nan shih* biography of the historian Hsü Kuang:

At that time, a certain Ch'ih Shao of Kao-p'ing commandery had compiled a *Chin chung-hsing shu* (History of the Chin Restoration), which on several occasions he had shown to Ho Fa-sheng. Fa-sheng soon came to have designs on it, and said to Shao, "Your name and standing are honorable and accomplished. You need not, therefore, wait for further repute from this. I am a lowly scholar, and possess no renown in the world. Like Yüan Hung and Kan Pao, I shall rely on compositions to pass my fame on to posterity. I would most certainly consider it a favor." Shao did not give it to him.

When the work was completed, Shao placed it in a chest in his studio. Fa-sheng went to see Shao, but he was not home; so he went right in and stole his history. When Shao returned, he [thought he had] lost it, and he could not compile it again. Thereafter, it was transmitted as Ho's work.⁴⁷

From this anecdote we are led to believe that Ho Fa-sheng in fact did not write the *Chin chung-hsing shu*, but rather stole an already completed work from Ch'ih Shao. While intrinsically there is no reason that this cannot be true, we have no other evidence which supports such a contention. Ch'ih Shao is mentioned only one other time in

69. Yen-shou's brief biography is in *Chiu T'ang shu* 73.2600-01.

⁴⁷*Nan shih* 33.858.

our sources, and that is simply to point out that he was the grandfather of Hsiao Yen's (Emperor Wu of Liang, r. 502-549) consort Ch'ih Hui (464-499) and that he held the posts of Libationer of the Sons of the State (*kuo-tzu chi-chiu*) and acting Preceptor (*shih*) to the King of Tung-hai.⁴⁸ In the absence of any compelling evidence which may allow us to believe this kind of anecdotal tale (of which the *Nan shih* is known to be filled), we must allow that Ho Fa-sheng was the true author of the *Chin chung-hsing shu* just as the *Sui shu* monograph tells us.

A final point to be made with regard to the *Chin chung-hsing shu* is that it appears to have been a substantial and rather popular work among the pre-T'ang accounts of the Eastern Chin. The *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" lists it as being 78 *chüan* in length, and the large number of fragments preserved in later works demonstrates that it was often consulted as an authority for the period. T'ang Ch'iu's collection of fragments contains 108 pages of material listed under Ho Fa-sheng's *Chin chung-hsing shu*,⁴⁹ and we see that the T'ang historian-critic Liu Chih-chi (661-721) refers to Ho Fa-sheng many times in the pages of

⁴⁸*Liang shu* 7.157, "Biography of the Virtuous Empress, née Ch'ih." This material is repeated in *Nan shih* 12.338. Since Ch'ih Hui died prior to the time Hsiao Yen became the founding emperor of Liang, she was designated empress posthumously.

⁴⁹T'ang Ch'iu, *Chiu-chia chiu Chin shu chi-pen*, pp. 385-492.

his *Shih t'ung* (Conspectus of History).⁵⁰ Ho Fa-sheng's record therefore constituted the first complete history of the Eastern Chin period, and thus stood as an important contribution of private history to the account of the Chin period.

Our sources reveal that three more Sung scholars also worked on Chin history at about the same time as Ho Fa-sheng. The first of these was a man named T'an Tao-luan (fl. 462) whom we read about only once in the *Sung shu*. There we find him attending a court conference in which the assembled officials were discussing aspects of the Sung state history then being compiled under the direction of a Gentleman Compiler named Hsü Yüan (394-475). The discussion, much like that held at the Western Chin court during the 290s, centered on the question of precisely what year should serve as the starting point for an account of the Sung, and T'an Tao-luan is mentioned as one of two officials who held the minority opinion that the third year of the Yüan-hsing era [=404] should be taken as the year in which the fortunes of the Sung began. The other officials, whose opinion carried the day, felt it was best to take the first year of the I-hsi era [=405] as the starting point for

⁵⁰I have found seven references to Ho Fa-sheng in the *Shih t'ung*. For references to Liu Chih-chi's citations of pre-T'ang Chin historians, see the entries in Appendix B of this dissertation.

the Sung.⁵¹ Were it not for Tao-luan's differing opinion on this subject, he would be completely unknown to us from the *Sung shu*.

The *Nan shih* however contains a single line account of Tao-luan in its chapter containing biographies of literary figures. There we read that at one time he served as Grand Administrator of Yung chia commandery and that he authored a *Hsü Chin yang-ch'iu* (Continued Chronicle of the Chin) in 20 *chüan*.⁵² This information is corroborated by the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature."⁵³

Given the absence of further information about this author, I think we can safely conclude that T'an Tao-luan's *Hsü Chin yang-ch'iu* was a privately compiled work which consciously sought to complete Sun Sheng's *Chin yang-ch'iu*, written nearly a century earlier. As such, we know that it was written in chronicle format and that it, combined with Sun Sheng's work, constituted a complete history of the Chin period from beginning to end. The success of Tao-luan's history may be assessed by observing the large number of fragments preserved in later sources. These have been gathered by T'ang Ch'iu in his *Chin yang-ch'iu chi-pen*.⁵⁴

⁵¹*Sung shu* 94.2304, "Biography of Hsü Yüan." This is also repeated in *Nan shih* 77.1918.

⁵²*Nan shih* 72.1766, "Biographies of Literati."

⁵³*Sui shu* 33.958.

⁵⁴The fragments attributed to T'an Tao-luan are collected on pp. 59-83 of that work. See *Chin yang-ch'iu*

Another historian of this period was Kuo Chi-ch'an (fl. 465) who also wrote a continuation chronicle called *Hsü Chin chi* (Continued Annals of the Chin) in five *chüan*. Kuo Chi-ch'an appears once in the *Sung shu* in a brief passage which is datable to the year 465, but no mention of any historical work is included there.⁵⁵ In the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" we find a listing of a *Hsü Chin chi* (Continued Annals of the Chin) in five *chüan* by the Sung Grand Administrator of Hsin-hsing commandery, Kuo Chi-ch'an.⁵⁶ From this we may again infer that this was a privately compiled work in chronicle format which served to continue the work of one of the previous Chin histories with the title *Chin chi*. Since no other information about this work is given, and no fragments of it remain, we have no way of knowing which work it sought to continue or what temporal coverage it may have had.

A third historian datable to this general period of the 460s or 470s is Yüan Ping (fl. 469), whom we read about briefly in the section of literati biographies of Hsiao Tzu-hsien's (489-537) *Nan Ch'i shu* (History of the Southern Ch'i). There we are told that he possessed literary ability and was in the entourage of the Sung high official Yüan

chi-pen (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1937).

⁵⁵See *Sung shu* 57.1581/3-5, "Biography of Ts'ai Hsing-tsung." This same passage is also included in *Nan shih* 29.770/6-8.

⁵⁶*Sui shu* 33.958.

Ts'an (420-477), possibly around the year 469.⁵⁷ We are also informed that he wrote a *Chin shu* (History of the Chin), but did not complete it before his death, the date of which we do not know. Of course since he did not finish his work there is no mention of it in the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature," nor are there any surviving fragments.

In reviewing the information gathered above, we can see that the entire Sung period witnessed a considerable output of historical scholarship on the Chin. The table below

 Table V
 Chin Histories Written
 During the Sung Period

Hsü Kuang	<i>Chin chi</i>
Wang Shao-chih	<i>Chin chi</i>
Liu Ch'ien-chih	<i>Chin chi</i>
Hsieh Ling-yün	<i>Chin shu</i>
P'ei Sung-chih	<i>Chin chi</i>
Ho Fa-sheng	<i>Chin chung-hsing shu</i>
T'an Tao-luan	<i>Hsü Chin yang-ch'iu</i>
Kuo Chi-ch'an	<i>Hsü Chin chi</i>
Yüan Ping	<i>Chin shu</i>

⁵⁷The basic information on him is in *Nan Ch'i shu* 52.897/10. His *Nan shih* biography (72.1771/2-3) gives his name as Yüan Chung-ming. An outline of Yüan Ts'an's career may be found in his biography in *Sung shu* 89.2229-34. The *floruit* date of 469 for Yüan Ping is arrived at from the fact that Yüan Ts'an is mentioned as having an entourage during his tenure as Administrator of Tan-yang, which occurred during 469. See *Sung shu* 89.2231/8.

reveals a list of nine scholars and the names of their works. Most of these works were privately compiled, but the official involvement in the works of Hsü Kuang, Wang Shao-chih and Hsieh Ling-yün demonstrate the differing degrees to which the state could sponsor history writing. In the cases of Hsü Kuang and Hsieh Ling-yün, the state initiated their historiographical work, while for Wang Shao-chih, the state adopted what had been privately initiated, and sponsored its completion.

Another point we may note about these Sung period works is that all but one of them concentrated on accounts of the Eastern Chin. The lone exception to this trend was Hsieh Lin-yün's work which, although never finished, was to have covered the entire Chin period. Bearing all of this in mind, we may conclude that the Sung historians sought to focus on completing the unfinished accounts of the Eastern Chin, and also may have had an interest in writing accounts of a past which was more immediate to their time, and also may have had some relevance to their own personal or family history. By writing (or rewriting) the history of the recent past, they could show their own family, or those of their patrons or allies, in a more favorable light. Such personal involvement in the writing of history always constitutes an intriguing ingredient in the study of any historian's work. For this period, however, research into such questions remains difficult and elusive.

The Ch'i-Liang Historians

The history of the Southern Dynasties is riddled with incidents of rebellion and dynasty-building by newly risen military men who established governments in relatively rapid succession in the southern imperial capital. We have seen that the Eastern Chin came to an end at the hands of one such military man named Liu Yü. And after fifty years in power at Chien-k'ang, the tenuous fortunes of the Liu clan in turn came to an end as the result of an internal rebellion which was quelled by a military upstart named Hsiao Tao-ch'eng (427-482), who subsequently established his own regime in place of the Sung. He thus became the first emperor of the state of Ch'i, a short-lived regime which lasted from 479 to 502. The Ch'i dynasty was fraught with bitter internecine struggles, and soon came to a violent end at the hands of a military man named Hsiao Yen (464-549), who subsequently established the Liang dynasty (502-557).⁵⁸

During this period of drastic change and mutual brutality in which political treachery and assassination became common practice, the literate arts of poetry, prose composition and history writing persisted and continued to evolve. For the purposes of our study of Chin histor-

⁵⁸The political vicissitudes of the Sung, Ch'i and Liang dynasties are outlined in Wolfram Eberhard, *A History of China*, 4th ed., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 162-165; and in Jacques Gernet, *A History of Chinese Civilization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 183-185. For more detail, see Wang Chung-lo, *Wei Chin nan-pei-ch'ao shih*, pp. 391-398 and 441-458.

iography, it appears that the Ch'i-Liang period served as a time in which scholars privately undertook the writing of complete histories of the Chin. Of the five scholars whom we know worked during the period of the Ch'i and Liang dynasties (479-557), three (possibly four) are known to have written comprehensive histories of the Chin. The Ch'i-Liang era thus produced the final summation of nearly two and a half centuries of writing about the Chin, and provided Chinese scholars with what came to be the most important comprehensive work on the Chin: Tsang Jung-hsü's *Chin shu* (History of the Chin) in 110 *chüan*.

Of the works to be considered in this section, Tsang Jung-hsü's (425-488) is the most important and was the earliest to be compiled. Like the other scholars in this study, Tsang Jung-hsü was an able man of letters, but unlike them, he did not choose to serve as an official. For this reason we find his biography included in the section of biographies in the *Nan Ch'i shu* devoted to those who practiced "Lofty Disengagement" (*chüan* 54). In his biography we learn that, upon the eve of the founding of the Ch'i dynasty, he was summoned by Hsiao Tao-ch'eng to serve as his Master of Records, but did not accept.⁵⁹ Soon after Tao-ch'eng took the throne, one of his chief ministers, Ch'u

⁵⁹We are told that this occurred when Hsiao Tao-ch'eng was serving as Shepherd of Yang province, a position which is datable from 13 October 478, or six months prior to his ascent to the imperial throne. See *Nan Ch'i shu* 1.14.

Yüan (435-482), spoke to him of Tsang Jung-hsü's abilities as an historian. As part of his exhortation, he mentioned that Jung-hsü had privately written a complete history of the Chin in ten sets of volumes, and recommended that he would be a worthy scholar to work in the archives. The new emperor agreed with the recommendation, but no mention is made of Tsang Jung-hsü taking up any official post.⁶⁰

The fact that Ch'u Yüan was able to mention Jung-hsü's Chin history at the outset of the Ch'i dynasty tells us that the work was completed prior to 479, and therefore was done sometime before Tsang Jung-hsü was fifty-four years old. As to the content of the work, his biography tells us that, at an unspecified point in his life, he brought together accounts of the Western and Eastern Chin into one history which consisted of: annals (*chi*), tables? (*lu*), monographs (*chih*), and biographies (*chuan*) totaling 110 *chüan*. Nothing else is said by the *Nan Ch'i shu* author, Hsiao Tzu-hsien, about the content or quality of the work, but in his comments recommending Jung-hsü to the Ch'i emperor, Ch'u Yüan states that,

He compiled a Chin history in ten sets of volumes. And although his appraisals (*tsan*) and discourses (*lun*) lack outstanding talent, [his work] is still sufficient to fully string together a single age.⁶¹

⁶⁰*Nan Ch'i shu* 54.936.

⁶¹*Nan Ch'i shu* 54.936.

While praising his great efforts in writing a comprehensive history of the Chin, Ch'ü Yüan also points out that Tsang Jung-hsü's literary abilities do not rank him as an outstanding writer, certainly not in the class of his predecessor, Hsieh Ling-yün.

Regardless of his less than extraordinary talent as a writer, the most important testament to Tsang Jung-hsü's contribution as an historian of the Chin lies in the fact that his work was often quoted in later sources. This is made clear when we see that T'ang Ch'iu's collection of fragments includes 181 pages of material from his *Chin shu*.⁶² From these fragments we can also see that Tsang Jung-hsü's *Chin shu* began its account with an annals of Emperor Hsüan and thus stands as the first treatment of Ssuma I since those of Sun Sheng and Hsi Tso-ch'ih in the early 370s,⁶³ and the first annalistic treatment of him since those of Wang Yin and Yü Yü around the year 340.⁶⁴

The fact that Tsang Jung-hsü technically wrote his history during the Sung period would probably require us to consider him a Sung historian, but the fact that he was courted by Ch'ü officials, and that Hsiao Tzu-hsien includes him in his biographies of Ch'ü recluses, allows us some

⁶²See *Chiu-chia chiu Chin shu chi-pen*, pp. 1-181.

⁶³T'ang Ch'iu lists eleven fragments under the heading of Kao-tsu Hsüan-ti. See *Chiu-chia chiu Chin shu*, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁴On Wang Yin and Yü Yü's Chin histories see above, Chapter Three, pp. 111-119.

leeway in considering him a Ch'i historian. The most important point however to keep in mind is that this man worked in a private, in fact reclusive, capacity, which really places him somewhat outside of the usual link most scholars had with the dominant ruling house of their time.

As has been said in certain cases before, the abundance of fragmentary material surviving from Tsang Jung-hsü's *Chin shu* offers the opportunity for much fruitful investigation into the practice, ideals and content of the pre-T'ang Chin histories. The meticulous nature of this work requires further inquiry, but the presence of the Hsüan-ti fragments allows us to make some observations which will be discussed in Chapter Seven below.

In contrast with the informative, yet sparse, information we have on Tsang Jung-hsü, the next Chin historian known to us is discussed in only one line in the *Nan Ch'i shu*, and that doesn't even mention his historical work. In *Nan Ch'i shu* 52 we read of a certain Yü Hsien (fl. 487) who was employed during the Ch'i dynasty on the staff of the King of Yü-chang, Hsiao I (444-492), as an advisor and records-keeper.⁶⁵ The only mention of Yü Hsien's

⁶⁵Yü Hsien is described as serving on the staff of the Grand Minister of War (*ta ssu-ma*) who was Hsiao I (see *Nan Ch'i shu* 52.897). *Nan Ch'i shu* 3.53,59 attests that Hsiao I held that title from 487-492. It is interesting to note that Hsiao I was the second son of the Ch'i founder, Hsiao Tao-ch'eng, and the father of the author of the *Nan Ch'i shu*, Hsiao Tzu-hsien. Hsiao Tzu-hsien's biography of his father may be found in *chüan* 22 of the *Nan Ch'i shu*. A study of the historiography of that chapter would indeed

historical work is found in the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" which states that the Liang dynasty archives had a *Tung-Chin hsin shu* (New History of the Eastern Chin) in seven *chüan*, but that by Sui times this work was lost. All that we can say is that this was a minor history of the Eastern Chin by a man who is otherwise unknown to us.

One more minor historian whom we should mention is known to us only from his single entry in the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature." This is Cheng Chung, who wrote a *Chin shu* (History of the Chin), seven *chüan* of which was preserved in the Liang archives.⁶⁶ In the absence of any other information, all we can conjecture is that he may have lived and written sometime during the fifth century.

The next three historians to be discussed were all prominent men of letters of the Liang dynasty (502-557). The first of these is the famous poet and historian, Shen Yüeh (441-513). Shen Yüeh is perhaps best known as the author of the 100 *chüan Sung shu* (History of the Sung), but he also wrote histories of the Chin and Ch'i dynasties, as well as several other kinds of records.⁶⁷ Shen Yüeh's career is particularly interesting due to the fact that he

yield some interesting insights into the practice of early sixth century history writing.

⁶⁶See *Sui shu* 33.955.

⁶⁷The biography of Shen Yüeh in the *Liang shu* (History of the Liang) lists a total of eight compilations by him including his famous *Ssu-sheng p'u* (Register of the Four Tones). See *Liang shu* 13.243.

served as an official under three successive ruling houses (the Sung, Ch'i and Liang), the first two of which he chronicled in officially commissioned works. Yüeh's career, in addition to its variety and span of service, was also marked by a wide array of interests ranging from Buddhist study to the analysis of musical and poetic tonality.⁶⁸

As for Yüeh's labors in the writing of Chin history, we read in his own "Autobiographical Postface," found in *chüan* 100 of the *Sung shu*, that he had long cherished the idea of privately compiling a complete history of the Chin. The bulk of Yüeh's postface traces the history of his own family, and provides terse treatment (only five columns of text) of his own life and career.⁶⁹ These few comments focus almost exclusively on his career as an historian, and are followed by the text of his memorial submitting the *Sung shu* to the throne. Since the *Sung shu* was completed in the year 488, we may date the following comments to that time (Yüeh's 48th year).

I had often considered that the single period of the Chin house did not, after all, have a complete history;

⁶⁸We are fortunate to have a comprehensive biography of Shen Yüeh by Professor Richard B. Mather which treats all aspects of his life, literature and career. See his *The Poet Shen Yüeh (441-513): The Reticent Marquis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988). See in particular Chapter 4, "The Historian," pp. 26-36.

⁶⁹See *Sung shu* 100.2466. Later biographies of Shen Yüeh may be found in *Liang shu* 13.232-243 and *Nan shih* 57.1403-1414. About two thirds of the *Nan shih* account treats Yüeh's ancestors.

and when I was a bit more than twenty years old, I had the idea of compiling one. At the outset of the T'ai-shih era [465-471], the General Who Campaigns in the West, Ts'ai Hsing-tsung (417-474) recommended me [for official service] to Emperor Ming [of the Sung] (reg. 466-472). An imperial order granted his request. From that time until now, twenty and more years, I have compiled a history in 120 *chüan*. Although the sections and categories have been set up, the collection and assembly are not yet complete. At the outset of the Yung-ming era [483-493], some of it was plundered and I lost the fifth set of volumes. In the fourth year of the Chien-yüan era [482], it was not yet finished, when I was ordered to compile the [Ch'i] state history.⁷⁰

The fundamental point here is that Shen Yüeh did write most of his complete history of the Chin, but it was to remain incomplete due to theft and, it seems, lack of time. This resulted from subsequent engagement in other historical endeavors. He goes on in his account to mention that in 484 he was appointed Gentleman Compiler and commanded to "compile and set in order the Diary of Activity and Repose"; and in 487 he was ordered to compile the *Sung shu*: a task he carried out in the unprecedented period of just one year!⁷¹

Shen Yüeh began his work at a time (ca. 467) prior to that of his senior, Tsang Jung-hsü, but by the time he had

⁷⁰*Sung shu* 100.2466.

⁷¹As his memorial points out, his work was actually a continuation of that done by other historians before him, especially the Sung officials Ho Ch'eng-t'ien (370-447) and Hsü Yüan (394-475). On these matters see Mather, *The Poet Shen Yüeh*, pp. 26-28, 31-32.

completed it (or nearly so), Jung-hsü's work was done and the complete history of the Chin had at last been told by one author. Jung-hsü's work was comprehensive and intact and survived to circulate until early T'ang times, but Yüeh's history vanished during the century following its creation. The *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" lists it as existing in the Liang archives (in 111 *chüan*) but not in the Sui.⁷² The history has disappeared nearly without a trace save for five fragments preserved in Liang and T'ang sources,⁷³ and thus suggests that it was not well appreciated by succeeding generations.

The next two scholars who wrote Chin histories were the brothers Hsiao Tzu-hsien (489-537) and Hsiao Tzu-yün (487-549). Born into nobility (they were the sons of Hsiao I who was himself the second son of the Ch'i founder, Hsiao Tao-ch'eng), both of these men achieved repute as historians and men of letters during a period characterized by heightened attention to such matters.⁷⁴ Hsiao Tzu-hsien, whom we met earlier as the author of the *Nan Ch'i shu*, was the elder of

⁷²See *Sui shu* 33.955.

⁷³See T'ang Ch'iu, *Chiu-chia chiu Chin shu chi-pen*, p. 383.

⁷⁴For a discussion of the literary environment in which these two men lived, see Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, 1:11-21, "The Literary Milieu of the Liang and Xiao Tong's View of Literature."

the two,⁷⁵ and at the outset of his career had been praised for his literary ability by none other than Shen Yüeh. Early in his biography we also read that he privately compiled a history of the Later Han, basing his work on a careful study and comparison of the various other preceding histories. Shortly after this he received an imperial order to compile a history of the Ch'i, which of course he did.⁷⁶ Hsiao Tzu-hsien's abilities as an historian prompted the Liang founder, Emperor Wu (r. 502-549), to boast to him during an informal discussion saying, "I am writing a *T'ung shih* (Comprehensive History), and when it is complete all the rest of the histories can be discarded."⁷⁷ Tzu-hsien of course came up with a suitably witty response, but it is

⁷⁵Some confusion exists about this matter due to the fact that the dates of their births (489 for Tzu-hsien and 487 for Tzu-yün) would necessitate this order being reversed; but their biographies in the *Liang shu* state that Tzu-hsien was the eighth younger brother of Hsiao I's second son, Tzu-k'o, and Tzu-yün was the ninth younger brother. Their biographies are also arranged with Tzu-hsien's before Tzu-yün's. The dates given are calculated from their biographies, and modern scholars also use these dates, but I have yet to find any discussion or attempt to resolve this contradiction in secondary sources. See *Liang shu* 35.511-516.

⁷⁶*Liang shu* 35.511. His biography states that he compiled a *Hou Han shu* in 100 *chüan*, but it did not survive until Sui times. The *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" lists it as existing only in the Liang archives. See *Sui shu* 33.954.

⁷⁷*Liang shu* 35.511/11. This work was completed in a staggering 480 *chüan* which covered from the Three Augusti down to the Liang. It is listed in the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" (*Sui shu* 33.956), but of course no longer exists.

the exchange itself which is offered as an indication of his standing at the court as an historian of sufficient repute that the emperor would seek to impress him.

We know that Tzu-hsien wrote other historical records as well as a substantial collection of verse and other writings, but his Chin history is known to us only through the *Sui shu*. There it records a *Chin shih ts'ao* (Draft History of the Chin) in 30 *chüan*.⁷⁸ We have no way of knowing its coverage, when it was written or even if it was a completed work. Five fragments, which have been very tenuously identified as coming from Hsiao Tzu-hsien's brush, have been collected by T'ang Ch'iu.⁷⁹ All I think it is safe to say is that here we see another case of a talented and prolific scholar of the period who found it worthwhile to devote some time to privately compiling a history of the Chin.

Hsiao Tzu-hsien's brother was also attracted to the subject of Chin history. Like others before him, he had set his intention on compiling a comprehensive history of the Chin. We read that when Hsiao Tzu-yün reached the age of capping (20 *sui*) he concentrated on writing this history which he continued until his twenty-sixth year [511] when his work was completed. As was customary, he submitted the work to the throne, and it was accepted and placed in the

⁷⁸*Sui shu* 33.955.

⁷⁹T'ang Ch'iu, *Chiu-chia chiu Chin shu chi-pen*, p. 381.

Liang imperial archives.⁸⁰

As with his brother, Tzu-yün was recognized at court as a talented historian, and in 515 began his official career as Gentleman Archivist and was then transferred to the post of Groom to the Heir Designate (*t'ai-tzu she-jen*). The Liang heir designate at that time was of course the Crown Prince Chao-ming, Hsiao T'ung (501-531), who was a great sponsor of literature and the compiler of the literary anthology, *Wen hsüan* (Selections of Refined Literature).⁸¹ Little is said of his activity while at the palace, but we are told while there he compiled a work entitled *Tung-kung hsin chi* (New Record of the Eastern Palace) which, from its title may be taken to have been some type of historical record, but was in fact a compilation of ceremonial conduct.⁸² Tzu-hsien continued to serve in the Liang bureaucracy, holding numerous posts in the capital and the

⁸⁰See *Liang shu* 35.513.

⁸¹Hsiao T'ung's biography may be found in *Liang shu* 8.165-171. See also the discussion of Hsiao T'ung in Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, pp. 4-11, "Xiao Tong's Life and the Compilation of the *Wen xuan*."

⁸²This work in 20 *chüan* is listed in the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Bureaucracy" (33.969) under the category of *I-chu* (Notes on Ceremonial). For a discussion of this category and its place within the larger heading of "History," see the discussion included by the T'ang compilers of this monograph in 33.971-72. This, and all of the essays in the "Monograph on Literature" section of the *Sui shu* (except for the last section, which treats Buddhist literature), has been translated (with annotations) into Japanese by Kōzen Hiroshi and Kawai Kōzō. See their "*Zuisho keisekishijo yakuchū*" (parts 1-7), *Chūgoku bungaku hō*, Nos. 25-32 (1975-1980).

provinces. In the end he died in 549 during the chaos resulting from the Hou Ching rebellion of 548-552.⁸³

Hsiao Tzu-yün's *Chin shu* in 110 *chüan* may well have been the last Chin history compiled prior to the T'ang work of 646-648. We know Tzu-yün completed his account in 511 but, since we do not have a date for the production of his brother's history, we cannot be sure whose was last. We can be sure that these works were done within a decade or two of one another, and that Hsiao Tzu-yün's *Chin shu* stood beside that of Tsang Jung-hsü as the second great complete history of the Chin. Something important about the work's impact however is revealed when we note that only two fragments from Tzu-yün's history have survived.⁸⁴ Such scant attention by later scholars stands as mute condemnation of the history's authority.

Like many of the other lost Chin histories, we know next to nothing about the content of this work, except for the fact that it was comprehensive, and was compiled in the "annals and biographies" format. One small piece of information about one aspect of Tzu-yün's work nevertheless may be gleaned from an anecdote in his biography. We are

⁸³A convenient discussion on Hou Ching and his rebellion, which was responsible for the death of Emperor Wu of the Liang, is given in Eberhard, *History of China*, pp.164-165.

⁸⁴See T'ang Ch'iu, *Chiu-chia chiu Chin shu chi-pen*, p. 379. Of the two fragments preserved, it is possible that one should be attributed to Hsiao Tzu-hsien.

told that Hsiao Tzu-yün was a talented calligrapher in the "grass" (*ts'ao*) and "clerical" (*li*) styles, and that when he came to writing the biographies of the famous Eastern Chin calligrapher Wang Hsi-chih (321-379) and his son, Wang Hsien-chih (344-386), he wanted to compose a discourse on the grass and clerical styles. He could not, however, fully express his ideas and instead only commented on one particular aspect of the art of these men.⁸⁵ This point is only a minor one, but it does offer some small insight into the process and attraction that Chin history writing had for this scholar.

The work of the brothers Hsiao in the early decades of the sixth century served to close the last chapter of the story of the Chin historians of the pre-T'ang period. As we review the names of the five scholars and their histories in the table below, we should be aware that their work stood as the culmination of a more than two hundred year period (ca. 300 - ca. 520) of writing about the Chin; but did not supercede the works of their predecessors. The histories of Kan Pao, Wang Yin, Sun Sheng, Hsi Tso-ch'ih and Ho Fa-sheng are cited numerous times in later sources, and therefore remained vital contributions to the inquiry into the record of the long span of Chin history. As we shall see in the

⁸⁵See *Liang shu* 35.515/5-7. As will be noted in Chapter Five below, T'ang T'ai-tsung, who was also a calligrapher, wrote an essay which is appended to the *Chin shu* biographies of the two Wangs. See *Chin shu* 80.2107-08.

next chapter, even though these and the other Chin histories

 Table VI
 Chin Histories of the
 Ch'i-Liang Period

Tsang Jung-hsü	<i>Chin shu</i>
Yü Hsien	<i>Tung Chin hsin-shu</i>
Shen Yüeh	<i>Chin shu</i>
Hsiao Tzu-yün	<i>Chin shu</i>
Hsiao Tzu-hsien	<i>Chin shih ts'ao</i>

stood for 130 years as sufficient testimony for the Chin, in a sentiment reminiscent of that of Emperor Wu of the Liang, the second T'ang emperor, T'ai-tsung (r. 626-649), felt it necessary to supercede these works by ordering the compilation of a new, comprehensive, official history of the Chin.

CHAPTER FIVE
T'ANG OFFICIAL HISTORY AND THE
COMPILATION OF THE *HSIN CHIN SHU*

The blossoming of history writing which took place during the Southern Dynasties period (318-589) engendered a considerable quantity of works devoted to the history of the two Chin dynasties. As was seen in the preceding two chapters, more than two dozen historical works focusing on Chin history were produced, thus making it the most copiously treated period of China's early history.¹ Of these many works, two are known to have covered the entire period and thus served as comprehensive accounts of the age.² Therefore, by the time of the reunification of China by the Sui house in the 580s, and the attendant efforts toward refurbishing the imperial archives and establishing proper historical accounts of the recent past, the Chin record was seen as suitably complete and not in need of any further imperially sponsored work. As we shall see, this

¹The period which figured as the next closest was the Later Han (A.D. 25-220) which was the subject of at least fifteen historical works. See *Sui shu* 33.954, 957-58; and Bielenstein, "Restoration," pp. 10-13. For a convenient tabulation of the various (non-canonical) histories written for each of the dynasties from the Later Han through the Sui, see Li Tsung-yeh, *Chung-kuo li-shih yao-chi chieh-shao* (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi ch'u-pan she, 1982), pp. 157-162.

²These were Tsang Jung-hsü's (415-488) *Chin shu* in 110 *chüan* and Hsiao Tzu-yün's (487-549) *Chin shu* also in 110 *chüan*. For a discussion of these works see Chapter Four, pp. 189-202 above.

view held for all of the Sui-T'ang imperial history projects (of the 580s and 620s) which sought to compile accounts of certain of the hitherto insufficiently treated northern and southern dynasties. For nearly sixty years after the Sui unification of 589 the Chin histories of the Southern Dynasties period served both scholars and state as the final word on matters relating to the Chin.

In the spring of 646, the second T'ang emperor, T'ai-tsung (reg. 626-649), sought to change this situation and issued an edict calling for the compilation of a new, imperially sponsored history of the Chin. The promulgation of this edict set into motion a body of twenty-one scholar-officials who were to draw upon the extant wealth of historical writings and documentary materials pertaining to the Chin, and fashion a new history which would serve as the official account of that period. The labors of these scholars were completed within three years' time (646-648) and produced a work in 130 chapters which was known at the time as the *Hsin Chin shu* (New History of the Chin). Just as T'ai-tsung had hoped, this new Chin history superceded the many others, and remains to this day the single comprehensive account of that period.

The first question which must be asked about T'ai-tsung's *Chin shu* project is: Why did he call for a new history to be compiled when it was previously felt to be unnecessary? And it may also be asked: What discernable

interest and views did T'ai-tsung have toward the Chin period as a whole and toward Ssu-ma I in particular? And finally: What does the *Hsin Chin shu* itself have to say about Ssu-ma I, and how does it differ from what we know of previous accounts of him? While an investigation into this last question will be undertaken in Chapter Seven below, it is the task of the present chapter to inquire into the other issues concerning the compilation of the *Hsin Chin shu*.

Sui Accounts of the Recent Past

As a prelude to the study of the T'ang Chin history, it is important to first become acquainted with the Sui-T'ang history projects which preceded it. This will not only help us to understand the process of imperial historiography as practiced by these rulers, but it will also provide some insights into the ideological concerns which informed the imperially sponsored history writing of this period, and the *Hsin Chin shu* in particular.

During the years of China's division into northern and southern dynasties (318-589), two distinct political and cultural traditions evolved which in turn embodied two separate historiographical strains. It is one of the achievements of the Sui rulers that these traditions were brought together to form a new synthesis, which itself formed the basis for further unitary development under the

T'ang.³ In historiographical terms, the new unity brought about by the Sui rulers placed them in the position of custodians of China's documentary and historical past. As had been the case in previous post-civil war eras, one of the first tasks of the political unifiers was to rejuvenate the imperial archives.⁴

For the Sui, the initiative for this bibliographic enterprise came from an official named Niu Hung (545-610) who, at the outset of the Sui period of rule (4 March 581), was appointed Superintendent of the Imperial Archives. At the beginning of his tenure as the chief archivist for the Sui house Niu Hung submitted a lengthy memorial to the new emperor, Yang Chien (known to history as Sui Wen-ti, reg. 581-604), in which he called for the collection of the important texts and documents of the empire. The reasons for this suggestion were of course as much political as they were practical.

The memorial, which is preserved in Hung's *Sui shu* biography, discusses the importance of China's written heritage, its connection with enlightened government, and

³For a thorough discussion of the background of various of the Sui-T'ang institutions see Ch'en Yin-k'o, *Sui T'ang chih-tu yüan-yüan lüeh-lun kao* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1963). In his introductory remarks, Ch'en points out three main areas of origin for Sui and T'ang institutions: 1) Northern Wei and Northern Ch'i, 2) Liang and Ch'en and, 3) Western Wei and Chou (see p.1).

⁴This had been done, for example, in 202 B.C., A.D. 25, 220, and 318.

the consequent need to replenish the imperial archives.

Toward the end of the memorial he says,

We know that [matters pertaining to] the management of a realm and the establishment of government are to be found in the canons and councils. As for the basis of a state, nothing is as important as they are.⁵

Hung perpetuates the long standing Chinese tradition which linked the practice of good government with the maintenance and consultation of past writings. As he states at the outset of his memorial,

Diagrams and markings originated with P'ao Hsi; graphs and characters arose with Ts'ang Chieh. These are the means by which the sages widely disseminated their teachings and instructions, and broadly comprehended past and present.⁶

The sage ruler consults the past through its extant literary

⁵*Sui shu* 49.1300/4, "Biography of Niu Hung." The entire memorial may be found on pp. 1297-1300. In his book, *The Sui Dynasty*, Arthur Wright offers the following summary of the memorial:

Niu reviewed the initiatives taken by rulers from remote antiquity onward to collect and preserve writings. He also reviewed the five disasters in which books and documents had been destroyed in the repeated civil upheavals from the end of the Former Han on down to the rise of the Sui. . . . He then goes on to say that it is intolerable for private houses to possess books that are lacking in the royal offices, that it is necessary to encourage owners to come forward out of awe of the power of heavenly government or to attract them with the hope of profit.

Wright also includes translations of a few lines from the conclusion of the memorial. See Arthur Wright, *The Sui Dynasty, The Unification of China, A.D. 581-617* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), pp. 122-123.

⁶*Sui shu* 49.1297/7-8.

heritage, and therefore he must have both familiarity with and control over that heritage in the form of well stocked archives. Hung's recommendation was to offer rewards and money for the submission of extant texts which were lacking in the imperial archives, so that the majesty of the new ruler might be demonstrated, and so he would have appropriate tools for wise government.

The Sui emperor adopted Hung's recommendation, and during the following couple of years (ca. 582-83) a collection of books and documents was successfully undertaken; and in recognition of his advice and service to the emperor, Niu Hung was conferred with the noble title of Duke of Ch'i-chang commandery.⁷ Arthur Wright characterizes the results of the project as follows:

As the proposal was carried out, the government's representatives offered one roll of silk for each roll (chapter) of writing. And when the imperial librarians had collated and copied a book, it was returned to its owner. Inevitably, spurious texts were concocted to get the reward, and indeed the sworn brother of the hapless scholar Liu Cho was indicted and convicted on a charge of forging one hundred rolls for the imperial collectors; he escaped execution because of an amnesty but was degraded to the rank of a commoner. Nevertheless, the first imperial effort to reassemble the literary heritage, augmented by other measures later in the dynasty--notably after the conquest of the south--was a success. For the reassertion of cultural

⁷*Sui shu* 49.1300/8-9.

hegemony, it had great symbolic importance; for posterity, it preserved materials on a vital if disordered period of China's history.⁸

Indeed the Sui bibliographic project represented a monumental achievement for the new ruling house, and the surviving catalogue of the Sui imperial library⁹ serves us today as an indispensable guide to the pre-Sui literary past.

Although direct evidence is lacking, it appears that the bibliographic project, as part of the more general efforts toward restructuring the state, may have spawned certain historiographical activities as well. As had been the case with most of the ruling houses since the Later Han, the Sui established an apparatus for maintaining the ongoing records of the state and dynasty. In addition to this process of contemporary historical writing, Sui Wen-ti also called for histories of previous dynasties to be compiled. The presence of a rejuvenated archives certainly aided such an enterprise, if it did not in fact contribute to its initiation.

While it is known that Sui Wen-ti called for the

⁸Wright, *The Sui Dynasty*, p. 123.

⁹This catalogue was included as part of the "Monograph on Literature" (*Ching-chi chih*), which now constitutes chapters 32-35 of the *Sui shu*. The monograph chapters which are now included in the *Sui shu* were originally written to be appended to the seventh century *Wu-tai shih* (History of the Five Dynasties), and were completed in the year 656. On the *Wu-tai shih* see pp. 237-250 below.

compilation of certain histories of previous dynasties (*ch'ien-tai shih*), it does not appear that these projects were inaugurated by any single edict. Instead, the emperor commanded that works be undertaken either for reasons that originated with him, or because they had been privately begun and he wished them to be completed under imperial auspices. From the evidence available to us, it appears that the commissioning of these histories was undertaken on an ad hoc basis, and precise information concerning the dates and circumstances of the various projects is lacking in our sources.

As we take up the question of the Sui *ch'ien-tai* history projects, it is perhaps best to look at these works in terms of the subject matter they sought to cover. In all cases this involved the treatment of individual dynasties which we may list in the following four groups:

- 1) T'o-pa Wei (386-534)
- 2) Northern Ch'i (550-577)
- 3) Northern Chou (557-581)
- 4) Liang (502-557) and Ch'en (557-589)

It is not known in precisely what order projects dealing with these topics were commissioned, but we are told that most of the Sui projects were undertaken during the K'ai-huang era (581-600) of Sui Wen-ti's reign.

Of the aforementioned projects, we are the least well informed about the historiographical work pertaining to the

Chou, the ruling house which the Sui had replaced in the spring of 581. Liu Chih-chi informs us that the collection of records pertaining to the Chou dynasty (ruled by the Yü-wen clan) began with Liu Ch'iu (501-554), who served the Yü-wen controlled Western Wei dynasty (535-557) as Assistant of the Imperial Archives and Gentleman Compiler. Even though Ch'iu did not live during the period of nominal Chou rule, he is credited by Liu Chih-chi with beginning the compilation of historical records pertaining to the court dominated by the Chou founder Yü-wen T'ai (507-556).

With the formal establishment of the Chou house in 557,¹⁰ steps were taken to continue the compilation of dynastic records, but there is no mention of any state history having been written during the Chou period of rule. Liu Chih-chi goes on to say that:

During the K'ai-huang era [581-600] of the Sui, the Superintendent of the Imperial Archives, Niu Hung, took up the compilation of a *Chou chi* (Annals of the Chou) [of which he completed] eighteen *p'ien*. He made a general presentation of basic matters, but there were some contradictions and mistakes.¹¹

No mention of Niu Hung's work on a history of the Chou is made in his *Sui shu* biography, and the only other information we possess about his work is the notice of it in

¹⁰According to *Chou shu* 3.46, Yü-wen T'ai's third son, Chüeh, ascended the throne as the first Chou ruler on new year's day, 15 February 557.

¹¹*Shih t'ung t'ung-shih* 12.369.

the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" which lists the work as a *Chou shih* (History of the Chou) in eighteen *chüan*, and says that it had not been completed.¹²

The paucity of information concerning Niu Hung's Chou history leaves several questions unanswered: When was it written? Was it officially commissioned by the emperor? Was it titled *Chou chi* or *Chou shih*? Why was it never completed? The only matter which directly bears on our investigation here is whether or not this was an imperially commissioned work. While we cannot say that it definitely was imperially commissioned, we may hypothesize that if it were written by Niu Hung in his capacity as Superintendent of the Imperial Archives (as Liu Chih-chi leads us to believe), it was probably initiated at the emperor's request and it was therefore done early in the reign, since Hung held that office from 581-583.¹³ As chief archivist and the man responsible for the imperial collection of the empire's important literature, Niu Hung was arguably the

¹²*Sui shu* 33.956.

¹³Hung's biography states that in 583 he was made Master Writer in the Bureau of Rites. See *Sui shu* 49.1300. The *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" (33.956) states that this Chou history was compiled by a "Master Writer in the Bureau of Personnel, Niu Hung." The *Sui shu* "Annals" (2.44) states that Hung was appointed to that office on 27 September 599, and we know that he held that position until his death in 610. While this information may lead us to believe that the work was therefore written sometime after 599, we must remember that the inclusion of official titles before an author's name in Chinese bibliographies reflects not the author's post at the time he wrote the work, but simply the title with which he was most often associated.

logical choice to compile (or direct the compilation of) a history of the recently eclipsed Chou dynasty. A further argument in favor of imperial sponsorship arises from the fact that Emperor Wen forbade the private writing of history¹⁴--a law which the emperor's primary custodian of archives would not likely violate.

Another case of Sui history writing where imperial involvement is more certain is the compilation of histories of the Northern Ch'i dynasty. Accounts of the Northern Ch'i (550-577) found a healthier base of documentation and compilation upon which to build than had been the case for the Chou.¹⁵ Two Sui officials who had served the Northern Ch'i court at Yeh undertook their own separate compilations which were then sanctioned by Emperor Wen. Wang Shao (ob. ca. 607) drew upon Ch'i court diaries and other supplementary materials to privately compile a twenty *chüan* work in chronicle format known as the *Ch'i chih* (Record of the Ch'i). We read in Shao's *Sui shu* biography that he compiled the work at home while on leave from his official duties (due to the observance of mourning for his deceased

¹⁴For mention of this prohibition, see the discussion of the private compilation of a history of the Northern Ch'i by Wang Shao below. This is also mentioned by Arthur Wright in the context of "the assertion of imperial control over the written word." See *The Sui Dynasty*, pp. 123-24.

¹⁵Liu Chih-chi outlines the various historiographical activities concerning Ch'i history which were undertaken during that dynasty's period of rule. See *Shih t'ung t'ung-shih*, 12.368.

mother) and therefore in violation of the Sui prohibition against the private compilation of history. Emperor Wen was informed about this and became angry, but was pleased with the work when he perused it.¹⁶ No mention is made of exactly what happened next, but it is not unreasonable to assume that the work was then put in the imperial archives, since we find it listed in the Sui catalogue.¹⁷ Wang Shao was subsequently promoted to become a Court Diarist and later was placed in charge of the Sui state history itself,¹⁸ and soon became one of Emperor Wen's trusted advisors.

Another Ch'i history project, which actually began during the Ch'i period itself, is associated with a former Ch'i official named Li Te-lin (531-591). Li Te-lin, along with an official named Wei Tan (about whom more will be said

¹⁶*Sui shu* 69.1601, "Biography of Wang Shao."

¹⁷The *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" (33.958) lists the work as ten *chüan*, and Liu Chih-chi says (*Shih t'ung t'ung-shih* 12.369) that it was in sixteen *chüan*, but an "original note" to the *Shih-t'ung* passage says that the preface to the work states that it was originally in twenty *chüan*.

¹⁸Toward the end of his biography we find the following: "Shao was a [Gentleman] Compiler for nearly twenty years. He was in full charge of the state history and wrote a *Sui shu* (History of the Sui) in eighty *chüan*." We are also told that toward the end of his career he held the office of Lesser Superintendent of the Imperial Archives, and that he also wrote another Ch'i history--a 100 *chüan* work in annals and biographies format titled *Ch'i shu* (History of the Ch'i). See *Sui shu* 69.1609. Neither of these other histories of Shao's is mentioned in the Sui or T'ang bibliographies.

below in connection with the history of the T'o-pa Wei), had served the Ch'i court as official historians and had begun a Ch'i history at that time. Liu Chih-chi tells us that Li compiled a Ch'i history in annals and biographies format comprising twenty-seven *chüan*. He goes on to say that "At the outset of the K'ai-huang era, [Li] received an edict to continue the compilation." The work was continued and brought up to thirty-eight *p'ien* (= *chüan*), after which it was placed in the Imperial Archives.¹⁹ As we shall see below, Te-lin's son, Li Pai-yao (565-648), was later commanded to finish his father's work and bring to completion the history of the Northern Ch'i--the work which has survived until today as the standard history of that dynasty.

Sui imperial sponsorship of histories of the recent past became the most pronounced with the project concerning the history of the T'o-pa Wei dynasty (386-534). By the time of the Sui unification of north China, the long lived T'o-pa Wei dynasty had been the subject of numerous historical accounts. Chief among these was the 130 *chüan*

¹⁹See *Shih-t'ung t'ung-shih* 12.368, and *Sui shu* 42.1208/14, "Biography of Li Teh-lin," which states simply "[He] was ordered to compile a Ch'i history, [but it was] not completed." Teh-lin's history is not mentioned in the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature," but is listed in the *Chiu T'ang shu* "Monograph on Literature" as the *Pei Ch'i wei-hsiu shu* (Unfinished History of the Northern Ch'i) in twenty-four *chüan*. See *Chiu T'ang shu* 46.1990. On Wei Tan and Li Teh-lin at the Ch'i court, see *Sui shu* 58.1416/10, "Biography of Wei Tan."

Wei shu (History of the Wei) which had been compiled by a committee headed by a Northern Ch'i Superintendent of the Imperial Archives named Wei Shou (506-572). Wei Shou's history, which had been completed in 554, immediately became the object of criticism, but remained the standard complete account until the Sui period.²⁰

Once again, we read that sometime during the K'ai-huang era an imperial order was issued for the compilation of a new history. In this case the emperor ordered a committee headed by a Gentleman Compiler named Wei Tan (ca. 531-ca. 595) to put together a new history of the Wei. The committee, which included Yen Chih-t'ui (531-590?), Hsin Teh-yüan (n.d.) and Hsieh Teh-hsin (n.d.), was charged with the task of "rectifying Shou's failings,"²¹ which are said to have included an insufficient application of the principle of praise and blame.²² Albert Dien, in his

²⁰On Wei Shou's history and the criticism of it, see *Pei Ch'i shu* 37.487-89, "Biography of Wei Shou"; *Shih-t'ung t'ung-shih* 12.365; James R. Ware, "Notes on the History of the Wei Shu," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 52 (1932): 35-45; and Chou I-liang, "Wei Shou chih shih-hsüeh," *Yen-ching hsüeh-pao* 18 (1935): 107-146. For a survey of the materials pertaining to Wei Shou's life, see Miao Yüeh, "Wei Shou nien-p'u," *Ssu-ch'uan ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao--she-hui, k'o-hsüeh pan* (1957) No. 3, reprinted in Miao Yüeh, *Tu shih ts'un kao* (Hong Kong: San-lien shu-chü, 1978): 161-206. Wei Shou's *Wei shu* exists today in 117 *chüan* and serves as the standard account of the Wei period.

²¹This is the terse explanation given by Liu Chih-chi in *Shih t'ung t'ung-shih* 12.365.

²²This explanation is taken from the *Sui shu* account of the compilation of the *Wei shu* given in Wei Tan's biography.

discussion of Yen Chih-t'ui and his role in this project, has the following to say about the reasons for a new Sui history of the Wei:

The reason that a new history was deemed necessary had little or nothing to do with the criticism, for it was rather a matter of the succession of dynasties. Wei Shou had naturally treated the Eastern Wei as the legitimate successor to the Northern Wei, for he wrote during the Northern Ch'i, which had replaced the Eastern Wei. The Sui dynasty, however, traced its succession through the Chou to the Western Wei, and that made a new history mandatory.²³

There can be little doubt that such dynastic considerations informed Emperor Wen's decision to call for a new history, since the origins of one's ruling house played an essential role in the ideology of the state, and the sponsorship of history writing was certainly a part of that ideology.

Wei Tan and his committee completed their work and produced a new Wei history in ninety-two *chüan* which was

The passage states: "Kao-tsu [Emperor Wen] felt that, in the history compiled by Wei Shou, [the application of] praise and blame lacked substance (*pao pien shih shih*); and that, in the *Chung-hsing shu* (History of the Restoration) compiled by P'ing Hui, events were not conveyed in an orderly way (*shih pu lun hsü*). [Therefore] he ordered Tan to complete a separate Wei history" (*Sui shu* 58.1417). The identification of P'ing Hui or his *Chung-hsing shu* is unclear. Neither one is mentioned in the Sui or T'ang bibliographies nor are they referred to by Liu Chih-chi.

²³Albert E. Dien, *Pei Ch'i shu* 45: *Biography of Yen Chih-t'ui* (Frankfurt/M. and München: Peter Lang, 1976), p. 32.

also called *Wei shu* (History of the Wei).²⁴ The work apparently rectified the shortcomings of the previous histories and was praised by Emperor Wen upon his inspection of it.²⁵ This new history of the Wei however did not, in the end, supplant Wei Shou's work. In fact, it was seen as unsatisfactory by Emperor Wen's son and successor, Yang Kuang (known to history as Sui Yang-ti, reg. 604-617) who ordered that yet another Wei history be compiled; but this work was never completed.²⁶

²⁴The information given in Wei Tan's biography states that the work covered the period from the reign of Emperor Tao-wu (r. 386-409) through that of Emperor Kung [of the Western Wei] (r. 554-557) and consisted of twelve chapters of annals and seventy-eight of biographies. In addition there was also a chapter which consisted of (a) historical discourse(s) (*shih-lun*) and principles(?) (*li*) as well as a table of contents (*mu-lu*). In total therefore there were ninety-two chapters. See *Sui shu* 58.1417. The *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" (33.956) lists the work as a *Hou Wei shu* (History of the Later Wei) in 100 *chüan* compiled by the Gentleman Compiler Wei Yen-shen (Yen-shen was Wei Tan's cognomen). The *Chiu T'ang shu* bibliography (46.1990) lists Tan's work as being 107 *chüan*. I can think of no explanation which accounts for these increasing numbers of chapters in the bibliographies.

The term "Hou" was applied to both Wei Tan's and Wei Shou's histories in the *Sui shu* bibliography and seems therefore to apply to the subject of the work, as a means of differentiating it from histories of the Ts'ao Wei dynasty which were also called *Wei shu*. There was yet another *Hou Wei shu* written during the seventh century by a certain Chang Ta-su (fl. ca. 650). See *Chiu T'ang shu* 46.1990, 68.2507. On some of the difficulties which have arisen from later citation of the *Hou Wei shu*, see Scott A. Pearce, "The Yü-wen Regime in Sixth Century China," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1987, pp. 736-746, Appendix A, "The *Hou Wei shu*."

²⁵*Sui shu* 58.1419.

²⁶Liu Chih-chi offers the following brief passage

The last Sui *ch'ien-tai* history project about which we have some knowledge concerns the Liang (502-557) and Ch'en (557-589) dynasties. In this case, as with Wang Shao's history of the Northern Ch'i, the Sui rulers gave their approval to works which had been previously initiated. Historical work on the Liang and Ch'en dynasties had of course been undertaken during their respective tenures of rule, but the labors of one scholar in particular came to the attention of Sui Wen-ti following the Sui conquest of Ch'en in February of 589.²⁷ This scholar was Yao Ch'a (533-606)--a man whom had long been known for his learning, and who had been an active official at the Ch'en court since its establishment.

Among the many posts he had filled in the Ch'en bureaucracy, Ch'a held the office of Superintendent of the Imperial Archives during the 580s, and had been a participant in the compilation of historical records

concerning this project: "Emperor Yang felt that Tan's history was still not praiseworthy, and ordered his Vice Director of the Left, Yang Su, to make a separate compilation. The Scholars P'an Hui, Ch'u Liang and Ou-yang Hsün assisted him. When Su died (606), the project ceased." See *Shih t'ung t'ung-shih* 12.365.

²⁷According to the *Sui shu* annals (2.32), Sui troops under the command of General Han Ch'in-hu entered the Ch'en capital at Chien-yeh on 2 February 589, at which time the last Ch'en emperor, Ch'en Shu-pao, was taken into custody and deposed. The *Ch'en shu* annals (6.117) record the event under 10 February. For a general discussion of the Sui conquest see Arthur Wright, *The Sui Dynasty*, pp. 139-156, Chapter 6, "Conquest of the South."

pertaining to both the Liang and Ch'en dynasties at various times since the 550s. In 589 Ch'a and his family moved to the newly built Sui capital of Ta-hsing ch'eng²⁸ where he was appointed to the office of Assistant of the Imperial Archives, and was subsequently commanded to complete the histories of the Liang and Ch'en dynasties.²⁹ It appears that the work Ch'a had done on these histories prior to the Sui conquest was in his capacity as an official historian rather than as a private scholar. Under Emperor Wen, therefore, he was continuing his official accounts of these two dynasties.

Ch'a did not finish his work before his death in 606; but, just before his passing, he urged his son, Yao Ssu-lien (ca. 558-637), to continue his work and bring it to completion. Ssu-lien did as his father requested and received the approval of Emperor Yang to continue the work.³⁰ By the end of the Sui period however the Liang and Ch'en histories remained unfinished.³¹

²⁸For a discussion of the new Sui capital (located near Ch'ang-an) see Wright, *The Sui Dynasty*, pp. 83-90. Wright also discusses (pp. 153-55) the post-conquest reception of the Ch'en ruler and his officials by Emperor Wen in the Sui capital.

²⁹*Ch'en shu* 27.352/1, "Biography of Yao Ch'a."

³⁰Yao Ssu-lien's continuation of his father's work under the Sui is mentioned in *Ch'en shu* 27.354 and *Chiu T'ang shu* 73.2592, "Biography of Yao Ssu-lien."

³¹Of these two histories, the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" (33.956) only lists a *Liang shu ti-chi* (Imperial

As we can see from this discussion there was more than a passing involvement on the part of the Sui rulers in the compilation of histories of the recent past. First, the writing of history was seen as an imperial enterprise which could be either sponsored (and thereby manipulated) or prohibited by the state. Works which the emperors felt should be compiled (as with the Chou and Wei histories) were initiated by imperial command, and works which had been undertaken privately but were of good quality (as with the Northern Ch'i and the Liang and Ch'en histories) were co-opted into the system of imperial sponsorship. Second, in practical terms, these projects sought to bring forth a clear account of recent dynasties so that scholars and officials could have access to matters of the past from which they could learn and draw lessons. Third, in political terms, these historiographical undertakings constituted a part of what Arthur Wright has called "the restoration of cultural hegemony," and therefore served to strengthen the prestige of the Sui imperial house and help secure its position as legitimate ruler of a reunified China.³²

What can be seen from this rather terse review of the

Annals of a History of the Liang) in seven *chüan*, which is attributed to Yao Ch'a.

³²This idea is discussed by Wright in *The Sui Dynasty*, pp. 108-138, Chapter 5, "The Restoration of Cultural Hegemony."

Sui projects is that dynastic principles of history writing were upheld (i.e., that dynastic periodization was the norm) and that didacticism was applied (characterized by the appeal for the use of "praise and blame" and the need to portray dynastic origins in a favorable light). The Sui rulers, especially Emperor Wen, clearly advocated the importance of history writing--both pertaining to their own ruling house and of those which had recently expired. History was important to the state and the dynasty, even if it did not hold the same importance in the daily practice of government as state ritual, law enforcement or taxation. Although Wei Tan's *Wei shu* was the only imperially sponsored *ch'ien-tai* history to be completed under the Sui,³³ an important trend in the compilation of official histories of previous dynasties had been established, and consequently provided a basis for the further institutionalization which took place under the T'ang.

T'ang Accounts of the Recent Past

The Sui dynasty had done much to reunify the long divided Chinese empire and, as we have seen, the sponsorship of history writing played a part in that effort. After thirty years of rule however, the newly reunified empire began to encounter troubles which eventually led to its fall

³³Wang Shao's history of the Northern Ch'i was the only other of the histories mentioned here which was completed, but this had been done in a private capacity.

into rebellion and civil war. The last years of Sui Yang-ti's reign witnessed numerous difficulties which for the most part arose from his failed military campaigns (of 611-12, 613, and 614) against the state of Koguryo in the northeast. The burden of the campaigns gave rise to local rebellions which grew in number and extent from 613 to 617. Incursions by the Eastern Turks also caused trouble for the Sui forces and, in 615, led to the near capture of the emperor himself during a siege at Yen-men commandery (located in modern Tai county, Shansi province). Following this, Yang-ti retreated to his southern capital of Chiang-tu (located near the ruined city of Chien-k'ang) where he was eventually assassinated by one of his own officials early in 618.

During the last few years of his reign, Yang-ti had lost control of the state and thus created a dangerous vacuum in the leadership of the Chinese empire. As is well known, this vacuum was filled by a nobleman and military leader named Li Yüan (566-635). From 613 on, Li Yüan had served as a provincial military commander entrusted with the suppression of various anti-Sui rebels and had been successful in dealing with the Eastern Turks. He gradually accumulated power and prestige, and by the summer of 617, Yüan, who was based in T'ai-yüan commandery (modern T'ai-yüan county, Shansi province), began to organize his forces and plan the capture of the Sui capital. The campaign was

undertaken, and in mid-December of 617 Yüan's forces took Ta-hsing ch'eng, installed a puppet emperor and inaugurated a new reign era. On 20 December the new Sui emperor issued an edict designating Li Yüan Grand Prime Minister (*ta ch'eng-hsiang*) and King of T'ang.

Although he was the most successful, Li Yüan was by no means the only military man who sought to fill the vacuum left by Sui Yang-ti. Numerous rebels had risen throughout the empire, and the King of T'ang had to deal with them if he was to extend his rule beyond his base in T'ai-yüan and the capital at Ta-hsing ch'eng. During the first six months of 618, Yüan, his sons, and other members of the nascent T'ang government began the process of consolidating the provinces and securing T'ang rule. At the same time, Yüan was also preparing to assume his role as the new Chinese ruler. On 18 June 618 this came about, as the puppet Sui emperor abdicated to the King of T'ang who then ascended the imperial throne as the new Son of Heaven (known posthumously as T'ang Kao-tsu, reg. 618-627). With his title clearly established, Li Yüan's T'ang government continued the process of consolidation for several more years until 23 April 624, at which time the emperor issued an edict in which he proclaimed a general amnesty, enacted new laws and declared that the empire was once again pacified.³⁴

³⁴See *Chiu T'ang shu* 1.15/1. The text of the edict has been preserved in Wang Ch'in-jo (fl. 1005) et al. comp., *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1960), 83.30a-

As had been the case so many times before, the Chinese empire had suffered the disruption of rebellion and civil war, only to be restored again by an energetic ruling house. This time however, the literary remains of the past had not been destroyed and scattered by widespread warfare, but had remained intact in the Sui imperial libraries at Ta-hsing ch'eng, Lo-yang and in Sui Yang-ti's southern capital of Chiang-tu. This condition had been accomplished by both Sui emperors, and in fact, Sui Yang-ti had done much to enhance the imperial collection begun by his father. Arthur Wright describes his labors as follows:

He had a hundred compilers working in his vice-regal office at Chiang-tu, and his interest continued throughout his reign. Great libraries were built in Ta-hsing ch'eng and Loyang, and the final result was a superb central imperial library, with the best editions kept in Loyang and amounting to more than 370,000 rolls. For use in the various palaces, ministries, and offices of the two capitals, he ordered abridged reference libraries to be prepared.³⁵

Despite the exemplary endeavors of the Sui however, China's literary stock did suffer a calamity at the outset of the T'ang period. In the summer of 621, one of Li Yüan's principal rivals, Wang Shih-ch'ung (who had been based in

31b.

³⁵Wright, *The Sui Dynasty*, p. 176. *Sui shu* 32.908, Preface to the "Monograph on Literature," and *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 182.5694 (s.a. 615) describe Yang-ti's archival endeavors.

Lo-yang since mid-617), suffered a siege by T'ang forces and eventually capitulated in early June. The surrender of Wang Shih-ch'ung allowed the T'ang government to finally gain control of the important Yellow river valley region, and also provided access to the great Sui library in Lo-yang. Sometime after the capture of Lo-yang, the emperor ordered that the contents of the library be transported upriver to the T'ang capital at Ch'ang-an. In 622, tragedy struck as much of the collection being transported was somehow lost overboard in the river. No details of how this sad event came about are given, but we are told that only ten to twenty percent of the materials survived.³⁶

Since it resulted from mishap rather than from the ravages of war, the destruction visited upon the Sui imperial collection differed from the bibliographic disasters of the past, but great damage had nonetheless been done, and a need was felt by T'ang officials to rectify this deficiency by once again undertaking a collection of books. In this case the idea was formally submitted to T'ang Kao-tsu by the Assistant of the Imperial Archives, Ling-hu Te-fen (583-666). Te-fen had been appointed to the post of Assistant of the Imperial Archives in 622, and in that year he made the following proposal to the emperor:

Now we have come to a period following great turmoil,

³⁶The account of the loss of the Lo-yang collection is given in *Sui shu* 32.908, Preface to the "Monograph on Literature."

and [many] writings have been lost. I suggest that we offer money for lost books, once again providing cash and silk. Establish more Clerkly Calligraphers and specially command them to make copies.³⁷

While it is not explicitly stated that this recommendation was prompted by the loss of the Lo-yang archives, it seems reasonable to assume that this was the loss to which Te-fen was referring. The recommendation proved convincing enough for Kao-tsu to sponsor another collection of books which was carried out over the next few years.

Once again, a pattern of imperial book collecting followed by official history writing emerged. At roughly the same time as he made his formal proposal on book collecting, Te-fen made an informal proposal to the emperor concerning the compilation of histories of the recent past. This proposal, which was offered in a conversation with Kao-tsu, ran as follows:

I see that for the recent past many [dynasties] are without standard histories. But for the Liang, Ch'en and [Northern] Ch'i, we still have writings and documents. When Your Majesty received the abdication from the Sui, You became heir to the order of succession from the [Northern] Chou. Furthermore, the exploits and endeavors of the two ancestors of our

³⁷This is preserved in Wang P'u (fl. 961) comp., *T'ang hui-yao* (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1960), 35.643, in which it is suggested that this was presented (*tsou*) to the throne. The same material is included as part of the narrative in Ling-hu Te-fen's biography in *Chiu T'ang shu* 73.2597. Certainly this passage represents just a small portion of Te-fen's recommendation to the emperor.

state took place during the [Northern] Chou period. If writings and histories are not preserved, then how can we bequeath examples of the past and present? In accordance with my ignorant views, I suggest that all of these records be prepared.³⁸

Kao-tsu agreed with Te-fen's proposal, and in early 623 he issued an edict commanding seventeen scholars to compile histories of the following six dynasties:³⁹

- 1) T'o-pa Wei (386-534)
- 2) Northern Ch'i (550-577)
- 3) Northern Chou (557-581)
- 4) Sui (581-618)
- 5) Liang (502-557)
- 6) Ch'en (557-589)

³⁸*Chiu T'ang shu* 73.2597 and *T'ang hui-yao* 63.1090. The two ancestors referred to by Te-fen are Li Hu (fl. 557) and Li Ping (ob. 572), who were Li Yüan's grandfather and father respectively. Li Hu had served Yü-wen T'ai during the Western Wei period, and was posthumously ennobled as Duke of T'ang when the Northern Chou was established in 557. With the establishment of the T'ang in 618, Hu was posthumously designated Emperor Ching, with the temple name of *T'ai-tsu* "Grand Ancestor." Li Ping had served the Chou during its period of rule, and had inherited his father's noble title of Duke of T'ang. At the outset of the T'ang he was posthumously designated Emperor Yüan with the temple name of *Shih-tsu* "Epochal Ancestor." See *Chiu T'ang shu* 1.1.

³⁹The text of this edict is preserved in *Chiu T'ang shu* 73.2597-98; *T'ang hui-yao* 63.1090-91; and Sung Min-ch'iu (1019-1079) comp., *T'ang ta chao-ling chi* (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1959), 81.466-67. The *T'ang hui-yao* text is less complete than the other two, but it is the only source which gives the specific date of the edict (Wu-te 5, 12th month, 26th day; which is equivalent to 2 February 623).

As can be seen from this list, none of the histories which had been worked on during the Sui period was felt to be of sufficient scope or quality and thus necessitated the commissioning of entirely new works. In noting this, we see also that the list of dynasties to be treated (except for the addition of the Sui dynasty itself) is identical with that of the Sui period, and thus excludes the Chin--a point to which we will return below.

In contrast to the sketchy information we have concerning the motives behind the Sui history projects, Kao-tsu's edict offers us a great deal of information concerning the historiographical ideals which he sought to promote (or at least acknowledge) through the sponsorship of these works. But before considering these ideals in detail, let us first look at a translation of the edict itself.⁴⁰

The Director of Canons took down words, and the Scribe Official recorded events. They investigated and discussed success and failure; searched and delved into change and continuity. Therefore, they tailored to completion proper categories; reproved evil and encouraged good. Knowing more about the past, they bequeathed examples to the future.

Since the time of Fu-hsi, continuing with the Chou and Ch'in, and from the time that the two houses of Han

⁴⁰The translation is based on the text preserved in *Chiu T'ang shu* 73.2597-98, since this is both the earliest and the most complete text of the edict in our possession. The other two texts (mentioned in note 39 above) contain textual variants as well as lacunae, but these matters will not occupy our attention here.

transmitted the succession, and the Three States received the Mandate, down to the Chin and Sung, records and writings have been prepared.

Since the Great Wei moved south, and took the opportunity to soothe the cycle; since the Chou and Sui transmitted the throne, succeeding one upon the other; since the house of Liang claimed sovereignty, straddling and holding the Huai and Hai; since the Ch'i transferred the shell and tripods, and the Ch'en established an august patrimony; there was none which did not decree its own calendar, or continue its annual sacrifices. Each distinguished its banners and emblems, and formulated its rites and ceremonies. As to making their mark and inaugurating a foundation, receiving the abdication and announcing its ascent; each having excellent plans and good government, great officials and extraordinary scholars; each leaving recorded words and manifesting achievements, they were by no means lacking in their day.

Yet, the strips and tablets are not completed; annals and biographies are all wanting. "Hot and cold" are already accumulated; tales and rumors have transmitted distortions. Their enduring fervence and residual airs will soon fall into oblivion.

I now hold the charts and manage the realm, and for generations to come [our house] will care for others. And now I shall establish canons and councils, and hand down forever codes and rules. Looking back at these others who lay buried and fallen, I am filled with deep mourning, and am possessed of a desire to compile and set [the records] in order, so that their substance and worth may be seen as good and straightforward.

[Therefore] let the Prefect of the Palace Writers, Hsiao Yü, the Servitor Within the Palace, Wang Ching-

yeh, and the Gentleman Compiler, Yin Wen-li, compile a history of the Wei. Let the Palace Attendant, Ch'en Shu-ta, the Assistant Imperial Archivist, Ling-hu Te-fen, and the Prefect of Astrologers, Yü Chien, compile a history of the Chou. Let the concurrent Prefect of the Palace Writers, Feng Te-i, and the Secretary of the Palace Writers, Yen Shih-ku, compile a history of the Sui. Let the Minister of Supreme Justice, Ts'ui Shan-wei, the Secretary of the Palace Writers, K'ung Shao-an, and the Frontrider of the Heir Designate, Hsiao Te-yen, compile a history of the Liang. Let the Supervisor of the Household of the Heir Designate, P'ei Chü, the concurrent Gentleman of the Palace of the Board of Personnel, Tsu Hsiao-sun, and the former Assistant Imperial Archivist, Wei Cheng, compile a history of the Ch'i. And let the Superintendent of the Imperial Archives, Tou Chin, the Servitor Within the Palace, Ou-yang Hsün, and the Literary Scholar to the King of Ch'in, Yao Ssu-lien, compile a history of the Ch'en.

Be meticulous and thorough in your efforts. Draw extensively from the old accounts. The principles may remain unpublished, but they should not be concealed.

The primary point of importance of this edict is that it commands the seventeen scholars listed within it to oversee the compilation of six dynastic histories. But in giving the reasons for this enterprise, Kao-tsu brings up a number of points which directly address the issue of imperially sponsored history writing. First, the traditional role of history is invoked as he discusses the function of the "Director of Canons" and the "Scribe Official" (who certainly are meant to represent the

traditional ancient Scribe of the Right [who recorded words] and the Scribe of the Left [who recorded events]) who strove to understand the various elements of past events (in terms of continuity and change, success and failure); and provide a rational, instructive account for future use. It is this type of historical enterprise which the emperor desires to perpetuate.

Next, the need to complete the roster of histories is stated. He points out that historical records pertaining to the period of high antiquity on down to the time of the Chin and Sung dynasties have been compiled, but that the records of the northern dynasties (the Wei, Ch'i, Chou and Sui) and the last two southern dynasties (the Liang and Ch'en) have not. The historical record of the pre-T'ang past is therefore not complete. In making this point, Kao-tsu reinforces the idea that accounts of dynastic houses constitute the most basic and appropriate subject for official history--an idea which he emphasizes by mentioning such dynastic attributes as individual calendars, sacrifices, banners and emblems, rites and ceremonies, all of which are aspects of dynastic ritual and legitimation. The importance of these dynasties lay in their experience of statecraft which is related in the following terms: "they had excellent plans and good government, great officials and extraordinary scholars, whose recorded words and manifest achievements were by no means lacking in their day."

Clearly the experiences of these past ruling houses were seen as both relevant and instructive for the present, and therefore must be accurately preserved.

Finally, Kao-tsu, as ruler of the Chinese empire, makes it clear that it is his duty to oversee the codification of "canons and councils" and "codes and rules," of which the record of the recent past constitutes a part. By sponsoring such an endeavor he is asserting his role as custodian of the empire, and reasserting the idea of the primacy of the dynastic state in general and of the T'ang house in particular.

In a recent article treating the evolution of Chinese historiographical institutions, Chang Jung-fang comments on this edict and points out its relevance in establishing a precedent for other T'ang and post-T'ang official history projects which dealt with preceding dynasties. In discussing the ideas contained within the edict itself, he notes the following four issues of importance: 1) Kao-tsu avails himself of the opportunity of compiling these histories to elevate the position of the T'ang ruling house, 2) he affirms the T'ang position as legitimate unifier of the empire, 3) this project allows the T'ang to revise the historical record of these previous dynasties (to fit their own interests), and 4) it establishes an unbroken line of

historical compilation from antiquity down to the T'ang.⁴¹ While Chang's third and fourth points cite the more practical ramifications of this project, the first two points draw our attention to the pro-dynastic nature of the enterprise. To be sure, the ideological impact of such a project was uppermost in Kao-tsu's mind as he authorized the promulgation of this edict; and the desire to strengthen the newly won T'ang position of rulership stemmed from political expediency as much as from any cultivated sense of grandeur on the part of the emperor and his advisors.

In his consideration of the compilation of histories treating fallen dynasties in the official historiography pertaining to the T'ang period on, Yang Lien-sheng echoes this pro-dynastic issue as he discusses the idea of "continuity of the record," the importance of which he gives as follows:

Obviously, the maintenance of this principle of continuity was of considerable propaganda value for the dynasty that was in the saddle. In the first place, the official preparation of a history of the fallen dynasty could be interpreted as showing generosity on the part of the new rulers. Most important, it would help to establish a predecessor-successor relationship and confer on the new dynasty the so-called *cheng-t'ung*

⁴¹Chang Jung-fang, "K'ao-lun te shih, ch'eng o ch'üan shan--shih-kuan chih-tu," in Cheng Ch'in-jen ed., *Chung-kuo li-tai cheng-chih chih-tu fan-lun* (Taipei, 1984?), p. 343.

or orthodox line of succession.⁴²

Yang's comments, which arise from his discussion of the compilation of the official histories of the T'ang through the Ming dynasties, are pertinent to the Sui-T'ang projects under discussion here. While the question of generosity was probably not as important for the T'ang rulers as it was for later successor dynasties, the idea of all-inclusiveness certainly was. As new rulers of the empire, the T'ang had to demonstrate that they were not only the unifiers of the provinces, but that they were also custodians of what had become the empire's collective past.⁴³

For the T'ang, the propaganda value of continuing the historiographical line was an important element in the continuation of the political line. It was simply one of various means of demonstrating to the cognoscenti of the empire that the T'ang house had succeeded to the august heritage of rulers who had held sway since high antiquity. Howard Wechsler makes this point as follows:

⁴²Yang Lien-sheng, "The Organization of Chinese Official Historiography: Principles and Methods of the Standard Histories from the T'ang through the Ming," in *Historians of China and Japan*, edited by W.G. Beasley and E.G. Pulleyblank, (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 47.

⁴³This was particularly pertinent to the post-Northern and Southern Dynasties period from which China had only recently emerged. At a time when different groups within the T'ang government claimed descent from either northern or southern origins, the concept of an all-inclusive past was an important ingredient in the forging of a new, unified empire.

As a basis for legitimizing their new dynasty, the record of the dynasties which preceded the T'ang as holders of heaven's mandate was essential evidence. Moreover, Kao-tsu, and even more T'ai-tsung, were deeply aware of the force of historical models and precedents; historical examples and analogies were the common coin of political discourse at the time.⁴⁴

These are the principles discernable from Kao-tsu's edict, and they serve us today as important indicators of the ideals which lay behind the imperially sponsored compilation of history.

In the case of Kao-tsu's initiative however, we must be content to learn from it alone since the project itself was never brought to fruition. We read in Ling-hu Te-fen's biography that after several years, the works were not completed and the commission was disestablished.⁴⁵

The compilation of histories of the ruling houses which preceded the T'ang however did not remain in abeyance for long. In the summer of 626 political events in the T'ang capital of Ch'ang-an forced an end to Li Yüan's reign when his second son, Li Shih-min (599?-649), staged a coup against his brothers in the so-called Hsüan-wu Gate Incident of 2 July 626, and subsequently had himself proclaimed

⁴⁴This is taken from Wechsler's discussion of T'ang T'ai-tsung in Denis Twitchett ed., *The Cambridge History of China*, Volume 3: Sui and T'ang China, 589-906, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 215.

⁴⁵*Chiu T'ang shu* 73.2598.

imperial heir designate. Two months later, on 3 September, Li Yüan issued an edict declaring his resignation of the throne to his designated heir, and on 4 September 626, Li Shih-min came to the throne as the second T'ang Son of Heaven (posthumously known as T'ai-tsung, reg. 626-649).⁴⁶

During the years immediately prior to his ascent to the throne, Li Shih-min had demonstrated an inclination toward the sponsorship of scholarly and literary activities. In late 621, while he was stationed in Lo-yang (following his victory over Wang Shih-ch'ung), he gathered together eighteen scholars around whom he established a Bureau of Literary Scholars (*wen-hsüeh kuan*), which was to serve as a kind of advisory college. Howard Wechsler describes this group as follows:

The college was composed of eighteen scholars, who for the most part served concurrently in other organizations under Shih-min's control. They were divided into three shifts of six men each who took meals together and who were at the beck and call of Shih-min at any time of the day or night, acting as his brain-trust and advising him on important matters of state.⁴⁷

⁴⁶For a convenient summary of the events surrounding the transfer of the throne from Li Yüan to Li Shih-min, see Howard Wechsler's discussion in *The Cambridge History of China*, 3:182-187.

⁴⁷Howard Wechsler, *Mirror to the Son of Heaven* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), p. 69. Information on Li Shih-min's Bureau of Literary Scholars, including a list of names and titles of the eighteen scholars who composed this group, may be found in *Chiu T'ang shu* 72.2582-83,

When Shih-min came to the throne, members of this group filled many of the important posts in the central government and consequently exercised considerable influence on T'ang policy during the 620s, 30s and 40s. As we shall see, part of this advisory role extended to the supervision of official historical compilations.

Soon after he came to the throne, Shih-min showed his interest in the historiography of the recent past by establishing a special commission to compile histories of the dynasties which Kao-tsu's committee had failed to complete. As had been the case with his specially created Bureau of Literary Scholars in Lo-yang, the emperor established a special office in Ch'ang-an which was to act as the headquarters for this project to compile histories of Five Dynasties (*wu-tai shih*).⁴⁸ The tenth century T'ang *hui-yao* informs us that in the year 629 the emperor "established within the ministry of Palace Writers a Palace Department of the Imperial Archives (*mi-shu nei sheng*) in

"Biography of Ch'u Liang." For a discussion of the contributions to the literature of this period made by some members of this group, see Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of the Early T'ang* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), pp. 42-59.

⁴⁸The new commission did not feel that it was necessary to compile another history of the T'o-pa Wei, since, in their opinion, the two histories of Wei Shou and Wei Tan had already provided adequate coverage. See *Chiu T'ang shu* 73.2598/4-5.

order to compile histories of five dynasties."⁴⁹ Coincidental with the establishment of this institution, which was itself significant as an inaugural step in the creation of the T'ang Historiographical Bureau (*shih kuan*), T'ai-tsung set up a committee of scholar-officials to oversee the compilation of these histories.

Unfortunately, the edict which would have been issued to establish this committee and its bureau has not survived, so we must therefore search through the extant sources to uncover a roster of the committee itself, and then attempt to discern the underlying purposes and ideals of their historical endeavors. From information contained in Liu Chih-chi's *Shih t'ung*, Liu Hsü's *Chiu T'ang shu* and Wang P'u's *T'ang hui-yao*, it is possible to generate a table of officials and the dynastic periods which they were to cover. It is usually stated that the General Supervisors of the project were Fang Hsüan-ling and Wei Cheng;⁵⁰ however it appears that Ling-hu Te-fen also played a significant role in shaping the general structure of the works since he was in overall charge of the categorization of the contents of the Liang, Ch'en, Ch'i and Sui histories.⁵¹

⁴⁹*T'ang hui-yao* 63.1091.

⁵⁰See for example Wechsler, *Mirror to the Son of Heaven*, p. 111, and McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China*, p. 166. Both authors base their statements on *Chiu T'ang shu* 73.2598.

⁵¹The basic source for information on the 629 committee

 Table VII
 Five Dynasties Histories
 Project Members, 629-636

General Supervisors of the Project:

	Fang Hsüan-ling (578-648) Wei Cheng (580-643)
	Ling-hu Te-fen (583-666)
Northern Ch'i (550-577):	Li Pai-yao (565-648)
Northern Chou (557-581):	Ling-hu Te-fen Ts'en Wen-pen (595-645) Ts'ui Jen-shih (ca.589-ca.651)
Sui (581-618):	Wei Cheng Yen Shih-ku (581-654) K'ung Ying-ta (574-648) Hsü Ching-tsung (592-672)
Liang (502-557):	Yao Ssu-lien (ca.558-637)
Ch'en (557-589):	Yao Ssu-lien

As for the individual histories themselves, the record of appointments preserved in the *Chiu T'ang shu* biography of Ling-hu Te-fen states that T'ai-tsung ordered (*ling*) certain officials to work on histories of specific dynasties. The

is a passage in the biography of Ling-hu Te-fen in *Chiu T'ang shu* 73.2598/3-6. This passage points out that Fang Hsüan-ling and Wei Cheng "generally superintended (*tsung chien*) the histories of the various dynasties," but also adds that Te-fen "generally oversaw the categorization and gathering together (*tsung chih lei hui*) of the Liang, Ch'en, Ch'i and Sui histories." *Chiu T'ang shu* 82.2764, on the other hand, states that Hsü Ching-tsung also "generally oversaw its affairs" (*tsung chih ch'i shih*).

impression fostered by this kind of statement is that the commission was very much a centralized project inaugurated and directed by the emperor. Howard Wechsler views this as an important departure from previous practices:

The project headed by Fang and Wei represented nothing less than a revolutionary development in Chinese historiography. Prior to the T'ang, Standard Histories were usually compiled by semi-professional historians who had access to materials in the imperial archives and to other official sources but who generally labored in a private capacity. The work of these historians was occasionally commissioned by the government; more often it was undertaken on their own initiative and only later awarded an official imprimatur. Under T'ai-tsung, however, a bureau of historiographers was especially established inside the palace city to compile the histories of former dynasties. The writing of Standard Histories was thus brought under the supervision and control of the central government where it remained, with minor exceptions, down to the present century.⁵²

T'ai-tsung's establishment of the history commission and its own department within the palace was indeed an important step in the growing bureaucratization of the history writing process; but Wechsler's comment that the project "represented nothing less than a revolutionary development in Chinese historiography" overstates the case. An examination of the commission members and the works they were to undertake reveals that some of the projects were not

⁵²Wechsler, *Mirror to the Son of Heaven*, p. 112.

the creations of T'ai-tsung's new bureaucratic historiography, but were in fact imperially sanctioned continuations of work which had been inaugurated a generation earlier.

One such case concerns the history of the Northern Ch'i dynasty, which was assigned to Li Pai-yao, who continued the work begun during the Sui period by his father, Li Te-lin. Pai-yao's work also appears to have been undertaken without the participation of other officials, and therefore takes on more of a private than bureaucratic flavor.⁵³ Another case of father-son continuity in historical writing involves the histories of the Liang and Ch'en dynasties, which were assigned to Yao Ssu-lien, the son of the man who began work on these histories, Yao Ch'a. The passage in Ling-hu Te-fen's biography, as well as the discussion of the Liang and Ch'en histories by Liu Chih-chi, lead us to believe that this was also a one-man endeavor, although a passage from Ssu-lien's biography informs us that Wei Cheng was also commanded to work on these histories.⁵⁴ But as was

⁵³*Chiu T'ang shu* 73.2598 and *Shih t'ung t'ung-shih* 12.368 mention only Li Pai-yao's name in connection with this work. Pai-yao's biography in *Chiu T'ang shu* 72.2577 does not discuss his appointment to the commission, and states only that he finished his work in 636 and was consequently advanced in office and given material rewards.

⁵⁴See *Chiu T'ang shu* 73.2598, *Shih t'ung t'ung-shih* 12.356 for the basic account of the compilation of the Liang and Ch'en histories; and *Chiu T'ang shu* 73.2593, "Biography of Yao Ssu-lien" for a discussion of Ssu-lien's work on, and Wei Cheng's contribution to, these histories.

mentioned above, Ssu-lien had been working intermittently on the Liang and Ch'en histories since his father's death in 606.

Wei Cheng's involvement in the Liang and Ch'en histories does not appear to have extended to the actual gathering of material and compilation of chapters; instead, his role was most likely restricted to that of imperially appointed supervisor of what were essentially privately compiled works. There is, however, tangible evidence that Wei Cheng did contribute to both Li Pai-yao and Yao Ssu-lien's histories by composing general discourses which were appended to the annals sections of each of the three works compiled by these two men.⁵⁵ The addition of these discourses, which were not a regular feature of dynastic histories, may be seen here as a kind of link between the private enterprise these histories represented and the imperial patronage which consequently elevated them to official status. Wei Cheng's contribution thus served as an essential element in the official makeup of these works.

While the histories of the Northern Ch'i, Liang and Ch'en dynasties were not purely bureaucratic in the means of

⁵⁵These discourses (*lun*) may be found in *Pei Ch'i shu* 8.115-17, *Liang shu* 6.150-52, and *Ch'en shu* 6.118-20. These essays appear to be similar to the general discourses written by Chia I (200-168 B.C.) and Kan Pao (fl. 325) about the Ch'in and Chin dynasties respectively. Chia I's piece was appended to the "Basic Annals of the First Emperor of Ch'in" in *Shih-chi* 6.276-84, and Kan Pao's piece was appended to the "Annals of Emperor Hsiao-min" in *Chin shu* 5.133-37.

their compilation, the histories of the two northern dynasties which immediately preceded the T'ang surely were. Accounts of the Chou and Sui dynasties had not received the kind of private/family attention as had those of the histories just discussed, and therefore required fresh investigation from T'ai-tsung's committee. As can be seen from Table 2 above, the Chou and Sui histories were clearly the work of committees (with three and four members respectively), and represented newly cast creations supervised by T'ai-tsung's top historiographical advisors, Ling-hu Te-fen and Wei Cheng. Of course previous work had been done on the histories of both of these dynasties, but the labors of the Chou and Sui committees constituted newly conceived and prepared histories, and doubtless are the two histories of this project which best embody the ideals and practices of early T'ang official historiography.

Before turning to a discussion of some of these ideals, it will be useful to summarize the results of the Five Dynasties Histories project. In contrast with the previous Sui-T'ang official history projects, the various members of the committee did finish their work, and on 3 March 636, submitted their histories to the throne, for which they were rewarded through advancement in rank and the bestowal of goods.⁵⁶ The histories themselves were compiled in annals and biographies format and consisted of

⁵⁶*Chiu T'ang shu* 3.45-46; *T'ang hui-yao* 63.1091.

the following five works, all of which are extant:

Table VIII
Five Dynasties Histories
Completed in 636

<i>Pei Ch'i shu</i> (History of the Northern Ch'i)	50 <i>chüan</i>
<i>Chou chu</i> (History of the Chou)	50 <i>chüan</i>
<i>Sui shu</i> (History of the Sui)	55 <i>chüan</i>
<i>Liang shu</i> (History of the Liang)	56 <i>chüan</i>
<i>Ch'en shu</i> (History of the Ch'en)	36 <i>chüan</i>

A detailed inquiry into the content of these works lies beyond the scope of the present dissertation, but it is possible to make a couple of observations concerning some of the ideals and principles embodied in them. The first point which should be made is that these histories continued the tradition of history writing which took the dynastic state as the fundamental subject of treatment. From the point of view of the Chinese historiographical tradition as a whole, it seems somewhat ludicrous to make such a statement, as it appears to be so self evident. However, we must bear in mind that history writing of the pre-T'ang period enjoyed a considerable diversity of orientation, and did not so exclusively advocate dynastic ideals. With the Sui-T'ang restoration of the Chinese imperium however, an emphasis on state and dynasty was reasserted and consequently the idea arose that state history (*kuo-shih*) of the annals and biographies format was in fact standard history (*cheng-*

shih).⁵⁷ While it is not surprising, we must nevertheless remember that T'ang official historiography is dynastic historiography.

As we have seen from the surviving documentation surrounding T'ang Kao-tsu's history project, such elements as the exaltation of ruling houses, comments on the principles of statecraft, and discussions of exemplary and contemptible virtues were important components of "standard histories" to be sponsored by rulers of the empire. These histories were of course meant to adhere to the ideal of providing a veritable record of the past, but it was clearly understood that they were to provide examples of the successes and failures of past rulers, statesmen and subjects. These works therefore were not only meant to inform but also to teach.

The question which arises from this is: Whom were these works meant to teach? As official compilations, they were certainly meant to disseminate those ideals which the sponsoring regime advocated, and therefore sought to

⁵⁷The T'ang compilers of the history section of the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" divided historical writings into thirteen categories, within which they designated the dynastic histories of the type written by Ssu-ma Ch'ien and Pan Ku as "standard histories" (*cheng-shih*), which they arranged together as the first category. These standard histories are then followed by dynastic histories of the chronicle format, which were designated as "old-style histories" (*ku-shih*). See *Sui shu* 33.956-57, 959. These two formats are discussed by Liu Chih-chi in the second section of the "Inner Sections" (*nei-p'ien*) of his *Shih-t'ung*. See *Shih t'ung t'ung-shih* 2.27-29.

instruct those who would participate in its rule--namely, the learned official class. Without doubt, these histories were intended to function as instructive accounts of the past from which members of the official class could draw lessons for the present, and therefore better adhere to the interests of the dynasty they served. With the literati as the intended audience for this type of history writing, it is clear that the direction of historical didacticism is from the top down--that is to say from the emperor (or the imperial institution) to his subjects. Although these works were compiled by literati, they may be seen as a manifestation of those ideals which were primarily favorable to the T'ang imperial house.

As part of his wide ranging discussion of scholarship under the T'ang, David McMullen makes the following points about the work of the scholars on the Five Dynasties history project:

In editing the large amount of documentation that this involved, they also formulated for their own period a distinctive view of the dynastic state. This view emphasized two disparate features, each intended to reinforce the authority and permanence of the T'ang. First, scholars used both the narratives which they compiled and their editorial insertions to emphasize the crucial role imperial conduct might play in maintaining stable political control. Secondly, they gave prominence to the sanctions in remote antiquity and in cosmology for the principal activities of the state. In surveying the past, they also emphasized the

idea of historical evolution, particularly in institutions, ritual and literary practice. In this way, they justified the interest that the emperor and his advisors had in institutional change, and in the expansion of state activities that T'ang stability had already made possible.⁵⁸

Seen in these terms, this project, as well as a number of other state sponsored scholarly projects under the first two T'ang emperors, was one of many manifestations of imperial authority, and as such was intended to function as part of the state ideology which was to be consumed by the literati class.

It is also possible, however, to view these historical works as being intended for an imperial audience. They were indeed compiled by scholars to be read by other scholars, but they were also to be read by the emperor (as well as his successors) who had ordered their compilation. Therefore, in addition to the evident pro-dynastic message these histories contained, they also provided a venue for the discussion of ideas which might sway the emperor towards proper rule. Howard Wechsler asserts that Wei Cheng took the opportunity afforded by his contributions to these histories to make his views on various aspects of rulership known to his emperor:

It is clear from a reading of Wei's commentaries in the Liang, Ch'en, Northern Ch'i, and Sui histories that he

⁵⁸McMullen, *State and Scholars in T'ang China*, p.165.

believed the records compiled under his direction were intended not only to transmit an accurate account of past dynasties to future ages but also to provide a guide for T'ai-tsung's rule. For in them he continued to hammer away at his favorite themes: that warfare, even if it brought victory, was self-defeating; that early rulers were industrious and frugal while their successors were indolent and allowed their passions free rein; that when the influence of loyal Confucians in government waned, dynasties tended to decline; and so on.⁵⁹

Wechsler's reading of these materials supports the notion that the didactic function of these T'ang official histories could also be directed from the bottom up--that is to say, from the scholar-officials to the emperor. As we shall see in the next section, this is also the view adopted by Michael Rogers based on his examination of chapters 113-114 of the *Chin shu*. It is my own assertion however that these suasive comments by the project compilers (or the supervisors) represent more of a superimposition upon the text than any fundamental ideological view contained in the body of the works themselves.

A detailed evaluation of the range and content of the ideals and viewpoints contained within the five histories compiled under the direction of T'ai-tsung's committee would help us better understand the nature of these works, and

⁵⁹Wechsler, *Mirror to the Son of Heaven*, p. 138. Wechsler also notes some of Wei Cheng's comments found in various chapters of the *Sui shu*. See pp. 117, 168, 171 and 174.

reveal the kinds of differences to be found among them. Of particular interest would be an investigation into any discernable differences between those histories which were compiled on a more private basis (*Pei Ch'i shu*, *Liang shu* and *Ch'en shu*) and those compiled by an officially appointed committee (*Chou shu* and *Sui shu*). From this it may be possible to isolate and identify those features of T'ang historiography which are directly attributable to the official nature of their creation. In the next section of this chapter, we shall attempt a preliminary step into this process, as we review the means by which the apparatus and ideals of T'ang official historiography were turned towards the period of the two Chin dynasties.

T'ang T'ai-tsung and Chin History

As was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, all of the official Sui-T'ang history projects focused their coverage on essentially the same group of dynasties. It had been their general consensus (as stated in Kao-tsu's edict of 623) that the extant histories of the two Han, Three States, Chin, Sung and Southern Ch'i dynasties offered sufficient treatment of those periods, and therefore no projects to rewrite them were proposed. T'ang T'ai-tsung, after two decades as emperor however, was moved to call for the compilation of a new history of the Chin. Such a plan appears a bit unusual due to the fact that there were

already so many histories of the Chin then available, and because T'ai-tsung conceived of it quite late in his reign. We must therefore ponder what T'ai-tsung's motive was in ordering the compilation of a new Chin history, and consider why he had not done it at the time of his sponsorship of the other pre-T'ang history projects.

The success of the Five Dynasties history project attests to T'ai-tsung's interest in pre-T'ang history, and to his ability to obtain results in that type of endeavor. As we have seen, that project (in its various stages) was undertaken as part of a general Sui and T'ang codification of an imperial ideology which sought to strengthen dynastic legitimacy, promote pro-imperial principles and demonstrate the validity of the past as a model for the present. These ideals persisted throughout T'ai-tsung's reign, and in fact remained intact, to one degree or another, throughout the next millennium or so of imperial rule. But for T'ai-tsung the motive for compiling a new history of the Chin appears to have stemmed from personal, as well as ideological, interests.

In considering the question of T'ai-tsung's motive for the Chin history project, we may note that there is no evidence of any proposal made by an official suggesting that such a work be undertaken, as had been the case with the proposal to Kao-tsu by Ling-hu Te-fen in 623. While a lack of official impetus may also be observed for T'ai-tsung's

Five Dynasties project, the motives for that undertaking were clearly related to matters of statecraft. In this case, T'ai-tsung seems to have conceived of the idea on his own and partially as a matter of personal interest.

As with the project under Kao-tsu, we are fortunate in having in our possession the text of the edict issued by T'ai-tsung which called for the compilation of a new Chin history. This edict reveals T'ai-tsung's thoughts on the value of history in general, and mentions his reasons for ordering the compilation of a new Chin history despite the presence of so many others. But before we look at the edict itself, it will be useful to look at information pertaining to the timing and circumstances of the promulgation of the edict.

We know from the date accompanying the edict that T'ai-tsung issued it on 24 April 646, a date which fell in the twentieth year of his reign and in about the forty-seventh year of his life. Of more proximate importance, however, was the fact that this edict was issued some six months after T'ai-tsung's return from a lengthy and unsuccessful punitive campaign against the state of Koguryo in the northeast. This campaign, which had occupied the emperor's attention throughout most of 645, did not achieve its objective of taking the city of Liao-tung, and in fact ended with the death of thousands of T'ang soldiers in a severe

blizzard characteristic of the harsh Korean winters.⁶⁰ The decision to go forward with the campaign had been an unpopular one among T'ai-tsung's advisors, and the disastrous results certainly must have strained the administrative atmosphere following the emperor's return to court.

The timing of the edict therefore came in the aftermath of an unpopular and disastrous military campaign, and as such may have had something to do with the inauguration of an enterprise which was purely literary in nature. If we may indulge in pure speculation for a moment, T'ai-tsung may have wanted to appease his critics at court with an historiographical enterprise which would demonstrate his more civil inclinations, even though (as his subsequent campaign of 647 demonstrated) he had no intention of abandoning his military plans in Koguryo.

The determination of any link between the Koguryo campaigns and the inauguration of the *Chin shu* project would require far more familiarity with T'ai-tsung's personality and the politics of the final years of his reign than I possess, so for now we must be content to leave this connection in the realm of speculation. Upon looking at the *Chin shu* edict itself, however, it is possible to determine just what T'ai-tsung's interests in Chin history were, and

⁶⁰For a discussion of the Koguryo campaign see the discussion by Howard Wechsler in Twitchett and Fairbank, *The Cambridge History of China*, 3:231-35.

why he called for a new Chin history to be compiled.

As we turn to the edict itself, we may note first that it is written in a highly polished literary style which calls attention to T'ai-tsung's ability as a writer of parallel prose, and demonstrates the richness of the Chinese language as a medium for the discussion of history writing. As for the content of the edict, we can see six general areas of discussion. They may be conceived of as follows: 1) the present opportunity to compile an official history, 2) the value of history writing in general, 3) notable historians of the past and their works, 4) the Chin dynasty as a worthy subject, 5) drawbacks of previous Chin histories and 6) the command to compile a new Chin history. Let us now examine a translation of the edict.

I have saved the drowning masses and our armies have returned from the field. I have inspected the Four Quarters, and the rites have been completed. Within the Four Seas there are no pressing matters; and among the Hundred Concerns there is much leisure. Therefore, we may use these days of repose to peruse the imperial archives. We may examine the tortoise-shell markings from the age of Fu Hsi, and scrutinize the bird-script slips from the era of Hsüan-yüan. Without leaving the lofty sanctum, my spirit communes with events from more than a thousand years ago. Sitting restfully, from behind my cloth capstrings, I see beyond the Nine Augusti.

Thus we know that, the Scribe of the Right set down spoken words, and from these obscurity is removed; the Officer of the Left related events, and from them

we are no longer remote. For imparting the basis of graphs and characters, and for thoroughly understanding the origins of documents and writings, grand indeed are the uses of historical records!

Since the time when Chü Sung oversaw his office; and before Po-yang set brush to bamboo, historiographers through the ages have all made abridgements and compilations. Chung-ni edited and selected from the *T'ao-wu*; I-hsiang recited and expounded upon the *Ch'iu* and *Fen*. It was for the Western Han that Pan [Ku] and [Ssu-]ma [Ch'ien] set forth their splendid accounts; and for the Eastern Han that Fan and Hsieh roused their sumptuous sounds. As for those petty rulers who held sway, Ch'en Shou presented his *Record of the States*; and for the diminutive Liu-Sung, Shen Yüeh crafted his imperial account.

As for the Liang, the Ch'en and the house of Kao, I ordered that their histories be brought to completion; the Chou and the Sui too now have a clear account. None of these works fails to display the good, and malign the bad, for they bring about a pristine redolence of the age. In praising good, and reprimanding evil, they demonstrate the exemplary institutes of the Hundred Kings.

The Chin house responded to the cycle, and assumed control of the Central Plain. The Supreme Lord brought forth black stone diagrams; and the mighty successors superceded the Yellow Planet phase. When the imperial court became a seething cauldron, a successor arose south of the Chiang. All came to reside within the imperial realm, and everyone gave importance to their banners and emblems. They are worthy of having flying blossoms from elegant brushes to record their excellence on tablets and in books.

Even though there were eighteen authors whose accounts and notes are still preserved, they lacked the talent of fine historians, and their reports are found wanting as veritable records.

Tsang Jung-[hsü] tried, but had few essentials;
 Ssu [=Hsieh Ch'en] labored, but had little success.
 Shu-ning's [=Yü Yü] investigations are empty, and
 their aftertaste is that of a drawn cake;
 [Hsiao] Tzu-yün's learning was as broad as the sea,
 but his drops of water dissipated in a dry river.
 Ch'u-shu [=Wang Yin] did not treat the restoration;
 [Ho] Fa-sheng did not deal with the founding.
 Kan [Pao], Lu [Chi], Ts'ao [Chia-chih] and Teng
 [Ts'an] gave cursory accounts of the rulers;
 [T'an Tao-]luan, [Sun] Sheng, [Hsü] Kuang and [Liu]
 Ch'ien[-chih] merely compiled narratives.

Their words are unrefined, and their substance tells us little. They allowed what is pure and exalted of the Tien-wu [=Ssu-ma] to have their lingering redolence concealed from the strips and slips; and these former records of the Metal Phase [Chin dynasty] have left out the continued excellence of such fine steeds. Pondering these vast lacunae causes one to heave a deep sigh.

Let it be ordered that a *History of the Chin* be newly compiled by the office for compiling the state history. Compare and put in sequence the old accounts, tailor to completion the proper categories, and bring to light all of the documents which have hitherto lay buried. As for those things which may be needed, all will be provided for as was done with the *History of the Five Dynasties*. If there should be a shortage of scholars, come and seek them from me as is appropriate

to the importance of the matter.⁶¹

The opening line of the edict may refer to the recent campaign in Koguryo, or it may be a more general proclamation of a *pax sinicum* brought about by the great house of T'ang. T'ai-tsung's point is to set the tone for the project by stating that a time of great peace and leisure is at hand, and that such a time allows one the occasion to "peruse the imperial archives" and "commune with events from more than a thousand years ago," an activity which surrounds the emperor with the unmistakable aura of a serene and contemplative sage.

This is followed by a brief discussion of the value of history writing in general and is accompanied by a number of references to great historians of the past (including Chung-ni [=Confucius], Ssu-ma Ch'ien and Pan Ku) and their works. T'ai-tsung also mentions that all of the pre-T'ang past has been recorded (thanks in part to his impetus) so that there is a complete record which in no case "fails to display the good and malign the bad," and which "demonstrate[s] the exemplary institutes of past rulers."

Next, T'ai-tsung makes it clear that he regards the

⁶¹The text of this edict is preserved in *T'ang ta chao-ling chi* 81.467; Tung Kao et al. comp., *Ch'üan T'ang wen* ([1814 ed.] Taipei: I-wen shu-chü, 1966), 8.1b-2b; *Chin shu* pp. 3305-06; and Wu Yün and Chi Yü eds., *T'ang T'ai-tsung chi* (Hsi-an: Shensi Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1986), pp. 381-82. The date of the edict is given in *T'ang ta chao-ling chi* as the fourth day of the intercalary month of Chen-kuan 20, which is equivalent to 24 April 646.

Chin dynasty to be a worthy subject for historical writing, primarily for the fact that they "assumed control of the Central Plain" (i.e., ruled over a unified China). But there is certainly more to T'ai-tsung's interest than just that, as we shall see further on below. After discussing the worthiness of the Chin, he points out that even though so many previous histories of the Chin existed at that time, none offered acceptable treatment or coverage of the period. T'ai-tsung is thoroughly unimpressed with the quality of these authors' works, and enumerates their faults one by one. The table below lists the historians and their works (according to the order in which they appear in the edict) which T'ai-tsung cites as inadequate. T'ai-tsung is unrelenting in his condemnation of these authors and makes it clear that the Chin house, which he considers to have been "worthy of having flying blossoms from elegant brushes to record their excellence on tablets and in books," was ill-served by their writings.

Finally, the edict directs that a new history of the Chin be put together by officials in the office which was normally charged with compiling the ongoing state history (*kuo-shih*).⁶² In issuing the order to this body, T'ai-tsung sought to use a pre-existing bureaucratic office to

⁶²The edict uses the term *hsiu kuo shih so*, lit. "place where they prepare the state history." Further information on the compilation of the T'ang state history may be found in Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History Under the T'ang*, pp. 160-187, Chapter 11, "The National History."

carry out this newly conceived task.

 Table IX
 Fourteen Pre-T'ang Chin Historians Mentioned in
 T'ang T'ai-tsung's *Chin shu* Edict of 646

<u>#</u>	<u>Author of Work</u>	<u>Title of Work</u>	<u>Number of chüan</u>
1.	Tsang Jung-hsü (415-488)	<i>Chin shu</i>	110 ch.
2.	Hsieh Ch'en (294?-345?)	<i>Chin shu</i>	30+ ch.
3.	Yü Yü (fl. 324)	<i>Chin shu</i>	44 ch.
4.	Hsiao Tzu-yün (487-549)	<i>Chin shu</i>	110 ch.
5.	Wang Yin (ca. 270-ca. 340)	<i>Chin shu</i>	93 ch.
6.	Ho Fa-sheng (fl. 458)	<i>Chin chung-hsing shu</i>	78 ch.
7.	Kan Pao (fl. 325)	<i>Chin chi</i>	23 ch.
8.	Lu Chi (261-303)	<i>Chin chi</i>	4 ch.
9.	Ts'ao Chia-chih (300s)	<i>Chin chi</i>	10 ch.
10.	Teng Ts'an (fl. 377)	<i>Chin chi</i>	11 ch.
11.	T'an Tao-luan (fl. 462)	<i>Hsü Chin yang-ch'iu</i>	20 ch.
12.	Sun Sheng (302?-373?)	<i>Chin yang-ch'iu</i>	32 ch.
13.	Hsü Kuang (352-425)	<i>Chin chi</i>	46 ch.
14.	Liu Ch'ien-chih (fl. 417)	<i>Chin chi</i>	23 ch.

The promulgation of the *Chin shu* edict mobilized a body of twenty-one scholars whose task it was to survey all of the extant histories and other relevant records (such as literary anthologies, collected writings of individuals, memorial collections, etc.) pertaining to the Chin period and fashion a new work which would be worthy of the emperor's praise. The committee was placed under the direction of T'ai-tsung's Prime Minister, Fang Hsüan-ling (578-648), who was assisted by Ch'u Sui-liang (596-658) and

Hsü Ching-tsung (592-672) in establishing the overall organization of the work.⁶³ As we have seen in the preceding sections of this chapter, official history writing pertaining to bygone dynasties under the Sui and early T'ang clearly showed the increasing degree to which emperor and officials were involved in the creation of such works. Without doubt, the compilation of the *Chin shu* under T'ai-tsung became the supreme example of this type of bureaucratic endeavor, and a quick glance at the following table of the scholars who made up the *Chin shu* committee readily demonstrates what a large-scale bureaucratic project this was.⁶⁴ In addition to this large body of scholars,

⁶³Fang Hsüan-ling's *Chiu T'ang shu* biography states that he, along with Ch'u Sui-liang, received an edict to compile a new *Chin shu*; and that they requested eight scholars (which included Hsü Ching-tsung and Ling-hu Te-fen) to assist them in their work. See *Chiu T'ang shu* 66.2463.

Although Fang Hsüan-ling is usually regarded as the titular overseer of the *Chin shu* project, it is most likely that this role was actually carried out by Hsü Ching-tsung, who was one of the most important historiographical officials during the reigns of T'ai-tsung (626-649) and Kao-tsung (649-683). His *Chiu T'ang shu* biography states that of ten major imperial compilations (which included the *Wu-tai shih* and the *Chin shu*) undertaken during these two reigns, Hsü Ching-tsung "generally oversaw matters in all of them." See *Chiu T'ang shu* 82.2764. Further evidence in favor of Hsü Ching-tsung's commanding role in the compilation of the *Chin shu* is hinted at in the entry in the "Monograph on Literature" in the *Chiu T'ang-shu*, which lists the *Chin shu* as being compiled by "Hsü Ching-tsung and others." See *Chiu T'ang shu* 46.1989.

⁶⁴The list is preserved in the tenth century *T'ang hui-yao* 63.1091, and is offered here in the same order as given in that text. *Hsin T'ang shu* 58.1456, "Monograph on Literature," also has this list under its entry for the *Chin shu*, but substitutes the name Chao Hung-chih for Lu Ch'eng-

imperial involvement in this project reached an unprecedented level when T'ai-tsung himself contributed four historical essays to the final work.⁶⁵ These contributions, along with the inauguration of the project itself by the

 Table X
 The Twenty-one Members of the
Chin shu Committee

Fang Hsüan-ling	Ts'ui Hsing-kung
Ch'u Sui-liang	Hsin Ch'iu-yü
Hsü Ching-tsung	Liu Yin-chih
Lai Chi	Yang Jen-ch'ing
Lu Yüan-shih	Li Yen-shou
Liu Tzu-i	Chang Wen-kung
Lu Ch'eng-chi	Ling-hu Te-fen
Li Ch'un-feng	Ching Po
Li I-fu	Li An-ch'i
Hsüeh Yüan-ch'ao	Li Huai-yen
Shang-kuan I	

emperor, have led some to refer to the *Chin shu* as having been "imperiallly compiled" (*yü chuan*).⁶⁶

The date of the *Chin shu* edict (24 April 646) gives us a point in time which we may take as the temporal beginning

chi.

⁶⁵These are the essays found at the end of chapters 1, 3, 54 and 80 of the *Chin shu*. More will be said about these essays below.

⁶⁶See for instance the title page of the eleventh century Po-na edition of the *Chin shu* which lists T'ai-tsung as the compiler.

of the *Chin shu* project, but we do not have an exact date for which the project was completed and the work submitted to the throne.⁶⁷ One piece of evidence however tells us that the work was completed at least by January of 649, less than three years after the promulgation of the edict, and some six months prior to T'ai-tsung's death. In the account of the kingdom of Silla in *Chiu T'ang shu* 199A, we read that T'ai-tsung presented an envoy from the king of that state with three texts, one of which was "the newly compiled *Chin shu*."⁶⁸ Since we know from the *Chiu T'ang shu* annals that the envoy from Silla was received by T'ai-tsung in the imperial capital on 25 January 649, the *Chin shu* must have

⁶⁷There is in fact some confusion in the sources as to when the project was actually inaugurated and completed. The biography of Fang Hsüan-ling states that the work was completed in the twentieth year of the Chen-kuan era (646), and the biography of Ling-hu Te-fen leads us to believe that the work was begun in 644. See *Chiu T'ang shu* 66.2463 and 73.2598. Realizing that the evidence of the edict's date and the dates in the *Chiu T'ang shu* are in conflict, Yang Lien-sheng speculates that, "It is not impossible that the decree of 646 was merely a confirmation of previous appointments of editors and compilers, perhaps with a desire to display the Emperor's broad knowledge of Chinese historiography." See Lien-sheng Yang, "Notes on the Economic History of the Chin Dynasty," in his *Studies in Chinese Institutional History* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 118. The modern Chinese historian Wang Shu-min feels that the *Chin shu* was in fact begun in 646 and that the *Chiu T'ang shu* dates "appear to be in error." See his *Shih-pu yao-chi chieh-t'i* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1981), pp. 57 and 61 note 5. I share Wang's view.

⁶⁸*Chiu T'ang shu* 199A.5335-36.

been completed before that time.⁶⁹

If we take the years 646 to 648 as the period during which the *Chin shu* was compiled, it becomes clear that this text was not only the result of research into a large number of source texts, and the work of a great many scholars, but was also assembled with a great deal of speed, if not haste. The result of this considerable input of energy was a history in 130 *chüan* which treated both the Western and Eastern Chin periods, and consisted of annals (10 *chüan*), monographs (20 *chüan*), biographies (70 *chüan*) and "accounts" (30 *chüan*).⁷⁰ In terms of sheer volume and bureaucratic input, the *Chin shu* was the largest of the dynastic histories yet compiled,⁷¹ and must have pleased the emperor in its scope and grandeur.

Having reviewed some of the basic features of the *Chin shu* project, let us return for a moment to the question of T'ai-tsung's motives for ordering this work to be assembled.

⁶⁹See *Chiu T'ang shu* 3.62.

⁷⁰The term *tsai-chi* had been used in the *Tung-kuan Han chi* as a pejorative designation for the records of those "illegitimate" rulers who rose after the fall of Wang Mang and did not give their allegiance to the restored Han under Liu Hsiu. The *Chin shu* compilers drew upon this term for the same reasons in their records of the so-called "Sixteen States."

⁷¹The *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" lists a *T'ung shih* (Comprehensive History) in 480 *chüan* which was compiled by Emperor Wu (reg. 502-549) of the Liang. We are told that it covered the period from the Three Augusti down through the beginning of the Liang dynasty itself. This was indeed a history of unique length and range. See *Sui shu* 33.956.

It seems that there are two general areas of interest which prompted this project: one political and one intellectual. Of course as a ruling Chinese emperor, any action taken by T'ai-tsung had to be considered in political terms, whether intentional or not. In the case of the *Chin shu* project, in which the highest ranking ministers and a large number of other scholar-officials were to be involved, there can be no doubt that political considerations stood at the fore.

Any consideration of the political dimensions of the *Chin shu* project must take into account two important events which occurred in T'ai-tsung's reign shortly before the promulgation of the edict. One event was the failed 645 Koguryo campaign mentioned above which left T'ai-tsung physically weakened and politically susceptible to criticism by his prominent ministers. A second important event was the recent replacement of the T'ang heir designate (t'ai-tzu) in 643. In a complex web of plots and political intrigue, T'ai-tsung's eldest son, Li Ch'eng-ch'ien, who had been the designated heir to the T'ang throne since 626, showed himself to be an unworthy choice, was removed as heir, and eventually replaced by his younger brother, Li Chih, the man who succeeded to the throne upon T'ai-tsung's death in 649.⁷² The court plots and scandal surrounding Li Ch'eng-ch'ien's removal had a strong impact on the emperor,

⁷²Howard Wechsler offers a convenient summary of this affair in *The Cambridge History of China*, 3:236-239.

which Howard Wechsler describes as follows:

The strain of these family troubles reduced the emperor to the brink of a breakdown. Complaining that he had been betrayed by three of his sons and a brother, he had to be restrained by his counsellor Ch'u Sui-liang from stabbing himself.⁷³

T'ai-tsung had been forced by circumstances to choose a new heir (Li Chih), but he was not at all comfortable with that decision. His chief advisors however backed Li Chih and the decision prevailed.

The issue of T'ai-tsung's reaction to the replacement of Li Ch'eng-ch'ien has been raised in a recent article by Yang Ch'ao-min in which he discusses the political factors in the compilation of the *Chin shu*.⁷⁴ There he suggests that this incident gave T'ai-tsung pause to consider matters pertaining to his own position as emperor, as well as the example he would hand on to the new heir, Li Chih. Yang argues that both this incident, as well as T'ai-tsung's actions perpetrated decades earlier to insure his own succession to the throne during the Hsüan-wu Gate incident of 626, were seen by the emperor as necessary and justifiable in order to insure the protection of the people

⁷³See *Cambridge History of China*, 3:238. The stabbing anecdote is taken from *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 197.6196.

⁷⁴Yang Ch'ao-min, "T'ang hsiu *Chin shu* ti cheng-chih yin-su," *Shih-hsüeh-shih yen-chiu* (1989), No. 4, pp. 27-33.

and stability of the empire.⁷⁵ Yang sees T'ai-tsung's view of these actions as part of a general evaluation of the role of emperor and the legitimation of the T'ang dynasty which is discernable from the make up and content of the *Chin shu* itself. In Yang's view, the call for the compilation of the *Chin shu* was made in part as a response to the succession crisis of 643.

The succession crisis of 643 and the failed Koguryo campaign of 645 were without doubt severe blows to T'ai-tsung's imperial prestige and sense of strength which he had done so much to foster. Howard Wechsler characterizes the impact as follows:

T'ai-tsung's last years were a sad ending to a great reign. During the disastrous Liao-tung campaign of 645 which cast the shadow of defeat a failure over his last years, he had contracted some form of incapacitating disease, which exhausted his strength, so that much of the day-to-day business had to be conducted on his behalf by the heir apparent. . . . T'ai-tsung dwelt increasingly on his past achievements, and continued to be concerned about the sort of emperor his son would prove to be. To this end he wrote for him a sort of political testament in four chapters, the *Ti-fan* (Plan for an Emperor) laying out his ideals for

⁷⁵See Yang Ch'ao-min, "T'ang hsiu *Chin shu* ti cheng-chih yin-su," p. 28. Yang cites a couple of lines from T'ai-tsung's "imperial pronouncement" to *Chin shu* 3 as evidence of his view that Ssu-ma Yen's choice not to remove his incompetent heir, Ssu-ma Chung (Emperor Hui), proved in the end fatal to the Chin.

a monarch.⁷⁶

Both Wechsler and Yang indicate that there was an introspective sentiment in T'ai-tsung's thinking at the end of his reign, and point out that this gave rise to political reflection on matters of state and rulership. As Wechsler states, the *Ti fan* was a clear manifestation of this, and it is Yang's contention that the *Chin shu* project also served this end as well.

These political circumstances and sentiments seem to be entirely plausible as an impetus for a project such as the compilation of the *Chin shu*. Furthermore, it would seem to be a good way to unify the emperor, his recently appointed heir, and the various high officials (with whom T'ai-tsung was not in entire agreement on the issue of the heir or the Koguryo campaigns) in an official project which would necessarily treat topics of rulership, statecraft and political legitimation.

If we take these to be some of the important political considerations behind the *Chin shu* project, we must still ask, Why did T'ai-tsung call for the compilation of a new Chin history instead of some other kind of project? It is at this point that historiographical considerations must be addressed.

⁷⁶Cambridge History of China, 3:239. The *Ti fan*, which is cited in *Chiu T'ang shu* 47.2026, "Monograph on Literature, Part B," still exists, and is included in Wu Yün and Chi Yü eds., *T'ang T'ai-tsung chi*, pp. 204-237.

The material presented so far in this and the preceding chapters has shown that the Chinese practice of history writing at the official level was clearly an exercise in statecraft, and played an important part in the formation of imperial ideology. This being the case, it is not surprising that T'ai-tsung would have turned to a history project as a means of bringing forth ideas which he felt would be favorable to him as emperor and to the T'ang as a ruling house. To this end a history of the Chin served him well in several ways. First, the Chin was an important, long-lived dynasty which had unified a divided Chinese empire and thus stood as an example of a worthy ruling house. Second, the historical record pertaining to the Chin lacked a single, authoritative account, and thus could benefit from a new history. Third, a distant ancestor of the T'ang ruling house lived during the Chin period, and could therefore be offered new, favorable treatment in a T'ang-sponsored history. And fourth, T'ai-tsung clearly had an intellectual interest in Chin history as a subject, and this would make his sponsorship and involvement in a new Chin history something of a pleasant task.

To begin with, the Chin period offered a number of important themes and events which T'ai-tsung could promote as positive models for both statesmen of his own day and imperial successors of the future. The Chin had reunified China in 280 (with the conquest of Wu) and thus brought

peace and stability to the empire--an ideal which was constantly on the mind of Chinese emperors and officials. The Chin was also a long-lived dynasty; something which an emperor pondering the education and future efficacy of his successor would naturally want to reiterate. It is also possible that T'ai-tsung may have wanted to associate himself with what was really the last great native Chinese dynasty, as opposed to the many non-Chinese regimes which rose and fell in the north during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries. Through this kind of association, he could reaffirm true Chinese ideals as practiced by a true Chinese ruling house. All in all, the Chin served as a rich source of historical examples from which lessons could be drawn and ideals reenforced.

The next historiographical issue of importance was the fact of the diversity of Chin histories which existed at the time. We have seen ourselves those works and the opinions T'ai-tsung had given of many of them. The discussion of the content of the edict above makes it clear that T'ai-tsung felt historiographically justified in calling for a new, imperially sponsored history. To his mind it was time to make a single, worthy account of the Chin period.

A third issue relating to a new Chin history was the fact that a founding ancestor of the T'ang ruling house lived during that period, and could thus be given a favorable account within the pages of a newly compiled

history of that age. The man in question was Li Hao (351-417), who was a petty ruler of the separatist state of Western Liang, which existed in the area of modern Kansu province from 400-423.⁷⁷ According to the rules which were applied to the other leaders of the so-called Sixteen States by the *Chin shu* compilers, Li Hao and his son Li Hsin should have been given accounts in the *tsai-chi* section of the *Chin shu*; but instead their account is found in *chüan* 87 of that work, which is in the *lieh-chüan*, or biographies, section. Such placement affords them a clearly implied position of legitimacy denied to other such rulers. Furthermore, these petty rulers are literally given the "royal" treatment in their account, since they are referred to by their royal titles and taboo given names, a privilege which the rulers in the *tsai-chi* sections are denied. While it would surely be an overstatement to assert that T'ai-tsung called for the *Chin shu* to be compiled simply to provide a favorable account of his ancestors, it certainly must have played some role in his thinking.

Finally, we have T'ai-tsung's intellectual interest in Chin history. T'ai-tsung's critical knowledge of the many extant Chin histories tells us that he had more than a passing familiarity with them and their contents. T'ai-tsung was of course a very literate man and, as was the case

⁷⁷Li Hao is mentioned as the seventh generation ancestor of the T'ang founder, Li Yüan, in *Chiu T'ang shu* 1.1.

with such men of his time, the Chin was a familiar and culturally significant period.⁷⁸ T'ai-tsung's four historical essays included in the *Chin shu* attest to his interest in both the political and literary luminaries of the day. The first two essays (at the end of *Chin shu* 1 and 3) treat the political and dynastic accomplishments of Ssu-ma I and his grandson Ssu-ma Yen. Ssu-ma I was most notable for his great efforts as a leader and, by extension, as a dynastic founder. Ssu-ma Yen was of course the first ruling emperor of the Chin, and also the one who reunified China following the conquest of the southern state of Wu in 280. The third essay is appended to the biographies of Lu Chi and his younger brother Lu Yün (*Chin shu* 54), two men known for their literary accomplishments. Finally the fourth essay (*Chin shu* 80) discusses the two famous Eastern Chin calligraphers, Wang Hsi-chih and his son Wang Hsien-chih. Such refined involvement with some of the outstanding personalities of the period tells us that there was a more than passing interest in the subject.

Thus far the *Chin shu* has been discussed as an imperial enterprise initiated by the singular person of T'ang T'ai-tsung himself, and as such was a manifestation of sovereign

⁷⁸In the literary realm for instance, it may be noted that of the 127 authors whose works appear in the sixth century literary anthology, *Wen hsüan* (Selections of Refined Literature), the largest group of authors (45) were writers of the Chin period. Second to them were the 40 writers of the two Han dynasties.

will and official, didactic historiography. Given that this work was compiled by a large group of scholar-officials however, we must consider to what extent this was a work molded by imperial will but subtly fashioned to be directed toward an imperial audience.

It is the opinion of Michael Rogers, in his study of chapters 133-114 of the *Chin shu*,⁷⁹ that the scholar-officials who compiled this work consciously sought to inject their own views and opinions into the narrative in an effort to subtly influence the emperor's thoughts and actions. It is Rogers' contention that the compilers drew upon the life and career of the Sixteen States ruler Fu Chien (338-385), who created and ruled the state of Former Ch'in (351-394), to offer a historical example of the folly of extensive militarization. As Rogers states at the outset of his Prolegomena:

The T'ang compilers of the *Chin shu* served concurrently as high advisers of T'ang T'ai-tsung. They found in the record of Fu Chien's career, and in particular in the Fei myth, a suitable framework for an exemplum whose primary purpose was to inhibit the militaristic proclivities of their sovereign; the same purpose was served by the fall-of-Sui myth (incorporated in the *Sui shu*), which was the handiwork

⁷⁹Michael C. Rogers, *The Chronicle of Fu Chien: A Case of Exemplar History*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968).

of essentially the same group of official historians.⁸⁰

Following Rogers' argument then, one sees that the mollifying intent of the emperor was turned against him as he continued to bear the brunt of anti-militarist attacks.

Rogers' prolegomena to his translation of chapters 113-114 build an elaborate and enticing case asserting that the *Chin shu* compilers went to great lengths to utilize the case of Fu Chien as an indirect warning to T'ai-tsung that a continuation of militaristic and expansionistic policies would lead to eventual ruin, as it did with Fu Chien. By employing characterological exaggeration and utilizing pre-T'ang mytho-historical source material, Rogers argues, the T'ang compilers bent history to serve their own purposes, rather than simply fashion a state-centered, pro-dynastic historiographical monument to T'ai-tsung's will. To Rogers' mind the manipulation of materials and characters was a highly conscious and thoroughly intentional jab at an emperor who was otherwise unreceptive to criticism from his senior advisors. He goes on to say:

It may well have been T'ai-tsung's strong-arm methods that stimulated Fang Hsüan-ling to make burlesque figures of Fu Sheng and Fu Chien. Be that as it may, he thereby killed several birds with one stone: he vented his spleen against his emperor, he atoned in

⁸⁰Rogers, *Chronicle of Fu Chien*, p. 3. The Fei myth refers to the constructed image of the battle of the Fei River in 383.

some degree for his failure to live up to the ideal which called upon him as a historian to defend with his life the principle of archival inviolability, and he sent down the corridors of time a coded message telling posterity to take a skeptical attitude toward the official record of T'ai-tsung's dynasty-founding heroics and the moral sublimity of his character. That such a message, an arraigning finger, as it were, forever pointing to the sordid origins of T'ai-tsung's glorious reign, could be cached in a work as closely associated with that emperor as is the *Chin-shu* is surely an ironic triumph with few parallels in the illustrious history of Chinese historiography.⁸¹

The Shakespearean drama Rogers seeks to infuse the *Chin shu* project with makes for compelling narrative, but may have little to do with the facts of the matter. While we may be sure that Fang Hsüan-ling disapproved of T'ai-tsung's militaristic tendencies, we do not know precisely what role he actually played in the compiling or editing of the *Chin shu*. It seems most likely that Fang Hsüan-ling's involvement with the project was in name only and that most of the supervisory work was done by the veteran historian Hsü Ching-tsung.⁸² If there were some way to demonstrate that this was the case, then Rogers' "spleen venting" motive would be weakened considerably.

Aside from this issue of motive, there is also an

⁸¹Rogers, *Chronicle of Fu Chien*, p. 44.

⁸²See note 63 above.

important point regarding the effectiveness of any potential veiled criticism of T'ai-tsung. It seems that an embedded criticism placed within the endmatter of the *Chin shu* (i.e., the *tsai-chi* chapters) may not even come under the emperor's royal view; while we may be certain that T'ai-tsung read those chapters to which he affixed his "pronouncements" (i.e., chapters 1, 3, 54 and 80). This of course includes the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan." Given the certain visibility of these chapters, one may think that any serious message to the emperor would be embedded there. My reading of the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" leads me to conclude that there was no such veiled criticism, and that the work is fundamentally pro-imperial and pro-dynastic in orientation.

As we shall see in Chapter Seven below, the case of *Chin shu* 1 tends to contradict Rogers' thesis and in fact shows considerable effort on the part of the compilers to show pro-imperial sentiment. In this account Ssu-ma I is shown to be a skilled field commander and loyal Wei official whose long years of service proved invaluable to the preservation of the imperial system in general and the Wei state in particular. The "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" shows the importance of strong leadership (a pro-T'ai-tsung sentiment) and in fact enhances the various pre-T'ang strata of Chin historiography showing Ssu-ma I to be a great leader.

One important and intriguing problem however did arise

for T'ai-tsung and the compilers. In the pre-T'ang strata of Chin accounts, there was no problem in showing Ssu-ma I as a strong leader and dynastic founder. Those histories had been written by pro-Chin officials who were simply explaining the glorious and heroic rise of their ruling house. For them Ssu-ma I's emergence from within the Wei state was easily explained as a heroic triumph of the age. But for T'ai-tsung and his compilers, it was difficult to explain how Ssu-ma I could have been a strong and loyal Wei official and at the same time emerge as a dynastic founder. Put in its simplest terms, there was no way for Chinese imperial political ideology to explain how someone could be both a loyal servant to a ruling house, and be responsible for establishing a new ruling house which superseded its previous master.

As an emperor, T'ai-tsung could not sanction any kind of change in dynastic rule. Chinese imperial ideology did not acknowledge the existence of an orderly and justifiable change of ruling house other than that prescribed in the formula of the change in Heaven's Mandate. In that case there either had to be a "bad last ruler," as with the classical paradigms Chieh and Chou of the Hsia and Shang dynasties respectively, and the more recent case of Sui Yang-ti, or a "traitorous usurper," such as the traditionally conceived Wang Mang and Ts'ao Ts'ao. In either case, a villain was responsible for the change in

dynasty, either from within or from without. Since there was no "bad last ruler" acknowledged for the Wei ruling house, anyone responsible for the termination of that dynasty had to be a "traitorous usurper."

The historiographical tradition which had arisen concerning Ssu-ma I had inextricably linked him with the founding of the Chin, and therefore made him primarily responsible for that dynastic change. According to imperial ideology then, Ssu-ma I must have been a traitorous usurper. And sure enough, this is what the *Chin shu* historians were compelled to include in their portrayal of Ssu-ma I. As a Wei statesman he was capable and loyal; but as Chin founder he had to have been a traitor.

It is obvious that this last point prevailed among T'ai-tsung and the compilers in the last part of the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan." In that segment of the annals (the anecdotal material following the account of his death and posthumous imperial designation) there is a series of apocryphal passages which show Ssu-ma I as a vicious and untrustworthy opportunist. The sentiment behind this material is also reflected in the last two sections of T'ai-tsung's imperial pronouncement written to accompany this chapter. Toward the end, after recounting Ssu-ma I's many meritorious deeds, the emperor asks,

How could he have been so loyal in the beginning and caused such trouble later on? This is why Emperor Ming of the Eastern Chin hid his face--ashamed at his

ancestor's deceptive means of achieving his accomplishment.⁸³

Ssu-ma I's involvement with the Chin founding made it impossible to portray him as anything other than a loyal official gone bad.

Such clear traces of imperial ideology strongly argue for a pro-dynastic, pro-imperial bias in the *Chin shu*, rather than some kind of admonitory subtext seeking to dissuade T'ai-tsung from further military ambition. There are of course numerous other questions which could be posed with regard to the ideology of the *Chin shu*, but for our purposes here it must suffice to view this work as an imperially initiated, pro-dynastic history which sought to offer due glory to the Chin dynasty and provide pro-imperial didacticism for its scholar-official audience.

⁸³See Chapter Six, p. 360, below.

PART II

A STUDY OF *CHIN SHU* 1

THE "ANNALS OF EMPEROR HSÜAN"

CHAPTER SIX
TRANSLATION OF *CHIN SHU* 1,
THE "ANNALS OF EMPEROR HSÜAN"

The present chapter provides an annotated translation of the seventh century "Annals of Emperor Hsüan," the only extant document which treats Ssu-ma I as its main subject. As Part One of this dissertation has shown, the historical records pertaining to Ssu-ma I evolved over a period of two and a half centuries, and thus consisted of several distinct layers by the time the T'ang compilers assembled this account in the late 640s. As will be seen in the analysis of this account in Chapter Seven below, the *Chin shu* record of Ssu-ma I reflects this multi-layered background, but in the end, constitutes the final stratum of the official portrait of this man. The text was intended to constitute a full and coherent account of Ssu-ma I, and it is the function of this chapter to make this account available in a complete translation for the first time in any language.

In preparing this translation I have used the 1974 Chung-hua shu-chü edition of the *Chin shu* as my base text. While I have consulted other editions of the *Chin shu* (such as the *Po-na pen* and the *Chin shu chiao-chu*) in the course of my work, I do not make reference to them in my notes, as I have chosen at this point to keep to the textual collation

notes of the Chung-hua shu-chü editors. A more complete study of textual matters will be undertaken when I return to further study of the *Chin shu* annals.

The purpose of the translation which follows is to allow the reader access to the words and ideas of the T'ang compilers of the record of Ssu-ma I. With this text in hand, we may see just what material this record included, how it was put together, and what ideas and ideals it sought to convey. In a slightly broader context, we have before us an example of the fruit of several centuries' experience of official Chinese history writing, and as such it serves as a fine illustration of what that tradition came to embrace.

Translator's Note:

In a departure from the format used in the rest of this dissertation, I have included Chinese characters for relevant names and terms in the notes to the translation. The glossary at the end of the dissertation therefore does not include characters for names and terms from this chapter.

HISTORY OF THE CHIN

CHAPTER ONE

First Imperial Annals

Emperor Hsüan

August Sovereign Hsüan, whose sacred name was I, and whose cognomen was Chung-ta, was a native of Hsiao-ching hamlet in Wen prefecture, Ho-nei commandery.¹ His surname was Ssu-ma. His forbears were descended from Lord Kao-yang's son Chung-li.² They served in the Summer Office of "Chu-jung,"³ a position they continued to hold through the

¹Wen prefecture 溫縣 was one of eighteen prefectures administered by Ho-nei commandery 河內郡 during the Later Han period. See *Hou Han shu* "chih" 19.3395.

²Lord Kao-yang 帝高陽, also known as Chuan-hsü 顓頊, was the second of the mythical Five Lords 五帝 of high antiquity, and is traditionally given the dates of 2490-2413 B.C. He was said to have been the grandson of the Yellow Lord 黃帝, and was claimed as the ancestor of several of the ruling houses of the Spring and Autumn period (722-481). In his discussion of the ancestry of the hereditary house of Ch'u, Ssu-ma Ch'ien identifies Chung-li 重黎 as the grandson (not the son) of Lord Kao-yang. See *Shih-chi* 40.1689; Édouard Chavannes, *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien* 6 vols. (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1969), 4:338.

³According to the *Chou li* 周禮 (Rites of Chou), the Chou bureaucracy was divided into six divisions consisting of Heaven, Earth, Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter

time of T'ang, Yü, and the Hsia and Shang dynasties.⁴

During the Chou, the Summer Office was changed to "Ssu-ma."⁵ Their descendant, Hsiu-fu, Earl of Ch'eng,

offices. The Summer Offices (*hsia-kuan* 夏官) were headed by a *Ta Ssu-ma* 大司馬 (lit., "great director of horses") who was in charge of military matters within the empire. For a list and discussion of the Summer Offices, see *Chou li chu-shu*, *chüan* 28-33; Édouard Biot trans., *Le Tcheou-li ou Rites des Tcheou* (Paris: L'Imprimerie Nationale, 1851; rpt. Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Co., 1969), 2:140-286; Charles Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), p. 230, # 2296.

The term *chu-jung* 祝融 is not entirely clear, but a passage in *Shih-chi* 40.1689, "Hereditary House of Ch'u," states that Chung-li served his grandfather's successor, Lord K'u 帝嚳, also known as Kao-hsin 高辛 (trad. dating 2412-2343 B.C.), as *huo-cheng* 火正 "Fire Rectifier." Due to Chung-li's great success in his endeavors, Lord K'u designated him "Chu-jung" which, according to a third century commentator (Yü Fan 虞翻), may be glossed as "Great Illuminator." See *Shih-chi* 40.1689 n4. The office is not mentioned in the *Chou li*, and is probably connected in some way with the southern fire god Chu Jung 祝融. See Edward Schafer, *The Vermilion Bird* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 105; and David Hawkes trans., *The Songs of the South* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1985), p. 343 "Glossary of Names" s.v. Zhu Rong.

⁴T'ang 唐 and Yü 虞 refer to the legendary sage-rulers Yao 堯 and Shun 舜, who were succeeded by the rulers of the Hsia 夏 and Shang 商 dynasties.

⁵This is the same "Ssu-ma" referred to in note 3 above as being head of the Summer Offices of the Chou bureaucracy,

while serving in that office during the reign of King Hsüan, conquered and pacified the region of Hsü.⁶ This office was then bestowed on his family as a hereditary clan office, and it was from this that they derived their clan-name.

During the period [of warfare] between the King of Ch'ü and the King of Han,⁷ Ssu-ma Ang served as a General under the King of Chao,⁸ and joined the various lords in

and hence concerned with military matters.

⁶The Earl of Ch'eng 程伯, Hsiu-fu 休父 (also written 休甫), is mentioned in the *Odes* as one of the commanders participating in King Hsüan's 宣王 (reg. 827-782 B.C.) campaign against some of the non-Chinese tribes in the area north of the Huai river 淮水. Mao # 263/2 gives the following: The King said to the Head of the Yin clan, / 'Give a charge to Hsiu-fu, Earl of Ch'eng, / To undertake the arrangement of the ranks, / And to warn all my troops. / Along the bank of the Huai, / We go to see the land of Hsü, /" James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 4:556-57.

The "region of Hsü" (*Hsü fang* 徐方) refers to the territory of the state of Hsü which was situated just north of the Huai river near modern Ssu-hung 泗洪 county, Kiangsu province. See T'an Ch'i-hsiang ed., *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi*, Vol. 1, 17-18, 3/7.

⁷This refers to the civil war of 206-202 B.C. which followed the uprisings against the Ch'in dynasty in the summer of 209. The two most powerful military leaders of this period were Hsiang Yü 項羽, known as the King of Ch'ü 楚王, and Liu Pang 劉邦, known as the King of Han 漢王.

⁸In February, 208 B.C. a descendant of the Chao royal house, Chao Hsieh 趙歇, was established by certain local leaders as King of Chao 趙王, a title he held until March

attacking the Ch'in. With the demise of the Ch'in, Ang was established as the King of Yin, with his capital at Ho-nei.⁹ The Han made his territory into a commandery,¹⁰ and his sons and grandsons made their homes there.

Eight generations after Ang, the General Who Campaigns in the West, Ssu-ma Chün, whose cognomen was Shu-p'ing, was born. Chün fathered the Grand Administrator of Yü-chang, Ssu-ma Liang, whose cognomen was Kung-tu. Liang fathered the Grand Administrator of Ying-ch'uan, Ssu-ma Chün, whose cognomen was Yüan-i. Chün fathered the Administrator of Ching-chao, Ssu-ma Fang, whose cognomen was Chien-kung. Emperor Hsüan was Fang's second son.¹¹

of 206, when he was made King of Tai 代王. In the spring of 207, we find Ssu-ma Ang 司馬卬 mentioned as "a Detached General of Chao" 趙別將. See *Han shu* 1A.13, 19, 28; and Dubs, *HFHD*, 1:43, 52, 67.

⁹Ssu-ma Ang was made King of Yin 殷王 at the same time (March 206) that Liu Pang was made King of Han and Chao Hsieh was made King of Tai. This was part of a widespread ennobling of some dozen and a half anti-Ch'in military leaders as kings. See *Han shu* 1A.28; Dubs, *HFHD*, 1:65-67.

¹⁰As part of the prolonged civil war following the fall of the Ch'in in 206, various of the contending kings were destroyed at the hands of Hsiang Yü and Liu Pang. In April of 205, Ssu-ma Ang was captured by Liu Pang, and his kingdom was disestablished and made into Ho-nei commandery. Ssu-ma Ang died in May of 205. See *Han shu* 1A.34, 36; Dubs, *HFHD*, 1:75, 80.

¹¹According to information provided at the beginning of

When young, His Majesty possessed extraordinary attributes. Being clever and bright, he had many grand designs. He was imbued with wide learning and extensive knowledge, and devoted himself wholeheartedly to Confucian teachings. During the great upheavals at the end of the Han,¹² he constantly maintained a magnanimous concern for the welfare of the empire.

The Grand Administrator of Nan-yang commandery, Yang Chün, was from the same commandery as His Majesty, and had become famous for his knowledge of other people. He had once encountered His Majesty before His Majesty had reached the age of capping [20 sui] and was of the opinion that he was a man of extraordinary capacities.

A Master Writer, a certain Ts'ui Yen of Ch'ing-ho kingdom, was on good terms with His Majesty's elder brother, Lang. He once said to Lang, "Your younger brother is

Chin shu 37, "The Ancestral House," Ssu-ma Fang 司馬防 had eight sons: Lang 朗, I 懿, Fu 孚, K'uei 旄, Hsün 恂, Chin 進, T'ung 通 and Min 敏. See *Chin shu* 37.1081.

¹²The "great upheavals at the end of the Han" refer to the prolonged civil war which began with a massacre of the palace eunuchs at the Han court in Lo-yang in 189 and continued with prolonged warfare in the provinces between local powerholders for some thirty years until Ts'ao P'i received the abdication of the last Han emperor in late 220. See the summary of these events in Twitchett and Loewe eds, *Cambridge History of China*, 1:341-357, "The Collapse of Dynastic Power."

clever, brilliant, perspicacious and sincere. He is also tough, decisive, distinguished and exceptional; such qualities as you could never achieve!"

In the first year¹³ of the Chien-an era of the Han [196], His Majesty was appointed to the office of Chief of Staff of Accounts Clerks. When Emperor Wu of Wei was Minister of Works [196],¹⁴ he heard about His Majesty and summoned him for an appointment to office. His Majesty knew that the fortunes of the Han were then dwindling, and did not want to compromise his integrity by serving the Ts'ao. Therefore, he declined on the grounds that he was suffering from paralysis and could not even undertake his daily activities. Wu of Wei then sent someone to go at night and secretly inquire into the matter. His Majesty stiffened himself and lay in place without moving.

When Wu of Wei became Prime Minister [208],¹⁵ he once

¹³A note to this passage in *Chin shu chiao-chu* 1.2a states that Chang Tseng's 張增 *Tu shih chü-cheng* 讀史 舉正 points out that "Chien-an 6" should read "Chien-an 1."

¹⁴Emperor Wu of Wei 魏武帝 was the posthumous designation of the Wei founder, Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操 (155-220). *San-kuo chih* 1.14 states that Ts'ao Ts'ao was made Minister of Works (*ssu-k'ung* 司空) in the tenth month of Chien-an 1 (9 November-7 December 196).

¹⁵*San-kuo chih* 1.30 states that Ts'ao Ts'ao became Prime Minister (*ch'eng-hsiang* 丞相) in the sixth month of

again summoned His Majesty to be Chief of Staff of his Learned Scholars. He commanded the messenger saying, "If he hesitates or lingers again, take him into custody!" Struck with fear, His Majesty took up the appointment.

Soon he was assigned to travel in the company of the [Wei] heir designate,¹⁶ and was promoted to the office of Attendant Gentleman of the Yellow Gatemens. He was then transferred to the post of Gentleman Consultant, and subordinate on the staff of the Chancellor's Eastern Bureau. Soon thereafter he was transferred to become a Master of Records.

While a participant in the campaign against Chang Lu [215],¹⁷ His Majesty spoke to Wu of Wei saying, "Liu Pei

Chien-an 13 (1 July-30 July 208).

¹⁶The Wei heir designate (*t'ai-tzu* 太子) was Ts'ao P'i 曹丕 (187-226) at this time.

¹⁷Chang Lu 張魯 was the leader of the so-called Five Pecks of Grain sect (*wu-tou-mi tao* 五斗米道) of Taoist adherents who held sway in Han-chung 漢中 and Pa 巴 commanderies of I 益 province (southern Shensi and northern Szechwan) from the 180s to 215. In April/May of 215, as part of a series of campaigns to subdue the western reaches of the Chinese empire, Ts'ao Ts'ao launched a campaign against Chang Lu and his adherents. After several months of campaigning, Ts'ao Ts'ao's forces entered Nan-cheng 南鄭, the commandery seat of Han-chung, captured Chang Lu's headquarters and achieved the surrender of Han-chung and Pa.

See *San-kuo chih* 1.45 and 8.263-66, "Biography of Chang Lu."

captured Liu Chang with deceit and force, but the men of Shu did not capitulate, and continued to fight in distant Chiang-ling.¹⁸ The opportunity before us must not be lost.

¹⁸Liu Pei (161-223) 劉備 was one of the various military men vying for power during the last years of the Han period. Liu Chang 劉章 had been the Shepherd (*mu* 牧) of I province since the year 194. For years, Liu Chang had been trying to rid his province of Chang Lu and the Five Pecks of Grain sect, but had not met with any success. In 211 he asked Liu Pei to come to I province to aid him in his efforts. Liu Pei, seeing an opportunity to expand his own power base, accepted the invitation. In 214 he began his play for power by requesting additional troops from Liu Chang to aid Sun Ch'üan in a fight against Ts'ao Ts'ao in Ching 荆 province. Chang denied him the troops and Liu Pei turned against him, claiming that he was some sort of traitor. In the summer of 214, Liu Chang surrendered to Liu Pei from his provincial seat at Ch'eng-tu 成都. For a narrative summary of this series of events see Rafe de Crespigny, *Generals of the South, The Foundation and Early History of the Three Kingdoms State of Wu* (Canberra: The Australian National University, Faculty of Asian Studies Monographs New Series No. 16, 1990), pp. 355-370. Liu Pei (known as the Former Ruler of Shu 蜀先主) has a biography in *San-kuo chih* 32.871-892; Liu Chang's biography is in *San-kuo chih* 31.868-70.

Ssu-ma I's mention of the men of Shu 蜀 (I province) not capitulating may refer to loyalists like Liu Hsün 劉循 (Liu Chang's son) and Yen Yen 嚴顏 who did not immediately surrender to Liu Pei. Yen Yen, who was Grand Administrator of Pa commandery, held his position in Chiang-chou 江州, which was the Pa commandery seat. It seems likely that Ssu-ma I (or the transmitters of the text) has

Now, if you dazzle and awe Han-chung, I province will tremble under your might. Advance your troops close to them, and they will certainly break and scatter. If we take advantage of this situation, it will be easy to achieve meritorious strength. The sage will not act contrary to the times, nor will he miss his calling."

Wu of Wei said, "People are troubled by insatiability. Having just obtained Lung-yu, you then want to seize Shu!" In the end, His Majesty's council was not followed.

His Majesty next participated in the campaign against Sun Ch'üan [216]¹⁹ in which Ch'üan was defeated by the Wei. When the Wei army returned, Ch'üan sent an envoy to convey a plea for surrender. He submitted a memorial in which he referred to himself as a subject of the Wei and presented a

mistaken Chiang-ling 江陵 for Chiang-chou here.

¹⁹Sun Ch'üan 孫權 (182-252) was the leader of the nascent separatist state of Wu and had gained control of the area south of the Yangtze River in the early 200s. In 208 he had secured his area from Ts'ao Ts'ao's advances by his victory in the battle of the Red Cliffs of 208. In October/November of 216, Ts'ao Ts'ao set out on an expedition against Sun Ch'üan, and by February of 217 he and his forces had made camp opposite Sun Ch'üan's fortress at the mouth of the Ju-hsü 濡須 River, which was a tributary of the Yangtze. In March/April Ts'ao Ts'ao attacked Sun Ch'üan's fortress, but did not achieve an immediate victory. Sun Ch'üan's forces, however, did soon scatter and Ch'üan sent an envoy to surrender to Ts'ao. The dates and outline of the campaign are given in *San-kuo chih* 1.49, 47.1120.

discussion of the mandate of Heaven. Emperor Wu of Wei said, "Does this lad wish to set me upon a fiery brazier?" The response came, "The Han mandate has reached its end. Your Highness possesses nine tenths of the empire, and you have served it well. Sun Ch'üan's calling himself your subject accords with Heaven and man. Yü, Hsia, Yin and Chou were not ones who declined [the throne] out of humility, for they were awed by Heaven and knew the mandate."

When the Wei domain was established [216],²⁰ His Majesty was promoted to the post of Palace Cadet to the Heir Designate. Each time he participated in an important deliberation, he often came up with an extraordinary plan, and thus gained the trust and confidence of the Heir Designate. He, along with Ch'en Ch'ün, Wu Chih and Chu Shuo were dubbed the "Four Companions."²¹

²⁰It is unclear as to precisely what is meant by *Wei-kuo* 魏國 here. Normally, it would be taken to mean the establishment of the Wei dukedom in 213. This however violates the chronology, and therefore most likely refers to the establishment of the Wei kingdom in 216.

²¹I have found no other mention in the sources of these men described as "Four Companions" (*ssu yu* 四友). Ch'en Ch'ün 陳羣 (ob. 236) was an important advisor to Ts'ao Ts'ao and Ts'ao P'i, and later served with Ssu-ma I and Ts'ao Chen 曹真 as regents for Ts'ao Jui. Ch'ün's biography may be found in *San-kuo chih* 22.633-38. Wu Chih 吳質 (ob. 230) was a member of the literary circle

When he was transferred to the post of Army Major, he spoke to Wu of Wei saying, "In the past, when the Viscount of Chi set forth his plan, food was said to be first."²²

surrounding the Wei Heir Designate, Ts'ao P'i in the years prior to the establishment of the Wei. After the Wei founding, he served as a military commander and Palace Attendant. The *San-kuo chih* only devotes one line of biographical information to him (21.607), but P'ei Sung-chih has supplemented this with material from the *Wei lüeh*, *Wei Chin shih-yü*, and the *Wu Chih pieh-chuan*. See *San-kuo chih* 21.607-610. Chu Shuo 朱全樂 (fl. 224) is mentioned only once in our sources, in a dated anecdote from the *Wu Chih pieh-chuan* cited above. Although it appears that all of these men served as part of Ts'ao P'i's suite, there is nothing which links them all together as "Four Companions."

²²The Viscount of Chi 箕子 was the uncle of Chou Hsin 紂辛, the notorious last ruler of the Shang. Following the Chou conquest of the Shang (ca. 1045 B.C.), King Wu of Chou inquired of the viscount as to the means of good government. The reply to this question constitutes the content of the "Hung fan" (Great Plan) section of the *Shang shu* (Hallowed Documents). The Viscount of Chi informs the Chou king that,

. . . Yü rose up to continue (Kun's) undertaking. To him Heaven gave the 'Great Plan with its nine divisions,' and thereby the proper virtues of the various relations were brought forth in their order.

(See Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 3:323.) The viscount then enumerates and describes these nine divisions, the third of which was the "earnest devotion to the eight objects of government." And of those eight objects of government, the first was food. Ssu-ma I is therefore referring to the fact that food (i.e., matters pertaining to agriculture and the supply of food to the people) was the first item in the list

Now, there are probably over two hundred thousand in the empire who are no longer cultivators of the soil. This is not a far-reaching plan for governing the state. Although the implements of war have yet to be put away, it would be best to pursue agricultural cultivation as well as a strong defense." Wu of Wei accepted this, and thereupon gave attention to agriculture and accumulated grain. The state treasury thus grew more prosperous and plentiful.

His Majesty also commented that the administration of the Governor of Ching Province, Hu Hsiu, was harsh and cruel, that the Grand Administrator of Nan-hsiang, Fu Fang, was haughty and extravagant, and that neither of these men should remain in posts near the borders.²³ Wu of Wei however did not look into it. When a General from Shu, Kuan Yü, besieged Ts'ao Jen at Fan, the seven armies of Yü Chin

of "eight objects of government." A biography of the Viscount of Chi (which includes a slightly revised version of the "Hung fan" text) may be found in *Shih-chi* 38.1609-21, "The Hereditary House of Viscount Wei of Sung." For a French translation of this account see Édouard Chavannes, *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, 4:216-231.

²³This is the only mention of these men that I have been able to find in the histories. At this time, Ching province was split between the three contending forces of Ts'ao Ts'ao, Sun Ch'üan and Liu Pei. The "borders" therefore refer to the area of Ching province just south of the Han river.

and his associates were all overwhelmed.²⁴ Hsiu and Fang consequently surrendered to Yü, and the siege upon Jen became more severe.

At that time, the Han emperor had his capital at Hsü-ch'ang,²⁵ and Wu of Wei considered that it was too close to the enemy, and therefore wanted to move it north of the Yellow river. His Majesty remonstrated against this saying, "Yü Chin and the others were overwhelmed by floodwaters, not by deficiencies in the area of fighting and defense. There is nothing in the state's grand strategy which has been thwarted. Yet if we move the capital, it will simply show weakness to our enemies, and the people of the Huai and Mien regions²⁶ will feel ill at ease. On the surface, Sun Ch'üan and Liu Pei appear to be close, but they are in fact quite distant. That Kuan Yü achieves what he desires, is what Ch'üan does not want. You could urge someone under Ch'üan's command to seize Kuan Yü's rear, then the siege of

²⁴Yü Chin 于禁 had been sent to relieve the siege on Ts'ao Jen 曹仁, but he and his forces had been overwhelmed by floodwaters from the Han river.

²⁵The Han capital had been at Hsü-ch'ang 許昌 (in Ying-ch'uan 潁川 commandery, some seventy-five miles southeast of Lo-yang) since 196.

²⁶The Huai 淮 river valley emptied into the ocean southeast of Lo-yang and north of the Yangtze river, and the Mien 馮 river (also known as the Han 漢 river) drained into the Yangtze south of the Ch'ang-an area. These two regions served as the southern frontier of the nascent Wei state.

Fan will of itself be broken." Wu of Wei followed his advice. Consequently, Ch'üan sent his General, Lü Meng, to proceed west and make a surprise attack at Kung-an. He overwhelmed it, and Kuan Yü was thence captured by Meng.

Wu of Wei considered that the remaining populace and the men in the military colonies along the Han river were too near to the "southern bandits," and he wanted to move all of them. His Majesty said, "The people of Ching-Ch'u²⁷ are most capricious. They are easy to influence but difficult to pacify. Kuan Yü has just been defeated, and the various malefactors in that area have hidden themselves or run away, and are waiting to see what will happen. Now if you move the trustworthy ones, you will destroy their faith in you, and those who have fled will not dare to come back." His advice was heeded. After that, all of those who had fled returned to their former occupations.

When Wu of Wei passed away in Lo-yang,²⁸ those at court and in the provinces felt trepidation and fear. His Majesty managed all of the matters pertaining to the mourning rites, and all within and beyond the court was most solemn. He thereupon accompanied the catalpa coffin back to

²⁷This is a reference to the inhabitants of Ching province. Ch'u 楚 was the name of the ancient state which occupied the area of the middle Yangtze valley. Ch'u is therefore usually synonymous with "south."

²⁸This occurred on March 15, 220; he was sixty-six *sui* at that time. See *San-kuo chih* 1.53.

Yeh.²⁹

When Emperor Wen of the Wei ascended the [Wei royal] throne [March 220], His Majesty was enfeoffed as Marquis of Ho-chin canton, and was also transferred to the post of Chancellor's Chief of Staff.

When Sun Ch'üan led his troops on a move to the west, those deliberating at court were of the opinion that since Fan and Hsiang-yang³⁰ lacked an adequate supply of grain, they would not be able to hold off the invaders. At that time, Ts'ao Jen was in command of the garrison at Hsiang-yang, so some officials requested that Jen be summoned back to Wan.³¹ His Majesty said, "Sun Ch'üan has just defeated Kuan Yü. This is a time when he will want to consolidate his forces, he would certainly not dare to make trouble. Hsiang-yang is the hub of water and land. It is a strategic point for resisting invasion, and must not be abandoned."

²⁹Yeh 鄴 prefecture was the capital of the Wei domain 魏國 (previously Wei commandery) in Chi 冀 province, some 150 miles northeast of Lo-yang.

³⁰Fan 樊 was a city in Hsiang-yang 襄陽 commandery and was located on the Han (Mien) river in the southern portion of the Wei possessions in Ching province. Hsiang-yang therefore served as one of the southern outposts of Wei military power.

³¹Wan 宛 prefecture was the seat of Nan-yang 南陽 commandery which was the capital of Ching province. Wan was located some seventy miles due north of Hsiang-yang.

In the end, his counsel was not followed. Jen subsequently burned and abandoned the two cities, but Ch'üan never did make his attack. Wen of Wei regretted his decision.

When the Wei received the Han abdication [December 220], His Majesty was made a Master Writer; and after a time he was transferred to the posts of Superintendent of the Army, and Palace Assistant Secretary. He was also enfeoffed as Marquis of An-kuo village.

HUANG-CH'U 2 [221]

The office of Superintendent of the Army was disestablished. His Majesty was promoted to the office of Palace Attendant and Right Supervisor of the Master Writers.

HUANG-CH'U 5 [224]

The Son of Heaven went on a tour of the south, where he reviewed the troops stationed on the border with Wu. His Majesty remained in the garrison at Hsü-ch'ang, and was promoted in noble rank to be Marquis of Hsiang village. He was also transferred to be General of the Comforting Army, holding credentials; and was placed in command of 5,000 troops. He was further granted the titles of Palace Servitor, and Intendant of the Affairs of the Master Writers, offices which His Majesty firmly declined. The Son of Heaven said, "As I am occupied with the numerous affairs

of state from night until dawn, I am without a moment's peace or rest. I do not consider this to be favorable, so I shall share my concerns [with you]."

HUANG-CH'U 6 [225]

The Son of Heaven raised a large naval force to attack Wu, and again commanded His Majesty to remain behind to secure [the capital]. Within, he was to stabilize the populace; and without, he was to maintain the flow of military supplies. Just prior to his departure, [the Son of Heaven] issued the following edict, "I have been deeply pondering matters of the future, and thus have entrusted them to you. Although Ts'ao Shen accumulated exploits on the field of battle, it was Hsiao Ho who was considered most important.³² If you see to it that I have no worries in the west, is this not also acceptable?"

Upon his return to Lo-yang from Kuang-ling prefecture,

³²Hsiao Ho 蕭何 (ob. 193 B.C.) and Ts'ao Shen 曹參 (ob. 190 B.C.) were followers of Liu Pang in his rise to power to become the first Emperor of the Han. Hsiao Ho did much to establish the structure and laws of the imperial state and served as Han Kao-tsu's (reg. 202-195 B.C.) first Chancellor. Following Hsiao Ho's death in 193, Ts'ao Shen succeeded to the post of Chancellor until his own death in 190. For their biographies see (for Hsiao Ho) *Shih-chi* 53.2013-20, Watson, *Records*, 1:125-33; and (for Ts'ao Shen) *Shih-chi* 54.2021-30, Watson, *Records*, 1:421-425. Their biographies appear together in *Han shu* 39.2005-22.

the Son of Heaven issued the following edict to His Majesty: "When I am in the east, the General of the Comforting Army must superintend affairs in the west. When I am in the west, the General of the Comforting Army must superintend affairs in the east." His Majesty thereupon remained in the garrison at Hsü-ch'ang.

When the Son of Heaven became critically ill, His Majesty, along with Ts'ao Chen and Ch'en Ch'ün, was received in audience in the Southern Chamber of the Hall of Exalted Splendor where they all received a testamentary charge to "assist the government." The Heir Designate received the following command: "There may be those who would alienate these three ministers from you, but be careful and do not doubt them."

When Emperor Ming ascended the throne [226], His Majesty was enfeoffed as the Marquis of Wu-yang.

When Sun Ch'üan besieged Chiang-hsia, he sent his Generals Chu-ko Chin and Chang Pa to make a joint attack on Hsiang-yang. His Majesty commanded the various armies attacking Ch'üan's forces, and he defeated them. As he advanced in attack, His Majesty defeated Chin, and took the head of Pa as well as those of more than a thousand others. His Majesty was consequently promoted to be General of the Agile Cavalry.

Sixth month [2 July-31 July]. The Son of Heaven commanded His Majesty to make camp at Wan. In addition, he was put in command of the military affairs in the two provinces of Ching and Yü.

Initially, when a General from Shu, Meng Ta,³³ surrendered, the Wei court treated him quite generously. His Majesty felt that Ta's words and actions were deceptive and crafty and could not be trusted. However, his frequent remonstrations went unheeded. Ta was made acting Grand Administrator of Hsin-ch'eng commandery, was enfeoffed as a

³³Meng Ta 孟達 (ob. 228) had originally served the Shepherd (*mu*) of I province, Liu Chang (on whom see note 18 above), during the Chien-an era (196-220), and subsequently served as a military commander to Chang's successor, Liu Pei. Meng Ta had been criticized for not assisting Kuan Yü at the time of the latter's defeat in 219, and in the autumn of 220, Ta left Shu and joined Wei. At that time, such changes of alliance were not unusual, and Meng Ta was given an appointment as acting Grand Administrator of Hsin-ch'eng commandery in southwest Ching province. In 227, Meng Ta changed alliance again and sought service under Shu, then under the direction of Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234). As subsequent developments demonstrated, the situation was by no means clear-cut for Meng Ta, and he was unable to complete his change of alliance. While he is mentioned in more than a dozen and a half places in the *San-kuo chih*, Ch'en Shou did not include a biography of Meng Ta. P'ei Sung-chih, however, includes a lengthy passage from what may have been his biography in the *Wei lüeh*. See *San-kuo chih* 3.93.

noble, and was given credentials. Ta thereupon joined with Wu to strengthen Shu, and secretly plotted against the Central States.³⁴

The Chancellor of Shu, Chu-ko Liang, detested Ta's duplicity, and was deeply concerned that he might cause trouble. As Ta had a falling out with the Grand Administrator of Wei-hsing commandery, Shen I, Liang sought to encourage this situation and therefore dispatched a certain Kuo Mo to go and feign surrender [to Wei]. When he encountered I, [Kuo Mo] divulged Meng Ta's plot, and when Ta heard that his plot had been divulged, he prepared to mobilize his troops.

His Majesty feared that Ta would quickly muster his forces, so he sent the following letter to him explaining the situation: "General, in the past you turned away from Liu Pei and entrusted yourself to the state. The state then entrusted you with a border command, and assigned you the task of working against Shu. This is what may be called 'piercing the white sun with our heart.' Among both the

³⁴The term "Central States" (*chung-kuo* 中國) here is an old way of referring to the states of the Yellow river valley which formed the nucleus of the Chinese political world in pre-Ch'in times. During the early imperial period the term continued to be used to refer to the Chinese imperial state, as opposed to non-Chinese tribal groups or illegitimate separatist states. In this case the term refers to the Wei state as opposed to Shu or Wu.

ignorant and wise men of Shu, there is none who does not grind his teeth in anger against you. Chu-ko Liang wants to destroy you, but is troubled for not finding a way to do so. What Mo has said is by no means a small matter. Can Liang think so lightly of it and order it divulged? I think this is easy to understand."

Having received the letter, Meng Ta was delighted but remained undecided about the matter. His Majesty then secretly advanced his army to attack him, but various of his Generals told him that since Ta had fraternized with both enemy states, it would be best to wait and observe the situation before taking action. His Majesty said, "Ta is neither trustworthy nor sincere. This is a time when he is very suspicious, and so, now that he is undecided [as to what action he will take], we should resolve this quickly. His Majesty then doubled their pace and quickened their march. In eight days they reached the foot of the city wall [at Hsin-ch'eng]. Wu and Shu had each sent their Generals to An-ch'iao and Mu-lan-sai in Hsi-ch'eng commandery in order to rescue Ta. His Majesty dispatched his generals in separate groups to oppose them.

Earlier, Meng Ta had sent a letter to Chu-ko Liang saying, "Wan is 800 *li*'s distance from Lo-yang, and 1200 *li* from me. When [Lord Ssu-ma] hears that I have mobilized my forces, he will have to send a memorial up to the Son of Heaven, and it will be a month before he receives a reply.

By then, my city will be fortified, and my forces will be sufficiently prepared. I occupy a well protected position, and Lord Ssu-ma will certainly not come in person. If any of his subordinate Generals come, I will have nothing to worry about."

When His Majesty's troops arrived, Ta made the following report to Liang, "I mobilized my forces eight days ago, yet his troops have already reached my city walls. How can he possess such divine speed?!"

The walled city of Shang-yung commandery was surrounded by water on three sides. Beyond the city wall, Ta made wooden palisades in order to protect himself. His Majesty crossed the river, destroyed the palisades, and went directly to the foot of the city walls. He had attacked the city along eight avenues of approach for sixteen days, when Ta's nephew, Teng Hsien, one of his Generals, Li Fu, and others opened the city gate, came out and surrendered. His Majesty decapitated Meng Ta, and sent his head to the imperial capital. After capturing more than a myriad of men, he returned to Wan in martial glory. There he encouraged agriculture and sericulture, and prohibited frivolous expenditures. Those in the south happily gave their allegiance to him.

Initially, Shen I, who had long been in Wei-hsing, monopolized authority in that border region. When he received authority to carve official seals, he falsely

bestowed many of them. After Meng Ta had been put to death, he began to fear that suspicion might be cast on him. At that time, various of the commandery Grand Administrators, due to His Majesty's recent triumph, offered him gifts and congratulations, all of which were accepted. His Majesty sent someone to sway Shen I [to do the same], and when Shen I arrived, His Majesty asked him about the situation concerning his receipt of authority, and took him into custody. He then sent him on to the imperial capital. His Majesty also removed Meng Ta's supporters, more than seven thousand families in number, to Yu province.

Two Generals from Shu, Yao Ching, Cheng T'a and others, leading more than 7,000 of their subordinates, came and surrendered.

At that time, many of the border commanderies which had recently become allied [with the Wei] were without household registers. The Wei court wanted to conceal the fact. His Majesty was directed to pay court at the capital, and the Son of Heaven consulted with him on this matter. His Majesty said, "The bandits have bound their subjects with a tight net, and these subjects have therefore abandoned them. It would be best to provide the capaciousness of a great net; then they would naturally be peaceful and happy."

The Son of Heaven also asked that if it were appropriate to attack the two enemy states, which should be first? His Majesty responded as follows: "Wu is of the

opinion that our state is unpracticed in naval warfare, and therefore has dared to settle in the Tung-kuan area. In attacking one's enemy, one must choke their throat and pound their heart. Hsia-k'ou and Tung-kuan are the heart and throat of the enemy. If we form a land force to march toward Wan city, and force Sun Ch'üan to the southeast, and if we form a naval force to go toward Hsia-k'ou, we can take advantage of their openness and attack them. This would be like divine troops descending from heaven--their defeat would be certain!"

The Son of Heaven agreed with all that he said, and again commanded His Majesty to take up his post at Wan.

T'AI-HO 4 [230]

His Majesty was promoted to the office of General in Chief, and was also made Supreme Commander, bearing the Yellow Axe. He, along with Ts'ao Chen, attacked Shu.

From Hsi-ch'eng prefecture, His Majesty cut through the mountains, and opened a road so that he could advance by both land and water. Going up the Mien river he reached Ch'un-jen prefecture, and then razed Hsin-feng prefecture. His army stopped at Tan-k'ou and, encountering rain, returned.

In the next year [231], Chu-ko Liang invaded T'ien-shui commandery, and surrounded Generals Chia Hsü and Wei P'ing

at Ch'i mountain. The Son of Heaven said [to His Majesty], "There are pressing matters in the west, and you are the only one to whom I can entrust them." He then sent His Majesty westward to make camp at Ch'ang-an, where he was to serve as Military Governor of the various martial affairs of the two provinces of Yung and Liang, and to assume command over the General of Chariots and Cavalry, Chang Ko, the General of the Rear, Fei Yao, the Army Superintendent Who Campaigns Against Shu, Tai Ling, and the Governor of Yung province, Kuo Huai, in a punitive campaign against Chu-ko Liang.

Chang Ko urged His Majesty to send a detachment to go to Yung prefecture and Mei kingdom to serve as a rear garrison. His Majesty said, "If you think that the advance army alone will be able to accomplish the task, then your suggestion is valid; otherwise, we have divided our forces into advance and rear guard, and it will be the same as when the Three Armies of Ch'u were captured by Ch'ing Pu."³⁵ He

³⁵Ch'ing Pu 黔布 (ob. 196 B.C.) had been one of Liu Pang's allies during the civil war against Liu Hsiang during 206-202 B.C., and had been enfeoffed as King of Huai-nan (see Twitchett and Loewe eds., *The Cambridge History of China*, 1:125, Map 3, "The Han Empire, 195 B.C.") in recognition of his contributions to the founding of the Han. After a few years as King of Huai-nan, Ch'ing Pu began to grow uneasy due to the fact that several of Liu Pang's former allies in the civil war had been killed off at the hands of the new government. In 196 B.C. Ch'ing Pu became

then sent Ko's force on to Yü-mi prefecture.

When Liang heard that the imperial forces had arrived, he personally led his troops and prepared to cut down the wheat in Shang-kuei prefecture. Various of the [Wei] Generals were afraid, so His Majesty said, "Liang's worries are many and his choices are few. He must stabilize his camp and fortify his position, after which he will cut wheat. If we have two days' forced march, it will be sufficient." Thereupon, his armored troops marched day and night to get there.

Liang, seeing the soldiers' dust, fled. His Majesty

quite anxious and finally rebelled against the Han. He first attacked the kingdom of Wu to the east, and then proceeded north across the Huai river to attack the kingdom of Ch'u. It was in response to this attack that Ch'u divided its army into three groups (the "Three Armies of Ch'u" in Ssu-ma I's phrase) in order to engage Ch'ing Pu and his forces. The *Shih-chi* describes what happened next as follows:

Someone advised the Ch'u general against this plan saying, "Ch'ing Pu is an excellent fighter and the people are afraid of him. It is said in *The Art of War* that when a prince fights on his own land he fights on shaky ground (*Sun-tzu ping-fa* 9.2). Now that you have divided our army into three groups, if one of them is defeated the other two will run away. How do you expect them to support each other?" But the general paid no attention, and as the man had predicted, one of the groups was defeated and the other two fled.

See Watson, *Records*, 1:205-206; *Shih-chi* 91.2606. Ssu-ma I points this out as a warning of the perils of unduly dividing up one's forces. Ch'ing Pu's biographies may be found in *Shih-chi* 91.2597-2607 and *Han shu* 34.1881-90.

said, "Exerting ourselves in a forced march, this is what the knowledgeable military man covets. Liang will not dare [try to] secure the Wei river. This is easy to deal with."

Advancing his army to camp in Han-yang, His Majesty, encountering Liang, set his troops in line of battle in preparation to engage him. Sending his General, Niu Chin, out with light cavalry to bait Liang, Liang retreated as soon as their forces engaged, and His Majesty pursued him to Ch'i mountain. Liang encamped at Lu-ch'eng and, occupying the mountains to the north and south, cut off the rivers so as to form a double barrier. His Majesty attacked and destroyed his barricade, and Liang fled in the night. His Majesty pursued, attacked and defeated him, capturing and beheading a myriad of men. The Son of Heaven sent an envoy to reward the troops, and increased His Majesty's enfeoffed lands.

At that time, the Army Commander, Tu Hsi, and the Superintendent of the Army, Hsüeh Ti, both said that when the wheat crops ripen in the following year, Liang would certainly make an incursion. As Lung-yu had no grain, they thought it would be best to move some there in advance of winter. His Majesty said, "Liang has twice invaded Ch'i mountain, and has attacked Ch'en-ts'ang once, and after being bloodied and defeated, he retreated. If he continues to go out after that, he will not attack a city, but will seek a battle in the fields. This will certainly be to the

east of Lung, not to its west. Liang often worries that his grain supplies will be too low, so if he returns [to his base] it certainly will be to gather up grain. The way I see it, he will not be able to mobilize his forces for three more years."

His Majesty thereupon submitted a memorial suggesting that farmers from Chi province be transferred to work the land in Shang-kuei prefecture; and that salt ponds³⁶ be developed in Ching-chao, T'ien-shui and Nan-an commanderies.

CH'ING-LUNG 1 [233]

His Majesty opened up the Ch'eng-kuo canal and built the Lin-chin reservoir, thus irrigating several thousand *ch'ing* of land. The state was thereby enriched.

CH'ING-LUNG 2 [234]

Liang once again led his forces, numbering more than 100,000 men, out from Yeh-ku. He then built ramparts on the plain south of the Wei river in Mei kingdom. The Son of Heaven was worried about this and dispatched the Army Superintendent Who Campaigns Against Shu, Ch'in Lang, to command 20,000 infantry and cavalry, and to receive

³⁶The text here should read *yen ch'ih* 鹽池 "salt ponds," instead of *chien yeh* 監治 "Superintendent of Metallurgy." This is confirmed from *Chin shu* 26.785/4, "Monograph on Food and Money," in which the exact same line appears with *yen ch'ih* intact.

credentials from His Majesty. Various [of His Majesty's] Generals wanted to remain north of the Wei river to wait for them, but His Majesty said, "The assemblage of people is south of the Wei. This is the place we must fight for." He then led his army across the river, which he kept to his rear and built his own ramparts. He then addressed his Generals saying, "If Liang is brave, he will come out from Wu-kung, keep to the mountains, and move east. But if he proceeds west, and goes up to the Wu-chang plain, then our forces will have no concerns."

Liang did go up to the plain, and was about to proceed north across the Wei river; so His Majesty sent General Chou Tang to go and make camp at Yang-sui in order to bait him.

For several days, Liang did not move. His Majesty said, "Liang wants to fight for the plain and that is why he will not go toward Yang-sui. This intention is clear." He sent both General Hu Tsun and the Governor of Yung province, Kuo Huai, to reenforce Yang-sui, and they encountered Liang at Chi-shih. Drawing near to the plain, they commenced battle, but Liang was unable to advance and so he returned to Wu-chang plain.

When a shooting star fell into Liang's encampments, His Majesty knew Liang would certainly be defeated. So he sent some of his crack troops to draw off some men from Liang's rear, and they took more than 500 heads, captured alive more than 1000 men, and more than 600 men surrendered.

At that time, the court felt that since Liang's expeditionary forces had invaded from afar, it was to their advantage to hurry into battle. Therefore they ordered His Majesty to hold firm and watch for any changes in Liang's position. Liang challenged him to battle several times, but His Majesty did not make a sortie. Liang therefore sent him a bonnet and women's adornments. His Majesty was enraged and sent a memorial to the throne asking to undertake a conclusive battle. The Son of Heaven did not permit it, but sent a forthright official, the Commandant of the Guards, Hsin P'i, to carry credentials and act as Army Commander in order to keep him under control. Later, Liang once again came to challenge him to battle, and His Majesty was about to lead his troops out to respond, but when P'i, holding his credentials, stood at the gate of the camp, His Majesty ceased.

Initially, when a Shu General, Chiang Wei, heard that P'i had come, he addressed Liang saying, "Since Hsin P'i has arrived and is holding credentials, the enemy will not come out again." Liang said, "He [Ssu-ma I] originally had no will to fight. His strong request [to fight] was simply to make a show of might to his forces, that's all. When a General is with his army, there are times when he does not accept his sovereign's command. If he were able to prevail over us, why would he request to do battle from a thousand *li* away?"

His Majesty's younger brother, Fu, sent him a letter asking about the military situation. His Majesty wrote back saying, "Liang's will is great, but he has no opportunities. He has many plans but few decisions; and he is fond of campaigning, but has no power. Although he has mobilized 100,000 troops, he has already fallen prey to my plans. His destruction is certain."

His Majesty and Liang maintained opposing fortifications for more than a hundred days. When Liang died of illness,³⁷ various of his generals set fire to their camps and fled. The common people came out and informed His Majesty [of what had happened], and His Majesty sent his troops out in pursuit of [the fleeing enemy]. Liang's Chief Officer, Yang I, waved his banners and sounded his drums as if he were about to oppose His Majesty. His Majesty, considering him to be a desperate enemy, did not press in on him. Yang I thereupon drew his troops up into line of march and departed.

For a whole day, His Majesty passed through the enemy camps and fortifications, observing what remained. He captured an abundance of maps, documents, provisions and grain. His Majesty ascertained that Liang was indeed dead

³⁷According to the entry in his biography in *San-kuo chih* 35.925, Chu-ko Liang died in the eighth month of the twelfth year of the Chien-hsing era of Shu, which is equivalent to September/October of 234. He was fifty-four *sui* at the time.

and said, "He was one of the empire's extraordinary talents"; but Hsin P'i felt that Liang's death could still not be known for sure. His Majesty said, "What the military man considers important are: military texts, secret plans, troops and horses, and provisions and grain. He has now abandoned all of these things. Can a person cast aside his five organs and still live? It is best to make a hasty pursuit of the remaining forces."

In the region within the passes, there was much spiny caltrop.³⁸ His Majesty sent 2,000 army officers to put on flat-bottom wooden shoes made of pliable saplings as they moved forward. All the caltrop stuck to the wooden shoes, and subsequently the cavalry and infantry could all advance.

Pursuing the enemy to Ch'ih-an, His Majesty then realized Liang had died and conducted an inquiry. At that time, the common people made the following saying about him: "Dead Chu-ko has put to flight live Chung-ta." Upon hearing this, His Majesty laughed and said, "It is because I can well manage the living; I cannot very well manage the dead."

Prior to this, when Liang's envoy arrived, His Majesty asked him, "What are Lord Chu-ko's activities like, and how much rice does he eat?" The envoy replied, "Two or three *sheng*." He next asked about government affairs, and the envoy said, "All punishments of twenty blows and above, he

³⁸A thorny plant strewn out on roads to impede the movement of men and horses.

personally oversees." Right after this, His Majesty told someone else, "As for Chu-ko K'ung-ming, can he last long?" In the end, it was as he said.

Two of Liang's Generals, Yang I and Wei Yen, had a struggle for power. I beheaded Yen and took control of his forces. His Majesty wanted to take advantage of this split and advance further, but an edict was issued which did not allow it.

CH'ING-LUNG 3 [235]

His Majesty was promoted to the office of Grand Commandant, and his enfeoffed lands were further increased.

A General from Shu, Ma Tai, made an incursion into Wei territory, so His Majesty sent General Niu Chin to attack and rout him. [General Niu] took more than a thousand heads.

Two Ti tribal kings from Wu-tu commandery, Fu Shuang and Ch'iang Tuan, leading more than 6,000 of their adherents, came and surrendered.

There was a famine in the area east of the Pass. His Majesty transported five million *hu* of millet from Ch'ang-an to the imperial capital.

CH'ING-LUNG 4 [236]

His Majesty captured a white deer and presented it to the court. The Son of Heaven said, "In the past, when Duke

Tan of Chou assisted King Ch'eng, there was tribute of a white pheasant.³⁹ Now, you have received an appointment to the Shan-hsi region, and there is this offering of a white deer. Is this not a case of loyalty truly according with omens?! For a thousand years it has been similarly recorded that [those who have] brought order to the Territorial House have thereby prolonged its repose."

When the Grand Administrator of Liao-tung, Kung-sun

³⁹The Duke of Chou 周公, whose personal name was Tan 旦, was the younger brother of the founder of the Chou dynasty, King Wu 武王. Soon after the Chou conquest of the Shang (ca. 1045), King Wu died, and his son, King Ch'eng, came to the throne. The Duke of Chou acted as regent for his nephew, King Ch'eng. There is a story that, following King Wu's conquest of the Shang, the four barbarian peoples (ssu i 四夷) came to present tribute. The ruler of the Yüeh-shang 越裳 presented a white pheasant (pai chih 白雉) which arrived with multilingual interpreters. This story is cited in Li Shan's commentary to Wu Chih's (ob. 230) "Letter in Response to the King of Tung-a," in *Wen hsüan* 42.19a. The commentary cites the *Ta'i-kung chin-k'uei* (The Metal Coffer of T'ai-kung), a text which is now lost, but may have been a version of "The Metal-Bound Coffer" found in the *Shang shu*, see Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 3:351-61. This story is also told in the *Han shih wai-chuan* (Han Wei ts'ung-shu ed.) 5.7a-b; James R. Hightower, trans., *Han Shih Wai Chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 172.

Yüan,⁴⁰ rebelled, His Majesty was summoned to the imperial capital. The Son of Heaven said, "This is not worth bothering you with. But as this matter will certainly have to be overcome, I therefore trouble you with it. What plan do you reckon he will use?"

His Majesty replied, "To abandon his city-walls and take flight in advance, would be his best plan. To hold the Liao river and oppose the imperial army would be his next [best] plan. Sitting and holding Hsiang-p'ing would simply result in his capture."

The Son of Heaven said, "Which plan will he use?"

His Majesty replied, "Only the brilliant are able to make a profound estimate of others and themselves, and so give up something beforehand. But this is something he cannot do. Now, with our armies out on a distant campaign,

⁴⁰Kung-sun Yüan 公孫淵 (ob. 238) was the third generation ruler of a separatist state in Liao-tung commandery (present northern Korea). He had been in power there since he overthrew his uncle in 228. Accounts of leading members of the Kung-sun family may be found in *San-kuo chih* 8.239-47, 252-61. An in-depth study of the Kung-sun has been made by K.H.J. Gardiner in his two-part article, "The Kung-sun Warlords of Liao-tung (189-238)," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 5 (1972):59-107 and 6 (1972):141-201. The second part of this article treats Kung-sun Yüan and Ssu-ma I's campaign against him. Kung-sun Yüan is referred to in the *Chin shu* text by his cognomen, Wen-i 文懿, in order to avoid the taboo on the given name of the T'ang Founder, Li Yüan 李淵.

it will be said that we cannot maintain [our assault] for long. He will certainly first resist us at the Liao river and then make a stand. This is a sub-standard plan."

The Son of Heaven said, "How much time will it take going and coming?"

His Majesty replied, "Going will take a hundred days, returning will take a hundred days, and attacking will take a hundred days; and sixty days taken for rest--one year should be sufficient."

At that time, [the Son of Heaven had ordered] the extensive repair of palaces and halls, to which he added military conscription, and the common people were starving and haggard. As His Majesty was preparing to take to his war chariot, he made the following remonstrations, "In the past, the Duke of Chou laid out Lo-city, and Hsiao Ho built the Wei-yang palace.⁴¹ At present, the palaces and halls are dilapidated, this is the responsibility of the officials. Yet, from the Ho to the north, the common people are impoverished and in dire straits. There are campaigns throughout the provinces, so the situation dictates that the two cannot be simultaneously undertaken. It would be best to cut off palace business temporarily in order to attend to the urgencies of the times."

⁴¹These are some of the cultural achievements made by the Duke of Chou at the founding of the Chou dynasty, and Hsiao Ho at the founding of the Han.

CHING-CH'U 2 [238]

His Majesty, leading Niu Chin, Hu Tsun and 40,000 infantry and cavalry, set out from the imperial capital. The Imperial Entourage saw them off from the Gate of Western Brightness, where he commanded His Majesty's younger brother, Fu, and His Majesty's son, Shih, to see them past Wen prefecture. Granting them grain, silk, oxen and wine, the Son of Heaven ordered that officials from the rank of Commandery Administrator and Director of Agriculture on down, must all go and meet with them. Upon encountering elders and old acquaintances, they feasted and drank for days on end. [At one point] His Majesty heaved a great sigh and, moved by his disconsolate feelings, made the following song:

As Heaven and Earth open and unfold,
 And the Sun and Moon redouble their radiance,
 So have I chanced upon this opportunity
 4 To exhaust my strength in a remote quarter.
 I shall sweep away this mass of filth,
 And, upon my return, pass through my native village.
 I will awe and purify a myriad *li*,
 8 And completely unify the Eight Wastes.
 Announcing my completion, I shall retire to my home,
 And await punishment at Wu-yang.

His Majesty advanced his forces and, passing through Ku-chu and beyond Chieh-shih, made camp by the Liao river. Kung-sun Yüan then sent several myriads of infantry and cavalry to obstruct [His Majesty's forces at] Liao-sui. Protected by strong walls, running sixty or seventy *li* from north to south, they stood in opposition to His Majesty. Many of His Majesty's host of troops raised their banners and pennons, and set out to the south. The rebels, using all of their crack troops, went after them. [His Majesty's forces] then secretly crossed the river in boats in order to come out north of the enemy. Directly confronting the rebel camps, His Majesty sank their boats and burned down their bridges. Along the Liao river they made an extended barrier, [after which they] left the rebels and moved toward Hsiang-p'ing.

Various of the Generals said, "Not attacking the enemy and [simply] setting up barriers, is not how we show our forces." His Majesty said, "These rebels, with their strong encampments and high ramparts, wish to tire out our troops. If we attack them, we will be falling right into their trap. This is how Wang I met with humiliation when passing K'un-yang."⁴² The ancients said, 'Although the enemy may have

⁴²Wang I 王邑 served as Grand Minister of Works (*ta ssu-k'ung*) under Wang Mang (reg. A.D. 9-23) and was a military commander for him in the civil war against Liu Hsiu 劉秀 (Emperor Kuang-wu). On 7 July A.D. 23, Wang I, who was then engaged in a siege of the K'un-yang prefectural

high ramparts, he has no choice but to meet us in battle. Attack the place which they must certainly go to aid.' Since the bulk of the rebels are here, their base must be empty. If we proceed directly to Hsiang-p'ing, they are sure to be frightened; in fear they will give us battle, and we are certain to destroy them."

He then deployed his troops in line of march and moved onward. The rebels, seeing the troops coming out to their rear, turned to engage them. His Majesty addressed his various Generals, saying, "The reason I did not attack their encampments was that I wanted to bring about just this [sort of opportunity]. We must not lose it."

He then loosed his troops for a counterattack, and soundly defeated the rebels. In three engagements, they prevailed every time. The rebels retreated to Hsiang-p'ing, and His Majesty advanced his army and besieged them.

Initially, when Yüan heard that the Wei forces had set out, he sought assistance from Sun Ch'üan. Ch'üan then sent out his troops to act as a remote support. He sent Yüan a letter which said, "Lord Ssu-ma is skilled in deploying troops. His transformations are like a deity. Wherever he goes there is no one who advances against him. I am deeply

seat, was destroyed by Liu Hsiu's forces which had attacked from behind. Hans Bielenstein sums up the consequences of this battle as follows: "The crushing defeat of Wang Mang's army sealed his and his dynasty's fate and founded the fame of Kuang-wu." See Bielenstein, "Restoration," p. 79.

worried for my 'younger brother'⁴³ because of this."

When torrential rains hit the area, flood waters covered the ground to the depth of several feet. The Three Armies were afraid and wanted to move their encampments. His Majesty issued an order that if there were any men within the army who dared speak of moving, they would be executed. The Military Governor's Prefect Clerk, Chang Ching, transgressed the order and was executed. The men within the army were thus brought into order.

The rebels, relying on the floods, freely went about their wood gathering and animal grazing. Various of His Majesty's Generals wanted to seize them, but His Majesty would not hear of it. One of his Majors, Ch'en Kuei, said, "In the past, when you attacked Shang-yung, eight detachments advanced simultaneously without resting day or night, and within half a "week,"⁴⁴ you were able to overcome the strong walls and beheaded Meng Ta. At present, we have come from afar and you choose to procrastinate. Ignorant as I am, I am confused by this."

His Majesty said, "Meng Ta's men were few in number, but he had enough food for a year. Our commanders and soldiers were four times the number as Meng Ta's, but our provisions would not have lasted a month. In planning one

⁴³This term refers to Kung-sun Yüan as a fellow anti-Wei ally, but of junior status.

⁴⁴A Chinese week consists of ten days.

month against one year, how could I not make haste? Striking with four against one, even if I lost half, it was still worth doing. Therefore I could not take into account the number of dead and wounded; I was contending against provisions. Now, the rebels are numerous and we are few; but they are starving and we are full. With these rains and floodwaters, we cannot make use of our attacking force. Even though we should hasten the campaign, what can be done? Since leaving the imperial capital, I have not been concerned about the rebels attacking, but have been afraid that they might flee. Now, the rebels' provisions are nearly used up, but our siegeworks are not yet complete. If we plunder their horses and oxen, and seize their gathered firewood, this will prompt them to flee. War is an art of deception; one must be skilled at drawing upon changing situations. The rebels are relying upon their numbers and depending upon the rains; therefore even though they are starving and constrained, they are not yet willing to concede defeat. We must show a lack of ability in order to lull them; for seeking a small victory simply to unsettle them is no plan."

Those at court heard that the imperial army had encountered rains, and all requested that they be summoned back. The Son of Heaven said, "Lord Ssu-ma, when confronting danger, prevails over changing circumstances. You may reckon the day when he will capture them."

When the rains stopped, His Majesty had completed the siegeworks. Building earthen mounds and tunnels, and using shields, siege towers, scaling ladders and battering rams, they showered arrows and rocks upon the enemy, whom they attacked day and night.

At that time there was a comet, which was white in color and had a long tail. It sped from the southwest of Hsiang-p'ing city to the northeast, and fell into the Liang river. Those within the city trembled in fear.

Yüan was terribly afraid, and sent his Chancellor of State, Wang Chien, and his Grandee Secretary, Liu Fu, to plead for surrender, request that the siege be lifted, and offer themselves as bound prisoners. His Majesty did not allow it, seized Chien and others, and put them to death.

His Majesty sent the following dispatch to Yüan: "In the past, Ch'u and Cheng were both great states, yet the Earl of Cheng still greeted [the Viscount of Ch'u] with bared flesh leading a sheep.⁴⁵ I am one of the Emperor's

⁴⁵This is a reference to a passage in the *Tso chuan* (Duke Hsüan 12 = 597 B.C.) in which the state of Cheng 鄭 had been besieged by the Viscount of Ch'u 楚子 for seventeen days, followed by a period of reprise. After that the Viscount of Ch'u,

advanced and renewed the siege, when the place was reduced at the end of three months. He entered the city by the Huang Gate, and proceeded to the principal street, where he was met by the Earl of Cheng, with his flesh exposed and leading a sheep. "Uncared for by Heaven," said the earl, "I could not serve your lordship, and [have] aroused your anger, 'til it had

men, and occupy a position of High Excellency; yet Chien and others wanted me to lift the siege, withdraw and rest. Are you and I to be regarded as Ch'u and Cheng? These two men of yours were old dotards who certainly transmitted your words but not your intentions, and so I have already beheaded them both. If you still have some ideas you wish to convey, then you may dispatch someone to me who is younger and possessed of a bright and discerning mind."

Yüan then dispatched his Palace Attendant, Wei Yen, to beg that they might set a day for sending a hostage. His Majesty addressed Yen saying, "There are five essential points in military affairs. If one is able to fight, then he must fight. If one is not able to fight, then he must maintain a defense. If one is not able to maintain a defense, then he must flee. The other two acts are only surrender and death. If you are not willing to make yourself a bound prisoner, then it seems that you have chosen death. There is no need to send a hostage."

Yüan struck at the south portion of the encirclement and broke through. His Majesty loosed his troops, which attacked and defeated Yüan, who was then beheaded by the Liang river at the place where the comet had fallen.

When his forces entered the city, His Majesty erected

been discharged upon my city. The offence is all mine; and I dare do nothing now but wait for your commands."

See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 5:313.

two signs to differentiate the new from the old among them. More than 7,000 males aged fifteen and above were killed, and their bodies were used to make a 'testimonial mound.'⁴⁶ The rebel ministers and lower officials all submitted to execution, and Yüan's General, Pi Sheng, and more than 2,000 others were also put to death. 40,000 households, consisting of more than 300,000 people, were thus acquired.

Initially, Yüan had usurped his uncle's [Kung-sun Kung] position, and had imprisoned him. When he was about to rebel, his Generals, Lun Chih, Chia Fan, and others bitterly remonstrated with him, but Yüan had them all killed. His Majesty thus released Kung from his imprisonment, erected grave mounds for Chih and the others, and gave recognition to their posterity. [His Majesty then issued] the following directive: "When the ancients undertook a punitive campaign against a state, only the arch criminals were put to death. As for all of those whom Yüan misled and deceived, let them be pardoned. As for those residents of the Central States who wish to return to their former villages, it shall be

⁴⁶Further on in the same *Tso chuan* passage (Hsüan 12) mentioned in Note 46 above, we find mention of the function of a "testimonial mound" (*ching-kuan* 京觀):

In ancient times, when the intelligent kings punished disrespectful and disobedient states, they took the greatest criminals among them and buried them under a mound as the greatest punishment. Thus it was that ["testimonial mounds"] were made for the warning of the unruly and bad.

From Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 5:321.

permitted."

At that time, the troops were freezing cold and begged for padded coats, but His Majesty would not give them any. Someone said, "Fortunately, there are many padded coats, and you can give them out." His Majesty said, "Padded coats are the property of the state; officials cannot privately distribute them." He then memorialized that soldiers aged sixty years and above would be discharged from service and thus more than 1000 men would be sent home. He also mentioned that commanders, officers and military dependents who had died would be returned home for proper burial. He then went back with the army.

The Son of Heaven dispatched an envoy to reward the troops at Chi. The court also increased His Majesty's fief to include K'un-yang prefecture, which was added to the two prefectures previously granted to him.

Initially, when His Majesty reached Hsiang-p'ing, he dreamed that the Son of Heaven was resting himself upon his knee, and said, "Look at my face." Looking down, he saw that it was out of the ordinary, and he had great loathing in his heart. Prior to this, an edict had reached His Majesty commanding him to proceed along his route and take command of the garrison at Kuan-chung. When he reached the Pai-wu river, there was another edict summoning His Majesty [to Lo-yang]. Within three days, five different edicts reached him. One edict written in the emperor's own hand

said, "I hope that you will come within a very short time. When you arrive, come straight in to my chambers and 'look at my face.'"

His Majesty was greatly shaken, and then mounted a "Pursuing the Van" Carriage and travelled both day and night. From the Pai-wu river it was more than 400 *li*, and His Majesty arrived at the capital after travelling throughout one night.

He was led into the Emperor's bedchamber in the Hall of Excellent Blessings and he stepped up to the imperial bed. With tears flowing, His Majesty inquired about the Emperor's illness. The Son of Heaven took hold of His Majesty's hand, looked the King of Ch'i⁴⁷ in the eye, and said, "I have entrusted future affairs unto this man. I can now bear to die." [Turning to His Majesty, he continued,] "I have been delaying death in waiting for you. Now that I am able to see you, there is nothing more for me to regret."

His Majesty and the General in chief, Ts'ao Shuang, both received a testamentary edict appointing them to assist the young ruler.⁴⁸

⁴⁷The King of Ch'i 齊王 was the Wei heir designate Ts'ao Fang 曹芳.

⁴⁸The term used here, *fu shao-chu* 輔少主 "assist the young ruler," was usually employed in cases of establishing a regency for an infant who had just come to the throne. This phrase first appears with Han Wu-ti's selection of Huo Kuang as regent for his young successor, Liu Fu-ling (then 8

When the King of Ch'i ascended the imperial throne [239], His Majesty was promoted to be a Palace Attendant, and was made Commander in Chief of all Central and Provincial Armies (holding credentials) as well as Intendant of the Affairs of the Master Writers. He and Ts'ao Shuang each commanded 3,000 soldiers, and they held joint control of the court government. His Majesty was permitted to enter directly into the palace halls, and was allowed to ride a palanquin when entering the palace.⁴⁹

Shuang wanted to have the matters memorialized by the Master Writers come to him first. Therefore he spoke to the Son of Heaven, and transferred His Majesty to the office of Grand Minister of War. In a discussion at court, the view was expressed that in all cases Grand Ministers of War had died while in office; so they made His Majesty Grand Preceptor, and granted him the privileges of being allowed to enter the palace without haste, of not having to have his name announced at court roll calls, and of being allowed to

sui), in 87 B.C. See *Han shu* 7.217; Dubs, *HFHD*, 2:151. The more common term was *fu cheng* 輔政 "assist the government," which is found in the historical records from the Han period on. Those who held this position were given the right to act in the emperor's interest and therefore had dominant control of the government. In this case, the regency was established for Ts'ao Fang, then in his eighth year.

⁴⁹These are all honors traditionally given to the highest minister of state.

wear his sword and footwear when entering the palace halls. These were all in imitation of the past precedent of Hsiao Ho of the Han.⁵⁰

Matters pertaining to marriage and burial rites were commensurate with his office. His eldest son, Shih, was made Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary; three of his sons and brothers were made Full Marquis, and four of them were made Cavalry Commandants. His Majesty firmly declined the offices for his sons and brothers.

CHENG-SHIH 1 [240]

Spring, first month [10 February-10 March]. The Tung-wo, through multiple interpreters, offered tribute. And the states of Yen-ch'i and Wei-hsü, as well as the prominent kings of the Hsien-pi from south of the Jo river, all sent envoys to come and present tribute.

The Son of Heaven attributed excellence to the Vice Regent, and made a further increase of His Majesty's noble lands.

Initially, Emperor Ming of the Wei had been fond of building palaces and halls. They were lavish and ornate in plan and scale, but the common people suffered from this [work]. When His Majesty returned from Liao-tung, the conscript laborers still numbered more than a myriad of men, and ornamental baubles were frequently counted in the

⁵⁰On Hsiao Ho, see Note 32 above.

thousands. At this time, [His Majesty] petitioned to have all work cease, so as to conserve labor and allow the people to pursue agricultural matters. All within the empire happily relied upon His Majesty.

CHENG-SHIH 2 [241]

Summer, fifth month [28 May-25 June]. A General from Wu, Ch'üan Tsung, invaded Sha-pei. Chu Jan and Sun Lun besieged Fan-ch'eng, while Chu-ko Chin and Pu Chih plundered Cha-chung. His Majesty requested to personally lead a campaign against them. At court, those deliberating on the matter all said, "The enemy has come from afar to lay siege to Fan, but in the end they will not be able to overcome it. They have been broken at the foot of the strong city walls, so that the Wu forces will simply defeat themselves. It would be best to adopt a strategy of holding out over the long term in dealing with them."

His Majesty said, "The cities near the border are subjected to the enemy, while we sit here in safety amidst the ancestral temples and halls. The borderlands are in a state of unrest, and there is doubt and apprehension in the hearts of the people. These [matters] should be the chief concern of the state."

Sixth month [26 June-25 July]. His Majesty was then placed in command of several armies sent to campaign in the south. The Emperor saw them off from the Gate of the Sunlit

Ford. His Majesty considered that since the south was hot and damp, it would not be best to remain there for an extended period of time. He sent his light cavalry in to provoke the enemy, but Chu Jan did not dare to move against them. His Majesty thereupon rested his warriors, selected his elite troops and summoned those who would make the initial assault. He called out the commands and orders and showed that he was moving in strength and would certainly attack. The Wu forces escaped and fled that night, and the Wei forces pursued them to San-chou-k'ou, where they captured and decapitated more than a myriad of men. They then took possession of their boats and military supplies and returned. The Emperor sent a Palace Attendant and an Attendant-in-ordinary to reward the Wei forces at Wan.

Autumn, seventh month [24 August-23 September]. His Majesty's fief was increased through the addition of Yen and Lin-ying prefectures. In addition to the four prefectures previously granted to him, he now derived income from ten thousand households. In addition to this, eleven of his sons and brothers were all made Full Marquises. His Majesty's merits and virtues became more magnificent each day, yet he grew more and more modest and unassuming.

The Grand Master of Ceremonies, Ch'ang Lin, was an elder gentleman from His Majesty's home village, and each time His Majesty saw him he bowed respectfully to him.

His Majesty regularly admonished his sons and brothers

saying, "Sumptuous fullness, this is what the Taoists shun. The four seasons will still maintain their vicissitudes, so what virtue have we that suits us for such a thing? Cast it off, and cast it off again, until you are able to rid yourselves of it!"

CHENG-SHIH 3 [242]

Spring. The Son of Heaven bestowed a fief and posthumous designation upon His Majesty's father, the late Administrator of Ching-chao, entitling him Marquis Ch'eng of Wu-yang.

Third month [17 April-16 May]. His Majesty presented a proposal to dredge the Kuang-ts'ao canal, thereby allowing the Ho to flow into the Pien. This would irrigate the various banks to the southeast, and allow for the commencement of large-scale farming in the region north of the Huai river.

Prior to this, the state of Wu had sent one of its Generals, Chu-ko K'o, to station himself at Wan. The people of the border and outlying areas suffered from this, and His Majesty requested to personally strike at K'o. Many of those discussing the matter at court were of the opinion that the enemy held to their strong city walls, accumulated grain, and wanted to induce Wei troops to approach. If the Wei court sent its troops off on a far-flung attack, enemy reinforcements would certainly arrive, and neither advance

nor retreat would be easy. They did not see the advantage of this.

His Majesty said, "The enemy's strength lies in naval warfare. Now we should attack their cities, in order to observe their reaction. If they choose to rely on their strength, they will abandon the cities and flee. This is the so-called "victory [calculated beforehand in the] ancestral temple."⁵¹ If they dare to make a firm stand, the lakes and the rivers, being shallow in the winter, will make it impossible for boats to travel. With such a situation, they must abandon the waterways and help one another. So from their shortcomings will come our victory."

⁵¹The phrase *miao sheng* 廟勝, "temple victory," alludes to the ancient practice of making numerous strategic and tactical calculations in the ancestral temple prior to battle. As stated at the end of the first chapter of the *Sun-tzu ping-fa* (The Military Art of Master Sun),

Now if the estimates made in the temple before hostilities indicate victory, it is because calculations show one's strength to be superior to that of the enemy; if they indicate defeat, it is because calculations show that one is inferior. With many calculations, one can win; with few one cannot.

See Samuel B. Griffith, *Sun Tzu: The Art of War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 71 (chapter 1.29). (While Griffith's translation is by no means the most desirable, its wide availability and system of numbered passages make for easy reference.)

Ssu-ma I is arguing here that detailed assessments and carefully laid plans at court will bring victory in battle.

CHENG-SHIH 4 [243]

Autumn, ninth month [1 October-29 October]. His Majesty was placed in command of the various armies sent to strike at Chu-ko K'ò, and the Imperial Cortege saw them off from the Gate of the Sunlit Ford. The army camped at Shu prefecture, and K'ò burned his stores, abandoned his cities, and fled.

His Majesty felt that the key to destroying the enemy lay in accumulating grain. He therefore raised a great many garrison defenses, substantially broadened the Huai-yang and Pai-ch'ih canals, and repaired the various dikes to the north and south of the Ying river, thus irrigating ten thousand and more *ch'ing* of land. From that time on, there were granaries and storehouses within sight of one another in the region north of the Huai; and agricultural officers and garrison soldiers were linked together from Shou-ch'un⁵² all the way to the imperial capital.

CHENG-SHIH 5 [244]

Spring, first month [27 January-25 February]. His Majesty arrived [at the capital] from south of the Huai.

⁵²The editors of the Chung-hua shu-chü edition of the *Chin shu* point out that the name Shou-ch'un 壽春 was first changed to Shou-yang 壽陽 during the Eastern Chin period, and that the two names are often mixed up throughout the *Chin shu*. Following their textual note (no. 9) I have emended Shou-yang to Shou-ch'un.

The Son of Heaven sent an envoy holding credentials to reward the troops.

The Master Writer Teng Yang, along with Li Sheng and others wanted to have Ts'ao Shuang establish fame and exploits, and thus urged him to lead an attack on Shu. His Majesty tried to stop him, but could not. In the end, Shuang returned without achieving any exploits.

CHENG-SHIH 6 [245]

Autumn, eighth month [9 September-7 October]. Ts'ao Shuang destroyed the metropolitan garrisons of the [General of the] Central Ramparts and the [General of the] Central Bulwark and placed their troops under the command of his younger brother, the General of the Central Command Army, Ts'ao Hsi. His Majesty sought to prohibit this on the basis of the old regulations of the previous emperors, but could not.

Winter, twelfth month [6 December-4 January]. The Son of Heaven commanded that His Majesty be allowed to ride a palanquin when entering the palace to attend court convocations.

CHENG-SHIH 7 [246]

Spring, first month [3 February-4 March]. Wu forces invaded Cha-chung. More than 10,000 Chinese and non-Chinese families crossed north of the Mien river to flee the

invasion. His Majesty considered that since the region south of the Mien was close to the enemy, if the common people fled and then returned, they would surely be attacked again. He felt that it would be best to keep them [north] for the time being.

Ts'ao Shuang replied, "At present, we are not able to maintain and protect the region south of the Mien, but keeping the common people here would not be the best strategy."

His Majesty said, "This is not so. If you put something in a safe place, it will be safe. If you put it in a dangerous place, it will be endangered. Therefore the military texts say, 'Victory and defeat are due to conditions; security and peril are due to circumstances.' Conditions and circumstances are fundamental to controlling the masses; [therefore] one must look into them. Suppose the enemy, with 20,000 men, cut off the Mien river, and 30,000 men support the various armies south of the Mien. 10,000 men in disorder would reach Cha-chung, and how could we help them?"

Shuang did not follow his advice, and in the end ordered them to return to the south. The enemy consequently attacked and destroyed Cha-chung. Those lost were estimated to be in the tens of thousands.

Summer, fourth month [22 May-19 June]. His Majesty's consort, the Lady Chang passed away.⁵³ Ts'ao Shuang, utilizing a plan of Ho Yen, Teng Yang and Ting Mi, removed the Empress Dowager to the Palace of Prolonged Tranquility, and monopolized control of the court government. Shuang, along with his brothers, took complete charge of the palace troops, installed many of his relatives and confederates, and made numerous changes in the government regulations. His Majesty was not able to stop them, and consequently had a falling out with Shuang.

Fifth month [20 June-19 July]. His Majesty, claiming illness, no longer participated in government affairs. The people of that time made the following saying: "Ho, Teng and Ting, chaos to the capital did bring."

CHENG-SHIH 9 [248]

Spring, third month [11 April-9 May]. The Yellow Gateman, Chang Tang, privately sent out Shih Ying and ten other Accomplished Ladies from the Lateral Court to serve as entertainers for Ts'ao Shuang.

Shuang and Yen mentioned that His Majesty's illness was worsening, and consequently came to possess hearts which knew no sovereign. For many days they secretly plotted with Chang Tang, and made plans to endanger the state. His

⁵³Lady Chang 張夫人 was Chang Ch'un-hua 張春華 (189-247). Her biography appears in *Chin shu* 31.948-49.

Majesty was secretly prepared for them, and Shuang's followers also became rather suspicious of His Majesty.

When the Administrator of Ho-nan, Li Sheng, was about to go to Ching province, he came to call upon His Majesty. His Majesty feigned that his illness was growing worse, and had two female servants come to attend him. As he took his clothes, he dropped them. He pointed to his mouth, saying that he was thirsty, and a servant brought some rice gruel. His Majesty did not take firm hold of the cup to drink, and the gruel all spilled out and soaked his chest. Sheng said, "Many people feel that Your Excellency's old ailment has once again come upon you. What may we know about Your Excellency's condition?"

His Majesty made his voice barely audible and said, "I am very old and deeply ill; my death will come at any time. You are now going to govern Ping province. Ping province is close to the northern barbarians, so you must be prepared. I fear that we will not see one another again. As for my sons Shih and Chao, and my brothers, I entrust them to you."

Sheng said, "I am returning to my home province, not Ping province."

His Majesty garbled his words and said, "You are going to Ping province."

Sheng again said, "I'm going home to Ching province."

His Majesty said, "I'm very old and can't think clearly. I didn't understand what you said. Now you are

returning to your home province. [May you display your] great virtue and strong vehemence, and establish well exploits and achievements!"

Sheng went back and informed Shuang, saying, "Lord Ssuma has barely a breath of life left in him. His spirit has already left his body; he is not worth worrying about." On another day, he also said, "The Grand Preceptor can no longer be of help, and this has made people most sorrowful." Shuang and the others therefore no longer kept up their guard.

CHIA-P'ING 1 [249]

Spring, first month [31 Jan-28 Feb]. On the sixth day [*chia-wu*] (5 February), the Son of Heaven made a visit to the Kao-p'ing Tumulus,⁵⁴ and Ts'ao Shuang and his brothers all took part in the entourage. On that day Venus encroached upon the moon.⁵⁵ His Majesty thereupon

⁵⁴This was the tomb of Emperor Ming of the Wei (r. 226-239) located due south of Lo-yang. *San-kuo chih* 3.114 states that he was buried there on 17 February 239.

⁵⁵This incident of Venus (*t'ai-po* 太白) encroaching upon the moon (coming into conjunction with it) is mentioned in the second part of the "Monograph on Astronomy" (*t'ien-wen chih* 天文志) in *Chin shu* 12. It is recorded under the category of "lunar occultations, conjunctions and trespasses of the Five Planets" (*yüeh yen fan wu-wei* 月掩犯五緯) which is placed under the general heading of "Verifications of Events from Historical Accounts" (*shih-*

memorialized the Palace of Prolonged Tranquility⁵⁶ to depose Ts'ao Shuang and his brothers.

At that time, Ssu-ma Shih held the office of General of the Central Protecting Army and led his troops out to take up positions at the majors' gates.⁵⁷ His Majesty then

chuan shih-yen 史傳事驗). The significance of the trespassing upon the moon of any of the Five Planets (variously designated as *wu hsing* 五星 'Five Stars'; *wu pu* 五步 'Five Pacers'; or *wu wei* 五緯 'Five Wefts') is given in the monograph as follows:

When one of the Five Planets enters the domain of the moon (i.e., comes into conjunction with it) it forbears the dismissal of a minister in the state concerned.

Translation taken from Ho Peng Yoke, *The Astronomical Chapters of the Chin shu* (Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1966), p. 148. See *Chin shu* 12.346-47. On the Five Planets (Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn) see Edward H. Schafer, *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Stars* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 211-12.

⁵⁶The Yung-ning Palace 永寧宮 was the residence of the empress dowager and, by extension, a reference to the empress dowager née Kuo 郭皇太后 (ob. 263) herself. She was Emperor Ming's second and last empress, and thus became empress dowager upon Ts'ao Fang's accession to the throne in 239. Her biography may be found in *San-kuo chih* 5.168-69.

⁵⁷The major's gate (*ssu-ma men* 司馬門) was a general reference to any of several exterior gates of the imperial palace where guards under the command of a major were stationed. Here the term is used in the plural. See *Han shu* 9.286, n 10; Dubs, *HFHD*, 2:316, n 6.9 in which the commentator Yen Shih-ku (583-645) provides an explanation of

arrayed his troops beneath the gatetowers of the General in Chief's bureau and then passed through Shuang's gate. Shuang's Camp Superintendent, Yen Shih, climbed up onto one of the towers, raised his crossbow, and took aim at His Majesty. A certain Sun Ch'ien stopped him saying, "We do not yet know how this situation will turn out." Yen Shih took aim three times, and three times he stopped. Each time Sun Ch'ien had grabbed his elbow so he couldn't shoot.

The Grand Minister of Agriculture, Huan Fan, went out after Ts'ao Shuang. Chiang Chi spoke to His Majesty saying, "The 'Bag of Knowledge' has departed." His Majesty replied, "Fundamentally, Shuang is not on close terms with Fan, nor does Shuang's knowledge approach his. As Shuang is an old nag who loves only stable beans, he will certainly find Fan of no use."

His Majesty thereupon bestowed credentials upon the Minister Over the Masses, Kao Jou, to function as acting General in Chief, and ordered him to take command of Ts'ao Shuang's metropolitan garrison. He then addressed Jou saying, "You will be my Chou Po."⁵⁸ He also ordered the

this term.

⁵⁸Chou Po 周勃 (ob. 169 B.C.) was a Former Han Grand Commandant who assisted in defending the interests of the Liu house following the death of Kao-tsu and his successor, Emperor Hui. The *Han shu* offers the following anecdote from a conversation between Kao-tsu and his empress:

The Empress née Lü asked, "After Your Majesty's

Grand Coachman, Wang Kuan, to serve as acting General of the Central Command Army, and to take command of Ts'ao Hsi's garrison.

His Majesty personally led the Grand Commandant, Chiang Chi, and others to marshal their troops out to greet the Son of Heaven. They stationed themselves at the floating bridge on the Lo River where His Majesty submitted the following memorial to the Emperor:

The late Emperor commanded Your Highness, along with the King of Ch'in and me to step up to the imperial bed. There he took me by the arm and said, "I have been deeply pondering matters of the future."

Now the General in Chief, Shuang, has turned his back on the testamentary command, and has brought destruction and chaos to the institutes of the state. Within, he has been haughty and scheming; and without, he has arrogated majesty and power to himself. Among the host of officials and important offices, he has in all cases

decease; when the Chancellor of State Hsiao Ho has died, whom should I order to take his place?" The Emperor said, ". . . Chou Po is dignified and sincere, but he is not very polished; yet the one who will assure the peace of the house of Liu must be Chou Po. Let him be made Grand Commandant."

Translation taken (with slight modifications) from Dubs, *HFHD*, 1:143. See *Han shu* 1B.79. Biographies of Chou Po are given in *Shih-chi* 57.2065-73; Watson, *Records*, 1:427-33; *Han shu* 40.2050-57.

established his close associates; while the imperial palace guards and former officials who have served [Your Majesty] for years have all been dismissed from office. The members of his party are firmly rooted and inextricably entangled, and their unrestrained licentiousness has grown more extreme each day.

Furthermore, he has made the Yellow Gateman, Chang Tang, "Metropolitan Superintendent"⁵⁹ who thereby monopolizes access to the throne, closely spies upon the Sacred Vessels. The empire resounds with a dolorous din, and the people are filled with trepidation and fear. Your Majesty has made the throne a sojourner's seat; how will we achieve prolonged stability? This kind of situation violates the original intent of the late Emperor when he commanded Your Highness and me to step up to the imperial bed. Although I am old and decrepit, I dare not forget his words.

In the past, Chao Kao carried out his extreme intentions, and the Ch'in consequently perished.⁶⁰ But when the Lü and Huo were cut off

⁵⁹The title *tu-chien* 都監 is unique here.

⁶⁰Chao Kao 趙高 had been the tutor to one of the younger sons of the First Emperor of Ch'in 秦始皇帝 (reg. 221-210 B.C.), Hu-hai 胡亥. Upon the death of the First

early, the blessings of the Han long endured.⁶¹

Emperor in the summer of 210, Chao Kao undertook a deception to do away with the designated heir, Fu-su 扶蘇, and install Hu-hai in his stead. During Hu-hai's brief reign as Second Emperor 二世皇帝 (reg. 210-207 B.C.), Chao Kao came to assume dominant power at court, eventually doing away with the Prime Minister, Li Ssu 李斯 (280?-208 B.C.), and taking his place. One anecdote preserved in the *Shih-chi* describes how Chao Kao's power had become so absolute that when he once presented a deer to the emperor and called it a horse, no one, including the emperor, dared to contradict him. See *Shih-chi* 6.273; *Cambridge History of China* 1:81-84. The first rebellions against the Ch'in began during Hu-hai's reign and eventually brought down the regime. Ssu-ma I is clearly linking Chao Kao's unrestrained dominance of the Ch'in court with the subsequent downfall of the dynasty.

⁶¹"The Lü and Huo" refer to the families (and the factions formed around them) of Lü Chih 呂雉 and Huo Kuang 霍光, two important regents of the Former Han period.

Lü Chih (ob. 180 B.C.) was the empress of Han Kao-tsu and the mother of Emperor Hui (reg. 195-188 B.C.). Upon the death of the childless Emperor Hui, Lü Chih, as empress dowager, assumed the role of regent and dominated the court at Ch'ang-an until her death in August of 180. During her years of dominance at court her family assumed control of high court offices and, in fact threatened the stability of

These are examples from the past for Your Highness--ones which demonstrate that the time has come for me to act.

the Liu house. Their power ended when loyalist forces led an attack on the Lü family stronghold at the capital. The Lü family and their adherents were subsequently exterminated. See *Han shu* 3.100-04; Dubs, *HFHD*, 1:168-72, 201-10; *Cambridge History of China*, 1:108, 129, 135-36.

Huo Kuang (ca. 130-68 B.C.) had been appointed regent to the young heir of Emperor Wu 武帝 (reg. 141-87 B.C.) in March of 87 B.C. Huo Kuang came to dominate the court of the successor, Emperor Chao (reg. 87-74), and built up a base of power through intermarriage with the imperial clan and with the families of other eminent officials at court. In 74 B.C. a new emperor was enthroned (Emperor Hsüan, reg. 74-49) but the dominance of Kuang and members of his family continued. They sought to maintain their power through underhanded means, and eventually were challenged and exterminated. For a discussion of the Huo family see Michael Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict in Han China* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1974), pp. 113-153, "The Fall of the House of Huo-68-66 B.C." See also *Cambridge History of China*, 1:181-87. For Huo Kuang's biography, see *Han shu* 68.2931-59; Burton Watson, trans., *Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), pp. 121-51.

The excellencies, ministers and the host of officials all consider Shuang to have a heart which knows no sovereign, and they also feel that his brothers should not be in command of the troops and palace guards. I have petitioned the Empress Dowager,⁶² and she has commanded me to act in accordance with my petition.

I have therefore gone ahead and ordered the presiding officers and the Prefect of the Yellow Gatemmen to relieve Shuang, Hsi, and Shun of their officers and troops, and to send them each to his residence with their original office or with the rank of Marquis. They shall not be allowed to linger or detain the Imperial Entourage, and if they should dare to do so, then the matter will be dealt with in accordance with military law. Therefore, in spite of my ailments, I have led my troops out to the floating bridge on the Lo river where I shall keep watch for any irregularities.

Ts'ao Shuang did not transmit the memorial, and halted the Imperial Entourage south of the I River where they camped for the night. They cut down trees in order to make several *chevaux-de-frise*, and mobilized several thousand troops from their camp to stand guard. Huan Fan resolutely

⁶²See note 56 above.

urged Shuang to escort the Son of Heaven to Hsü-ch'ang,⁶³ from whence they could circulate a call-to-arms summoning troops from throughout the empire. Shuang however did not adopt his suggestion, and instead, dispatched the Palace Attendant, Hsü Yün, and a Master Writer, Ch'en T'ai, to go that night and visit His Majesty and observe his mood and intentions. His Majesty enumerated Shuang's transgressions and failings, but stated that when the matter was concluded he would only be dismissed from office. T'ai returned and informed Shuang, and urged him to transmit the memorial to the Emperor.

His Majesty also dispatched Shuang's trusted Colonel Within the Palace, Yin Ta-mu, to go and admonish Shuang. Yin Ta-mu went to the Lo river where the two men made an oath, and Shuang trusted him completely.

Huan Fan and others related some stories to Shuang and tried in every way to convince him [not to trust His Majesty], but in the end he did not follow their advice and said, "Lord Ssu-ma really only desires to take away my power. I will be able to return to my residence as a Marquis, and will certainly not lose my position as a wealthy gentleman." Fan pounded his [own] chest and said, "Because of my ties to you, my clan will be exterminated!"

⁶³Hsü-ch'ang 許昌 was for a brief time used as the imperial capital during the last years of the Later Han. See note 25 above.

Shuang then transmitted the memorial.

Following this, an official brought an accusation against the Yellow Gateman, Chang Tang, that he, along with Shuang, Ho Yen and others, had undertaken treasonous acts. Consequently, Shuang and his brothers, along with the members of their faction including Ho Yen, Ting Mi, Teng Yang, Pi Kuei, Li Sheng and Huan Fan were taken into custody and executed. [At that time] Chiang Chi said, "Owing to the meritorious accomplishments of Ts'ao Chen,⁶⁴ his line should not be left without successors." His Majesty however did not permit it.

Initially, one of Shuang's Majors, a certain Lu Chih, and one of his Masters of Records, a certain Yang Tsung, had broken through a city gate and fled to Shuang. At the point when Shuang was about to confess his crimes, Chih and Tsung tearfully remonstrated with him saying, "Your Lordship occupies the position held in the past by I Yin and the Duke of Chou.⁶⁵ You control the Son of Heaven himself, and hold imperial power within your grasp. Who would dare not obey you? Yet you would abandon all of this and willingly go to

⁶⁴Ts'ao Chen 曹真 was the father of Ts'ao Shuang and his brothers. See *San-kuo chih* 9.280 ff.

⁶⁵I Yin 尹伊 and the Duke of Chou were both ancient ministers. I Yin was minister during Shang times. On the Duke of Chou see note 39 above.

the eastern market?!"⁶⁶ How truly sad this is!" An official memorialized that Chih and Tsung should be taken into custody and punished for their crimes, but His Majesty pardoned them saying, "I have done this to encourage those who would serve their lord."

Second month [1 Mar-30 Mar]. The Son of Heaven conferred upon His Majesty the office of Prime Minister,⁶⁷ and increased his fief with the bestowal of the prefectures of Fan-ch'ang, Yen-ling, Hsin-chi, and Fu-ch'eng of Ying-ch'uan commandery. These, added to the eight prefectures previously granted to him, gave His Majesty a total of 20,000 households from which he derived income. In addition to this, His Majesty also had the privilege of not needing to include his name in memorials submitted to the throne. His Majesty firmly declined the title of Prime Minister.

Winter, twelfth month [1 Jan-18 Feb, 250]. The Son of Heaven authorized the granting of the ceremony of the Nine Bestowals,⁶⁸ and conferred upon His Majesty the privilege

⁶⁶The Eastern Market was traditionally the place of execution.

⁶⁷Prime Minister is a translation of the term *ch'eng-hsiang* 丞相 here.

⁶⁸The Nine Bestowals (*chiu hsi* 九錫) was one variety of distinctions granted to worthy officials who had preformed great deeds for the ruler. An explanation of this function of the Nine Bestowals is given in *Han shu* 6.167,

of not having to bow at court convocations. His Majesty firmly declined the Nine Bestowals.

CHIA-P'ING 2 [250]

Spring, first month [19 Feb-19 Mar]. The Son of Heaven commanded that His Majesty establish an ancestral temple in Lo-yang, and that he be provided with Chief Officers of the Left and Right, and be given additional Bureau Chiefs and subordinates as well as a full complement of ten Grooms. Each year he was permitted to recommend his Bureau Chiefs and subordinates to be appointed as Imperial Scribe and "Flourishing Talent," one of each. He was also given a further complement of one hundred officers and cavalymen, as well as fourteen drummers and buglers. One of his sons, Jung, was enfeoffed as Marquis of P'ing-lo commune, and another son, Lun, was enfeoffed as Marquis of An-lo commune.

His Majesty, due to a longtime ailment, did not attend

"Annals of Emperor Wu," which also includes an informative note by Ying Shao (ca. 140-ca. 206). See Dubs, *HFHD*, 2:47-48 and note 9.2. Later the Nine Bestowals served as an important preliminary step in the process of receiving the abdication of the imperial throne. Such had been the case with Wang Mang in A.D. 5 and Ts'ao Ts'ao in 213. On Wang Mang, see *Han shu* 99A.4073-75; Dubs, *HFHD*, 3:204-211; and on Ts'ao Ts'ao see *San-kuo chih* 1.37-39; *Wen hsüan* 35.19b-27a; Zach, *Die Chinesische Anthologie*, 2:641-647.

the annual court convocations. Each time there was an important matter, the Son of Heaven would personally visit His Majesty's villa in order to inquire and confer with him.

The Governor of Yen province, Ling-hu Yü, and the Grand Commandant, Wang Ling, had a falling out with His Majesty, and plotted to put the King of Ch'u, Ts'ao Piao, on the imperial throne.⁶⁹

CHIA-P'ING 3 [251]

Spring, first month [8 Feb-9 Mar]. Wang Ling falsely reported that men from the state of Wu had obstructed the Yü river, [using it as a pretext] to request the mobilization of troops to attack them. His Majesty, who secretly knew [of Wang Ling's real] plan, did not allow it.

Summer, fourth month [8 May-5 Jun]. His Majesty personally led the Central Army on campaign. They boarded ships and travelled downriver for nine days until they reached Kan-ch'eng. Ling had no way to put his plan into action, and therefore met His Majesty at Ch'iu-t'ou.⁷⁰ With head bowed and hands tied, he met him at the river's

⁶⁹Ts'ao Piao 曹彪 was the seventeenth son of Ts'ao Ts'ao, and since he was still alive he was an elder member (if not the eldest member) of the imperial family. See *San-kuo chih* 20.586-87, 28.757-59.

⁷⁰I follow the Chung-hua shu-chü editors (n. 11) in emending Wu-ch'iu 武丘 to Ch'iu-t'ou 丘頭.

edge and said, "If I have committed some crime, Your Excellency ought to have summoned me by means of a split tally. Why did you bother to come yourself?" His Majesty replied, "It is because you are not of such a position that one simply summons you with a split tally." He then returned with Ling toward the imperial capital.

While on the road, they passed the ancestral temple of Chia K'uei,⁷¹ and Ling exclaimed, "Chia Liang-tao! Wang Ling is a loyal official of the Great Wei! Only you of the spirit world know this."

When they reached Hsiang prefecture, Ling, looking heavenward, took some poison, and died. His Majesty later took the remainder of Ling's confederates into custody, executed all of Ling's family to the third degree of mourning, and killed Ts'ao Piao. The various kings and dukes of the Wei house then had their names placed on registers at Yeh, officials were appointed to watch over them, and they were not allowed to interact with one another.

The Son of Heaven dispatched a Palace Attendant, Wei Tan, holding credentials, to go and reward the army at Wu-ch'ih. When His Majesty arrived at the capital from Kan-ch'eng, the Son of Heaven also sent Yü I, who was

⁷¹Chia K'uei 賈逵 (174-228) was a prominent Wei official who served during the early years of the dynasty. His biography may be found in *San-kuo chih* 15.479-84.

concurrently Grand Herald and Grand Coachman, holding credentials, to bestow a charter upon His Majesty making him Chancellor of State⁷² and Duke of An-p'ing commandery; his grandson and elder brother's son were each made Full Marquis. Altogether he derived income from 50,000 households and nineteen members of his family were Marquises. His Majesty firmly declined the titles of Chancellor of State and Duke of a commandery.

Sixth month [6 July-3 August]. His Majesty became bedridden with illness and dreamed that he was being haunted by the ghosts of Chia K'uei and Wang Ling. He truly loathed it.

Autumn, eighth month [3 Sep-1 Oct]. On the fifth day [wu-yin] (7 September), His Majesty passed away at the capital. He was in his seventy-third year. The Son of Heaven, wearing white mourning clothes, personally attended the mourning rites. The internment was magnificent and proper, and was carried out in accordance with the past precedent of Huo Kuang. He was posthumously given the titles of Chancellor of State and Duke of a commandery. His

⁷²The term *hsiang-kuo* 相國, rendered here as Chancellor of State, is an old designation for Prime Minister (*ch'eng-hsiang* 丞相) which was used only for the first Han Prime Minister, Hsiao Ho, and thus indicates an unusually high honor for any subsequent recipient of that title.

younger brother, Ssu-ma Fu, submitted a memorial outlining His Majesty's desires, and accordingly declined the title of Duke of a commandery and the provision of a grand hearse.

Ninth month [2 Oct-31 Oct]. On the eighteenth day [*keng-shen*] (19 October), His Majesty was buried in Ho-yin prefecture. He was posthumously designated *Wen* ("civil"). Later, his posthumous designation was changed to *Hsüan-wen* ("extensive civility").⁷³

Before this, His Majesty had prepared a testamentary charge which stipulated that he should be interred in an earthen tomb on Mount Shou-yang, where there was to be no mound built and no trees planted. He wrote out a "Testamentary Charge" in three sections which stated that he was to be garbed in ordinary clothes and that there were to be no burial vessels. In addition, those who died after him were not to be buried with him. All was done in accordance with his final wishes.

When the Chin domain was first established [258], His Majesty was posthumously honored with the title of King Hsüan. When Emperor Wu received the abdication [266], His Majesty was granted further honor with the title of August Sovereign Hsüan. His tomb was named Kao-yüan, and his temple designation was *Kao-tsu* ("Eminent Ancestor").

⁷³The Chung-hua shu-chü editors (n. 12) explain why the text should read *Wen* 文 and *Hsüan-wen* 宣文 respectively.

His Majesty was suspicious within and magnanimous without, but his suspicions changed quite frequently. Wu of Wei observed that His Majesty possessed a strong and heroic will, but heard that he was able to turn his head to the rear like a wolf, and he wanted to verify this. Therefore he once ordered His Majesty to walk on ahead and then had him look back. His Majesty, with his head erect, turned his face around toward the rear while his body did not move at all.

Also, Wu of Wei once dreamed that "three horses" ate together from the same "trough,"⁷⁴ and this filled him with loathing. Because of these observations, he spoke to his Heir Designate, Ts'ao P'i, saying, "Ssu-ma I is not a minister of men; he will certainly cause trouble for your line." The heir always got along well with His Majesty and often protected and helped him. Thus His Majesty was able to secure escape from great troubles. His Majesty thereupon became very diligent in his official duties, to the point of neglecting to sleep at night. In even the most mundane of matters, he did everything himself. From these actions, Wu of Wei's mind was set at ease.

When His Majesty pacified Kung-sun Yüan, he undertook widespread slaughter. At the time when he executed Ts'ao

⁷⁴This line involves a graphic wordplay on the word *ma* 馬 'horse' (as in 'Ssu-ma' 司馬) and *ts'ao* 槽 'trough' (similar to the surname 'Ts'ao' 曹).

Shuang, the members of Shuang's party were exterminated to the third degree of mourning. Male and female, regardless of age, even spinsters, people's sisters, and male in-laws, were all put to death. In the end he transferred the Wei imperial regalia themselves.

During the reign of Emperor Ming [323-325], Wang Tao was sitting in attendance by the throne, and the Emperor asked about the means by which his predecessors had obtained the empire. Tao then explained how His Majesty first established the enterprise. When he came to the last years of Emperor Wen and the affairs of the Duke of Kao-kuei village, Emperor Ming hid his face in the bed and said, "If it was as your excellency says, then how will the blessings of the Chin long endure?"⁷⁵ If we trace his cruel and suspicious nature, it certainly corresponds with his ability to turn his head to the rear like a wolf.

The Imperial Pronouncement reads:⁷⁶

⁷⁵This passage is adapted from an anecdote which appears in *Shih-shuo hsün-yü* 33/7 under the heading of "Blameworthiness and Remorse." See Yang Yung ed., *Shih-shuo hsün-yü chiao-chu*, p. 674; Mather, *Tales*, p. 474.

⁷⁶This essay was written by T'ang T'ai-tsung and is thus given the unique designation of *chih* 制, which I have rendered as 'imperial pronouncement' to reflect its

I

In the greatness of heaven and earth, the multitudes constitute the base; and among the nobility of a great state, the prime leader constitutes the fore. Order and chaos lack constancy; rise and decline occur in cycles. Thus, before the time of the Five Lords, dwelling at the head of a myriad chariots was considered a worrisome charge; but since the time of the Three Kings, those occupied with such worries have found delight in their task. Competing over knowledge and force; fighting over benefit and harm-- the great have engulfed the small, and the strong have overcome the weak. Upon the advent of the Wei house, the empire split into a threefold array. Shield and spear were used without rest, while miasmas and foul humors circulated about.

II

August Hsüan, with heaven-endowed bearing, responded to the times and assisted the mandate. He sustained its rule with civility, and augmented its majesty with might. In employing others, he treated them as he would treat himself; in choosing worthy men, he showed no hesitation. His sentiments were deep, profound and unfathomable; and by

character and status. The function and content of the piece is equivalent to a *lun* 論, or discourse, normally found at the end of a chapter in a dynastic history.

nature he was broad, capacious and tolerant. With tempered radiance and smoothed dust, he folded and unfolded with the times. Hiding his scales and concealing his feathers, he thought of joining the wind and clouds. Yet he used loyalty to adorn his crafty intentions, and prolonged security for his own endangered life.

III

We have seen that his grand strategies showed resolve within, and that his fine plans were decisive without. For he eradicated Kung-sun Yüan in one hundred days, and captured Meng Ta in just ten. Personally commanding his troops like a deity, none of his stratagems could be improved upon.

Yet when he took command of the troops in the west, he brought about a standoff with Chu-ko Liang. Restraining his armored troops, he originally had no intention of fighting. But when Liang sent him women's adornments, he became enraged. When the imperial emissary reached his camp, his grand schemes were then held in check. In seeking permission to fight from a thousand *li*'s distance, he demonstrated only a pretended desire to show his might.

Furthermore, these two armies--one in Ch'in and one in Shu--were no match in terms of bravery or cowardice. And in terms of their relative terrain and the weariness of their troops, they were not the same. With such relative

advantages in battle conditions, victory was certainly within sight. Yet he only dug in his army and strengthened his ramparts. He did not dare to advance in battle. While Liang was alive, he was apprehensive about his presence and did not advance. And when Liang had died, he suspected a ruse and still ran away. The Way of a great general was truly lost on this!

IV

During the reign of Emperor Wen, he supported and assisted with strength and resolve. At Hsü-ch'ang he was charged with the same task as Hsiao Ho. In the Hall of Exalted Splendor he superceded the trustworthiness of Huo Kuang. It must be said that he expended his sincerity and exhausted his integrity, such that he could be ranked with I Yin and Fu Yüeh.

At the time when Emperor Ming was nearing his end, he was like purlin and rafter. Entrusted with the care of two rulers, he assisted the mandate through three reigns. Finally, he received the deathbed trust of the Emperor, but did not reciprocate with undying loyalty. When the Son of Heaven was outside the capital, he mobilized his armored troops within. The earthen tomb had not yet dried when he suddenly carried out his widespread slaughter. How could such a loyal statesman have been like this! As for his thoroughly good deeds, it seems they were just a ruse.

In his strategies of campaign and attack, how could he have been so wise [when he was] in the east and so ignorant [when he was] in the west? As the very heart of the imperial regency, how could he have been so loyal in the beginning and caused such trouble later on? This is why Emperor Ming of the Eastern Chin hid his face--ashamed at his ancestor's deceptive means of achieving his accomplishment. And this is why Shih Lo made his reckless statement, ridiculing the obscene way in which [Emperor Hsüan] established the enterprise.

v

The ancients had a saying, "Accumulate good deeds for three years, and few will know you; but bring about evil for one day, and you will be known throughout the empire." Could we not say that this is just such a case? Even though he covered his faults during those years, in the end he met with the ridicule of later ages. It is just as though one stole a great bell and covered his ears, thinking that the masses of people would not hear. In his determination to steal gold, he thinks that no one in the market will see him.

Thus we know that one who covets what is near at hand, gives up what is far; and one who indulges in profit will hurt his reputation. Indeed, if one does not injure himself in order to benefit others, then he must certainly be

bringing misfortune to others, and fortune to himself. Following reason when undertaking actions is easy to do, but turning one's back on the times while acting, is difficult to accomplish. How much more of an undertaking was it then to draw upon the uncompleted Chin foundation to suppress the still active blessings of the Wei?

Even if one's Way permeates the entire world, and one's virtue extends to all of the people, if Heaven has not provided the time, the imperial throne will still be blocked. One cannot simply struggle for it with knowledge, or fight for it with force. However, it did come to be that blessings passed on to his posterity, even though he himself passed away while still a subject.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE FORM, SOURCES AND CONTENT OF *CHIN SHU* 1, THE "ANNALS OF EMPEROR HSÜAN"

The primary importance of the seventh century "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" is that it constitutes the earliest complete account of Ssu-ma I, and has remained the basic record of him since its completion in 648. Ssu-ma Kuang (1019-1086) relied upon *Chin shu* 1 as the main source for his discussions of Ssu-ma I in the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*,¹ and the account was incorporated in its entirety by Cheng Ch'iao (1104-1162) in his *T'ung-chih*,² and later by the compilers of the *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* in the early eighteenth century.³ Modern Chinese and Japanese historians continue to utilize this account as the main source for their discussions of Ssu-ma I,⁴ thus

¹Achilles Fang points this out in his translation and study of chapters sixty-nine through seventy-eight of Ssu-ma Kuang's history. See *The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms*, Vol. 1, p. 213, where he states, "One gets the impression that Ssu-ma Kuang on the whole prefers to follow the *Chin shu* in regard to matters concerned with Ssu-ma I; . . ."

²See *T'ung-chih* 10A.171-175 (*Shih-t'ung* ed.). Cheng Ch'iao however does not include T'ang T'ai-tsung's "Imperial Pronouncement" with the text.

³See Ch'en Meng-lei (1651-ca. 1731), Chiang T'ing-hsi (1669-1732) et al. comp., *Ku-chin t'u-shu chi-ch'eng* (Shanghai: T'u-shu chi-ch'eng chü, 1884), "Huang-chi tien" 25.1a-9b. This text includes T'ang T'ai-tsung's "Imperial Pronouncement."

⁴See for example Lin Jui-han who draws upon *Chin shu* 1 as the primary source for his treatment of Ssu-ma I in his

demonstrating the enduring significance of this document for the study of this man.

As the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" has served as the canonical account of Ssu-ma I for over thirteen centuries, it stands to reason that a careful study of this man and his portrayal in history must include a study of this document. While a truly comprehensive examination of this account would require a painstaking, line-by-line analysis of the text--an endeavor which lies beyond the scope of this dissertation--it is possible to take a brief look at some aspects of this account which will give us a fundamental understanding of how it was put together, and what points of view its compilers sought to convey. The brief study which follows therefore looks at three aspects of this text--the form, sources and content--in an effort to understand what the T'ang compilers of the *Chin shu* were trying to say about Ssu-ma I.

The first aspect of the text to be examined is the form in which it was written. Clearly, since the work is designated an "annals" it seeks to adhere to that form and format; but as we look a bit more closely we can see that it is really a biographical account dressed up in imperial

"Chin-shih shih-hsi" (Examinations and Analyses of Chin History), *Wen-shih-che hsüeh-pao* 32 (1983):55-100; and Moriya Hiroshi who uses it as the basis of his biography of Ssu-ma I in his *Chügoku kôtei retsuden* (Biographies of Chinese Emperors), (Tokyo: Tokuma shoten, 1985), Vol. 1, pp. 147-174.

garb. While this is no great revelation in itself, it does help us to understand the underlying tension created in writing an account of this man who in life was a statesman, but in death was to be regarded as a founding emperor.

The second aspect which shall be addressed here is that of the sources which were used in compiling this account of Ssu-ma I. By doing this, it will be possible to see which of the previous histories written about the Chin were used in this undertaking, thereby equipping ourselves with a greater knowledge of the origin of our information on Ssu-ma I.

Finally, the third point to consider will be the content of this end product of the T'ang compilers' labors. From the present text of the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" we shall be able to see how these historians manipulated their sources, and observe just what it was they tried to say about their subject. While this study is in no way comprehensive, it will provide us with a basic knowledge of what this account has to offer for our understanding of Ssu-ma I and the historical tradition which preserved his memory.

The Form of Chin shu 1

As has been noted a number of times above, the *Chin shu* is a work of official imperial history. It was commissioned by an emperor, and its purpose was to establish an account

of Chin dynasty China. It is not surprising, therefore, that this imperially commissioned history of the Chin placed its account of the man who had long been acknowledged as the founding emperor of the Chin within the framework of an imperial annals. Centuries of Chinese state ritual and historiography had fixed Ssu-ma I's position as the Chin founder, and the T'ang historiographers maintained this tradition in compiling the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan."

Ssu-ma I of course was not an emperor during his lifetime, but had been given that designation some fourteen and a half years after his death. With that imperial designation, however, his status in history was irrevocably changed. Once established, his role as emperor became an immutable component in the political ideology and historiography of the Chin dynasty. A denial of his imperial status would cut at the root of Chin imperial legitimacy by serving as a direct refutation the Chin state and dynastic ideology established with the Chin founding in early 266. The continuation of Ssu-ma I's imperial status in the historical accounts of the Chin acknowledged his legitimacy as Chin founder in specific terms, and recognized the greater legitimacy of the Chin dynasty as a whole. Pan Ku's rejection of Wang Mang's legitimacy as an emperor by denying him an imperial annals, and treating him instead in the biographical section of the *Han shu* (chapters 99A,B,C), is the most prominent example of how this idea worked in

reverse.⁵

The issue of what historiographical format to use in writing an account of a man who had been proclaimed emperor, but had never ruled, first arose with Ts'ao Ts'ao (155-220), and was dealt with privately by Ch'en Shou (233-297) in his "Annals of Emperor Wu" in *San-kuo chih* 1. As with Ssu-ma I, Ts'ao Ts'ao had been raised to the status of emperor and dynastic founder following his death.⁶ And as was seen in Chapter Two above, the official treatment of this question pertaining to the Chin founders arose with Ch'en Shou's younger contemporary, Lu Chi (261-303), who had advocated the use of the annals format his comments at court concerning the historiographical treatment of the Three Ancestors of the Chin. From that time on, imperial annals became the standard format for the historical treatment of Ssu-ma I, Ssu-ma Shih, and Ssu-ma Chao. An exception to this may have been found by those historians (such as Sun Sheng and Hsi Tso-ch'ih) who used the chronicle format, and thus would have been forced by the conventions of that format to record events under the reign era designations of the ruling dynasty of the day.

⁵A discussion of Pan Ku's attitudes and historiography concerning Wang Mang is offered by Han Bielenstein in his article, "Pan Ku's Accusations against Wang Mang," in Charles Le Blanc and Susan Blader eds., *Chinese Ideas About Nature and Society: Studies in Honour of Derk Bodde* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1987), pp. 265-270.

⁶This was on 13 December 220, two days after the founding of the Wei dynasty. See *San-kuo chih* 2.76.

Since the 290s then, official accounts of Ssu-ma I were made in the form of imperial annals. As Lu Chi had argued, this was appropriate to the position of a man designated as emperor, whether he had actually ruled or not. A problem arose nonetheless due to the fact that the annals format, as it had evolved under Ssu-ma Ch'ien and Pan Ku, was designed to record events from the perspective of the imperial court and in a year-by-year, month-by-month time frame. For an emperor who had not actually ruled, and did not therefore preside over a court, this format proved to be a bit awkward. The records kept for an imperial court were much more specific and complete than were those kept for a statesman, even one of Ssu-ma I's high standing. In trying to superimpose an account of a statesman upon the detailed annals format, historians since Lu Chi's time inevitably produced an account which only approximated the model. The result was a record which was an annals (*chi*) in form, but a biography (*chuan*) in substance.

The T'ang historian Liu Chih-chi pointed out this difference concerning Lu Chi's annalistic treatment of the Chin founders in his *Chin chi* (Annals of the Chin). He remarks that Lu Chi had,

made a sequential annalistic account of the Three Ancestors, and had directly recorded their affairs; but did not provide complete year by year accounts. If the accounts are not given in a year by year format, how

can this be an annals?⁷

Liu Chih-chi's point, which was applied to the first history of the Chin, applies as well to the T'ang history of the Chin. By surveying the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" with this question in mind, we can see just what Liu Chih-chi was talking about. A look at the year headings in the body of the annals reveals that the events of Ssu-ma I's career were not recorded in a complete year by year format. The table of year headings found in the annals and which are given below demonstrates this. As can be seen, there are several gaps in these headings, and therefore the annalistic

 Table XI
 Year Headings Found in the
 "Annals of Emperor Hsüan"

- - - - -	Ch'ing-lung 4 [236]
Huang-ch'u 2 [221]	- - - - -
- - - - -	Ching-ch'u 2 [238]
- - - - -	- - - - -
Huang-ch'u 5 [224]	Cheng-shih 1 [240]
Huang-ch'u 6 [225]	Cheng-chih 2 [241]
- - - - -	Cheng-shih 3 [242]
T'ai-ho 1 [227]	Cheng-shih 4 [243]
- - - - -	Cheng-shih 5 [244]
- - - - -	Cheng-shih 6 [245]
T'ai-ho 4 [230]	Cheng-shih 7 [246]
T'ai-ho 5 [231]	Cheng-shih 8 [247]
- - - - -	Cheng-shih 9 [248]
Ch'ing-lung 1 [233]	Chia-p'ing 1 [249]
Ch'ing-lung 2 [234]	Chia-p'ing 2 [250]
Ch'ing-lung 3 [235]	Chia-p'ing 3 [251]

integrity of the account is thereby diminished. For Liu Chih-chi these gaps led him to conclude that such an account

⁷Shih t'ung t'ung-shih 2.38, "Basic Annals."

was not at all a true annals.

Another feature of the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" in which its form is inappropriate to its content is the presence of the Wei reign year headings themselves. For the annals of an emperor to be arranged exclusively according to the reign era designations of another ruling house is simply a contradiction of the fundamental purpose of the format. The imprecision of using Wei dates is further heightened by the noticeable lack of precise dates (i.e., mention of specific days) in this account. Throughout the entire "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" there are only three specific dates given: Ssu-ma I's coup on 5 February 249, Ssu-ma I's death on 7 September 251, and his burial on 19 October 251. Such a dearth of specific dates in an annals is quite contrary to the purpose and practice of the format, and reveals the somewhat forced and contrived nature of the account.

The conclusion drawn from the rather forced nature of the application of the annals format to the record of Ssu-ma I is that the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" is fundamentally a biographical account. In terms of format, this is most clearly seen by the use of such biographical devices as long narrative passages and frequent use of excursus, features which are common to biographical accounts but not to annals. The extensive treatment of Ssu-ma I's campaigns of 227, 234 and 238 serve as the best examples of this. In these

passages we find lengthy narrative descriptions of the preparations, strategies, conduct and results of these important campaigns in a manner which is found only in biographical forms of writing. As part of these narratives, we also find a liberal use of excursus in the body of this account. This device of digression, which is indicated by the use of such introductory words as: *ch'u* "initially," *shih* "at that time," *hsien shih* "prior to this" and *shih shih* "at this time," occurs sixteen times in the annals, and is used most prominently in the long campaign passages mentioned above.⁹ Again, this device is not commonly found in annals, but does appear often in biographies.

There is of course much which could be said about the biographical nature of this text, but these brief comments should serve to illustrate that the annalistic form of the account serves as only a thin veil over what is actually a biography. The gaps in year headings, the use of Wei reign era designations, the lack of precise dates, the presence of long narrative passages and the frequent use of excursus all

⁹A list of precisely where these introductory words occur in the text of *Chin shu* 1 is given below. (References are to page and column numbers of the Chung-hua shu-chü edition of the *Chin shu*.)

<i>ch'u</i> :	5/2	<i>shih</i> :	6/5	<i>hsien shih</i> :	9/5
	5/11		7/8		14/13
	6/2		8/7		
	11/5		12/2	<i>shih shih</i> :	10/5
	12/11		12/14		
	13/2				
	13/14				
	18/11				

point out how the historians, beginning with Lu Chi at the end of the third century sought to adorn the biography of Ssu-ma I with imperial trappings.

The Sources for Chin shu 1

A simple reading of the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" does not immediately reveal this account to be a composite document made up of several previous records joined together by strands and patches of narrative supplied by the T'ang historiographers. A careful study however reveals this to be case. We do not know which, or how many, of the *Chin shu* committeemen worked on the annals section of this work, and therefore can make no attributions concerning any known personal writing styles or historical biases. But it is possible to exhume, from certain portions of the chapter, passages known to have belonged to earlier sources; and from this process, we can tell which sources were used by the compilers, and how those sources may have been altered to produce a certain image of their subject.

The discussions in Chapters Two, Three and Four above have shown the process and progress of Chin history writing from about the year 300 to about the year 520, focusing on the standard dynastic histories which had been both privately and officially written. For the T'ang historians seeking to compile their own new history of the Chin, these various histories no doubt constituted the core group of

sources to be consulted in preparing their work. As we approach the subject of Ssu-ma I we may note that, of the more than twenty Chin histories which had been compiled, a handful already contained "Annals of Emperor Hsüan." These works were:

Lu Chi's *Chin chi*

Kan Pao's *Chin chi*

Wang Yin's *Chin shu*

Yü Yü's *Chin shu*

Tsang Jung-hsü's *Chin shu*

These five histories, with their accounts of Ssu-ma I as emperor, formed the initial layers of accounts of Ssu-ma I upon which the final layer of T'ang historiographical icing was spread to give us the view of him we see today in *Chin shu* 1.

These ready-made accounts of Ssu-ma I of course were by no means the only records to which the T'ang compilers turned to create their final record of Ssu-ma I. Of the other formal Chin histories used, there were Sun Sheng's *Chin yang-ch'iu* and Hsi Tso-ch'ih's *Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu*. And in addition to these, there were the histories of the Wei period proper such as:

Yü Huan's *Wei lüeh*

Wang Ch'en's *Wei shu*

Ch'en Shou's *San-kuo chih*

Sun Sheng's *Wei-shih ch'un-ch'iu*

All of these works represented an essentially orthodox approach to the recounting of events and the coverage of dynastic history.

In addition to these standard types of histories, there also existed a variety of accounts for this period which may best be characterized as anecdotal. This type of record consisted of such works as: Kuo Pan's *Wei Chin shih yü* (Accounts of the Wei and Chin Age), the anonymous *Wei-mo chuan* (Account of the End of the Wei [Period]),⁹ and the still extant *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* (New Account of Tales of the World) by Liu I-ch'ing (403-444). The kind of information provided in these works was highly suspect from a strictly historical point of view, since it was deeply influenced by a narrative tradition characterized by ghost stories and other kinds of semi-mythical accounts.¹⁰ The inclusion of these materials in P'ei Sung-chih's commentary to the *San-kuo chih* however demonstrates that they were seen by that

⁹These works are mentioned in *Sui shu* 33.960, and are quoted extensively in P'ei Sung-chih's commentary to the *San-kuo chih*.

¹⁰This is the so-called *chih-kuai* ("recorded anomalies") tradition in which fantastic tales about historical or mythical personages are related in brief conversational passages, or in more extensive narratives. On this genre and the difficulty in characterizing its content, see Kenneth J. DeWoskin, "The Six Dynasties *Chih-kuai* and the Birth of Fiction," in Andrew Plaks ed., *Chinese Narrative: Critical and Theoretical Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 21-52; and also the Introduction in Karl S.Y. Kao ed., *Classical Chinese Tales of the Supernatural and Fantastic* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), pp. 1-51.

historian as having a place as one part of the historiographical tradition of his day.

Other source materials used by the T'ang compilers included the non-official biographical accounts known as *pieh-chuan* or "separate biographies." These accounts, which served as private, alternative biographies of individuals, usually focused on members of the official class and, for the T'ang compilers, served as valuable sources of information on Ssu-ma I's contemporaries which often differed from accounts preserved in the standard histories.¹¹

While utilizing this material, the T'ang compilers of the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" also drew upon various types of primary source collections such as those mentioned in Chapter Two above. These documentary items consisted of: court diaries, memorial collections, compilations of official regulations, laws and procedures, geographical treatises, and of course the literary collections of Wei and Chin officials themselves, including Ssu-ma I's own collection which the *Sui shu* "Monograph on Literature" lists as having consisted of five *chüan*.¹² From this wide range

¹¹A detailed examination of the *pieh-chuan* of the Wei-Chin period had been undertaken by Lu Yao-tung in his "Wei Chin *pieh-chuan ti shih-tai hsing-ko*," in a conference volume published by the Academia Sinica entitled, *Kuo-chi Han-hsüeh hui-i lun-wen chi*, Vol. 2 (Taipei: Chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan, 1981), pp. 635-651.

¹²Ssu-ma I's collection, the *Hsüan-ti chi* (Collected Writings of Emperor Hsüan), is listed in *Sui shu* 35.1061.

of materials, the previous historical accounts could be supplemented, revised or simply replaced.

A thorough investigation of each passage in *Chin shu* 1 would yield a list of identifiable sources from which some of those passages were either taken directly or utilized with some modifications. Such a study would have to be conducted with the exhaustive and exacting care demonstrated by Achilles Fang in his translation and study of chapters 69-78 of Ssu-ma Kuang's *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*,¹³ but the nature of this dissertation does not allow for that kind of inquiry. Students of the *Chin shu* however are fortunate to have an important commentary which points out many text sources for the entire 130 chapter *Chin shu* text. This is the monumental *Chin shu chiao-chu* (History of the Chin with Revision Notes) compiled by Wu Shih-chien (1873-1933) and Liu Ch'eng-kan (fl. 1927) in the 1920s.¹⁴

The *Chin shu chiao-chu* consists of the original text of the *Chin shu*, interspersed with textual notes citing comparisons between *Chin shu* passages and those known to have come from other, previous sources. These comparisons

¹³This is his *The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms* mentioned in Note 1 above. In that work Prof. Fang tracks down the various source materials used by Ssu-ma Kuang in compiling his history. This work is extremely valuable for the study of Ssu-ma I and the historiography of the Wei period because of the thoroughness with which the sources are presented.

¹⁴Wu Shih-chien and Liu Ch'eng-kan comp., *Chin shu chiao-chu* (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu-kuan, 1956). Wu's preface is dated 1919 and Liu's is dated 1927.

are also often linked with textual analyses of scholars of the Sung and Ch'ing periods. In most cases, therefore, the notes in the *Chin shu chiao-chu* present source passages for material found in the *Chin shu*, followed by comments on the textual reliability of the *Chin shu* passages in question. A survey of the notes compiled by Wu and Liu for *Chin shu* 1 reveals that, of the 52 sources which they cite, 32 are works of the Han and pre-T'ang period, many of which are included in my listing above.¹⁵ The tremendous work of Wu and Liu goes a long way toward revealing what sources the T'ang compilers used in their work; but their notes are concerned more with textual matters than with a survey of sources. It is thus by no means a complete accounting of the possible sources which are identifiable from works such as P'ei Sung-chih's commentary to the *San-kuo chih*.

In light of what we learned from the survey of the evolution of Chin historiography in Chapters Two, Three and Four above, it is clear that the T'ang compilers had a wealth of material at their disposal when they set about compiling their record of Ssu-ma I and the Chin. When we make a comparative study of the extant fragments of pre-T'ang Chin historical material with the material found in

¹⁵Of the sources cited, 34 are pre-T'ang (two of which are the *Tso chuan* and the *I-li*, the rest being Han or later), 5 are T'ang works, and 13 are works of the Sung through Ch'ing periods. In the latter category are works such as Ch'ien Ta-hsin's *Nien-er shih k'ao-i* and Ku Yen-wu's *Jih-chih lu*.

the present text of the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan," it becomes clear also that the pre-T'ang sources were used extensively, but not indiscriminately. The remarks offered here give us an idea of what sources the T'ang compilers used in their record of Ssu-ma I, now let us turn to the question of just how those sources were used as we undertake a brief evaluation of the content of the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan."

The Content of Chin shu 1

As we consider how the T'ang compilers of the *Chin shu* used the sources available to them, we may first note that it is possible to identify passages in the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" as parallel to certain passages from earlier sources still extant in fragmentary form. By first identifying and then comparing these sources with their *Chin shu* parallels, we can see that some of the passages were simply taken from previous sources verbatim, while others were clearly drawn from previous sources, but altered to suit the style or desires of the T'ang compilers. The results of this kind of inquiry reveal important aspects of the process by which the account of Ssu-ma I was put together, and also provide a critical base from which to investigate the general content of this record.

A first step in assessing the content of *Chin shu 1* may be taken by locating a number of *Chin shu* passages which can

be identified as parallel to extant pre-T'ang sources. This may be done by perusing the notes of the *Chin shu chiao-chu* and seeking out the sources which preserve the passage fragments in question. This process yields two pieces of information: first, it gives us the name of the original work where the parallel passage originally appeared, and second, it cites the name of the source which preserves that passage. For example, a note may quote a passage from Kan Pao's *Chin chi*, and then provide a reference indicating that it may be found in P'ei Sung-chih's commentary to the "Annals of Emperor Ming" in Ch'en Shou's *San-kuo chih*. Using this methodology I have generated a list of ten passages in *Chin shu* 1 which may be identified as parallel with extant pre-T'ang sources. A thorough employment of this process would yield many more such references, but these are sufficient to illustrate the ways in which the T'ang compilers drew upon extant sources to patch together the contents of the *Chin shu*. The table below lists ten cases in which a source passage (from six different sources) may be identified as parallel with a passage in *Chin shu* 1. These source passages (or source texts) are indicated in the table's second column. The third column lists the text, page and column(s) in which the source passage may be found.¹⁶ The fourth, fifth and sixth columns show the

¹⁶The third column gives the abbreviated name of the text along with the *chüan* and page number, followed by column number (which, in the case of the *San-kuo chih*, may

location in *Chin shu* 1 of the passage which matches the

 Table XIII
 Source Passages and Their
 Parallel Passages in *Chin shu* 1

#	Source Passage	Text in Which it is Extant	Location in CS 1	Year Covered	# of cols.
1.	HCCC	SKC 35.925 n1/2-4	1.6/12-7/2	231	4
2.	CS	CS 26.785/4	1.7/10-11	231	2
3.	HCCC	SKC 35.926 n3/1-3	1.8/9-11	234	3
4.	CC	SKC 3.111 n1/1-4	1.10/1-4	236	4
5.	CYC	TPYL 570.7b	1.10/9-11	238	3
6.	CC	SKC 4.119 n1/1-6	1.14/2-7	241	6
7.	HCCC	SKC 4.122 n1/1-4	1.16/1-5	246	5
8.	WMC	SKC 9.285 n2/2-7	1.16/12-17/3	248	5
9.	WCSY	SKC 9.287 n2/1-2	1.17/6-7	249	2
10.	CC	SKC 9.287(2nd)n2/1	1.17/7-9	249	3

(Abbreviations: CC = Kan Pao, *Chin chi*
 [arranged CS = Fang Hsüan-ling et al., *Chin shu*
 alphabetically] CYC = Sun Sheng, *Chin yang-ch'iu*
 HCCC = Hsi Tso-ch'ih, *Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu*
 SKC = Ch'en Shou, *San-kuo chih*
 TPYL = Li Fang et al., *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*
 WCSY = Kuo Pan, *Wei Chin shih-yü*
 WMC = Anon., *Wei-mo chuan*)

 source (given in *chüan*, page and column numbers), along with
 an indication of the year under which the *Chin shu* passage
 appears, and how many columns of text the passage occupies.

This survey clearly demonstrates that a notable portion

 be preceded by a note number). For example, the first entry
 gives *San-kuo chih*, *chüan* 35, page 925, note 1, columns 2
 through 4.

of *Chin shu* 1 consists of a patchwork of previous texts, and shows that the T'ang compilers of the *Hsin Chin shu* were clearly indebted to the various earlier Wei and Chin histories for the compilation of their own, new account. Knowing this, we may then ask the question: What did the T'ang compilers do with this material which they drew from earlier histories? Did they simply use a "cut-and-paste" method of inserting passages where they wanted them? Or did they lift out a passage and then change it to suit their own purposes? In order to answer this question, all we need do is look at each pair of passages side by side and note any differences found between them. Doing this with our list of ten pairs of passages reveals that, for the most part, the T'ang compilers generally maintained their source passages intact, but often did make small changes in wording and syntax, and occasionally excised substantial portions or added detail of their own.

Of the ten groups listed, half show only minor changes in wording (nos. 2, 3, 4, 5 & 7) and therefore constitute essentially verbatim use of these previous sources. The other half of these examples however show changes of a more substantial nature which have been made for the purposes of textual concision, syntactic clarification, and in some instances, alteration of the original meaning or import of the passage. As a means of demonstrating the differences between the original passages and the *Chin shu* adaptations,

I have chosen three of the more diverse cases from the table above, and provided translations which show which portions of the passages have been altered, deleted, or augmented. The differences between the passages have been underlined for clarification.

The first case of interest is taken from item # 1 in the table, showing a passage from Hsi Tso-ch'ih's *Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu* (found in P'ei Sung-chih's commentary to the biography of Chu-ko Liang in Ch'en Shou's *San-kuo chih*) which appears in the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" amidst the account treating events from the year 231. The material is arranged in five pairs for easier reference.

HCCC: Emperor Ming of the Wei said, "Matters in the west are weighty. You are the only one to whom I can entrust them."

1
CS: The Son of Heaven said, "There are [important] matters in the west. You are the only one to whom I can entrust them."

HCCC: [He] then sent [Ssu-ma I] westward to make camp at Ch'ang-an. [There Ssu-ma I] superintended Chang Ko, Fei Yao, Tai Ling, Kuo Huai, and others.

2
CS: [He] then sent His Majesty westward to make camp at Ch'ang-an. [There he] generally superintended the military affairs of the two provinces of Yung and Liang, and commanded the General of Chariots and Cavalry, Chang Ko, the General of the Rear, Fei Yao, the Army Superintendent Who Campaigns Against Shu, Tai Ling, the Governor of Yung province, Kuo Huai, and others in a punitive campaign against [Chu-ko] Liang.

HCCC: King Hsüan sent Yao and Ling to remain behind with four thousand picked troops to protect Shang-kuei. The other forces were all sent out, and proceeded westward to aid [the forces at] Mount Ch'i.

3
CS: [CS does not include this portion of the HCCC

text.]

HCCC: Ko wanted to divide the troops and station them at Yung and Mei.

4

CS: Chang Ko urged His Majesty to divide the army and station them at Yung and Mei as a rear garrison.

HCCC: King Hsüan said, "If you think that the advance army will be able to, alone, manage this, then your words are valid; but if they are not able to manage it, then we will have divided our forces into advance and rear. This is the same as when the Three Armies of Ch'u were captured by Ch'ing Pu." They then advanced.

5

CS: His Majesty said, "If you think that the advance army, alone, will be able to manage this, then your words are valid; but if they are not able to manage it, then we will have divided our forces into advance and rear. This is the same as when the Three Armies of Ch'u were captured by Ch'ing Pu." They then advanced their army to Yü-mi.

From this material, we can see the variety of ways in which the T'ang compilers utilized their source passages. The basic change, which we see throughout all of the source material, is the alteration of "King Hsüan" (*Hsüan-wang*) to "His Majesty" (*ti*) as the designation for Ssu-ma I. This of course accords with Ssu-ma I's posthumous imperial status and is simply a necessary convention. Another change we can see is the slight alteration of words or wording. This too is commonly seen throughout the text, and most likely stems from narrative stylistic desiderata of the compilers themselves. For example, in the passages seen here, we may see the slight changes in wording in the first pair, from HCCC "matters are weighty" (*shih chung*) to CS "there are [important] matters" (*yu shih*); in the fourth pair, from

HCCC "Ko wanted to divide the troops" (*Ko yü fen ping*) to CS "Chang Ko urged His Majesty to divide the army" (*Chang Ko ch'üan ti fen chün*), and in the fifth pair, where the placement of "alone" (*tu*) is changed slightly.

Other changes to the source passages are more significant. In the second pair we see that the T'ang compilers have added substantial material to the HCCC passage by providing names of provinces (Yung and Liang), official titles for each of the officers under Ssu-ma I's command, and by specifying that the campaign was undertaken against Chu-ko Liang. Such amplifications serve to enhance and clarify the text, but don't constitute an alteration of the fundamental meaning or information of the passage. In the third pair of excerpts we see just the opposite kind of difference, as the T'ang compilers have completely removed a portion of the source passage. The motive here may have been simply to streamline the passage by removing detail which was deemed unnecessary or too cluttering to the general narrative being presented.

From the comparison between this passage from the *Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu* with its counterpart in *Chin shu* 1, we can see four basic kinds of change: 1) the addition of the imperial designation "His Majesty" (*ti*) for Ssu-ma I, 2) slight stylistic changes in wording, 3) embellishment or filling out of certain portions of a passage, and 4) excision of certain portions of a passage. These serve as

fundamental examples of the kind of changes it is possible to uncover in our text, but they do not indicate any kind of meaningful or ideological change to the basic content of the text. The next two examples, however, do show that the T'ang compilers were at times moved to make changes which exhibit their didactic interest in the account of Ssu-ma I.

In this case from Table 10 we find examples of the four types of differences cited above, but also find other alterations which are clearly ideologically motivated. The example here is from item # 6 on our list, consisting of a passage from Kan Pao's *Chin chi* (found in P'ei Sung-chih's commentary to *San-kuo chih* 4, "Annals of the Three Young Emperors") which has been included in the account describing events in the year 241. This case is divided into six pairs.

- CC: A General from Wu, Ch'üan Tsung, invaded Sha-pei. Chu Jan and Sun Lun, with fifty thousand men, besieged Fan-ch'eng. Chu-ko Chin and Pu Chih invaded Cha-chung.
- 1
- CS: A General from Wu, Ch'üan Tsung, invaded Sha-pei. Chu Jan and Sun Lun besieged Fan-ch'eng. Chu-ko Chin and Pu Chih plundered Cha-chung.
- CC: Tsung had already been routed, but the siege of Fan-ch'eng pressed on. King Hsüan said, "The people and natives of Cha-chung number some hundred thousand, and being far removed to the river's south, they move about uninhibited, and have no ruler. Fan-ch'eng has been under attack for a month without relief. This is a dangerous situation.
- 2
- CS: [CS does not include this portion of the CC text.]
- CC: I request to personally lead a punitive campaign there."

- 3
 CS: His Majesty requested to personally lead a punitive campaign there.
- CC: Those deliberating on the matter all said, "The enemy has [come] from afar to besiege Fan-ch'eng, but they cannot overcome it. They have been broken at the foot of the strong city walls. This is a situation in which they will bring defeat upon themselves. It would be best to adopt a long term strategy in dealing with them."
- 4
 CS: Those deliberating on the matter all said, "The enemy has come from afar to besiege Fan, but in the end they will not be able to overcome it. They have been broken at the foot of the strong city walls. This is a situation in which they will bring defeat upon themselves. It would be best to adopt a long term strategy in dealing with them.
- CC: King Hsüan said, "In the military records it says that to curb a general when he is capable is to 'restrain the army'; and to appoint a general who is not capable is to 'destroy the army.'
- 5
 CS: His Majesty said, "The cities near the border are subjected to the enemy, yet we sit here in safety amidst the ancestral temples and halls.
- CC: At present, the borderlands are in a state of unrest, and there is doubt and apprehension in the hearts of the people. These [matters] should be the chief concern of the state."
- 6
 CS: The borderlands are in a state of unrest, and there is doubt and apprehension in the hearts of the masses. These [matters] should be the chief concern of the state."

In this set of passages we see many of the same differences as in the first case, but here we find two new kinds of change. The first concerns the observation of the taboo on imperial names; in this case, that of T'ang T'ai-tsung himself. In the sixth pair of passages we see that the *Chin chi* uses the word "people" (*min*) in its account.

This of course is the second part of T'ai-tsung's given name, Shih-min, and thus compelled the T'ang compilers to use the alternate "masses" (*chung*) in their version of the passage. The observation of imperial taboos is a common feature of Chinese history writing (or any other public writing during imperial times) and occurs elsewhere in the *Chin shu* where, for instance, the cognomina of Kung-sun Yüan and Liu Yüan had to be used (Kung-sun Wen-i and Liu Yüan-hai) to avoid the taboo on the name of the T'ang founder, Li Yüan (T'ai-tsung's father). This kind of change is therefore ideologically motivated, but represents a simple observation of convention rather than anything specific to the early T'ang.

Another instance of textual alteration however is quite revealing of the T'ang compilers' ideals and considerations. In the fifth pair of passage excerpts above, we can see that the *Chin shu* compilers have rewritten the parallel *Chin chi* passage. Clearly a decision had been made to include Ssu-ma I's speech from the *Chin chi*, but something about the material in this portion of the speech was deemed inappropriate for inclusion in the *Chin shu*. The second part of the speech, shown in the sixth pair of excerpts, was fine as it stood (save for the need to change the tabooed word "people" to "masses") and was preserved essentially intact. What was it about the first part of the speech that required the alteration of the text?

If we review the content of this first part, we may note that Ssu-ma I refers to ideas contained in "military records" which state that "to curb a general when he is capable is to 'restrain the army'; and to appoint a general who is not capable is to 'destroy the army.'" The "military records" mentioned here certainly refers to the pre-Han military classic, *Sun-tzu ping-fa* (The Military Art of Master Sun), the third chapter of which says in part:

Now there are three ways in which a ruler can bring misfortune upon his army:

When ignorant that the army should not advance, to order an advance; or ignorant that it should not retire, to order a retirement. This is described as 'hobbling the army.'

When ignorant of military affairs, to participate in their administration. This causes the officers to be perplexed.

When ignorant of command problems to share in the exercise of responsibilities. This engenders doubts in the minds of the officers.¹⁷

Ssu-ma I's speech is not a direct quote from this passage of the *Sun-tzu*, but his use of the term "restrain the army" (*mi chün*), surely comes from this passage (rendered by Griffith as "hobbling the army") and consequently evokes the sentiment imparted by the entire passage. And since the *Sun-tzu* passage discusses the issue of how a ruler can bring misfortune upon an army, it is

¹⁷Griffith, *Sun Tzu: The Art of War*, p. 81 (chapter 3.19-22).

probable that this passage would be construed as critical of a ruler, especially one who has so clearly taken an active role in military affairs as T'ang T'ai-tsung. The possible criticism of T'ai-tsung implied in this passage no doubt gave the compilers cause to alter the speech's wording in order to avoid any offense to the imperial readership of the *Chin shu*. This is therefore a clear case of an alteration of a source passage in order to change its meaning to conform with an ideological consideration on the part of the compilers.

A third set of passages, taken from # 10 on the list in Table 10, shows another portion taken from Kan Pao's *Chin chi* and discusses an incident which took place during the coup of 249.

CC: Huan Fan went out after [Ts'ao] Shuang. King Hsüan addressed Chiang Chi saying, "The 'bag of wisdom' has departed." Chi said, "Fan is indeed wise, but as an old nag who loves [only] stable beans, Shuang will certainly make no use of him."

CS: The Grand Minister of Agriculture, Huan Fan, went out after [Ts'ao] Shuang. Chiang Chi spoke to His Majesty saying, "The 'bag of wisdom' has departed." His Majesty said, "Shuang and Fan are not on close terms, and Shuang's knowledge does not come close to his, so as an old nag who loves [only] short beans, he will certainly make no use of him."

Here we see some of the other types of changes noted above, but in this case we see an interesting reversal of attribution of dialogue. In the *Chin chi* passage, Ssu-ma I shows concern about Huan Fan's departure, while Chiang Chi offers advice meant to assuage his worries. In the *Chin shu*

passage, the roles are reversed, and Ssu-ma I is made to appear as the dispenser of comforting wisdom. Furthermore, in changing the basic import of the passage, the compilers have also rewritten the lines to add clarification and further impact to (now) Ssu-ma I's advice.

As we consider the reason for this change in the roles of the actors in the *Chin chi* passage, it seems most likely that the compilers were taking the opportunity to portray Ssu-ma I in a leadership role, rather than in a role as a man of uncertainty and indecisiveness. As we shall see below, this would accord with what I perceive to be the basic intention of the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" to show Ssu-ma I as a strong leader, decisive military commander, and loyal, pro-imperial official. With this as the basic underlying ideology behind *Chin shu* 1, we should not be surprised to find such a flagrant case of the T'ang compilers "cooking the books" in order to make Ssu-ma I suit their idea of a strong leader.

These several kinds of alterations to the source passages available to the compilers of the *Chin shu* show that these scholar-officials indeed drew upon sections from various of the many earlier works available to them, and occasionally changed them to suit their own stylistic and ideological needs. Such usage shows the *Chin shu* to be a work made up of selected portions of earlier histories and records, but also demonstrates that it was informed by the

guiding principles and practices of its T'ang period compilers.

Having noted these matters pertaining to the make-up of the text itself, we may now turn to a brief discussion of what this account seeks to tell us. The focal point of *Chin shu* 1 of course is the life and career of Ssu-ma I and, in accordance with the purposes of the Chinese historiographical tradition, we must be prepared to consider what lessons this account of his life and career may have to offer. From a survey of the content of the annals, it is possible to note several important themes which the T'ang compilers sought to convey. Six such themes may be recognized: 1) Ssu-ma I's wise council to the ruler, 2) Ssu-ma I as a capable official, 3) Ssu-ma I's importance to the ruling house, 4) Ssu-ma I's military successes, 5) Ssu-ma I's recognition of the importance of imperial authority, and 6) Ssu-ma I's discipline and cruelty. Of these six themes, all but one may be viewed as evocative of historiographically positive traits.

In reviewing these themes one is struck by the generally positive view the account gives of Ssu-ma I. Here we see a man who is portrayed as a wise and capable official, and who clearly played a vital role as a successful military commander and senior administrator of the Wei state. It is only on the subject of his character that the T'ang compilers offer a contradictory portrayal.

In a few places within the account, Ssu-ma I is shown to be somewhat cruel and heartless, and at the end of the account, there are a few apocryphal anecdotes (added on almost as an afterthought) showing him to be vicious and opportunistic. Throughout the text, however, Ssu-ma I is shown to be a capable official who is both loyal to the Wei house and to the idea that adherence to imperial authority is of the utmost importance.

Of the various themes mentioned, the most prominent is Ssu-ma I's wise council to the various rulers whom he served during his long career. Throughout the annals I count fifteen speeches in which Ssu-ma I gave advice to his current ruler, and at least five other cases where this type of council is mentioned, but not quoted. This material covers the years 215, when he was an advisor on Ts'ao Ts'ao's staff, through 246, when he gave administrative and military advice to his co-regent, Ts'ao Shuang. The inclusion of these speeches in the text provides important, direct (or near-direct) evidence of Ssu-ma I's thought on fundamental administrative subjects such as waging war, maintaining a strong agricultural base and insuring the loyalty of the people. The inclusion of these speeches also serves as an important indicator of how vital he (and his advice) was to the successful administration of the Wei state. In many cases we are told whether or not the advice given in his speech was followed, and whether or not it had

a positive consequence. For example, following the defeat of the Shu-Han general Kuan Yü (in late 219) Ssu-ma I had the following encounter with Ts'ao Ts'ao:

Wu of Wei (Ts'ao Ts'ao) considered that the remaining populace and the men in the military colonies along the Han river were too near to the "southern bandits," and he wanted to move all of them. His Majesty (Ssu-ma I) said, "The people of Ching-Ch'u are most capricious. They are easy to influence but difficult to pacify. Kuan Yü has just been defeated, and the various malefactors in that area have hidden themselves or run away, and are waiting to see what will happen. Now if you move the trustworthy ones, you will destroy their faith in you, and those who have fled will not dare to come back." [Wu of Wei] followed his advice. After that, all of those who had fled returned to their former occupations.¹⁸

From this we see that Ssu-ma I's advice was followed and that it led to a positive result, thereby demonstrating his importance. There are a number of such cases throughout the annals.

In other cases, his importance is demonstrated in an inverse manner. In the case below, we see him give advice, but the advice is not followed, and a negative result ensues. The following case took place shortly after the situation mentioned above, and just after the death of Ts'ao Ts'ao in March 220. The ruler was then Ts'ao Ts'ao's son, Ts'ao P'i.

¹⁸See p. 295 of the translation above.

When Sun Ch'üan led his troops on a move to the west, those deliberating at court were of the opinion that since [the cities of] Fan and Hsiang-yang lacked an adequate supply of grain, they would not be able to hold off the invaders. At that time, Ts'ao Jen was in command of the garrison at Hsiang-yang, so some officials requested that Jen be summoned back to Wan. His Majesty said, "Sun Ch'üan has just defeated Kuan Yü. This is a time when he will want to consolidate his forces; he would certainly not dare to make trouble. Hsiang-yang is the hub of water and land. It is a strategic point for resisting invasion, and must not be abandoned." In the end his council was not followed.

Jen subsequently burned and abandoned the two cities, but Ch'üan never did make his attack. Wen of Wei (Ts'ao P'i) regretted his decision.¹⁹

Here Ssu-ma I's importance is evident from the fact that he was right, and the state suffered the loss of a strategic outpost because his wise council was not followed.

Other cases simply tell the reader outright that Ssu-ma I was a good advisor. Under the year 216, we read the following:

Each time he participated in an important deliberation, he often came up with an extraordinary plan, and thus gained the trust and confidence of the Heir Designate (Ts'ao P'i).²⁰

A reading of all of these cases leaves no doubt that the

¹⁹See pp. 296-97 of the translation above.

²⁰See p. 291 of the translation above.

T'ang compilers sought to portray Ssu-ma I as an official whose advice was vital to the success of the Wei state.

Two other themes which are closely linked to that of wise council are those concerning Ssu-ma I's general capability as an official, and his importance to the ruling house. In the former category, we may find no less than six cases in which we are told of Ssu-ma I's actions as an official which are clearly judged as appropriate and productive. In the latter we find no fewer than seven.

As for Ssu-ma I's capabilities, we find incidences of his: 1) managing all of the matters pertaining to the mourning rites for Ts'ao Ts'ao (*sub anno* 220, translation p. 295), 2) encouraging agriculture and sericulture (*s.a.* 227, trans. p. 303), 3) opening up a canal and building a reservoir (*s.a.* 233, trans. p. 309), 4) creating an innovation for clearing road obstructions while on campaign (*s.a.* 234, trans. p. 313), 5) transporting millet to relieve a famine (*s.a.* 235, trans. p. 314) and 6) putting an end to unnecessary conscript labor on palaces (*s.a.* 240, trans. pp. 329-30). All of these items are offered to the reader as evidence of Ssu-ma I's exemplary capability as an administrator, and thus serve to reenforce proper ideals for the T'ang officials (and rulers) for whom this work was intended.

In looking at the first item on this list, we may note an interesting and revealing point about the historiography

of the *Chin shu*. Here Ssu-ma I is mentioned as the one responsible for overseeing the mourning rites for Ts'ao Ts'ao. The biography of the Wei official, Chia K'uei (174-228), on the other hand, states that it was in fact Chia K'uei who held that responsibility.²¹ Clearly, here is another case of the T'ang compilers altering their sources in an effort to portray Ssu-ma I as an important official.

The theme of Ssu-ma I's importance to the ruling house is conveyed through a number of anecdotes which may be enumerated as follows: 1) Emperor Wen seeks to share the burden of rule with Ssu-ma I (*s.a.* 224, trans. pp. 297-98), 2) Ssu-ma I is compared to the Former Han Prime Minister Hsiao Ho (*s.a.* 225, trans. p. 298), 3) Emperor Wen divides the burden of regional administration with Ssu-ma I (*s.a.* 225, trans. pp. 298-99), 4) Ssu-ma I is made one of three regents (*s.a.* 225, trans. p. 299), 5) Ssu-ma I as the only one to whom Emperor Ming can entrust a campaign against Chu-ko Liang (*s.a.* 231, trans. p. 306), 6) Emperor Ming proclaims confidence in Ssu-ma I's military ability (*s.a.* 238, trans. p. 322), and 7) the Wei emperor (Ts'ao Fang) personally attends Ssu-ma I's funeral (*s.a.* 251, trans. p. 353). All of these cases seek to show how the Wei rulers trusted in Ssu-ma I's abilities and relied upon his support of the Wei ruling house.

²¹See *San-kuo chih* 15.481, including P'ei Sung-chih's commentary, which cites a sizeable passage from Yü Huan's *Wei lüeh* discussing K'uei's views on the subject.

As can be seen from the information above, much of Ssu-ma I's importance lay in the fact that he was an effective and successful military commander. The table below lists his military successes according to the year in which they took place, the nature of the action, and the page numbers of the translation on which the narrative may be found.

 Table XIII
 Ssu-ma I's Military Successes

<u>Year</u>	<u>Action</u>	<u>Page(s)</u>
226	Defeat of Invading Wu Forces	299
227	Defeat of Meng Ta	302-03
231	Victory Against Chu-ko Liang	306-08
234	Defeat of Chu-ko Liang's Forces	310-13
238	Defeat of Kung-sun Yüan	318-25
241	Defeat of Invading Wu Forces	330-31
249	Successful Coup Against Ts'ao Shuang	339-49
251	Defeat of Wang Ling	351-52

One is left with the unmistakable impression that Ssu-ma I was responsible for all of the important Wei military victories during his lifetime, and that he also never lost. Again, we may note here the selective use of sources materials on the part of the T'ang compilers.

In 228 for example, Ssu-ma I was one of five military commanders sent on a joint invasion of the state of Wu. These armies were placed under the overall command of Chia

K'uei and, in the end, some of the Wei forces were defeated.²² Ssu-ma I's role was relatively minor in this campaign, and there is no mention of his actions in the annals. Instead, following the lengthy account of his victory over Meng Ta, we are given a sample of Ssu-ma I's advice to the Wei emperor on a strategy to be used in invading Wu, but nothing is said about his role in the actual invasion. We are therefore (intentionally) left with the impression that Ssu-ma I masterminded the strategy against Wu, even though the strategy did not bring victory. The T'ang compilers have done a masterful job in their account of playing up the positive, and eliminating the negative.

Another theme detectable in the annals is that of Ssu-ma I's acknowledgement of the importance of imperial authority. This is manifest in several places in the text where we are reminded of Ssu-ma I's attention to duty and recognition that he was a servant of the Wei imperial house. In the first case, from the year 234 (during the campaign against Chu-ko Liang), we find Ssu-ma I responding to restraint from the Wei court.

At that time, the court felt that since Liang's expeditionary force had invaded from afar, it was to their [Liang's forces] advantage to hurry into battle. Therefore they ordered His Majesty to hold firm and

²²This campaign is discussed in Chia K'uei's biography. See *San-kuo chih* 15.483.

watch for any changes in Liang's position. Liang challenged him to battle several times, but His Majesty did not make a sortie. Liang therefore sent him a bonnet and women's adornments, His Majesty was enraged and sent a memorial to the throne asking to undertake a conclusive battle. The Son of Heaven did not permit it, but sent a forthright official, the Commandant of the Guards, Hsin P'i, to carry credentials and act as Army Commander in order to keep him under control. Later, Liang once again came to challenge him to battle, and His Majesty was about to lead his troops out to respond; but when P'i, holding his credentials, stood at the gate of the camp, His Majesty ceased.²³

One point to be gleaned from this passage is that Ssu-ma I had become angry and was determined to fight; but the basic lesson for the reader is that, in the end, Ssu-ma I obeyed imperial authority as represented by Hsin P'i and his credentials.

Another case from the same period makes the same point with greater concision:

Two of Liang's generals, Yang I and Wei Yen, had a struggle for power. I beheaded Yen and took control of his forces. His Majesty wanted to take advantage of this split and advance further, but an edict was issued which did not allow it.²⁴

²³See translation, p. 311. This passage is particularly interesting in terms of its source materials. There are several accounts which touch on this event and the events surrounding it. For a discussion of the parallel passages found in the *San-kuo chih* and its commentary, see Fang, *The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms*, 1:440-51.

²⁴See translation, p. 314.

I do not think that the T'ang compilers were particularly interested in telling us about the struggles between Yang I and Wei Yen, but rather wanted to demonstrate the importance of imperial discipline over commanders in the field.

Other cases of this kind include: 1) Ssu-ma I's reference to himself as "one of the Emperor's men" in a letter to his enemy, Kung-sun Yüan (*s.a.* 238, trans. pp. 323-24), 2) a refusal to distribute padded coats to needy soldiers because they were "the property of the state; officials cannot privately distribute them." (*s.a.* 238, trans. p. 326), 3) Ssu-ma I's posture of obedience in his memorial to the young emperor and the empress dowager conveying his intention to remove Ts'ao Shuang from power (*s.a.* 249, trans. pp. 339-40), and 4) his pardoning of two officials, saying "I have done this to encourage those who would serve their lord." (*s.a.* 249, trans. p. 349). Within the didactic atmosphere of Chinese history writing of the time, I feel that all of these cases were intended for the consumption and instruction of the T'ang official class on matters pertaining to the loyalty of exemplary officials to the ruling house which they served.

The final theme pointed out above, however, runs directly contrary to the ideas and ideals mentioned in our first five themes, and that is the theme of extreme discipline and cruelty. The presence of these cases leads us to ask, If it was the view of the T'ang compilers that

Ssu-ma I was such a capable and loyal official, then why do we come across cases in which he appears excessively cruel and even opportunistic? For instance, during the campaign against Kung-sun Yüan in 238, we read of the following situation:

When torrential rains hit the area, flood waters covered the ground to the depth of several feet. The Three Armies were afraid and wanted to move their encampments. His Majesty issued an order that if there were any men in the army who dared speak of moving, they would be executed. The Military Governor's Prefect Clerk, Chang Ching, transgressed the order and was executed. The men in the army were thus brought into order.²⁵

One is reminded of the story about Sun-tzu teaching military order and discipline to the concubines of King Ho-lü of Wu. At first they did not take their drilling seriously, but after the two chief concubines were beheaded, the rest paid strict attention and performed according to orders.²⁶ The point here I think is similar; Ssu-ma I knew the ways of military command, and knew how to restore order in an unruly army.

This story, however, also helps to establish a strict and unforgiving side of Ssu-ma I's character. Two other brief anecdotes from the Kung-sun Yüan campaign develop this

²⁵See translation p. 321.

²⁶This story is related in the *Shih-chi* biography of Sun-tzu. See *Shih-chi* 65.2161-62. See the English translation in Griffith, *Sun Tzu: The Art of War*, pp. 57-58.

further:

Yüan was terribly afraid, and sent his Chancellor of State, Wang Chien, and his Grandee Secretary, Liu Fu, to plead for surrender, request that the siege be lifted, and offer themselves as bound prisoners. His Majesty did not allow it, seized Chien and others, and put them to death.²⁷

When his forces entered the city, His Majesty erected two signs to differentiate the new from the old among them. More than seven thousand males aged fifteen and above were killed, and their bodies were used to make a 'testimonial mound.' The rebel ministers and lower officials all submitted to execution, and Yüan's General, Pi Sheng, and more than two thousand others were also put to death.²⁸

While ruthlessness in battle may be a hallmark of Chinese military practice, these anecdotes make it clear that Ssu-ma I was both strict in military discipline, and ruthless in disposing of his enemies. The latter point is clearly made in the narrative pertaining to the defeat of Ts'ao Shuang's faction after the coup of 249.

Shuang and his brothers, along with the members of their faction including Ho Yen, Ting Mi, Teng Yang, Pi Kuei, Li Sheng and Huan Fan were taken into custody and executed. [At that time] Chiang Chi said, "Owing to the meritorious accomplishments of Ts'ao Chen (Shuang's father), his line should not be left without

²⁷Translation, p. 323.

²⁸Translation, pp. 324-25.

successors." His Majesty however did not permit it.²⁹ A final example from the main body of the text gives a similar case from the year 251, following Ssu-ma I's defeat of Wang Ling.

His Majesty later took the remainder of Ling's confederates into custody, wiped out all of Ling's family to the third degree of mourning, and killed Ts'ao Piao.³⁰

The idea that a Chinese military leader would order the deaths of those under his command to maintain discipline, or would execute his defeated enemies and their families is not entirely surprising. In fact, it would be possible to look at these as examples of Ssu-ma I's effectiveness as a military commander, if it were not for the presence of several anecdotal comments we find at the end of the annals.

Following the discussion of Ssu-ma I's death, funeral and posthumous designations, the compilers have added a number of lines which discuss Ssu-ma I's character.³¹ Here there is a story about Ssu-ma I being able to "turn his head to the rear like a wolf," an account of a dream Ts'ao Ts'ao once had concerning the future rise to prominence of the Ssu-ma family, and an anecdote concerning the trepidation felt by Emperor Ming of the Eastern Chin upon hearing of the

²⁹Translation, p. 348.

³⁰Translation, p. 352.

³¹These may be found on pp. 355-56 of the translation.

way in which his ancestors gained the empire. In addition to these curious and spurious anecdotes we also have the following:

When His Majesty pacified Kung-sun Yüan, he undertook widespread slaughter. At the time when he executed Ts'ao Shuang, the members of Shuang's party were exterminated to the third degree of mourning. Male and female, regardless of age, even spinsters, people's sisters, and male in-laws, were all put to death. In the end he transferred the Wei imperial regalia themselves.³²

This section of the annals clearly displays a desire to show Ssu-ma I as a man of cunning, ruthlessness and ambition. In the portion quoted here, the ruthlessness first mentioned in the body of the annals is invoked and augmented to convey an image of someone who was wantonly cruel and politically opportunistic. According to the last line of this passage, we are asked to believe that the end result of his cruelty was that he took over the Wei dynasty itself ("transferred the Wei imperial regalia"). The final line of the annals makes it clear that, "If we trace his cruel and suspicious nature, it certainly corresponds to his ability to turn his head to the rear like a wolf."

Such peculiar statements seem to have nothing at all to do with the wealth of material presented in the foregoing text. We have seen that the T'ang compilers went to great

³²This is the third of the four anecdotes. See translation, pp. 355-56.

lengths to arrange, even distort, their materials to portray Ssu-ma I as an exemplary official. Why then did they offer these curious parting shots which add more than a note of negativity to this account? The most likely reason stems from the inclination and desires of their imperial patron, T'ang T'ai-tsung. If we read T'ai-tsung's "Imperial Pronouncement" at the end of the annals, we see the negative evaluation of Ssu-ma I's career clearly displayed. His essay offers the many positive themes traceable from the body of the annals itself, but they are often followed by comments which directly impugn his actions and motives. In section II of the essay he lists a series of military virtues, but ends with the comment ". . . he used loyalty to adorn his crafty intentions, . . ." In section III he condemns Ssu-ma I's indecisive 234 campaign against Chu-ko Liang, ending with "The Way of a great general was truly lost on this!" Finally, the last two sections (IV and V) deal almost exclusively with the issue of Ssu-ma I's ultimate disloyalty. Statements such as: "he received the deathbed trust of the emperor, but did not reciprocate with undying loyalty," and "How could such a loyal statesman have been like this! As for his thoroughly good deeds, it seems they were just a ruse," make it clear that T'ai-tsung saw Ssu-ma I as nothing less than a scheming usurper. His essay ends with the following condemnatory evaluation:

How much more of an undertaking was it then to

draw upon the uncompleted Chin foundation to suppress the still active blessings of the Wei?

Even if one's Way permeates the entire world, and one's virtue extends to all the people, if Heaven has not provided the time, the imperial throne will still be blocked. One cannot simply struggle for it with knowledge, or fight for it with force. However, it came to be that blessings passed on to his posterity, even though he himself passed away while still a subject.

T'ai-tsung clearly disapproves of the Chin founding, or at least the non Heaven-ordained way in which it was brought about. Ssu-ma I is made out to be an opportunist who ignored the fact that only Heaven could appoint a successor dynasty to the throne, and "struggled for it" in his own way. In the final line, he acknowledges that it was not Ssu-ma I himself who brought about the new dynasty, but rather "his posterity,"--a link sufficiently strong enough (in T'ai-tsung's mind) to have verified what must have been Ssu-ma I's evil intentions.

Had Ssu-ma I's grandson not become emperor and established a new ruling house, T'ai-tsung would not have found such character flaws in Ssu-ma I. It is his role as a Chin founder which made T'ai-tsung's vilifying comments necessary. For T'ai-tsung, as a reigning Chinese emperor, Ssu-ma I, as the nominal founder of the Chin house, was the man fundamentally responsible for the overthrow of the Wei. In T'ai-tsung's mind, Heaven had not shown any signs that

the allotted time of Wei rule had reached its end. Therefore anyone who had participated in the premature termination of Wei rule was certainly acting contrary to Heaven, and as such, had to be an ultimately disloyal official--an example which had to be condemned if notions of official loyalty were to remain intact for the T'ang.

The final sections of the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan," therefore, may very well have been called for by T'ai-tsung himself in an effort to show that, while Ssu-ma I had displayed many fine qualities, the actions of his sons and grandson in "suppressing the still active blessings of the Wei" had to be condemned. The overthrow of a ruling house was not a thing to be taken lightly. As T'ai-tsung reminds his official readership, only Heaven could provide the time for a change of rule. These were not things mere men could decide on their own. And since Ssu-ma I was a man who had precipitated such an act, his evident character flaws had to be made clear to those who would read this first chapter of the *Chin shu*.

In sum, the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" constitutes a patchwork account which drew upon the sources and traditions of the many earlier historians of the Chin, but was informed by T'ang ideals of statecraft and didacticism. The T'ang compilers sought to create an account of an exemplary official who embodied the proper virtues of pro-imperial loyalty, knowledgeable council, capability in administration

and great martial prowess. But a final caveat was added to this image by T'ang T'ai-tsung, who sought to warn any would-be usurpers that true virtue lay in loyalty to one's ruler and service to the state.

CONCLUSION

SSU-MA I IN HISTORY

Ssu-ma I's long life and rich career provide an engaging story of an individual and the remarkable times in which he lived. He came of age during the momentous civil war which brought an end to Han rule in China, and came into his own as an important military leader and official within the Wei state as it sought to establish new institutions and restore a centralized Chinese empire. Finally, he ended his days as the main powerholder in the Wei state following his coup against Ts'ao Shuang. Ssu-ma I was indeed one of the great men of his age, and a careful examination of his life and career can tell us much about him as a man, and about the period of great change through which he lived.

The material presented in this study however has not focused on an inquiry into the life and times of Ssu-ma I, but has addressed the fundamental question of, How do we know what we know about him? Or, more pointedly, What is the nature of our sources for Ssu-ma I? Such questions are a necessary first step in any investigation into the life and times of a historical figure; and through an understanding of our sources, we may better see what purposes and prejudices were brought to bear in telling of a particular story. In this way it is hoped that we will be able to separate historical fact from historical

embellishment and manipulation. With this in mind, I have attempted to answer these questions by focusing on two basic areas of inquiry: the evolution of the historical writing concerned with Ssu-ma I and the Chin, and a study of the final product of that tradition of historical writing, the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan."

By looking at the evolution of the historical writing about Ssu-ma I, it soon becomes clear that the writing about Ssu-ma I treated him in the context of his role as a Chin founder rather than a Wei statesman, and therefore that all historical writing about Ssu-ma I was linked with an evolving tradition of writing about the Chin. This is not to say that historical materials pertaining to the Wei/Three States period did not treat Ssu-ma I; they did. But the main sources for that period, Wang Ch'en's *Wei shu* and Ch'en Shou's *San-kuo chih*, were written after the Ssu-ma had come to power and thus were forced by political and historiographical convention to treat Ssu-ma I as a Chin founder rather than a "mere" Wei statesman.¹ The tradition of Chin

¹The question of how the Wei materials treated Ssu-ma I is of course an important one which I feel demands separate and careful attention. For instance, to what extent is Yü Huan's *Wei lüeh*, which was compiled prior to Ssu-ma Yen's ascent to the throne in 266, free from the preferential treatment of the Chin founders which characterizes the other Wei histories? Also of interest would be a study of Ch'en Shou's treatment of the Chin founders. To what extent does his treatment of them differ from the treatment of them given in the *Chin shu* of the T'ang? It is also important to sift through and consider the treatment of Ssu-ma I given in surviving documents and records from the separatist states of Shu and Wu.

historiography therefore became the main format for the accounts of Ssu-ma I.

By tracing the development of history writing about the Chin, we are able to see how the tradition of official (and private) dynastic history writing evolved over a period of several centuries. From a look at the institutional origins of dynastic history writing in the Later Han, and then following the development of that genre in its treatment of the Chin through the third century (when a newly instituted historiographical bureaucracy emerged), to the burgeoning of private and official Chin history writing in the Southern Dynasties, down to the energetic official historiography of the Sui and early T'ang, we can see that the tradition became bureaucratically more sophisticated and intellectually more vital as the centuries passed.

As can be seen from the study above, the tradition of history writing about the Chin represented a truly rich and diverse field of intellectual endeavor. The vitality of Chin historiography can be readily appreciated when we note that no fewer than twenty-seven works treating part or all of the Chin period are known to have been undertaken.² No other period of China's history approaches that kind of

²These works and their authors are listed in Appendix C, "Possible Chronological Order of the Pre-T'ang Chin Histories."

attention and treatment.³ These works consisted of both official and private compilations, treated short as well as long spans of time, and embodied diverse historical points of view. Such an output of histories is indeed remarkable, but it must be borne in mind that these works were in part representative of a growing general trend of diversity in history writing of the late Han through early T'ang periods, which had parallels in other areas of intellectual endeavor such as literature and religious thought.⁴ By tracing the development of Chin historiography, therefore, we undertake a revealing case study showing the growth of Chinese history writing during an important period of its evolution.

The evolution of Chinese historiography during this period however was not solely characterized by diversity. There were also clearly discernable signs of a growing link between history writing and dynastic ideology. From Han times on, there was a strengthening of the connection between written documents and the imperial state, and consequently an increasingly sophisticated process of bibliographic activity and official records keeping emerged in the early imperial period. With the successive rise and

³As was mentioned at the beginning of Chapter Five above, the Later Han dynasty figured as the next closest with some fifteen historical works.

⁴Chin Yü-fu has chapters on private and official historiographical development. See chapters 4 and 5 of his *Chung-kuo shih-hsüeh shih* (Hong Kong: Shang-wu ying-shu-kuan, 1964), pp. 50-93.

fall of ruling houses over the centuries, there arose a pattern in which civil wars (which often accompanied, if not spawned, the demise of a ruling house) were followed by the regeneration the Chinese state under a new ruling house, and these new ruling houses in turn undertook increasingly sophisticated efforts at book collecting and archival activity. This ever growing involvement in bibliographic and archival activity also came to be accompanied by an increasing sense of the importance of state involvement in the emerging discipline of history writing. This trend developed in the Later Han and matured through time until the early T'ang, when official history writing achieved new heights with the establishment of the Historiographical Office (*shih kuan*) in 629.⁵ Throughout the centuries, history writing had emerged as a field of activity independent from classical scholarship or literary study, and by T'ang times had become an integral part of imperial government practice.

The growth of the link between history writing and government practice during this period produced a genre of official history writing which was concerned with matters of statecraft and dynastic ideology. We can see from our survey of Chin historiography that dynastic concerns were paramount in considerations of form, temporal coverage and

⁵On the Historiographical Office in the T'ang, see Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History Under the T'ang*, pp. 12-20.

content. Lu Chi's discussion of the appropriate form to use for the Chin founders, Wang Tao's exhortation to write a state history to serve as an instructive example for the age, Kan Pao's praise of the accomplishments of Ssu-ma I as a Chin founder, Hsi Tso-ch'ih's acclaim for Ssu-ma I's great character, and Sung Wen-ti's command to Hsieh Ling-yün to compile an official account of the entire Chin period all serve as examples of the kinds of concerns statesmen and official historians had with their material. Concerns with the legitimation of the ruling house then in power, the ongoing issue of clarifying proper conduct to officials and commoners alike, and the matter of insuring loyalty to the ruling house were perennial features of the official history of this time. The pre-T'ang period of Chin history writing therefore demonstrates that a strong dynastic ideology had indeed emerged during this time, and thus provided a strong foundation for the T'ang historians in general, and the *Chin shu* compilers in particular.

From our study of part of the final product of the tradition of Chin historiography, the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan," we are able to draw some specific conclusions about the nature of that product, and the ideas and ideals its compilers sought to convey. The study in Chapter Seven above showed that the record of Ssu-ma I adhered to the imperial annals format in treating Ssu-ma I, and therefore maintained the traditional view that Ssu-ma I's primary role

in history was that of the founding ancestor of the Chin house. In shaping the account of their subject the T'ang compilers of course drew upon the many records pertaining to Ssu-ma I then extant and, in so doing, perpetuated the pro-Chin content of those works. The result of their work was by and large a favorable account which showed Ssu-ma I to be a man of great wisdom, loyalty and ability. In essence he was portrayed as an exemplary statesman, and possessed of a character worthy of a dynastic founder.

Was the T'ang account then simply a cut and paste amalgam of pre-T'ang Chin histories? Our study of the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" demonstrates that it was not. Evidence of the T'ang compilers' manipulations of the source texts reveals that a certain amount of care was taken to show Ssu-ma I in a particularly favorable light. Furthermore, the purpose of this favorable treatment was not to enhance any idea of the legitimation of the Chin or of Ssu-ma I's position as its founder, but rather to use the case of Ssu-ma I to point out exemplary characteristics to be embodied by a good and loyal Chinese official. In this way, the T'ang compilers maintained the pro-dynastic, instructive sentiment which official Chinese historiography had come to embrace.

A problem of this rather clear-cut analysis arises, however, when we recall that the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" contains a few critical anecdotes in its final lines, along

with several damning statements made by T'ang T'ai-tsung in his "imperial pronouncement." The main content of the annals therefore appears to be contradicted by the material placed at the very end. I believe that this material is contradictory, and that it stems from the presence of two different guiding elements in the make-up of this account.

On the one hand, there is the body of scholar-official compilers which carried out most of the work in putting the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan" together. On the other hand, there is the work of T'ai-tsung himself who read the account, and then composed his own "pronouncement" to be placed at the end of the annals, as was the usual tradition. In this case the compiler(s) and the critic represented two different groups with two different points of view. Here, the official compilers provided the emperor with a suitably didactic historical record which praised all the virtues known to be important in a statesman, and even enhanced certain portions since the subject was a dynastic founder. T'ai-tsung, however, could not let the account stand as a simple record of an exemplary official with overtones of ancestral greatness. The issue of Ssu-ma I's role in the founding of the Chin dynasty posed a problem for the reigning emperor. Ssu-ma I had to be vilified for his role in the "usurpation" of the Wei throne.

It will be recalled that T'ai-tsung was quite critical of Ssu-ma I's character and his intentions as a participant

in the takeover of the Wei throne. As he states at the end of the pronouncement, "Even if one's Way permeates the entire world, and one's virtue extends to all the people, if Heaven has not provided the time, the imperial throne will still be blocked."⁶ Simply put, regardless of how great a statesman Ssu-ma I may have been (or pretended to be), his participation in overthrowing the Wei ("suppressing the still active blessings of the Wei") was entirely unacceptable.

One question that arises is, Why should T'ang T'ai-tsung concern himself with how the Chin dynasty was founded? This is a logical question, but is readily answered when we consider that the founding of any ruling house raises the question of dynastic legitimation--a topic which had been of central importance in Chinese official historiography since the time of Pan Ku in the Later Han. For a reigning emperor in particular, the issue of dynastic legitimation also carried with it the issue of dynastic loyalty. For T'ai-tsung the fundamental problem was that if Ssu-ma I had been a dynastic founder he must have, *ipso facto*, been a disloyal official. And if he were a disloyal official, he must have possessed character flaws such as cruelty and duplicity. It is for these reasons, I believe, that the three damning anecdotes were placed at the end of the annals. In addition to his critical pronouncement, T'ai-tsung instructed the

⁶See translation, p. 361.

compilers to add the anecdotes to make it clear that Ssu-ma I's example was not to be injudiciously adhered to.

It will be recalled from the third part of Chapter Five above that T'ai-tsung called for the compilation of the *Chin shu* as a means of raising a number of issues pertaining to statecraft and rulership which he could use to solidify his own image as emperor then and for the future, and also to hand on to his successors (particularly the young heir designate, Li Chih). Within in this context, T'ai-tsung was clearly critical of the idea that an official serving an apparently viable dynasty could rise to replace it by founding another. This means that for T'ai-tsung, the idea of accession through abdication, which was the means by which the Ssu-ma came to the throne, was nothing more than a sham perpetrated by covetous usurpers intent on stealing the throne. The only proper way to come to the throne, according to T'ai-tsung's view, was through victory on the battlefield following the overthrow of a "bad-last" ruler.⁷ In other words, in order to achieve the throne, the worthy ruling house was one which brought an end to tyranny and

⁷In his study of T'ang ritual and legitimation, Howard Wechsler points out that there were traditionally two basic ways for "different surname succession" in the transfer of political power. One was by "voluntary yielding (*shan-jang*)" and the other by "conquest of arms (*fang-fa*)." He goes on to point out further that "In the early T'ang we find an interesting mix of early power transfers. The T'ang came to power by a method that is clearly the *fang-fa* type, though it was, for symbolic reasons, also portrayed as a *shan-jang*." See Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*, pp. 80-81.

misery by overthrowing what was clearly an oppressive ruling house.

Although the T'ang had adhered to the ritual of accession through abdication of the last Sui ruler in 618, it must be remembered that, from an historiographical point of view, the last Sui ruler, Yang-ti, was portrayed as a villain in the T'ang-compiled *Sui shu* of 636.⁸ It was the idea of justifiable conquest which was the clearest sort of legitimation. It is partly for this reason that the Han founder, Kao-tsu, was often looked to as a model emperor, since he had helped vanquish the evil Ch'in and won the throne on the field of battle.⁹ Coming to the throne in such a manner was traditional (the Chou conquest of the Shang), heroic and unambiguous. The favor of Heaven was clear for all to see.

In Chinese political thought, power transfer through conquest of arms following a civil war was in fact the most

⁸Arthur Wright makes this point in his study of the vilification of Sui Yang-ti:

But the fact remains that the basic source for this period, the *Sui-shu*, was written under the succeeding dynasty of T'ang, which specifically ordered its official historians to record the history of the Sui in such a way as to explain its dramatic fall from the heights of power and unequivocally justify the T'ang succession.

See "Sui Yang-ti: Personality and Stereotype," in Arthur F. Wright ed., *The Confucian Persuasion* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), p. 48.

⁹Wechsler mentions that he was the first ruler of the post-Chou period to be sacrificed to in the T'ang sacrifices to political ancestors. See *Offerings of Jade and Silk*, pp. 139-40.

unambiguously legitimate way to come to the throne. Though bloody, it was clear that the winner had won Heaven's mandate. Accession through abdication was never clear-cut, and often allowed for later revisionist interpretation ending in the judgement that the new ruler was a usurper. The paradigm for this is Wang Mang's treatment at the hands of Pan Ku. For a reigning emperor such as T'ai-tsung, it would be politically reckless to advocate the idea of someone coming to the throne from within the state they served. In other words, a loyal statesman could not also be a dynastic founder. As an emperor, T'ai-tsung's aim was to promote undying loyalty as a virtue among his officials and those who would serve his successors.

Historiographically speaking, Ssu-ma I had been clearly designated by previous tradition as the founding ancestor of the Chin, and was therefore responsible for contributing to the premature demise of the Wei. Regardless of any other merits he may have possessed, Ssu-ma I had to be condemned for this involvement. It is this case of loyalty gone wrong which made it necessary for T'ai-tsung to proclaim,

How could such a loyal statesman have been like this?
As for his thoroughly good deeds, it seems they were
just a ruse!¹⁰

T'ai-tsung's pronouncement on Ssu-ma I was clearly driven by his need to bolster the ideal of unwavering loyalty to the

¹⁰See translation, p. 359.

ruling house, be it the Wei or the T'ang.

These arguments convey the ideals which T'ai-tsung sought to evoke in his addenda to the "Annals of Emperor Hsüan," and make it clear that his concern was ultimately with employing traditional "praise and blame" historiography to insure that Ssu-ma I's role as a dynastic founder was put in its proper, blameworthy perspective. The details of whether or not Ssu-ma I had actually intended to overthrow the Wei house (which his sons and grandson did) were irrelevant to his thinking. T'ai-tsung's concern was with the historical lessons passed on to his officials and imperial successors. In the case of Ssu-ma I, we must keep in mind that this record bears the unmistakable stamp of a mature official historiography, and shows clear signs of the influence and manipulation by an energetic and determined emperor. All of this must be kept in mind as we seek to search deeper for a true picture of the life and times of this important third century Chinese statesman.

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GLOSSARY

This glossary consists of two parts: the first includes all Chinese terms and proper names found in the body of the dissertation (except for Chapter Six), while the second contains entries for all of the official titles found in the text (except for Chapter Six). The official titles are arranged alphabetically according to their English renderings, followed by the Romanized form and the Chinese characters of the original titles.

Part I: Chinese Terms and Proper Names

- | | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| Chang Hua 張華 | Chiang-tu 江都 |
| Ch'ang-an 長安 | Chien-k'ang 建康 |
| Ch'en 陳 | Chien-yeh 建鄴 |
| Ch'en Shou 陳壽 | ch'ien-tai shih 前代史 |
| Ch'en Tsung 陳宗 | chih 志 |
| Cheng Chung 鄭忠 | Chin An-ti ch'un-ch'iu |
| Cheng Mo 鄭默 | 晉安帝春秋 |
| cheng-shih 正史 | Chin chi 晉紀 |
| chi 紀 "annals" | Chin chung-hsing shu |
| chi 記 "record" | 晉中興書 |
| chi-chuan 紀傳 | Chin hou-shu 晉後書 |
| Ch'i 齊 | Chin shih ts'ao 晉史草 |
| ch'i-chü chu 起居注 | Chin shu 晉書 |
| Ch'i lüeh 七略 | Chin yang-ch'iu 晉陽秋 |
| Chia I 賈誼 | chiu-shih 舊事 |
| Chia K'uei 賈逵 | Chou 周 |
| Chia Mi 賈謚 | Chu Feng 朱鳳 |

- Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮
 chu-tso 著作
 Ch'u Sui-liang 褚遂良
 chuan 傳
 Chung-ching 中經
 Chung-ching pu 中經簿
 Fang Hsüan-ling 房玄齡
 Fu Chien 符堅
 Fu Hsüan 傅玄
 Fu T'ao 伏滔
 Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu
 漢晉春秋
 Han shu 漢書
 Ho Ch'ung 何充
 Ho Fa-sheng 何法盛
 Hou Han shu 後漢書
 Hsi Tso-ch'ih 習鑿齒
 hsi-fu 西府
 Hsiao Ho 蕭何
 Hsiao Tao-ch'eng 蕭道成
 Hsiao T'ung 蕭統
 Hsiao Tzu-hsien 蕭子顯
 Hsiao Tzu-yün 蕭子雲
 Hsieh An 謝安
 Hsieh Ch'en 謝沈
 Hsieh Ling-yün 謝靈雲
 Hsien-yang 咸陽
 Hsin Chin shu 新晉書
 Hsin pu 新簿
 hsing-chuang 行狀
 Hsü Chin chi 續晉紀
 Hsü Chin yang-ch'iu
 續晉陽秋
 Hsü Ching-tsung 許敬宗
 Hsü Kuang 徐廣
 Hsü Shen 許慎
 Hsüan-ming-tien 宣明殿
 hsüeh-hsiao 學校
 Hsün Ch'o 荀綽
 Hsün Hsü 荀勗
 Hsün I 荀巖
 Hua T'an 華譚
 Huan Ch'ung 桓沖
 Huan Hsüan 桓玄
 Huan Wen 桓溫
 Huang lan 皇覽
 hui 諱
 i-wen 藝文
 Juan Chi 阮籍
 Kan Pao 干寶
 Kuei-chi 會稽
 Kuo Chi-ch'an 郭季產

- Kuo P'ü 郭璞
 kuo-shih 國史
 Lan-t'ai 蘭臺
 Li Hao 李暉
 Li Pai-yao 李百藥
 Li Shih-min 李世民
 Li Te-lin 李德林
 Li Yen-shou 李延壽
 Li Yüan 李淵
 Liang 梁
 Liang shu 梁書
 lieh-chuan 列傳
 Ling-hu Te-fen 令狐德棻
 Liu Ch'ien-chih 劉謙之
 Liu Chih-chi 劉知幾
 Liu Chün 劉峻
 Liu Hsiang 劉向
 Liu Hsin 劉歆
 Liu Hsiu 劉秀
 liu i 六藝
 Liu I-kung 劉義恭
 Liu Lao-chih 劉牢之
 Liu Pang 劉邦
 Liu Shao 劉邵
 Liu Yü 劉裕
 Lo-yang 洛陽
 Lu Chia 陸賈
 Lu Chi 陸機
 Lu Yün 陸雲
 Ma Yen 馬嚴
 Meng I 孟異
 mi-fu 祕府
 mi-shu nei-sheng 祕書內省
 Miao Hsi 繆襲
 Miao Shih 繆施
 Nan shih 南史
 Niu Hung 牛弘
 Pan Chao 班昭
 Pan Ku 班固
 Pan Piao 班彪
 Pei Ch'i shu 北齊書
 pei-fu 北府
 P'ei Sung-chih 裴松之
 pen-chi 本紀
 Pieh lu 別錄
 p'ien 篇
 ping chia 兵家
 ping shu 兵書
 San-kuo chih 三國志
 Shen Yüeh 沈約
 shih kuan 史館

- Shih Lo 石勒
 Shih t'ung 史通
 shih-chi 史記
 Shih-chi 史記
 shih-kuan 史官
 shih-lu 實錄
 Shih-shih 石室
 Shih-shuo hsün-yü 世說新語
 Shih-tsu pen-chi 世祖本紀
 shu Han shih 述漢史
 Shu Hsi 束皙
 shu-ch'i 書契
 Ssu-ma Chao 司馬昭
 Ssu-ma Chung 司馬衷
 Ssu-ma I 司馬懿
 Ssu-ma Jui 司馬叡
 Ssu-ma Shih 司馬師
 Ssu-ma Te-wen 司馬德文
 Ssu-ma Yeh 司馬鄴
 Ssu-ma Yen 司馬炎
 Sui shu 隋書
 Sui Wen-ti 隋文帝
 Sui Yang-ti 隋陽帝
 Sun En 孫恩
 Sun Kai 孫該
 Sung shu 宋書
 Ta-hsing ch'eng 大興城
 t'ai-hsüeh 太學
 T'an Tao-luan 檀道鸞
 T'ang Kao-tsu 唐高祖
 T'ang T'ai-tsung 唐太宗
 T'ao K'an 陶侃
 Teng Ts'an 鄧聚
 T'o-pa Wei 拓拔魏
 tsa shih 雜事
 tsai-chi 載記
 Tsang Jung-hsü 臧榮緒
 Ts'ao Chia-chih 曹嘉之
 Ts'ao Fang 曹芳
 Ts'ao Huan 曹奂
 Ts'ao Mao 曹髦
 Ts'ao P'i 曹丕
 Ts'ao Shuang 曹爽
 Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操
 Tu Fu 杜撫
 t'u-chi 圖籍
 Tung Chin hsün-shu
 東晉新書
 Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒
 Tung-kuan 東觀
 Tung-kuan Han chi
 東觀漢記

- Wang Ch'üan 王銓
 Wang Hsi-chih 王羲之
 Wang Hsien-chih 王獻之
 Wang Hsiang 王象
 Wang Mang 王莽
 Wang Shao 王劭
 Wang Shao-chih 王韶之
 Wang Tao 王導
 Wang Ts'an 王祭
 Wang Yin 王隱
 Wei Cheng 魏徵
 Wei Chi 衛凱
 Wei Heng 衛恒
 Wei kuan-i 魏官儀
 Wei lüeh 魏略
 Wei Shou 魏收
 Wei shu 魏書
 Wei Tan 韋誕
 Wei-shih ch'un-ch'iu 魏氏春秋
 Wen hsüan 文選
 Wen-chang hsü-lu 文章敘錄
 wen-hsüeh kuan 文學館
 Wu Chen 吳震
 wu-tai shih 五代史
 Yang Chien 楊堅
 Yao Ch'a 姚察
 Yao Ssu-lien 姚思廉
 Yeh 鄴
 Yen Chih-t'ui 顏之推
 Yin Min 尹敏
 Ying Chü 應璩
 yü chuan 御撰
 Yü Hsien 庾銑
 Yü I 庾翼
 Yü Liang 庾亮
 Yü Ping 庾冰
 Yü Yü 虞預
 Yüan Hung 袁宏
 Yüan Ping 袁炳

Part II: Official Titles

Assistant Archivist	<i>mi-shu ch'eng</i> 祕書丞
Assistant Gentleman Compiler	<i>tso chu-tso lang</i> 佐著作郎
Attendant	<i>ts'ung-shih</i> 從事
Attendant Palace Gentleman	<i>ts'ung-shih chung-lang</i> 從事中郎
Cavalier Attendant- in-Ordinary	<i>san-chi ch'ang-shih</i> 散騎常侍
Colonel Director of Retainers	<i>ssu-li hsiao-wei</i> 司隸校尉
Consultant	<i>tzu-i</i> 諮議
Director of the Imperial Archives	<i>mi-shu ling</i> 祕書令
Director of the Palace Writers	<i>chung-shu ling</i> 中書令
Erudite	<i>po-shih</i> 博士
External Scribe	<i>wai-shih</i> 外史
Foreman Clerk	<i>ling-shih</i> 令史
General-in-Chief	<i>ta Chiang-chün</i> 大將軍
General of the Van	<i>ch'ien-chün Chiang-chün</i> 前軍將軍
Gentleman Archivist	<i>mi-shu lang</i> 祕書郎
Gentleman Collator	<i>chiao-shu lang</i> 校書郎
Gentleman Compiler	<i>chu-tso lang</i> 著作郎
Gentleman of the Master Writers	<i>shang-shu lang</i> 尚書郎
Gentleman of the Palace	<i>lang-chung</i> 郎中
Governor	<i>tz'u-shih</i> 刺史
Grand Administrator	<i>t'ai-shou</i> 太守

Grand Intendant	t'ai-tsai 太宰
Groom to the Heir Designate	t'ai-tzu she-jen 太子舍人
Intendant of the Affairs of the Master Writers	lu shang-shu shih 錄尚書事
Libationer of the Sons of the State	kuo-tzu chi-chiu 國子祭酒
Master of Records	chu-pu 主簿
Master Writer	shang-shu 尚書
Minister of Works	ssu-k'ung 司空
Minister Over the Masses	ssu-t'u 司徒
Military Advisor	ts'an-chün 參軍
Mounted Escort	pieh-chia 別駕
Palace Assistant Secretary	yü-shih chung-ch'eng 御史中丞
Palace Attendant	shih-chung 侍中
Palace Writer	chung-shu 中書
Preceptor	shih 師
Prime Minister	ch'eng-hsiang 丞相
Scribe of the Left	tso-shih 左史
Senior Officer of the Right	yu-chang-shih 右長史
Superintendent of the Imperial Archives	mi-shu chien 祕書監
Superintendent of Palace Writers	chung-shu chien 中書監

APPENDIX A

PRECISE REIGN DATES OF WEI AND CHIN RULERS

Rulers of the Wei Dynasty, 220-266
(Including Founding Ancestor)

Ts'ao Ts'ao (155-220)			
Prime Minister		9 Jul	208
Duke of Wei		16 Jun	213
King of Wei		29 May	216
66 <i>sui</i> at death		15 Mar	220
Posthumously designated	Emperor Wu	13 Dec	220
1. Ts'ao P'i (187-226)	Emperor Wen, reg.	11 Dec	220
40 <i>sui</i> at death		29 Jun	226
2. Ts'ao Jui (205-239)	Emperor Ming, reg.	29 Jun	226
35 <i>sui</i> at death		22 Jan	239
3. Ts'ao Fang (232-274)	King of Ch'i, reg.	22 Jan	239
23 <i>sui</i> when deposed		17 Oct	254
41 <i>sui</i> at death		[died	274]
4. Ts'ao Mao (241-260)	Duke of Kao-kuei, reg.	2 Nov	254
20 <i>sui</i> when killed		2 Jun	260
5. Ts'ao Huan (245-302)	King of Ch'en-liu, reg.	27 Jun	260
20 <i>sui</i> when abdicated		4 Feb	266
57 <i>sui</i> at death		[died	302]

Founding Ancestors of the Western Chin

Ssu-ma I (179-251)			
Prime Minister (declined title)		18 Feb	249
73 <i>sui</i> at death		7 Sep	251
Posthumously designated	Emperor Hsüan	9 Feb	266
Ssu-ma Shih (208-255)			
General in Chief		30 Jan	252
48 <i>sui</i> at death		23 Mar	255
Posthumously designated	Emperor Ching	9 Feb	266
Ssu-ma Chao (211-265)			
Duke of Chin, Chancellor		Jun/Jul	258
King of Chin		5 Jul	264
55 <i>sui</i> at death		6 Sep	265
Posthumously designated	Emperor Wen	9 Feb	266

Rulers of the Western Chin Dynasty, 266-318

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| 1. Ssu-ma Yen (236-290) | Emperor Wu, reg. | 8 Feb 266 |
| 55 <i>sui</i> at death | | 16 May 290 |
| 2. Ssu-ma Chung (259-307) | Emperor Hui, reg. | 16 May 290 |
| 48 <i>sui</i> at death | | 8 Jan 307 |
| 3. Ssu-ma Ch'ih (284-313) | Emperor Huai, reg. | 11 Jan 307 |
| 30 <i>sui</i> when killed | | 12 Feb 313 |
| 4. Ssu-ma Yeh (300-318) | Emperor Min, reg. | 7 Jun 313 |
| 18 <i>sui</i> when killed | | 7 Feb 318 |

Rulers of the Eastern Chin Dynasty, 318-420

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Ssu-ma Jui (276-323) | Emperor Yüan, reg. | 27 Apr 318 |
| 47 <i>sui</i> at death | | 3 Jan 323 |
| 2. Ssu-ma Shao (300-326) | Emperor Ming, reg. | 4 Jan 323 |
| 27 <i>sui</i> at death | | 18 Oct 326 |
| 3. Ssu-ma Yen (321-342) | Emperor Ch'eng, reg. | 19 Oct 326 |
| 22 <i>sui</i> at death | | 26 Jul 342 |
| 4. Ssu-ma Yüeh (322-344) | Emperor K'ang, reg. | 27 Jul 342 |
| 23 <i>sui</i> at death | | 17 Nov 344 |
| 5. Ssu-ma Tan (343-361) | Emperor Mu, reg. | 18 Nov 344 |
| 19 <i>sui</i> at death | | 10 Jul 361 |
| 6. Ssu-ma P'i (341-365) | Emperor Ai, reg. | 13 Jul 361 |
| 25 <i>sui</i> at death | | 30 Mar 365 |
| 7. Ssu-ma I (342-386) | Duke of Hai-hsi, reg. | 31 Mar 365 |
| 31 <i>sui</i> when deposed | | 6 Jan 372 |
| 45 <i>sui</i> at death | | [died Nov 386] |
| 8. Ssu-ma Yü (320-372) | Emperor Chien-wen, reg. | 6 Jan 372 |
| 53 <i>sui</i> at death | | 12 Sep 372 |
| 9. Ssu-ma Ch'ang-ming (362-396) | Hsiao-wu, reg. | 12 Sep 372 |
| 35 <i>sui</i> when killed | | 6 Nov 396 |
| 10. Ssu-ma Te-tsung (382-419) | Emperor An, reg. | 7 Nov 396 |
| 37 <i>sui</i> at death | | 28 Jan 419 |
| 11. Ssu-ma Te-wen (386-421) | Emperor Kung, reg. | 28 Jan 419 |
| 35 <i>sui</i> when abdicated | | 7 Jul 420 |
| 36 <i>sui</i> when killed | | 31 Oct 421 |

APPENDIX B

INDEX TO PRE-T'ANG CHIN HISTORIANS
MENTIONED IN LIU CHIH-CHI'S *SHIH T'UNG*

[Chapter and Page References are to
P'u Ch'i-lung, *Shih t'ung t'ung-shih*,
(Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1980)]

Ho Fa-sheng (7)	Lu Chi (9)
4.81	2.38
4.92	4.98
5.137	7.193
7.205	7.196
8.230	10.272
12.137	11.311
17.477	12.349
	18.507
	20.589
Hsi Tso-ch'ih (7)	
4.82	
4.109	Shen Yüeh (2)
7.193	4.96
7.212	5.116
9.266	
18.521	Shu Hsi (4)
20.589	11.311
	12.349
	14.423 (2)
Hsieh Ling-yün (1)	
4.82	
	Sun Sheng (14)
Hsü Kuang (3)	1.11
1.11	4.88
7.205	4.91
10.274	6.151
	7.193
	7.210
Kan Pao (17)	8.220
1.11	8.230
2.28-29	9.266
4.82	11.311
4.88	12.350
5.117	20.583
5.126	20.589
8.220 (2)	20.591
8.222	
8.229	
9.263	T'an Tao-luan (4)
10.274	4.88
11.311	7.212
12.350	12.350
14.423	17.477
17.480	
20.589	

Teng Tsan (3)	Yü Yü (6)
4.88	5.119
5.19	7.193
12.350	7.196
	10.274
Tsang Jung-hsü (4)	11.311
4.82	12.350
5.137	
12.350	<i>Hsin Chin shu</i> (12)
17.478	4.82
	4.83
Wang Shao-chih (2)	4.88
10.273	4.92
12.350	5.117(2)
	6.175
Wang Yin (13)	12.250
4.81	15.446
4.109	17.483
5.119	20.585
6.179	20.586
7.193	
7.196	
7.205	
8.230	
8.238	
11.311	
12.350	
17.477	
20.589	

APPENDIX C
 POSSIBLE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER
 OF THE
 PRE-T'ANG CHIN HISTORIES

[Dates in right-hand column indicate when work was completed, or best guess of when they may have been completed, or worked on.]

Western Chin Period

Wang Ch'üan	Draft Chin History*	ca. 290
Lu Chi and Shu Hsi	<i>Chin chi</i>	299?
Hsün Ch'o	<i>Chin hou-shu*</i>	310?

Eastern Chin Period

Kan Pao	<i>Chin chi</i>	ca. 320
Yü Yü	<i>Chin shu</i>	324
Chu Feng	<i>Chin shu</i>	326
Wang Yin	<i>Chin shu</i>	340
Hsieh Ch'en	<i>Chin shu</i>	340s?
Ts'ao Chia-chih	<i>Chin chi</i>	340s?
Sun Sheng	<i>Chin yang-ch'iu</i>	370?
Hsi Tso-ch'ih	<i>Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu</i>	372?
Teng Ts'an	<i>Chin chi</i>	377?

* Indicates history is known to have been incomplete

Sung Period

Wang Shao-chih	<i>Chin chi</i>	414
Hsü Kuang	<i>Chin chi</i>	416
Liu Ch'ien-chih	<i>Chin chi</i>	417?
Hsieh Ling-yün	<i>Chin shu*</i>	427
P'ei Sung-chih	<i>Chin chi</i>	440
Ho Fa-sheng	<i>Chin chung-hsing shu</i>	460s?
T'an Tao-luan	<i>Hsü Chin yang-ch'iu</i>	460s?
Kuo Chi-ch'an	<i>Hsü Chin chi</i>	460s?
Yüan Ping	<i>Chin shu*</i>	470s?
Cheng Chung	<i>Chin shu</i>	(400s?)

Ch'i - Liang Period

Tsang Jung-hsü	<i>Chin shu</i>	479?
Shen Yüeh	<i>Chin shu*</i>	482
Yü Hsien	<i>Tung Chin hsin-shu</i>	487?
Hsiao Tzu-yün	<i>Chin shu</i>	511
Hsiao Tzu-hsien	<i>Chin shih-ts'ao</i>	520s?

APPENDIX D
SOME IMPORTANT SOURCES OF FRAGMENTS
FOR
PRE-T'ANG CHIN HISTORIES

-
- 429 P'ei Sung-chih (372-451)
Commentary to Ch'en Shou's (233-297)
San-kuo chih
- 520? Liu Chün (462-521)
Commentary to Liu I'ch'ing's (403-444)
Shih-shuo hsin-yü
- 605? Yü Shih-nan (558-638)
Encyclopedia: *Pei-t'ang shu-ch'ao*
- 624 Ou-yang Hsün (557-641) et al.
Encyclopedia: *I-wen lei-chü*
- 658 Li Shan (?-689)
Commentary to Hsiao T'ung's (501-531)
Wen hsüan
- 727 Hsü Chien (679-729) et al.
Encyclopedia: *Ch'u-hsüeh chi*
- 983 Li Fang (925-996) et al.
Encyclopedia: *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*
-

The basic collection of fragments of the pre-T'ang Chin histories is that of the Ch'ing scholar, T'ang Ch'iu 湯球 (1804-1881). The most convenient edition of his collection is that found in the Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng (Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1937) in three sets as follows:

1) *Chiu-chia chiu Chin shu chi-pen*

Tsang Jung-hsü	<i>Chin shu</i>	pp. 1-182
Wang Yin	<i>Chin shu</i>	pp. 183-362
Yü Yü	<i>Chin shu</i>	pp. 363-373
Chu Feng	<i>Chin shu</i>	pp. 375-376
Hsieh Ling-yün	<i>Chin shu</i>	pp. 377-378
Hsiao Tzu-yün	<i>Chin shu</i>	p. 379
Hsiao Tzu-hsien	<i>Chin shih-ts'ao</i>	p. 381
Shen Yüeh	<i>Chin shu</i>	p. 383
Ho Fa-sheng	<i>Chin chung-hsing shu</i>	pp. 385-492

2) *Chin chi chi-pen*

Kan Pao	<i>Chin chi</i>	pp. 1-33
Lu Chi	<i>Chin chi</i>	p. 35
Ts'ao Chia-chih	<i>Chin chi</i>	pp. 39-41
Teng Ts'an	<i>Chin chi</i>	pp. 43-53
Liu Ch'ien-chih	<i>Chin chi</i>	pp. 55-56
P'ei Sung-chih	<i>Chin chi</i>	p. 57

3) *Chin yang-ch'iu chi-pen*

[Sun Sheng]	<i>Chin yang-ch'iu</i>	pp. 1-58
[T'an Tao-luan]		
	<i>Hsü Chin yang-ch'iu</i>	pp. 59-83

[Although no author attributions are given in T'ang Ch'iu's text, they have been added here for convenience.]

An earlier edition of T'ang Ch'iu's collection, preserved in the *Kuang-ya ts'ung-shu* 廣雅業書, contains fragments of Hsi Tso-ch'ih's *Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu*. See *Kuang-ya shu-chü ts'ung-shu* 廣雅書局業書, vols. 69-70, *ts'e* 429-437. The *Han Chin ch'un-ch'iu* material may be found in *ts'e* 437.

Another important collection of pre-T'ang Chin fragments is that of another Ch'ing Scholar, Huang Shih 黃奭 (n.d.), found in the *Han-hsüeh-t'ang ts'ung-shu* 漢學堂業書. See his *Huang-shih i-shu k'ao* 黃氏逸書攷 in vols. 67-79.

VITA

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