THE LIANG-CHOU REBELLION
184-221 A.D.
by G. HALOUN

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

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

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

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1 Only the Hsiu Hou-Han shu of Hao Chîng devotes a biography to Han Sui (8, 1a-5a), but it remains sketchy and the story gets into its stride hardly before 211 A.D. The late compilation (written in 1272) passed unnoticed by the general historiography.
2 ZDMG, XCI (1937), pp. 262 ff, esp. pp. 269-270.
3 Officially named “Obedient Barbarians of Huang-chung” 殊中義從胡. The corps was established by the Commissioner Têng Huên 趙訓 in c. 89 A.D., Hou Han shu 46, 5a, from the Tung-huan Han-chi, v. ZDMG, i.e., pp. 268-69 and 265, n. 2. They were ranked among the “most brave and fearsome soldiers of the time”, Han-chi of Chung Fan, fragm. 1a. Hou Han shu 100, 1b. v. ZDMG, i.e., p. 268, n. 4.
4 On the K’o-k’ô [Koko]-ch’uan to the north-west of the present Yung-têng (P’ing-fan).
李文侯，和 others。They slew the Commissioner Leng Chéng 棃城 and found immediate support among the Chi'ang tribes of the South Ordos as well as of the Upper Huang-ho territories. The country was already seething with discontent at the misrule and corruption of the local officials，and still restless after the “Yellow Turban” rebellion which had swept it a few months earlier。True to custom, the Governor, Tsö Ch'ang 左常, had embezzled the funds provided for a defence force, thus making it possible for the insurgents to occupy the prefecture of Chi-ch'eng 金城 which was to remain their main stronghold henceforth。The prefect, Ch'en 陳懿 was killed in the mutineers’ camp。Several of his officers retained as hostages, now joined the rebels’ cause; among them Pien Chang 閔章 and Han Sui 韓遂, both to play prominent parts in the future。Tsö Ch'ang found himself invested in the provincial capital, Chi 宴, and was only with difficulty relieved by Kai Hsin 戴息。The insurgents turned against Hsia Yu 夏育 who had been appointed the new Chi'ang Commissioner。

Since the remaining sources state their nationality in this form，and in Ho Han shu 117, 126 must be interpolated。Cf. also n. 22 for Wang Kuo and n. 30 for Sung Chien。

As to irregularities in the contemporary administration of Liang-chou among other places, v. Ho Han shu 118, 126, a (sirnony scandal concerning the Governor Meng To 穆托，and also San-fu chih-hu, fragm. 2, 13a-b) and for 184 especially Ho Han shu 88, 64 = Ho Han chi 28, 90-105: the Governor Liang Kuo 梁肅 is the famous calligrapher，a rather objectionable character, cf. Ho Han shu 84, 8a, and particularly the biographical data in Wei Hèng’s Ssu-i-shih-shih, fragm. 5b-6a，also Lei-li 8, in Shinsangokui VIII (1935-6), p. 111。

Liang Kuo must have been recalled in connection with the rebellion in the summer of 184。For “Yellow Turban” revolts in Ho-hsi, v. n. 25。

J. c., the modern prefectures of Lan-chou-fu and Hsin-ng-fu。The prefecture town Yen-ya 允吾 lay on the northern bank of the Huang-ho near the mouth of the Hsi-ning-ho; the district town Chin-ch’eng on the southern bank of the river to the south-west of present Kao-lan (Lan-chou-fu)。

F. the biographical data for Pien and Han, v. Wei-lüeh (T'ai-liüeh), fragm. 5, 58, and the Hsin-ti ch’u-eh-lüeh hsū, comm. to Ho Han shu 102, 2a-b。Both were Secretaries to the prefecture (從事), Pien in charge of military matters。He had previously held the office of magistrate of Hsin-shan (in Hsiao-han)。Han, a younger man (born c. 145), had tried unsuccessfully to interest the Marshall Ho Chin 何進 in a policy directed against the eunuchs。Both appear already on the funeral inscription for the prefect Yin Hua 華 (died on Sept. 16, 178) which is preserved in the Ku-wen-yian 19, 7a-bb (allegedly deriving from Wei Chi。Pien is supposed to have originally been named Yin 而 and Han Yu 育 約。These forms are used, as a rule, by the Ho Han chi of Yuan Heng and occasionally by other sources; the inscription, however, writes 陳 --- correctly --- and 樸, v. I. 聲。The actual stele has not survived。)

On the Wei to the east of present Kan-kou (Fu-chiang)。

A man of.some experience who had held command under Tuan Ying 段禧 in the Chi'ang campaigns of 159 and 168，and had been Wu-huan Commissioner for 224-177，v. Ho Han shu 95, 5a, 8b-9a, 120, 54-6b。He seems to have made his escape，as the Ho Han chi 28, 9b mentions him as one of the lieutenants of Kuo Fan 郝范 in 195。He attacks the Imperial convoy before Hua-yin on Nov. 20, but is beaten back.

Kai Hsin suffered a severe defeat at Hu-p’an 狐槃 185. The provincial authorities were thus，for the time being，overpowered。

The shock which their collapse caused the government was grave，and it was even considered at the capital whether the province should not be abandoned。The initiative，however, still rested with the rebels。Already，in April 185，their cavalry，several myriads strong and lead by Pien Chang and Pei-kung Po-yü, had broken into the Wei valley and threatened Chi’ang an。Huang-fu Sung 皇甫嵩, the conqueror of the “Yellow Turbans”, was entrusted with the defence，but was beaten。A new army under the command of Chang Wén 張溫, made generalissimo on the occasion，was just able to hold its own。Not until November did Chang succeed in inflicting a defeat upon the enemy in a battle near Mei-yang 美陽 186。The rebels turned back to the West。Yet the detachments sent out in their pursuit met with little success。The main body under Chou Shên 周慎 tried in vain to surround Pien Chang in Yu-chung 柳中 187。After they had withdrawn，the insurgents remained in undisturbed possession of Chin-ch’eng prefecture。

The old leaders, Pien Chang, Pei-kung Po-yü, and Li Wén-hou, all passed from the scene in the winter of 186, some at least killed in mutual quarrels 188。Obviously taking advantage of this situation, the
Governor Keng T'ung launched a new attack against the rebels in the spring of 187. However, his untrained levies mutinied before he had passed T'ai-tao, and killed him and his lieutenant, Ch'eng Ch'i, in battle. Li Chiang-yü, the prefect of Lung-hsiên, joined the insurgents, now under the command of Wang Kuo-hsing. Fu Hsieh, the prefect of Han-yang, also resisted bravely and fell in battle. Thus, Keng's ill-fated enterprise only resulted in restoring the rebels' power. In fact, they extended their sway over the whole of Liang-chou for the first time. In 188, Wang, in his turn, felt strong enough to repeat the offensive against the lower Wei valley. In December he laid siege to Ch'en-t'ang, but the strength of the fortress withstood the assault and Wang's demoralised troops suffered a crushing defeat in March 189 at the hands of Huang-fu Sung, who proved, a second time, the saviour of the dynasty. Wang Kuo was deposed and succeeded by Yen Chung, who, however, soon died. Strife broke out among his deputies and the rebel forces split up and scattered.

The rebellion might then have been suppressed, but the political upheaval which shook the capital soon afterwards prevented Huang-fu Sung's splendid victory from bearing fruit fully. The revolt was allowed to continue, though it never recovered the menacing character of 185 and 188. It was to be only local from now on. No general command of the rebels was ever again set up. Three separate forces remained important. The first under Sung Chien was[20] an independent administration. He broke away from the empire completely and took no part in the intermittent struggles of the Chinese factions. The main insurgent force, commanded by Han Su, continued to hold Ch'in-ch'eng. A third detachment camped near Hua-li.

15 A native of Han-yang (in Shu-ch'ung). He approached Huang-fu Sung with an ambitious reform programme in 184, and on his proposal being rejected went over to Pien Chang, v. Hou Han shu 105, 2a-3a (exception: Sung-ta Piao's Chu-ch'ou ch'un-ch'iu fragm. 4b-5b). The family was counted among the notables of T'ien-shui, Wei-lien fragm. 16, 4a (biography of Huo Hsia Hsuan). (2) In the spring of 187. (3) Commits the country to the north of the Upper Wei and across the river up to the upper Hsien-shui. (4) Hou Han shu 8, 6b, 102, 2a (cf. n. 19), fullest 88, 50-b. Hou Han chi 25, 4b records the "revolt of Wang Kuo in T'ai-tao" in April 187 and the remaining events 25, 50-b only in July 188; v. also Wei-lieh, n. 33. (5) Revolt in the prefectures to the west of the Hsiao-ho in connection either with the "Yellow Turbans" or the Yüeh-chi rebels, are recorded by Sung-ta Piao, Hou Han shu, fragm. 4, 9a for Wu-wei, ("Yellow Turbans"; modern Liang-chou), Sung-hua-ch'i (Weih), 9b for Ts'ou-ch'ou, (Yüeh-chi rebellion, leader Ch'iu Sheng), and the stele of T'eu Ch'iu (Ts'ou-ch'ou Ch'in), in the Liang-chou region, ("Yellow Turbans"; modern Su-chou, Nov. 20, 185, v. Ch'in-lüeh ti-ui-gien 2, 2. To the literature concerning this important document add Hou Han shu 8, 3a and 97, 3a, also the stele of Chu Kuo (Ts'ou-t'ou, Liu-ch'i-tu-ya 47, 30a). Ts'ao had apparently to flee, and his case cannot have been isolated. A whole set of new Prefects were appointed and tried to reach their posts after the victory of Mei-yang in the winter of 185. We learn, however, from the biography of Chao Ch'i, the prefect designate of Tung-ho, that he and his colleagues were captured by Pien Chang on the way (Hou Han shu 94, 8a-b, epitomising the San-fu chieh-hsia). In Wang Kuo's army before Han-yang was the "former" (古, called so possibly only for reasons of loyalty) prefect of Ch'iu-ch'uan Hsiao-t'ieh (Su-chou-fu) Huang Yen Shih. All this suggests the exercise of some control over Ho-hsi by the rebels. For the reorganisation of its administration in 197, v. n. 38. (6) At the junction of the Ch'ien-chu with the Wei, East of the present Pao-ch'i.
槐里 on the middle Wei under Ma T'ENG 馬騰, a former officer of K'ENG T'U, who had joined the rebels in 187. In 192, during the confusion of the Tung Cho crisis, Han and Ma unexpectedly found themselves a force in court politics and succeeded in obtaining legal status, being granted the high titles of “General guarding the West” 鎮西將軍 and “General campaigning in the West” 征西將軍, respectively. Ma, who in the meantime had extended his control to Mei 魏, attempted to take Chang-an by coup de main in 194 and to dislodge the triumvirate of Li Chueh 李傕, Kuo Fan 郭汜, and Fan Ch'OU 阮修. He had the full support of Han Sui, while Liu Yen 劉焉 sent him a contingent from Shu. The allies, however, were beaten back by Kuo and Fan. Pursued by Fan Ch'ou, Han came to an agreement with him at Ch'en-ts'ang and was able to retreat to Ch'in-ch'eng. Ma joined him there with the rest of his troops.

There is reason to assume that Ma’s enterprise was viewed not unfavourably by the court. Nevertheless, its failure weakened the rebels and provided the government with the opportunity to extend its authority over the prefectures to the West of the Huang-ho, and to form them into a new province, Yung-chou 永州 (永州). Liang-chou also had been reoccupied about this time. The provincial government retained Chi, the capital, but exercised, it seems, little control except in Han-yang prefecture. In 196, when the chaos in and around Chang-an would have given a concerted action some chance of success, Han and Ma became estranged. Ma T'ENG, defeated by Han, returned to Huai-li and some time about 198 established relations with Chung Yu 鍾繇, the representative of Ts'AO Ts'ao (Wei Wu-ti) in the Wei valley. A formal alliance was concluded through the good offices of Chang Chi 張廞 in 202, when Ts'ao was about to resume his attack on Yüan Shang 董卓 and Yüan T’an 董卓. Ma gained official recognition from Ts'ao and the title “General campaigning in the South” 征南將軍, and handed over his sons as hostages. He sent a strong reinforcement, commanded by his eldest son, Ch'AO 趙, which made a decisive contribution to the victory at Ping-yang 平陽, won over Kao Han 高幹, Kuo Yüan 郭焉, and their Hun auxiliaries. Ma also supported Ts'ao with auxiliary contingents during the revolts of Chang Sheng 張盛 in Ho-nei, of Wei Ku Wén 固有 in Ho-tung, and of Chang Yen 張彥 in Hung-nung in 205-206. He came, as a matter of fact, increasingly under Ts'ao's tutelage which Han Sui, on the other hand, could still avoid. Han too had entered into relations with Chung Yu in 198 (or 200?) and had received Ts'ao's recognition and the title “General campaigning in the West” 征西將軍, or had at least been offered both. But it was not until 209 that Ts'ao's growing power compelled him to come to terms, to conclude an alliance with him, and to make him a general of the West.
alliance, and to send a son to Yeh as a hostage. Even then the move may have been of a tactical nature only, aimed at securing his rear, when, in 210, he embarked on an invasion of Yung-chou, already disorganised, and probably re-established his supremacy there.

The weight of the new authority which Ts'ao was consolidating made itself more and more felt in the Wei valley. Ma Ts'eng was forced to answer a call to the capital in 210, where, although he received the high title of "Commander of the Guards" 行衛, he was kept a virtual prisoner. His troops, however, continued to serve under Ma Ch'ao and in the spring of 211, Ma Ch'ao attempted to break into the Wei valley with an army for the purpose, so he alleged, of attacking Chang Lu 張魯 in Han-chung. This enterprise was of the signal for all the local commanders to sink their rivalries and to unite in defence of their possessions thus seriously threatened. The

64) Ts'ao Wei-liuh, fragm. 7, 1b-2a. San-huo-chih (Wei) 13, 1b speaks of the hostage already in 197, but the narrative is too summary. In either 204 or 205 Ts'ao appointed Tu Chi 杜畿 Commissioner for Ch'iang Affairs and prefect of Han-ch'ing (Sun-huo-chih 16, 3a, dated as intervening between Tu's appointment to the office of San-kung-sun-chih 同司空 相—a post re-created only in Jun.-Feb., 203, and fully organised in 204; v. Hou Han shu 9, 5a, and esp. Hsien-chi ch'iu-chih shu su. com. to Hou Han shu 37, 3a—and his appointment to the governorship of Ho-tung in the early autumn of 205), and "some years after 204" Yang Pei 杨沛 Chiang Commissioner (Wei-liuh, fragm. 12, 5a). Both presentations were only nominal, but constituted an unfruitful act against Han Shu (or Sung Chien), v. n. 71.

65) The Governor Han-tan Shang, installed in 194 (n. 38) and left practically independent, had been slain in 206 by the prefect of Wu-wei, Chang Meng 柳猛, v. Hou Han shu 9, 6a, Hou Han chi 20, 16a (Chi-hou-tzao 61). Chang's biography in Wei-liuh (Tien-liuh), fragm. 5, 7a-8b (with wrong date 209). The prefect of Chiu-ch'ui 處州 Ch'i 橘 was killed in a quarrel with the local family Huang 黃 by Huang Meng 義 at about the same time. Huang Meng was attacked and slain by Yang A-jo 楊阿若 but Huang Huang 黃黃 re-occupied the district and was able to hold it (Wei-liuh, fragm. 19, 2a-3a and 18, 3a, San-huo-chih (Wei) 18, 7a). The prefect of Chang-yeh also (whose name is not known) perished in a local riot, simultaneously with Han Chi's death (Wei-liuh, fragm. 19, 1b). The prefect of Tung-huang Ma Ai 王艾 died about 200, and the administration passed into the hands of a council elected by the local gentry (San-huo-chih (Wei) 16, 10a, and 18a). On the recommendation of Chang Meng 張良, a clerical act (a new prefecture Hsi-hai 西海 round the Chushan-nor was split off Chang-yeh and established in 195; v. Chin-shu 14, 15a). What happened there before 220 remains unknown.

66) As Han Sui approached Wu-wei the people revolted and Chang Meng 蒋蒙 committed suicide, v. Wei-liuh, fragm. 5, 7b, Hou Han shu 95, 6a-6b (following Tsung-huang Han chi, fragm. 21, 5b. For the final pacification of the territory in 220-221, v. pp. 129-30.

67) Hou Han shu 102, 9b, Hou Han chi 30, 8a (206), San-huo-chih (Wei) 6, 6b, Wei-liuh, fragm. 23, 5a, San-huo-chih 36 (Shu) 6a, 3a, and notably San-huo-chih (Wei) 15, 4b.

68) Sun-huo-chih (Wei) 1, 1a, 2b, 27, 3b and Wang Ch'en, Wei-shu shu. com. San-huo-

chih 21, 6a.

ten allies, of whom Han Sui and Ma Ch'ao had now become the most powerful, marched East! and took up a position at Tung-kuan 鄭關. Ts'ao Ts'ao faced them in person. By a skilful manœuvre he inflicted, on Nov. 8, an overwhelming defeat on the confederates, and thus gained one of the most brilliant and fruitful victories of his career.

The effect of the defeat upon the dominions of Han and Ma was not immediate, yet it marked the turning point of their fortunes. Ts'ao returned to the East in January 212, after having taken Ch'ang-an 安定. For his lieutenants, mopping-up operations and the reorganisation of the local administration of the lower Wei valley had to take first place. Ma Ch'ao used the respite thus gained to fall upon Liang-ch'ao, which surrendered after little resistance. Wei K'ang 貞光 defended Chi, but capitulated in September 212 after an eight-months' siege. Hsia-hou Yuan 淮南 56 failed to relieve the city in time. Ma received succour from Chang Lu and concluded an alliance with the kings of the "氏, Ch'ien-wan 千萬 of P'ai-ch'ing 百頴 (Ch'i-ju-chih 仇池), and A-kuei 阿貴 of Hsing-kuo 訥國. The new structure, however, collapsed as early as the winter of 213 when the population rose under the leadership of some of the old officers of Wei K'ang (whom Ma Ch'ao had executed). After this, all reasonable chance of successful
resistance was gone. Ma fled to Han-chung. He returned with new troops, but the conspirators had already called in Hsia-hou Yüan, and Ma had to retreat without daring to offer battle. He joined forces with Liu Pei (Shu-han hsien-chu) whom he supported in the siege of Ch'eng-tu in July 214. He died in Shu in 222, without having seen the North again. Han Sui who had deployed his troops near Hsien-chun 顧陰 had to fall back on Lü-chang 異陽 to avoid encirclement. He was forced by a diversification movement to give battle in the tract occupied by the Ch'i-chang tribe of the Ch'ang-li-shu 長離水. This ended in the annihilation of Han's army. Hsia-hou turned now against the Ti, took Hsing-kwe 瓊水, and proceeded to attack Sung Chien. Fu Han fell in September-October 217, and Sung and his ministers were executed. Hsia-hou's lieutenant, Chang Ho 張郃, crossed the Huang-ho and reached the territory of "Little Huang-chung" 瓊水 to the east of the K'eke-nor, the seat of the Yüeh-chih tribe which had been the prime movers of the rebellion.

This last action brought Hsia-hou's conquering progress to a temporary halt. In the spring of 215 he had led his army back to join in Ts'ao's expedition against Han-chung. After the debacle at the Ch'ang-li-shu, Han Sui had fled to Chin-ch'eng and from there to Hsui-p'ing 西平. Few troops remained at his command, and those of doubtful loyalty. Even his son-in-law, Yen Hsing 衛行, was planning his betrayal. Han's first plan was to cut his way through to Shu. But after Hsia-hou's unexpected withdrawal he took heart again, levied fresh troops, and crushed Yen Hsing, who in the meantime had openly joined Ts'ao Ts'ao's cause. Han died after this victory. His lieutenant's, Ch'ü Yen 章演, Chiang Shih 章書, and T'ien Lo 田樂, and Yang K'uei 杨逵, offered the corpse's head to Ts'ao whom it reached at Wu-tu in July 215. Ts'ao magnanimously accepted the submission not only of the subservient but also of Ch'ung-kung Yung 成公英 and Kuo Hsien 郭憲 who had kept faith with Han Sui to the end.

He was content, for the time being, with a formal recognition of his overlordship. A garrison was put into the strategically important Chin-ch'eng, and the able Su Ts'ê 蘇則 appointed prefect. In the other prefectures the existing regime was left untouched, Hsui-p'ing in particular in the hands of Ch'i Yen. Occupied only too fully on other fronts, Ts'ao Ts'ao did not intervene even when, in 218, general war broke out between these petty despots and plunged the country west of the Huang-ho into anarchy. Not until the early summer of 220 was an attempt made to re-establish effective administration, and the province Liang was revived under the Governor Tsu Ch'i 鄭岐 and new prefects nominated. This was Chien who, anyhow, had the closer relations with the Yüeh-chih country to the immediate west. On the other hand, the biography of Yen Hsing (We-lih, v. n. 72) reports Yen to have been given command of Hsui-p'ing by Han. This is suggestive, but not a full proof of Han Sui's overlordship; the investiture and Han's own retreat to Hsui-p'ing may have taken place only after Sung's kingdom had already been lost.

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

Hou Han shu 105, 9b, 22, 7b (correct 病死 論殺 in accordance with the quotation in the commentary to Sun-kuo-chih 42, 1b, Sun-kuo-chih (Wei 1), 15b, 6, 6b, fullest We-lih, biography of Yen Hsing (v. n. 72) and biographies of Ch'ung-kung Yung (joined Han about 189, fought under Chang Chi after 215 (v. n. 78), died 220) and Kuo Hsien, fragm. 16, 3b-4b and 4b-5a.

At the close of 215, the post having previously been offered to Yang Fou (v. n. 62), v. Sun-kuo-chih (Wei 25, 4b. The biography of Su Ts'ê, ibid. 1b, 1b, and the memorial of Chang Chi quoted in the commentary from the Wei ming-cheng tsun-shih of Ch'ên Shou describe in detail the havoc caused by the insurrection; the prefectoral town numbered not more than 500 households.

Ch'ü Yen in Hsui-p'ing, Yen Ch'un 遼俊 in Wu-wei, Ho Luán 鬼蘭 in Chang-yeh, Huang Han in Ch'ien-ch'uan (v. 48) all adopted the title of general. In 219 Yen was slain by Ho, and Ho in his turn by Wang Pi 王弼 of Wu-wei, v. Sun-kuo-chih 42, 5a-b.

Until then, all the conquered territories up to Tun-huang had been subordinated to Yung-chou, created with Ch'ang-an as capital in 213 (v. n. 57), Sun-kuo-chih 15, 5b.
answered by open rebellion. But this time troops were available and the revolt was suppressed by Su Ts'ao and Fei Yao 費耀 (费耀) before the year was out. A new revolt in Chiu-ch'uan, and uprisings of the Lu-shui-hu 潴水胡, the Ch'iang and the Ting-ling 丁令, were subdued in 221 by Chang Chi, who had succeeded Ts'ao Ch'i in the governorship, and the generals Ts'ao Ch'en 曹乘, Fei Yao, and Hsia-hou Ju 夏侯Loc. Only now could Ho-hsi be considered secure for the new dynasty which, in March 222, also resumed the official trade with the west, so long interrupted. The revolts in Hsi-p'ing of Ch'u Kuang 趙光 in 222 or 223, and of Ch'i Ying 鞑英 in 227, bore a purely local character. They show the insurrection still lingering in the place from which it had issued some fifty years earlier.

21 Ch'ü Yen had already revolted in the spring after Ts'ao Ts'ao's death (Feb. 16, 220) had become known, but submitted again. Of the newly-appointed prefects only Kuan-ch'i 次圭 was able to maintain himself in Wuwei, whereas Hsin Chi 習芝 was ousted from Chiu-ch'uan by Huang Hua, and Yu T'ung 東通 from Ch'ang-yeh by Ch'ang Ch'in 張進. Su Ts'ao relieved Kuan-ch'i, beleaguered in Wuwei, decapitated Ch'ü who had pretended to be coming to his aid, and took Ch'ang-yeh by assault. Huang Hua, threatened in the rear by the administrator of Tun-huang, Chang Kung 張固, surrendered with Chiu-ch'uan (he reappears in 237 as governor of Yenchou 元州), v. Sun-huo-chih (Wei) 2, 1b, 9, 6b, 15, 5b, 28, 28b, fullest 16, 1b-24, 18a-b, and the memorial of Chang Chi quoted in 28b, 2b from the Wei ming-ch'en ts'ao-chih.

22 Sun-huo-chih (Wei) 15, 3b-6b (Ch'ing-hung Ying also had taken a prominent part in the campaign), Wang Ch'en, Wei-shu ap. com. Sun-huo-chih 2, 8b (for the battle of December 2, 221).

23 In 220 Chang Mu 張睦 was appointed prefect of Hsien-hai (v. memorial of Chang Chi, n. 77) and was succeeded in 221 by P'ang Yu 張渝, v. Sun-huo-chih (Wei) 18, 7a. Tun-huang was given to Yin Feng (v. n. 6a) in 220, and he was able to reach his post with the help of Chang Kung (ibid. 18, 8b). A full reorganization of the administration did not take place, however, until Ts'ao Ts'ao's reign became prefect, c. 228 (ibid. 1b, 10a-b). His successors, until the end of the dynasty, were Wang Ch'en 王遷, Chao Chi 趙基, and Hsia-hou Leng 韋倫, v. Wei-lu, fragm. 13, 36-42.

24 When Chang Kung was appointed agent for the Western Trade 交趾校尉. The seat of the agency was Kuo-ch'ang 環江 (Khocho), but later Tun-huang, v. Sun-huo-chih (Wei) 2, 8b, 18, 8b, Wei-lu, fragm. 2, 5b. During the insurrection one foreign embassy only (from Khotan) had reached the Imperial court (Hou Han shu 9, 5a). For the re-establishment of the official trade v. esp. Sun-huo-chih 16, 10a-b and 27, 1a-b.

25 Sun-huo-chih (Wei) 15, 6b, 3b. Between the two, Yun Pao 蘚苞 had held the prefectureship, v. Wei-lu, fragm. 16, 30a-b. The 'Ch'u (楚, 秦, 秦), by the way, despite their close connection with the rebellion, belonged to a family of the local Chinese gentry which was to provide the rulers of Turfan from 507 to 640. The same applies to the Kuo 耦 from whom the Emperor Ming-yuan Kuo huang-hou (Sun-kuo-chih 5, 6a) was descended.


27. San-kuo chih 三國志, palace ed. 1747: n. 25, 18, 31, 35, 39, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 57, 60, 62, 63, 64, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81.


33. Sui ching-chi-chih k'ao-chêng 後漢書志考證 by Chang Tsung-yüan 鄭宗源, Wu-ch'ang 1875.

34. Sung-shu 宋書, palace ed. 1747: n. 61.

35. T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 太平御覽, ed. Pao Ch'ung-chêng 饒崇誠, 1818: n. 57.


37. T'ien-lieh 典略 v. Wei-lüeh.


40. Wei-lüeh 魏略 (T'ien-lieh 典略), fragm. ed. Chang P'êng-i 張勝一, Kuan-hang ts'ung-shu 開館叢書, 1924: n. 9, 19, 24, 27, 30, 33, 38, 39, 41, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 54, 56, 61, 64, 69, 71, 72, 73, 79, 80, 81.


42. Wei-shu 魏書 by Wang Ch'ên 王沈 (v. Sui ching-chi-chih k'ao-chêng 1, 10a–11a): n. 51, 54, 77.

43. Wei-shu (by Wei Shou 魏收), palace ed. 1747: n. 61.

44. Wên-hsüan 文選, ed. Hu K'o-chia 胡克家, 1809: n. 39, 64.