THE HISTORY OF
THE FORMER HAN DYNASTY

BY
PAN KU

Translation, Volume Three

Imperial Annals XI and XII
And
The Memoir of Wang Mang

A Critical Translation with Annotations
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WANG MANG  

A.D. 3, Spring

that it would be proper to select widely from among
the host of [suitable] girls, the ministers contested
with him, saying, “It is not proper to select other
girls and thereby alter the proper line of succession,
[which can only come through the daughter of the
Duke].”

Empress Dowager] that he was willing to have his
daughter interviewed. The [Grand] Empress Dow-
ager sent the Privy Treasurer of Ch’ang-lo [Palace,
Hsia-hou Fan²], the Superintendent of the Imperial
House, [Liu Hungsua], and the Prefect of the Masters
of Writing, [P’ing Yen²], to present the proposal
[of marriage]³ and to interview the girl. They
returned and memorialized, saying, “The daughter
of the Duke has been imbued with virtue and culture
and has a beautiful and fascinating appearance, so

³.1 Cf. HS 12: 6b.
³.2 From HS 97 B: 23a, which states that the Privy Treasurer, Tsung-po Feng, was
also sent.
³.3 Na-ts’ai 納采 was the first of the five preliminary rites in a marriage. It was the
ancient technical term for proposing an engagement, from Yi-ti 4: 1a (Steele, I, 18),
“When the [prospective] bride’s [parents] have made known [their willingness], in present-
ing (na) [the announcement that the girl] had been chosen (ts’ai), a wild goose is em-
ployed.” Cheng Hsüan comments, “After the girl’s family has agreed, [the boy’s parents]
send a person to present (na) the rites of her choosing and selection (ts’ai-tec 稽), using
a wild goose as an offering.” Chia Kung-yen (fl. 640–655) adds, “Na (to present) means
that the person who is doing the presenting, [the representative of the boy’s parents],
fears that the girl’s family will not accept [the announcement], similar to the principle of
net 内 and na [to present a lady to a noble’s harem] in the Spring and Autumn, when, if
[the noble] approves, she is presented. Ts’ai (to select) means that the person who is
doing the presenting, because [the girl] is newly chosen and selected (ts’ai-tec), fears that
the girl’s family will not agree to [the engagement]. Hence he calls it a na (presentation).”
The five preliminary rites in marriage were: (1) “the presentation of the choice [to
the girl’s parents] (na-ts’ai), (2) the request for the [girl’s] given name (ch’ing-ming),
(3) the presentation of the lucky [divination concerning the marriage] (na-chi), (4) the
presentation of the betrothal presents (na-cheng), and (5) the request to fix a date [for
the marriage] (ch’ing-ch’i)” Legge, Li Ki, II, 428; Couvreur, Li Ki, II, 641–42. The
sixth and final rite was “the [groom] in person fetching [the bride, bringing her to his
ancestral home] (ch’in-ying),” cf. Steele, op. cit., I, 18ff; Po-hu-t’ung 9: 2b–3b.

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She is
Selected.

9b
that it would be proper for her to continue the heavenly\textsuperscript{9.4} succession and uphold the [imperial] sacrifices.”

There was an imperial edict sending the Grand Master Over the Masses, [Ma Kung], and the Grand Minister of Works, [Chen Feng], to inform in an official document [the imperial ancestors in the imperial] ancestral temples and in various ways to perform divination by the tortoise-shell and by the stalks. They reported unanimously, “The cracks upon the tortoise-shell which occurred were [a prognostic] that metal and water will flourish and assist. The diagram formed by the stalks which occurred was that the father and mother will occupy [their due] positions,\textsuperscript{9.5} which may be said to be a response [presaging] prosperity and security, a portent of great good fortune.”

\textsuperscript{9.4} Wang Hsien-ch’ien states that the Official ed. is correct in emending 大 to 天. The Ching-yu ed. reads the latter.

\textsuperscript{9.5} Fu Ch’ien says, “[According to] the rules for the cracks upon the tortoise-shell, crosswise ones are earth; vertical ones are wood; slanting ones in the direction of the grain are metal; [slanting ones] across [the grain] are fire; those that accommodate themselves to the tortoise-shell and are slightly curved are water.” (Quoted by Ch’ien Ta-chao).

Wang’s 王 should here be read as wang, 旺; these words were interchanged. In his comment on Mencius II, ii, i, 1, (Legge, p. 208), “Heaven’s times are not as good as Earth’s advantages,” Chao Chi (108–201 A.D.) says, “‘Heaven’s times’ means the time and the day when the branches and stems and five elements wang-hsiăng 王相 (flourish and assist), or are absent in that ten-day week or are the two middle days of a ten-day week.” (The phrase wang-hsiăng is also found in Lun-heng 1:12b, ch. 3 [Ferke, I, 148] where it is applied to people. For an explanation of ku-kao 孤廕, cf. Y’ei Yin’s comment on these words in SC 128: 29.)

The Meng-tzu Cheng-yi (quoted in Meng-tzu Chu-su 4 A: 1b), attributed to Sun Shih (compiled before the xii cent.) explains that the element metal flourishes (wang) for the branches zu, wu, wei, shen, and yu and the element water flourishes (wanga) for the branches shen, yu, hai, hai, and zu. Hence the prognostication was shen and yu, for these branches are in both lists. Yet the marriage was performed on the day t’ing-wei (A: 17a), so that there must have been a separate divination to determine the day of marriage.

Chang Yen says, “‘Father and mother’ means hexagram [no. 11], t’ai (泰), [which
The Marquis of Hsin-hsiang, [Liu] T'ung, presented [to the throne a memorial], saying, "[According to] the Spring and Autumn, when the Son of Heaven was about to take [a bride from the state of] Chi, he rewarded the Viscount of Chi with the title of Marquis. The estate of the Duke Giving Tranquillity to the Han Dynasty, [Wang Mang], is not yet conformable to [this] ancient regulation."

The matter was referred to the high officials, and all advised, "Anciently, the Son of Heaven enfeoffed the father of his Empress [with a fief] a hundred lì [square]; he honored [his father-in-law] and did not treat him as his subject, in order to give importance to his ancestral temple. It was the extreme of filial piety. [Liu] T'ung's advice is in conformity with the rites and may be approved. We beg that [Wang] has the trigram ch'ien [male, heaven, etc.] below and [the hexagram] k'un [female, earth, etc.] above. Heaven is lower than Earth—this is the hexagram for mating and enjoying." Lin Pin however ridicules this interpretation, "I say that it nevertheless means 'Her father and mother shall obtain [high] position.' How could he know that this was the hexagram 'Tai'?" Perhaps Chang Yen understood divination better than Liu Pin did.

5. In the Spring and Autumn, Dk. Yin, II (721 B.C.), (Legge, p. 8), there is mentioned a "Tzu-po of Chi 禄子伯." In a note to Ts'o-chuan 2: 17a, Tu Yu (221-284) declares, "Tzu-po is the style of Lieh-hsü 裂絳 [a grandee of Chi, mentioned in the same chapter of the Ts'o-chuan]." But the Kung-yang Commentary (iii cent. B.C.) 2: 3b, commenting upon the same passage, says, "Who was Tzu-po of Chi? It has not been reported." According to the Ku-liang Commentary 1: 0b, the phrase in the Spring and Autumn, "Chi Tzu-po," was sometimes interpreted as "The Viscount of Chi treated [the Viscount of Lü] as his elder." This latter interpretation underlies the passage in the HS. The Spring and Autumn, Dk. Huan II, vii, (710 B.C.), (Legge, p. 39) mentions "the Marquis of Chi," and Ying Shao, in a note to HS 18: 1b, explains, "[The ruler of the state of] Chi had originally the title of Viscount, hence [the Son of Heaven] previously rewarded him and made him a marquis. It means that [true] kings do not take a bride from small states." In a note to the Kung-yang Commentary 4: 5a, explaining the latter passage of the Spring and Autumn, Ho Hsiu (129-182) glosses, "That he is entitled a marquis is [because], when the Son of Heaven was about to take [a bride from the state of] Chi, he gave [this title to its Viscount] since with her he would uphold his ancestral temple [sacrifices] and transmit them without end, than which nothing is greater. Hence he was enfeoffed [with a territory] of a hundred lì [square]." There were thus two interpretations of the phase Chi Tzu-po.
Mang be additionally enfeoffed with the 25,600 ch'ing of cultivated fields in [the county of] Hsin-yeh, [in order that he may have] a full hundred li.\(^9,7\)

He [Wang] Mang excused himself, saying, “Your subject Mang’s daughter is really not fit to be mated to the most honorable person [i.e., the Emperor]. I furthermore have heard about the discussions of the

\(^9,7\) HS 24 A: 2b declares that six feet made a pu 步 (double pace) and a hundred pu made a mou 步, i.e., an area 1 pu wide and 100 pu long. This was probably the ancient mou and the Han pu. Teng Chang (fl. ca. 208), in a note to HS 24 A: 18a remarks, “Anciently [cf. also Li Hsien’s note to HHS, Mem. 39: 17a], a hundred pu made a mou, [but] in Han times 240 pu made a mou. 1200 ancient mou then made five present [Han] ch'ing 步,” i.e., if the ancient and Han foot were of the same length, 1200 ancient mou were equal to 500 Han mou, since the Han ch'ing contained 100 mou.

Since the Han foot was 9.09 in. (Eng. meas.) long, and the Han mou was one Han pu wide and 240 Han pu long, a Han mou contained 0.114 acre or 4.61 ar. A ch'ing was then 11.4 acres or 4.61 hectares.

The fields of Hsin-yeh, 25,600 ch'ing, were then 291,540 acres or 118,016 ha. “A full hundred li [square]” thus refers to the whole of his holdings.

The Han li 里 does not seem to have been based on the Han mou, but on the pu. Anciently, the li was the length of one side of a ching 方, i.e., 300 pu; the Han li was 300 Han pu long. HS 24 A: 2b states that an [ancient] ching was one li square and contained 900 [ancient] mou. The same passage states that a mou was one pu wide and a hundred pu long, so that a ching was 300 pu square. Li-chieh III, v. 19 (Legge I, 244; Couveur I, 320) and Han-shih Wai-chuan 4: 7b (from which HS 24 A: 2b probably took its information) declare directly that a ching was 300 pu square. The latter and the HS assert that a pu was six feet long. Since the Han foot was 0.904 inches (Eng. measure) long (cf. HPHD, I, ch. IV, app. II, p. 270), the li was 136.4 feet Eng. measure or 415.8 meters long. This length can be confirmed from a study by Ch’ou Tso-li in the Chinese Historical Geography Magazine (Yü-kung), Sept. 16, 1935, vol. 4, no. 2, p. 12, in which he points out that the HS states the distance from Yarkhand (Sha-ch’i) to Guma (Pi-shan) to be 380 li, while it is measured at 155 km.; from Guma to Yutian (Yü-tien) is 380 li, which is 150 km., so that a li must have been 408 or 400 m. Thus our deduction from HS 24 A concerning the li is confirmed; that conclusion also confirms our figure for the size of a mou. Cf. W. Eberhard, “Zur Landwirtschaft der Han-Zeit,” MSOS, v. 35 (1923), p. 98, and his “Bemerkungen zu statistischen Angaben der Han-Zeit,” T’oung Pao, 36 (1940), 2-4. This conclusion concerning the size of the mou and li applies only to Han times, more exactly, to Wang Mang’s time. According to Li-chieh III, v. 21 (Legge I, 245; Couveur I, 323), in Chou times the pu contained eight feet, so that writers, assuming a foot of the Han length, calculated the Chou mou and li to have been larger than in Han times; but such need not actually to have been the case.
many [officials concerning] an increase in my enfeoffment. I, your subject Mang, myself humbly meditate that I have been permitted to rely upon [the fact that I am] a distant relative [of the throne] and have [thus] attained noble rank and luuds. If my daughter is really capable of supporting and according with your sage virtue, the estate of your subject Mang is [yet] sufficient to make offerings for the tribute at the court; it is not necessary again to give me the favor of added territory. I wish to return what was to be added.” The [Grand] Empress Dowager approved it.

The high officials memorialized that, [according to] ancient practises, an empress was betrothed [with a...

9.8 Wang Nien-sun, in a note to HS 36: 17a, states that both the words fei1-fu1 肺腑 mean bark (or shavings, splinters). Shuo-wen 6 A: 3b defines p'o 朴 as bark (or shavings) 木皮, and ibid. 7b defines fei2 肺 as a scraped wooden writing block. Wang Nien-sun asserts that fei1 is borrowed for fei2 (giving examples); that 柽, fu2 附 and p'o (also pronounced pu), all of which are used as the second word of this phrase, are close in pronunciation; and that fu1 is used for fu2. The phrase fei-fu “means that he considered himself as an unimportant relative of the imperial house, just as bark is a part of a tree (or the shavings were part of a wooden writing block).” Liu Hsiang uses this phrase of himself in 36: 17a; in 36: 29b he speaks of himself as “having fortunately been permitted to attach himself as one of the least of [the imperial relatives],” which passage is parallel to this expression. This phrase fei-fu is also used in ch. 52: 5a and SC 107: 10 sub T’ien Fen; HS ch. 53 sub King Ching of Chung-shan; ch. 55 sub Wei Ch’ing; ch. 80; ch. 86 sub Shih, Tan; SC 19: 3 (MH III, 148); HHS, Mem. 2 sub Lu Fang. The foregoing interpretation follows that of Szu-ma Cheng in SC 19: 3, who takes it from Yen Chih-t’ui’s (531-ca. 591) Yen-shih Chia-hsin B: 23a, b; ch. 17 (q.v.).

It is strongly attacked by Chang Shou-chiieh in a note to SC 107: 10, where he follows an ancient interpretation quoted by Yen Shih-ku in HS 36: 17a and 52: 5a, which states, “Fei1-fu1 means that the liver and lungs are close to each other, as if one said, ‘heart and spine’. He quotes Ku Yeh-wang (519–581) “Fei1-fu1 means the same as belly and heart.” In a note to SC 19: 3, Tukigawa states that it was an expression peculiar to Han times, not seen in the Books of Odes, of History, the Tsu-chuan or the Kuo-yü, and was used to denote close relatives. Cf. Te’u-tung, I, 1313–1314.

But this latter interpretation, which makes Wang Mang boast that he is a close relative, is not at all humble. According to Han Confucian theory, close imperial relatives ought to be given high office (HFHD, II, 292). Wang Mang is not claiming a right, but humbly mentioning the favors granted him. Wang Nien-sun must be correct in this case.
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He distributed the Dowry Money among the Families of the Imperial Concubines-elect. Various courtiers again said, “Now the betrothal presents received for the Empress barely surpass those for the various concubines.” [So] there was an imperial edict again increasing [the gift to Wang Mang] by twenty-three million [cash, making it] altogether thirty million [cash]. Wang Mang again used ten million [cash] of that [sum] to divide among the poor persons in his nine [sets of] relatives.

Additional Ch’en Ch’ung was at that time Director of Justice to the Grand Minister over the Masses, [Ma Kung], and was good friends with Chang Ch’ang’s grandson, Chang Sung. [Chang] Sung was a gentleman of wide learning, and drafted for [Ch’en] Ch’ung a memorial praising the achievements and virtuous conduct of [Wang] Mang, which [Ch’en] Ch’ung memorialized. It said,

Ch’en Ch’ung: “[According to] the opinion of your unworthy servant, from the time that the Duke Giving Tranquillity to the Han Dynasty first ‘brought his bundle of dried flesh [and began studying],’ he has been placed in an age when customs have been highly

9,9 Han-ch’iu-yi B: 2a declares, “The Emperor betroths his Empress with ten thousand catties of actual gold.” HHS, An, 10 B: 6a says, “Thereupon altogether according to the former practice of the presents for an Empress [in the case of] the Empress [nee Chang of Emperor] Hsiao-hui, she was betrothed with twenty thousand catties of actual gold.” Sung-shu 14: 4a states that in A.D. 287, a Master of Writing, Chu Cheng, asserted “According to the regulation of the Empress of [Emperor] Kao of the Han dynasty, an empress is betrothed with two hundred catties of actual gold and twelve horses and Ladies with fifty catties of gold and four horses.” Shen Ch’in-han notes this statement and adds that the Sung-shu is correct.

10,1 A phrase from Analects VII, vii.
extravagant and luxurious, has had the high favor of being allied in flesh and blood to [the occupants of] two palaces, [Emperor Ch'eng and the Grand Empress Dowager nee Wang], and has been covered with the illustrious brilliance of his various uncles. His wealth has been great and his power abundant, so that his will was unopposed.

"Yet he has humbled himself, lived a life of kindness and goodness, vanquished his desires, and walked in the path of proper conduct, resisting the age and correcting its customs, standing firmly alone, [wearing] poor clothes and [eating] poor food, with a shabby carriage and sorry horses, with one consort and no other [woman]. No one of the multitude has failed to hear of [the wonderful conditions] within the doors of his inner apartments and of his virtues of filial piety and friendliness. He is quiescent, rejoicing in the Way, gentle and good, and associating with worthy inferiors. He is kindly to his old friends and servitors and faithful to his teachers and associates. Confucius said, 'No [one] is as good as the man who is poor and yet happy, rich and yet loves the rules of proper conduct,' which indeed applies to the Duke.

"When he was a Palace Attendant and the former Marquis of Ting-ling, Shun-yn Chang, committed the crime of treason, the Duke did not presume to keep it to himself [but] advocated that [his cousin] should be punished. The Duke of Chou executed [the King's Uncles] of Kuan and of Ts'ai and Master Chi [Yu] poisoned Shu Ya, which indeed denotes that the Duke [is like these sages].

"For this reason, Emperor Hsiao-ch'eng gave the Duke a mandate to be his Commander-in-chief, entrusting him with the government of the state.

10.2 Analects I, xv, 1.
10.3 For these events, cf. Glossary, sub these names.
When [Emperor] Hsiao-ai ascended the throne, the Marquis of Kao-ch’ang, Tung Hung, divined the desires of [the Concubine nee Ting] and sought for her approbation [by suggesting that the Emperor's natural mother, this Concubine nee Ting, should be given the title belonging to his imperial mother, instead of recognizing that Emperor Ai was the adopted son of his predecessor, hence his natural mother could not be his imperial mother. Tung Hung thus actually proposed] creating two lines of [imperial] descent. [But] the Duke in person impeached [Tung Hung] and thereby established a fundamental principle [of government]. He advocated that it was not proper for the Queen Dowager [nee Fu] of Ting-t’ao to have [her canopy and seat beside] the imperial\(^{10.4}\) canopy and seat [of the Grand Empress Dowager],\(^{10.4}\) in order to make plain the constitution of the state. The *Book of Odes* says,

\[
\text{The weak he did not devour} \\
\text{And the powerful he did not eject;} \\
\text{He did not insult widowers or widows} \\
\text{Nor fear the strong or resistful,}^{10.4}
\]

which indeed applies to the Duke.

“\text{He firmly held to humility and expressed his sincerity in yielding his position. When the Queen Dowager [nee Fu] of Ting-t’ao wanted to secure for herself the usurped title [of Empress Dowager], she feared his sense of duty which [made him] rebuke her to her face [for placing] her canopy and seat [next to that of the Grand Empress Dowager]. Flattering}\]

\(^{10.4}\) Te'ai Yung, in his *Tu-tuan*, A: 2b, explains that *sheng-yü* 聲欲 and *ch'e-chia* 聲雅 same to mean merely “imperial” or “Emperor.”

\(^{10.4}\) Cf. 99 A: 2b, 3a.

\(^{10.4}\) *Book of Odes*, 5 260; III, iii, vi, 5 (Legge, p. 544). The Mao text reads 彰 for the *HS’s 饗*. Two other variations are merely substitute characters. The Sung Ch’i ed. remarks that the Academy ed. (1005) and the Yüeh ed. (xi-xii cent.) omit the third line.
and misleading braves, [such as] Chu Po and his sort, were restrained by the other fact that [Wang Mang] had in person impeached [Shun-yü] Chang and [Tung] Hung. [Hence] superiors and inferiors were united in calumniating, injuring, and causing confusion, so that they violated and perverted the regulations, and [the Queen Dowager] succeeded in usurping the title [of Grand Empress Dowager]. They drove away [men of] stable benevolence and executed [the imperial] relatives by marriage [who were related to the preceding emperor, so that] the Duke suffered the calumnny [undergone by Wu Yüan Tzu]-hsü and [Ch'ü] Yüan, and was caused to go far away to his state [of Hsin-tu]. The court and the government were collapsing in ruins, the main and subordinate [dynastic] principles were going to pieces, and the calamity of the overthrow [of the dynasty] remained suspended by no more than a hair. The Book of Odes says,

"When [capable] men flee,
The state is exhausted and at the point of ruin,"

which applies indeed to the Duke.

"At this time, [when Emperor Ai had died], there was no heir in the [imperial] palaces; Tung Hsien, occupied the most important [position], added to which the Fu clan had the assistance of their daughter, [who was the Empress]. They all themselves knew that they had offended the country and had a feud with [the royal family in the kingdom of] Chung-shan, so that it would have been necessary for [the Fu and Ting clans] to be 'one in' their worries, protect each other by [the power which enables a person] to 'shatter metal [bars'], utilize a forged

102 Book of Odes, 264; III, iii, x, 5 (Legge, p. 563). One character there is written differently from in the Mao text.
11 Phrases from the Book of Changes, App. III, Sect. 1, ch. 8, 43 (Legge, p. 362), "When two men are one in heart
Their power shatters metal [bars]."

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testamentary edict [of Emperor Ai], make frequent use of rewards and punishments, first eliminate those whom they dreaded and hastily introduce [to office] those who were attached [to them], then make false accusations against [those against whom they had] long standing grudges, [i.e., the clan of Emperor Ping], and furthermore repress [even] distant [imperial] relatives. If the circumstances had developed and occurred [after this manner], it would not have been difficult [for the Fu and Ting clans to seize the power of the government].  

"Thanks to the Duke, who at once entered [the court, Tung] Hsien, was immediately made to retire, together with his clique and relatives. At this time, the Duke acted by his own brilliant insight and wielded an unprecedented majesty. He lifted his eyebrows with a stern air and disseminated a martial ardor. Taking advantage of the fact that [Tung Hsien] was not secure [in his position], he crushed him before he could move. Like a thunderbolt he set in motion the mechanism [of government] and his enemies were broken. Even if [Meng] Pen or [Hsia] Yu had been [there], they would not have had time to take up [their weapons] and touch him; even if Shu-li [Chi] had been [there], he would not have had time to use his wits; even if [the Master of] the Demon Valley had been [there], he would have been unequal to such rapid [action]. For this reason Tung Hsien lost his spirit and committed suicide by strangling. People did not [have time] to turn around, the sun did not [have time to] move on the sun-dial, when suddenly on all [sides, the conspirators] were eliminated, [things were] changed and it became a peaceful court."

"Without your Majesty, [Grand Empress Dow-

11-2 The Sung Chi ed. asserted that 微 should be 無, after 其 there should be the word 然, and the 造 should be excised. The Ching-yu ed. has the first of these changes.
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[No text content]

Chang Sung's Laudatory Memorial.

(6) His Selection of Capable Subordinates.

(7) His Refusal of Honors.

11.3 Book of Odes, §236; III, i, ii, 8 (Legge, p. 436).
11.4 Analects XVII, vii.
11.5 Book of History, II, iii, ii, 2 (Legge, p. 70).
Chang Sung's Laudatory Memorial.  

12a says, 'Shen Pao-hsü would not receive the reward for having preserved [the state of] Ch'u,'11.6 and 'Yen Ying P'ing-chung would not receive the enfeoffment for having acted as [chief] assistant [in the government of the state of] Ch'i.'11.7 Confucius said, 'If [a prince] is able to rule his state in accordance with the rules of proper conduct and yielding [to others], what [difficulty] will he have?--,12.1 which apply to the Duke.

(8) His Preliminary Refusal to Let his Daughter Become Empress.  

15b "When they were about to determine upon and establish an Empress-consort for the Emperor, the high officials sent up [to the Grand Empress Dowager] the names [of suitable girls], the first of whom was the daughter of the Duke, [and] the Duke declined it strongly and asked that it be given to others. He was constrained and had no resource, and then only did he accept the imperial edict [ordering his daughter to be Empress]. The love between father and child is a Heaven-[endowed quality of human] nature and spontaneous; [a father] desires glory and honor for his [child] much more than for himself. The honor of being Empress is equal to that of being the Son of Heaven. The opportunity [offered to his daughter] at that time is rare [even] in a thousand years. Yet the Duke thought of the great principles of the state and yielded up the favor of the greatest blessing. In all matters he was humble, and, [what-

11.6 For this event, cf. Tso-chuan, Dk. Ting, V, (Legge, p. 760). We have not been able to find this quotation.
11.7 Yen-izu Ch'un-ch'iu 6: 17b, sect. 19, states that when the Duke of Ch'i wanted to enfeoff Master Yen, the latter replied, "From [the time of the Foreseen] Grand Duke, [Lü Shang], to your own [time], Duke, there have been several tens of Dukes. If people were able to obtain [noble] estates [merely] by delighting their princes, they would not have waited until your [time], Duke, to hasten to Ch'i and strive [with each other] in seeking promotion and lands [in such great numbers that] it would have been impossible for them to get a foothold or lodging there."... Thereupon he did not accept [the enfeoffment]." Perhaps the foregoing is the passage that is loosely quoted here.
12.1 Analects IV, xiii.
ever] was done, he firmly refused [honors]. The Book of History says, ‘Shun [wished to] yield to someone more virtuous, and was not delighted [at the prospect of taking the throne],’ which applies indeed to the Duke.

"From the time that the Duke received his charter down to the present, he has been indefatigable and orderly, daily renewing his virtue. He has added to and cultivated his whole life, so that he might issue the [proper] commands to the nobles; he has followed economy and exalted moderation, so that he might correct the customs of the age. He has diminished his wealth and disparaged his family, so that he might lead his many subordinates; he has humbled himself and held firmly to equity, so that he might influence the ministers. He has taught children and has honored scholarship, so that he

12.2 Book of History, II, i, iii, 3 (Legge, 32). Wang Nien-sun declares that the text should read yi 1 or 台 instead of su. Yen Shih-ku explains su. The ancient text of the Book of History read su, and the modern text read yi. The HS regularly quotes the modern text. SC 1: 32 (Hh I, 56) quotes this verse from the Book of History with the word yi 1 (which means the same as yi 2), and Hsi Kuang (ca. 352–425) glosses, "The modern text Book of History reads yi. Yi 1 is yi 2." Szu-na Cheng (6. 713–742) adds, "The ancient text reads su; the modern text reads yi 2." SC 130: 30 also quotes this passage with yi. HHS, Mem. 30 B: 11a and the Wen-hsuan 48: 24b, in Pan Ku's "Tien-yin," quote this verse with yi; Li Shan (vi cent.), in his comment, quotes the same verse with su and adds, "Wei Chao (197–273/4) says, 'According to the ancient text, yi 1 is su.' ". In a note to HHS, Mem. 30 B: 11a, b, Li Hsien (651–684) glosses that in the HS this verse is written with yi 1 and the HS Yin-yi (probably the one written by Wei Chao) states that yi 2 is to be read as su. Wang Nien-sun concludes that according to the above evidence, the HS text which both Li Shan and Li Hsien saw read yi 2 and Yen Shih-ku altered it to su to agree with the ancient text of the Book of History, explaining the meaning accordingly. Cf. also Karlgen BMFEA 20, 70, Gl. 1253.

12.3 Cf. 99 A: 6b.

12.4 "Issue commands to the nobles" is a reminiscence of Book of Odes IV, iii, v, 4, line 5 (Legge, p. 645; his translation is unsatisfactory). The Ts'u-hai defines hsia-kuo as "the feudal nobles."

Yen Shih-ku asserts that ch'un 后 means to retire, but Wang Yin-chih (1766–1834) replies that because of the parallelism Yen Shih-ku's interpretation is mistaken; ch'un should be read as tsun 進 (follow); ancienly ch'un and tsun were interchanged; the Erh-ya 1: 6a interprets tsun by hsan 竅 and the Fang-yen 2: 6b interprets ch'un by hsan. Sun Hsia-ying (1743–1818) in his Yen-tzu Ch'un-ch'iu Yin-yi B: 34b, sub ch. 7, states that tsun-hehsun means ch'un-進, identifying ch'un and tsun.
might raise the development of the state. His slaves have worn plain cloth\textsuperscript{12.5} and his horses have not been fed grain, and the expense for his food and drink has not surpassed that of ordinary people. The Book of Odes says,

\begin{quote}
One must be mild and humble
As if perched upon trees;\textsuperscript{12.5}
\end{quote}

and Confucius said, ‘In his food he should not seek for satiety and in his dwelling he should not seek for comfort;\textsuperscript{12.7} which indeed apply to the Duke.

‘He has denied his person and was himself frugal, buying food [only] to the point of what has been necessary. For all articles he has depended upon the market-place, daily emptying [his bins] and keeping no stores.\textsuperscript{12.5} He furthermore sent a letter to the throne [asking to be permitted] to return the estate with which Emperor Hsiao-ai had additionally endowed him and to pay\textsuperscript{12.9} cash [to the government] and to offer his cultivated fields. He entirely exhausted his former possessions in order to lead the many [officials in making contributions].

\textsuperscript{12.5} The Official ed. emends by interchanging and reads pu-\textit{yi 布衣}. Wang Wen-pin (xix cent.) however points out that this phrase is from \textit{Tso-chuan}, Dk. Ch'eng, XVI (Legge, p. 394\textsuperscript{7}, 399b), which states that Viscount Wen of Chi, Chi-sun Hang-fu, “has had no concubines who wore silk (\textit{yi-po} 羽) nor horses who ate grain”; hence, because of paralellism, the phrase should be \textit{yi-\textit{pu}}, not \textit{pu-\textit{yi}}.

\textsuperscript{12.6} \textit{Book of Odes}, 610; II, v, ii, 6 (Legge, p. 335). Yen Shih-ku repeats the M\textit{ao} interpretation of this couplet, so I have adopted it as the Han interpretation, although Karlsgren’s rendering (BMFEA, 16, p. 106) is better.

\textsuperscript{12.7} \textit{Analects}, I, xiv.

\textsuperscript{12.8} Yen Shih-ku explains, “He did not engage in the production of [food or goods], so that he did not take their profits away from the merchants.” In this respect, he imitated Tou Tzu-wen; cf. n. 12.11.

\textsuperscript{12.9} Wang Hsien-ch’ien notes that the Official ed. and the Southern Academy ed. (1530) have \textit{chin 錢} after the \textit{T}. But the Ching-yu ed. does not have the \textit{chin}. The reference is to 99 A: 7b, where only cash and no gold or equivalent of gold (\textit{chin}) is mentioned.
upon small and great [turned] towards him in harmony, accepting his influence and following his example; outside [the court], kings, the highest ministers,12.10 and the full marquises, and within [the court, the occupants of the imperial] canopies and the imperial attendants, harmoniously and at the same time, each exhausted his possessions. Some paid gold and cash and some offered cultivated fields and acres to assist the impoverished and exhausted and to provide for and support those who had not sufficient [to live on]. Anciently, what the Chief Governor [Tou] Tzu-wen had in the morning did not last until night,12.11 and Master Kung-yi [Hsiu] of Lu would not eat mallow from his garden [in order not to deprive gardeners of their profit], which indeed applies to the Duke.

"He opened his gates and invited in gentlemen and [those of lower rank] down to [the occupants of] plain houses.13.1 He has frequently inspected court affairs, has controlled all the administration, and has himself interviewed the [Provincial] Governors and [Commandery] Administrators and those of lower [rank], investigating their whole life, until he had

12.10 That kung 司 here means the three highest ministers is shown by the expression 司 in the similar list in S4: 12a.

12.11 In Kuo-yü 18: 7a, Tou Ch'ieh says, "Anciently Tou Tzu-wen three times resigned [the position of] Chief Governor. He did not have one day's supplies, because he pitied the common people. King Ch'eng [of Ch'u] heard that what [Tou] Tzu-wen had in the morning did not last until night. Therefore every morning he had prepared one bundle of dried flesh and one basket of parched grain, in order to nourish [Tou] Tzu-wen. Down to the present, the Chief Governor has it for his salary."

For Kung-yi Hsiu, cf. Glossary sub voce.

13.1 Yen Shih-ku explains, "'Plain houses' means the people, who use white grass (quitch-grass) 白茅 to cover their houses." Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang however declares, "Anciently there were regulations concerning [the color of] palace buildings. Officials were not under those requirements, so their buildings exposed the natural [color] of their materials, for it was not necessary to add any colors or ornaments. These were the 'plain houses.' When [Yen] Shih-ku says that white quitch-grass covered the building, he is in error."
made plain those to be promoted and demoted. The Book of Odes says,

\[He never slackened, day or night,\]
\[In serving the ruler,\]

and the Book of Changes says, ‘[The superior man] all day is active and vigilant, and in the evening still careful and apprehensive of evil,’ which indeed apply to the Duke.

(12) His Service to the State.

“During three successive reigns he has been [one of] the three highest ministers and has twice been in charge of accompanying the imperial funeral cortege. He has held the position of prime minister and has pacified and tranquillized the state. The radii of [all within] the four seas have converged [in him] and nothing has failed to be given its [proper] place. The Book of History says, ‘[Shun] was received as the chief director [of the administration], and, amidst violent wind, thunder, and rain, he did not go astray,’ which indeed refers to the Duke.

“All the foregoing have been rare in very ancient times and would be difficult, [even] for Yü and [Prince] Millet, yet the Duke encompassed its entirety, ‘containing the one pervading principle.’ He may indeed be said to be perfect.

Peroration

“For this reason, in the course of [these] three years, his influence has affected [people] like that of

13, 3 Book of Changes, Hex. I, 3 (Legge, p. 57; Wilhelm, I, 4).
14 Wang Hsien-ch’ien asserts that 是 is mistaken; the Official ed. and the Southern Academy ed. instead read 穷. The Ching-yu ed. reads the latter.
15, 5 Book of History, II, 1, iii, 2 (Legge, p. 32). The use of Ta-lu 大麓 in HS 99 B: 6b shows that in Wang Mang’s time the K’ung An-kuo interpretation of that phrase (which Legge rejects, cf. his trans., p. 32, note, also Karlsgren BMFEA 20, 75, Gl. 1251) was accepted. Yen Shih-ku prefers it in his comment.
16, 6 Said by Confucius of himself in Analects IV, xv, 1. The ‘one principle’ which unified Confucius’ teaching is there stated to have been, “Integrity and reciprocity,” i.e., the Golden Rule.
a god and auspicious presages have repeatedly succeeded [each other]. Is this not the result of your Majesty, [Grand Empress Dowager], being able to know people and having obtained a most capable [person]? Hence not only has the prince received the mandate [of Heaven, but] also the lives of your courtiers have indeed not been in vain.\textsuperscript{12,7} For such a [reason] Prince ‘Yü was presented a dark-colored jade tablet’\textsuperscript{13,8} and the Duke of Chou received [the privilege of] being sacrificed to [after his death] with the suburban sacrifice.\textsuperscript{13,9} Verily, since [these rulers] reported [to Heaven the great deeds of those] sent by Heaven, they did not presume to arrogate to themselves the merit [that came from] Heaven.

“When we estimate the upright character of the Duke, it is a model for the empire, and when we look at the achievements of the Duke, they are a foundation for ten thousand generations. If a foundation has been laid and the reward is not appropriate to it, and if a model has been established and the recompense is not in accord, [such a condition] is verily not the way to help the state or to obey the will of Heaven.

“Emperor Kao rewarded and recompensed [those persons who had performed] the greatest services. His Chancellor of State, Hsiao Ho, both [was given] twice [as many] households for his estate [as others had] and also received special ritual privileges: of not [needing to use] his personal name in memorializing matters and of not [being required to] hasten

\textsuperscript{12,7} The point is that good ministers have been able to carry out their conceptions of good government.

\textsuperscript{13,8} Presented by Yao to Yü at the completion of the latter’s work upon the waters (according to the K’ung An-kuo interpretation); Book of History III, i, ii, 23 (Legge, p. 150; Couvreur, p. 89).

\textsuperscript{13,9} Li-chi XII, 6-9 (Legge, II, 32; Couvreur, I, 729) states that King Ch’eng granted to the Duke of Chou to be sacrificed to with the ceremonies and songs reserved to the Son of Heaven.
Chang in entering the [Palace] Hall.¹³·¹⁰ More than ten of his relatives by marriage were enfeoffed. Since [Emperor Kao] rejoiced over satiation in goodness, the recompenses he made were not parsimonious. If [a person propounded] one [good] plan, [Emperor Kao] invariably [gave that person] noble rank. For this reason, [although] the position of Kung-sun Jung was [merely] that of a Gentleman, he was selected from [among] the standard-bearers when he had once explained [the conduct] of Fan K’uai, and was enfeoffed [with the income of] two thousand households.¹⁴·¹

¹⁴·¹ "Emperor Hsiao-wen rewarded the Marquis of Chiang, [Chou P’o], by adding to his enfeoffment [the income of] ten thousand households and granting him five thousand catties of actual gold. Emperor Hsiao-wu favored and recorded military achievements, so allocated thirty thousand households wherewith to enfeoff Wei Ch’ing; [Wei] Ch’ing’s three sons, some of whom were in swaddling clothes, all became full marquises. Emperor Hsiao-hsüan made Ho Kuang distinguished and brilliant, adding to the households [of his estate] and commanding [that his descendants should have] the same [rank and estate as the founder of the house]; three persons [in his clan] were enfeoffed, [enfeoffments] being extended to the grandsons of his elder [half]-brother [Ho Ch’ü-ping].¹⁴·²

¹³·¹ Cf. HS 39: 4b.
¹⁴·¹ Cf. Glossary, sub Kung-sun Jung.
¹⁴·² The three enfeoffments in honor of Ho Kuang were: his son, Ho Yü, as Marquis of Po-lu, on Apr. 27, 68 (HS 18: 11a); Ho Shan, grandson of Ho Ch’ü-ping, as Marquis of Lo-ping on May 14, 68 (18: 9a), at the special request of Ho Kuang, in order to continue the ancestral sacrifices of a noble to Ho Ch’ü-ping (68: 11a); and Ho Yün, elder brother of Ho Shan, as Marquis of Kuan-yang, on Apr. 24, 67 (18: 9b). Cf. A. Jongchell, Huo Kuang och hans Tid, pp. 150, 194, 195, 197, 205.
tributary [kings], thru the obstinate courage of the [Marquis of] Chu-hsü, [Liu Chang,],) by the support of the various generals who surrounded [the Empress Dowager nee Lü], and by the aid of the power of mutual assistance [of these persons], altho the project [of the Lü clan] was detestable, they were not able to progress.

"When Ho Kuang entered his position [as Commander-in-chief], the authority of having long held office multiplied the majesty of his great prestige. Different from Wang Mang, he never happened upon a situation that he could not handle and that caused him to fall into disfavor and [to be compelled] to leave the court. None of those in charge of matters in the court failed to be of the same [mind as he]; when the break [in the imperial line occurred at the death of Emperor Chao, Ho Kuang had controlled the government] for a long period and his direction of the government had brilliantly illuminated the age. Altho it may be said that he distinguished himself, he had [those circumstances] to rely upon, so that [his achievement] was moreover [comparatively] easy. Yet he suffered the embarrassment of not being discerning in making his plans by erroneously summoning [the King of Ch'ang-yi, Liu Ho, to the throne].

"As to [Wei] Ch'ing and [Kung-sun] Jung, [the one gained distinction] at the point of his sword, 14.5

14.3 The Official ed. reads 胜 for 勝. The Ching-yu ed. however reads the latter.
14.4 Reading 假 as 假 at the suggestion of Wang Nien-sun. These two words were anciently interchanged. The reference is to Wang Mang's resignation; cf. 99 A: 3b.
14.5 Fu Ch'ien explains, "P'iao 撷 has the pronunciation of the p'iao of the tip of a sword"; Shen Ch'in-han points out that in Hs'i-ts'ao Tzu, 19: 8b, "Hsiiu-wu-shun," Kao Yu (fl. 205-212) also declares, "P'iao should be read as the p'iao of a sword," and concludes that in Han times the point of a sword was called p'iao. Hence p'iao is borrowed for 撷 or 撄, meaning the point of a sword (or the ornament at the tip of a scabbard). Cf. the use of this word in HHS, Tr. 50: 12b; Hsüen-ju, 18: 16a, ch. 26; and in Ho Hsiu's comment to the Kung-yang Commentary, 7: 9b, Dk. Chuang, XIII, winter.
and the other performed] the service of [saying] one word, yet both received a hill-[high] recompense.

"Examining the merits [of the Duke along] with those of [the Marquis of] Chiang, [Chou P'o], and of Ho [Kuang, the first shows] creativeness and [the others] were followers, when compared with [those of Wei] Ch'ing and [Kung-sun] Jung, [the Duke's merits are as different] as earth is from heaven. The Duke, moreover, also performed the service of controlling the government, hence he ought to be elevated to be equal in greatness and glory with Prince Yü and the Duke of Chou, and should receive the [same] reward and recompense that they did. Why should he be only discussed at the same time as those others just mentioned, [the Marquis of Chiang, Ho Kuang, Wei Ch'ing, and Kung-sun Jung]? Yet he has not yet obtained nor received the generosity [received by Wei] Ch'ing and the others. Your servant is verily mystified by this [circumstance].

"Your servant has heard that, when services are measureless, the recompense should be boundless, and that when virtuous conduct is peerless, rewards should be unrestrained. This is the reason for King Ch'eng's [treatment] of the Duke of Chou, which passed beyond the limits of a hundred li [of territory] and overpassed the restrictions of the nine distinctions, creating a territory of seven hundred li [in extent], including both the people of [the states of] Shang and Yin, and granting him to have as his vassals the six clans from [the state of the] Yin [dynasty], the great chariot, the great banner,
[the great bow], Fan-jo, [belonging to] Feng-fu, the semi-circular jade tablet [used by] the Sovereign of the Hsia [dynasty, Yü], a [Grand] Intercessor, a [Master of the Duval] Clan, a [Grand] Augur, a [Grand] Astrologer, the appendages [of state, a duval] code and institutes, officials, high and low, vases for offering liquors [in the ancestral temple, and other] utensils,'". and the rites of the suburban [kingly] sacrifices and the sacrifice from a distance. ‘King [Ch’eng] said, ‘My uncle, I will establish your eldest son [as Duke of Lu].’” 16.7 Son and father were both installed in order, and received their [fiefs], which may indeed be called an unrestrained [reward for] measureless [services. But his honors] did not stop merely with these; his six sons were all enfeoffed." 16.8 The Book of Odes says, ‘No word but has its answer, ‘No good deed but has its reward.’" 16.9 The reward must accord with the [deed]; if it does not accord, it is not a reward.

“When we consider matters done in more recent [times], there is the oath of the Eminent Founder, [Emperor Kao], that except for [members of] the Liu clan, no [one] should be made a king. Yet the Baronet of P’o, [Wu Jui], was permitted to be King of Ch’ang-sha and [Emperor Kao] promulgated an imperial edict praising him as loyal, establishing and publishing [his position as a permanent] ordinance,'" 16.10

16.1 The passage in single quotation marks is taken from Tso-chuan 54: 8b, Dk. Ting, IV, (Legge, p. 754).
16.6 Taken from Li-chi XII, 9 (Legge II, 32; Couvreur, I, 730).
16.8 Chou Shou-ch’ang remarks that the princes of Fan 凡, Chiang 蒋, Hsing 邢, Mao 煎, Tsu 篤, and Te’i 禹 were the descendants of the Duke of Chou. His eldest son, Po-ch’in, in addition, succeeded his father as Duke of Lu. Cf. Mh IV, 100, n. 2.
16.9 Book of Odes, #256: III, iii, ii, 6 (Legge, p. 514).
16.10 Cf. HS 34: 24b.
A.D. 3, Spring

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Chang Sung's Laudatory Memorial.

[thus] making plain that where great confidence exists, [the Emperor] should not be held by the regulation [restricting vassal kings to the imperial clan].

"[According to] the Spring and Autumn [in Mr. Tso's Commentary], Duke Tao of Chin employed the plan of Wei Chiang and all of China served and followed him; when the prince of Cheng presented [to Duke Tao] musical [instruments and musicians], Duke Tao thereupon granted half of them to [Wei Chiang]. Wei Chiang declined strongly and asked that they be given to others, [but] the noble [ruler] of Chin said, 'But for you, sir, I, your humble servant, would not have been able to cross the [Yellow] River. Verily, rewarding is in the code of the state and cannot be annulled. Do you, sir, receive these [things].' Wei Chiang thereupon possessed musical instruments of metal and stone.\textsuperscript{14,11} The Spring and Autumn [in Mr. Tso's Commentary] praises him. It approves [the fact that] he, a subject, was entirely devoted [to his prince] and therefore refused [a reward for] his services, [but] the prince knew his subject, and accordingly rewarded him.

Conclusion

"Now since your Majesty, [Grand Empress Dowager], already knows that the Duke has the achievements and virtuous conduct of the Duke of Chou,\textsuperscript{15,12} if you do not put into effect the rewards and recompenses [granted by] King Ch'eng, and consequently accept the Duke's firm refusals, not considering the plain meaning of the Spring and Autumn, then how can the common people and your courtiers praise [your deeds], and how can they be recounted to ten thousand generations? In truth, this is not [the way] the state should be governed.

\textsuperscript{15,12} The Sung Ch'i ed. says that after the 德 there should be an 而. The Ching-yu ed. however does not have this word.
"Your stupid subject considers that it would be appropriate to enlarge the Duke's state, causing it to be like that of the Duke of Chou, and to set up and establish the Duke's [eldest] son [as a noble], causing him to be like Po-ch'in. The articles that are granted to him should also be like those [granted to the son of the Duke of Chou]. The enfeoffments of [the Duke's] various sons should all be like those of the six sons [of the Duke of Chou]. Then your many subordinates will openly offer their devotion, and the many people will be brilliantly moved by your virtue. If your courtiers really offer their devotion and if the common people are really moved by your virtue, then which of the deeds of an [ideal] King would be [lacking]?

"I hope that your Majesty will ponder deeply the weighty [deeds] of your [imperial] ancestors, respect and fear the warnings of High Heaven, imitate the gloriousness of Yu [Shun] and of the Chou [dynasty, follow] completely and entirely [the example of] the grants [made to] Po-ch'in, and not be parsimonious [in granting to the Duke] a recompense [similar to that made to] the Duke of Chou, in order that this law of Heaven may be established and a model may be [set] for later generations. The whole world would [thus] be favored."

The [Grand] Empress Dowager [nee Wang] thereupon showed [the memorial] to the various highest ministers. [But] just when the various highest ministers were discussing this matter, it happened that the affair of Lü K'uan arose.

Previously, [Wang] Mang had wanted to arrogate

15,16 The Sung Chi' ed. says that the Chokiang ed. (xii-xii cent.) reads 聽 for the 聽 in this and the next sentence. The Ching-yu ed. reads the latter.

14,1 Wang Hsien-ch'ien notes that the Official ed. reads 形 for 形, but the Ching-yu and Southern Academy ed. read the latter.

16,2 Chi'en Ta-chao remarks that 令 should be 令. The Ching-yu ed. reads the latter; Wang Hsien-ch'ien adds that the Official ed. and the Southern Academy ed. read likewise.
Wang Mang had claimed the [imperial] power to himself, so had said to the [Grand] Empress Dowager, “Previously, when Emperor Ai was set up [as Emperor] and went contrary to the favor and beneficence [shown him by you, Grand Empress Dowager, the Emperor] himself raised his maternal relatives, the Ting and Fu [clans], to high rank, who troubled the state, so that they almost destroyed the [dynasty’s] gods of the soils and grains, [almost overthrowing the dynasty]. Now, since the Emperor is young and is again upholding the main line [of the dynasty] as the [adopted] child of Emperor Ch’eng, it is proper to make plain the principle of [only] a single line of [imperial] descent, in order to ward off [such a] situation as had previously [arisen] and to make [the new arrangement] a model for later generations.”

Thereupon she had sent Chen Feng, bearing a kingly seal and cord, who had gone to the Emperor’s mother, the Concubine [nee] Wei, had installed her as the Queen of King Hsiao of Chung-shan, [the deceased Liu Hsing], and had granted to the Emperor’s maternal uncles, Wei Pao and [Wei] Pao’s younger brother, [Wei] Hsüan, the noble rank of Marquises of the Imperial Domain. All of them were detained in [the kingdom of] Chung-shan and were not permitted to go the imperial capital.


16.3 HS 12: 4a.
WANG MANG

[Wang] Mang did not listen [to this request, so Wang] Yü, and his teacher, Wu Chang, together with his own wife's elder brother, Lü K'uan, discussed the circumstances. [Wu] Chang considered that [Wang] Mang could not be admonished, but, since he was fond of spiritual beings, they should make some previous vices or portentous happenings, in order to terrify him. [Wu] Chang would thereupon explain them by citing parallel [instances from history] and so would cause him to give the government to the Wei clan. [Wang] Yü, then had [Lü] K'uan carry blood at night and sprinkle it at the door of [Wang] Mang's residence. When the officials discovered the [plot], [Wang] Mang had [Wang] Yü, seized and sent to prison, where he drank poison and died. [Wang] Yü's wife, [Lü] Wen, who was with child, was held in prison until she gave birth to the child; when it had been [born], she was killed.

[Wang] Mang memorialized, saying, "[Wang] Yü has been led into error by Lü K'uan and others, who spread groundless rumors to mislead the crowd, which is a crime similar to that of the [King's Uncles of] Kuan and of Ts'ai. Your servant does not dare to hide [the fact that] he has been executed."

Chen Han and others advised the [Grand] Empress Dowager to issue an imperial edict saying, "Verily, T'ang Yao had, [as his son], Tan-chu and King Wen of the Chou [dynasty] had, [as sons, Hsien and Tu, who were known as the King's Uncles of] Kuan and of Ts'ai. These [two rulers] were both sages of the highest [degree], yet they could not

Wang Mang to be

Superstitiously Terrified.

Wang Yü Executed.

Wang Mang Praised for his Freedom From Partiality.

16.4 For these technical terms, cf. Glossary, sub portenta.
16.5 HS 12: 7a.
16.6 The Sung Ch'i ed. notes that the Yüeh ed. (xii cent.) and the Shao ed. (x or xii cent.) omit the 棃; the Ching-yü ed. also lacks it; Wang Hsien-ch'ien adds that the Southern Academy ed. (1530/1) omits it. I have not translated it. The King's Uncles of Kuan and of Ts'ai also spread rumors; cf. Book of History V, vi, 12 (Legge, p. 357); Glossary, s.v.
prevent their sons from being of the lowest [degree]
of stupidity. Why? Because their own [good]
natures could not be transplanted [into the hearts
of these others]. You, Duke, occupy the position of
the Duke of Chou and assist your lord [as he assisted]
King Ch'eng. You have also executed [your son as
he executed the King's Uncles of] Kuan and of Ts'ai,
and have not [allowed] your love for your relatives
to injure the honor [due to] those who are honorable,
[i.e., the imperial family]. We approve of it most
highly.

"Anciently, after the Duke of Chou had executed
the descendants of the four states, his grand trans-
formation [of the country] was perfected, until
even the mutilating punishments [could be] estab-
lished but not employed. Do you, Duke, concen-
trate on attending to the state and aim at bringing
about the [utmost] tranquillity."

Hundreds More
Executed. Taking advantage of this [edict, Wang] Mang
exterminated the Wei clan and examined exhaustively
the case of Lü K'uan. [Wang Mang] involved [in
this case] the prominent persons of the commanderies
and kingdoms who had in the past criticized him in
memorials, and within [the imperial court] even [im-
licated] the Princess of Ching-wu, the King of Liang,
[Liu] Li-sa, the Marquis of Hung-yang, [Wang] Li-sa,
tortured or guarded them, and they all committed
suicide. Those who died were numbered by the
hundreds, so that [all] within [the four] seas trembled
at it.

The Commissioner Over the Army [subordinate to]

16.7 Yen Shih-ku explains that these four were those of the three Overseers (including
the King's Uncles of Kuan and of Ts'ai) and the wild tribes of the Hual region. Cf.
Glossary sub Kuan.
16.8 Cf. HFHD, II, 36, n. 5.1.
the Commander-in-chief, Pao, memorialized, saying, "The Duke Giving Tranquillity to the Han Dynasty, [Wang Mang], has suffered from the fact that his son, [Wang] Yü, has fallen into the [same] crimes [as the King's Uncles of] Kuan and of Ts'ai; his love for his son was very deep, [but], for the sake of the imperial house, [Wang Mang] has not presumed to consider his private [interests]. Since, however, [Wang] Yü has suffered for his crime, [Wang Mang] has sighed and has been deeply moved, so he has composed a writing in eight fascicles, in order to warn posterity. It would be proper to publish it in the commanderies and kingdoms and order the school officials to teach it."

The matter was referred to the various highest ministers, who begged that it should be ordered that the officials of the empire who were able to recite and explain the Duke's warning should therefore be recorded on the official registers [of meritorious persons preferred for official positions], just as those [who recite and explain] the Classic of Filial Piety.\[17.1\]

In the fourth year, in the spring, the suburban sacrifice (chiao) was performed to the [dynasty's] Eminent Founder, [Emperor Kao], making him the coadjutor of Heaven, and the sacrifice to the greatest exemplar (isung) was performed to Emperor Hsiao-wen, making him the coadjutor of the Lords on High.\[17.2\]

\[17.1\] Yen Shih-k'uo glosses, "Chu kuan-pu 督官簿 means that it was used in securing [persons who] were selected and recommended [to the central government as candidates for official position]." Chou Shou-ch'ang adds (in his HS-chu Chiao-su 55: 19a), "[Emperor] Hsiao-wen had an Erudit for the Classic of Filial Piety and the imperial capital commanderies had Masters for the Classic of Filial Piety [12: 7a], which was recording the Classic of Filial Piety on the official registers [as a regular study]. Wang Mang's... edict... ordering the government schools to teach [his own book] was, it seems, establishing it [too] in the government schools [as a regular subject of study]."

\[17.2\] This passage is also found in HS 12: 7a, cf. 12: n. 7.4 for annotations.
Mar. 16. In the second\textsuperscript{17,3} month, on [the day] ting-wei, His
Daughter Empress. A general amnesty [was granted] to the
Empress. Minister over the Masses, Ch'en Ch'ung, and others,
eight persons [in all], were sent to travel separately
about the empire, to observe and see [the people's] customs.\textsuperscript{17,4}
He should The Grand Guardian, [Wang] Shun\textsubscript{4b}, and others be
memorialized, saying, "[According to] the principles
Honorized of grading achievements and meritorious conduct in the
Further. \textit{Spring and Autumn} [in Mr. Tso's Commentary],
'The highest [degree of celebrity] is to establish [an
example of] meritorious conduct, the next [degree] is to
establish [a name for] successful achievements, and the
next [degree] is to establish [wise] sayings.\textsuperscript{17,5}
Verily, those of extreme meritorious conduct or of
great excellence are alone able to do this. Such
persons, if they were courtiers, thereupon [during]
their lifetime received great recompenses and [after]
their death became [known as] exemplary subjects;\textsuperscript{17,6} Yi Yin in the Yin [dynasty] and the Duke

\textsuperscript{17,3} The text reads "fourth month," but \textit{HS} 12: 7b, \textit{Han-chi} 30: 4b, and \textit{Tzu-chih T'ung-chien} 36: 4b all read "second month." "Fourth month" is an error. The fourth month was the first month of summer, but 12: 7b notes, after the marriage, "In the summer, the Empress [nee Wang] was presented in the Temple of [Emperor] Kao," and 97 B: 23a says, "In the next year, in the spring, [the Grand Empress Dowager] sent" various courtiers "with the legal equipage to go and fetch the Empress from the residence and palace of the Duke Giving Tranquillity to the Han [Dynasty, Wang Mang,]" to be married. Cf. Szu-pa Kuang, \textit{Tzu-chih T'ung-chien} K'ao-yi 2: 2a.

\textsuperscript{17,4} According to 18: 30a–31b these eight persons were Wang Yin, Yen Ch'ien, Ch'en Ch'ung, Li Esi, Ho Tang, Hsieh Yin, Lu Pu, and Ch'en Feng.

\textsuperscript{17,5} \textit{Tso-chuan}, Dk. Hsiang, XXIV (Legge, p. 507; Couvreur, II, 408).

\textsuperscript{17,6} Yen Shih-ku, in a note to \textit{HS} 39: 13b, says of \textit{tsung-ch'ien} 宗臣, "It means that they are those whom later generations honor and look up to." Chang Yen (iii cent. A.D.), in a note to 69 A: 21a, states, "A \textit{tsung} subject has performed signal services and becomes a duke of the first class, whom the state takes as an exemplar 困所宗者也." This ancient usage justifies the translation of \textit{tsung} in imperial temple names by the word "exemplar."
of Chou in the Chou [dynasty] were such [persons]."

The common people who presented [similar] letters to the Emperor moreover [numbered] more than eight thousand persons. They all said, "Yi Yin became the Supporting Governor and the Duke of Chou became the Grand Ruler. The Duke of Chou enjoyed [the honor of] having his seven sons enfeoffed and had recompenses greater than the highest rank of the highest ministers. It is proper that [it should be done] as Ch'en Ch'ung has said."

Their memorials were referred to the high officials, and the high officials begged that [Wang Mang] be returned the two counties [of Shao-ling and Hsin-hsi, with which his enfeoffment] had previously been increased, [and which he had returned to the government], together with Huang-yu Village and the cultivated fields in Hsin-yeh [County, which he had previously held]; that there be selected [a term] from [each of] the titles of Yi Yin, [Supporting Governor], and the Duke of Chou, [Grand Ruler], so that the Duke should be given the title of Ruling Governor, with his rank in the highest rank of the highest ministers; his division head clerks should be ranked at six hundred piculs; the three highest ministers, when speaking to him of [government] business, should say that they 'presume to speak of it;' the various [lower] officials should not be permitted to have the same personal name as the Duke; when he goes out he should be followed by twenty Attendants at the Gates, thirty [members of] the Winged Forest, and that before and after him there should be ten great chariots. The Duke's Lady Dowager, [his mother], should be granted the title, the Baronetess of Apparent Merits, with the income of an estate of

177 Parallel to the expression used to the emperor, "foolishly risking the commission of a crime worthy of death." Cf. HFHD, I, 99, n. 2; Ts'ai Yung's T'u-tuan, p. 5b. Yang Shu-ta quotes the Lun-heng as saying, "When [the officials of] commanderies speak of matters to the two yamens, they say, 'We presume to speak of it.'"
two thousand households, a golden seal and a red
seal-ribbon; the Duke's two sons should be enfeoffed:

17b [Wang] An₁₈ as Marquis in Recompense to [the
Marquis of] Hsin-[tu], (Pao-hsin), and [Wang] Lin₁₈
as Marquis in Reward to [the Marquis of Hsin]-tu
(Shang-tu); and thirty seven million [cash] should be
added to the betrothal present of the Empress,
[making it] altogether a hundred million [cash],¹⁷.⁸
in order to glorify the great rites [of imperial mar-
riage].

June 1⁹ The [Grand] Empress Dowager went to the Front
He Hall [of the Palace] in person to enfeoff [the Duke
Refuses and his sons]. The Duke Giving Tranquillity to the
Most Han Dynasty was first installed, and his two sons
of the were later installed, as [had happened] in the former
Honors. case of the Duke of Chou. [But Wang] Mang re-
peatedly bent his head to the ground, declining and
asking that [these honors] be given to others. When
he had gone out, he memorialized [the Empress Dowager] concerning these enfeoffments, [declaring
that] he wished only to accept the title for his mother
and [wished] to return the seals and [ceremonial]
with their titles, positions, and the households in
their estates.

The matter was referred to the Grand Master,
[K'ung] Kuang, and others, who all said, "These
rewards are not adequate for the achievements [of
him to whom they have been given]. Humility,
self-restraint, retiringness, and yielding are the con-
stant moderation of the Duke. [His request] should
not be eventually accepted."

[Wang] Mang asked for an audience and firmly
deleomed [these honors, so the Grand] Empress Dow-

¹⁷.⁸ Wang Mang had previously received 40 million cash (of which he gave 33 million
to the families of Emperor P'ing's concubines), then he was additionally granted 23 million
cash (99 A: 10a); now he was given 37 million more, making a total of 100 million cash.
¹⁹.⁹ Cf. HS 99 A: 18a.
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ager issued an imperial edict which said, "Every time that the Duke has an audience, he kowtows with tears falling, as if he firmly refuses [his honors]. Now he has sent [Us] a communication [informing Us] that he is ill. Should [We] indeed accede to his yielding so that [We] may order him to attend to his business? Or should [We] indeed put into effect his recompenes and send him home to his residence?"

[K'ung] Kuang and the others replied, "[Wang] An and [Wang] Lin, have in person received their seals and aprons, their charters and titles, and it has been communicated to Heaven, so that the justice [of their appointments] is patent. The cultivated fields of Huang-yu, Shao-ling, and Hsin-yeh are extraordinarily great in their income. [Their disposal] altogether rests with the Duke. If the Duke wishes to diminish himself in order to bring about a [moral] transformation in the state, it is proper that [his request to yield up these fields] be approved and acceded to, and it is to be expected that the [moral] transformation [which will bring about a condition of] good government and peace will accordingly be achieved in [due] time.

"[But] the office of Ruling Governor cannot be attained by [his heirs in the next] generation, [so that he should not be permitted to refuse it]. The cash [used] in the betrothal presents\(^\text{17.11}\) [of his daughter] was moreover to honor her as the [future] Empress, and not for the Duke's sake. The households [in the estate] of the Baronetess of Apparent Merits will lapse with her [death] and not be transmitted [to her descendants]. The two estates of Pao-hsin and Shang-tu together [amount only to] three thousand

\(^{17.10}\) To "send a minister to his residence" meant dismissing him from his position and from the court. Evidently the Grand Empress Dowager had become tired of Wang Mang's posing.

\(^{17.11}\) The "presentation of the betrothal presents" was the fourth of the rites preliminary to a marriage; cf. n. 93. It made the betrothal binding.
households, which is indeed very little. [According to] the conduct of a loyal official, it is moreover proper that he should humble his own [will] in order to show his fealty to his lord.

"It would be proper to send the Grand Minister over the Masses, [Ma Kung], and the Grand Minister of Works, [Chen Feng], with credentials, bearing your edict of decree that the Duke must quickly enter [the court] and attend to business, and give an edict to the Masters of Writing not again to receive a memorial from the Duke which yields up [his honors]." The memorial was approved. [Wang]

June 1
Mang thereupon arose and attended to business.

He presented a letter saying, "Your servant, as the Marquis of Hsin-tu, in [the year-period] Yüan-shou, the second year, the sixth month, on [the day] mou-wu, in a night of haste and confusion, as Marquis of Hsin-tu, was led into the Wei-yang Palace. On Aug. 17 [the day] keng-shen, I was installed as Commander-in-chief and occupied the position of [one of the three highest ministers. In [the year-period] Yüan-shih, the first year, the second\textsuperscript{18a} month, on [the day] ping-ch`en, I was installed as Grand Tutor, granted the title of the Duke Giving Tranquillity to the Han Dynasty, and merely acted as [one of] the Four Coadjutors. In the present year, the fourth month, on [the day] chiia-tzu, I was again installed as Ruling Governor, being ranked in the highest class of the highest ministers. I, your servant Mang, myself think humbly that my noble rank is Marquis of Hsin-tu, my title is Duke Giving Tranquillity to the Han Dynasty, my offices are those of Ruling Governor, Grand Tutor, and Commander-in-chief, so that

\textsuperscript{18a} The text reads "first month," but Hoang does not list a ping-ch`en day in that month; HS 19 B: 51b reads "second month," which checks; I emend the text accordingly. Cf. also n. 6.2.
my noble rank is [too] high, my title is [too] honorable, and my offices are [too] weighty for a single person. That I should have received [these] five great favors, is indeed beyond your humble servant’s merits.

“Since in the third year of [the period] Yuan-shih, the empire had a good harvest, it is proper that those official subordinate positions which have been abolished should all be [now] reestablished.

“The Ku-liang Commentary says, ‘The [Grand] Ruler of the Son of Heaven should be acquainted with [all within] the four seas.’ Your servant stupidly considers that the office of Ruling Governor has for its duties the correcting of all the officials and the tranquillizing of [all] within [the four] seas. Yet it has no seal or sign, so that its name does not correspond to its reality. [Although] your servant Mang does not have the ability to [hold many] offices concurrently, since now you, the sage court, have through an error and mistake employed me, your servant begs that the Attendant Secretaries should have a seal engraved for the Ruling Governor with the inscription, ‘Ruling Governor, Grand Tutor, and Commander-in-chief,’ and, when the seal is completed, transmit it to your servant Mang, who will then return the seals of the Grand Tutor and of the Commander-in-chief.’ The [Grand] Empress Dowager’s imperial edict said, ‘It is approved. His [ceremonial] apron shall be like that of the Chancellor of State. We will Ourself attend [court] to transmit it to him.’

18a Ku-liang Commentary 8: 2b; Dk. Hsi, IX, summer.
18b For the apron (fu) as an article of ceremonial attire, cf. 99 A: n. 2.8. Wang Mang seems to have first made it part of a noble’s or official’s insignia of office, for it is first mentioned in the reign of Emperor P’ing. Its use was in imitation of classical practices—it is mentioned in Li-chi, XI, ii, 21–27 and XII, 29 (Legge, II, 14–16, 38; Couvreur, I, 700–702, 740). Cf. also Po-ju-lung 10: 1a, b.

Yen Shih-k’u, both here and in his notes to 14: 4b, 99 B: 1a, and 99 C: 5b, glosses, “The fu is also called a tsu 組,” which latter article was the cord by which seals were
A Great Gift. Wang Mang thereupon again took ten million cash of what had been added to the betrothal present [for his daughter] and left it with the Chief Chamberlain at the Ch’ang-lo [Palace], who had charge of providing for [the Grand Empress Dowager].

The Grand Guardian, [Wang] Shun, memorialized, saying, “The empire has heard that the Duke would not accept a territory [that would furnish] a thousand chariots, has refused a present of [the equivalent of] ten thousand [catties of] gold, has suspended from the wearer’s girdle. The use of fu1 with the word for seal (e.g. 99 B: 23a) makes this interpretation plausible. The word fu1 was moreover interchangeably with fu2 紹, which latter word later denoted the seal-ribbon.

This interchange between fu1 and fu2 has probably misled Yen Shih-ku. Ch’en Hsiao-tao (1053–1093), in his Li-shu 23: 6b, states that from the Wei and Chin periods (iii cent. A.D.) onwards, the fu1, instead of being made of leather, was made of silk gauze, hence the word was sometimes written fu2 (with the silk radical). Such may have been the case already in Pan Ku’s time; cf. 99 B: n. 1.1). As a result, people would be likely to confuse fu1 and fu2 and think mistakenly that the fu1 denoted a seal-ribbon—which statement was evidently current in T’ang times and is to be found in the dictionaries today. But Ch’en Hsiao-tao takes his information, according to a note, from Hsü Kuang’s (ca. 352–425) “Rites and Institutes Concerning Carriages and Robes” (probably the same as his 車服雜法, listed in the Sui-shu bibliography 2: 14a, the Old T’ang-shu bibliography 1: 34b, and the New T’ang-shu bibliography 2: 21b; the book is now lost), so that this information dates from two centuries before the time of Yen Shih-ku.

Until Wang Mang came into power, the term used along with the word for seal is shou 貝, seal-ribbon (8: 22b, 12: 1a, 99 A: 4a). During the time Wang Mang controlled the government, the fu1 is however occasionally mentioned along with the seal as the insignia of noble or bureaucratic rank (14: 4b, 99 A: 18b, 22b, 26b; 99 B: 1a, 23a). In Wang Mang’s time, the term shou also on occasions accompanies the word for seal (98: 13b, 99 B: 11a, 12b, 18a; 99 C: 27b). The Later Han dynasty also used the shou (HHS, Tr. 30: 13b–15a). The fu1 (apron) was the first of the nine distinctions (99 A: 22b), so that it was only natural for Wang Mang to have used it as one of his insignia for a high office. Such an article of attire was chiefly convenient at a court where the kowtow was common. The fu1 is mentioned under circumstances in which it can only mean “apron” (99 B: 22b, 26b); it would be very strange to have the same word used to denote two very different articles of apparel without any explanation on the part of the author. Yen Shih-ku’s change in the meaning of fu1 is unacceptable.

18. A catty of gold was equivalent to ten thousand cash; ten thousand catties of gold were then equivalent to a hundred million cash. This was the amount of the dowry; cf. 99 A: 17b.
distributed his wealth and has given it away by the ten-millions, so that no one fails to reform himself. A man of Shu Commandery, Lu Chien, and others have stopped their litigation, blushing for shame, and retired. Although King Wen [of the Chou dynasty] caused the rulers of the states of Yü and Jui to cease [their quarrels], how could it be more than [what Wang Mang has accomplished]? It would be proper to inform the empire [of the foregoing facts]."

The memorial was approved.

When the Ruling Governor, [Wang Mang], went out, he was both preceded and followed by ten large chariots, with a Specially Serving Master of Writing, Gentlemen, Attending Secretaries, Internuncios, Palace Attendants Within the Yellow Gate, Attendants at the Gates, and [members of] the Winged Forest. The Ruling Governor regularly bore his credentials. When he stopped [anywhere], an Internuncio held them for him. The division head clerks of the Ruling Governor were ranked at six hundred piculs. The three highest ministers, [in speaking to him] said that they "presumed to speak of [their business]."

In this year, [Wang] Mang memorialized [the plans for] and built a Ming-l'ang, a Pi-yung, and a Spiritual Tower, and for the students [in the Imperial University] he erected ten thousand houses and had made a Market and a Regularly Full Granary.

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18.5 For this story, cf. Glossary, sub Yü2a.
18.6 Liu Pin (1022–1088) remarks that this last sentence is repeated from 99 A: 17b, and declares that it should be excised here; but this whole paragraph seems to be a summary of the ritual, etc. connected with the office of Ruling Governor in the spirit of HS, ch. 19 A, in which case this sentence is pertinent here.
18.7 Li T'zu-ming, op. cit., 7: 15a, states that the Ch'u-hsüeh Chi (viii cent.; I cannot find this passage) quotes the San-fu Huang-l'u (iii to vii cent.) as saying that in 4 A.D. Wang Mang "built the Ming-l'ang, Pi-yung, made 30 residences for the Erudites, and made a market-place for meeting," and also, "Seven li east of the city he made a Regularly Full Granary. North of the Granary he made the Huai Market-place. The various
His institutions were very grand. He established the *Classic of Music*\(^{19.1}\) [as an imperially approved classic], and increased the regular number of the Erudits, having five for each Classic. He summoned those from the empire who were versed in one classic and were teaching eleven persons or more,\(^{19.2}\) together with those who possessed the lost [chapters of] the *Rites*, the ancient [text of] the *Book of History*,\(^{19.3}\)

Hua trees were in several hundred rows and the students would meet and hold market [there] on the first and fifteenth days of the month.” This passage is not now in the *San-fu Huang-t'u*, which has suffered losses. Cf. Glossary *sub* Imperial University. Li T'zu-ming accordingly says that in the HS text, before the word 市 there has dropped out the word 會, reading, “a market-place for meeting.”

\(^{19.1}\) This *Classic of Music* has been lost. Wang Ch'ün, in his *Lun-heng* 13: 16a, 29: 9b (Forke, II, 297, 1, 88) says twice, “Yang-ch'eng [Heng] Tzu-chang 陽成子長 composed the *Classic of Music*.” Huan T'an (ca. 40 B.C.–A.D. 29), in his *Hsin-lun* (lost, quoted in T'ai-p'ing Yu-lan 815: 11b), says, “Yang-ch'eng Tzu-chang’s personal name was Heng 衛 and he was a man from Shu Commandery. When Wang Wang and I were both Libationers Expounding the Classic of Music and [Yang-ch'eng Heng] was in bed ill, we purchased ahead of time inner and outer coffins [for him].” Wang Wang took part in the rebellion of Chai Yi and was burnt to death by Wang Mang in A.D. 7 (cf. *HHS*, Mem. 35: 10b); the Libationers were not however appointed until A.D. 11 (*HS* 90 B: 18a), so that Huan T'an’s memory must have been at fault about his title at that time. Yang-ch'eng Heng’s death then probably occurred some time during Wang Mang’s reign. The *T'ung-chih*, ch. 29 (Com. Pr. ed.), p. 479c, *sub* double surnames quotes the *Feng-su-t'ung* as stating that in Han times there was a Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant, excellency Yang-ch'eng Heng.

The *Classic of Music* established as canonical by Wang Mang was then written by Yang-ch'eng Heng and this is probably the one mentioned in the *Chin History*. (From Ma Kuo-han’s [fl. 1832–1882] “Introduction” to the *Yo-ching* in his “Yü-han Shan-fang Chi-yi-shu”). *Sui-shu* ch. 32, “Treatise on the Classics and Literature” 1: 21a, lists a “Classic of Music in four rolls.” But this book is not mentioned in later bibliographies. What the relation was of this book to the “Yo-chi (Record of Music),” now ch. 17 in the *Book of Rites*, is unknown. Cf. *Szu-k'u Ch'i-an-shu* Ts'ung-mu *T'i-yao* 38: 1a (Com. Pr. ed. p. 789).

\(^{19.2}\) *HS* 12: 9b dates this summons in A.D. 5; probably that date represents the time these persons mostly arrived.

\(^{19.3}\) “The lost [chapters of] the *Rites*” denotes the 39 fascicles (chapters) of the *Book of Rites* in ancient characters said by Liu Hsin to have been found by King Kung of Lu, Liu Yu (d. 129 B.C.), in the wall of Confucius' house and presented to the imperial throne by K'ung An-kuo after 100 B.C. (*HS* 36: 33a). These chapters were not the Chou-li (mentioned separately), which is said to have been secured about the same time by King
the Mao [text of] the Book of Odes, the Chou Offices [the Chou-li], the Erh-ya, [books on] astronomy, divinations and revelations, the musical tubes, the “Ordinances for the Months,” military methods, the written characters in Shih [Chou’s] Fascicles, and who were versed in and understood He Gathered the Learned and Establishes New Classics.

Hsien of Ho-chien, Liu Tè (HS 53: 1b).

“The ancient [text of] the Book of History” denotes the 16 fascicles (chapters) of that Book in ancient characters, said by Liu Hsin, to have been found along with the lost Rites and also to have been presented to the throne by K’ung An-kuo (HS 36: 33a).

HS 36: 31b states that Liu Hsin, “wanted to have made authoritative Mr. Tso’s [Commentary on] the Spring and Autumn [i.e., the Tso-chuan], the Mao [text of the Book of Odes], the lost [chapters of] the Rites, and the ancient [text of the Book of History].” Hence this order of Wang Mang was instigated by Liu Hsin and constituted a step towards making these classics authoritative, i.e., placed on the curriculum of the government schools and used for government examinations.

19.4 The “Mao [text of the Book of Odes]” is the one at present current. It was made authoritative by Wang Mang during the reign of Emperor Ping (Legge, Chin. Clas. IV, I, p. 11).

Liu Hsin, also worked on the Chou-li and eventually Wang Mang made it authoritative. During the reign of Wang Mang, all the books here listed, from the lost Book of Rites to the Erh-ya, were probably made authoritative.

19.5 “Ordinances for the Months, Yueh-ting 月令” is the title of the present chap. IV in the Li-chi (Legge, I, pp. 249–310; Couvreur, I, 330–410), which chapter consists of excerpts from chaps. I–XII of the Lu-shih Ch’un-ch’iu (Wilhelm’s trans. pp. 1–156). Besides this document, there were probably other writings on this popular subject.

19.6 “The Art of War, Ping-ja 兵法,” is the title of the military treatise attributed to Sun-tzu 孫子 and translated by L. Giles, Sun Tzu on the Art of War. Giles (p. xvii) however points out that the title, “Sun-tzu in 82 fascicles, with diagrams in 9 roles” listed in HS 30: 59a, shows that in Han times there were other apocryphal works on this subject, not included in the 13 books of Sun-tzu that we have at present. Wang Mang’s call was probably for more than just this one book, for in 99 C: 21b he is said to have employed military men of all the 63 schools mentioned in HS 30: 64a (cf. 99 C: n. 21.3). The Han dynasty had its own military methods 軍法, set forth by Han Hsin (HS 1 B: 24b; HFHD, I, 146 & n. 4). Wang Mang seems to have intended to accumulate the country’s learning at the imperial capital and use it for the imperial benefit.

19.7 Shih Chou’s Fascicles were the earliest Chinese lexicographical work. It seems to have been a word list of correct forms; cf. D. Bodde, China’s First Unifier, ch. VIII. This book is listed in HS 30: 22b. Ibid, 26a, b says, “In [the period] Yüan-shih, [Wang Mang] summoned from the [whole] empire those who were versed in philology. [They arrived] by the hundreds, and each one was ordered to record words in the [Palace] courts. Yang Hsiung, took those [writings] that were of use and composed from them his Hsün-
their meaning. All went to the [office of the Major in Charge of] Official Carriages, so that Wang Mang ensnared and collected [all] the gentlemen of uncommon ability in the empire. Those who came, at former and later times, were numbered by the thousands. All were ordered to write out their explanations [of the Classics] in his courts, with the intention of making them correct their discrepancies and errors and unify differing explanations.

Various courtiers memorialized, saying, “Anciently, when the Duke of Chou upheld the heir who succeeded his father, although he possessed the honor of being in the highest rank of the highest ministers, yet only in the seventh year were the institutions fixed. Verily, the Ming-t'ang and Pi-yung have fallen into ruins and have been abolished for a thousand years and no one has been able to revive them. Now the Duke Giving Tranquillity to the Han Dynasty has arisen from a great family and has assisted and protected your Majesty for four years down to the present. His achievements and virtuous conduct are brilliant.

“The Duke, in the eighth month, when the moon began to wax, on [the day] keng-tzu, received the

tsuan P'ien 訓纂篇. He followed the Tsang Chieh and also altered the duplicating words in the Tsang Chieh. It was in 89 paragraphs.”

18. A reference to Li-chi XII, 7 (Legge, II, 31), where the Duke of Chou is said to have resigned in the seventh year. Cf. infra, n. 20.1.

19. Wang Mang’s action in laying the foundations “when the moon began to wax” was in imitation of the foundation of the city of Lo by the Duke of Chou. The phrase, “when the moon began to wax, ts'ai-sheng-p'o 戟生魄” is a quotation from the account of that foundation in Book of History, V, ix, 1 (Legge, p. 381). (That Book writes ts'ai 戟 for ts'ai. These words were interchangeable; so were p'o1 and p'o2.)

The meaning of the phrase, ts'ai-sheng-p'o, seems to have suffered a complete reversal due to an inexact writing of the word p'o. The correct word was p'o1 戟. Hsi Sheng, in his Shuo-uen 7 A: 4a, defines p'o1 as follows: “When the moon is first born, it is like a p'o1 (new moon). When [in the calendar, we receive] a long month, [the p'o1] is on the second day of the month; when we receive a short month, it is on the third day.” (In China, months have begun with the new moon, or,
more exactly, the day of the moon's conjunction with the sun, when the moon is invisible). Since *p'o* is written with the word for "moon," this is probably the fundamental meaning of the character. Shuo-wen 9 A: 7a defines *p'o* quite differently, as "A yin spirit." Since *ts'ai* (and *tsai*) means "beginning," *ts'ai-sheng-p'o* then originally meant "When the new moon appears," and denoted the second or third day of the (lunar) month. This interpretation is confirmed by Li-chi XLII, i, 4 (Legge, II, 436; Couvreur, II, 655), "Like the third day of the moon, when it produces its *p'o* (new moon), 象月之三日而成魄也," and ibid. 20 (Legge, II, 445; Couvreur II, 667), "The moon, when it is in the third day [of the month] produces its *p'o* 月者三日則成魄." In a note to the above passage from the Book of History, ("Shih-san Ch'ing Chu-su," Shu-ch'ing 11: 1b), Ma Jung (79-166) moreover glosses, "*P'o* is the new moon 胞. It means that in the third day [of the month] the moon first brings to birth the form of its new moon and its name is called *p'o*." Wang Mang used this interpretation, for this date was the second day of a short month, according to Hoang. (Chen Yüan's Comparative Daily Calendar is probably in error, for it makes this the first day of the month).

This meaning of *p'o* seems to have suffered reversal because it was the ancient practice to interchange many words with their homonyms. Thus *p'o* came to be written *p'o*, with the resultant interpretation of *p'o* (which ordinarily means the vital principle of the body, the material soul) to mean "the substance of the moon 月質," i.e. the unilluminated part of the moon, which appears when the moon begins to wane. Hence *ts'ai-sheng-p'o* came to mean, "when the dark part of the moon is first born," i.e., a day after full moon, the sixteenth day of the month and after. This interpretation appears in the K'ung An-ko gloss to the above passage in the Book of History, ibid., "The Duke of Chou established his government in the seventh year, third month, when the *p'o* (dark part of the moon) was first born, on the sixteenth day of the [lunar] month, when the full moon was waning and the dark part of the moon (*p'o*) was born." To justify his chronological calculations, Liu Hsin adopted this interpretation; HS 21 B: 60b quotes his San-t'ung-li as follows: "When the dark of the moon (*p'o*) dies, it is the day of new month; when the dark of the moon (*p'o*) is born, it is the day of full moon. 死魄既生魄望也." Meng K'ang, in a note to HS 21 B: 60a, interprets likewise, "In the second day of the month and onwards, the moon is born and its dark (*p'o*) dies." K'ung Ying-ta consequently took this interpretation of *p'o*. In a note to Book of History V, iii, 3 (Ibid. 11: 11b), he explains, "The places in which the circle of the moon have no light are called *p'o*. After the day of new moon, its *ming* 明 (its brilliance or spiritual substance) is born and its *p'o* (its dark or material substance) dies. After the day of full moon, its *ming* dies and its *p'o* is born." Here is the pretty conceit that the moon has two souls, like man, which die and are born as the moon waxes and wanes. This interpretation was adopted by Legge (cf. his Book of History, p. 307) and Couvreur (Dict. Class., III ed. sub *p'o*), so that it influences their translations of the classics, sometimes with curious consequences.

It is interesting that in this case Wang Mang's courtiers deliberately departed from the interpretation given to a passage of the classic by his greatest authority, Liu Hsin. Wang Mang's court contained other authorities who disagreed with Liu Hsin, and these scholars preserved the correct interpretation of *p'o*. (Cf. T'szu-hai, sub *p'o*, *p'o*, *ts'ai-sheng-p'o*; Wang Kuo-wei, Kuan-t'ung-chi-li, I:1a-5b.)
19b message [authorizing him to] employ [people] for the purposes of the court, and he himself attended to the required service and the work of construction.

24b And on the next day, [the day] hsin-ch’ou, the various masters and common people assembled in great harmony; a great crowd of a hundred thousand [persons] joined together, working with vigor for twenty [days], when the great work was all completed. When T’ang [Yao] and Yü [Shun] did [great] things or when at Ch’eng-chou [the Duke of Chou] founded the dynasty’s [capital], they verily did no better.

“It is proper that the rank of the Ruling Governor should be above that of the vassal kings, that he should be granted bundles of silk to which are affixed jade circlets, one chariot of state [like that for] a large kingdom, one comfortable carriage, and two quadrigae of black horses.” The imperial edict said, “It is approved. Let rules for the nine distinctions be discussed.”

Winter

In the winter, a great wind blew off almost all the roof-tiles on [the buildings at] the eastern gates of the city wall of Ch’ang-an.

A.D. 5

In the fifth year, in the first month, the hsia ancestral sacrifice to all the ancestors together was performed in the Ming-t’ang; twenty-eight vassal kings, one hundred twenty full marquises, and more than nine hundred scions of the imperial house were

19.10 Meng K’ang (fl. 220–240) explains, “It is the message taxing [the people] for corvée service 賦功役之書.”

19.11 Yen Shih-ku suggests that p’ing 平 might be emended to p’eí 豐. Ho Ch’uo (1661–1722) quotes Book of History, V, xii, 7, (Legge, p. 424) which contains the phrase p’eí-tso 剩, to substantiate this emendation. Wang Nien-sun (1744–1832) adds that this passage imitates Book of History, V, xiii, which uses the unusual word p’eí twice, and calls attention to the fact that, in the ancient official form of writing, p’ing and p’eí were written similarly and were sometimes confused.

19.12 This sentence is also found in 12: 8b. The next sentence is also found in that passage, q.v. for annotations.