

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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BALTIMORE
WAVERLY PRESS, INC.
1955

言公文漸清德化有窮究之答宜承
樂少府宗正尚書令納采見女還奏
女臣戴正統莽白願見女太后遣長
白宜博選求女公卿等曰不宜采諸

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]."

[Wang] Mang [accordingly] advised [the Grand Empress Dowager] that he was willing to have his daughter interviewed. The [Grand] Empress Dowager sent the Privy Treasurer of Ch'ang-lo [Palace, Hsia-hou Fan^{9.2}], the Superintendent of the Imperial House, [Liu Hung^{9.2}], and the Prefect of the Masters of Writing, [P'ing Yen^{9.2}], to present the proposal [of marriage]^{9.3} 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

A.D. 3.
Spring^{9.1}
12a
She is
Selected.

9b

^{9.1} Cf. *HS* 12: 6b.

^{9.2} From *HS* 97 B: 23a, which states that the Privy Treasurer, Tsung-po Feng, was also sent.

^{9.3} *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-li* 4: 1a (Steele, I, 18), "When the [prospective] bride's [parents] have made known [their willingness], in presenting (*na*) [the announcement that the girl] had been chosen (*ts'ai*), a wild goose is employed." 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-tse* 擇), 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 *nei* 內 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-tse*), 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.

that it would be proper for her to continue the heavenly^{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,^{9.5} which may be said to be a response [presaging] prosperity and security, a portent of great good fortune.”

所謂康強之占逢吉之符也信
兆通金水王相卦通父母得位
司空策告崇廟雜加卜筮皆曰
大序祭祀有招達大司徒大

^{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.

^{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*₂ 王 should here be read as *wang*₄ 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 Ch'i (108-201 A.D.) says, “‘Heaven's times’ means the time and the day when the branches and stems and five elements *wang-hsiang* 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-hsiang* is also found in *Lun-heng* 1: 12b, ch. 3 [Forke, I, 148] where it is applied to people. For an explanation of *ku-hsü* 孤虛, cf. P'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*₄) for the branches *szu*, *wu*, *wei*, *shen*, and *yu* and the element water flourishes (*wang*₄) for the branches *shen*, *yu*, *hsü*, *hai*, and *tzu*. Hence the prognostication was *shen* and *yu*, for these branches are in both lists. Yet the marriage was performed on the day *ting-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

臣臣重宗廟孝之至也終言應禮可許
 司皆自古者天子封后父百里尊而不
 紀子稱侯安漢公國未稱古制事下有
 鄉侯終上言春秋天子將娶於紀則衰

The Marquis of Hsin-hsiang, [Liu] T'ung²⁶, 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.^{9.6} The estate of the Duke Giving Tranquillity to the Han Dynasty, [Wang Mang], is not yet conformable to [this] ancient regulation."

9b
 Confucian
 Tradition
 Awards
 Him
 Great
 Grants.

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 *li* [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 *l'ai*?" Perhaps Chang Yen understood divination better than Liu Pin did.

^{9.6} In the *Spring and Autumn*, Dk. Yin, II (721 B.C.), (Legge, p. 8), there is mentioned a "Tzu-po of Chi, 紀子伯." In a note to *Tso-chuan* 2: 17a, Tu Yü (221-284) declares, "Tzu-po is the style of Lieh-hsü 裂繻 [a grandee of Chi, mentioned in the same chapter of the *Tso-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: 6b, 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 *li* [square]." There were thus two interpretations of the phrase *Chi Tzu-po*.

12b 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 Returns Hsin-yeh. [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

是臣配至尊
莽謝曰臣莽
女不配至尊
請呂新野田
六百頃益封
莽萬五千

^{9.7} *HS* 24 A: 2b declares that six feet made a *pu* 步 (double pace) and a hundred *pu* made a *mou* 畝, 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* 頃," 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 291,840 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* 井, 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-chi* III, v, 19 (Legge, I, 244; Couvreur 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 9.094 inches (Eng. measure) long (cf. *HFHD*, I, ch. IV, app. II, p. 279), the *li* was 1364 feet Eng. measure or 415.8 meters long. This length can be confirmed from a study by Ch'ou Tsai-lu 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'ê) to Guma (P'i-shan) to be 380 *li*, while it is measured at 155 km.; from Guma to Yotkan (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 (1932), 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-chi* III, v, 21 (Legge I, 246; Couvreur, 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.

益封臣莽伏自惟念得託肺腑獲許
 土如使子女誠能奉稱聖德臣莽國
 邑足臣共朝貢不須復加益地之寵
 願歸所益太后許之有司奏故第聘

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]^{9,8} and have [thus] attained noble rank and lands. 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.

10a

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* 柿 as a scraped wooden writing block. Wang Nien-sun asserts that *fei₁* is borrowed for *fei₂* (giving examples); that 梓, *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* Shih₁ 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-haün* B: 23a, b; ch. 17 (q.v.).

It is strongly attacked by Chang Shou-chieh 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, Takigawa states that it was an expression peculiar to Han times, not seen in the *Books of Odes*, of *History*, the *Tso-chuan* or the *Kuo-yü*, and was used to denote close relatives. Cf. *Tz'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.

He gift of] twenty thousand catties of actual gold,^{9.9}
 Distrib- which would be two hundred million cash. [Wang]
 utes Mang declined it and asked strongly that it be given
 10a to others, [but] received forty million [cash] and gave
 the Dowry thirty-three million [cash] of that [sum] to the fami-
 Money lies of [the Emperor's] eleven concubines, [who were
 Among the to accompany the Empress].

Families of Various courtiers again said, "Now the betrothal
 the Im- presents received for the Empress barely surpass
 perial those for the various concubines." [So] there was
 Concu- an imperial edict again increasing [the gift to Wang
 bines- Mang] by twenty-three million [cash, making it]
 elect. altogether thirty million [cash. Wang] Mang again
 He is used ten million [cash] of that [sum] to divide among
 Given the poor persons in his nine [sets of] relatives.

Additional Ch'en Ch'ung was at that time Director of Justice
 Sums. to the Grand Minister over the Masses, [Ma Kung],
 Chang and was good friends with Chang Ch'ang's grandson,
 13a [Chang] Sung. [Chang] Sung was a gentleman of
 Sung's wide learning, and drafted for [Ch'en] Ch'ung a me-
 Laudatory memorial praising the achievements and virtuous con-
 Memorial duct of [Wang] Mang, which [Ch'en] Ch'ung me-
 for memorialized. It said,

Ch'en "[According to] the opinion of your unworthy
 Ch'ung. servant, from the time that the Duke Giving Tran-
 quillity to the Han Dynasty first 'brought his bundle
 of dried flesh [and began studying],'^{10.1} he has been
 placed in an age when customs have been highly

^{9.9} *Han-chiu-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.

平泰稱其功德芳泰之曰竊見安漢公自初東修世俗陸
 者陳宗時為大司徒司直與張歆孫竦相善竦者博通士為
 招復益二千三百萬合為三千萬并復日共千萬分于九族
 千三百萬于十一條家厚臣復言今皇后受聘踰厚安亡我
 皇后黃金二萬斤為錢二萬萬并深辭讓受四十萬而巨共三

誅管季子鴆叔牙公之謂矣是臣孝成皇帝命公大司馬委臣
 及為侍中故定侯活于長有大逆罪公不敢私建白誅討周公
 士惠于故舊篤于師友孔子曰未若貧而樂富而好禮公之謂矣
 驚馬地匹無二閉門之內考及之德求莫不聞清靜樂道溫良下
 意然而折節行仁克心履禮拚世矜俗確然特立忠忠忠食隨事
 麗之時蒙兩宮厚骨肉之寵被詔父赫赫之光財饒孰足亡所持

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,'^{10.2} 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,^{10.3} which [precedent] 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.

Chang Sung's Laudatory Memorial. (1) His Self-discipline.

10b

(2) His Impartial Revelation of His Cousin's Crime.

^{10.2} *Analects* I, xv, 1.

^{10.3} For these events, cf. Glossary, *sub* these names.

Chang Sung's Laudatory Memorial. (3) His Opposition to the Advancement of Natural Imperial Maternal Relatives. 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],^{10.5} in order to make plain the constitution of the state. The *Book of Odes* says,

"The weak he did not devour
And the powerful he did not eject;
He did not insult widowers or widows
Nor fear the strong or resistful,"^{10.6}

which indeed applies to the Duke.

(4) His Unjust Dismissal. "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} Ts'ai Yung, in his *Tu-tuan*, A: 2b, explains that *sheng-yü* 乘輿 and *ch'e-chia* 車駕 name to mean merely "imperial" or "Emperor."

^{10.5} Cf. 99 A: 2b, 3a.

^{10.6} *Book of Odes*, # 260; III, iii, vi, 5 (Legge, p. 544). The Mao text reads 矜 for the HS's 錄. 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.

退推誠讓位定陶太后欲立得說悍使而刺性生之義侯慈
 柔亦不如剛亦不吐不侮蝶券不畏強固公之謂吾深執謙
 臣定大綱述白定陶太后不宜在乘與性生臣明國體詩曰
 國統孝衣即位高昌侯董宏布指承美造作二統公手劾之

女之獲皆自知得罪天下結讎中山則必同是斷金相其將假
 國於顯公之謂矣當此之時宮亡儲主重賢扶重加臣博氏有
 刑度遂成篡亂斥逐仁賢誅及戚屬而公被胥原之誅遠去就
 之權朱博之嗜愆此長宏手劫之事上下盡心詭賊交亂誌碎

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 calumny [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,

Chang
Sung's
Laudatory
Memorial.
11a

'When [capable] men flee,
The state is exhausted and at the point
of ruin,'^{10.7}

14a

which applies indeed to the Duke.

11a

"At this time, [when Emperor Ai had died], there was no heir in the [imperial] palaces; Tung Hsien_{2a} 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]',^{11.1} utilize a forged

(5) His
Crushing
of
Imperial
Favorites.

^{10.7} *Book of Odes*, #264; III, III, x, 5 (Legge, p. 563). One character there is written differently from in the Mao text.

^{11.1} 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 P'ing], 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].^{11,2}

14b 11b "Thanks to the Duke, who at once entered [the court, Tung] Hsien_{2a} 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_{2a}] 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] Yü 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_{2a} 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.

11b

"Without your Majesty, [Grand Empress Dow-

賢喪其魂能遂自絞殺人不道踵日不移存存然四除更為事期非陸
雖有資育不及待刺雖有得里不及向知雖有充谷不及造次是故重
前之威街衛屬色振揚武怒乘其未堅厥其未發震起機動敵人摧折
不難兵稍公立入即時退賢及其黨親當此之時公運獨見之明常亡
遠詔頻用賞誅先除所憚急引所附遠誣往寇更微遠屬事孰見其

^{11,2} The Sung Ch'i ed. asserted that 微 should be 懲, after 其 there should be the word 然, and the 矣 should be excised. The Ching-yu ed. has the first of these changes.

同或公勳皆臣周公為比立賜號安漢公益封二縣公皆不受
受封益土為國名臣書曰知人則哲公之謂也公御成勳公德
令節與大司徒先車騎將軍有建社稷奉節東迎皆臣功德
王孔子曰故則有功公之謂矣於是公乃白內故泗水相豐稜
下吳引立公非公莫克此禍詩云惟師尚父時惟鷹揚亮使武

ager], no one could have presented [for appointment] and given [office] to the Duke; without the Duke no one could have vanquished this calamity.

The *Book of Odes* says,

'Verily, the [Grand] Master was Shang-fu, [Lü Shang].

He was an eagle, a hawk,
Assisting King Wu;^{11.3}

and Confucius said, 'With promptness you will have success;^{11.4} which indeed apply to the Duke.

"Hence the Duke thereupon advised [the Grand Empress Dowager] to receive the former Chancellor of [the kingdom of] Szu-shui, [Chen] Feng, and the Prefect of T'ai, [Chen] Han, together with the Grand Minister over the Masses, [K'ung] Kuang, and the General of Chariots and Cavalry, [Wang] Shun^{11.5}, [and have them] propose and plan [the enthronement of the Emperor who should care for the dynasty's] altars to the gods of the soils and grains, go eastwards, bearing credentials, and invite [the present Emperor to ascend the throne]. All of them received enfeoffment or additional territory because of their achievements and virtuous conduct and became famous officials of the state. The *Book of History* says, 'One who knows people is wise,'^{11.5} which applies to the Duke.

"The ministers all sighed after the Duke's virtue and all honored the Duke's signal services, [saying that] they were equal to those of the Duke of Chou, so that it would be proper to grant him the title of the Duke Giving Tranquillity to the Han Dynasty and to increase his enfeoffment by two counties, [but] the Duke would not accept any of them. A book

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Laudatory
Memorial.

(6) His
Selection
of
15a
Capable
Subordi-
nates.

12a

(7) His
Refusal
of
Honors.

^{11.3} *Book of Odes*, #236; III, 1, ii, 8 (Legge, p. 436).

^{11.4} *Analects* XVII, vi.

^{11.5} *Book of History*, II, III, ii, 2 (Legge, p. 70).

Chang says, 'Shen Pao-hsü would not receive the reward for Sung's 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. 12a
 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-

千載希有然而公推國家之統攝大福之恩事事謙退動而性自然欲其榮貴甚於為身皇后之尊俸於天子當時之會上名公女為首公深辭讓迫不得已然後受詔父子之親天能臣禮讓為國乎何有公之謂也特為皇帝定立妃后自有司俾曰中包胥不受存楚之報晏平仲不受輔齊之封孔子曰

^{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-tzu 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.

卹羣下彌躬親平臣遠公卿
 命下圖後險約呂緒世俗剝
 臣至于今壘壘其日新其德
 增修雅素
 國許書曰舜讓于德不嗣公之謂矣自公文

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],'^{12.2} which applies indeed to the Duke.

'From the time that the Duke received his charter^{12.3} 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^{12.4} 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

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12b

(9) His Personal Economy. 12b

^{12.2} *Book of History*, II, 1, iii, 3 (Legge, 32). Wang Nien-sun declares that the text should read *yi*₂ 怡 or 台 instead of *szu* 嗣. Yen Shih-ku explains *szu*. The ancient text of the *Book of History* read *szu* and the modern text read *yi*₂. The *HS* regularly quotes the modern text. *SC* 1: 32 (*Mh* I, 56) quotes this verse from the *Book of History* with the word *yi*₂ 擇 (which means the same as *yi*₂), and Hsü Kuang (ca. 352-425) glosses, "The modern text *Book of History* reads *yi*₂. *Yi*₂ is *yi*₂." Szu-ma Cheng (fl. 713-742) adds, "The ancient text reads *szu*; the modern text reads *yi*₂." *SC* 130: 30 also quotes this passage with *yi*₂. *HHS*, Mem. 30 B: 11a and the *Wen-hsüan* 48: 24b, in Pan Ku's "Tien-yin," quote this verse with *yi*₂; Li Shan (vii cent.), in his comment, quotes the same verse with *szu* and adds, "Wei Chao (197-273/4) says, '[According to] the ancient text, *yi*₂ is *szu*.'" 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*₂ and the *HS Yin-yi* (probably the one written by Wei Chao) states that *yi*₂ is to be read as *szu*. 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 *szu* to agree with the ancient text of the *Book of History*, explaining the meaning accordingly. Cf. also Karlgren *BMFEA* 20, 76, 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 *Tz'u-hai* defines *hsia-kuo* as "the feudal nobles."

Yen Shih-ku asserts that *ch'un* 後 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* 遵 (follow); anciently *ch'un* and *tsun* were interchanged; the *Erh-ya* 1: 6a interprets *tsun* by *hsün* 循 and the *Fang-yen* 2: 6b interprets *ch'un* by *hsün*. Sun Hsing-yen (1743-1818) in his *Yen-tzu Ch'un-ch'iu Yin-yi* B: 34b, sub ch. 7, states that *tsun-hsün* means *ch'un*-巡, identifying *ch'un* and *tsun*.

Chang Sung's Laudatory Memorial. might raise the development of the state. His slaves have worn plain cloth^{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,

‘One must be mild and humble
As if perched upon trees;’^{12.6}

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

16a
(10) His
Generosity

‘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.^{12.8} He furthermore sent a letter to the throne [asking to be permitted] to return the estate with which Emperor Hsiao-ai had additionally enfeoffed him and to pay^{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]. There-

孝哀皇帝所益封邑入錢獻田俸蓋舊業為求倡始於
矣克身自約糧食速給物物印巾日閑亡儲又上書歸
溫恭人如集于木孔子曰食兵求飽居無求安公之謂
國化僅奴衣布馬不秣救會飲之用不過凡庶詩云溫

^{12.5} The Official ed. emends by interchanging and reads *pu-yi* 布衣. Wang Wen-pin (xix cent.) however points out that this phrase is from *Tso-chuan*, Dk. Ch'eng, XVI (Legge, p. 394⁷, 399b), which states that Viscount Wen of Chi, Chi-sun Hang-fu, “has had no concubines who wore silk (*yi-po*) nor horses who ate grain”; hence, because of parallelism, the phrase should be *yi-pu*, not *pu-yi*.

^{12.6} *Book of Odes*, #196; II, v, ii, 6 (Legge, p. 335). Yen Shih-ku repeats the Mao interpretation of this couplet, so I have adopted it as the Han interpretation, although Karlgren's rendering (*BMFEA*, 16, p. 106) is better.

^{12.7} *Analects*, I, xiv.

^{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.

^{12.9} Wang Hsien-ch'ien notes that the Official ed. and the Southern Academy ed. (1530) have *chin* 金 after the 入. But the Ching-yu ed. does not have the *chin*. The reference is to 99 A: 7b, where only cash and no gold or equivalent of gold (*chin*) is mentioned.

延士下及白屋
 昔令尹子文朝不及夕
 公係于不茹困
 蔡公之謂矣
 開門
 同時各竭所有
 或入金或獻田
 畝巨孫貧窮收
 賄不足者
 是大小卿和承
 恩從化外則三
 公列傳內則惟
 懼侍御者

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.

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 Memorial.

13a 13a

"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

(11) His
 Industry.

16b

^{12.10} That *kung* 公 here means the three highest ministers is shown by the expression 三公 in the similar list in 84: 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."

Chang Sung's made plain those to be promoted and demoted. The *Book of Odes* says, 'He never slackened, day or night, In serving the ruler,'^{13.2}

Laudatory Memorial.

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,'^{13.3} 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^{13.4} [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,'^{13.5} which indeed refers to the Duke.

13b "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.'^{13.6} 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

終始一臣其之可謂備矣是臣三年之間化行如神嘉瑞不遠公之謂矣此皆上世之所鮮禹稷之所難而公包舉填安國系四海藉泰歷不得所害曰納於大麓列風雷雨揚若厲公之謂矣此三世為三公再奉送大行東家享職素著知白黑詩云夙夜匪解臣事一人易曰終日乾乾夕

^{13.2} *Book of Odes*, # 260; III, III, vi, 4 (Legge, p. 543).

^{13.3} *Book of Changes*, Hex. I, 3 (Legge, p. 57; Wilhelm, I, 4).

^{13.4} Wang Hsien-ch'ien asserts that 奏 is mistaken; the Official ed. and the Southern Academy ed. instead read 漉. The Ching-yu ed. reads the latter.

^{13.5} *Book of History*, II, I, 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 Karlgren *BMFEA* 20, 75, Gl. 1251) was accepted. Yen Shih-ku prefers it in his comment.

^{13.6} 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.

帝褒賞元功相國齊何也戶既侍又榮殊禮奉事不名入殿不
成而賞不配紀立而燕不副誠非所巨厚國家順天心也高皇
不敢擅天之功也撥公德行爲天下紀視公功勳爲萬世基
之生亦不應矣是巨伯禹賜玄圭周公受郊祀益巨達天之使
臺崇豈肆陛下知人之勳得賢之致哉故非獨君之定命也臣

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.^{13.7} For such a [reason] Prince 'Yü was presented a dark-colored jade tablet'^{13.8} and the Duke of Chou received [the privilege of] being sacrificed to [after his death] with the suburban sacrifice.^{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

Chang
13b
Sung's
Laudatory
17a
Memorial.

Precedents
for
Rewarding
Govern-
ment
Servants:
Hsiao Ho

^{13.7} The point is that good ministers have been able to carry out their conceptions of good government.

^{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, 1, ii, 23 (Legge, p. 150; Couvreur, p. 89).

^{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 Sung's Laudatory Memorial. in entering the [Palace] Hall.^{13.10} More than ten of his relatives by marriage were enfeoffed. Since [Emperor Kao] rejoiced without 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
- 17b 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'u'ai, and was enfeoffed [with the income of] two thousand households.^{14.1}
- 14a Chou P'o "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
- Wei Ch'ing 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}
- "Now at the time of the Marquis of Chiang, [Chou P'o], because of the firmness of the Han [dynasty's]

斯著在光增戶命增封者三人延及昆孫夫特係即因漢帝之
裂三萬戶巨封衛青子三人或在繼祚皆為通侯孝宣皇帝
皇帝蒙賞特係益封萬戶賜黃金五千斤孝武皇帝即錄軍功
之是故公孫戎位在充部選蘇旄頭查明樂增封二千戶孝文
趙封其親屬十有餘人樂善無厭瑤賞亡適苟有一粟即必許

^{13.10} 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. Jonghell, *Huo Kuang och hans Tid*, pp. 150, 194, 195, 197, 205.

功所因亦易然猶有計策不審過愷之累及至青瓦棟不
 假離朝朝之乾茅亡非同類割斷歷久統政曠世雖口不
 能遠在光即原常任之重乘大勝之威未嘗違時不行詔
 回扶未虛之統依詔辭之選採相扶之氣其平雖醜要亦

tributary [kings], thru the obstinate courage of the [Marquis of] Chu-hsü, [Liu Chang^{14.3},] 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.^{14.3} [Different from Wang Mang], he never happened upon a situation that he could not handle and that caused him to fall into disfavor^{14.4} 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}

Chang
Sung's
Laudatory
Memorial.

18a
Wang
Mang's
Superior-
ity.

14b

14b

^{14.3} The Official ed. reads 勝 for 勝. The Ching-yu ed. however reads the latter.

^{14.4} Reading 假 as 瑕 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 標 has the pronunciation of the p'iao of the tip of a sword"; Shen Ch'in-han points out that in *Huai-nan Tzu*, 19: 8b, "Hsiu-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 鏢 or 鏢, meaning the point of a sword (or the ornament at the tip of a scabbard). Cf. the use of this word in *HHS*, Tr. 30: 12b⁹; *Hsün-tzu*, 18: 16a⁶, ch. 26; and in Ho Hsiu's comment to the *Kung-yang Commentary*, 7: 9b⁹, Dk. Chuang, XIII, winter.

Chang [and the other performed] the service of [saying] one
 Sung's word, yet both received a hill-[high] recompense.
 Laudatory "Examining the merits [of the Duke along] with
 Memorial. 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
 He should controlling the government, hence he ought to be
 be given elevated to be equal in greatness and glory with
 the same Prince Yü and the Duke of Chou, and should receive
 Rewards the [same] reward and recompense that they did.
 as the Why should he be only discussed at the same time
 Duke of as those others just mentioned, [the Marquis of
 Chou. Chiang, Ho Kuang, Wei Ch'ing, and Kung-sun Jung]?
 Yet he has not yet obtained nor received the gener-
 osity [received by Wei] Ch'ing and the others.
 Your servant is verily mystified by this [circum-
 stance].

15a 18b

"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^{15.1} the Duke of Chou, which
 passed beyond the limits of a hundred *li* [of territory]
 and overpassed the restrictions of the nine distinc-
 tions,^{15.2} creating a territory of seven hundred *li*
 [in extent], including both the people of [the states
 of] Shang and Yen^{3a}, and granting him to have as his
 vassals the six clans from [the state of the] Yin
 [dynasty],^{15.3} 'the great chariot,^{15.4} the great banner,

^{15.1} Wang Hsien-ch'ien remarks that the Official ed. and the Southern Academy ed. correctly read 於 for 與. The Ching-yu ed. reads the former.

^{15.2} Cf. *HFHD* II, 47, n. 9.2; 99 A: 22b.

^{15.3} *Tso-chuan*, 54: 8b, Dk. Ting, IV, (Legge, p. 754), enumerates these six clans as "the T'iao 條 clan, the Hsü 徐 clan, the Hsiao 蕭 clan, the So 索 clan, the Ch'ang-sho 長勺 clan, and the Wei-sho 尾勺 clan."

^{15.4} Cf. *Mh* III, 225.

聞七百里之宇兼商奄之民賜臣附庸股民六駟大路大旂
 者莫不於是故成王之與周公也度百里之限越九錫之節
 不得家齊等之厚臣誠恐之臣聞功亡原者實不限德亡昔
 周公等威齊隆者其褒賞豈待與若云者同日而論哉然曾
 比於青戎地之與天也而公又有宰治之效乃當上與伯禹
 之功一言之勞然皆蒙丘山之責謀功績進之與回也

非劉氏不王然而香君得王長沙下詔稱忠定著於今明
 維亡德不報報當知之不如非報也近親行事高祖之約
 之可謂不檢亡原者矣非特止此六子皆封詩曰亡言不
 壯之柱却望之裡王曰叔父建爾元子子父俱延拜而受
 封父之紫引夏后之璽祀宗卜史備物典策官司毒器白

[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 Ducal] Clan, a [Grand] Augur, a [Grand] Astrologer, the appendages [of state, a ducal] code and institutes, officials, high and low, vases for offering liquors [in the ancestral temple, and other] utensils,^{15.5} with a white bull as his sacrificial victim,^{15.6} 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]."'^{15.7} 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.^{15.8} The *Book of Odes* says,

Chang
Sung's
Laudatory
Memorial.
15a

'No word but has its answer,

'No good deed but has its reward.'^{15.9}

19a

15b

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,^{15.10}

Other
Precedents

^{15.5} The passage in single quotation marks is taken from *Tso-chuan* 54: 8b, Dk. Ting, IV, (Legge, p. 754).

^{15.6} Taken from *Li-chi* XII, 9 (Legge II, 32; Couvreur, I, 730).

^{15.7} A quotation from the *Book of Odes*, IV, II, iv, 2 (Legge, p. 623).

^{15.8} Chou Shou-ch'ang remarks that the princes of Fan 凡, Chiang 蔣, Hsing 邢, Mao 茅, Tsu 胙, and Ts'ai 祭 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.

^{15.9} *Book of Odes*, #256; III, III, ii, 6 (Legge, p. 514).

^{15.10} Cf. *HS* 34: 24b.

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

15b “[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.^{15.11} 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 19b “Now since your Majesty, [Grand Empress Dowager], already knows that the Duke has the achievements and virtuous conduct of the Duke of Chou,^{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.

^{15.11} Cf. *Tso-chuan*, Dk. Hsiang, XI, ix (Legge, p. 453).

^{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.

顧春秋之明矣則臣何稱第世何道誠非所臣為國也臣
下既和公有用公功徒不行成三之褒賞遠總公之因辦不
之學春秋善之取其臣竭忠巨辦功君知臣臣遂賞也今陛
能濟河夫賞國之典不可廢也子其受之魏絳於是亦金石
伯服學絳公於是呂半錫之絳河制讓晉侯曰微子壽人不
有大信不拘於利也春秋晉悼公同魏絳之策諸夏股從邦

天下幸甚太后臣視奉公奉公方謀其軍會呂寬事起初莽欲擅權
 形虞周之與欽蓋伯禽之賜無適用公之報今天法有報後世有祖
 民誠感德則於五事向有唯陛下深惟祖宗之重敬畏上天之戒集
 之結子之封皆如六子即奉下敢然輸忠於昭然感德臣誠輸忠
 愚臣為宜扶公國令如周公建立公子今如伯禽所賜之品亦皆如

“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^{15.13} their devotion, and the many people will be brilliantly moved by your virtue. If your courtiers really offer^{15.13} 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^{16.1} the gloriousness of Yü [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^{16.2} 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

Chang Sung’s Laudatory Memorial.

The Honors Recommended.

16a

The Affair of Lü K’uan.

16a

20a

^{15.13} The Sung Ch’i ed. says that the Chekiang ed. (xi-xii cent.) reads 諭 for the 輸 in this and the next sentence. The Ching-yu ed. reads the latter.

^{16.1} Wang Hsien-ch’ien notes that the Official ed. reads 刑 for 形, but the Ching-yu and Southern Academy ed. read the latter.

^{16.2} Ch’ien Ta-chao remarks that 今 should be 命. 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 Denied Emperor P'ing's Natural Relative a Place at Court. 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."

July/Aug. A.D. 1^{6.3} 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.

Wang Yü Intrigues With Them. [Wang] Mang's son, [Wang] Yü, disapproved [of the fact] that [Wang] Mang had separated the Wei clan [from the Emperor] and feared that when the Emperor grew up, enmity would later appear [between the Wei and Wang clans. Wang] Yü, hence sent a man privately to give letters to [Wei] Pao and the others, instructing the Emperor's mother to send a letter to the throne, asking [that she be permitted] to enter [the imperial palace]. A discussion is in the 97 B: 21b-22b. "Memoir of the Queen [nee] Wei."

^{16.3} HS 12: 4a.

大後見怒字印私運人與實等通書欲令帝母上書求入侍在衛后
玄帝間內保皆留中山不得至京師莽子宇非齊隔絕衛氏恐帝長
是遠甄豐秀靈蛟即拜帝母衛姬為中山孝王后賜帝舅衛資賀弟
臣幼年便奉大宗為成帝後宜明一統之美臣或前事為後代法於
白太后前哀帝立育恩美自責外家丁併挽亂國家與危社稷今帝

其誅亂邪皆白太后下詔曰夫唐允有丹朱周文王有管蔡此皆上聖
殺之莽莽吉字為呂覽等所誣誣流言惡求惡與管蔡同罪臣不敢隱
灌莽弟門更發覺之莽執宇送獄欲樂死宇妻馬懷子擊獄須產子已
神可為變怪巨驚懼之章回推類說今歸政於衛氏宇即使覓夜持血
傳莽不聽宇與師莽章及姊范呂覽謀其故章呂為莽不可諫而好范

[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 greivous vicissitudes or portentous happenings,^{16.4} 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] Yen, 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^{16.6} 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
16b
Supersti-
tiously
Terrified.

20b

Wang Yü
Execu-
ted.^{16.5}

16b

Wang
Mang
Praised
for his
Freedom
From
Partiality.

^{16.4} For these technical terms, cf. Glossary, *sub* portents.

^{16.5} HS 12: 7a.

^{16.6} The Sung Ch'i ed. notes that the Yüeh ed. (xi-xii cent.) and the Shao ed. (xi or xii cent.) omit the 惡; the Ching-yu 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,^{16.7} his grand transformation [of the country] was perfected, until even the multilating punishments [could be] established but not employed.^{16.8} Do you, Duke, concentrate on attending to the state and aim at bringing about the [utmost] tranquillity."

Hundreds
More
Executed.

21a 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-plicated] the Princess of Ching-wu, the King of Liang, [Liu] Li_{5a}, the Marquis of Hung-yang, [Wang] Li_{5a}, and the Marquis of P'ing-o, [Wang] Jen. Messengers 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 Huai region. Cf. Glossary *sub* Kuan.

^{16.8} Cf. *HFHD*, II, 36, n. 5.1.

紅陽侯立平阿侯仁使者迫守皆自殺死者臣百數海內震馬大
治呂寬之獄連引郡國豪傑素非議已者內及敬武公主樂三立
化乃成至於刑錯公共專意異國期於致平莽固是誅滅衛氏窮
行管蔡之誅不臣親親害尊尊朕甚嘉之昔周公誅四國之後大
亡余下愚子何臣其性不可移也公居周公之位輔成王之主而

比孝經四年春郊祀高祖呂配天宗祀孝文皇帝呂配上帝四月
國令學官臣故校事下奉公請令天下更能誦公戒者呂著官簿
宜故不敢顧私惟字違導喟然憤發作書八篇呂戒子孫宜班郡
司馬護軍恭奏言安漢公遺子守陷於管蔡之辜子受至深為帝

the Commander-in-chief, Pao_{1b}, 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 (*tsung*) was performed to Emperor Hsiao-wen, making him the coadjutor of the Lords on High.^{17.2}

^{17.1} Yen Shih-ku glosses, "*Chu kuan-pu* 著官簿 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: 16a), "[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.

Wang
Mang's
Book
Added
to the
17a
Official
Curricu-
lum.

17a
A.D. 4
Feb./
Mar.^{17.2}

Mar. 16. In the second^{17.3} month, on [the day] *ting-wei*, the daughter of [Wang] Mang was established as Empress. A general amnesty [was granted] to the empire and the Director of Justice to the Grand 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.^{17.4}

He should Be Honored Further. 21b The Grand Guardian, [Wang] Shun^{4b}, and others memorialized, saying, "[According to] the principles of grading achievements and meritorious conduct in the *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.'^{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;^{17.6} Yi Yin in the Yin [dynasty] and the Duke

賢然後能之其在人臣則生有大實終為宗臣般之伊
之義太上有立德其次有立功其次有立言唯至德大
八人分行天下覽觀風俗太保辟等奏言春秋列功焉
丁未齊女立為皇后大赦天下遠大司徒司徒司直陳崇等

^{17.3} The text reads "fourth month," but *HS* 12: 7b, *Han-chi* 30: 4b, and *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-ma Kuang, *Tzu-chih T'ung-chien K'ao-yi* 2: 2a.

^{17.4} According to 18: 30a-31b these eight persons were Wang Yün, Yen Ch'ien, Ch'en Ch'ung, Li Hsi, Ho Tang, Hsieh Yin, Lu P'u, and Ch'en Feng.

^{17.5} *Tso-chuan*, Dk. Hsiang, XXIV (Legge, p. 507; Couvreur, II, 408).

^{17.6} Yen Shih-ku, in a note to *HS* 39: 13b, says of *tsung-ch'en* 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 99 A: 21a, states, "A *tsung* subject has performed signal services and becomes a duke of the first class, whom the state takes as an exemplar 國所宗者也." This ancient usage justifies the translation of *tsung* in imperial temple names by the word "exemplar."

十人羽林三十人前後大車十乘賜公太夫人號曰功顯君食邑二千
 株史秩六百石三公言事稱敢言之羣更母傳與公同名出從期門二
 前所益二縣及黃郵秦新野田采伊尹周公稱號加公為宰衛位上公
 尹周之周公是也及民上書者八千餘人咸曰伊尹為阿衛周公為太

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';^{17.7} 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

A New
Title.

17b

^{17.7} 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 *Tu-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.'"

17b two thousand households, a golden seal and a red
22a seal-ribbon; the Duke's two sons should be enfeoffed:
[Wang] An_{1a} as Marquis in Recompense to [the
Marquis of] Hsin-[tu], (Pao-hsin), and [Wang] Lin_{1a}
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 1^{17.9} 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]
aprons of [Wang] An_{1a} and [Wang] Lin_{1a}, together
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
declined [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.

^{17.9} Cf. HS 99 A: 18a.

臣直功謙約逆讓公之常節終不可懸
受母慈遠安幽印致及號位產邑
漢公拜前二子拜後如周公故事
聘三千七百萬合為一萬萬巨明
大禮太后昭前敕親封拜安
戶黃金印赤綬封公子男二人
安為及新侯臨為賞都係加后

皇太后非為公也功顯君戶止身不傳哀新資祿丙國合三千戶
 可聽許治平之化當臣時成率術之官不可世及納徵錢乃百萬
 黃郵召陵新野之田為入尤多皆止於公公欲自領自成國化宜
 行其賞遂新就第也光等曰安臨親受印綬莫說通天其表昭昭
 曰公每見叩頭流涕因辭今移病固當聽其讓今職事却册當遂

ager-issued an imperial edict which said, "Every time that the Duke has an audience, he kowtows with tears falling, as 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 recompenses and send him home to his residence?"^{17.10}

[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.

He is
 Not to be
 Allowed
 to Refuse
 Every-
 thing.

22b

"[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^{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

18a

^{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. 9.3. It made the betrothal binding.

18a 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.

1 B.C. He presented a letter saying, "Your servant, as the Aug. 15 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, A.D. 1, the first year, the second^{18.1} month, on [the day] Apr. 10. *ping-ch'en*, I was installed as Grand Tutor, granted the title of the Duke Giving Tranquillity to the Han

A.D. 4, jutors. In the present year, the fourth month, on June 1. [the day] *chia-tzu*, I was again installed as Ruling Governor, being ranked in the highest class of the

He highest ministers. I, your servant Mang, myself Reviews think humbly that my noble rank is Marquis of 23a Hsin-tu, my title is Duke Giving Tranquillity to the His Han Dynasty, my offices are those of Ruling Gov- Honors. ernor, Grand Tutor, and Commander-in-chief, so that

^{18.1} 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.

伏自惟晉為新都侯就為安漢公官為宰相大傅大司馬晉爵
賜號安漢公備四輔官今年四月甲子復拜為宰相上公臣等
共宮唐申拜為大司馬充三公位元始元年正月丙辰拜為大傅
車上書言臣元者二年六月戊午倉卒之夜臣新都侯引入未
節承利詔公亟入帳事詔尚書勿復受公之讓奏奏可拜乃起
少矣忠臣之節亦宜自居而信主上之英宜遠大司徒大司空持

臣等上大傅與大司馬之印太后詔曰可授如相國服親臨授馬并
既選錄帝用之臣等御史刻帝印帝曰帝術大傅大司馬印成授
正百僚平海內為職而無印信名實不副臣等無兼官之材今聖朝
後官備置皆置教梁傳曰天子之幸過于四海臣等愚臣為帝術官臣
尊官重一身象大寵者五誠非部臣所能堪祿元始三年天下厭已

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] Yüan-shih, A.D. 3. 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.'^{18.2} 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^{18.3} shall be like that of the Chancellor of State. We will Ourselves attend [court] to transmit it to him."

A.D. 3.

He Requests a Seal of Office.

18b

18b

^{18.2} *Ku-liang Commentary* 8: 2b; Dk. Hsi, IX, summer.

^{18.3} For the apron (fu₁ 韞) 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 practises—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-hu-t'ung* 10: 1a, b.

Yen Shih-ku, both here and in his notes to 14: 4b, 99 B: 1a, and 99 C: 5b, glosses, "The fu₁ 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].
- 23b The Grand Guardian, [Wang] Shun_{4b}, 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,^{18.4} has

受千乘之土解萬金之幣
大伴齊奏言天下國公不
道興長學長御奉供養者
乃使目所益納做錢千萬

suspended from the wearer's girdle. The use of *fu*₁ with the word for seal (e.g. 99 B: 23a) makes this interpretation plausible. The word *fu*₁ was moreover interchanged with *fu*₂ 紩, which latter word later denoted the seal-ribbon.

This interchange between *fu*₁ and *fu*₂ has probably misled Yen Shih-ku. Ch'en Hsiang-tao (1053-1093), in his *Li-shu* 23: 6b, states that from the Wei and Chin periods (iii cent. A.D.) onwards, the *fu*₁, instead of being made of leather, was made of silk gauze, hence the word was sometimes written *fu*₂ (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 *fu*₁ and *fu*₂ and think mistakenly that the *fu*₁ 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 Hsiang-tao takes his information, according to a note, from Hsü Kuang's (ca. 352-425) "Rites and Institutes Concerning Carriages and Robes 車服儀制" (probably the same as his 車服雜注, 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* 綬, seal-ribbon (8: 22b, 12: 1a, 99 A: 4a). During the time Wang Mang controlled the government, the *fu*₁ 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 *fu*₁ (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 plainly convenient at a court where the kowtow was common. The *fu*₁ 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 *fu*₁ is unacceptable.

^{18.4} 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.

古之是歲吳秦起明堂辟雍臺為學者每舍萬區作中常
 衛常持節所止謁者代持之字衛持史秩六百石三公弱敢
 前後各十乘直事尚書節侍御史謁者中黃門期門羽林軍
 是推文王節漢尚何巨加直報告天下秦可平衛出從大車
 敬財施予千萬數莫不鄉化蜀郡男子路建等報訟懸作而

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_{2a} and Jui to cease [their quarrels],^{18.5} 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].”^{18.6}

His
Train.

In this year, [Wang] Mang memorialized [the plans for] and built a *Ming-t'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.^{18.7}

He
Enlarges
the
19a
Imperial
Univer-
sity.

^{18.5} For this story, cf. Glossary, *sub* Yü_{2a}.

^{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-hsueh Chi* (viii cent.; I cannot find this passage) quotes the *San-fu Huang-t'u* (iii to vii cent.) as saying that in 4 A.D. Wang Mang “built the *Ming-t'ang*, *Pi-yung*, made 30 residences for the Erudits, 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 Hui Market-place. The various

- 19a 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
- 24a 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}

人
上
及
有
造
禮
古
書
天
下
通
一
統
教
授
十
一
益
博
士
員
經
各
五
人
徹
滿
倉
制
度
甚
嚴
立
樂
經

Huai 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'un, in his *Lun-heng* 13: 16a, 29: 9b (Forke, II, 297, I, 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 Yü-lan* 815: 11b), says, "Yang-ch'eng Tzu-chang's personal name was Heng 衡 and he was a man from Shu Commandery. When Wang Weng 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 Weng 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* 99 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-l'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. 1832-1852] "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'üan-shu Tsung-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_{1a} to have been found by King Kung of Lu, Liu Yü₂ (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

毛詩
天文
月令
國圖
官職
商推

文字
通其
知意
法史
法史
律律
史篇

the Mao [text of] the *Book of Odes*, the *Chou Offices* [the *Chou-li*],^{19.4} the *Erh-ya*, [books on] astronomy, divinations and revelations, the musical tubes, the "Ordinances for the Months,"^{19.5} military methods,^{19.6} the written characters in Shih [Chou's] *Fascicles*,^{19.7} and who were versed in and understood

He Gathers
the
Learned
and Estab-
lishes New
Classics.

Hsien of Ho-chien, Liu Tê (*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_{1a} 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_{1a} "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 P'ing (Legge, *Chin. Clas.* IV, I, p. 11).

Liu Hsin_{1a} 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, *Yüeh-ling* 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 *Lü-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-fa* 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 rolls" 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* was 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 Hsiung₂ 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.^{19.8} 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.

Sept. 5 "The Duke, in the eighth month, when the moon began to wax, on [the day] *keng-tzu*,^{19.9} 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."

^{19.8} 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.

^{19.9} 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, *tsai-sheng-p'o*₂ 載生魄" is a quotation from the account of that foundation in *Book of History*, V, ix, 1 (Legge, p. 381). (That *Book* writes *tsai*₂ 哉 for *tsai*₁. These words were interchangeable; so were *p'o*₁ and *p'o*₂.)

The meaning of the phrase, *tsai-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'o*₁ 霸. Hsü Sheng, in his *Shuo-wen* 7 A: 4a, defines *p'o*₁ as follows: "When the moon is first born, it is like a *p'o*₁ (new moon). When [in the calendar, we receive] a long month, [the *p'o*₁] 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,

翼陛下四年于茲功德備矣公臣八月載生魄唐于
明堂辟雍聖歷千載采能興今安漢公起于茅辰猶
公承繼體之嗣林上公之尊然猶七年制度乃定夫
令記說述中將令正兵學盡異說云羣臣恭言皆周
者皆詣公車納陛天下共能之士至并前使十載皆

more exactly, the day of the moon's conjunction with the sun, when the moon is invisible). Since $p'o_1$ is written with the word for "moon," this is probably the fundamental meaning of the character. *Shuo-wen* 9 A: 7a defines $p'o_2$ quite differently, as "A *yin* spirit." Since *tsai*₁ (and *tsai*₂) means "beginning," *tsai-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 Ching Chu-su," *Shu-ching* 14: 1b), Ma Jung (79-166) moreover glosses, " $P'o_2$ is the new moon 朏. 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 $p'o_2$." 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 date the first day of the month).

This meaning of $p'o$ seems to have suffered reversal because it was the ancient practise to interchange many words with their homonyms. Thus $p'o_1$ came to be written $p'o_2$, with the resultant interpretation of $p'o_2$ (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 *tsai-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-kuo 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_{1a} 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 moon; when the dark of the moon ($p'o$) is born, it is the day of full moon. 死霸朔也 生霸望也." 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 $p'o_2$), 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_{1a}. Wang Mang's court contained other authorities who disagreed with Liu Hsin, and these scholars preserved the correct interpretation of $p'o$. (Cf. *T'zu-hai*, sub $p'o_1$, $p'o_2$, *tsai*₂-*sheng-p'o*; Wang Kuo-wei, *Kuan-t'ang-chi-lin*, I:1a-5b.)

- 19b message [authorizing him to] employ [people] for the purposes of the court,^{19, 10} 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^{19, 11} for twenty [days], when the great work was all completed.
- 19b 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.^{19, 12}

A.D. 5, Jan./Feb. 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

明堂諸侯王二十八人列侯百二十人宗室子九百餘人徵助祭
其諸九錫之法冬大風吹長安城東門屋瓦且盡五年正月拾祭
諸侯王上賜呂宋帛加璧大國乘車安車各一號馬二駟詔曰可
平作二句大功華成序康發舉成周造業誠亡巨加等衛位宜在
奉使朝用書臨賦營築越若翊辛丑諸生庶民大和會十萬眾竝集

^{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'ei* 丕. Ho Ch'uo (1661-1722) quotes *Book of History*, V, xii, 7, (Legge, p. 424) which contains the phrase *p'ei-tso* 丕, 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'ei* twice, and calls attention to the fact that, in the ancient official form of writing, *p'ing* and *p'ei* 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.