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GLOSSARY

CHAPTER X.  
Emperor Ch'eng  
(r. 33-7 B.C.)

373. *Hsiao-Ch'eng* 孝成 Emperor. Hsün Yüeh 荀悅 says, "His tabooed [personal name] was Ao 驚, and his style T'ai-sun 太孫. The word *ao* means 俊." Yen Shih-ku gives for his personal name the pronunciation *ngao* 五到反. [p: But the meaning of T'ai-sun may be different.] Ying Shao 應劭 writes, "The Rules for Posthumous titles say, 'One who pacifies the common people and organizes a good government may be called Ch'eng.'" [p: The phrase "organize a good government" 立政 is the title of the *Book of History* V, xix, and this posthumous name must be understood as alluding to that passage.] Cf. *Hs* 10.1a. This statement is also found in Chang Shou-chieh's Appendix to the *Sc*, p. 8. [p: According to *Hs* 98.3a, he was born in 51 B.C. and that he was in his 19th year when he came to the throne and died in his 45th year. He was born in 52 B.C. (*Hs* 27Bi.12b) and his style, T'ai-sun. *Hs* 98A.3a says his personal name was Ao.]

373. The *Heir-apparent's Palace* 太子宮 was one of the Han dynasty's imperial palaces. *Hs* 10.1a says, "While Emperor Yüan 元 [was living] in the Heir-apparent's Palace, [the future Emperor Ch'eng] was born in the Painted Hall 畫堂 of the First Lodge 甲觀." The *San-fu huang-t'u* 三輔黃圖 3.7a merely repeats the above statement in its account of this Palace.

Ying Shao says, "The First Lodge was the first locality in the Heir-apparent's Palace, and was occupied and used for suckling and giving birth. In the Painted Hall there were painted the nine sons and their mother." Mei Ch'eng 枚乘 (fl. 154 B.C.) refers to this story, and the comment says, "She was the widow in [the state of] Lu 魯 who as a mother taught her nine sons." [p: Cf. Liu Hsiang. *Lieh-nü chuan*, 1:13b; O. Fisher, *Die Chinesische Malerei der Han-dynastie*, (Berlin, 1938), 38, ] Yen Shih-ku explains that the chia 甲 in the name, "First Lodge" means "the first", and notes that *Hs* 98.[3a] tells that the Empress neé Wang 王 "held audience in the Third Hall 丙殿." He says that there were many painted rooms in the palaces, but Shen Ch'in-han 沉欽韓 says that what Ying Shao says points to a building for giving birth and that the painting of the nine sons and their mother was probably what Ying Shao had himself seen. Chou Shou-ch'ang 周壽昌 quotes the *Han kung-ke shu* 漢宮閣疏 (probably iii to vi cent.) as saying, "In the Wei-yang Palace 未央宮 there was the Painted Hall," so that the First Lodge was not an ordinary room. He says that probably the Han practice was to use the 'stems' and 'branches' in names, just as in their laws there was a First (*chia* 甲) Order, a Second (*i* 乙) Order, etc., and among their accounts there was the first account, the second (*i* 乙) account, and among the clepsydra markings there was the first [period of] the night (*chia-yeh* 甲夜), and the second [period of] the night (*i-yeh* 乙夜). Cf. *Hs* 10.1a.

[p: Huo Kuang is said to have stopped in the Painted Rooms 畫室 (*Hs* 68:3b-4a. For other references to Han paintings, cf. Wang Wen-k'ao's rhapsody on the Ling-kuang Palace 靈光宮 in *Wen Xuan* 11; Chavannes, *Mission Archeologique*, pp. 31-2; trans. by E. Von Zach in *Asia Major* 1926:467-476 and partly by Waley in *The Temple* (New York, 1923), 95-97 cf. Pelliot, *TP* 28:455.] {David Knechtges. *Wen xuan*, 2:263-278.}

373. The *Kuei Palace* 桂宮 was, according to the *San-fu huang-t'u* 2.6a, "built by Emperor Wu 武帝 in the autumn of 101 B.C. Its circuit was more than ten li. The *Han shu* says, 'The Kuei Palace has a Purple Room with double passageways that extend to the Wei-yang Palace.' The *Kuan fu chi* 關輔記 [before vi cent.] says, 'The Kuei Palace is north of the Wei-yang [Palace]. Between them there is the Hall of Brilliant Light (Ming-Kuang Tien 明光殿) and a Hill of Earth 土山, and double passageways go west from within the Palace and go over the city wall to the Terrace of Gods (Shen-ming T'ai 神明臺) and the Penglai 蓬萊 Mountain in the Chien-chang 建章 Palace.' The *San Ch'in chi* 三秦記 [by Mr. Hsiu, before 304] says, 'West of the Kan Terrace 乾臺 in the Wei-yang Palace there is the Kuei Palace. Within it there is the Hall of Brilliant Light, in which all the curtains and door-screens are made of gold and jade, and pearls and gems, so that everywhere there are pearls as light as the moon, and the golden stairs and the pearl steps are bright and brilliant day and night.'" [p: It was also called the Palace of the Treasures 寶宮. Cf. also the *Hsi-ching tsa-chi* (vi cent.) 2:6a. The Kuei Palace was also called the Northern Palace (mistake - cf. *Hs* 12:1b) and the Yung-Hsin Palace 永信宮. The latter name was used when the Emperor's Great Empress Dowager neé Fu 傅 lived there. Cf. also *Yüan-ho chün Hsien chih*, 2:7a.]

374. The *Chih-ch'eng Gate* 直城門 (Straight City Gate) was the northwestern gate of Ch'ang-an 長安. The *San-fu huang-t'u* 1:10b says, "In the western face of the Ch'ang-an city wall, the second gate [from the south] is called the

Chih-ch'eng Gate. The *Han kung-tien shu* 漢宮殿疏 [prob. iii to vi cent.] says, "It is the second gate from the southern end of the western face." It also says, "It is the former Lung-lou 龍樓 (Dragon Tower) Gate. Above the gate there was a copper dragon." It was originally named the *chih* 直 (Straight) Gate. Wang Mang 王莽 changed its name to the *chih-tao* 直道 (Straight Highroad) Gate. It was in the Tuan-t'ing 端路亭. (Correct Road Commune)." [p: The statement about the copper dragon probably refers however to the Lung-lou Gate of the Kuei Palace (q.v.). Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang 程大昌 (1123-1195) argues that only a palace gate would have such an ornament.]

374. The *Lung-lou Gate* 龍樓門 (Dragon Tower Gate) seems to have been a gate of the Kuei Palace. Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang says it was the southern gate. This was also a former name of the Chih-ch'eng city Gate (q.v.). Chang Yen (prob. iii cent.) says, "Above the gate tower there was a copper dragon like a white crane of Fei-lien (q.v.), which gave it its name." Cf. *Hs* 10:1b; Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang's 程大昌 *Yung lu* 雍錄 9:3a,b, 4a.

374. The *Artisans' Chamber Gate* 作室門 was an inner gate of the Wei-yang Palace. The *San-fu huang-t'u* 6:8b says, "The Artisans' Chamber was the place for the workmen of the Master of the Recipes," who had in charge mirrors, the prohibited utensils, etc. It was evidently a side gate to the palace. Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang (1123-1195) in his *Yung lu* 9:1a says, "The Artisans' Chamber was in the northwestern [part of] the Wei-yang Palace, with the Weaving Chamber, the Drying House, and the like." Cf. *Hs* 99C:26b; 10:1b.

374. *Imperial Pathway* 馳道. Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang (1123-1195), in his *Yung lu* 9:2b-4a, says, "Concerning the elegance of the imperial pathway of the Ch'in period, Chia Shan 賈山 has criticized its extravagance, but he was not able to express its construction. The [*Sanfu*] *huangtu* 1:6b says, "The comment [of Ying Shao ] in *Sc* 6[:14a (*Mh.* II, 139)] says, 'The imperial pathway was the road of the Son of Heaven.' Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕 [133-192] said, 'The imperial path was the road on which the Son of Heaven traveled. Now it is called the Central Path.'"

"From the Han [dynasty's] Kan-ch'üan [Palace] to Ch'ang-an was 300 li, yet the imperial pathway connected them without a break." [According to] the Han [dynasty's] orders, when the nobles had an imperial command and were allowed to travel in the imperial path, they traveled on the side paths, and were not allowed to travel on the central 30 feet. If they did not obey the order, their carriages and horses were confiscated. [A quotation from the *San-fu huang-t'u* 1:6b, 7a] Hence when Chiang Ch'ung (q.v.) was a Special Commissioner [Wearing Embroidered Garments], from the Princess to a messenger of the Heir-apparent, all who traveled on the imperial path were treated according to this law [cf. *Hs* 45: 12b, 13a] -- he took their carriages and horses and confiscated them. Then there was a strict prohibition [against riding on] the imperial path.

"The [*Sanfu*] *huangtu* [1:1b] says, 'Three roadways were open widely;' Pan Ku 班固 in his *fu* on the Western Capital says, 'There was opened a broad road with three roadways;' Chang Heng 張衡 in his *fu* on the Western Capital [*Wen-hsüan*, 2:12b] says, 'The plan of the city was [such that on each] side there were opened three gates with triple paths, level and straight, altogether twelve lanes [for traffic] going along its avenues and streets.' Probably the streets and roads each had three roadways -- these were the 'three roadways' -- and the central one of the three roadways was the imperial pathway. {cf. David Knechtges, *Wen xuan*, 1:104, 2:46-47.} Moreover there was a prohibition not permitting anyone to cross it; but there was no prohibition [against traveling] on the two sides. The "Annals" in the *Han-shu* [10:1b] says, 'When Emperor Ch'eng was the Heir-apparent, ... and lived in the Kuei Palace, he happened to be summoned in haste [by Emperor Yüan]. He went out of the Lung-lou Gate [of his palace], but did not dare to cross over the imperial pathway, so went west to the Chih-ch'eng Gate [of the city] where he was able to cross it, then he went and returned, entering [the Wei-yang Palace] by the Artisans' Chamber Gate.' ... Hence he had to go a long distance and come back to avoid the obstacle.... When he reached the Chih Gate he could then pass outside of the imperial pathway." Chia Shan, in a memorial to Emperor Wen, wrote as follows (*Hs* 51:2a): "[The First Emperor] made imperial highways (*ch'ih-tao* 馳道) in the empire, east to the end of Yen 燕 and Ch'i 齊 south to the extremes of Wu 吳 and Ch'u 楚, to the banks of the [Yangtze] River and the Lakes, and to reach the shore of the ocean, to which [these highways] reached. The road was fifty paces wide. For 30 feet there was [a boundary] established, [for this pathway was reserved for the Emperor]; outside of it [the road] was thick and beaten down, made firm with metal hammers. For trees he used green pines. He made the imperial highway as beautiful as this." While the same words, "*ch'ih-tao*" are used to denote these highways as are used to denote the imperial pathway in Ch'ang-an and that the Kan-ch'üan Palace, yet crossing these extended highways would hardly be prohibited. The

imperial pathways were abolished by Wang Mang in 1 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 12:4a.

374. *Brilliant Companion* 昭儀 was an extraordinary rank among the imperial concubines established by Emperor Yüan in order to enable his two concubines who had born him sons to outrank all his other concubines. The Brilliant Companion was ranked as equal in civil rank to the Lieutenant Chancellor and as equal in noble rank to the vassal kings. Cf. *Hs* 97A:2b; 97B:16b; *Han-kuan ta-wen* 4:5a. {See also Hans Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy of Han Times*, 73}

375. *Liu Liang* 劉良, title King Hui 惠 of He-chien 河間 was the son of King Hsiao 孝王 of He-chien, Liu Ch'ing 劉慶, and the younger brother of the preceeding King of He-chien, Liu Yüan 劉元, who had been dismissed in 38/7 B.C. for murder. On Feb. 28, 32 B.C., soon after the accession of Emperor Ch'eng, Liu Liang who had been the Chief of the Arsenal in the Shang Commandery 上郡, was made king. He followed the example of his ancestor, King Hsien 獻王 of He-chien, Liu Te 劉德, who distinguished himself by collecting books and studying the classics. When Liu Liang's mother, the Queen Dowager, died, he mourned for her to the third year in accordance with the ancient rites, and Emperor Ai praised him in a complimentary edict, adding to his enfeoffment ten thousand families. He died in 6 B.C. and was succeeded by his son, Liu Shang 劉尚. Cf. *Hs* 53:3a; 14:13b; 9:2a; 11:2b.

376. The *Imperial Prison at the Shang-lin Park* 上林詔獄, according to a quotation from the *Han chiu-yi* (by Wei Hung, fl. 25-57), by Yen Shih-ku in a note to *Hs* 10:2a, "had charge of punishing cases [concerning] the birds and animals, the palaces and lodges, in the park. It was under [the control] of the [Chief Commandant of] Waters and Parks." Cf. also *Han chiu-yi pu-yi*, A:5a; *Han-kuan ta-wen* 2:10b; 4:6a. This prison was abolished in 32 B.C. There were two other imperial prisons: that of the Chief Justice and that in the Lateral Courts. The *Han chiu-yi* said that there were 26 prisons in the imperial capital.

376. *Yao Yin* 姚尹 was a Chief Official of the General of the Right, who was unhappily burnt to death with his company in a grass fire in the present Inner Mongolia, in 32 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 10:2a.

376. *Princess kung chu* 公主 was a title applied to daughters of the emperor and of kings. Ju Shun 如淳 says that sisters of the emperor are called Elder Imperial Princesses 長公主, and that daughters of the vassal kings are called Royal Princesses *wang-chu* 王主. Chang Yen 張晏 (prob. iii cent.) says that Royal Princesses were daughters of kings. Yen Shih-ku says that the kings (*wang* 王) themselves controlled (*chu* 主) the marriage of their daughters, hence they were also called *weng-chu* 翁主. {Yen notes that weng means "father" (*fu* 父).}

Chang Yen says, "The daughters of the Son of Heaven are called Imperial Princesses (*kung chu*) and rank as equivalent to the highest ministers." But during the first years of the Han dynasty, the regulations at the courts of the vassal kings were the same as those at the imperial court, so that until about 152 B.C. the daughters of kings were probably also called *kung chu*. Thus arose the precedent for calling Imperial Princesses and Royal Princesses indiscriminately *kung chu*. Liu Pin 劉歆 (102-108) says that the title *kung chu* used for an imperial princess dates from the Ch'in dynasty; previously males were called Princes *kung tzu* 公子 and females *kung chu*. Cf. *Hs* 1B: 22a; 10:2b.

377. The *Inspector of Officials chu li* 諸吏 was, according to *Hs* 19A:24a, an official who concurrently held other positions. Ying Shao, in a note to *Hs* 10:2b, says, "[According to] the 'Treatise on Officials' [*Hs* 19A.24b], the Inspectors of Officials were permitted to recommend the application of the impeaching [anyone]; their duties were like those of the Palace Assistant Secretary. Emperor Wu first established [these officials]. They were all officials concurrently holding other positions. Marquises, generals, ministers, [Generals of] the grandees [i.e., of the Gentlemen-at-the-Palace, Chief Commandants, Masters of Writing, Grand Physicians, and Chief Grand Provisioners, down to Gentlemen of the Palace (the words in brackets are supplied from *Hs* 19A.24a)] can be given [this position]. There was no limitation to their number." According to *Hs* 51:7a, not Emperor Wu, but Emperor Wen 文 first "selected his worthy [officials] and sent them as Regular [Palace] Attendants and Inspectors of Officials." Cf. also *Han-kuan ta-wen* IV, 11 b.

377. *Wang Ch'ung* 王崇, style Shao-tzu 少子, posthumous title, Marquis Kung 共 of An-cheng 安成, was the fourth son of Wang Chin 王禁 and a younger brother (of the same mother) as the Empress Dowager neé Wang. On Mar. 25, 32 B.C., just after his nephew, Emperor Ch'eng, came to the throne, Wang had been a Cavalryman Without Specified Appointment, Inspector of Officials, Imperial Household Grandee, and Kuan-wei Marquis, and was made Marquis of An-cheng, with the income of ten thousand households. He died in 31 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 10.2b; 18.19a; 98.3b-4a. There were two other marquises by the same name.

377. *An-ch'eng* 安成 {44-45:6/3} was a prefecture and city of the Ju-nan Comandery 汝南郡, located, according to the *Ta Ch'ing Yi-t'ung-chih*, 70 li southeast of the present Ju-nan (i.e., the Ch'ing dynasty's Ju-yang 汝陽 which was Ju-ning fu 汝寧府,) Henan. This place was the seat of a marquisate occupied by Wang Ch'ung and his descendants, Fengshi 奉世 and Chih-kung 持弓. *Hs* 28 Ab.3a; 18:19a. There was another place by the same name in the Yu-chang Commandery 豫章郡.

377. *Wang T'an*<sub>2b</sub> 王譚, style Tzu-yüan 子元, title, Marquis An 安 of Ping-ah 平阿, was the third son of Wang Chin 王禁 and the half-brother of the Empress Dowager neé Wang. In 32 B.C., soon after the accession of his nephew, Emperor Ch'eng, he was made a Kuan-wei Marquis, and on July 20, 27 B.C., he was made Marquis of Ping-ah. He died in 17 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 10:2b; *Hs* 85:8a, 19a; *Hs* 93:11a; *Hs* 18:19b, 98:2a, 4b, 8a-b, 9b.

377. *Wang Shang*<sub>1b</sub> 王商, style Tzu-Hsia 子夏, title Marquis Ching-ch'eng 景成 of Ch'eng-tu 成都, was the fifth son of Wang Chin and a half-brother of the Empress Dowager neé Wang. In 32 B.C., soon after the accession of his nephew, Emperor Ch'eng, he was made a Kuan-wei Marquis; on July 20, 27 B.C. he was made Marquis of Ch'eng-tu with the income of 2000 households. In 15 B.C., upon the death of Wang Yin 王音, Wang Shang was made Commander-in-chief and General of the Guard, thus controlling the government. His marquisate was at the same time increased by 2000 households. On Dec. 18, 13 B.C. he was granted gold, a comfortable carriage and a quadriga of horses, and dismissed; but on Feb. 18, 12 B.C. he was recalled and again made the Commander-in-chief and General of the Guard. On Jan. 17, 11 B.C. he was promoted to be Commander-in-chief and General-in-chief. He died on Feb. 2, 11 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 10:2b, 14a; 70:17a; 77:11a, 84:3a 85:9a, 20a; 92:8a; 98:4b, 9b-10a; 18:19b; 19B:45b, 46a,b. There are two other persons by this name mentioned in the *Hs*; Wang Shang<sub>1a</sub> of *Hs* 82 is a different person.

377. *Wang Li*<sub>5a</sub> 王立, style Tzu-shu 子叔, title Marquis Huang 荒 of Hung-yang 紅陽, was the sixth son of Wang Chin and a half-brother of the Empress Dowager neé Wang. Soon after his [p: rework including 99A:4b,5a] nephew, Emperor Ch'eng, came to the throne, he was made a Kuan-wei Marquis; on July 20, 32 B.C., he was made Marquis of Hung-yang with the income of 2100 families. [p: About 11 B.C., Wang Li<sub>5a</sub> became involved in a crooked deal. Li Shang 李尚, the Grand Administrator of Nan Commandery 南郡, had opened several hundred *ch'ing* of grassland to cultivation, and, when ordered to sell these fields to the inhabitants, urged by Wang Li<sub>5a</sub> the Grand Administrator raised the price by more than 100,000,000 cash. The Inspector, Sun Pao, however, heard of it and impeached both Wang Li<sub>5a</sub> and Li Shang as deceiving the throne, being treacherous and inhuman. Li Shang died in prison; Wang Li<sub>5a</sub> was not punished, but was passed over by Emperor Ch'eng at the death of Wang Shang in 11B.C., and Wang Ken was made Commander-in-chief in his place. He was killed by Wang Mang in 3 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 10.2b, 5b; 99A.4b, 5a, 16b; 18.20a; 77.10b-11a; 83.13b; 84.6a-b; 93.7b-8a; 98.4b, 9a, 10a,b, 11b.

377. *Wang Ken* 王根, style Chih-ch'ing 稚卿, title Marquis Yang 煬 of Ch'ü-yang 曲陽, was the seventh son of Wang Chin and a half-brother of the Empress Dowager neé Wang. In 32 B.C., soon after his nephew, Emperor Ch'eng, ascended the throne, he was made a Kuan-wei Marquis. On July 20, 27 B.C. he was made Marquis of Ch'ü-yang. On Feb. 11, 11 B.C., after the death of his brother Wang Shang, he was made Commander-in-chief and General of Agile Cavalry, thus controlling the government. He was avaricious and incapable. In May/June 8 B.C. he was changed to be merely Commander-in-chief and on Nov. 16, 8 B.C. he was granted gold, a comfortable carriage, and a quadriga of horses and dismissed. [p: After Emperor Ai ascended the throne, he was given an addition of 2000 households to his

estate, but that autumn, because he had failed to observe proper mourning and had held a feast with singing and dancing before Emperor Ch'eng's tomb was completed, he was sent back home. He died that year in 7 B.C. Wang Mang did not think that Ch'ü-yang was a good enough title, so posthumously changed his title to Duke Jang (ceding) of the Straight Path 直道讓公, because Wang Ken had recommended Wang Mang to be Commander-in-chief. ] Cf. *Hs* 10:2b, 11:2a, 3b; 75:21a-24b; 77:11a; 83:13b; 81:12b-13b; 85:18b; 86:3a sub Ho Wu; 81:16a-b; 93:7a; 97B:17a; 98:2a, 9a, 10a, 10b, 11b; 99A:2a; 99C:4a; 18:20b; 19B:17a, b, 48a.

377. *Wang Feng-shih* 王逢時, style Chi-ch'ing 季卿, title, Marquis Tai 戴 of Kao-p'ing 高平, was the eighth and youngest son of Wang Chin and a half-brother of the Empress Dowager nee Wang. In 32 B.C., soon after his nephew, Emperor Ch'eng, came to the throne, he was made a Kuan-wei Marquis. On July 20, 27 B.C. he was made Marquis of Kao-p'ing with the income of 3000 households. He died in 10 B.C. {He was said to "have no talent worthy of repute."} Cf. *Hs* 10:2b; 98:2a, 4b, 11a; 18:20b.

380. The *Six Stables* 六廄 was an office, probably in the Shang-lin Park, according to *Hs* 19A:20a, for it was subordinate to the Chief Commandant of Waters and Parks, who was chiefly concerned with that Park. Since there were many palaces and lodges in that park, it is natural that such an office should have been established there. It was abolished in 31 B.C. There seems to have later been used a similar term, for the *Han-chiu-i* B.4a says, "The six stables of the Son of Heaven were the Wei-yang [Palace] Stables, the Cheng-hua 承華 Stables, the T'ao-tu 騶駟 Stables, the Lu-ling 路軛 Stables, the Cavalry Horse 騎馬 Stables and the Great 大 Stables." But, according to *Hs* 19A:12a,b these six offices were all subordinate to the Chief of the Stud {Grand Coachman 太僕}, so that they can hardly be the same as the office of the Six Stables under the Chief Commandant of Waters and Parks. Liu Pin 劉攽 {*Hs* 19:20a} accordingly distinguishes them. Cf. also *Hs* 10:3b.

380. The *Clever Workmen* 技巧 was an office under the Chief Commandant of Waters and Parks. Yen Shih-ku misunderstands the passage in *Hs* 19A:20a and reads, "The Clever Workmen of the Six Stables," so he says that the office of the Clever Workmen supplies articles for the Six Stables (q.v.), but he is wrong, for he failed to count the offices in this passage. (Cf. Lin Pin's commentary on this passage.) The office of the Clever Workmen was probably in the Shang-lin Park and supplied the needs of the Park, for the Chief Commandant of Waters and Parks was chiefly concerned with that Park. This office has a Chief and an Assistant. Cf. also *Han-kuan ta-wen*, 4:7a. This office was abolished in 31 B.C. *Hs* 10:3b.

380. *Fan* 樊 {19-20:35} was a city, prefecture, and seat of a marquisate, in the kingdom of Tung-p'ing 東平, located southwest of the present Tzu-yang in the Ch'ing dynasty's Yen-chou Fu, Shantung, according to the *Ta Ch'ing yi-t'ung-chih*. In 31 B.C. this city was taken away from Tung-p'ing, but later returned. Its marquises were Ts'ai Chien 蔡兼 and his descendants, K'o 客, P'ing 平, and P'i-fang 辟方. Cf. *Hs* 10:3b; 28Bii:35a; 16:66a.

380. The *Park of Wide Vision* 博望苑. The *San-fu huang-t'u* 4:3a, says, "When Emperor Wu set up his son [Liu] Chü 劉據 as his Heir-apparent, he opened for the Heir-apparent the Park of Wide Vision in order that he might associate with guests. The *Hs* [63:1a,b] says, 'When Emperor Wu was in his twenty-ninth year, he then obtained an Heir-apparent and was very much overjoyed. When the Heir-apparent was capped, [the Emperor] set up for him the Park of Wide Vision so that he could associate with guests and indulge his likes.' It also says, 'The Park of Wide Vision is south of Ch'ang-an, five *li* outside of the Tu Gate, 杜門 where its foundations are remaining.'" {Ch'en Chih [Chen Zhi] says this statement, which is not found in the current version of the *Han shu*, should have been part of the commentary. to the *Han shu*. Chen Chih. *San-fu huang-t'u chiao-chu*, 90} This park was abolished in 31 B.C. Cf. also *Hs* 10:3b.

381. *Szu-shang* 廐上 was "the name of a place, on the bank of the Wei River 渭水" near Ch'ang-an, according to Ying Shao. The Later Han commentator Fu Ch'ien 服虔 says that the first word is pronounced the same as 斯. Cf. *Hs* 10:4a; 27Ca:21a.

380-1. *Ch'en Ch'ih-kung* 陳持弓 was a little peasant girl in her ninth year who, on Sept. 6, 30 B.C., when people were frightened by a flood, ran into the heart of the imperial Wei-yang Palace. Cf. *Hs* 10:4a; 27Ci:21a.

381. The *Kuang Gate* 橫門 (the *San-fu huang-t'u* also writes the name of this gate 光) was a gate of Ch'ang-an. The *San-fu huang-t'u* 1:8b writes, "In the city-wall of Ch'ang-an, on the northern face, the first gate from the western end is called the Kuang Gate. The *Han shu* [10:4a] tells that a little girl of Szu-shang, Ch'en Ch'ih-kung, ran and entered the Kuang Gate, which was this gate. Outside the gate there was a bridge called the Kuang Bridge. Wang Mang changed it and called it the Shuo-tu Gate 朔都門. It was in the Tso-pin t'ing 左幽亭." Ju Shun, in a note to *Hs* 10:4a says that the name of this gate was pronounced 光; Karlgren, *Grammatica Serica Recensa* # 706a, 707m gives for both graphs *kwang* and *\*kwâng* for the Tang and archaic pronunciations respectively for 光. For the first character 橫 *kwang*/*\*kwâng* was, however, only one of two possible pronunciations.

381. The *Master of Recipes* 尚方 was an official subordinate to the Privy Treasurer. In a note to *Hs* 97A:11b, Yen Shih-ku says "Shang is to be in charge of." 尚主也. There was a prefect (*ling*) and an assistant (*ch'eng*). He had charge of clever workmen. The *HHs*, Treatise 26:7b says, "He had charge of the best handicraftsmen, who made the imperial swords and sabers, and the various valuable utensils and articles." Apprentices of magicians and clever workmen awaited an imperial summons in this office. His workshop was in the Wei-yang Palace and had a special side-gate. In a note to *Hs* 19 A:16a, Yen Shih-ku says, "The Master of Recipes has charge of making the prohibited [imperial] utensils and articles," and in a note to *Hs* 25A:27a he says, "He was in charge of the recipes for medicines." Cf. also *Hs* 40:28a; *Hs* 67:6a-b; *Hs* 85:18a; *Sc* 28:24-b; *Mh* 2:521, 3:577, n. 6; *Han-kuan ta-wen* 3:12a.

382. *Lin* 林 was the surname of a Grandee-remonstrant who in 30 B.C. was sent to inspect the empire. Cf. *Hs* 10:4a.

383. The *Majors in Charge of Official Carriages* *kung-ch'e ssu-ma* 公車司馬 were, according to the *Han kuan-yi* A:13b (by Ying Shao), "in charge of the major's gates to the [Palace] Hall. By night [his men] patrolled in the palace. When [from anywhere in] the empire memorials were sent up to the throne and they arrived at the [palace] portals or whoever was summoned [to the palace], this [officer] had charge of them all." There was a Prefect *ling* 令 and *cheng* 丞 Assistant over these Majors. This term is often abbreviated "*kung-ch'e*." These were the outer gates to the palace enclosure, but probably inside the outer Palace walls. All who presented memorials waited for a reply with the Major in Charge of Official Carriages. Those who presented memorials and were given office became Expectant Appointees and waited in the office of this Major. Those who went in or out of the gates to the Palace Hall or the Major's Gates had to get down from their chariots; if they did not obey this ordinance (*ling* 令), the titular Major in Charge of Official Carriages impeached them and they were fined four taels of gold. When officials of the court were impeached, notice was given to the Major's Gates and their entrance was prohibited. The imperial retinue, Officials Serving in the Forbidden Palace Apartments, and those within the Major's Gates all had registration at the gate; in 44 B.C. their grandfathers, grand-mothers, fathers, mothers, older and younger brothers were also allowed to be registered and enter the palace. The Major allowed people to come in and out in accordance with those registrations. (Cf. *Hs* 9:6b & *HFHD* 2.316 n 6.9). If a person's registration was taken away, he was not allowed to come to court. The Wei-yang, Ch'ang-lo and Kan-ch'üan Palaces are all said to have had Major's Gates on all four sides (*San-fu huang-tu* 2.6a), but that statement is [?] the Wei-yang Palace, q.v. There was also one Assistant Major in Charge of the Official Carriages, who was chosen from among those who knew the taboos and knew what was contrary to the laws. There was also a Chief Great Questioner [position unidentified] in charge of troops, who had charge of challenging unusual persons. The Major wore a Fan K'uai cap. Cf. *Han-kuan ta-wen* 2:7a; *Hs* 19A:11b; *HHs* Treatise 25:8a; *Han kuan-yi* A:10b; *San-fu huang-t'u* 2:6a,b; *HFHD* 9:n.6.9. [p: This title was taken from the Ch'in dynasty; *Hs* 31.15a mentions a Major's Gate at the Ch'in Palace.]

383. *Ch'en Lin* 陳臨 was an Assistant Palace Internuncio who in June 29 B.C. had Yüan Feng (see next) assassinated. Cf. *Hs* 10:5a & *HFHD* 2.383 n 5.3.



383. *Yüan Feng* 轅豐 was a Prefect of Ch'ang-an who in June 29 B.C. was installed as Director in Charge of the Retainers and was assassinated at the order of Ch'en Lin. Cf. *Hs* 10.5a & *HFHD* n 5.3. The *Han-chi* 24:9b writes his surname as 袁 and Wang Hsien-ch'ien remarks that anciently these two words were interchanged.

383. *Yin Chung* 尹忠 was an Inspector of Officials and Junior Division Head Imperial Household Grandee, who on Nov. 13, 30 B.C. became Grandee Secretary. The Chief Commandant of the Ch'ing-ho Commandery 清河郡, Feng Ch'ün 馮遂 memorialized that an old canal connecting with the Yellow River should be opened to draw off flood water; and the matter was referred to the Lieutenant Chancellor and Grandee Secretary, who said that the Erudit Hsü Shang 許商 who was an authority on the *Book of History* and was good at figures, should be sent to inspect; he reported that the expense would be too great. The third year after, in the autumn of 29 B.C., the Yellow River broke thru the Chin Dike and drowned out 32 prefectures in four commanderies, and in Oct./Nov. 29 B.C. Yin Ch'ung committed suicide because he had been negligent in his attitude towards this matter and because Emperor Ch'eng blamed him too seriously. Cf. *Hs* 10.5a, 19B.41a,b, 29:13a-14b.

383 n 4.9. *Kao-ch'eng* 槁城 was a city and prefecture of the Chen-ting Commandery 真定郡, located, according to the *Ta Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih*, at the present Ch'iu-t'ou she 邱頭 southwest of the present Kao-ch'eng Hsien in the Ch'ing dynasty's Cheng-ting fu, Hopei. Cf. *Hs* 28Bii:17a, 27Cb:25a.

383 n 4.9. *Fei-lei* 肥壘 {26:2/2} was a city and prefecture of the Chen-ting Commandery 真定郡, located, according to the *Ta Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih*, 7 li west of the present Kao-ch'eng, in the Ch'ing dynasty's Chen-ting fu, Hopei. Cf. *Hs* 28 Bii: 17b. *Hs* 27 Cb: 25a writes the last word of this name as 累; Yen Shih-ku gives its pronunciation as 力追反.

384. *Wang Yen-shih* 王延世 was a clever hydraulic engineer who in 28 B.C. stopped a break in a dike of the Yellow River in thirty days with a bamboo weir, which he filled with two boatloads of small stones. Yen Shih-ku quotes the *Gazetteer of the Kingdom of Hua-yang* 華陽國志, by Chang Ch'ü 常璩 (fl. 302-347) to the effect that Wang's style was Chang-shu 長叔 and that he came from Tzu-ch'ung 資中 in the Ch'ien-wei Commandery 健為郡 (the present Tzu-yang 資陽, in the Ch'ing dynasty's Tzu Chou 資州 Szechuan). He had been a Chief Commandant and was rewarded with the position of Imperial Household Grandee with the rank of fully two thousand piculs, the noble rank of Kuan-nei Marquis, and a hundred catties of actual gold. Cf. *Hs* 29.14b, 15a, 10.5a, 60.12a.

383. The *Chin Dike* 金隄 was an important dike of the Yellow River [p: Cf. note to *Hs* ch. 24 sub Hu-dz {sic} about Yellow River] near the present Hua Hsien 滑縣, in the Ch'ing dynasty's Wei-hui Fu, 衛輝府 Henan. It broke in 168 B.C. and in 29 B.C. and at the latter time was repaired within 30 days. Yen Shih-ku says that this dike was in the Pai-ma Hsien of the Tung Commandery, which place was 20 li east of the present Hua Hsien. *Hs* 29:18a says, "South of the Li-yang 黎陽 the former Great Chin Dike 大金隄 goes northwest on the west of the [Yellow] River to the southern end of the western mountains. Common people lived east of the Chin Dike and made huts and dwellings." Li-yang was located, according to the *Ta Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih* northeast of the present Chün Hsien 濬縣, in the Ch'ing dynasty's Wei-hui Fu. The *Commentary on the Shui-ching* 水經注 (by Li Tao-yüan 酈道元, d. 527), 5:16a says, "When the Chin Dike was built, the water of the former canal was cut off. It is still called the Pai-ma 白馬 Canal." Pai-ma was located 20 li east of the present Hua Hsien. Cf. *Hs* 10:5a; 29:6a, 14b; 28 Ai:79b.

386. *Ch'en Nung* 陳農 was an Internuncio who in the autumn of 26 B.C. was sent to search for lost books for the Palace Private Library, when Liu Hsiang was classifying those books. Cf. *Hs* 10:6a; 30.1b.

387. *Meng Chia* 孟嘉 was an Imperial Household Grandee and Erudit who was sent to inspect the commanderies damaged by a flood of the Yellow River in 25 B.C. *Hs* 10:6a has only his personal name, his surname is to be found in the *Han-chi* 25:6a.

388. *Shan-yang* 山陽 {24-25:2-5} was a Han dynasty kingdom and Commandery with its head-quarters at Ch'ang-yi 昌邑, which was located, according to the *Ta Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih*, 40 li northwest of the present Chin-Hsiang 金鄉, in the Ch'ing dynasty's Chi-ning Chou 濟寧州, southwestern Shantung. The Commandery had 172,847 households, 801,288 persons, and 23 prefectures. In Ch'in times this territory belonged to the Tang 碭 Commandery; in Ch'u and Han times, it belonged to the state of Ch'u 楚, in 202 B.C. it was taken by Han and made part of the kingdom of Liang 梁國. In 144 B.C. Emperor Ching 景 made it the kingdom of Shan-yang for Liu Ting 劉定. When he died without heirs in 136 B.C., Shan-yang again became a Commandery. In 97 B.C. Emperor Wu changed its name to the kingdom of Ch'ang-yi for his son Liu Po 劉髆. After the dismissal of his son, Liu Ho 劉賀, in 73 B.C., it reverted to be the Commandery of Shan-yang. In 33 B.C. it again became the kingdom of Shan-yang, for Liu K'ang 劉康, and in 25 B.C. reverted to be the Commandery of Shan-yang. Wang Mang called it the Chü-yeh 巨野 Commandery. It belonged to the Yen 袁 Province. Cf. *Hs* 28Aii:34a; 14:12b, 23a. It had a government office for iron.

388. *Hsi and Ho* 羲和 were two clans, six persons altogether, to whom Yao 堯 is said to have entrusted the four seasons. Cf. *Book of History* I, ii. They or their descendants are said to have rebelled and Chung-k'ang 仲康 led an expedition against them. Cf. *Book of History* III, IV. *Hs* 20:15b, 16a ranks the first four as Benevolent Men (仁人) and their descendants (20:2a) in the next to the worst class. Much controversy has raged over their precise nature. [p. Cf. H. Maspero, "Legendes Mythologiques clans le Chou King." *Journal Asiatique* 204 (1924), 2-47. In the *Shan-hai ching* 15:4b, however, Hsi-ho is said to have been the wife of Shun and the mother of the ten suns that shone on the ten days of the archaic Chinese week. Cf. Cheng Ta-k'uan?, "Shan-hai-ching chi ch'i shen-hua" in *Shih Hsüeh Nien-pao* No. 4, 1939, p. 136. The Confucians refused to accept this superstitious interpretation of Hsi Ho, which is also found in the *Huai-nan-tzu* and the *Ch'u-tz'u*, and made Hsi and Ho into the titles of two offices. For a careful study of these worthies, cf. Karlgren, "Legends and Cults," *BMFEA* 18:262, 272, 289, 322.]

389. The *T'ien-ching* Pass 天井關 {17-18:7/10} was located, according to the *Shina Rekidai Chimei Yoran*, p. 461, 45 li south of the present Chin-ch'eng 晉成, southeastern Shansi. Shen Ch'in-han quotes the *Fang-yü Chi-yao* as saying that it was 45 li south of Tse chou 澤州 and was at the extreme top of the T'ai-hang 太行 [Mountains.] and south of it there is the road on the Yang-ch'ang Slope 羊腸坡. Cf. *Hs* 10:7a. Ying Shao says that this pass is in the Kao-tu 高都 prefecture of the Shang-tang 上黨 Commandery.

389. The *Hu Mouth* 壺口 {17-18:6/11} or *Hu Pass* was located, according to the *Shina Rekidai Chimei Yoran*, p. 201, 13 li southeast of the present Ch'ang-chih 長治, in southeastern Shansi, on the Hu-kuan 壺關 Mountains. Shen Ch'in-han quotes the *Fang-yü Chi-yao* as saying that it was 13 li southeast of Lu-an Fu 路安府, that the mountains are like a kettle (*hu* 壺), and that anciently a pass (barrier) was established at this place. Cf. *Hs* 10:7a. Ying Shao says that this pass was in the Hu-kuan Prefecture of the Shang-tang 上黨 Commandery.

389. The *Wu-yüan*<sub>3</sub> Pass 五阮關 {27-28:4/2} was, according to Shen Ch'in-han, probably between the present Fei-hu 飛狐 and the Tao-ma Pass 到馬關, in northwestern Hopei. Ju Shun says that the second word is pronounced 近捲 (modern *chüan*), and Yen Shih-ku says that it is pronounced 其遠 (mod. *ch'üan*). Ch'i Shao-nan 齊召南 remarks that *Hs* 28 has no Wu-yüan<sub>3</sub> 五阮 Pass, but has a Wu-yüan<sub>2</sub> 五原 Pass, and suspects that the latter is meant. But Shen Ch'in-han notes that *Huai-nan-tzu*, ch. 13, "Szu-lun Hsün," p. 11b says, "North to Fei-hu and Yang-yüan 陽原," and Kao Yu 高誘 (fl. 205-212) remarks, "Yang-yüan is probably in the T'ai-yüan 太原 [Commandery]. Someone says that the Wu-yüan<sub>3</sub> Pass east of Kuang-ch'ang 廣昌 in the Tai 代 Commandery is in this [place]." Kuang-ch'ang was located, according to the *Shina Rekidai Chimei Yoran*, p. 163, at the present Lai-yüan 涞源 (the former Kuang-ch'ang), in northwestern Hopei. *HHs*, Mem. 80:3a says, "The General Who Calms the Waves, Ma Yüan 馬援 led three thousand horsemen out of the Wu-yüan<sub>3</sub> Pass to lie in wait and attack" the Wu-huan 烏@Ü. Shen Ch'in-han goes on to say, "The Tzu-ching Pass 紫荊關 is 80 li west of Yi 易 Chou in Pao-ting Fu 保定府, a hundred li northeast of the Kuang-ch'ang Hsien in Tai 代 Chou. Someone says that it is the ancient Wu-Yüan<sub>3</sub> Pass but I say that the Wu-yüan<sub>3</sub> [Pass] was probably between the Fei-hu and Tao-ma [Passes], not the Tzu-ching Pass."

390. Chang Yü<sub>3a</sub> 張禹, style Tzu-wen 子文, title Marquis Chieh of An-ch'ang 安昌節侯, was a Confucian scholar and authority on the *Analecets* and *Book of Changes* who rose to be Lieutenant Chancellor under Emperor Ch'eng and after his retirement, remained an influential advisor of the throne.

He came from Chih 軹 of the Ho-nei 河內 Commandery. His father moved to Lien-cho 蓮勺 of the Tso-p'ing-yi 左馮翊 Commandery. When Chang Yü was a child, he several times followed his father to market and delighted in looking at the fortune-tellers. A fortune-teller liked him and told his father that the child should be made to study the Classics. So when he was grown, he went to Ch'ang-an to study and studied the *Book of Changes* with Shih Ch'ou 施讎 from the P'ei Commandery, and questioned Wang Yang 王陽 of the Lang-ye Commandery, and Master Yung 庸生 of the Chiao-tung 膠東 Commandery about the *Analecets*. He understood them all and had many disciples. He was promoted to be a commandery Literary Scholar. When in the period 53-50 B.C. the Confucian scholars recommended Chang Yü, the Grand Tutor of the Heir-apparent, Hsiao Wang-chih questioned him and approved him. Hsiao Wang-chih recommended him for appointment, but his memorial was dismissed and Chang Yü was directed to return to his former post. After a time he was examined and made an Erudit.

When during the period 48-44 B.C. the Imperial Heir-apparent (the future Emperor Ch'eng) was appointed, the Erudit Cheng Kuan-chung 鄭寬中 taught him about the *Book of History*. He recommended Chang Yü as being good in the *Analecets*, and an imperial edict ordered Chang Yü to teach the Heir-apparent the *Analecets*. Because of that, he was promoted to be an Imperial Household Grandee, and after several years was sent out as the Prefect of the Capital in the kingdom of Tung-p'ing 東平.

When Emperor Ch'eng ascended the throne, he summoned Chang Yü and Cheng K'uan-chung and made them Kuan-nei marquises, giving Chang Yü the income of 600 households, and installed him as Inspector of Officials and Imperial Household Grandee with the rank of fully 2000 piculs, Serving in the Palace, and Intendant of Affairs of the Masters of Writing. At this time the Emperor's maternal uncle Wang Feng 王鳳 was Commander-in-chief and controlled the government, while the Emperor was young and yielding, inclined to classical studies and respected his teachers. So Chang Yü and Wang Feng together directed the Masters of Writing. But Chang Yü was not at peace in his mind, and several times became ill, and asked to resign, wishing to avoid Wang Feng. The Emperor however refused, and sent him 100 catties of actual gold, and ordered the Grand Provisioner to furnish his food and the Attendant Physicians to look after his illness. Chang Yü became afraid, arose, and attended to his business.

On Aug. 9, 25 B.C. he was made Lieutenant Chancellor and Marquis of An-ch'ang. On May 19, 20 B.C. he was permitted to retire on account of age, and was granted a comfortable carriage, a quadriga of horses and a hundred catties of gold. He returned to his residence, but continued to come to court on the first and fifteenth of the month as a marquis, with the rank of Specially Advanced, and was treated as a Lieutenant Chancellor, and was given 5 officials as his followers and his enfeoffment was increased 400 families. Although Chu Yün 朱雲 protested that Chang Yü was a flatterer (*Hs* 67.6a,b), Emperor Ch'eng protected him. The Emperor gave him presents several times, altogether several ten millions of cash. He died in 5 B.C.

As a man, Chang Yü was careful and generous, but inwardly loving wealth. His family made farming their occupation, and when he became rich and honorable, he bought land to the amount of 40,000 *mou*, all fertile and high priced, irrigated from the Ching 涇 and Wei 渭 Rivers.

By nature, Chang Yü was expert in music. Inwardly he was extravagant and given to licentiousness. He lived in a large residence and his harem performed music.

When he became old, he built himself a tomb and a sacrificial room at the Fei-niu T'ing 肥牛亭 in P'ing-ling 平陵 Prefecture, near Yen Tomb 延陵. The Emperor's maternal uncle, Wang Ken 王根, intrigued against it, but the Emperor granted this place to Chang Yü. Thereafter whenever Chang Yü was ill, the Emperor rode to visit and ask about him and himself visited his bedside. Thereupon Chang Yu said that his son-in-law, who was the Grand Administrator of the Chang-yi 張掖 Commandery, was so distant that his daughter could not come to see him; whereupon the Emperor moved him to be the Grand Administrator of the Hung-nung 弘農 Commandery. Chang Yü also looked meaningfully at his youngest son, who was the only one not in official position, and the Emperor thereupon made him a Gentleman of the Yellow Gate Serving in the Palace.

In 16 B.C. there was a solar eclipse and several earthquakes, and the officials and common people memorialized the throne blaming the portents upon the Wang clan, who were usurping the power. The Emperor, fearing the portents, intended to accede to their requests somewhat, when he drove to Chang Yü's house, sent away his attendants, and asked Chang Yü about the portents. Chang Yü knew that he was old and his descendants were

uninfluential, and that he had had trouble with Wang Ken. Hence he feared a feud with the Wang clan, so he told the Emperor that it was very difficult to know the causes of visitations and prodigies, and Confucius rarely spoke of strange events or supernatural beings, so the Emperor should not pay attention to the sayings of ignorant Confucians but pay attention to government. The Emperor trusted and honored Chang Yü, so thereafter he did not suspect the clan, and the Wang clan visited Chang Yü. Chang Yü served Emperor Ai, as he had served Emperor Ch'eng and died in 5 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 81.11a-14a; 18.21b; 19B.43a, 44a. 88.7b.

391. *Chang Chung*, 張忠, style Tzu-kan 子贛 (d. 23 B.C.), was an official of Emperor Ch'eng who rose to be Grandee Secretary. He came from Chu-lu 鋸鹿 and became the Chancellor of the kingdom of Tung-p'ing 東平. In 29 B.C. (probably the year previous) he became Privy Treasurer. On Jan. 3, 28 B.C., he became Grandee Secretary, and died in 23 B.C. some time before May. Cf. *Hs* 19 B.41b; 76.24b; 77.10a.

391. *Shen-t'u Sheng* 申屠聖 was a workman in the office for iron in Yang-ch'eng 陽城, in the Ying-ch'uan 穎川 Commandery, who in July/Aug. 22 B.C. started an armed rebellion with 180 followers and which was put down within a month, all the rebels being killed. Cf. *Hs* 10:7b.

392. The [*Diligent*] *Cultivators of the Fields* (*li tian* 力田) were persons selected by officials for this eulogistic epithet, and were frequently made grants of a step in aristocratic rank or of silk, etc. by the emperors. The term came to be used as practically a title. It seems to have first been used in an edict of 191 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 2:5a. *Hs* 10:8a, speaking of agriculture, says that the Emperors "granted favors to those who worked diligently [at it], and ordered that Diligent Cultivators of the Fields should be classed with the Filially Pious and Fraternal Respectful."

393. *Yü Yung* 于永, title, Marquis Ch'ing 頃 of Hsi-p'ing 西平, was the son of the Lieutenant Chancellor Yü Ting-kuo 于定國. In 40 B.C., he succeeded to his father's marquisate of Hsi-p'ing.

When he was young, he was fond of wine and committed many faults, but in his thirtieth year he broke the habit, became temperate, and cultivated his conduct. Because of his father's position, Yü Yung became Palace Attendant, General of the Gentlemen-in-the-Household, and Colonel of Ch'ang-shui. When his father died, he performed the mourning ceremonies according to the rites, and became known for his filially pious conduct. Because of it, since he had been a Junior Division Head and a marquis in 37 B.C. he was made Cavalryman with Specific Appointment and Superintendent of the Imperial Household, which position he held to the sixteenth year. He also became an Inspector of Officials. On Dec. 23, 22 B.C. he was made Grandee Secretary and married the Kuan-t'ao Princess, [Liu] Shih 施, who was the eldest daughter of Emperor Hsüan and the aunt of Emperor Ch'eng and who was capable and had a good character. Yü Yung was selected to be the husband of the Princess, and [the Emperor] wanted to make him the Lieutenant Chancellor, but the year after his appointment as Grandee Secretary, on Jan. 31, 20 B.C., Yü Yung died. Cf. *Hs* 71: 8a; 18:18b; 19B:39b; 10:8b.

394. *Li* 里 is the personal name of a Grandee-remonstrant, whose surname has been lost, who was sent in Mar./Apr. 20 B.C. to inspect the empire. Cf. *Hs* 10:8b.

394. The *Ch'ang Tomb* 昌陵 was the second tomb started for Emperor Ch'eng; it was never completed because of the expense. According to *Hs* 10:8b, it was made in the Hsi District 戲鄉 (q.v.) of the Hsin-feng 新豐 Prefecture, and was (temporarily) raised to the rank of a prefecture so that the (temporary) prefecture of Ch'ang-ling is sometimes mentioned. *Hs* 70:16a states that the town was south of the Ch'ü 曲 Commune of Pa-ling 霸陵 Prefecture; Pa-ling and Hsin-feng were neighboring prefectures. The *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, 37:6b quotes the *San-fu chiu-shih* 三輔舊事 (prob. iii cent.) as follows, "When Emperor Ch'eng was making the Yen Tomb 延陵 [his first tomb, and the one finally completed], and building its temple, General Tou 竇 had a field of green bamboos south of the temple and feared lest [the workmen] would injure and trample it, so he said that it was not convenient to make the tomb [here]. Hence [the Emperor] moved [his tomb] and made the Ch'ang Tomb, and took earth from [a distance of] more than ten *li*, and earth was the same price as grain." The *Kuan-Chung Chi* 關中記 (iii cent.) said, "The Chang Tomb

was 20 li east of Pa-ch'eng. Earth was taken from the Eastern Hills. It was the same price as grain. Ten millions [of cash] were expended for successive years without completing it." (Cited in *Shui-ching chu*, "Wei shui") *Hs* 10:11a, quoting the edict abolishing this project, says, "It has been making to the fifth year... The soil from other places is scanty and bad." The *Yüan-ho Chün-Hsien chih* 2:8a (by Li Chi-fu 李吉甫, 758-814) lists in the Hsin-feng Prefecture a Hsi Ting 戲亭. Cf. also *Hs* 36:19a-; 70: 16a.

394. The *Hsi District* 戲鄉 {15-16:4/5} was a subdivision of the ancient Hsin-feng prefecture. (q.v.) Yen Shih-ku says that it was on the Hsi River 戲水. The *Yüan-ho Chün-Hsien chih* by Li Chi-fu (758-814) 1:8a says, "The ancient Hsi Ting was 30 li northeast of the prefectural city. The *Shina Rekidai Chimei Yoran*, p. 110 locates it east of the present Lin-t'ung 臨潼 in the Ch'ing dynasty's Hsi-an 西安府 Fu, Shensi. Cf. *Hs* 10:8b.

396. The *Ch'eng-ming Hall* 承明殿 was in the Wei-yang Palace. Cf. *Hs* 27Bb:9a; 68:5b; *San-fu huang-t'u* 3:3a. The Emperor feasted the Confucian masters and students in this place.

397. *Liu Yun-k'o* 劉雲客, title King Yi 夷 of Kuang-te 廣德 was the son of Liu Sui 劉遂, Marquis Tai 戴 of Li-Hsiang 利鄉, the great-grandson of Liu Fu<sub>3</sub> 劉輔, King Ch'ing 頃 of Chung-shan, 中山 and a seventh generation descendant of Emperor Ching. When his cousin, Liu Hsiu 劉脩, King Huai 懷 of Chung-shan died without heir, the kingdom was abolished, but in the sixth (July/Aug.) or eighth (Sept./Oct.) month of 19 B.C. Emperor Ch'eng appointed Liu Yun-k'o as King of Kuang-te, because he was a grandson of a younger brother of Liu Fu<sub>5</sub> 劉福, King Hsien of Chung-shan. Liu Yun-k'o died either the same year or the third year thereafter without heirs, and his kingdom was abolished. Cf. *Hs* 10:10a; 14:16b; 53:12b.

398. *Liu Fu<sub>5b</sub>* 劉福, title King Hsien 憲 of Chung-shan was the son of King Ch'ing, Liu Fu<sub>3a</sub>, and the fifth generation descendant from Emperor Ching 景帝. He ascended the throne in 86 B.C. and died in 70 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 14:16b; 53:12b.

398. *Kuang-te* 廣德 was a kingdom in 19 B.C. and from 2-9 A.D. Its kings were Liu Yun-k'o and Liu Lun 劉倫 (sometimes erroneously give as 劉榆) and his son, Liu Ch'ih 劉赤. According to *Hs* 28 Aiii:38b this kingdom was the prefecture of Yi 黟 in the Tan-yang 丹揚 Commandery, which was located, according to the *Ta Ch'ing yi-t'ung-chih*, east of the present Yi 黟 in the Ch'ing dynasty's Hui-chou Fu 徽州府, southern Anhui. Both Yi and Ch'i-men 祁門 were in the prefecture of the Han period. Cf. also *Hs* 14:16b, 18a.

399. *Hsü*, 許 Empress neé. The Empress neé Hsü of Emperor Hsiao-Ch'eng was the daughter of Hsü Chia 許嘉, who was Marquis of P'ing-en 平恩, and Commander-in-chief and General of Chariots and Cavalry. Emperor Yüan sorrowed because his mother, the Empress Kung-ai 恭哀 neé Hsü had been assassinated when he was a baby, so he selected the daughter of her first cousin to be the consort of his Heir-apparent. The Empress neé Hsü was then a cousin of Emperor Ch'eng belonging to the generation preceding his. When she was married, the Heir-apparent was delighted with her, and Emperor Yüan was overjoyed when the news of her reception was brought to him, and his entourage congratulated him. After some time she had a boy, who died young. When Emperor Ch'eng ascended the throne, she was made Empress, and again bore a daughter, who also died.

Hsü Chia had controlled the government for eight or nine years, and when Emperor Ch'eng ascended the throne, he made Wang Feng the maternal uncle of Emperor Yüan, Commander-in-chief and General-in-chief, to be Hsü Chia's associate. Later Hsü Chia was honorably relieved of his position, given grants. He died after more than a year later.

The Empress neé Hsü was intelligent and accomplished and good at the official style of writing. From the time she became the Heir-apparent's consort until he ascended the throne, she was continually favored by the Heir-apparent, and his concubines were rarely approached. But the Empress Dowager neé Wang and the Emperor's uncles worried that the Emperor had no heir, and moreover there were many visitations and portents, which Liu Hsiang 劉向 and Ku Yung 谷永 blamed upon the imperial harem. The Emperor agreed, and so reduced the expense of the

Empress' apartments and of the harem. The Empress protested, and the Emperor replied, citing the portents enumerated as directed against the harem by Liu Hsiang and Ku Yung.

At that time Wang Feng controlled the government, and after that about every three years there was an eclipse. Those who discussed the eclipse blamed them upon him, but Ku Yung and the others blamed them upon the Hsü clan. After a time, the favor of the Empress declined and the Emperor favored many new concubines. Her sister Ye 謁, the widow of the Marquis Kang 剛 of P'ing-an 平安, Wang Chang 王章, a son of Wang Shun 王舜, was charged with trying to entice the Emperor by magic and attempting thereby to kill the Beauty neé Wang, who was pregnant, together with Wang Feng and others. When the matter became known, the Empress Dowager neé Wang became infuriated and had the officials examine the matter. Ye and her associates were executed, and the Empress was dismissed on Jan. 8, 18 B.C. and sent to live in the Chao-t'ai Palace 昭臺宮. Her relatives were all sent away from the capital. She was empress to the fourteenth year.

After more than a year in the Chao-t'ai Palace, she was returned to the Ch'ang-ting Palace 長定宮. The ninth year after, the Emperor pitied the Hsü clan and allowed them to return to the capital. The dismissed Empress's sister Mi 嬖 became the concubine of Shun-yü Chang 淳于長, who said that he was able to make the dismissed Empress the Junior Empress; so the dismissed Empress bribed him and wrote to him letters. They corresponded for several years and were regardless of the proprieties. When the matter became known in Dec. 8 B.C. the Emperor sent the Chief Justice K'ung Kuang 孔光 with credentials to grant the dismissed Empress poison, whereupon she committed suicide. Shun-yü Chang died in prison. She was buried at the Yen Tomb 延陵, west of the Jiao-tao Stables 交道廄. Cf. *Hs* 97B:1a-7a; 10:15b.

399. The *Kuang-han Commandery* 廣漢 {29-30:3/4} was located in the present Szechuan. It was established in 201 B.C., made of territory previously belonging to the Pa 巴 and Shu 蜀 Commanderies. Under the Former Han Dynasty, its headquarters were at Sheng-Hsiang 乘(繩)鄉, which was in the Lo 雒 prefecture. The latter was located, according to the *Ta-ch'ing Yi-t'ung chih*, north of the present Kuang-han or Chung-chiang 中江 (the Ch'ing dynasty's Han Chou 漢州, in Ch'eng-tu 成都 Fu) Szechuan. In the Later Han period, Emperor An changed its headquarters to Fou 涪, which was located, according to the same authority, northeast of the present Mien-yang 縣陽 (the Ch'ing dynasty's Mien Chou), Szechuan. Later the headquarters were put at Lo, which has previously been located. This Commandery contained 167,499 households, 662,249 persons, and 13 prefectures. It was included in the Yi Province 益州. Wang Mang renamed it Chiu-tu 就都. Cf. *Hs* 28 Aiii:64a.

399. *Cheng Kung* 鄭躬 was a man sentenced to death in the prison of the Kuang-han Commandery in Jan. 18 B.C., when the other convicts rescued him by force, took arms from the arsenal, and rebelled. He called himself the Lord of the Mountains 山君, and his band gradually increased, overrunning four prefectures and numbering ten thousand. But he was captured and executed within a year. Cf. *Hs* 10:10a, b, & *HFHD* n. 10.5; *Hs* 27A:18b; 83.6a.

399. *Lord of the Mountains* 山君 was a title taken by the rebel Cheng Kung (q.v.) in 18 B.C. *Hs* 10:10a.

399. The *Yu Province* 幽州 {27-28} was an administrative division in the Former Han period under the supervision of an Inspector. It included the commanderies of Cho 涿, Po-hai 勃海, Yu-pei-p'ing 右北平, Liao-tung 遼東, Liao-hsi 遼西, Hsüan-t'u 玄菟, Lo-lang 樂浪, and the kingdom of Kuang-yang 廣陽. In Later Han times the division was the same, except that Po-hai was not included. Cf. *Han-kuan ta-wen* 5:9b; *HHs*, Tr. 23A:2a; *Mh* 1,65, n.2; III, 384.

400. *Chao Hu* 趙護, style Tzu-Hsia 子夏, was in 17 B.C. the Chief Commandant of the He-tung Commandery 河東郡. In the winter of that year he was made Grand Administrator of the Kuang-han Commandery, and sent to suppress the rebellion of Cheng Kuang (q.v.). He was successful, and in 12 B.C. Chao Hu was made Chief of Palace Police in the Capital. Cf. *Hs* 10:10b; 19B:46b; 83.6a.

401. *Li, Queen* 戾后. Queen Li was the posthumous title given to the Sweet Young Lady neé Shih 史, the wife of the

Heir-apparent Li 戾太子, Liu Chü 劉據. Cf. *Hs* 63:6a; 97A:20a.

401. *Chao Lin* 趙臨, title Marquis Chieh 節 of Cheng-yang 成陽, was the father of *Chao Fei-yen* 趙飛燕, who became the second Empress of Emperor Ch'eng. Just before she was elevated to be Empress, on May 23, 16 B.C., he was enfeoffed as marquis with the income of 2000 families. He died in 12 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 10:11a; 18:22a; 77:6b; 97B:9b-16a.

401. *Ch'eng-yang* 成陽 {19-20:6/3} was a city, prefecture, and marquisate, of the Ju-nan Commandery 汝南郡, located, according to the *Ta-ch'ing Yi-t'ung chih*, northeast of the present Hsin-yang 信陽 (the Ch'ing dynasty's Hsin-yang Chou in Ju-ning Fu 汝寧), Henan. Its marquises, were Hsi Yi 奚意 and his son Hsi Hsin 奚信; *Chao Lin* and his son *Chao Hsin* 趙訢; and *Liu Chung* 劉眾. *Hs* 18:22a, commentary, says that this marquisate was located in Hsin-hsi 新息, which was another prefecture of the Ju-nan Commandery, so that Cheng-yang was probably split off the Hsin-Hsi prefecture. Cf. *Hs* 28Aii:7b; 16:58a; 18:22a; 15B:54b. There was another city by the same name in the Chi-yin Commandery 濟陰郡; cf. *Hs* 28Aii:39a.

401. *Wang Wan* 王曼, style Yüan-ch'ing 元卿 was the second son of *Wang Chin* 禁, and the father of *Wang Mang*. He died so early that he was not given a marquisate in 32 B.C. when all the other brothers of the Empress Dowager nee Wang were enfeoffed. [p: In 16 B.C. he was posthumously given the title of Marquis Ai 哀 of Hsin-tu 新都, when his son, *Wang Mang* was enfeoffed as Marquis of Hsin-tu. In 20 A.D. *Wang Mang* gave him the ninth of the nine imperial ancestral temples, entitling him King Hsien 顯 of Hsin-tu. Cf. *Hs* 10:11a; 98A:2a, 4b; 99A:1a; 99C:9b.

401. *Hsin-tu* 新都 {22-23:3-6} was a city, prefecture, and marquisate in the Nan-yang Commandery 南陽郡, located, according to the *Ta-ch'ing Yi-t'ung chih*, east of the present Hsin-yeh 新野, in the Ch'ing dynasty's Nan-yang Fu, Henan. *Wang Mang* renamed it Hsin-lin 新林. *Wang Mang* was made the marquis of Hsin-tu in 16 B.C. In 8 A.D. he returned this marquisate, and his grandson, *Wang Tsung* 王宗, was made Marquis of Hsin-tu. *Hs* 99A:1b says that this marquisate was located at the Tu District 都鄉 of the prefecture Hsin-yeh, so that Hsin-tu was probably made a prefecture in 16 B.C. when he was appointed. The Later Han dynasty reunited this territory to the prefecture of Hsin-yeh. Cf. *Hs* 28 Aii:11a; 18: 21a; 18:21a; 99A:32a.

401. The *Court Architect* 將作大匠 was the official who had charge of building the imperial palaces and buildings, especially the imperial tombs. The Ch'in dynasty named this official the Privy Treasurer Builder 將作少府; in 144 B.C. his title was changed to Court Architect. He was ranked at two thousand piculs. He repaired and built the imperial ancestral temples, imperial apartments, palaces, houses, tombs, funerary parks, and planting trees at the side of the roads. When the Son of Heaven granted favor to his high officials, he ordered the Court Architect after their death to dig their tombs. The year after the Son of Heaven ascended the throne, the Court Architect began preparing the Emperor's tomb. For an account of the arrangements of these tombs, cf. the notes to *HHs*, Treatises 4,5,6. Cf. *Hs* 19A:18b; *Han-kuan ta-wen* 4:7a,b; *HHs*, Tr. 27:5a,b; *HJAS* 2(1937):26-28 for summary of a study on this office by Hamaguchi Shigekuni published originally in *Shigaku zasshi* 44, 12, 1397-1444.

401. *Chieh Wan-nien* 解萬年 was the Court Architect who persuaded Emperor Ch'eng to build a second tomb, the Ch'ang Tomb 昌陵, larger than the first. It was unfavorably located, and when its cost mounted and it was still far from complete in the fifth year, it was abolished in 16 B.C. The next year *Chieh Wan-nien* was exiled to the Tun-huang Commandery 敦煌郡. Cf. *Hs* 10:11a, 12a; 70:16a,17b; 93:6b.

402. *Liu Li* 劉惲, title King of Ch'eng-yang, was the younger brother of the previous King Ai of Ch'eng-yang, *Liu Yün* 劉雲, who had died without heirs in 19 B.C. In Aug. 16 B.C., Emperor Ch'eng accordingly appointed *Liu Yün's* younger brother as king. In 8 A.D., *Wang Mang* demoted him to be a Duke; the next year he was dismissed. *Hs* 38:7a says he was the older brother of *Liu Yün*,<sup>2b</sup> but 14:6b and 10:11b note him as the younger brother.

402. *Liu Yun*<sub>2b</sub> 劉雲, title, King Ai of Ch'eng-yang was the son of Liu Ching<sub>3a</sub> 劉景, King Hsiao 孝王 of Ch'eng-yang. In 19 B.C. he succeeded his father as King and died the same year, without heirs. His kingdom was disestablished until 16 B.C., when his younger brother, Liu Li, was appointed. Cf. *Hs* 14:6b; 38:7a.

403. *Senior Chieftain of Conscript*s (Chieftain of Conscript on the Right) 右更 was the fourteenth rank in the noble hierarchy, counting from the bottom. For the meaning of this term, cf. sub Junior Chieftain of Conscript. Cf. *Hs* 19A:25b; *Han-kuan ta-wen* 5:1a. XIVB xxvii n.14.

404. *The Palace Assistant Grand Minister of Agriculture* 大司農中丞 was one of the two Assistants to the Grand Minister of Agriculture. One of the Assistants had in charge the government monopolies, especially that of salt and iron. Yen Shih-ku [*Hs* 10:12a] says, "The Palace Assistant [Grand] Minister of Agriculture has in charge the money and grain, the employees and workers, hence calls him 'the Director in charge 典主 [of the imperial funds];'" {Note the change in Dubs' in understanding of this term from *HFHD* II:404.} Cf. *Hs* 10:12a; 19A:14a,b; *Han-kuan ta-wen* 3:2b.

404-405. *Wang Hung* 王闳, the son of Wang Tan 王譚, Marquis of P'ing-o 平阿侯, and the younger brother of Wang Ch'ü-chi 王去疾. In 14 B.C. he had been a Regular Attendant and Palace Assistant Grand Minister of Agriculture. Because he was in charge of the state expenses, he memorialized that the Ch'ang Tomb should be abolished, and in reward Emperor Ch'eng made him a Kuan-wei Marquis with the income of 500 households. Wang admonished Emperor Ai for favoring Tung Hsien 董賢 too highly. In 1 A.D. he was the Grand Coachman in the Ch'ang-hsin Palace. Cf. *Hs* 10:12a; 93:11b-13a; 99A:6a. *HHs* 12:7a.

[p: In the time of Emperor Ai, Wang Hung became a Regular Palace Attendant. At that time Emperor Ai's favorite, Tung Hsien, was Commander-in-Chief and was favored greatly. Wang Hung several times admonished against Tung and opposed him. When Emperor Ai was about to die, he handed the imperial seals and cords to Tung Hsien saying, "Do not vainly give them to another."

At this time there was no heir to rule the state and everyone in and out of the court was fearful. Wang Hung asked the Grand Empress Dowager nee Wang for permission to take away the imperial seals and cords. He thereupon girded on a sword and went to the rear door of the Hsüan-te Hall 宣德殿, raised his hands and deceived Tung Hsien, saying that the imperial throne was vacant, no heir had yet been appointed, that Tung Hsien had received great favors from the deceased Emperor and should prostrate himself and weep instead of holding the imperial seals and cords and thereby bringing calamity upon himself. Tung Hsien knew that Wang Hung would go to any length of action, so did not dare to resist him, but knelt down and gave him the imperial seals and cords. Wang Hung galloped off and offered them to the Grand Empress Dowager.

The court considered Wang Hung a brave man. When Wang Mang usurped the throne, he had a concealed jealousy for Wang Hung, so he sent him out of the court as the Grand Administrator of the Tung Commandery 東郡. Wang Hung feared execution, so he constantly carried poison on his person. In 24 A.D., he was Director of Confederation 卒正 in the Yen Province 兗州. After Wang Mang was defeated and the Han troops arose, Wang Hung alone kept himself safe. He surrendered the 30 and more prefectures of the Tung Commandery to the Keng-shih 更始 Emperor. Cf. *HHs* 12:7a. *Hs* 99 C:21a.]

405. *Shun-yü Chang* (Chun-yü Chang) 淳于長, style Tzu-ju 子X, title Marquis of Ting-ling 定陵侯 (d. 8 B.C.), was a relative of the Wang family on the female side who rose to high position, almost attained control of the government, but was eliminated by Wang Mang on account of Shun-yü Chang's acceptance of bribes from the dismissed Empress nee Hsü.

He came from Yüan-cheng 元城 in the Wei Commandery 魏郡. When he was young, because he was the son of the Empress Dowager's elder half-sister, he became a Gentleman of the Yellow Gate. Before he had been promoted, when the General-in-chief Wang Feng was ill, Shun-yü waited upon the sick man, morning and night assisting and showing great kindness to his maternal uncle. When Wang Feng was on the verge of death, he



recommended Shun-yü Chang to the Empress Dowager and the Emperor. The Emperor approved of Shun-yü Chang's actions, and installed him among the Colonels and Division Heads 列校尉諸曹, and in 16 B.C. he was promoted to be Chief Commandant of Waters and Parks. In an edict of Jan/Feb. 14 B.C. he is called Palace Attendant and Chief Commandant of the Palace Guard (probably merely of one of the palaces). Because he recommended the discontinuance of the Ch'ang Tomb he was made a Kuan-wei Marquis with the income of a thousand households. In 13 B.C. he was promoted to be Commandant of the Palace Guard, so that he rose to be one of the nine ministers.

When Chao Fei-yen was favored by the Emperor Ch'eng so that he wanted to make her Empress, and the Empress Dowager was making difficulties because Chao Fei-yen came from humble beginnings, Shun-yü was especially responsible for conveying messages to the Eastern Palace 東宮 (apparently another name for the Ch'ang-lo Palace 長樂宮 {Could also refer to the residence of the heir apparent}), in which the Empress Dowager lived); after Chao Fei-Yen had been made Empress in 16 B.C., the Emperor took as a pretext Shun-yü Chang's previous act regarding the Ch'ang Tomb and on Mar. 24, 10 B.C. made him Marquis of Ting-ling.

The Emperor gave him high confidence, so that his power overshadowed that of the ministers outside the court and he had close contacts with the nobles, the Governors and Administrators. His bribes from officials and grants from the Emperor amounted to a hundred million cash.

He had many wives and concubines and indulged in music and women and did not restrain himself by the laws. Previously, when the Empress neé Hsü had been dismissed, and lived in the Ch'ang-ting Palace 長定宮, her older sister Mi 嬪 had been the wife of Marquis Szu 思侯 of Lung-e 龍頤, Han Pao 韓寶, and was a widow. Shun-yü Chang had relations with Mi and so took her as a concubine. The Empress neé Hsü took advantage of that to bribe Shun-yü Chang, seeking to be made a Favorite Beauty. Shun-yü Chang received her gold and cash, carriages, clothes, and goods, altogether to the value of more than ten million cash. He deceived the Empress neé Hsü saying that he would tell the Emperor to make her the Junior Empress 左皇后. Every time Mi went to the Ch'ang-ting Palace to see her sister, Shun-yü Chang gave her letters to her sister, which made sport with and insulted the Empress neé Hsü and did not atone for anything. Letters were exchanged and bribes given for successive years.

At this time Wang Ken 王根 was controlling the government, and retired on account of age. Shun-yü Chang thought that he should succeed Wang Ken. But Wang Ken's nephew, Wang Mang, had privately heard that Shun-yü Chang had married Hsü Mi and had been given bribes from the Empress neé Hsü. When Wang Mang waited upon Wang Ken in his illness, he told Wang Ken that when Shun-yü Chang had seen that Wang Ken had been ill for a long time, he rejoiced and thought that he must succeed to the control of the government, and had already discussed who were to occupy the high governmental positions. Wang Ken became angry, and told Wang Mang to tell the Empress Dowager about Shun-yü Chang's pride and extravagance, etc. and that he had planned to take Wang Ken's place, that he had had illegal relations with the sister of the dismissed Empress neé Hsü, and had received bribes from the Empress. The Empress Dowager was angry and told Wang Mang to inform Emperor Ch'eng. The Emperor dismissed Shun-yü Chang from his position and sent him to his estate.

When he was leaving, Wang Jung 王融, the heir of Wang Li<sub>5a</sub> 王立, a brother of the Empress Dowager, called on Shun-yü Chang and the latter sent some valuable jewels to Wang Li, who spoke to the Emperor on behalf of Shun-yü Chang. The Emperor accordingly suspected Shun-yü Chang, and had the officials investigate the case. They arrested Wang Jung, and Wang Li had him commit suicide to prevent his talking. The Emperor became all the more suspicious and had Shun-yü Chang imprisoned in Lo-yang and had him tortured. He admitted to making sport of the Empress neé Hsü and to his proposal to make her the Junior Empress. His crime was treason and in Dec./Jan. 8 B.C. he died in prison. His wife and children were exiled to the Ho-p'u Commandery 合浦郡, and his mother Jo 若 was sent back to her Commandery. Wang Li was sent to his estate, and altogether several tens of persons were sentenced and Wang Mang took the place of Wang Ken as Commander-in-chief. Cf. *Hs* 93:6b-8a; 18:23a; 19B:45a, 46a; 10:12a, 15b, 99:A:2a.

405. Wang Chün<sub>4a</sub> 王駿 was a high official under Emperor Ch'eng. His father, Wang Chi 王吉, had taught the *Odes* and *Analects*, and liked the interpretation of the *Book of Changes* by Liang-ch'iu Ho 梁丘賀. When Emperor Yüan came to the throne, he sent for Wang Chi, but the latter was old and died on the way. Previously Wang Chi had ordered his son, Wang Chün, to study the *Book of Odes* under Liang-ch'iu Ho's son, Liang-ch'iu Lin 梁丘臨. {*Hs* 30:20a lists Wang Chün as having written explications of the *Analects* in 20 chapters.} Because Wang Chün was

recommended as a filially pious and incorrupt person, he became a Gentleman and a Junior Division Head. Ch'en Hsien 陳咸 recommended him as the son of a worthy father and as one who knew the classics and had a cultivated personality and should be promoted. The Superintendent of the Imperial Household K'uang Heng 匡衡 also recommended Wang Chün as having special ability in replying to questions, so that he was promoted to be a Grandee-remonstrant and sent to reprimand King Hsien 憲王 of Huai-yang 淮陽. He was promoted to be the Prefect of the Capital in the kingdom of Chao 趙國內史.

Wang Chi, who had been the Palace Military Commander of the King of Ch'ang-yi 昌邑王, Liu Ho 劉賀, had warned his sons and grandsons not to become the officials of a vassal king, so Wang Chün became ill on the way, resigned his position, and returned to his home. He was again made the Inspector of Yu Province and promoted to be Colonel in Charge of the Retainers. He memorialized that the Lieutenant Chancellor K'uang Heng should be dismissed, and in 28 B.C. he was promoted to be Privy Treasurer. In 22 B.C. he became chief assistant to the Chief of Palace Police in the Capital.

Emperor Ch'eng wanted to employ him in high positions, so in 21 B.C. he was made Governor of the Capital to try him in governing. His predecessors in that position, Chao Kuang-han 趙光漢, Chang Ch'ang 張敞, Wang Tsun 王尊, and Wang Chang 王章, had all been famous, and he was coupled with them and called one of the "three Wang." On June 18, 20 B.C. Wang Chün was made Grandee Secretary, which position he held to the sixth year, when he died early in 15 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 10:12a; 72:8a,b; 19B:42a, 43b, 44a.

406. Chia 嘉 was the personal name of a Grand Palace Grandee who was sent to travel about and inspect the empire in the spring of 14 B.C. He may have been the same as the Imperial Household Grandee Meng Chia 孟嘉 (q.v.) who was sent on a similar mission in 26 B.C. The *Han-chi* does not mention this inspection. Cf. *Hs* 10:12b.

406. The *Jewel of Ch'en* 陳寶 was a female divinity in the form of a liver-shaped stone or fossil, supposed to have been a divine pheasant, which had been a patron deity of the state of Ch'in since the seventh century B.C. She was worshipped at Chen-ts'ang 陳倉, at the foot of the Ch'en-ts'ang Mountain. Every year or so, or oftener, her consort appearing periodically visited her temple, coming from the southeast, crowing like a pheasant and accompanied by streams of red light, forty or fifty feet long, like meteors, whereupon the other pheasants would crow. Thereupon the god was promptly sacrificed to and news of the happy event was sent to the Emperor. One hundred fifty-one such visits were recorded in the first 180 years of the Han dynasty. A temple to this divinity was said to have been first built in 747 B.C. by Duke Wen 文公 of Ch'in. Its worship was disestablished at the request of K'uang Heng in the reign of Emperor Ch'eng (*Hs* 25B:14a), and it was reestablished in 14 B.C. by an edict of the Empress Dowager nee Wang when Emperor Ch'eng had had no children.

[p: Fu Tsan (fl. ca. 285), in a note to *Sc* 28:10, glosses, "In Ch'en-ts'ang Prefecture there is a Temple to the Jewel Lady 寶夫人. She unites with the Lord of She 葉君, sometimes each year and sometimes [once] in two years. At the time that the Lord of She comes, heaven makes a loud thunder sound and male pheasants crow for him. [Her temple] is 500 li directly west of Ch'ang-an.

Szu-ma Cheng (713-742) quotes the *Account of Various Prodigies* (pub. by Chang Hua 張華, lived 232-300) as follows: "A person of Ch'en-ts'ang secured a prodigious thing and intended to present it [to his lord]. On the way he met two youths, [one of whom] said, [pointing to the other youth], 'This one's name is Wei 媼 [which means "Elder Sister." The thing you have found lives] in the earth and eats dead person's brains.' Wei then spoke, saying, 'This second youth's name is the Jewel of Ch'en. He who secures the male one will become a king 王 and he who secures the female will become a Lord Protector 霸 [of the feudal nobles.' The man of Ch'en-ts'ang] thereupon pursued the youths, [but] they metamorphized into pheasants. Duke Mu 穆公 of Ch'in held a great hunt and indeed captured the female of those [two]. For her there was established a temple and sacrifices. She makes lights, lightning, and the sound of thunder. The male stopped in the Nan-yang [Commandery] 南陽郡. He makes red lights, more than 100 [ancient] feet long. He comes and enters into the Temple at Ch'en-ts'ang. On that account, according to the practice in [the region of] Tai 代, she is called the Jewel Lady 寶夫人, for which moreover there is [good] reason.

The *T'ai-p'ing yu-lan* 917:7b quotes the above same passage with more detail. The object the man found by digging into the ground is like but is neither a sheep nor a pig. The first youth's name is Wen 媼 [meaning "Dame"]. To kill the object he found, the man is told to beat its head with cypress. The man lets go of Wen and chases the

second youth; they metamorphize and fly into the forest. The man informs Duke Mu , who sends out his retainers to hunt and catches the pheasant, who again metamorphoses into a stone, which is placed between the Ch'ien 沂 and Wei 渭 Rivers. The temple was built by Duke Wen. The male alights in Pheasant (*chih* 雉) Prefecture of Nan-yang Commandery, which was then given that name.

The confusion of place Shê 葉 for Chih is explicable. Shê was 30 odd-miles east of the ancient Chih. Chih was abolished as an administrative district after 423, so that when P'ei Yin (fl. 465-472) quoted Fu Tsan's note and when Szu-ma Cheng quoted the Account of Various Prodigies, they changed "Chih" to "She", for the sake of clarity. She is located on the map at the end of *HFHD*, I.

Yen Shih-ku, in a note to *Hs* 28A:ii:10a, sub Chih, says, "The male pheasant stopped at Ch'en-ts'ang and became a stone, while the female stopped at this prefecture." The *TPYL* quotation, at the end, says inconsistently, "*The male and female pheasants flew south and lighted at present Chih Prefecture in the Nan-yang [Commandery], which is their territory.*" Fu Tsan's gloss however fixes the sex of the Jewel of Ch'an. {The Chinese characters for the italicized English in the above quotation are missing, and a five-character gap appears in the *TPYL*. Dub's source for this quote is not clear. Italics supplied by editors.} Cf. *Sc* 28:9, 10 and notes; *Hs* 25B:15a-b; *Mh* II, 17; III, 421 f.; Hu Shih in *JRAS* 60:29. C.P. Fitzgerald, *China*, p. 220, has followed Szu-ma Ch'ien's error into misstating the sex of this divinity. {David R. Knegtghes. *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982], 1:182}

406. *Ch'en-ts'ang* 陳倉 {15-16:4-3} was a city and prefecture of the Yu-fu-feng Commandery 右扶風, located, according to the *Ta Ch'ing Yi-t'ung-chih*, 20 li east of the present Pao-chi 寶雞, in the Ch'ing dynasty's Feng-Hsiang Fu 鳳翔府, western Shensi. At the foot of the Ch'en-ts'ang Mountain was located the Temple to the Jewel of Ch'en and the Pheasant Crowing 陳寶雞鳴祠. There were several other temples and the Yü-yang Palace 羽陽宮 in this prefecture. Cf. *Hs* 28 Ai:35b.

406. *Wei-shih* 尉氏 was a city and prefecture of the Ch'en-liu Commandery 陳留郡, located, according to the *Ta Ch'ing Yi-t'ung-chih*, at the present Wei-shih (also pronounced Yü-shih), in K'ai-feng Fu 開封府, Henan. Cf. *Hs* 28 Ai:84a.

406. *Fan Ping* 樊並 was a man of Wei-shih who led a rebellion in Dec./Jan. 143 B.C., together with a cabal of twelve others. They killed the Ch'en-liu Commandery Grand Administrator. Fan Ping was however killed by a criminal, Li Tan 李譚. Cf. *Hs* 1C:12b; 27A:18b; 26:58b; 85:16b.

406. *Li Tan* 李譚, title, Marquis Chieh 節 of Yen-hsiang 延鄉, was a criminal of the Ch'en-liu Commandery who headed a conspiracy which assassinated the rebel Fan Ping in 13 B.C. Li Tan was accordingly made marquis with the income of a thousand households on Aug. 9, 13 B.C. He died in 1 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 10:12b; 17:31b.

407. *Su Ling* 蘇令 was an escaped convict who in Jan./Feb. 13 B.C. led a rebellion of convicts in the office for iron in the Shan-yang Commandery 山陽郡. They numbered 228 persons, killed their Chief Official, took arms from the arsenal, and overran nineteen commanderies and kingdoms. The rebellion lasted into the next year. Cf. *Hs* 10:12b; 27A:18b; 26:58b; 67:8b; 85:16b; 86:17a,b.

407. *Chuang Hsin* 莊(嚴)訢, style Tzu-ch'ing 子慶 was a Grand Administrator of the Junan Commandery who in 13 B.C. captured and executed the rebel Su Ling. In 13 B.C. he was promoted to be Grand Minister of Agriculture and given a hundred catties of actual gold. He died in 11 B.C. The surname Chuang 莊 was changed to Yen 嚴 because of the tabu on the name of Emperor Ming 明帝 of the Later Han. Cf. *Hs* 10:12b, 13a; 29B:46a.

407. The *Purple Hall* 紫殿 was one of the buildings in the Kan-ch'üan Palace. Cf. *Hs* 10:13a; and sub Kan-ch'üan

Palace.

408. *The Ch'ang-lo Palace* 長樂宮 was, according to the *San-fu huang-t'u* 2.2a, "originally the Hsing-lo 興樂宮 Palace of the Ch'in [dynasty]. Emperor Kao-[tsu] at first lived in Yüeh-yang 櫟陽 and in 200 B.C., when the Ch'ang-lo Palace was completed, he moved and lived in the city of Ch'ang-an. The *San-fu Chiu-shih* 三輔舊事 [3rd C.?] and the [*Han*] *Kung-tien Su* [漢]宮殿疏 [3rd to 4th C.] both say, "The Hsing-lo Palace was built by the First Emperor of the Ch'in [dynasty] and the Han [dynasty] repaired it. It was 20 *li* in circumference. The Front Hall (Ch'ien-tien 前殿) was 497 feet from east to west, 350 [one transcription says 250] feet between its two [east and west] side halls, and 120 feet deep.

"In the Ch'ang-lo Palace there was the Wild-goose Terrace (Hung-t'ai 鴻臺), the Hall Approaching the Flowers (Lin-hua Tien 臨華殿), and the Hall of Warm Rooms (Wen-shih Tien 溫室殿). There were the four Halls: the [Hall of] Long-enduring Faith (Ch'ang-hsin 長信), the [Hall of] a Prolongued Autumn (Ch'ang-ch'iu 長秋), [the Hall of] Eternal Old Age [Yung-shou 永壽], and [the Hall of] Eternal Peace [Yung-ning 永寧].

"Emperor Kao-[tsu] lived in this palace, and later the Empress Dowager regularly inhabited it. From [Emperor] Hsiao-hui to Emperor P'ing, [the emperors] always inhabited the Wei-yang 未央 Palace.... Wang Mang changed [the name of] the Ch'ang-lo Palace to the Ch'ang-lo Residence (*shih*). It was inside Ch'ang-an, near the eastern Chih-tu Gate 直杜門." Cf. also the *Yung-lu* 雍錄 by Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang 程大昌 (1123-1195), 2.19b, 20a; 2.5b ff; 2.1a ff.

408. *The Hall of Approach to Flowers* 臨華殿 was in the Ch'ang-lo Palace, behind the Front Hall. It was built by Emperor Wu. Cf. *Hs* 10:13a; 27A:15b; See above sub Ch'ang-lo Palace.

409. *Grand Master* 太師 was an ancient title. In the Chou period, the Grand Master was the highest of the three highest ministers. The title is used in the *Book of Odes*, II, IV, vii (Legge, p. 311). Chia Yi 賈誼 (*Hs* 48.22a) says that the Grand Master led the ruler by his teaching and instruction. Maspero (*Jour. Asiatique* 223: 265, 1933) suggests that his duty was to superintend the conduct of the king. In the Han period, the title was not used until 16 B.C. and was purely honorary, being ranked higher than the Grand Tutor. It conveyed a gold seal with a purple seal-cord. Wang Mang made the Grand Master the highest ranking of his officials and called him the Chief of the Eastern Sacred Peak and Grand Master 東岳太師. Cf. *Hs* 19A:3a, 6a; *Han-kuan ta-wen* 1:7a; *Hs* 99B: 2b, 29a; cf. sub State Master.

409. *Yin* 尹 was the clan name of one of the most important families in ancient Chou times, the members of which were charged with the highest functions of the state. The *Book of Odes* II, IV, vii (Legge, pp. 309-314), dated in 780-770 B.C., is directed against a member of this clan, who is there entitled Grand Master, the highest office in the state. Cf. Legge, *The She King*, p. 310.

411. *Hsiao Hsi*<sub>3</sub> 蕭喜 title, Marquis Li 釐 of Tsan 鄼 was a fifth generation descendant from the Chancellor of State Hsiao Ho 蕭何. When, in 16 B.C., Hsiao Huo 蕭獲, a sixth generation descendant of Hsiao Ho and then Marquis of Tsan, was degraded for having had a slave commit murder, and his line removed from succession to the marquissate, Emperor Ch'eng on Aug. 19, 16 B.C. enfeoffed Hsiao Hsi "because he was the son of great-great-grandson of [Hsiao] Ho and the Chief 長 of Nan-luan 南 , " a prefecture of the Chü-lu Commandery 鋸鹿. He died in 14 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 16:12b; 39:7a; 10:14a.

411. *Chao, Brilliant Companion* *née* 趙昭儀. This lady was a younger sister of Chao Fei-yen 趙飛燕 (q.v.) and was summoned to be an imperial concubine after Chao Fei-yen had been taken to court. Both sisters were made Favorite Beauties 婕妤 and became great favorites of Emperor Ch'eng. After Chao Fei-yen was made Empress in 16 B.C., her favor with the Emperor declined somewhat while he favored her sister more than anyone else. The sister was made a Brilliant Companion (the highest rank among concubines) and lived in the Sun-bright Residence (Chao-yang

昭陽舍), which was painted and decorated with gold and jewels as no place in the Harem had ever before been done. She and her sister were favored for more than ten years and both died without children.

In Emperor Ch'eng's later years, when the King of Ting-t'ao 定陶, Liu Hsin 劉欣, came to court, his grandmother, the Queen Dowager neé Fu 傅 secretly bribed Chao Fei-yen and her sister, so that Liu Hsin was finally made Heir-apparent. The next year Emperor Ch'eng died suddenly. He had not been ill, and had planned important business, including the installation of K'ung Kuang as Lieutenant Chancellor. He slept in the White Tiger Hall; in the evening he was quite well, but towards dawn, with his trousers and stockings on, he tried to arise but dropped his clothes and was unable to speak. In the morning when the clepsydra showed ten markings, he died. The people blamed the Brilliant Companion neé Chao for the death, and the Empress Dowager neé Wang had the officials investigate. The Brilliant Companion neé Chao committed suicide in 7 B.C. The Empress neé Chao was made the Empress Dowager neé Chao.

Several months after Emperor Ai 哀帝 had ascended the throne (before Feb./Mar. 6 B.C.) the Colonel Director of the Retainers, Chieh Kuang 解光 memorialized that he had heard that a Beauty neé Hsü 許美人 and Ts'ao Kung 曹宮, a maid in the Central Palace had both been favored by Emperor Ch'eng and had borne sons to him, and that the infants had disappeared. Chieh Kuang sent his Department Head to the officials to investigate and had taken the depositions of the Assistant to the Prison in the Lateral Courts, Chi Wu 籍武, the former Palace Attendants Within the Yellow Gate [eunuchs], Wang Shun 王舜, Wu Kung 吳恭, Chin Yen 靳嚴, the government slave-women Ts'ao Hsiao 曹曉, Tao Fang 道房, Chang Ch'i 張棄 and the Chamberlains 御 to the former Brilliant Companion neé Chao, Yü K'o-tzu 于客子, Wang P'ien 王偏, and Tsang Jian 臧兼.

They said that Ts'ao Kung was the daughter of Ts'ao Hsiao, that previously she had been a student clerk to the Empress to whom she had taught the *Book of Odes*. Tao Fang had had homosexual relations with Ts'ao Kung; in 12 B.C. Ts'ao Kung had told Tao Fang that the Emperor had favored her; several months later Ts'ao Hsiao had entered the Palace Hall and saw that Ts'ao Kung was enciente, and she asked Ts'ao Kung about it and the latter had replied that she was with child by the Emperor. In the tenth month she gave birth in the residence of the Chief of the Cattle Office in the Lateral Courts. She had six female slaves.

The Palace Attendant Within the Yellow Gate eunuch T'ien K'o 田客 took an imperial personal edict in a heavy green silk square wrapper, sealed with the seal of the Palace Assistant Secretary and gave it to Chi Wu. It directed that he take the woman in the residence of the Chief of the Cattle Office, her newly born child, and her six slaves, and put them all into the prison of the Drying House, and that he should not ask whether the child was male or female or who was its father. Chi Wu received her in his Prison. Ts'ao Kung told him to care for her child's placenta, that he knew what rank of a child this one was. On the third day after, T'ien K'o carried another personal edict to Chi Wu that asked whether the infant was dead yet and ordered him to write his reply upon the back of the tablet bearing the message; Chi Wu replied that the infant was still alive and had not yet died. A little while later T'ien K'o came out and said that the Brilliant Companion and the Emperor were furious, asking him why he did not kill the child. Chi Wu replied that he knew that whether he killed or did not kill the child, he must die. So he sent a memorial to the Emperor by T'ien K'o, reminding the Emperor that he did not yet have an heir and that whether it was by a high or base mother, the Emperor should have regard for the child. T'ien K'o brought back a personal edict to Chi Wu ordering him that night, when the clepsydra reached the fifth mark, to carry the child to Wang Shun and meet him at the Eastern side gate of the Lateral Courts. Chi Wu asked T'ien K'o how the Emperor had taken his memorial, and the latter replied that he had looked at him fixedly.

Chi Wu gave the child to Wang Shun, and Shun received an edict ordering him to take the child into the Palace Hall, select a wet-nurse for him, and order her to care for him well; there would be a reward, but he must not allow the matter to leak out. Wang Shun selected Chang Ch'i as the wet-nurse. At that time the child was in his eighth or ninth day.

The third day after, T'ien K'o brought another personal edict to Chi Wu, sealed like the previous one, inside which there was a small sealed container for a missive, with an inscription that Chi Wu should give the things and letter that were in the box to the woman in the prison and that he should himself watch her drink it. Chi Wu opened the box. In it were two packages of drugs with a little written message, saying, "I tell you Wei-neng 偉能 to try hard to drink this medicine. You cannot again enter [Our presence], which you yourself know." Wei-neng was the style of Ts'ao Kung. When Ts'ao Kung had read the letter to the end, she said, "It is true. He [the Emperor] desires the two sisters [the Empress and the Brilliant Companion neé Chao] to dominate the empire. [But] my child is a boy. On his forehead there are stiff hairs, like those [on the forehead of] Emperor Hsiao-yüan. Where is my child now? He

is in danger of being murdered. How can I bring it about that the occupant of the Ch'ang-hsin [Palace, the Empress Dowager], can hear of him?" Ts'ao Kung drank the poison and died. Later the six female slaves were summoned and entered; when they came out they told Chi Wu, "The Brilliant Companion said to us, 'You are blameless. If you would rather commit suicide [than to be executed, do it] at some place outside [my apartments].' We said, 'We are willing to commit suicide.'" Thereupon they strangled themselves and died.

Chi Wu testified and memorialized the aforesaid circumstances. Chang Ch'i nursed the child to its eleventh day, then the Chief of the Palace, Li Nan 李南, took the child away by the authority of an imperial edict, and it is not known where he put it.

The Beauty neé Hsü had previously been in the Lodge for Wetting and Bathing the Hair in Shang-lin Park 上林涿沐館, and had several times been summoned to enter a certain residence in the Ornamented House and sometimes had resided there temporarily. In one year she was summoned again and again and detained several months or half a year. She was favored by the Emperor and conceived in 11 B.C. In the eleventh month, when she was to give birth, there was an imperial order that Chin Yen should be directed to take a midwife together with three pills of the five kinds of mixed medicine and take them to the Beauty. Later Yü K'o-tzu, Wang P'ien, and Tsang Chien heard the Brilliant Companion neé Chao say to Emperor Ch'eng, "You are always deceiving me. You said that you came from the Empress; if you have been coming from the Empress, how has it come about that the Beauty neé Hsü should have had a son? Must [an Empress] neé Hsü be again set up?" In anger she beat herself with her fists, beat her head against the wall and door-posts, and threw herself down to the ground from on her bed. She howled and wept and would not eat, saying, "Where will you now put me? I want to go home." The Emperor replied, "I have now purposely told you about this [child and] in turn you get angry. You certainly could not have known about it." The Emperor likewise did not eat, and the Brilliant Companion said, "If your Majesty knows that you are right; why do you not eat? Your Majesty has yourself constantly said to me, 'I promise not to turn my back on you.' But now that this Beauty has a child, you will eventually turn your back on your promise. What do you mean [to do]?" The Emperor replied, "I promise that for the sake of [the ladies] neé Chao I will not set up [the Beauty] neé Hsü [as the empress], and I will bring it about that nobody in the world surpasses [the ladies] neé Chao. Do not be worried."

Later an imperial edict ordered Chin Yen to take a green sack containing a letter to the Beauty neé Hsü. Chin Yen was told, "The Beauty will have something to give you. Bring it and put it in the Ornamented House [in the Shang-lin Park] south of the curtain." The Beauty took a reed basket and put (13b) her live babe in it, tied and sealed it, and gave it with the green sack and a letter in reply to Chin Yen. Hsin Yen took the basket and letter and placed them in the Ornamented Chamber south of the curtain and left. The Emperor and the Brilliant Companion seated themselves, and the Emperor had Yü K'o-tzu open the basket. Before the sealed knot had been undone, the Emperor, however, ordered Yü K'o-tzu, Wang P'ien, and Tsang Chien all to leave. He himself closed the door and remained alone with the Brilliant Companion. In a moment he opened the door and called to Yü K'o-tzu, Wang P'ien, and Tsang Chien to take the sealed basket and a heavy green silk, squared-bottomed message case and put them east of the screen. They respectfully received the order to take the basket and square message case to Chi Wu. It was sealed with the seal of the Palace Assistant Secretary. They were told, "Tell Chi Wu that inside the basket there is a dead child, which he should bury in a hidden place and not let people know of it." Chi Wu dug below the wall of the prison building, made a pit, and buried it therein.

The female slaves of the former Empress neé Hsü, who was now in the Ch'ang-ting Palace 長定宮, together with the female slaves of Wang Shang 王商 and Wang T'an 王譚, Wang Ye<sub>5a</sub> 王業, Jen Li 任嬪, and Kung-sun Hsi 公孫習, who had previously been dismissed and made commoners, and they were summoned by an imperial edict and made private slaves of the Brilliant Companion neé Chao. When Emperor Ch'eng died in 7 B.C., before he was encoffined, in a time of hurry and haste and sorrowing, the Brilliant Companion knew that her crimes were great and that Wang Ye<sub>5a</sub> and the others had been slaves of the Hsü and Wang Empresses, and she feared that things would leak out. So she gave about ten slave women, including her Great Slave-woman, Yang-tzu 羊子, to Wang Ye<sub>5a</sub> and each of the others, telling them that they should not tell of her faults.

In June/July 11 B.C., the former Chief of the Lateral Courts, Wu-ch'iu Tsun 吾丘遵, said to Chi Wu, "The officials of the Assistants to the Lateral Courts and his subordinate are all in league with the Brilliant Companion, so that there is no one to whom I can talk. I have something that I want to say to you alone. I have no sons, but you have sons. That person [i.e., the Brilliant Companion Chao] makes light (14a) of exterminating a person with his three sets of relatives. Do you have to do this thing? In the Lateral Courts those who bore sons to the Emperor have

all died in turn. Moreover those who have died from drinking poison have been numberless. I want to speak of it to you, Chi Wu. The greatest official, Wang Ken, is avaricious for money and inadequate to the rule. How can I get the Empress Dowager to hear of it?" Wu-ch'iu Tsun later became ill and said to Chi Wu, "I am going to die; what I have previously told you about you cannot handle alone. Be careful of what you say."

Chieh Kuang memorialized that although the forgoing events had happened previous to the amnesty of May 17, 7 B.C., yet they were too serious to be covered by an amnesty, just as other serious crimes were not covered by amnesties. Emperor Ai dismissed the older brother and nephew of the Brilliant Companion neé Chao from their marquisates, made them commoners, and exiled them with their families to the Liao-hsi Commandery 遼西郡. The Grandee-consultant Keng Yü 耿育 however memorialized that the matter was not serious, the Emperor had himself had these infants killed. The past cannot be changed and there is no necessity to reinvestigate it. Emperor Ai had been beholden to the Empress neé Chao, so he did not push the matter. But the mother of Emperor Ch'eng, the Grand Empress Dowager neé Wang, held a grudge; after Emperor Ai died on Sept. 17, 1 B.C., Wang Mang had the Grand Empress Dowager issue an edict degrading the Empress Dowager neé Chao to be merely the Empress of Emperor Hsiao-ch'eng and exiling her to the Northern Palace. Several months later an edict dismissed her and made her a commoner; she committed suicide. Cf. *Hs* 97B:9b-16a. {Chao Fei-yen's biography is translated in Burton Watson, tr. *Courtier and Commoner* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 265-277}

412. Liu Shou<sub>3a</sub> 劉守, title King Ching 靖 of Kuang-ling 廣陵 was a younger son of Liu Pa 劉霸, King Hsiao 孝王 of Kuang-ling. After Liu Pa's grandson, King Ai 哀王 of Kuang-ling, Liu Hu 護, had died in 16 B.C. without heirs, Liu Shou was made King in May/June 11 B.C.. He died in 6A.D. Cf. *Hs* 10:14a; 14:20b; 63:17b.

414. Hsiao-ai, Emperor 孝哀帝. Emperor Ai was the posthumous name of Liu Hsin 劉欣, the son of King Kung 恭王 of Ting-t'ao 定陶 Liu K'ang 劉康, who was in turn the second and favorite son of Emperor Hsüan. Liu K'ang was almost made the imperial Heir-apparent by Emperor Yüan, but he was persuaded not to change, so that Emperor Ch'eng came to the throne. After Liu K'ang died in 23 B.C., Liu Hsin came to the throne of Ting-t'ao in 22 B.C. His grandmother, the Queen Dowager neé Fu 傅, secretly bribed the Empress, Chao Fei-yen, and her sister, the Brilliant Companion neé Chao, to influence Emperor Ch'eng. When the latter had no heirs, on Mar. 20, 8 B.C., he appointed Liu Hsin as his Imperial Heir-apparent.

Emperor Ch'eng considered that since Liu Hsin had now to uphold the sacrifices of the ancestors in the imperial line, he could not care for his own father's sacrifices, so he appointed Liu Ching 劉景, a son of King Szu 思王 of Ch'u 楚, to be the King of Ting-t'ao, to care for the sacrifices to King Kung of Ting-t'ao, Liu K'ang. After Emperor Ch'eng died on Apr. 17, 7 B.C., Liu Hsin came to the throne on May 7, 7 B.C. In his second year, Liu Hsin however removed Liu Ching from the throne of Ting-t'ao and made him King of Hsin-tu 信都, because Liu Hsin considered that he was himself the heir of Liu K'ang. Cf. *Hs* 80:10a.

414. Feng Ts'an 憑參, style Shu-p'ing 叔平, title, Marquis of Yi-Hsiang 宜鄉, was a younger son of Feng Feng-shih 憑奉世 (q.v.), who lived the life of a punctilious and honored courtier, filling sinecures and high positions because of the influence of his sister, and dying because of a court intrigue involving her.

He specialized in the study of the *Book of History*. When he was young, he became a Gentleman of the Yellow Gate, Serving in the Palace, and lived in the imperial palace for over ten years. As a man, he esteemed exactness and liked to cultivate proper deportment and ceremonies. In going out and in his house home he was very polite and his behavior was very admirable. His older sister became a Brilliant Companion of Emperor Yüan and bore Emperor Yüan a son, Liu Hsing 劉興 who became King Hsiao 孝王 of Ch'ung-shan 中山. Feng Ts'an's conduct was so careful, exact, and over-polite, that he was eventually not permitted to come close to the Emperor or to wait upon him in his private apartments. In 32 B.C., because he was the maternal uncle of a King, he was sent out of the court to fill a vacancy as Chief of the Office in Charge of Presenting Offerings at the Wei Tomb 渭陵 {the burial place of Emperor Yüan}. Because he was frequently ill, he was moved to be a Gentleman in the Funerary Chamber 寢中郎 at that Tomb without any particular duties.

When in the period 24-21 B.C., his nephew, Liu Hsing, came to pay court to Emperor Ch'eng, Feng Tsan was selected to be the Chief Commander of Agriculture in the Shang-ho Commandery 上河郡. Because of illness he

resigned his office, and again became a Gentleman in the Funerary Chamber of the Wei Tomb. In the period 16-13 B.C., he was greatly promoted to be the Grand Administrator of the Tai Commandery 代郡, but, because it was a border Commandery and far from the capital, he was removed to be the Grand Administrator of the An-ting Commandery 安定郡. After several years he resigned on account of illness and again became a Grandee-remonstrant and was sent as Intendant in Charge of Protecting the Waters at the Capital under the Eastern Supporter.

When, in 8 B.C., Emperor Ch'eng made his older nephew, Liu Hsin 欣, the Imperial Heir-apparent, so that Feng Ts'an's nephew, Liu Hsing, was definitely excluded from the imperial succession, on Mar. 31, 8 B.C. Feng Ts'an was made Marquis of Yi-hsiang in order to console Liu Hsing.

When Feng Ts'an went to his marquise, he memorialized the Emperor that he wanted to go to the kingdom of Chung-shan to see the king and the Queen Dowager there, but before he had reached the place, the King had died. When the king was ill, he had memorialized Emperor Ch'eng that he was willing to have Feng Ts'an demoted to be a Kuan-wei Marquis and have him retained at the imperial capital. The Emperor, however, issued an edict that Feng Ts'an should return to the imperial capital as a full marquis.

Feng Ts'an by nature loved rites and ceremonies, and did not change his constant practices. In a few months Liu Hsin came to the throne as Emperor Ai. The emperor's grandmother, the Queen Dowager nee Fu held a grudge against Feng Ts'an's older sister, the Queen Dowager of Ch'ung-shan and so made her fall into the crime of treason by making imprecations to the Emperor. Because Feng Ts'an was a brother of the Queen Dowager, he was tried with her, and an internuncio brought Feng Ts'an an imperial decree that he should go to the jail of the Chief Justice. Thereupon, in the winter of 6 B.C. he committed suicide. Seventeen people died at this time, and everyone pitied them. His clan was removed to their former commandery, Shang-tang 上黨. Cf. *Hs* 79:9b-10b; 18:23b; 11:4b.

414. *Yi-hsiang* 宜鄉 was the name of a marquise from 8 to 6 B.C. occupied by Feng Ts'an. Cf. *Hs* 18:23b; 15B:43b; 79:9b-10b; 10:15a. In A.D.1, it was given to Liu K'uei<sub>ib</sub>, 劉恢 {pron. "Hui"}.

415. The *Marquis Continuing and Honoring the Yin [Dynasty]* 殷紹嘉侯 was a title given to a descendant of Confucius, K'ung Chi 孔吉 in March 8 B.C., in order to continue the ancestral sacrifices of the Yin dynasty, probably at the suggestion of Wang Mang, who was then just becoming prominent. Evidently K'ung Chi died before he received the title; for on Mar. 31st this title was received by his heir, K'ung Ho-ch'i 孔何齊. In Apr./May (or July/Aug.) of that year this rank was increased to that of Duke and its incumbent was given a territory a hundred li square. In 5 B.C., K'ung Ho-ch'i's estate was increased by 932 households; in 2 A.D. his title was changed to be Duke of Sung 宋公. Cf. *Hs* 18:23a; 10:15b; 12:7a. *Han shu* 18:23a says that this marquise was located in the P'ei 沛 Commandery; Wang Hsien-ch'ien's note, however, says it was located at Hsin-ch'i 新蔡 where the Later Han dynasty located this marquise. Cf. *Hs* 28Aii:6b.

416. *Liu Ching*<sub>3b</sub> 劉景, title King of Hsin-tu 信都, was a younger son of Liu Yen 劉衍, King Szu 思王 of Ch'u 楚, and a great-grandson of Emperor Hsüan. When Emperor Ch'eng appointed Liu Hsin (the future Emperor Ai), who was a son of Liu K'ang, King Kung of Ting-t'ao, as the Imperial Heir-apparent, in Dec./Jan. 8/7 B.C. he also appointed Liu Ching<sub>3b</sub> as King of Ting-t'ao to carry on the sacrifices of King Kung of Ting-t'ao. But in 5 B.C. Emperor Ai thought that the above arrangement was not necessary, so moved Liu Ching<sub>3b</sub> to be King of Hsin-tu. In 8 A.D., when Wang Mang ascended the throne, Liu Ching<sub>3b</sub> was demoted to be a Duke. The next year he was dismissed. Cf. *Hs* 14:22b; 80:6a, 10a; 10:15b; 11:1b.

416. *K'ung Kuang* 孔光, style Tzu-hsia 子夏, title, Marquis Chien-lieh 簡烈侯 of Po-shan 博山, was a descendant of Confucius. He rose to the highest positions under Emperors Ch'eng, Ai, and P'ing. He was a descendant of Confucius in the fourteenth generation. Confucius begat Li 鯉, style Po-yu 伯魚; he begat Chi 伋, style Tzu-szu 子思; he begat Po 帛, style Tzu-shang 子上; he begat Ch'iu 求 style Tzu-chia 子家; he begat Chi 箕, style Tzu-chen 子真; he begat Ch'uan 穿, style Tzu-kaio 子高; he begat Shun 順, style Tzu-shen 子慎, who became the Chancellor of the state of Wei 魏; K'ung Shun begat Fu 紂, who became an Erudit to Ch'en She 陳涉 and died at Ch'en, 陳. K'ung Fu's younger brother, Tzu-Hsiang 子襄 became an Erudit under Emperor Hsiao-hui 孝惠 and the Grand Tutor to the



King of, Ch'ang-sha 長沙. K'ung Tzu-hsiang begat Chung 忠; he begat Wu 武 and An-kuo 安國. Kung Wu begat Yen-nien 延年; he begat Pa 霸; style Tz'u-ju 次儒; and he begat K'ung Kuang. In the time of Emperor Hsüan, K'ung Pa became a Grand Palace Grandee and was selected to teach the Imperial Heir-apparent (the future Emperor Yüan) the classics. He was promoted to be Supervisor of the Household and Chancellor of Kao-mi 高密. When Emperor Yüan ascended the throne, he made K'ung Pa a Kuan-wei Marquis with the incomes of an estate of 800 households and called him the Pao-ch'eng Lord 褒成君, etc. Emperor Yüan honored him and wanted to make him Grandee Secretary, but he declined. When he died, the Emperor twice came to console his family, wearing mourning clothes. K'ung Pa had four sons: Fu 福, Chieh 捷, Hsi 喜, and Kuang 光, who was the youngest and was born in 65 B.C.

K'ung Kuang was especially good in his scholarship on the Classics, and, before he was in his twentieth year, he became a Gentleman-consultant. The Superintendent of the Imperial Household, K'ung Heng 匡衡, recommended K'ung Kuang as four-square and upright, and he became a Grandee-remonstrant. Because his ideas were not in agreement with the imperial views, he was demoted to be Chief of Hung 虹, a prefecture in the P'ei Commandery 沛郡. He resigned, returned home, and taught.

When Emperor Ch'eng ascended the throne in 32 B.C., K'ung Kuang was recommended and became an Erudit. He was several times sent to note those who had been imprisoned because of grudges, the progress of good customs, and to assist displaced common people. His actions suited the Emperor's ideas, and because of this he became known. At that time, from among the Erudits the highest one in the examination in the three studies was made a Master of Writing, the next one an Inspector, while if the candidate did not understand government, after a long time he was given a vacancy as a Grand Tutor of a vassal king. Because he had the highest rank, K'ung Kuang became the Master of Writing in charge of ancient matters. He held this office for several years and became expert in the Han dynastic code and laws, so that Emperor Ch'eng trusted him greatly and in turn made him Supervisor and Chief Master of Writing, and an imperial edict gave him the additional title of Inspector of Officials and his son Fang was made a Gentleman-attendant Serving in the Yellow Gate. After several years, K'ung Kuang was promoted to be Inspector of Officials and Imperial Household Grandee with the rank of fully 2000 piculs, Serving in the Palace, granted a hundred catties of actual gold and made Intendant of the Affairs of the Masters of Writing. Later, in 15 B.C. K'ung Kuang was made Superintendent of the Imperial Household and also Intendant of the Affairs of the Masters of Writing, Inspector of Officials, Serving in the Palace as before.

In all he had charge of the machinery of government for more than ten years. He observed the laws and regulations, and cultivated ancient practices. When the Emperor put to him any question, he answered in accordance with the Classics and the laws according to his own conscience, and did not try to suit the Emperor's ideas. If he said something and the Emperor did not follow his advice, he did not presume to remonstrate and strive strongly with the Emperor, and for this reason he held his position for a long time and peacefully. Every time he had something to say to the Emperor, he immediately afterwards scraped off his rough draft, because he considered that for an official to point out the faults of his lord and consider such accusations as loyalty and uprightness was the greatest crime a subject could commit. When he had someone to recommend, he feared lest that person should hear of it. On his regular leaves from the palace, when he went home to rest, in his conversation with his brothers, wife and family, he did not touch upon court or governmental matters. Someone asked K'ung Kuang what kind of trees were in the Wen Room 溫室 and the Imperial Apartments of the Ch'ang-lo Palace, but K'ung Kuang was silent and did not reply, instead talked of other things. In this manner he did not allow court matters to leak out. K'ung Kuang was the son of the Emperor's teacher, and when young became known because of his knowledge of the Classics and of his conduct, and early occupied office, so that he did not be-long to any clique or coterie, maintain braves or eloquents, or seek help from others. Both his nature and his circumstances led him thus.

In the ninth month after he was made Superintendent of the Imperial Household, on Dec. 21, 15 B.C., he was made Grandee Secretary, which position he held to the seventh year.

In the period 8-7 B.C., Emperor Ch'eng had been on the throne to the 25th year and had no heir. His closest relatives were his half-brothers, King Hsiao 孝 of Chung-shan, Liu Hsing 劉興, and his nephew, the King of Ting-t'ao Liu Hsin 劉欣. Liu Hsin loved learning and had much ability and was of the same generation as a son of the Emperor {would have been}. His grandmother, the Queen Dowager neé Fu 傅, secretly sought to have her grandson made the heir to the imperial throne, and privately bribed the Empress neé Chao, the Brilliant Companion neé Chao, and the Emperor's uncle Wang Ken 王根. Hence they all urged Emperor Ch'eng in favor of Liu Hsin. The Emperor summoned the Lieutenant Chancellor Chai Fang-chin, the Grandee Secretary K'ung Kuang, the General of the Right, Lien Pao 廉褒, and the General of the Rear, Chu Po 朱博, and led them into the Prohibited Apartments and asked

them which of Liu Hsing and Liu Hsin was the better to be made the Heir. Chai Fang-chin and Wang Ken spoke for Liu Hsin, and Lien Pao and Chu Po agreed. Only K'ung Kuang spoke for Liu Hsing, saying that he was the closer relative. Emperor Ch'eng however held that his successor should not be of the same generation as he; his Empress and Brilliant Companion had spoken for Liu Hsin, hence he was made Heir-apparent.

Because K'ung Kuang had not met the Emperor's ideas, he was in 8 B.C. demoted to be Commandant of Justice. At that time Shun-yü Chang (q.v.) was executed for treason and inhuman conduct. Shun-yü Chang's wife, Nai-shih 酒始, concubines, and five others had been divorced before the discovery of Shun-yü Chang's crime, and the problem arose whether they were to be sentenced with their former husband. Because K'ung Kuang had long been in charge of the Masters of Writing and was expert in the law, the Emperor asked him and the Lieutenant Chancellor Chai Fang-chin and the Grand Minister of Works, Ho Wu, to discuss the matter. K'ung Kuang replied that these women were divorced before Shun-yü Chang knew he was to be accused, so were not implicated; the Emperor approved K'ung Kuang's reasoning.

In the ninth month after he became Commandant of Justice, still in 8 B.C., K'ung Kuang was promoted to be General of the Left occupying the office and duties of the General of the Right. In a few months, on Mar. 14, 7 B.C., Chai Fang-chin died, and K'ung Kuang was summoned to be Lieutenant Chancellor. He should have been installed, and his marquis' seal and certificate had already been prepared, when on Apr. 17 Emperor Ch'eng suddenly died. That night, before the deceased Emperor's corpse, K'ung Kuang was installed as Lieutenant Chancellor and Marquis of Po-shan.

When Emperor Ai took the throne, he carefully attended to the government himself and economized. The court was harmonious and looked for an extremely successful reign. In rewarding the great officials, he gave K'ung Kuang the income of 1000 additional households.

At this time the mother of Emperor Ch'eng, the Grand Empress Dowager neé Wang, occupied the Ch'ang-lo Palace and Emperor Ai's grandmother, the Queen Dowager neé Fu of King Kung was in the Ting-t'ao Prince's Lodge. An imperial edict asked the Lieutenant Chancellor and Grand Minister of Works where the (17b) Queen Dowager neé Fu should live. K'ung Kuang had heard that the Queen Dowager was stern and violent, and good at making plots. Ever since Emperor Ai was in swaddling clothes she had cared for him, and when he grew up she had taught and led him until he became an adult, and furthermore had been influential in making him Emperor. Hence K'ung Kuang feared her influence in the government, and did not want her near the Emperor every morning and night, so he replied that a new palace should be built for the Queen Dowager. The Grand Minister of Works, Ho Wu, however replied that she should live in the Northern Palace 北宮, and Emperor Ai followed his advice. But from the Northern Palace there was the Purple Room Double Passageway 紫房復道 which reached to the Wei-yang Palace, and the Queen Dowager neé Fu went morning and evening by the Double Passageway to wherever the Emperor was, seeking to be given a more honorable title and seeking favor for her kinsmen, so that the Emperor could not pursue a straight path. After a little while, when the Empress Dowager neé Fu's cousin's son, Fu Ch'ien 傅遷 who was very bad, was dismissed and sent back to his home Commandery, the Empress Dowager became very angry, and the Emperor had no other recourse but to summon Fu Ch'ien back. K'ung Kuang and the Grand Minister of Works, Shih Tan, memorialized the Emperor that Fu Ch'ien was a clever and unprincipled flatterer, who allowed court matters to leak out, was disloyal and a traitor to the state; so he had been dismissed and sent back to his Commandery, and that if there should again be an imperial edict that he should block, the people would lose confidence in the government, and would not know what to believe. (18a) Moreover, when the Empress Dowager neé Fu wanted the same title as the Grand Empress Dowager neé Wang, and the courtiers thought that she should be given that title by her son in filial piety, Shih Tan and K'ung Kuang alone held that it should not be done. The Emperor did not want to go contrary to the advice of his highest ministers, but he was pressed by the Empress Dowager, so the case was not settled for a year or two. Shih Tan was dismissed for a crime, and Chu Po took his place as Grand Minister of Works. K'ung Kuang had held office from the preceding reign and had advised appointing a different heir to the throne than Emperor Ai. Chu Po was hand in glove with the Fu clan, so that Kung Kuang was slandered, and after several months, on May 9, 5 B.C. he was dismissed from his position and marquisate, and sent home, in an edict which blamed the country's calamities upon him, (18b) saying that the vagrants on the roads were numbered by the ten-thousands.

In the next three years there were three Lieutenant Chancellors, each of whom was said not to have been as good as K'ung Kuang. The Empress Dowager neé Fu died on Feb. 21, 2 B.C., a fortnight after an eclipse of the sun. In the same month as the eclipse (19a), the Emperor sent a public chariot for K'ung Kuang and asked him to explain the

eclipse. K'ung replied it was a warning that things must be changed. (20a) Emperor Ai was pleased, granted him rolls of silk, and made him an Imperial Household Grandee with the rank of fully 2000 piculs, Serving in the Palace, with his rank next to that of the Lieutenant Chancellor. An imperial edict ordered him to recommend someone for the position of Chief Master of Writing. (20b) He recommended the Supervisor of the Masters of Writing, Cheng-kung Chang 成公敞, who had previously been the Grand Administrator of Tung-p'ing 東平太守. K'ung Kuang was one of those who accused the upright and straightforward Wang Chia 王嘉 of crime, and on June 19, 2 B.C., K'ung Kuang was made Grandee Secretary, and again, Marquis of Po-shan, and on Aug. 9, 2 B.C., he was made Lieutenant Chancellor. Emperor Ai knew that K'ung Kuang had previously been slandered, so he dismissed Fu Chia 傅嘉 and apologized to K'ung Kuang. The next year, when ancient titles were revived, on June 22, 1 B.C. K'ung Kuang was made Grand Minister of the Multitude.

When Emperor Ai died, on Aug. 15, 1 B.C., the Grand Empress Dowager nee Wang made Wang Mang Commander-in-chief and set up the King of Chung-shan, Liu Chi-tzu 劉箕子, the son of Liu Hsing 劉興, as Emperor P'ing. He was young, so the Empress Dowager assumed control, and the government was entrusted (21a) to Wang Mang. Previously, Emperor Ai had degraded the Wang clan, so the Empress Dowager and Wang Mang held grudges against the clique of the Ting 丁 clan (that of Emperor Ai's mother), the Fu clan (that of his grandmother), and Tung Hsien 董賢. K'ung Kuang was a former chancellor and a renowned scholar who was trusted by the empire and respected by the Grand Empress Dowager. He was treated well by Wang Mang, who utilized him to bring to the attention of the Empress Dowager those persons whom he hated, and even those whom Wang Mang only slightly disliked were executed or injured. Wang Mang's power increased daily; K'ung Kuang was worried and feared it, but did not know how to get out, so he begged to retire on account of age. So on Oct. 17, 1 B.C. he was removed to be the Emperor's Grand Tutor, with the rank of one of the Four Coadjutors Serving in the Palace, and ordered to sleep in the palace and be fed by the imperial household. On Apr. 10, 1 A.D. he was changed to be Grand Master and Wang Mang became Grand Tutor. K'ung Kuang constantly pronounced himself ill and did not dare to consort with Wang Mang (because the Grand Master was a higher rank than Grand Tutor), and Wang Mang hinted to the courtiers to memorialize his own virtues. So K'ung Kuang became even more fearful, insistently pronounced himself ill, and resigned his position. The Empress Dowager gave him a laudatory edict, ordering that the Grand Master need not come to court, and should every ten days be granted a meal, and granting him a cane and a stool.

K'ung Kuang was a high minister for seventeen years. When he was a Master of Writing, he ceased teaching, but later when he was a minister, he discussed difficult points in the classics with his advanced pupils. Many of his disciples were successful, becoming erudits and grandees. When they saw that their teacher held a high position, they hoped for his help, but K'ung Kuang did not recommend any, so that some held a grudge against him. He died in his seventieth year, on Apr. 28, 5 A.D. He was given a splendid funeral, with his seal on an imperial chariot, and 400 of the Winged Forest Orphans and his disciples pulling the hearse, and more than ten thousand carriages. His tomb was constructed according to the same standards as that of the General-in-chief Wang Feng. Cf. *Hs* 81:14b-22a, 18:24a, 19B:45b, 47b, 48a,b, 49a, 50b, 51a,b.

417. *Provincial Shepherd* (*chou mu* 州牧) was a title given in Jan. 7 B.C. to the supervisors of provinces at the suggestion of Chai Fang-chin 翟方進 (*Hs* 83:15a) and Ho Wu 何武. This office was ranked at fully 2000 piculs. In 5 B.C. the title was changed back to Inspector of Regional Divisions 部刺史. (q.v.) Cf. *Hs* 19A:28a; 10:15b; 11:5a. In 1 B.C. the title was changed back again to Shepherd. In 14 A.D. their rank was increased to be the same as that of the three highest ministers. *Hs* 99B:24a; 83:15a; *HFHD* ch. XI, "Introduction." The term Shepherd is used in *Chou-li* 18:12b, sub the *Ta-tsung-po* (Biot I, 428) as the eighth of the nine emblems; cf. *Hs* 99A:n.21.1. [p: The title *mu* or *chou-mu* was used by the Chou kings for the administrators of the inner twelve circuits in their kingdom; cf. *Book of History* II, i, 7, 16 (Legge, pp. 34, 42); V, xx, 3, 13 (Legge, pp. 525, 530); V, xix, 2, 12, 13, 16, 19, 21 (Legge, pp. 512, 516, 517, 520). C.W. Bishop (*Origin of the Far Eastern Civilizations*, p. 26) interprets this title as "Bullock-drivers," which may have been the original meaning of the word, before sheep were introduced in the Shang period (ibid., p. 18.)]

417. *Hsiao-Ch'eng*, Emperor 成帝. Fu Tsan says, "The Emperor was in his 20th year when he ascended the throne; he ascended the throne to the 26th year, and died in his 45th year." Yen Shih-ku disagrees with that statement saying that Emperor Ch'eng died in his 46th year; but *Hs* 10:1b says that when Emperor Ch'eng was in his third year, Emperor Hsüan died. Since Emperor Hsüan died in the twelfth month (Jan. 10, 48 B.C.), Emperor Ch'eng was born between Feb. 6, 51 and Jan. 26, 50 B.C. Hence he was in his 45th year when he died, aged 44. Cf. *Hs* 10:16a.

417. The *Yen Tomb* 延陵 was that of Emperor Ch'eng. Fu Tsan (fl. ca. 285) says, in a note to *Hs* 10:16a "The Yen Tomb is in [Yu]-fu-feng, 62 li from Ch'ang-an." The *San-fu huang-t'u* 6:6a says the same and adds, "In the time of Wang Mang he sent a messenger to injure the gates and screening towers of the funerary parks at the Wei Tomb [of Emperor Yüan] and the Yen Tomb, saying, 'Do not let the common people again think of them.' He also defaced their encircling wall with black coloring." The *Ch'ang-an chih* 長安志 (by Sung Min-ch'iu 宋敏求, 1019-1079) 13:10b says that the Yen Tomb is 15 li northwest of Hsien-yang 咸陽, and gives an account of Emperor Ch'eng's attempt to build the Ch'ang Tomb (q.v.). The *Shina Rekidai Chimei Yoran*, p. 4 also locates this tomb 15 li northwest of the present Hsien-yang, in the Ch'ing dynasty's Hsi-an Fu 西安府, Shensi.