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## GLOSSARY

### CHAPTER 99A

Wang Mang

(r. A.D. 9-23)

125. *The Five Marquises* 五侯 were Wang T'an<sub>2b</sub> 王譚, Wang Shang 王商, Wang Li 王立, and Wang Feng-shih 王逢時. They were so called because they were brothers and were all enfeoffed at the same time because they were maternal uncles of Emperor Ch'eng. Cf. *Hs* 98.4b; 18.19b-20b.

126. *Chen Ts'an* 陳參 was the son of Ch'en Hsien 陳咸 and the grandson of Chen Wan-nien 陳萬年 (*Hs* 66). He came from the P'ei commandery 沛郡. Wang Mang treated Chen Ts'an as his teacher. Cf. *Hs* 99A.1a; *HHs* 46.4b

127. *Tai Ch'ung* 戴崇, style Tzu-ping 子平, was a man from the P'ei commandery, who about 16 B.C. was Privy Treasurer of the Ch'ang-lo Palace 長樂宮 and spoke to Emperor Ch'eng in favor of Wang Mang. Tai Ch'ung was an outstanding student of Chang Yü 張禹, an expert on the *Book of Changes*. Cf. *Hs* 81.12a,b; *Hs* 99A.1b; 99B.6a.

127. *Chin She* 金涉 was a son of Chin Ch'ang<sub>2</sub> 金敞 and a grandson of Chin An-shang 金安上. He was learned in the classics and praised by the Confucians. In the time of Emperor Ch'eng, he rose to be a Palace Attendant and Privy Treasurer of the Ch'ang-hsin Palace 長信宮. He died before 9 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 99A.1b; 99B.6a; 68.23a.

127. *Chi Hung* 箕閔 was a Colonel of Hu Cavalry who in 16 B.C. recommended Wang Mang. Cf. *Hs* 99A.1b; 99B.6a.

127. *The Colonel of Northern Barbarian Cavalry* 胡騎校尉 was in charge of the barbarian mercenary cavalry stationed at Ch'ih-yang 池陽 (*q.v.*), near Ch'ang-an. This position was not regularly filled; the Later Han Dynasty gave its duties to the Colonel of the Ch'ang River Encampment, who also had northern barbarian cavalrymen. Cf. *Hs* 19A.23a; *Han-kuan ta-wen* 4.10b.

127. *Yang Ping* 楊竝 was in 16 B.C. the Chief Commandant of the Shang-ku commandery 上谷郡, and recommended Wang Mang. Cf. *Hs* 99A.1b; 99B.

127. *Hsin-yeh* 新野 {32/33:3/6} was a city and prefecture of the Nan-yang commandery,

located, according to the *Ta Ch'ing yi-t'ung-chih*, south of the present Hsin-yeh in the Ch'ing dynasty's Nanyang fu, Honan. Four marquisates were located in districts of this prefecture: those of Yang-hsin 陽新, Kao-lo 高樂, Hsin-fu 新甫, and Hsin-tu 新都. Cf. *Hs* 28Aii.11a; 99A.Ib.

127. *The Tu District* 都鄉 was a portion of the Hsin-yeh Prefecture (*q.v.*) out of which was made the Marquisate of Hsin-tu 新都侯 (*q.v.*) to which Wang Mang was enfeoffed. Cf. *Hs* 99A.Ib.

127. *Wang Yung* 王永 a was a son of Wang Wan 王萬 and the elder brother of Wang Mang. He rose to be a Department Head, but died young, probably before 8 B.C., since his son, Wang Kuang 王光 was ennobled that spring, and a son could not be ennobled because of his relationship to the Emperor, if his father had not been ennobled, if the father were still living. Cf. *Hs* 99A.Ib, 32a.

127. *Wang Kuang* 王光, title, Marquis of Vast Merit 衍功侯, was the son of Wang Yung (*q.v.*) and the nephew of Wang Mang. Since Wang Yung died young, Wang Mang reared Wang Kuang, sent him to study with the Erudits, and cared for him. Wang Kuang was made Marquis in the spring of 8 A.D. In 8 A.D. he had the Chief of Palace Police in the capital arrest and execute a man for the sake of a private revenge, so Wang Mang had Wang Kuang and his mother commit suicide. Cf. *Hs* 99A.1a, 32a, 33b.

131. *Fu Hsi*, 傅喜 style, Chih-yu 稚游, title, Marquis Chen of Kao-wu 高武侯貞, was a paternal cousin of the Queen Dowager née Fu. He was the most capable and virtuous of Emperor Ai's maternal relatives. Fu was given the controlling position of Commander-in-chief for a short time, but was dismissed because of opposition on the part of the Empress Dowager née Fu.

He came from Wen in Ho-nei 河內. When he was young, he liked studying and showed ambition and character. When Emperor Ai was made the Heir-apparent, Emperor Ch'eng selected Fu Hsi to be the body-guard of the Heir-apparent, and when Emperor Ai first ascended the throne in 7 B.C., he made Fu Hsi the Commandant of the Palace Guards. The next month he was promoted to be General of the Right.

At that time Wang Mang was Commander-in-chief and asked to resign to make way for the Emperor's maternal relatives. When Emperor Ai permitted Wang Mang to retire, everyone hoped that the position would fall to Fu Hsi. But Fu Hsi's paternal

cousin, Fu Yen, was also a paternal [p. brother?] cousin of the Queen Dowager née Fu, and Fu Yen's daughter was the Empress. The Emperor's maternal uncle, Ting Ming, had also newly become enfeoffed as marquis because of his relationship to the Emperor. So Fu Hsi acted humbly and announced himself ill. When the Queen Dowager née Fu first interfered in the government, Fu Hsi several times admonished her not to do so. Because of this, the Queen Dowager née Fu did not wish to have Fu Hsi be the Emperor's chief assistant to the government, and so Emperor Ai gave Shih Tan Wang Mang's position as Commander-in-chief. He gave Fu Hsi a hundred catties of actual gold and the seal and cord of a First Rank General, and in the eleventh month made him an Imperial Household Grandee in order that he might attend to his own sickness.

But the Grand Minister of Works Ho Wu and the Chief Master of Writing Tang Lin 唐林 both presented memorials saying that Fu Hsi was the most capable person, that everyone had hoped that he would be given a position, and that if he were allowed to retire because he was not in accord with the Queen Dowager née Fu, the officials would resent it. Emperor Ai had also esteemed Fu Hsi, so the next year in the first month, he moved Shih Tan to be Grand Minister of Works and on Feb. 22, 6 B.C., installed Fu Hsi as Commander-in-chief and enfeoffed him as Marquis of Kao-wu.

The Ting and Fu clans were very proud and all envied Fu Hsi's respectfulness and economy. The former Queen, now Empress Dowager née Fu wished to obtain a more honorable title and be ranked the same as the mother of Emperor Ch'eng, the Grand Empress Dowager née Wang. Fu Hsi, together with the Lieutenant Chancellor K'ung Kuang and the Grand Minister of Works Shih Tan held to a more correct principle. The Empress Dowager née Fu became very angry, so the Emperor had no recourse, and first dismissed Shih Tan in order to influence Fu Hsi. When this had no effect, after several months, on Mar. 28, 5 B.C. he dismissed Fu Hsi with a condemnatory citation. The Empress Dowager née Fu also herself issued an imperial edict to the Lieutenant Chancellor and Grandee Secretary ordering them to require Fu Hsi to be sent back to his estate. She also wished to deprive him of his marquise, but the Emperor would not agree to that.

When Fu Hsi had been at his estate for more than three years, Emperor Ai died and Emperor P'ing came to the throne. Wang Mang had charge of affairs and dismissed the Fu clan from their official positions and titles, and sent them back to their ancestral commandery. Fu Yen, with his wife and children, was exiled to the Ho-p'u commandery. Wang Mang told the Grand Empress Dowager née Wang to order that Fu Hsi should return to Ch'ang-an. Wang Mang gave him the residence of the deceased Tung Hsien, and specially advanced his position in the court. In spite of his rewards, Fu Hsi was isolated in the court and was fearful. Later he was again sent

back to his estate, where he died of old age in 9 A.D. His son, Fu Ching 傅勁 succeeded him. *Hs* 82.7b-9a; 18.25a; 19B.48b, 49a.

131. *Tung Hung* 董宏, title, Marquis Yang of Kao-ch'ang 高昌煬侯 was a son of Tung Chung 董忠. In 47 B.C. he succeeded to his father's marquisate. When Emperor Ai ascended the throne in 7 B.C., Tung Hsien memorialized that according to the principles of the *Spring and Autumn* in the *Kung-yang Commentary*, a mother became honorable because of her son, hence the Emperor's mother, the Concubine née Ding 丁 of Ting-t'ao 定陶, should be made the Emperor's Empress Dowager. Shih Tan 師丹 attacked him for this proposal, and in 6 B.C. Tung Hung was sentenced for specious eloquence and dismissed from his marquisate. The next year, 5 B.C., after this lady had been so honored, he was restored to his former estates and title. He died in 3 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 17.29a; 97B.17b; 60.16a, 86.17a; 99A.2b.

132. The *Prefect of the Flunkies* 內者 was a palace eunuch. He arranged the seats at an imperial banquet. Cf. *Hs* 19A.16a; 99A.2b, 66.4b; 97.A.22a.

132. The *Palace [Attendants Within] the Yellow Gate* 中黃門 were eunuchs. At night when the clepsydra was started, Palace Attendants Within the Yellow Gate were in charge of the five double-hours and transmitted the time from one Attendant to another. The Palace Attendants within the Yellow Gate had 300 soldiers to keep guard. There was a Supervisor of the Palace Attendants Within the Yellow Gate Who March in the Imperial Train 中黃門允從僕射 and a Chief of the Yellow Gate who had charge of the Palace Attendants Within the Yellow Gate 允從僕射旄頭, the Internuncios, and the musicians on horseback. They were called the Supervisors who March in the Imperial Train in Charge of the Banners. The Palace Attendants Within the Yellow Gate had charge of those who served within the forbidden apartments of the imperial palace. In Later Han times they were ranked as equivalent to 100 piculs, and were eunuchs. There was no set number of them. Later their rank was increased to be equivalent to 300 piculs. Cf. *Hs* 19A.16b; 68.6a; 45.12b; 77.14a; 85.17a; 93.4b; 97A.16b; 97B.11a,b; 99A.3a; *Han-kuan ta-wen* 3.11b, 12a.

133. The *Huang-yu Village* 黃郵 was, according to Fu Ch'ien 服虔, in the Chi-yang prefecture 棘陽縣 of the Nan-yang commandery 南陽郡, which the *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih* locates northeast of the present Hsin-yeh 新野, in southwestern Honan. The *Comment on the Shui-ching* 31.15b, says, "The Chi River 棘水 also flows south past the Hsin-yeh Prefecture and passes the Huang-yu Village, where it is called the Huang-yu River." Wang Mang was given the income of this place. Cf. *Hs* 99A.3a; 28Aii.11b.

133. *Specially Advanced* 特進 was a title given to certain high officials as a special favor. Ts'ai Yung 蔡邕 (133-192), in his *Tu-tuan* 獨斷 *Sptk hsü-pien* B.8a, describing later Han practises says, "Those whose merit and virtue are especially abundant so that in the court they are to be distinguished, are granted the ranking of Specially Advanced. Their ranking [in the court] is [just] below that of the three highest ministers. Next [below] them are the Court Marquises 朝侯, whose ranking is [just] below that of the nine high ministers. All [the foregoing wear] flat bonnets and ornamented robes. They attend upon the suburban sacrifices and those in [the imperial ancestral] temples, [hence] are called Marquises Attending upon the Highest Sacrifices 侍祠侯. The next [lower] are the Inferior Gentlemen 下士 who merely attend upon the sacrifices and have no ranking at court [ceremonies]. The next [lower] are [1] the Marquises Having Small States 小國侯, who, because they are relatives [of the Emperor], act as his personal bodyguards, and [2] the sons and grandsons of princesses, who uphold [the imperial] tombs. When [these persons] are at the capital, from time to time they are summoned to the [court] assemblies. They are called Humble Court Marquises 猥朝侯.

133. *Serving in the Palace* 給事中 was a title concurrently given to some ministers, generals, marquises, and other officials, and even to grandees, erudits, gentlemen-consultants, and Gentlemen-of-the-Palace. Persons with this title were permitted to enter the forbidden apartments. They had charge of responding to questions put by the Emperor. They daily appeared at court and criticized matters memorialized to the Masters of Writing. Most of them were famous Confucians or imperial relatives. Cf. *Hs* 19A.24b.

The *Han-kuan ta-wen* 4.11b ff. says, "After the time of Emperor Wu the persons holding concurrent titles were all officials close to the emperor. Those Serving in the Palace were even closer and more important. When Emperor Hsüan consulted with Wei Hsiang 魏相 about the Ho 霍 clan, he made him a Grandee Secretary Serving in the Palace. When Ho Kuang 霍光 planned to dismiss and set up [an emperor] with [T'ien] Yen-nien 田延年 he had [T'ien] Yen-nien made a Serving in the Palace. When Emperor Ai favored Tung Hsien, he made him Commander-in-chief Serving in the Palace; thus we can see the importance of this position.

"Persons Serving in the Palace could enter and wait upon [the Emperor] in the forbidden apartments and participate in discussing government matters. The power of those who were closer and more trusted was above that of the lieutenant chancellor. Palace Attendants were closer to the emperor than others who held concurrent positions, but they had no duties or power. Most of those who were concurrently

[Palace Attendants] were favorites of the Son of Heaven, like Chang Fang 張方, Tung Hsien, and the like. (Tung Hsien was first a Palace Attendant, and later was made Commander-in-chief Serving in the Palace.) [Palace Attendants] were the persons closest [to the emperor] and the most favored in the empire, but they did not participate in the government and were not like the Serving in the Palace who occupied important positions.

“The *T'ang liu tien* [713-755 ch. 8, p. 6b] quotes the *Han chiu yi* by Wei Hung, 衛宏 fl. 25-5 B.C.], saying, ‘The Serving in the Palace criticized the business of the Masters of Writing and were divided into Junior and Senior Department Heads because they served in the [Palace] Hall. Hence they were called “Serving in the Palace.”’ According to the explanation of the [*Han*] *chiu yi*, Serving in the Palace is another title for the Junior and Senior Department Heads. Upon examination we find in the ‘Memoir of Hsi-fu Kung’ that he was an Imperial Household Grandee and Junior Department Head Serving in the Palace. Further on an imperial edict says, ‘Serving in the Palace and Imperial Household Grandee’ and does not say ‘Junior Department Head,’ so that the explanation of the [*Han*] *chiu-yi* is trustworthy. But Chang Yu 張禹 was an Inspector of Officials and Hsin Ch'ing-chi 辛慶忌 was an Inspector of Officials and Cavalryman Without Specified Appointment, and they were not Junior or Senior Department Heads, yet also had the title of Serving in the Palace. Chung Chün 終軍 was an Internuncio and Wei Hsien 韋賢 was Grandee Secretary; their official positions were not only that of Junior or Senior Department Heads, but [their] duties were also not those of concurrent officials. Why did they also have the title of Serving in the Palace? Probably at first it was only another title for Junior and Senior Department Heads and later all those Serving in the Palace and the entourage of the emperor and those close to him were permitted to have this title. [Cf. also Glossary sub Dept.Heads.]

Ch'ien Ta-hsin [1728-1804] in his *Hs Shih-i* says the *Han shu* sometimes calls officials in the inner courts of the palace the palace court (*chung-ch'ao* 中朝) and sometimes calls them courtiers ([*nei*] *ch'ao* [內]朝). These terms are not the same. But in the “Memoir of Liu Fu” Meng K'ang 孟康 glosses, “The *chung-ch'ao* are the inner court 內朝, i.e., the court in the imperial quarters of the palace, as distinct from that in the lieutenant chancellor's yamen. The Commander-in-chief, Generals of the Left, of the Right, of the Van, of the Rear, Palace Attendants, Regular Attendants, Cavalrymen without Specified Appointment, and Inspectors and Officials are the inner court. The Lieutenant Chancellor and [officials] below him down to officials [ranked at] 600 piculs are the outer court 外朝. This comment is very exact and clear. In the ‘Memoir of Hsiao Wang-chih’ an imperial edict sent the Commander-in-chief and General of Chariots and Cavalry Han Tseng 韓增, the Inspector of Officials and Marquis of Fu-p'ing Chang Shou 張壽, the Superintendent of the Imperial Household Yang Yün 楊

憚, and the Chief of the Stud Tai Chang-lo 戴長樂 from the inner court to ask [Hsiao] Wang-chih 蕭望之 for a plan. In the “Memoir of Wang Chia,” a matter was given in charge of the generals and the members of the inner court; the Imperial Household Grandee K’ung Kuang, the General of the Left Kung-sun Lu, the General of the Right Wang An 王安, the Superintendent of the Imperial Household Ma Kung 馬宮, and the Imperial Household Grandee Kung Sheng 龔勝.

“The imperial household grandees were not officials in the inner court, but K’ung Kuang and Kung Sheng were permitted to participate in discussions because they were given the title of Serving in the Palace. In this Memoir, the Grand Palace Grandee Ku Yung 谷永, because he was Serving in the Palace, was also permitted to be ranked with the members of the inner court. Hence the Serving in the Palace were also officials in the inner court. Those whom Meng K’ang mentioned are not a complete list [of the persons in the inner court]. The Superintendent of the Imperial Household had charge of the palaces, halls, and doors to the Lateral Courts. He was the most favored one among the nine high ministers. After the time of Emperors Chao and Hsüan, Chang An-shih 張安世, Hsiao Wang-chih, Feng Feng-shih, and Hsin Ch’ing-chi were all among the generals and also [successively] ordered to be Superintendents of the Imperial Household. Moreover Yang Yün was Superintendent of the Imperial Household and also concurrently Inspector of Officials; hence in his letter to Sun Hui-tsung 孫會宗 he calls himself among those who are concerned with the government.

However the distinction of the outer and inner court, i.e., those of the lieutenant chancellor and of the emperor, probably did not exist at the beginning of the Han period. Emperor Wu first had Yen Tsu 嚴助, Chu-fu Yen 主父偃, and his sort hold positions in the Ch’eng-ming [Hall] 承明[堂] and participate in discussions. Yet their ranks were still low. Wei Ch’ing 衛青 and Ho Chu-ping 霍去病 were honorable and favored, yet did not interfere with the duties or business of the lieutenant chancellor or [grandee] secretary. In the period of Emperors Chao and Hsüan, the power of the General-in-chief [Ho Kuang 霍光] covered both the inner and outer [courts]. Moreover the Generals of the Van, of the Rear, of the Left, and of the Right who were in the inner court and participated in governmental matters, and those who, from the position of the officials became concurrently Palace Attendants or Serving in the Palace, all became the bosom officials [of the General-in-Chief]. The foregoing is the change in the court arrangements during the Former Han dynasty. It is not told plainly by the historians, but the reader can obtain it by inference and examination.”

134. *Wang Huo*<sub>b</sub> 王獲, style Chung-sun 中孫, was a son of Wang Mang who was neither the oldest nor the youngest son. In 4-2 B.C., Wang Huo murdered a slave in Wang Mang’s household, and Wang Mang compelled his son to commit suicide. Cf.

Hs 99A.3b; 33b. In Hs 99C.10b, Wang Lin<sub>1a</sub> 王臨 says that his brother, Wang Huo<sub>b</sub>, was in his thirtieth year when he died, but that is probably a misstatement, since Wang Mang was born in 45 B.C. He was named after Wang Huo<sub>a</sub> 王獲, Marquis of Ping-ch'ang 平昌侯 and a cousin of the Grand Empress Dowager née Wang.

134. *Chou Huo* 周護 was a man who in 2 B.C. was recommended as capable and good, and in his reply to the examination praised Wang Mang. Cf. Hs 99A.3b. He was very likely the same person as the Chou Huo who was a great great grandson of Chou Hsieh 周緜, Marquis of Pei-ch'eng 沛城侯, in 201 B.C., a loyal companion of Emperor Kao. In 64 B.C. Chou Huo's uncle, Chou Yü 周禹, had been exempted by Emperor Hsüan because of his ancestor, but had died without heirs. Hence in A.D. 1, Chou Huo was specially selected by an imperial edict to be exempted in succession to his uncle. Chou Huo died without heirs, probably before A.D. 6. Cf. Hs 16.31a.

134. *Sung Ch'ung* 宋崇 was a man who in 2 B.C. was recommended as capable and good and in his reply to the examination praised Wang Mang. Cf. Hs 99A.3b.

134. *K'ung Hsiu* 孔休, style Tzu-ch'üan 子泉, was a man of the city of Wan 宛 in the Nan-yang commandery, who became famous because he refused to take high position under Wang Mang. In 7 B.C. when Wang Mang was sent back to his estate, K'ung Hsiu was made acting Chancellor of Wang Mang's marquisate. Wang Mang treated him very courteously and tried to win him over, but he refused to follow Wang Mang. The *HHs* says that later, when Wang Mang seized the state authority, K'ung Hsiu left his position and returned home. When Wang Mang usurped the throne, he sent a messenger with silk and valuables, to beg K'ung Hsiu to become the State Master 國師. K'ung Hsiu thereupon vomited blood, claimed he was ill, closed his gates, and ended his life. Cf. Hs 99A.3b; 4a; *HHs*, Mem. 15.3a.

136. The *Attendants at the Gate* 期門 was a corps of imperial guards established by Emperor Wu in 138 B.C. Emperor Wu ordered the Palace Attendants, the Regular Palace Attendants, the cavalry, together with the Expectant Appointees who were sons of good families and able in riding and shooting, to wait (*ch'i* 期) at the gates of the Palace Hall; hence there came to be the name of Attendants at the Gates. They were ranked the same as Gentlemen and had no definite number, sometimes being as many as a thousand. Their duty was to bear weapons and accompany corteges. Brave and strong persons were selected for this corps, and were tested in boxing. They had a Supervisor who was ranked at equivalent to a thousand piculs. Emperor P'ing changed their name to the Gentlemen As Fast as Tigers. They were subordinate to a General of the Gentlemen of the Palace. Cf. *Han-kuan ta-wen* 2.6a,b; Hs 19 A.8b, 10a.

136. *Kao-an* 高安 was the name of the marquisate held by Tung Hsien from 4 – 1 B.C. It is said to have been in Chu-fu 朱扶. Wang Hsien-ch'ien remarks that the "Treatise on Geography" does not list any Kao-an [or Chu-fu ], and that there must be some error in Chu-fu. Cf. *Hs* 18.26b. The *Sc* (*Skk* 43.39; *Mh* V, 57) mentions a Kao-an, which Chang Shou-chieh locates in the Ho-Tung commandery (present Shansi). The *Shina Rekidai Chimei Yoran* does not list this place.

137. *Kung-sun Lu* 公孫祿, style Chung-tzu 中子, was a minister under Emperor Ai. He came from the Ying-ch'uan commandery 潁川郡. In 5 B.C. he had been Chief of Palace Police in the Capital and was made General of the Right. The next year, 4 B.C. he was promoted to be General of the Left. In 1 B.C., after the death of Emperor Ai and the dismissal of Tung Hsien, Kung-sun Lu and Ho Wu 何武 agreed that relatives of the imperial house should not be in control of the government, so they independently suggested each other for the position of Commander-in-chief. Wang Mang had them both dismissed. In 21 A.D. he gave Wang Mang some bitter advice. Cf. *Hs* 19B.4.9a,b; 86.4-b, 5a; 45.15a; 72.17a; 86.13b; 99A.4a; 99C.14a.

137. *An-yang* 安陽 {36-37:6/3} was a city, prefecture, and marquisate in the Ju-nan commandery, located, according to the *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung-chih*, southwest of the present Cheng-yang 正陽, Honan. The marquisate was occupied by Liu P'o 劉勃 from 172-165 B.C.; Chou Tso-ch'o 周左車 from 148-140 B.C.; and Wang Yin 王音 and his son Wang Shun from 20 B.C. to 8 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 28 Aii.7b; 15A.6a; 16.16a; 18.22a. There was also an An-yang in the Han-chung commandery.

138. Chen Han 甄邯, style Tzu-hsin 子心, title, Marquis of Ch'eng-yang 承陽侯, later Duke of Ch'eng-yang 承陽公, was the son-in-law of K'ung Kuang. When Wang Mang began controlling the government after the death of Emperor Ai, he honored K'ung Kuang because of his great reputation, so he made Chen Han a Palace Attendant and Chief Commandant Custodian of the Imperial Equipages. Through Chen Han, Wang Mang got K'ung Kuang to memorialize the crimes of the relatives by marriage of Emperor Ai and so got rid of those he disliked. On March 28, 1 A.D., Chen Han was made Marquis; the same year he became Superintendent of the Right and Superintendent of the Imperial Household. When Wang Mang ascended the throne on Jan. 15, 9 A.D., he was made Duke Serving the Hsin Dynasty and Commander-in-chief. He died in the summer of 12 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 19B.51b, 52a; 18.28a; 68.22b; 69.18b; 77.13b; 84.11b; 97.23a; 99A.4b; 99B.2a, 18b.

138. *Hung-yang* 紅陽 {32-33:2/7} was a city, prefecture, and marquisate of the

Nan-yang commandery, located, according to the *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih*, northwest of the present Wu-yang 舞陽, south of the Hung Mountain. The marquisate was occupied by Wang Li 王立 and his son Chu 柱 from 32 B.C. 23 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 28.Aii.16b; 18.20a.

138. *Yang Chi* 楊寄 was a government slave-girl, who Wang Li<sub>5</sub> sponsored, saying that she had borne a son to one of the emperors, probably to Emperor Cheng. The child was popularly discredited, and nothing seems to have come of it. Cf. *Hs* 99A.4b.

138. *Wang Yi*<sub>5</sub> 王邑, title Marquis of Ch'eng-tu 成都侯 was a younger son of Wang Shang 王商 and a first cousin of Wang Mang. In 6 B.C., he succeeded his older brother, Wang K'uang 王況 as Marquis of Ch'eng-tu. He became a bosom friend of Wang Mang. Upon the rebellion of Chai Yi 翟義, Wang Yi was made the Tiger Tooth General 虎牙將軍. Wang Yi rose to be Superintendent of the Imperial Household. When Wang Mang had usurped the throne on Jan. 15, 9 A.D., Wang Yi was made the Grand Minister of Works and Duke Prospering the Hsin Dynasty 隆新公. When in 22 B.C. Wang Mang's other high officials were sent against the rebels, Wang Yi was given the duties of all the highest ministers. In Apr./May, 23 A.D. Wang Yi was sent by rapid post to Lo-yang, to mobilize troops. He and Wang Hsün 王尋 set out against the rebels in the Nan-yang commandery with a large host, but were disastrously defeated by Liu Hsiu 劉秀 at K'un-yang 昆陽, where Wang Hsün was killed. In despair of finding anyone to trust in the court, Wang Mang recalled Wang Yi<sub>5</sub> to court and made him the Heir-apparent. He died defending Wang Mang on Oct. 6, 23 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 18.20a; 84.11b, 18b; 86.4b, 16a; 87.23a; 99A.5a; 99B.2a, 16a; 99C.9a, 19a, 20a,b, 27b; *HHs*, Mem. 2.8a; Mem. 5.5b, 8a; Mem. 20.3a; Mem. 21.1a; Mem. 13.1b; Mem. 73.3a; Tr. 10.5a.

140. *P'ing Yen* 平晏, title, Marquis of Fang-Hsiang 防鄉侯 was a son of P'ing Tang 平當. Because he knew the Classics, he occupied various governmental positions, including that of Chief Master of Writing, and on Jan. 4, 6 A.D. he was made Grand Master over the Masses. He assisted in establishing the Pi-yung 辟雍 and Ming-t'ang 明堂. He was a close associate of Wang Mang. On June 29, 5 A.D., he was enfeoffed as Marquis of Fang-Hsiang; when Wang Mang usurped the throne, he was the Marquis Following Virtue and on Jan. 15, 9 A.D. became the Duke Following the Hsin Dynasty. He became the Grand Tutor and died in 20 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 71.2b; 18.29a; 97B.23a, 99A.5a, 99B.2a, 99C.10b, 81.23b, 19B.52b. .

140. *Chen Hsün* 甄尋, title, Marquis of Abundant Virtues 茂德侯, was a son of Chen Feng. He obtained Wang Mang's favor by his ability. Cf. *Hs* 99A.5a; 99B.5b, 16a;

87B.22a. He became Great Governor of the Capital and in 10 A.D., after Wang Mang had ascended the throne, he presented Wang Mang with some more portents, one of which said that Wang Mang's daughter should be his own wife. Wang Mang became angry, and ordered his arrest. He fled to Mt. Hua 華山 and more than a year later was arrested and executed.

140. *Liu Fen* 劉棻 was a son of Liu Hsin<sub>1</sub>, and obtained the favor of Wang Mang through his ability. Wang Mang made him Marquis Prospering the Majestic Principles 隆威侯, Supernaturally Influencing General Whose Influence Penetrates to the East 東通靈將, and Grandee in Charge of the Five Behaviors 五司大夫. He was implicated in the plan of Chen Hsün to marry Wang Mang's daughter, and was executed about 11 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 87B.22a; 99A.5a, 99B.16a.

140. *Ts'ui Fa* 崔發, title the Marquis Delighted at Portents 說符侯, was a man from the Cho commandery 涿郡 who became an official of Wang Mang. He became a Chief Commandant of Cavalry and in 8 A.D. explained some of the portents received by Wang Mang.

He came from An-p'ing 安平 in the Cho commandery and was a great uncle of Ts'ui Yin 崔因, whose biography is in *HHs* Mem. 42.1a. Ts'ui Fa's father, Ts'ui Shu 崔舒, and his grandfather, Ts'ui Chao 崔朝, had both held positions in the government bureaucracy. Ts'ui Fa's younger brother, Ts'ui Chuan 崔篆, refused the position of Colonel of Footsoldiers under Wang Mang but later accepted that of Grand Governor of Chien-hsin 建新 (the former Ch'ien-sheng commandery 千乘郡), but resigned. He wrote a commentary on the *Book of Changes*. Fan Yeh 范曄 (*HHs* Mem 42.1b) states that Ts'ui Fa was favored by Wang Mang because of his clever flattery. Because his mother, née Shih 師氏, understood the Classics, its scholarship and also the sayings of all the schools of philosophy, Wang Mang favored her with unusual rites and granted her the title of Lady of Beneficence and Perfection 義成夫人 with a gold seal and a purple seal-cord, and an ornamented carriage with red wheels, so that she was prominent during the period of the Hsin dynasty.

In 11 A.D. he was made the Libation Officer Expounding the *Book of Music* to the Heir-apparent. In 20 A.D. he urged Wang Mang to enlarge his nine ancestral temples, and in 23 A.D. he was used as a messenger by Wang Mang to summon Wang Yi to make him the heir-apparent and was himself made Grand Minister of Works. He was an influential advisor of Wang Mang flattering him and interpreting portents. He was beheaded by Liu Tz'u 劉賜 in 23 A.D. at the advice of Ts'ui Fa's previous student, Shen-t'u Chien 申屠建. *Hs* 99A.5a, 99B.2a, 99C.10b; 81.23b, 19B.52b.

140. *Ch'en Ch'ung* 陳崇, title, Marquis of Nan-Hsiang 南鄉侯 and later Marquis of

Ruling Concord 統睦侯 came from the Nan-yang commandery and was an official and sycophant of Wang Mang. He presented the long memorial praising Wang Mang in *Hs* 99.10a-16a. After the defeat of Chai Yi in Dec./Jan. 7/8 A.D., Ch'en Ch'ung presented another letter praising Wang Mang. He was Director of Service to the Grand Master over the Masses and on June 29, 5 A.D. was enfeoffed as Marquis of Nan-Hsiang along with Wang Yün (*q.v.*). Cf. *Hs* 69 sub Hsin Ch'ing-chi ; 92.10b; 18.30b; 99A.10a, 11a.

In 9 A.D. Wang Mang enfeoffed him as Marquis of Ruling Concord. Cf. *Hs* 99A.5a, 10a, 30b; *HHs*, Mem. 16 sub Hou Pa

144. *Po-shan* 博山 {32-33:3/5} was a city, prefecture, and marquissate in the Nan-yang commandery, located, according to the *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih* east of the present Hsi-ch'uan 浙川, in southwestern Honan. The *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao* says it is 30 *li* northeast, at the Shun-yang Township 順陽稱. This prefecture had been established by Emperor Ch'eng (or Ai). Previously the place had been called Shun-yang; Emperor Ming of the Later Han dynasty renamed it Shun-yang; Ying Shao says it is on the northern bank of the Shun River. From 7 B.C. to 23 A.D. this place was the seat of the marquissate occupied by K'ung Kuang and his son Fang. Cf. *Hs* 18.211a; 28Aii.9b.

144. The *Grand Guardian* 太保 was one of the Four Coadjutors, who were to be the chief assistants to the Emperor in the government. This office was established in 1 A.D. The Grand Guardian was ranked as the third of these four, being next to the Grand Tutor 太傅. He had a golden seal with a purple seal-cord. The Grand Master, Grand Tutor, and Grand Guardian all received 350 *hu* of grain per month. Their duties consisted in guiding the Emperor according to the right Way. Cf. *Hs* 19A.6a; *Han-kuan ta-wen* I.7a; Henri Maspero, "Le mot *ming*," *Journal Asiatique* 223(1933): 266. In Chou times the Grand Guardian was one of the three highest ministers. Chia Yi 賈誼 (*Hs* 48.22a) says that the duty of the Grand Guardian was to protect the person of the ruler.

145. *Kuang-yang* 廣陽 was the marquissate to which Chen Feng was appointed in 1 A.D. *Hs* 18.28a says that it was located in the Nan-yang commandery. But *Hs* 28 does not mention it among the prefectures of the Nan-yang commandery. Wang Hsien-ch'ien says that it was made out of some territory taken from some prefecture in that commandery. There was also a *Kuang-yang* prefecture in the *Kuang-yang* commandery {18-19:4/3}, which was a commandery and kingdom of Ch'in and Han times. When in 226 B.C. the First Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty destroyed the state of Yen 燕, he made of it the *Kuang-yang* commandery, probably also making the *Yü-yang* 魚陽, *Shang-ku* 上谷, *Yu-pei-p'ing* 右北平, *Liao-tung* 遼東, and *Liao-hsi* 遼西 commanderies out of Yen. Since the capital of Yen has been at Chi<sub>4</sub>, the headquarters of the *Kuang-yang* commandery were probably continued there. The "Treatise on

Geography” in the *HHs*, says that the headquarters of the commandery in Later Han times were at Chi<sub>4</sub>.

Emperor Kao-tsu made this territory into the kingdom of Yen. Its kings were Tsang-t'u 藏荼, Lu Wan 盧綰, Liu Chien 劉建, Liu Tse 劉澤 and his descendants Liu Chia 劉嘉 and Liu Ting-kuo 劉定國 and Liu Tan 劉旦. When the latter rebelled and committed suicide in 80 B.C., the kingdom was disestablished and made the Kuang-yang commandery. From 127 to 121 B.C. it had been the Yen commandery.

In 73 B.C. Emperor Chao made it the kingdom of Kuang-yang. Its kings were Liu Chien and his descendants, Shun 劉舜, Huang 劉璜, and Chia 劉嘉. The Later Han dynasty renamed it the Kuang-yang commandery. It belonged to the Yu Province 幽州. The *Hs* says it contained 20,740 households, 70,658 persons, and four prefectures. Cf. *Hs* 28 Bii.24b, 25a; 14.20a; *HHs*, Tr. 23.

145. *Junior Tutor* 少傅 was an office established in 1 A.D. in imitation of ancient practices. Its occupant was the fourth of the Four Coadjutors. Cf. *Hs* 99A.6a. There was also a Junior Tutor to the Heir-apparent.

145. *Ch'eng-yang* 承陽 was a marquisate held by Chen Han after 1 A.D. *Hs* 18.28a says it was in the Ju-nan commandery. There was a county by the same name in the kingdom of Ch'ang-sha {32-33:8/5}; but that county was in A.D. 5 made the seat of a marquisate held by Liu Ching 劉景. Wang Hsien-ch'ien says that this Ch'eng-yang was probably a portion of a county in the Ju-nan commandery, which was later disestablished from being a separate county. Yen Shih-ku gives the pronunciation of the first word in the Chang-sha place twice as 丞 and 蒸, and of the Ju-nan place twice as the second of those characters and as 蒸. Furthermore the Sung Ch'i ed. states that the first word in the name of the Ju-nan county was written 丞 in the Southern {Liu} Sung and Yen Shih-ku states that the name of the Ch'ang-sha county was sometimes also written with this latter character. (Cf. *Hs* 15 B.57a; 28Bii.46a). Since in both cases both pronunciations were probably indicated, we may neglect the differences in the pronunciations of these words. (cf. Karlgren, *Grammatica Serica* #896; *Hs* 99A.6a; 99B.2a.

146. *Shao-ling* 召陵 {36-37:5/3} was a city and prefecture in the Ju-nan commandery. It was famous in military history. Duke Huan of Ch'i 齊桓公 stopped here in his expedition against Ch'u. (cf. *Mh* III, 425) The Yellow Emperor in his southward expedition is said to have reached this place. (Cf. *Sc* ch. 28) King Hui-wen of Ch'in 秦惠王 took it. K'an Yin 闕駟 (fl. ca. 422) says that the first word of this name means “high.” In its territory there was a high hill, with a well several tens of feet deep, from which it took its name.” Yen Shih-ku says that this word is pronounced the same as 邵.

The *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih* says that this place was located 35 *li* east of the present Yen-ch'eng 鄆城 in central Honan. Cf. *Hs* 28Aii.5a,b.

146. *Hsin-hsi* 新息 {36-37:6/3} was a city and prefecture of the Ju-nan commandery. In 1 A.D. Wang Mang was given the income of this prefecture. The *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih* locates it east of the present Hsi in southeastern Honan. Meng K'ang says that the ancient state of Hsi 息 later moved east, hence the name of this place. The *Shuo-wen* writes the second character in this name as 鄆. Cf. *Hs* 28.Aii.4b.

152. *Nan-tzu* 南子 was a wife of Duke Ling of Wei 衛靈公 (534-493 B.C.) who was infamous for her depravity. Confucius visited Wei in 496, and she forced him to come to an interview, for which Tzu-lu reproved him. *Hs* 20.76a grades her and her husband in the lowest rank among the stupid persons. Cf. *Analects* VI, xxvi; Legge, *Tso-chuan*, Duke Ding, XI.xiv.10, p. 788; *Mh* IV, 334 & n.3.

154. *Lüan-ti Nang-chih-ya-szu* 樂鞮囊知牙斯 was the surname and given name of the Hun Shan-yü who took the title Wu-chu-liu-jo-ti 烏珠留若鞮. He was the son of the Shan-yü Hu-han-hsieh, and the second son of the Shan-yü's chief wife. When Hu-han-hsieh died in 31 B.C., because the chief wife's sons were both young, Tiao-t'ao-mo-kao 調陶莫皋, a son of her younger sister, the second wife, was put on the Hun throne, and Nang-chih-ya-szu was made the Sage King of the West. After two of his brothers had been Shan-yü and died, and Nang-chih-ya-szu ascended the Hun throne as the Shan-yü Wu-chu-liu-jo-ti. Wang Mang had him shorten his personal name to one word in order to conform to the Chinese custom of having only a single word to taboo; he accordingly changed his personal name to Chih 知. He ruled to the 21st year and died in 13 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 94B. de Groot, *Die Hunnen*, p. 245, 247, 249-278.

154. *Luan-ti* 樂鞮 is said in *Hs* 94 A.6b to have been the surname of the Hun Shan-yü. *HHs*, Mem. 79.5a writes this surname as Hsü-lien-ti 虛連鞮. Both these Chinese phrases probably represent the same Hun original.

154. *Luan-ti Yün* 樂鞮云 was the oldest daughter of the Hun Shan-yü Hu-han-Hsieh 呼韓邪單于 and of Wang Ch'iang (Chao-chün) 王穉 (昭君). She married Hsü-pu Tang 須卜當. She was called the Hun Princess and married into the Hsü-pu 須卜 clan (*Hs* 99A.8b) and was also called the Yi-mo Hun Princess 伊墨居次 (which latter might possibly been her title before she was married). (*Hs* 94B.20a) Since the Shan-yü was surnamed Luan-ti (*q.v.*) and the Huns practised exogamy like the Chinese, her

surname was Luan-ti, although she is usually called merely by her given name, Yün. Her mother was married to the Shan-yü in 33 B.C. In 1 or 2 A.D., Wang Mang had Lüan-ti Yün temporarily sent to the Chinese court to attend upon the Grand Empress Dowager née Wang. She seems to have been able to read, for it was probably she who deciphered the new seal sent by Wang Mang to the Shan-yü (*Hs* 99B.16b). She and her husband (who was one of the most powerful Hun nobles) were influential in keeping peace between the Chinese and Huns. She had a son, Hsü-pu She 須卜奢. In 19 A.D., she with her husband, her son and her nephew were induced to come to the border and compelled to go to Ch'ang-an. Wang Mang wanted to make her husband the Hun Shan-yü, but the Chinese troops were defeated. Her husband died of illness, and in 23 A.D., when Wang Mang was executed by the Chinese troops, Lüan-ti and Hsü-pu She both died. Cf. *Hs* 99A.8b; 99C.5a; 94B. 9a, 15a, 20a, 21b, 22a; deGroot, *Die Hunnen*, pp. 247, 262, 265, 279f, 283, 286f.

154. *Hsü-pu* 須卜 was the surname of one of the three noblest clans among the Huns, which intermarried with the Hun imperial clan. It lived in the west central part of the Hun territory. It produced various important personages in the Hun empire, among them Hsü-pu Tang the husband of Lüan-ti Yün. Cf. 94A.7a; de Groot, *Die Hunnen*, pp. 56f.

154. *Hun Princess* (*chü-tz'u* 居次) was a title carried by daughters of the Hun Shan-yü, and corresponds to the Chinese term *kung-chu* 公主. It seems to have been a Hun word. These Hun Princesses were named in accordance with the surnames of their husbands. Thus in *Hs* 94B.9a,b, the two daughters of Wang Ch'iang were called the "*chü-z'u* [whose husband is surnamed] Hsü-pu and the *chu-tz'u* [whose husband is surnamed] Tang-yü 當于." The maiden surname of the first was Lüan-ti and her given name was Yün; her husband was Hsü-pu Tang. Cf. also *Hs* 99A.8b; 94A.30b; de Groot, *Die Hunnen*, pp. 197, 199, 247. Shen Ch'in-han however argues from the fact that in *Hs* 94 A.30b the wife of an older brother of the Hun Shan-yü is called a *chü-tz'u*, that this term was the title of the wife of a Hun king or noble, like the later term for the consort of a king and not like *kung-chu*.

154. The *Chang-ch'iu Palace* 長秋宮 was a term used to denote the Empress. In a note to *HHS*, Tr. 10A.8a, Li Hsien 李賢 says that the Ch'ang-ch'iu Palace "was the palace where the Empress lived. *Ch'ang* is long. *Ch'iu* (autumn) is when all things first are completed and ripe, hence this name. When they beg that an Empress be established, they dare not point to her directly, so name her by her palace." There does not however seem to have been any building by this name; it was merely the term used to denote the Empress' quarters. The *San-fu Huang-t'u* 2.2b says that in the Ch'ang-lo Palace 長樂宮 there was a Ch'ang-ch'iu Hall, but this must have been a different place, for the Empress Dowager lived in the Ch'ang-lo Palace, and the

Empresses lived elsewhere.

159. *Hsin-hsiang* 信鄉 or 新鄉, {17:4/3} was a city, prefecture, and marquisate in the Ch'ing-ho commandery 清河郡, located, according to the *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih*, west of the present Hsia-chin 夏津 in the Ch'ing dynasty's Lin-ch'ing Fu, western Shantung. Liu Pao 劉豹 was enfeoffed as marquis of this place in 70 B.C. and was succeeded by his descendants Pu 步, Tsun 尊, and T'ung 佟; in 2 A.D. Liu Li 劉鯉 was enfeoffed as Marquis of Hsin-hsiang and dismissed in 8 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 28 Aii.58b; 15B.7a, 53a. The two words pronounced *hsin* used in this name were anciently interchanged. The marquisates of Liu T'ung and Liu Li were contemporaneous, as that the marquisate of Liu Li must have been in some other place than the Hsin-hsiang of the Ch'ing-ho commandery. In *Hs* 99A.9a Liu T'ung is mentioned in 3 A.D. as Marquis of Hsin-Hsiang, after Liu Li had been appointed.

159. *Liu T'ung*<sub>2b</sub> 劉佟, title Marquis of Hsin-Hsiang 信(新)鄉侯 was a son of Liu Tsun 劉尊, and a great-great-grandson of King Kang of Ch'ing-ho 清河綱王, Liu Yi 劉義. In 3 A.D. Liu T'ung presented a memorial that Wang Mang should be granted a reward when his daughter was made Empress. In 1 A.D. he presented a letter saying that Wang Mang should become regent. When Wang Mang usurped the throne, he was granted the surname Wang. Cf. *Hs* 15 B.7a; 99A.9a.

159. *Chi* 紀 was a principality in Chun-ch'iu times, whose capital was at the ancient city of Chi west of the present Shou-kuang 壽光 located more than 30 *li* south, Shantung. Cf. *Shina Rekidai Chimei Yoran*, p. 98; *Hs* 99A.9b.

162. *Chang Ch'ang* 張敞, style Tzu-kao 子高, was a successful administrator under Emperor Hsüan, who rose to be governor of the capital.

He came from P'ing-yang 平陽 in the Ho-tung commandery 河東郡. His grandfather, Chang Ju 張孺, was the Grand Administrator of the Shang-ku commandery and had moved to Mou-ling. His father, Chang Fu 張福, had served Emperor Wu and had risen to be an Imperial Household Grandee. Chang Ch'ang later followed Emperor Hsüan and moved to Tu-ling 杜陵.

Originally because Chang Ch'ang was a petty district official, he was given a vacancy as a subordinate of the Grand Administrator. He was investigated and examined, and made the Chief of the Kan-ch'üan Granary 甘泉倉, then promoted somewhat to be Assistant Chief of the Stud. Tu Yen-nien 杜延年, who was Chief of the Study from 80 to 66 B.C., marvelled at him greatly.

When the King of Ch'ang-yi 昌邑王, Liu Ho 劉賀, was summoned to ascend the

throne and did not act rightly, Chang Ch'ang, admonished him severely; more than ten days later, after the King was dismissed from the imperial throne, because Chang Ch'ang had become known through his admonition, he was selected to be the Inspector of the Yü Province. He several times memorialized the throne, and Emperor Hsüan summoned him to be a Grand Palace Grandee. With Yu Ting-kuo 于定國 he jointly decided upon the business of the Masters of Writing. He insisted upon uprightness and opposed the General-in-chief Ho Kuang, so he was put in charge of the military chariots and sent away to have charge of economizing the expenses of the army. He was again sent out to be the Chief Commandant of the Han-ku Pass.

When Emperor Hsüan first ascended the throne and Liu Ho had been dethroned, in his heart the Emperor feared Liu Ho, so he moved Chang Ch'ang to be the Grand Administrator of the Shan-yang commandery. When after a long time, Ho Kuang died, and Emperor Hsüan for the first time attended to the government by himself and enfeoffed Ho Kuang's relatives, giving them high positions, Chang Ch'ang sent in a sealed memorial recommending that these relatives be dismissed from their positions and their power taken away.

After a long time, when the robbers and bandits of the P'o-hai and Chiao-tung Commanderies 膠東郡 arose, Chang Ch'ang memorialized, asking to subdue them in person. He gives a figure for the population of the Shan-yang commandery 山陽郡 greatly different from that in the "Treatise on Geography." The Emperor summoned Chang Ch'ang, installed him as Chancellor of Chiao-tung, and granted him 30 catties of actual gold. When Chang Ch'ang was going to his office, he reported that it would be necessary to reward and fine the officials in order to stimulate them, and the Emperor approved his proposal. Chang Ch'ang was successful in clearing away the robbers.

The Queen Dowager of Chiao-tung went out to hunt; Chang Ch'ang admonished her, using ancient examples, and she desisted.

In 63 B.C., after Huang Pa 黃霸 had been found unsatisfactory, Chang Ch'ang was given Huang Pa's position as Acting Governor of the Capital. Ever since the execution of Chao Kuang-han 趙光漢, there had been several acting Governors of the Capital, but none had been found worthy of the position, so that thefts and robberies in the market-places at Ch'ang-an increased. The Emperor asked Chang Ch'ang what he could do, and the latter replied that he could stop them.

In 61 B.C. Chang Ch'ang was made Governor of the Capital. Chang Ch'ang summoned the leaders of the thieves, and made them all officials. Thus he was able to arrest the minor thieves, and thieving in the market-place stopped. The Emperor approved of him. In his government, he generally followed the method of Chao Kuang-han, but he was not as good as the latter in stopping evil-doing. Of those who occupied the position of Governor of the Capital, only Chao Kuang-han and Chang Ch'ang held it for a long time; the others were soon dismissed. He however failed to reach high position because he lacked dignity and painted his wife's eyebrows for her.

He was good friends with Hsiao Wang-chih and Yu Ting-kuo, both of whom rose

to high position. In 57 B.C. Chang Ch'ang was sentenced for having been a close friend to the Superintendent of the Imperial Household Yang Yün 楊惲 (*q.v.*). When the latter was executed for treason, the ministers memorialized that Yang Yün's friends should not occupy positions and should all be dismissed. Chang Ch'ang alone was allowed to keep his position.

Chang Ch'ang's upper-class official in charge of arresting thieves, Hsü Shun 絮舜, had been ordered to examine a case, but Hsü Shun knew that Chang Ch'ang was in trouble and said that he would merely be Governor of the Capital for five days, so refused to obey the order. When Chang Ch'ang heard of it, he had Hsü Shun arrested and imprisoned, had him investigated day and night, and at last made out that he had committed a capital crime. When Hsü Shun was sent out to execution, Chang Ch'ang sent a Master of the Records to say to him, "How did the Governor of the Capital for five days finally make out? Did the [approaching] end of winter [when alone capital punishments were performed] lengthen your life?" Hsü Shun was publicly executed.

When spring came, messengers were sent out to seek cases of persons who had been wrongly punished. Hsü Shun's family brought Hsü Shun's body with the record of Chang Ch'ang's words to the messenger and accused Chang Ch'ang of having killed an innocent person. The Emperor considered it unimportant, and to help him, had him sentenced merely for previously having been friends with Yang Yün.

In 54 B.C., Chang Ch'ang was dismissed and made a commoner. After several months, there was trouble in the empire, and the Emperor sent a messenger to Chang Ch'ang's house. His wife was afraid. Chang Ch'ang alone realized that he was being summoned to be honored. He was installed as the Inspector of the Chi Province. In a little more than a year the robbers of the Province were stopped. He was moved to be the Acting Grand Administrator of the T'ai-yüan commandery, and after a full year became the titular Grand Administrator. When Emperor Yüan ascended the throne, Chang Ch'ang was recommended to be the tutor of the Heir-apparent, but the Emperor was dissuaded by Hsiao Wang-chih. However, he sent to summon Chang Ch'ang, intending to make him the Eastern Supporter, but it happened that he had become ill and died. Cf. *Hs* 76.12b-19a; 19B.34a. Liu Shao calls him a practical man, unable to evolve new ideas but able to perform the duties of an office. Cf. Shryock, *The Study of Human Abilities*, p. 108.

162. *Chang Sung* 張竦, style Po-sung 伯松, was a son of Chang Chi 張吉 and a grandson of Chang Ch'ang, and a clever writer of memorials. He rose to be a commandery Administrator. In 6 A.D., Wang Mang made him Marquis of Pure Virtue 淑德侯 as a result of a memorial. Two of his memorials are quoted in *Hs* 99A. He was widely learned and cultivated to a greater extent than his grandfather, but he did not equal his grandfather in ability as an administrator. He seems to have been killed by robbers in 23 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 76.19b; ch. 85 sub Tu Yeh ch. 92 sub Chen Tsun *Hs*

99A.10a, 29b; *HHs Mem.* 33 sub Chu Mu; *Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies* No. 7, June 1930, p. 1318.

163. *Inferior Gentlemen* 下士 was a term for gentlemen of the imperial court who merely attend upon the imperial sacrifices and have no ranking at the court. Cf. sub *Specially Advanced*. {In *HFHD* 111.163, Dubs renders this term “worthy inferiors.” That he has included this entry here suggests perhaps that he believed his original rendering was wrong.}

163. *Shu Ya* 叔牙 was a half-brother of Duke Chuang of Lu 魯莊公 and a son of Duke Huan 桓公. In 662 B.C., when Duke Chuang was about to die, Shu Ya suggested that his older brother, Ch'ing Fu 慶父, should succeed the Duke; but the Duke wanted to enthrone his son, Pan 斑. So the Duke's full brother, Chi Yu, made Shu Ya take poison. Shu Ya was the ancestor of the Shu-sun 叔孫 clan. Cf. *Sc* 33.12a,b; *Mh* IV, 111f; *T'oung-pao*, 1918-9, p. 307, 378 n. 253; *Tso-chuan* (Legge, p. 121).

163. *Chi Yu* 季友, called Ch'eng-chi 成季, was a full brother of Duke Chuang of Lu and a son of Duke Huan by a lady from the state of Ch'en 陳. His descendants constituted the Chi clan. When Duke Chuang was about to die, his half-brother, Shu Ya, suggested his own full older brother, Ch'ing Fu, for the throne. Duke Chuang wanted his son Pan to succeed him, so he had Chi Yu poison Shu Ya. When in that year (662 B.C.) Duke Chuang died, Chi Yu put Pan on the throne, but Ch'ing Fu had him assassinated before the end of the year. Chi Yu then fled to Ch'en. Ch'ing Fu put another son of Duke Chuang, K'ai 開, on the throne as Duke Min 閔公; but in 660 B.C., Ch'ing Fu had Duke Min assassinated. He brought Duke Chuang's remaining son, Shen 申, back to Lu; but, the people of Lu wanted to kill Ch'ing Fu, so he fled. Chi Yu then put Shen upon the throne as Duke Hsi 僖公, and was made the chancellor. Cf. *Mh* IV, 111-115; *Tso-chuan*, Legge, p. 121.

165. *Wu Tzu-hsü* 伍子胥, personal name Yüan 員, in 1725 A.D. he was made Duke Ying-wei, now a god of the waters, was a man of the state of Ch'u. His father was Wu She 伍奢 and his older brother was Wu Shang 伍尚. In 522 B.C. he fled to the state of Wu when his father and brother had been killed in Ch'u, and persuaded a noble of Wu to attack Ch'u. This noble assassinated the King of Wu and made himself King. Wu Tzu-hsü was opposed by Po Pi 伯嚭. Wu Tzu-hsü advised the King of Wu to kill the King of Yüeh, Kou-chien 句踐 when he had the opportunity, but Po Pi's advice prevailed, and the King was sent back home. In 484 B.C. the King of Wu ordered Wu Tzu-hsü to commit suicide. Wu prophesied the destruction of Wu by Yüeh and stabbed himself. His body is said to have been put into the hide of a horse and thrown

into the river. Cf. Sc ch. 66; ch. 31; Chavannes, *T'oung Pao* 1916, p. 252, n.1; Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 1918-9, p. 420, n. 428.

165. *Ch'ü Yüan* 屈原, given name P'ing 平, another style Ling-chün 靈均, was a famous statesman and poet of the state of Ch'u. He was born about 340 B.C. and in 285 or 290 B.C. committed suicide by drowning after being exiled to Ch'ang-sha. His biography in Sc ch. 84 has been translated by Bialles in *Asia Major* IV (1927), fasc. i, p. 51 ff. Cf. also *Journal North China Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, 59: 231 ff; *ibid.* for 1895. Pan Ku, in *Hs* 20.97a, grades him in the second class, among the benevolent persons.

166. *Shu-li Chi* 樛里疾, called Master Shu-li 樛里子 was a younger brother of King Hui of Ch'in by a different mother. Shu-li Chi was so clever and wise that the people of Ch'in called him a "bag of wisdom." In 330 B.C. he was made a Senior Chieftain of Conscripts and sent as a general on an expedition against Ch'ü-o 曲沃, which he conquered for Ch'in. In 313 B.C., he was sent as a general against Chao 趙. The next year he attacked Ch'u and was enfeoffed as Prince of Yen 嚴君. When King Wu came to the throne in 306 B.C., Shu-li Chi was made Senior Lieutenant Chancellor. He was sent with a hundred chariots to enter Chou, where he was received very respectfully. Under King Chao (ascended the throne in 306 B.C.), Shu-li Chi was even more honored. He died in 300 B.C. He prophesied that a hundred years later imperial palaces would enclose his tomb. His tomb was east of the Chang Terrace 章臺 in Wei-nan 渭南 west of the Han city of Ch'ang-an, east of the Chang-lo Palace, west of the Wei-yang Palace, at the Arsenal. Cf. Sc 71.1a-3b; *Mh* IV 394-6.

166. *Meng Pen* 孟賁 was a legendary ancient strong man. In a note to *Skk* 97.12, P'ei Yin quotes Hsü Shen (fl. 100) as saying that Meng Pan came from Wei. Cf. Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, #1525.

166. *Hsia Yü* 夏育 was a legendary ancient strong man, Meng K'ang says that he came from the state of Wei and could lift a thousand *chün* (30,000 catties). *Skk* 79.13; Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, #584.

166. *Demon Valley, Master of* 鬼谷子. The Master of the Demon Valley was a legendary teacher of the 4th cent. B.C., who is said to have taught Su Ch'in 蘇秦 and Chang Yi 張儀. There is a book by his name; translated, with an account of him, by Chung Se Kimm, "Kuèi-küh-tzê, der Philosoph vom Teufelstal," *Asia Major*, 4(1927):108-46.

162. *T'ai* 釐 or 郃 was a prefecture and city of the Yu-fu-feng commandery. It had been an ancient principality to which Prince Chi had been said to have been enfeoffed and there was a temple to him at this place. The Later Han dynasty made it a commune *t'ing* of the Mei prefecture. The *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih* 247.7b locates it southwest of the present Wu-kung 武功, Shensi. Hsü Kuang 徐廣 (352-425) says that the name of this place was also written *li* 釐. Tuan Yü-ts'ai 段玉裁 (1735-1815) says that the first writing of this name must have arisen from the line "Thou didst confer upon us the wheat." 貽我來牟 (*Book of Odes* IV, I, i, 10; Legge, p. 580) quoted in *Hs* 36.9b with *li* instead of *lai* 飴我釐粦), hence it must have been given the ancient pronunciation of *li* (and also of *lai*). Cf. *Hs* 28 Ai.32b.

168. *Yen Ying* 晏嬰, style P'ing-chung 平仲, known as Master Yen 晏子, was the son of Yen Jo 晏弱, Huan-tzu 桓子. He was a grandee of the state of Ch'i under Dukes Ling 靈公, Chuang 莊公, and Ching 景公 (reigned 581-490 B.C.). He became chancellor of Ch'i but remained frugal. He was well-known during these three reigns and influential in politics. According to the *Tso-chuan* in 545 B.C., Duke Hsiang conferred upon him Pei-tien with 60 cities, but he refused, saying that he did not wish to be rich enough to attract people's envy. Giles *Biographical Dictionary*, #2483 says he died in 493 B.C. The *Tso-chuan* notes him from 569 to 522 B.C. The *Yen-tzu ch'un-ch'iu*, which was used by Szu-ma Ch'ien, is attributed to him; Maspero (*T'oung Pao* 26.313) dates it in the second half of the fourth century B.C. In the *Discourses on Salt and Iron*, ch. 24 (*Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 65 (1934): 90 n 1), Yen Ying is said to represent the early pure Mohist school. *Sc* 62.3a-4b contains a brief account of him. *Hs* 20.69b grades him in the second class, the benevolent persons. Lin Shao calls him a man of sublime behavior; cf. Shryock, *The Study of Human Abilities*, p. 106. Cf. A. Forke, "Yen Ying, Staatsman und Philosph und da *Yen-tse tsch'un-tch'iu*," *Asia Major*, Hirth Anniversary volume, 192:3

171. *Kung-yi Hsiu* 公儀休 was an erudit of the state of Lu. Because of his high rank in scholarship he became the Chancellor of Lu in the time of Duke Min (409-377 B.C.). He upheld the laws and followed principle without changing anything. Officials who received salaries were not permitted to compete with the common people who were subordinate to them for profit. A guest sent the Chancellor a fish, and the Chancellor would not receive it. The guest said, "I have heard that you, sir, are fond of fish, so I sent a fish to you, sir. Why did not you receive it?" The Chancellor replied, "Because I am fond of fish, I did not receive it. Now, because I am Chancellor, I am able to provide fish for myself. Verily, if I received the fish and were dismissed, who would again give me fish? Hence I did not receive it." When he ate herbs and thought them fine, he pulled up the mallows in his garden and threw them away. He saw that his household wove cloth and that it was good, so quickly divorced his wife and burnt the

loom, saying, "Where will the farmers and working women get pay for their goods?" Cf. *Sc* 119.2b-3a. Pan Ku grades him in the third class, the wise persons. Cf. *Hs* 20. 90b.

171. *Kung-sun Jung* 公孫戎 was a standard-bearer of Kao-tsu in 203 B.C. who explained away a rumor that Fan K'uai 樊噲 was going to rebel. In a note to *Hs* 99A.14a, Chin Shao 晉灼 quotes the *Ch'u-Han ch'un-ch'iu* (lost), "When Emperor [Kao] went east to surround Hsiang Yü he heard that Fan K'uai [was going to] rebel, [but] his standard-bearer, Kung-sun Jung made [the situation] plain to him. Eventually [Fan K'uai] did not rebel, and [the Emperor] enfeoffed [Kung-sun] Jung [with the income of] two thousand piculs." The "Memoir of Fan K'uai" in the *Sc* and *Hs* does not mention this occurrence or person, and he is not mentioned elsewhere in the *Hs*.

176. *Yen*<sub>3a</sub> 奄 was a principality destroyed by King Ch'eng of the Chou dynasty, located, according to the *Shina Rekidai Chimei Yoran*, p. 42, two *li* east of the present Ch'ü-fu, Shantung. Cf. *Mh* I, 248, & n.3.

177. *Feng-fu* 封父 was a person mentioned in the *Tso-chuan*. Duke Ting IV (Legge, p. 754). Tu Yü says that he was an ancient noble. He possessed the Fan-jo 繁弱 (*q.v.*). In the present Feng-ch'iu, Honan, there is a Feng-fu *t'ing*, which is said to have been the capital of this noble. Yen Shih-ku says that the second word in this name should be pronounced like 甫. Cf. *Hs* 99A.15a.

177. *Fan-jo* 繁弱 was the name of a famous great bow possessed by Feng-fu (*q.v.*), mentioned in *Tso-chuan*, Duke Ting, IV. Cf. *Hs* 99A.15a. It was granted to the Duke of Chou

178. *Tao, Duke of Chin* 晉公悼, (r. 572-558 B.C.) was the son of Hui-po T'an 惠伯談, and a great-grandson of Duke Hsiang 襄公 of Chin. His own personal name was Chou 周. In 572 B.C., upon the assassination of his predecessor, Duke Li 厲公, by Luan Shu 欒書 and Chung-hang Yen 中行偃, Chou was invited to assume the throne. He ruled to the fifteenth year, and died in 558 B.C. Pan Ku grades him in the upper class of moderately good persons. Cf. *Sc* 39.33aff. (*Mh* IV, 327-9); *Hs* 20. 65a; *Skk* 14.112-120.

178. *Wei Chiang* 魏絳, posthumous title, Viscount Chao 昭子 was the son of Wei Tao-tzu 魏悼子. He was a noble of the state of Chin and an ancestor of the princes of Wei<sub>h</sub> 魏. In 570 B.C. Duke Tao of Chin put him in charge of the Jung 戎 and Ti 翟,

and in 562 he was rewarded by Duke Tao a gift of bells and stone chimes. He died before 558 B.C. Pan Ku grades him in the upper class of moderately good persons. Cf. *Sc* 44.2a,b; *Tso-chuan*, Duke Hsiang, XI; *Hs* 20.66a.

179. *Po-ch'in* 伯禽, title, Duke of Lu 魯公, was the oldest son of the Duke of Chou and was made Duke of Lu. According to the orthodox chronology, he ruled 1115-1063 B.C.

181. *Lü K'uan* 呂寬 was the older brother of the wife of Wang Yü the son of Wang Mang 王宇. He participated in Wang Yü's conspiracy against Wang Mang and at night sprinkled blood before Wang Mang's door. He was detected and killed in 3 A.D. Cf. *Hs* ch. 68 sub Chin Mi-ti; ch. 92 sub Lou Hu; ch. 69 sub Hsin Ch'ing-chi; ch. 83 sub Hsieh Hsüan; ch. 86 sub Ho Wu; 99A.16a,b; 99C.3b; *HHs*, Mem. 36 sub Chen Ch'ung.

181. *Lü Yen* 呂焉 was the wife of Wang Yü and the younger sister of Lü K'uan. When her husband was executed for conspiracy in 3 A.D., she was with child. She was held in prison until the child was born, and then executed. Cf. *Hs* 99A.16b.

181. *Wu Chang* 吳章, style Wei-chün 偉君, was a man of P'ing-ling 平陵 who became an Erudit and the teacher of Wang Yü. He was involved in the latter's conspiracy and was executed with him in 3 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 67 sub Yün Ch'ang; ch. 88 sub Chou K'an; 99A.16a,b.

181. *Tan-chu* 丹朱 was the son of Yao. He was degenerate and unworthy, so was set aside in favor of Shun. Cf. *Mh* I, 49, 69, 70.

182. *Ching-wu* 敬武 {17:3/2} was a city and prefecture of the Chü-lu commandery 鉅鹿, located, according to the *Ta-Ch'ing yi-tung chih*, north-east of the present Chao 趙, Hopei. The Later Han dynasty disestablished it as a prefecture, and it became a small place. Emperor Hsüan enfeoffed his oldest daughter with this place as her private estate. Cf. *Hs* 28.Aii. 52b.

184. *Ching-wu, Elder Princess of* 敬武公主. The Elder Princess of Ching-wu was a daughter of Emperor Hsüan, probably not the oldest. She married the Marquis of Fu-p'ing 富平侯, Chang Lin 張臨 (63-33 B.C.) and later the Marquis of Ying-p'ing 營平侯, Chao Ch'in 趙欽 (d. 21 B.C.). When the latter died, she had no children, and married Hsieh Hsüan 薛瑄. After the latter's death (no date given), she lived as a widow in Ch'ang-an, and later had her last husband's body brought back to Yen-ling 延

陵. His son, Hsieh K'uang secretly returned from the Tun-huang commandery, and, because an amnesty was proclaimed, stopped with the Princess. He was later rumored to have had relations with her.

The Princess criticized Wang Mang. Hsieh K'uang was good friends with Lü K'uan and was party to the conspiracy of Wang Yü (*q.v.*). When the conspiracy was discovered in 3 A.D., Hsieh K'uang was tortured and made to admit his crimes. A messenger was sent with an imperial edict from the Grand Empress Dowager née Wang granting the Elder Princess the privilege of drinking poison. The Princess was angry, but the messenger pressed and watched her until she drank the poison. Cf. *Hs* 83.9a,b; 59.12a; 99A.16b; 69 sub Chao Ch'ung-kuo.

182. *P'ing-o* 平阿 {36-37:6/5} was a city, prefecture, and marquisate, in the P'ei commandery, located, according to the *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih* at the present P'ing-o hamlet, sixty *li* southwest of the present Huai-yüan 懷遠, Anhui. The Later Han dynasty put this place into the kingdom of Chiu-chiang 九江. The marquisate was occupied by Wang T'an 王譚, Wang Jen 王仁, Wang Shu 王述, and Wang Hung 王閔. Cf. *Hs* 28.Aii.45b, 18.19b.

182. *Wang Jen* 王仁, title, Marquis Tz'u 刺侯 of P'ing-o, was the son of Wang T'an and a cousin of Wang Mang. He succeeded to his father's marquisate in 16 B.C. He shared the Wang clan's fate under Emperor Ai, being sent away from the court and brought back along with Wang Mang.

When Wang Mang controlled the government for Emperor P'ing, he feared the influence of Wang Li 王立 and Wang Jen with the Grand Empress Dowager because they were courageous and plain-speaking, and he had them both sent to their estates. In 3 A.D., when the conspiracy of Wang Yu (*q.v.*) was discovered, Wang Mang had them both commit suicide. Cf. *Hs* 98.11b-12a; 99A.16b; 18.19b.

183. *Pao<sub>1b</sub>* 褒 was a Chief Commandant of the Protecting Army to the Commander-in-chief, a subordinate of Wang Mang who, in 3 A.D., memorialized that Wang Mang had written a book on the duties of sons and grandsons and asked that it be made a school text-book. His surname seems to have been lost. Cf. *Hs* 99A.16a.

183. The *Lords on High* 上帝 were heavenly gods worshipped in the imperial sacrifices. *Hs* 25A.17b says that when in 205 B.C. Kao-tsu returned to Kuan-chung after his defeat by Hsiang Yü, "he asked what Lords were sacrificed to in the former Ch'in period in sacrificing to the Lords on High. The reply was, 'Four Lords. There are sacrifices to the White, Blue, Yellow, and Red Lords.' Kao-tsu said, 'I have heard that in heaven there are five Lords, so why are [only] four [sacrificed] to?' No one knew the reason.

Thereupon Kao-tsu said, 'I indeed knew it. Then follow my [idea] and make arrangements for five.' Then there was established the sacrifice for the Black Lord. His name is called 'The [god of] the Northern Altar.'"

The foregoing passage proves conclusively that, in Han times at least, the term *Shang-ti* was a plural noun. In the above passage the five Lords are equated with the five colors; they were also equated with the five directions (including the center as one direction), the five metals, etc. The Five Lords of High seem to have been ranked a little lower than Heaven; *Hs* 12.17a says that Wang Mang, following the example of the Duke of Chou as recounted in the *Classic of Filial Piety* (Legge, p. 477), gets into difficulties because he did not realize that there was more than one Lord on High, made Kao-tsu, the founder of the dynasty, the coadjutor of Heaven, and Emperor Wen, the Grand Exemplar of the dynasty, the coadjutor of the Five Lords on High. Later Wang Mang seems to have followed the Classics in conceiving of one Lord on High who was the same as August Heaven. Cf. *Hs* 99B.10a.

185. *Supporting Governor* 阿衡 was the title given to Yi Yin, the chief official of T'ang the Victorious. The *Sc* (*Mh* I, 178) says this term was the personal name of Yi Yin, but the general opinion seems to have been that it was his title, not his name. Chavannes translates it, "*L'appui et le justicier.*" The second word in this title was used for part of the title given to Wang Mang, Ruling Governor.

185. *Grand Ruler* 太宰 was the title given to the Duke of Chou. The second word of this title was used in the title given to Wang Mang, Ruling Governor. In Han times, this same title was used for a subordinate of the Grand Master of Ceremonies. Cf. *Hs* 99A.17a; 19A.6b.

186. *Recompense to [the Marquis of] Hsin[-tu]*, Marquis in (Pao-hsin) 褒新[都]侯, was the name of the Marquisate with which Wang Mang's son, Wang An 王安, was enfeoffed in 4 A.D. In 20 A.D., his title was changed to King of the Immortal of the Hsin [House] 新遷王, i.e., of Hsin-ch'ien 信遷; *Hs* 28Aii.4a notes that Wang Mang changed the name of Hsin-ts'ai 新蔡 to Hsin-ch'ien; these two words *hsin* 信 & 新 were anciently interchanged; hence Ch'ien Ta-chao concludes that Pao-hsin was Hsin-ts'ai (*q.v.*). *Hs* 18.21a In the spring of 8 A.D., Wang Mang's other living son, Wang Lin 王臨, was made Duke in Recompense to [the Marquise of] Hsin[-tu]. After 11 A.D., Wang K'uang 王匡 is noted as Marquis Recompense to the House of Hsin. Cf. *Hs* 99B.17b; 99C.17a; 18.21a.

186. *Reward to [the Marquis of Hsin]-tu* 賞[新]都侯, Marquis in (Shang-tu), was the name of the marquisate with which Wang Mang's son, Wang Lin 王臨, was enfeoffed in

4 A.D. According to *Hs* 28Aii.6b, Wang Mang changed the name of Yi-lu 宜祿, a prefecture of the Ju-nan commandery, to be the Shang-tu 賞都 Commune; hence, Shang-tu was Yi-lu. The *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih* locates it northeast of the present Shen-ch'iu 深丘, Honan. Cf. also *Hs* 18.21a. Shang-tu became a commandery; *Hs* 99A.28b mentions the Grand Governor of this commandery.

189. The *Attendant Secretaries* 侍御史, who numbered fifteen, were subordinates of the Palace Assistant Secretary. Cf. *Hs* 19A.5b. The *Han-kuan ta-wen* 1.6a,b says, "The Attending Secretaries had their quarters in the [palace] servants' quarters outside of the gates to the Shih-ch'ü [Hall]. In the [Palace] Hall they had charge of watching [people's] speech and actions and of examining the various unlawful matters and of investigating into the crimes of officials and their subordinates. When officials or their subordinates committed crimes, then [the Attending Secretaries] had them arrested and sent to prison. When the high ministers tried a law-suit, the Attending Secretaries examined the facts. If [the verdict] was wrong, then they memorialized, begging that it be again tried and impeaching the person who had failed to [discover] the truth in trying the suit.

"On imperial edicts [they put] a vermilion mark, [before] it [could be] put into effect. If imperial edicts contained anything contrary to the law, or if any [edicts] would be inconvenient to put into effect, a Department Head [Attendant Secretary] spoke about it, sealed it, and sent it to a Master of Writing, and in reply gave the circumstances for which it would be inconvenient. If there were robbers or brigands in a commandery or kingdom, then [an attendant Secretary] went there to pursue and arrest [the malefactors]. When [the imperial government] had business with the government of a commandery of kingdom, then [an Attendant Secretary] had charge of it and went there.

"There were five Division Heads in charge of [the duties of the Attendant Secretaries]. The first was called the Division Head for Orders 令曹, the second was called the Division Head for Sealing 印曹, the third was the Division Head for Making Offerings 供曹, the fourth was the Division Head for the Guard and Horses 尉馬曹, and the fifth was the Division Head for Carriages 乘曹. When the Son of Heaven went out, two Attendant Secretaries were made Division Heads for Carriages to protect the imperial carriage. [When the Emperor rode in] the great carriage [of state] with eighty-one subordinate carriages forming three columns, the Masters of Writing and Secretaries rode in them. On the very last carriage, there was hung a leopard's tail. Those preceding [this?] were considered as the [Palace] Inner Apartments.

"When an official of the Lieutenant Chancellor went out to investigate a matter or an Inspector went out to inspect his province, [the Attendant Secretaries provided] for them carriages to ride in.

"In the third year of Emperor Hui [192 B.C.] the Lieutenant Chancellor [Ts'ao Ts'an 曹參] memorialized that Secretaries should be sent to supervise the three capital

commanderies and investigate their words and edicts in nine matters in all. The supervisors should be changed [every] two years and should regularly memorialize matters during the middle months [of the year]. Later these [supervisors] were abolished and not sent.

“The Attending Secretaries had charge of laws and records, so that their persons and rule was extremely honored. The Grandee [Secretary] was not permitted to employ them on private [matters]. When they interviewed the Palace Secretary for Supporting the Laws, they held a tablet and bowed.

“The Grandee Secretary recommended upper-class officials or their subordinates of high attainments from the yamens of the highest ministers to fill vacancies among [the Attendant Secretaries]. Some were recommended from the [Provincial] Governors, [commandery] Administrators, Gentlemen-consultants, or Gentlemen-of-the-Palace to be [Attendant Secretaries]. Commandery Administrators also were permitted to recommend their subordinates to be [Attendant] Secretaries. At first they were called Acting 守 [Attendant Secretaries]; after a full year they were installed as Titular 真 [Attendant Secretaries]. When they were sent out to deal with troublesome cases they were made Inspectors or [officials ranking at] two thousand piculs [Administrators, etc.]. They were promoted to be Palace Assistant [Secretary], Palace Grandees, Grand Palace Grandees, or Gentlemen-consultants, or were promoted to [a post of] equal [rank] as Prefects. They had no seal or seal-cords.” The foregoing is mostly a catena of passages from the *Hs*, *HHS*, and comments thereupon.

191. *Lu Chien* 路建 was a man of the Shu commandery, who in 4 A.D. stopped a litigation, whereupon Wang Mang was praised for his moral influence. Cf. *Hs* 99A.18b.

191. *Yü* 虞 was a principality of Spring and Autumn times, with its capital, according to the *Shina Rekidai Chimei Yoran*, p. 141, at the ancient city of Yü located more than 40 *li* northeast of the present P'ing-lu 平陸, Shansi. Shun was called the “Possessor of Yü<sub>2a</sub>.” Cf. *Mh* I,52, n.3.

There is a pretty story, referred to in the *Book of Odes*, III, I, iii, 9 (Legge, p. 441), told in the *Sc* (*Mh* I, 219) and in Liu Hsiang's *Shuoüan*, that the chiefs of Yü and Jui 芮 had a quarrel about certain territory and went to submit it to King Wen of the Chou dynasty. When they entered his territory they saw people all yielding precedence to each other, both in the fields and at court. They were so ashamed of their quarrel that they agreed to leave the disputed territory neutral ground and did not presume to appear before King Wen.

191. *Jui* 芮 was a principality of Spring and Autumn times, located, according to the *Shina Rekidai Chimei Yoran*, p. 351, thirty *li* west of the present Jui-ch'eng 芮城, Shansi. There was a still more ancient Jui with its capital at the present Ch'ao-yi, Shensi. Cf.

Mh I, 219, n.2. For the quarrel between Yü and Jui cf. sub Yü.

193. *Shih Chou* 史籀 was, according to the ancient note to *Hs* 30. 22b, the Grand Recorder of King Hsüan of the Chou dynasty, who reigned 827-782 B.C. *Hs* 30 lists “*Shih Chou*, 15 chapters” and the ancient note says that in the time of Emperor Kuang-wu six chapters were lost. *Shih Chou* is said to have invented the greater seal character. His book is frequently called *Shih [Chou’s] Chapters* 史篇, as in *Hs* 99A.19a.

196. *Ch’eng-chou* 成周 was another name for the city of Lo (*q.v.*) founded by the Duke of Chou. This term is found in the *Book of History*, Preface, 46 (Legge, p. 10).

201-2. *Chang Shun* (or *Ch’un*) 張純, was the son of Chang Fang 張方 and a great-great-great-grandson of Chang An-shih 張安世. In 5 B.C. he succeeded his father as Marquis of Fu-p’ing 富平侯. He was respectful and careful, cultivated himself, and knew all the institutes and regulations of the Han dynasty; hence he was respectful and did not lose his noble rank in the time of Wang Mang. In 12 A.D. his title was changed to Marquis of Chang-hsiang 張鄉侯. In the period of Emperor Kuang-wu, he held various positions and rose to be Grand Minister of Works; his marquisate was changed to a district of Fu-p’ing and he was entitled the Marquis of Wu-shih 武始侯. The *HHs* contains a memoir of him. Cf. *Hs* 18.12b; 59.13b; *HHs*, Mem. 25.1a-4b.

206. *Hao* 鎬 was the name of an ancient principality and city which became the capital of King Wen of the Chou dynasty, located northwest of the present Ch’ang-an, Shensi, according to the *Shina Rekidai Chimei Yoran*, p. 80.

210. The *Gentlemen As Rapid As Tigers* 虎賁郎 was a name given in 1 A.D. to the Attendants at the Gates (*q.v.*). Yen Shih-ku says that the second word in this title “should be read the same as 奔. It means that they run as fast as raging tigers.” *Hs* 19A.10a. In 5 A.D., 300 men of this corps were given to Wang Mang as one of the Nine Distinctions. There was also a Colonel of the As Rapid As Tigers who had charge of the light chariots. Cf. *Hs* 19A.10a, 23a. The name is taken from *Book of History* V XIX, 1 (Legge, p. 508, 515). Mencius 7Biv.5 also mentions it. It is also the name of an office in the *Chou-1i*, 31.5b. *Kuo-yü* 5.5a (Lu,B). The Son of Heaven is said to have these attendants, while nobles have only as guards for their chariots.

217. The *Tzu-wu Road* 子午道 {15/16:5/4} was built by Wang Mang in 5 A.D.; this name was chosen for the sake of ensuring a son to Emperor P’ing. It ran from Tu-ling 杜陵

(*q.v.*) across the Southern Mountains to Han-chung commandery 漢中郡. The *Yüan-ho chün-hsien chih* (1.7b by Li Chi-fu 李吉甫, 758-814) mentions a Tzu-wu Barrier, a hundred *li* south of Ch'ang-an, which was built when Wang Mang cut this road. The *Ch'ang-an chih* 長安志 12.2a (by Sung Min-ch'iu 宋敏求, 1019-1079) also mentions a Tzu-wu Market-town, 40 *li* south of Ch'ang-an, which took its name from the Tzu-wu Valley in the Southern Mountains. In 115 A.D. Emperor An abolished the Tzu-wu Road. Yen Shih-ku says, "At present, at the capital [Ch'ang-an] in the Southern Mountains there is a valley which is connected by bridges and a road of the Han [period] which is called the Tzu-wu Valley." Cf. *Hs* 99A.23a,b.

Chang Yen explains this name as follows, "At the time [5 A.D.], [the Empress née Wang of Emperor P'ing] was in her fourteenth year and first showed signs of womanhood. *Tzu* 子 is water and *wu* 午 is fire. Water employs Heaven and one to make male; fire employs Earth and two to make female; hence fire becomes the spouse of water, so [Wang Mang] had them cut the Tzu-wu [Road] to unite them." Yen Shih-ku interprets differently. "*Tzu* is the northern quarter and *wu* is the southern quarter. It means that he built a road running south and north, hence called it *tzu-wu*."

According to the *Shui-ching-chu t'u* (by Yang Shou-ching 1839-1915), South 5&6/West 4, the Tzu-wu Valley was that of one of the tributaries of the Feng River. There is at present a Tzu-wu River which runs into the Han River at Wei-men and a road from Ch'ang-an across the mountain connecting them with a Tzu-wu market-town at each end of this road, which may likely be this road.

213. *P'ing Hsien* 平憲 was a General of the Gentlemen-of-the-Palace who in 5 B.C. was sent and induced the barbarians around Koko Nor to surrender their lands to the Chinese. Cf. *Hs* 99A.23b, 24a.

213. *Liang Yüan* 良願 was a military chieftain of a tribe of Chiang, who in 5 B.C. lived around Koko Nor and were bribed to present their lands to the Chinese. Cf. *Hs* 99A.24a.

213. The *Hsien-shui Sea* 鮮水海 was the present Koko Nor 青海湖 in Ch'ing-hai, according to *Hs* 99A.24a. *Hs* 28Bi.10a calls it the Hsien Sea 僊海. Cf. sub Hsi-hai commandery 西海郡.

213. The *Yün Gorge* 允谷 was a locality somewhere around Koko Nor, which was presented to the Chinese along with the Koko Nor and the Dabasun Nor 達布遜湖. Probably it was the valley of one of the rivers emptying into the Koko Nor. It does not seem to be mentioned in any of the geographical lists, and is not charted in the *Shui-ching-chu t'u*. Cf. *Hs* 99A.24a. Stange, *Die Monographie über Wang Mang*, 26,

n.2, identifies the salt sea of the Yün Valley with the salt pans in the Yüan Valley, present Yung-teng hsien (the Ch'ing dynasty's P'ing-fan, in Liang-chou fu), Kansuh, but gives no authority for this identification.

213. The *Salt Lake* 鹽池 was the present Dabasun Nor Northwest of Koko Nor, 300 *li* west of the present Hsi-ning 西寧, Ch'ing-hai, according to the *Shina rekidai chimei yoran*, p. 46. It was presented to the Chinese in 5 A.D. Cf. sub Hsi-hai commandery; *Hs* 99A.24a; 28Bi.10b.

215. The *Eastern Barbarians* 東夷 seem to have been the barbarian tribes in Korea, east and north of it. *HHs*, Mem. 75 contains an account of these Eastern Barbarians, including the Japanese, giving an interesting account of Japanese customs and saying that from the time that Emperor Wu destroyed the kingdom of Ch'ao-hsien 朝鮮 (Korea), some 30 Japanese states had communicated with the Chinese. Ancient Chinese bronze swords of Former Han times have been found in Japan. The Japanese seem to be clearly referred to as having come to Emperor P'ing in *Hs* 99A.23b.

215. The “*Canon of Yao*” 堯典 is the first chapter of the *Book of History*.

216. *Liu Ch'ing*<sub>4</sub> 劉慶, title, Marquis Ch'ing of Ch'üan-ling 泉陵侯, was the son of Liu Chen-ting 劉真定 and a great-grandson of King Ting of Ch'ang-sha 長沙王定, Liu Fa 劉發. He succeeded to his father's marquisate of Ch'üan-ling in 49 B.C., and died during the reign of Wang Mang. In 5 A.D., he flattered Wang Mang by suggesting that Wang Mang be made Regent. Cf. *Hs* 15A.47a; 99A.24b, 99B.15b. In Former Han times there were eleven persons by the name of Liu Ch'ing, all kings or marquises.

216. *Ch'üan-ling* 泉陵 {32-33:9/5} in the Ling-ling commandery 零陵郡 was a city, prefecture, and marquisate commandery, located, according to the *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih*, north of the present Ling-ling 零陵, in southern Hunan. The marquisate was held by Liu Hsien 劉賢 and his descendants, Chen-ting, Ch'ing, and Ku 骨. Cf. *Hs* 28Aiii.59b; 15A.47a. *Hs* 15 mistakenly writes the first word in this name as 眾.

216. *Young Prince* 孺子 was a title said by Liu Ch'ing in *Hs* 99A.24b to have been given to King Ch'eng of the Chou dynasty when he was a minor and when the Duke of Chou was Regent. Wang Mang gave this title to Liu Ying<sub>1a</sub> 劉嬰, whom he made Imperial Heir-apparent in 6 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 99A.27a. These same words were also used as the title of the third class of concubines of the Imperial Heir-apparent, in which case

they have been translated as “Maids.” Cf. *Hs* 97B.19b.

217. *Liu Feng*<sub>4</sub> 劉鳳 title Marquis Ch'ing of Ch'ü-hsiang 曲鄉侯頃, was the son of King Huang of Liang 梁荒王, Liu Chia 劉嘉. In July/Aug. 3 A.D., he was enfeoffed as marquis. He must have openly approved of Wang Mang's usurpation, for he kept his marquisate and his son succeeded him as marquis. He died in 19 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 15B.45b.

217 The *Dynastic Exemplar* 統宗 was the title given to the Temple of Emperor Hsiao-ch'eng in 6 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 99A.24b. {*HFHD* has “Controlling Exemplar.”}

217. The *Supreme Exemplar* 統宗 was the title given to the Temple of Emperor Hsiao-p'ing in 6 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 99A.24b. {*HFHD* has “Primary Exemplar.”}

217. *Liu Hsien*<sub>3c</sub> 劉顯, title, Marquis of Kuang-chi 廣戚侯, was the son of Liu Hsün 劉熏, and a great-grandson of Emperor Hsüan. He was the father of the Young Prince Liu Ying, and was living when Emperor P'ing died in 6 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 80.6a; 15B.37b; 99A.25a.

217. *Kuang-chi* 廣戚 {36-37:4/6; this correctly should be “Kuang-ch'i.”} was a city, prefecture, and marquisate in the P'ei commandery, located, according to the *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih*, east of the present P'ei, Kiangsu. The marquisate was held by Liu Chiang 劉將 and his son Shih 始 from 128-112 B.C., and from 26 B.C. to 6 A.D. by Liu Hsin and his son Hsien. Cf. *Hs* 28Aii.42a; 15A.10b; 99B.37b.

217. *Liu Ying*<sub>1a</sub> 劉嬰, was a son of Liu Hsien, Marquis of Kuang-chi (*q.v.*) and a great-great-grandson of Emperor Hsüan. When Emperor P'ing died in 6 A.D., Liu Ying was in his second year, and was the youngest of Emperor Hsüan's great great-grandsons, so Wang Mang selected him to be the successor of Emperor P'ing. He was given the title of Young Prince and made Imperial Heir-apparent. When, in 8 A.D., Wang Mang ascended the throne, Liu Ying was made Duke of Established Tranquility. He was virtually imprisoned in his residence at Ch'ang-an and not allowed to be taught anything. When Wang Mang was killed in 23 A.D., Liu Ying was living at P'ing-ling, near Ch'ang-an. Through astrology he knew that Liu Keng-shih 劉更始, King of Huai-yang 淮陽王, would be defeated, and that he himself was of the imperial line and should ascend the throne. In Jan/Feb., 25, Fang Wang 方望 and Kung Lin 弓林 set him up as Emperor. He was enthroned at Lin-ching 臨涇. Liu Keng-shih sent his Lieutenant Chancellor, Li Sung 李松, who attacked and routed Liu Ying's army,

and killed Liu Ying. Cf. *Hs* 80.6a, 15B.37b; 99A.25a, 27a, 30a-b, 35a-b; 99B.1a-2a; *HHs* An. IA; Mem. 1.5b-6a; Mem. 4 sub King Kung of Ch'eng-yang, Liu Chih 城陽王劉祉.

218. *Hsieh Hsiao* 謝囂 was in 6 A.D. the Displayer of Splendor in the South, and first suggested publicly that Wang Mang should ascend the throne. Cf. *Hs* 99A.25a; 99B.7a.

218. *Meng T'ung* 孟通 was in 6 A.D. Chief of the Wu-kung prefecture, and dug up a stone commanding Wang Mang to become Emperor. Cf. *Hs* 99A.25a.

218. *Wu-kung* 武功 {15-16:4/3} was a small town and prefecture at the western border of the Yu-fu-feng commandery. The *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih* says it was forty *li* east of the present Mei 郿, Shensi, but Wu Cho-hsin 吳卓信 (xviii cent.) said that the Wu-kung of the Han period was really the present Mei, and the present Wu-kung was the T'ai 釐 and Mei-yang 美陽 prefectures of Han times. In 6 A.D., this prefecture had been put in the commandery of the Displayer of Splendor in the South; a stone portent urging Wang Mang to become emperor was dug up there, so Wu-kung was made the private territory of Wang Mang, and its name was changed to Han-kuang 漢光. When Wang Mang called his dynasty the Hsin dynasty, he changed the name of this place to Hsin-kuang 新光. In 65 A.D. its name was changed back to Wu-kung. Cf. *Hs* 28Ai.38b, 39a.

221. *Han-kuang* 漢光 was a name given in 6 A.D. to the prefecture of Wu-kung (*q.v.*). Cf. *Hs* 99A.26a. This name probably means, "The splendor of the Han [dynasty]."

221. *Shao, Duke of* 召公. The Duke of Shao had the clan name Chi (the same as that of the Chou dynasty) and the given name Shih 奭. He was important in the conquest of Shang. King Wu of the Chou dynasty gave him, in addition to Shao, the region of northern Yen 燕 as his fief. Under King Ch'eng, the Duke of Shao became one of the three highest ministers; he supervised the western part of the empire. When the Duke of Chou acted as regent for King Ch'eng the Duke of Chou is supposed to have composed the *Book of History V*, and thereby to have satisfied the Duke of Shao's suspicions. The Duke of Shao is said to have governed his territory extremely well. Cf. *Sc* ch. 34 (*Mh* IV, 133 ff). *Hs* 20.33b grades the Duke of Shao among the benevolent men.

126. *Five-fold Experienced* 五更 was a title for a minor dignitary used in the *Book of*

Rites along with the Thrice Aged (*q.v.*), and honored by Wang Mang along with the Thrice Aged in obedience to *Li-ki* XXI, ii, 21 (Courveur, II, 311).

Tsai Yung 蔡邕 (133-192) in his *T'u-tuan* 6a,b, says, “The [reason that] the Son of Heaven served a Thrice Aged as his father, was to accord with and achieve [the triad] of Heaven, Earth, and Man. [One reason that] he served a Five-fold Experienced as an older brother, was to instruct [the empire] about the five classes [of persons who form a family, i.e., father, mother, older & younger brother, and child]. *Keng* 更 is older Chinese. *Keng* is to take the place [of another] to the fifth [time]. He is able to guide [people] aright and reform himself. Moreover [the word] *lao* [in the term] *San-lao* 三老 (Thrice Aged) means a long time, old, and old age Chinese. They have all married a first wife, and have sons and daughters. Anciently, ‘the Son of Heaven’ in person ‘bared his arm, cut up the victims, took up the conserves, and presented them.’ [A quotation from the *Li-ki* XXXI, ii, 21 (Couvreur, II, 311; Legge, XXVIII, 231.) For the Thrice Aged he provided stools [a symbol of age], while the nine high ministers stood erect. A messenger with a comfortable carriage with soft wheels fetches [the Thrice Aged and Five-fold Experienced] and sends them back going to their houses. The Son of Heaven by himself alone bows to them at the screening wall [in front of the palace]. On the next day at dawn, the Thrice Aged visit the [imperial] portal to give thanks, because the rites [paid them] were unusually kind. Moreover [the *keng* of the term] Five fold Experienced is perhaps *sou* 叟. *Sou* [means] aged, and is an appellation which has the same meaning as that of the Thrice Aged.”

Cheng Hsüan, in a note to *Li-ki* 20.27a, says that both the Thrice Aged and the Five fold Experienced were “experienced in matters and retired from office. The Thrice Aged also had a reputation for experience, and the Fivefold Experienced also had a name for age.” Cf. also *Hs* 99A.27a. The *Po-hu-t'ung* states that the Son of Heaven does not treat a Fivefold Experienced as his subject; cf. Tjan, *Po Hu T'ung*, 206.

225. *The Grand Support Aiding on the Right* 左輔甄 was a title given to Chen Feng when Liu Ying was made Imperial Heir-apparent in 6 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 99A.27a.

225. *An-chung* 安眾 {32-33:3/6} was a city, prefecture and marquisate of the Nan-yang commandery, located, according to the *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih*, southeast of the present Chen-p'ing 真平, Honan. It formerly was the Western District of the city of Yüan 宛. The marquisate was given to Liu Tan 劉丹 in 125 B.C. and was held by his descendants, Shan-fu 山柎, Wu-fang 毋妨, Pao<sub>1b</sub> 褒, Chin 卬, Ch'ung<sub>2c</sub> 寵, and Sung 松. In Pan Ku's time this marquisate was still extant. Cf. *Hs* 28Aii.12b; 15A.34b.

225. *Liu Ch'ung*<sub>2c</sub> 劉崇, title, Marquis of An-chung was the son of Liu Ch'in 劉卬 and a great-great-great-grandson of Liu Tan, a son of King Ting of Ch'ang-sha, from the latter of whose line came also Emperor Kuang-wu. In May/June 6 A.D., when Wang Mang

was made Regent to the Emperor and appointed Liu Ying as merely Imperial Heir-apparent, Liu Ch'ung saw that the imperial house was endangered, seemingly knew that revolt was hopeless, but recognized that unless someone of the imperial house made a move, the whole house would be shamed, so he revolted and attacked Yüan, the headquarters of the Nan-yang commandery, near which An-chung was located. He was defeated and killed. In 26 A.D., as a reward, Liu Ch'ung's cousin, Liu Chung 劉終 {given name later changed to 祉}, was enfeoffed as Marquis of An-chung by Emperor Kuang-wu. The marquisate was continued down to the time of Pan Ku. The other two persons by the name of Liu Ch'ung in Former Han times were Liu Ch'ung<sub>2a</sub> and Liu Ch'ung<sub>2b</sub>, the Marshises of An-kuo 安郭 and of Lo-yang 樂陽, respectively (*Hs* 15A.44b; B.8b). Cf. *Hs* 99A.27a, b; 15A.35a; 98.13c; *HHs*, Mem. 4.9b; Mem. 12,7b-8a.

226. *Chang Shao* 張紹 was a cousin of Chang Sung (*q.v.*) and the Chancellor of Liu Ch'ung, Marquis of An-chung, who rebelled against Wang Mang in 6 A.D. Chang Shao followed Liu Ch'ung and was very probably killed with him. Cf. *Hs* 99A.27a,b.

226. *Liu Chia*<sub>1s</sub> 劉嘉, title, Marquis Leading by the Rules of Proper Conduct 帥裡侯, was a cousin to the father of Liu Ch'ung Marquis of An-chung. When the latter revolted in 6 A.D., Liu Chia went to the palace and humbly begged pardon of Wang Mang, who pardoned him, and so Liu Chia presented a highly-complimentary memorial to Wang Mang, composed by Chang Sung. He was made Marquis, with the income of 1,000 households in Tu-Yen in Nan-yang commandery. In 10 A.D., he was granted the imperial surname Wang. Liu Chia was a very popular name in Former Han times; the histories mention 20 persons by this name. Cf. *Hs* 99A.27b-29b; 99B.14a.

231. *Po*<sub>5</sub> 亳 was the name of the two capitals of the Yin dynasty, and of several other cities. King T'ang the Victorious first established his capital at the southern P'o, which was located northwest of the present Shang-ch'iu 商邱, Honan. Then he moved to the western Po, which was located fourteen *li* west of the present Yen-shih 偃師, Honan. Cf. *Mh* I, 176, n.3; *Shina Rekidai Chimei Yoran*, p. 537. *Po*<sub>5</sub> was the name of an ancient kingdom of the Western Jung defeated by Duke Ning 寧公 of Ch'in in 713 B.C. Its king was made to flee to the Jung. Its king's name was also T'ang. Hence this place has been confused with a capital of the Yin dynasty, Po. Szu-ma Cheng says, in a note to *Skk* 5.15, "The prince of the Western Jung was entitled King of Po. He was probably a descendant of [King] T'ang the Victorious. His town was called T'ang<sub>1</sub>-she 蕩社. Hsü Kuang 徐廣 says, 'It is also written T'ang<sub>2</sub>-tu 湯杜, meaning T'ang's town in the borders of Tu prefecture (*q.v.*); hence it is called, T'ang-tu."

Liang Yü-sheng (fl. 1785) remarks that the two words *t'ang* 蕩 and 湯 were interchanged and suggests that *tu* was originally a gloss to explain the location of

T'ang's town, became introduced into the text, and then corrupted to *she*, so that the name of the place was simply T'ang. Huangfu Mi 皇輔謚 (215-282) says, "The King of Po was called T'ang. It was a state of the Western Jung." Chavannes in *Mh* II, 19 & n.2 mistakenly reads the name of this place as Hao 毫. This Po was in Han times a commune in the prefecture of Tu, the present Tu-ling 杜陵, Shensi. Chavannes, *Mh* I, 176, n.3 notes three places by the name of Po. Karlgren *BMFEA* 18.210, n. 1 says the exact location of the three (or two) Po can never be solved.

232. *Tu-yen* 杜衍 {32-33:14/11} was a city, prefecture, and marquisate in the Nan-yang commandery, located, according to the *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih*, 23 li southwest of the present Nan-yang, Honan. The marquisate was held by Wang Chu 王翥 (翳) and his descendants, Fu 福, Shih-ch'en 市臣, She 舍, Ying-jen 郢人, and Ting-kuo 定國. The marquisates of Kao-ling 高陵 and Yi-ling 宜陵 were also established in this prefecture. In 6 A.D., Liu Chia<sub>ip</sub> was given the income of 1000 households at Tu-yen. Cf. *Hs* 28Aii.9a; 16.35b; 99A.29b.

232. The *Marquis Leading by the Rules of Proper Conduct* 帥裡侯 or 師裡侯 was a title given in 6 A.D. to Liu Chia. Cf. *Hs* 99A.29b and n.29.3.

232. The *Marquis of Pure Virtue* 淑德侯 was a title given to Chang Sung in 6 A.D. as the result of preparing a memorial that delighted Wang Mang. Cf. *Hs* 99A.29b.

233. The *Prefect of Stationing in the Watches* 率更 {*HFHD* has "chief leader of conscripts"} was an official of the Heir-apparent's entourage with duties like those of the Superintendent of the Imperial Court to the emperor. Yen Shih-ku, in a note to *Hs* 19A.19a says, "He had charge of knowing the degrees on the clepsydra [i.e., the time], hence he was called *shuai-keng* (lit. the stationer in night-watches)." The *Han-chiu-yi* (1st cent.) B.3b however says, "The Prefect of Stationing in the Watches was ranked at a thousand piculs. He had charge of [the Heir-apparent's] Bodyguard and the members of his suite. The fallen Hsin [dynasty] changed [his title] to be the Palace Stationer in the Watches. He had one Assistant, who was ranked at 400 piculs. Cf. also *Han-kuan ta-wen* 4.4a. *HHS*, Tr. 27.3b.

233. The *Palace Bodyguard* 中庶子 were officials of the Heir-apparent. The *Han-chiu-yi* (1st cent.) B.3a says, "The duties of the five Palace Bodyguards were like those of the Palace Attendants [in the imperial court]. They were ranked at 600 piculs." Cf. also *Han-kuan ta-wen* 4.3a. There were also two other varieties of bodyguards, the Bodyguards Members of the Suite, and the Bodyguards.

234. *Wang K'uang*<sub>1a</sub> 王匡, title, Marquis of the Same Mind [as the Ruling Governor] 同心侯, was a son of Wang Shun. He was enfeoffed as Marquis in Jan./Feb. 7 A.D. In 11 A.D. he preceded his father as Wang Mang's Grand Master. In 19 A.D., he was Marquis as Recompense to [the House of] Hsin 褒新侯. Cf. *Hs* 99A.30a; 99B.17b; 99C.6b, 16b, 17a, 18b, 19a, 21a, 28b. *HHs*, Mem. 1 sub Liu Hsüan & Liu P'eng-tzu; Mem. 4, sub King Wu of Ch'i, Liu Yin; Mem. 13, sub Tou Yung. In 22 A.D., as Grand Master, he was sent east against the bandits. In the summer of that year, after he had put down the rebellion at Wu-yen 無鹽, he was made a Duke. After Wang Mang was killed on Oct.25, Wang K'uang<sub>1a</sub> surrendered at Lo-yang; he was sent to Yüan, where Emperor Keng-shih had him executed.

234. *Marquis of the Same Mind* [as the Ruling Chancellor] 同心侯 was the title given by Wang Mang in Jan./Feb. 7 A.D. to Wang K'uang. Cf. *Hs* 99A.30a.

234. *Wang Lin*<sub>2</sub> 王林, title, Marquis Delighting in Virtue 說德侯, was a son of Wang Shun. He was enfeoffed as Marquis in Jan./Feb. 7 A.D., because of his father. After the date 21 A.D., he is mentioned as Palace Attendant, Marquis of Like Delights 同說侯 and General of Agile Cavalry. In 23 A.D., he became General of the Guard. After Wang Mang had been killed in 23 A.D., Wang Lin surrendered and was executed. Cf. *Hs* 99A.30a, 99C.11b, 24a, 28b; *HHs*, Mem. 14, sub Ma Yüan

234. *Marquis Delighting in Virtue* 說德侯 was the title given by Wang Mang in Jan./Feb. 7 A.D. to Wang Lin. Cf. *Hs* 99A. 30a. Yen Shih-ku says that the first word of this phrase should be read as 悅.

234. *K'ung Shou* 孔壽 was a grandson of K'ung Kuang. He was enfeoffed as Marquis of Accordance of Ideas 合意侯 in Jan./Feb. 7 A.D. because of his grandfather. Cf. *Hs* 99A.30a.

234. *Marquis of Accordance of Ideas* 合意侯 was the title given in Jan./Feb. 7 A.D. to K'ung Shou by Wang Mang. Cf. *Hs* 99A.30a.

234. *Chen K'uang* 甄匡 was a grandson of Chen Fang. In Jan./Feb. 7 A.D., Wang Mang had him made Marquis of Mutual Assistance 並力侯 because of his grandfather. Cf. *Hs* 99A.30a.

234. *Marquis of Mutual Assistance* 並力侯 was the title given by Wang Mang in Jan./Feb. 7 A.D. to Chen K'uang. Cf. *Hs* 99A.30a.

234. *P'ang T'ien* 龐恬 was a Western Ch'iang who led a rebellion of his people in 6-7 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 99A.30a.

234. *Fu Fan* 傅幡 was a Western Ch'iang who led a rebellion of his people in 6-7 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 99A.30a.

234. *Ch'eng Yung* 程永 was in 6 A.D. Grand Administrator of the Hsi-hai commandery 西海郡. He fled before a rebellion of the Western Ch'iang 西羌 and was executed by Wang Mang. Cf. *Hs* 99A.30a.

234. *Tou K'uang* 竇況, title, Marquis Making the Ch'iang Quake 震羌侯, was a General of Gentlemen-at-the-Palace, who in the winter and spring of 7 A.D. was Colonel Protecting the Ch'iang and crushed a rebellion of the Ch'iang in the Hsi-hai commandery. He was made Marquis Making the Ch'iang Quake. In 8 A.D. he was Chief of Palace Police in the capital and arrested and executed a man at the order of Wang Kuang 王光, for which Wang Mang had him executed. He was probably a cousin of Tou Yung's father. Cf. *HHs*, Mem. 13 *sub voce*; *Hs* 99A. 30a, 33b; ch. 84 sub Chai Fang-chin

235. The *Imperial Wardrobe* 御府 was a eunuch office in the imperial palace, with a Chief and an Assistant. Yen Shih-ku comments, "The Imperial Wardrobe had charge of the clothes and robes of the Son of Heaven." The *HHs*, Tr. 26.6b says that the incumbent of the office "was a eunuch and had charge of the government slave-women who made the palace clothes and robes together with matters of mending and laundering and the like." In 7 A.D. Wang Mang had the marquises bring their gold to this office to receive cash in exchange. In *Hs* 97B.11a the 御者 are plainly chamberlains. This term is sometimes translated "driver", and possibly denoted a driver in the *Yi-li*, but even there it denotes an important and intimate attendant. Cf. *Hs* 19A.16a; *Han-kuan ta-wen* 3.12b; *Hs* 99A.30a, 99C.25a; *Ssk* 30.16=*Mh* III 561.

235. *Chai Yi* 翟義, style Wen-chung 文仲, was a younger son of Chai Fang-chin 翟方進, and distinguished himself by leading a formidable but abortive revolt against Wang Mang in 7 A.D.

When he was young, because of his father, he was given a post as a Gentleman, and promoted slightly to be a Division Chief. When he was in his twentieth year, he

was sent out as Chief Commandant of the Nan-yang commandery 南陽郡. In 67 The Prefect of Yüan 宛, Liu Li 劉立, had married into the family of Wang Ken 王根, and had become well known in the province and commandery. He esteemed Chai Yi lightly, because of his youth. When Chai Yi was performing the duties of the Grand Administrator, he traveled about the prefectures and came to Yüan. An official of the Lieutenant Chancellor was in the traveling lodge, and Liu Li went to see him, bringing wine and food. The official of the Lieutenant Chancellor drank with him. Before he finished, Chai Yi also arrived. An official told Liu Li that the Chief Commandant had just arrived, but Liu Li did not pay any attention. In a moment Chai Yi had himself announced and walked right in, and Liu Li ran out and down the steps. When Chai Yi returned to his lodgings, he was very angry, and as a pretext summoned Liu Li because he had received a present of the equivalent of ten catties of gold and had killed innocent persons. Chai Yi's Divisional Upper-class Official, Hsia K'uei 夏煇 and others arrested Liu Li, and bound him to send him to prison at Teng 登, which was the Chief Commandant's headquarters. Because Yüan was a large city, Hsia K'uei was afraid that Liu Li might be kidnapped from him., so he suggested that Liu Li should be taken along with the Chief Commandant until he returned to Teng. Chai Yi said that it would then be better not to have arrested him. So he had Liu Li carried around the market-place of Yüan in a cart and sent to prison and the officials and common people did not dare to make a move. Thus Chai Yi's majesty shook the Nan-yang commandery.

Liu Li's family sent a light horseman to gallop through the Wu Pass to Wang Ken's home, and the latter told Emperor Ch'eng, who asked the Lieutenant Chancellor, Chai Fang-chin about it. He sent an official to order Chai Yi to free Liu Li, and when Liu Li had been freed, the official returned and reported. Later Chai Yi was sentenced for having broken the law and was dismissed. He became the Grand Administrator of the Hung-nung commandery 弘農郡 and was promoted to be the Grand Administrator of the Ho-nan commandery and the Governor of the Ch'ing Province 青州. He was moved to be the Grand Administrator of the Tung commandery.

After several years, Emperor P'ing died (6 A.D.) and Wang Mang acted as Regent. In his heart Chai Yi hated it, so he said to his older sister's son, Ch'en Feng 陳豐, who came from Shang-ts'ai 上蔡, that Wang Mang had taken the title of Regent and selected the very youngest member of the imperial house and entitled him the Young Prince and was planning to take the place of the house of Han. He, Chai Yi, was in charge of one of the largest commanderies and was planning to raise an army and set up a member of the imperial house as Emperor. (11a) Ch'en Feng was only in his eighteenth year, so he agreed to follow him. Chai Yi sent him to the Chief Commandant of the Tung commandery, Liu Yu 劉宇, to the Marquis of Yen-Hsiang 嚴鄉, Liu Xin<sub>4</sub> 劉信 and to Liu Hsin<sub>4</sub>'s younger brother, the Marquis of Wu-p'ing 武平侯, Liu Huang 劉璜, and formed a league with them. Wang-sun Ch'ing 王孫慶, who came from the Tung commandery, was brave and understood military principles; when he was summoned to the imperial capital, Chai Yi sent a letter falsely accusing Wang-sun

Ch'ing of crime and asking he be arrested and sent back to the Tung commandery.

Then in Oct., 7 A.D., on the day for the annual review, Chai Yi beheaded the Prefect of Kuan 觀令 and so forced his chariots, cavalry, skilled soldiers and ordinary soldiers to follow him, and he enlisted the braves of the commandery. Liu Hsin<sub>4</sub> was a son of the King of Tung-p'ing 東平王, Liu Yin 劉雲, who had been executed. Liu Hsin<sub>4</sub>'s older brother, Liu K'ai-ming 劉開明, had succeeded his father as King, and had died without children, so Liu Hsin<sub>4</sub>'s son Liu K'uang 劉匡 had been made King. Chai Yi raised his troops and joined them with those of the kingdom of Tung-p'ing, and set up Liu Hsin as Son of Heaven. Chai Yi called himself the Commander-in-chief, the Pillar of Heaven, and General-in-chief. He made the Tutor to the King of Tung-p'ing, Su Lung 蘇隆, the Lieutenant Chancellor, and the King's Palace Military Commander, Kao Tan 杲丹, the Grandee Secretary, and he sent a call-to-arms to the commanderies and kingdoms, saying that Wang Mang had murdered Emperor Hsiao-p'ing by poison and arrogantly had taken the title of Regent; now that a Son of Heaven had been set up, all should join in executing the punishment of Heaven.

The commanderies and kingdoms were all startled, and Chai Yi reached the Shan-yang commandery 山陽郡 with a crowd of more than a hundred thousand. When Wang Mang heard of it, he was greatly afraid, and installed (11b) members of his clique and relationship, Sun Chien 孫建, Wang Yi 王邑, Wang Chün 王郡, Wang K'uang 王匡, Liu Hung 劉宏, Wang Ch'ang 王昌, and Tou Hsiung 竇兄 as generals, and sent them to attack Chai Yi. He made Wu Jang 武讓 a general to garrison the Han-ku Pass 函谷關, Lu Ping 逯並 a general to garrison the Wu Pass 武關, Liu Hsin<sub>1</sub> 劉歆 a general to garrison Yüan, Chen Han 甄邯 a general to garrison Pa-shang 霸上, Wang Yün 王惲 a general to garrison the P'ing-lo Lodge 平樂館, (12a) Wang Yen 王晏 a general to encamp north of the city, and Chao K'uei 趙恢 General of the City Gates. All impressed troops and prepared themselves.

Wang Mang daily held the Young Prince and said to his courtiers that just as when King Ch'eng was young and the Duke of Chou was Regent and he had to suffer the rebellion of the King's Uncles of Kuan and Ts'ai, so now Chai Yi had rebelled. So Wang Mang made a "Great Declaration" on the model of that in the *Book of History*, dating it on Nov. 13, 7 A.D. (17b). Then he sent the Grandee Huan T'an 桓譚 and others to publish it abroad.

The various generals went east as far as Ch'en-liu 陳留 and Tzu 菑, where they fought a battle with Chai Yi and routed him, cutting off Liu Huang's head. Wang Mang was greatly delighted and again issued an imperial edict, in which he said that Liu Hsin<sub>4</sub>'s two sons, Liu Chang 劉章 and Liu Yü 劉鮪, Chai Yi's mother, Chien 練, his older brother Chai Hsüan 翟宣, and their relatives and associates to the number of twenty-four persons had already been quartered and exposed in the Ch'ang-an market-place and in the four main streets. He made Sun Hsien 孫賢 and fifty-four others marquises. (18b) They were installed in their noble ranks while in the army.

A general amnesty was proclaimed. Chai Yi was surrounded and besieged in the city of Yü 圍, which was taken by storm; Chai Yi and Liu Hsin<sub>4</sub> left their army and fled. Chai Yi was captured and his corpse quartered in the market-place at Ch'en-tu 陳都, but Liu Hsin<sub>4</sub> was not captured.

Previously when the people in the three capital districts heard that Chai Yi had arisen, the robbers in twenty-three prefectures from Mou-ling and westwards to Ch'ien arose in unison with Chai Yi. Chao Ming 趙明, Ho Hung 霍鴻 and others called themselves generals and attacked and burnt the official buildings, killing the Chief Commandant to the Western Sustainer and the Prefect of T'ai 釐令. They kidnapped officials and common people to the number of more than a hundred thousand. The fires were visible at the Front Hall in the Wei-yang Palace. Wang Mang day and night embraced the Young Prince. He prayed at the imperial ancestral temples. He installed as Generals, Wang Chi 王級 and Yen Ch'ien 閻遷, to go west with Chen Han and Wang Yen to attack Chao Ming and the others.

In Jan./Feb. 8 A.D. Wang Yi and others returned from east of the Han-ku Pass, and led their troops west. Wang Ch'ün had not distinguished himself and was dismissed from his titles. Liu Hsin<sub>4</sub> returned to his former post as the Hsi-and Ho. Wang Yi's younger brother, Wang Ch'i 王奇, was made a general; so were Chao K'uei and Li Chin 李琴. They also went west. In Mar./Apr. Chao Ming and the others were destroyed, the prefectures tranquillized, and the armies returned. Wang Mang held a feast for the generals at which there was a great enfeoffment and installment in offices.

Previously the barbarians of the Yi Province 益州 and the Ch'iang 羌 outside of the Chin-ch'eng commandery Barrier 金城塞外 had rebelled, and the province and commandery had attacked and routed them. Wang Mang therefore enfeoffed at the same time 395 persons as marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons. In Dec. of that year Wang Mang became titular Emperor.

When Chai Yi first raised his troops, the former Prefect of Yüan, Liu Li, asked to be sent to the front to revenge his own feud. Wang Mang made him the Grand Administrator of the Ch'en-liu commandery and enfeoffed him as the Marquis of Brilliant Virtues.

Before the uprising, omens were reported from Chai Yi's home in Ch'ang-an that portended disaster for the Chai family. Wang Mang made a pool of the place, and violated the graves of Chai Yi's father, Chai Fang-chin, and his grandfather in the Ju-nan commandery, burning their coffins with the corpses. He destroyed Chai Yi's three degrees of relatives and buried them together in a pit with thorns and five kinds of poisons. Cf. *Hs* 84.10a-20b.

235. *Yen hsiang* 嚴鄉 was the marquisate occupied by Liu Hsin<sub>4</sub> from 5 B.C. to 7 A.D. Since he was the son of King Yang of Tung-p'ing 東平煬王, and sons of kings were commonly enfeoffed in their father's commanderies, Yen-Hsiang was probably located

in Tung-p'ing (*q.v.*). The first word may originally have been *chuang* 壯 and have been changed because of the taboo on the personal name of Emperor Ming 明帝. Cf. *Hs* 15B.50a.

236. *Huai-li* 槐里 {15/16:4/4} was a city and prefecture of the Yu-fu-feng commandery, located, according to the *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih*, ten *li* east of the present Hsing-p'ing 興平, Shensi. Under the Chou dynasty, this place was known as Ch'üan-ch'iu 犬丘, and King Yi (934-911 B.C.) made it his capital. The kingdom of Ch'in changed its name to Fei-ch'iu 廢丘; in 205 B.C. Kao-tsu changed its name to Huai-li. The Huang-shan Palace 黃山宮, erected in 193 B.C., was in this prefecture. Wang Mang changed the name of the place to Huai-chih 槐治. Cf. *Hs* 28 Ai.31a.

236. *Chao Ming* 趙明 was a man of Huai-li near Ch'ang-an, who became a robber, and in 7 A.D., after Wang Mang had sent his troops east to attack Chai Yi, rose in rebellion with a crowd of almost 100,000 persons. He was routed and executed in Apr./May, 8 A.D. *Hs* ch. 84 sub Chai Yi; 99A.30b, 31a. *Hs* 92.8b, 9b. mistakenly write his name as Chao P'eng 趙朋.

236. *Ho Hung* 霍鴻 was a robber of Huai-li who rebelled against Wang Mang with Chao Ming in 7 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 99A.30, 31a; ch. 84 sub Chai Yi; *Hs* 92.8b, 9b.

236. *Wang Ch'i* 王奇 was a younger brother of Wang Shang, a younger brother of Wang Yi 王邑, and a first cousin of Wang Mang. In the rebellion of Chai Yi in 7 A.D., Wang Ch'i had been a Palace Attendant and was made the General Spreading Majesty 揚武將軍 and sent against Chao Ming. By 9 A.D. he was Marquis Grasping the Majestic Principles 掌威侯. He was implicated in the attempt of Chen Hsün 甄尋 to marry Wang Mang's daughter and was executed about 11 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 99A.30a, 99B.15b-16a, 72.26a note, 84 sub Chai Yi.

236. *Wang Chi*<sub>6</sub> 王級 was in 7 A.D. the Commandant of the Palace Guard, and was made General of the As Rapid As Tigers and sent against Chao Ming. He was made Marquis Making the Majesties Brilliant 明威侯. In 9 A.D., he was made General of the Pass for the Five Majestic Elements at One Point 五威前關將軍. He may have been the same person as the cousin of Wang Mang, Wang Chi 王伋, who is said in *HHs* Mem. 9.1a to have studied the *Lao-tzu* under An-ch'iu Wang-chih 安丘望之. Cf. *Hs* 99A.30a, 31a, 99B.12a; 84 sub Chai Yi.

237. *Yu* 圉 {36/37:4/3} was city and prefecture of the kingdom of Huai-yang, located, according to the *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih*, south the present Ch'i 杞, Honan, at the South Yü 南圉\_Market-town. Wang Mang called it Yi-sui 益歲. In Spring and Autumn times it belonged to the state of Cheng 鄭; in the Warring Kingdoms period it belonged to Wei<sub>s</sub> 魏. Sun Chien defeated Chai Yi at Yü. The Later Han dynasty put it in the kingdom of Ch'en-liu. Cf. *Hs* 28Bii.31b.

237. *Director of Majesty* 司威 was a title borne in 7 A.D. by Ch'en Ch'ung 陳崇, who was an Inspector of the armies sent to attack Chai Yi. Cf. *Hs* 99A.30b. Probably "majesty" refers to Wang Mang's majesty and not to the Five Majestic Principles (the five elements), for this title was used before Wang Mang came to the throne.

238. *The White Tiger Hall* 白虎殿 was one of the buildings in the Wei-yang Palace 未央, in which Wang Mang held a great feast for the generals and leaders who put down the revolts of 7 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 99A. 31a. The *San-fu Huang-t'u* 6.1b merely notes that the *Miao-chi* (by Lu Teng 425-494) says that in the Wei-yang Palace there was a White Tiger Pavillion 白虎閣.

238. *T'u-shan* 塗山 was the name of a tribe (and the locality occupied by this tribe), a daughter of which was said to have been married to Yü 禹, the founder of the Hsia dynasty. This place is said to have been located, according to the *Shina rekidai yoran*, p. 470, eight *li* southeast of the present Huai-yüan 懷遠, Anhui. Cf. *Mh* I, 158 & n. 4. In the *Tso-chuan*, Duke Ai, VII, (Legge p. 814). Yü is said to have called an assembly at T'u-shan

239. The *Meng Ford* 孟津 was a ford of the Yellow River, located, according to the *Shina rekidai chimei yoran*, p. 615, in the present district of Meng-chin, Honan. In the thirteenth year of his reign, King Wu of the Chou dynasty is said to have held a great assembly at this place, at which he delivered the chap. i, bk. V of the *Book of History*. On his attack upon King Chou-hsin 紂辛, he crossed the Yellow River at this place; cf. *ibid.* V, iii, 9 (Legge 314-5); *Hs* 99A.31a.

239. *Prince Millet* 后稷 was a divinity and legendary personage, who was supposed to have lived in the time of the Lords Yao, Shun, and Yu. His clan-name was Chi 姬, his surname was Hou-chi, and his personal name was Ch'i 棄. He was the legendary ancestor of the Chou dynasty. He is said to have been Minister of Agriculture to Yao, to have made boundaries for the fields, and to have taught people to cultivate fields. He planted mulberry trees and hemp and produced silk and linen. When Wang Mang

established a government altar to the gods of the grains in addition to the dynasty's altar to the gods of the grains, Prince Millet was made the coadjutor to receive the offerings to the government gods of the grains. Cf. *Mh* I, 209-211; *Hs* 25B.22b.

238. Sub-Vassals (*fu-yung*) 附庸 is a term used in Mencius V, II, ii, 4 (Legge, p. 374) to note those nobles whose territory was not even fifty *li* square. The chief of such a territory could not have access to the Son of Heaven and consequently attached himself to some other noble. (The translation "sub-vassals" is from Weber.) Wang Mang took over this term, writing it *fu-ch'eng* 附城 and using it for the previous noble rank of Kuan-nei Marquis. Hsiang An-shih 項安世 (d. 1208) in his *Chia-shuo* 家說 7.5a remarked, "People of the Han period probably used the word *ch'eng* to explain the word *yung*. In the ancient writing, *yung* 庸 meant 墉 (a wall); the 'earth' radical was later added to distinguish it." *Fu-yung* also occurs in Tung Chung-shu's *Ch'un-ch'iu Fan-lu* 7.7b, sect. "San-tai kai-chih chih-wen 三代改制質文."

The *Li-chi*, "Wang zhi," 11.2a; III, i, 2 (Legge, I, 209 f; Couvreur, I, 264) says, "[Feudatories whose estates] were not as much as fifty *li* [square] were not admitted [directly to audience with] the Son of Heaven. They were attached (*fu*) to [other] nobles, so were called *fu-yung* (attached fortifications)." Cheng Hsüan glosses, "Small cities 小城 were called *fu-yung*. The *fu-yung* were those who with their states (*kuo* 國) were attached (*fu*) to the large states (*kuo*).

242-3. Recommended by [the Marquis of] Hsin-[tu], Duke (*Hsin-chi*) 新舉公. Wang An 王安, a son of Wang Mang, was made Duke Recommended by the Marquis of Hsin-tu in the spring of A.D. 8. Hsin-chi may have been a new name for his previous marquissate of Pao-hsin, but probably not, for Wang An's brother, Wang Lin, was made the Duke of Pao-hsin, so that Hsin-chi was a new title. [p. My interpretation of Hsin-chü is only tentative. The reference to Wang Mang as Marquis of Hsiu-tu is an anachroism, for in 8 A.D., he had already been made the Duke Giving Tranquillity to the Han dynasty.] Cf. *Hs* 99A.32a.

243. Marquis of Vast Merit 衍功侯 was a title given in the Spring of 8 A.D. to Wang Kuang 王光, a nephew of Wang Mang. In 23 A.D. this title was held by Wang Hsi 王喜. Cf. *Hs* 99A.32a; 99C.24a.

243. Wang Tsung 王宗 was a son of Wang Yü 王宇 and a grandson of Wang Mang. In the spring of 8 A.D. he was made Marquis of Hsin-tu 新都侯. On Jan. 15, 9 A.D. he was made Duke of Eminent Merits 功崇公. In 18 A.D. he was sentenced for having made imperial seals and performances to bring the succession to himself and committed suicide. Wang Mang granted him the posthumous name of Earl Miu 繆伯

(erring earl) of Posthumous Merits and had him buried with the rites of an earl at his former estate. Cf. *Hs* 99A.32a; 99B.1a; 99C.3a,b.

243. *Junior Supporter* 少阿 was a title established in Apr. 6 A.D., after the Young Prince, Liu Ying, had been made Imperial Heir-apparent. Cf. *Hs* 99A.27a.

243. *T'ai-chia* 太甲 was a son of T'ai-ting 太丁, who was the Heir-apparent of T'ang the Victorious, the founder of the Yin dynasty. According to one legend, T'ai-chia was the successor on the throne to T'ang; according to the *Sc* 3, T'ai-ting died before his father did; his younger brother, Wai-ping 外丙, succeeded and died in the third year of his reign; then Chung-jen 仲壬, a younger brother of Wai-ping succeeded. He died in the fourth year of his reign, whereupon Yi Yin, the Chancellor, enthroned T'ai-chia. The orthodox dates for his reign are 1753-1721 B.C.

T'ai-chia showed himself unintelligent and cruel, so Yi Yin imprisoned him in the Tung Palace, and himself exercised the power. In the third year, T'ai-chia repented and Yi Yin restored the power to him. As a temple name T'ai-chia was called the Grand Exemplar (T'ai-tsung). Cf. *Mh*, I, 187 ff., Legge, *Tso-chuan*, p. 488, 491a; *Mencius* V, I, ii, 5 (Legge, p. 236).

243. The *T'ung Palace* 桐宮 was the place in which the Chancellor, Yi Yin, imprisoned his king, T'ai-chia (*q.v.*) when the latter proved himself unintelligent and cruel. Cf. *Mh* I, 188; *Mencius* V, I, vi, 5; (Legge, p. 236). T'ung was the place where T'ang the Victorious was buried, so that this palace should have been located in the present prefecture of Jung-ho 榮河, Shensi.

248. *Wang Chia* 王嘉 was a son of Wang Kuang and a grand-nephew of Wang Mang. When Wang Kuang was forced to commit suicide in 8 A.D., because he had committed murder, Wang Mang had Wang Chia succeed his father as Marquis of Vast Merit. Cf. *Hs* 99A.34a.

249. The *Millenary* 千人 was a subordinate of a general or chief commander. In *Hs* 99A.24a, a millenary is mentioned as the subordinate of the General of Chariots and Cavalry. Cf. *Hs* 19A.

249. *Kuang-jao* 廣藁 was a prefecture, city, and marquisate of the Ch'i commandery 齊郡, located, according to the *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih*, northeast of the present Kuang-jao (the Ch'ing dynasty's Lo-an 樂安), Shantung. It was a marquisate from 80 B.C. to the end of the Former Han period with the marquises Liu Kuo 劉國 and his descendants,

Fang 坊, and Lin 麟. In 8 A.D. a Marquis of Kuang-jao by the name of Liu Ching 劉京 (*q.v.*) is mentioned. Cf. *Hs* 28.Aii.81a; 15A.52a; 99A.34a.

249. *Liu Ching*<sub>1a</sub> 劉京 was in 8 A.D. Marquis of Kuang-jao and memorialized auspicious portents to Wang Mang. Cf. *Hs* 99A.34a. *Hs* 15A.52b states that Liu Lin became Marquis of Kuang-jao in 53 B.C., and his marquisate was ended when Wang Mang usurped the throne. The two other persons by the name of Liu Ching<sub>1</sub> were Liu Ching<sub>1b</sub>, Marquis of Pu-ling 蒲領 (*Hs* 15B.3a) and Liu Ching<sub>1c</sub>, Marquis of Wu-t'ao 武陶 (*Hs* 15B.17a).

249. *Hu Yün* 扈雲 in 8 A.D. a Battalion Commander to the General of Chariots and Cavalry and memorialized auspicious portents to Wang Mang. Cf. *Hs* 99A.34a.

249. *Tsang Hung* 藏鴻 was in 8 A.D. a subordinate to the Grand Guardian and memorialized auspicious portents to Wang Mang. Cf. *Hs* 99A.34a.

250. *Lord of Heaven* 天公 is a title applied to the supreme deity. It was seemingly a term in popular use. Cf. *Hs* 99A.34a. {*HFHD* has "his excellency Heaven."}

250. *Hsin Tang* 辛當 was a Chief of the Ch'ang-hsing *t'ing* 昌興亭 in Lin-tzu 臨淄縣, who in Aug./Sept. 8 A.D. had a dream revealing that Wang Mang, should become actual Emperor. Cf. *Hs* 99A.34a,b.

250. *Ch'ang-hsing* 昌興 was a commune (*t'ing*) in the prefecture of Lin-tzu. Cf. *Hs* 99A.34a.

250. *Chien* 建 was a Chinese constellation which was supposed to have taken its name (which means "to establish") from the fact that it 'fa' established the winter solstice and that it established the beginning of the year. According to Schlegel, *Uranographie Chinoise*, p. 547, *Chien* corresponds to the stars  $2\nu$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\delta$ . 171 of Bode, and  $\xi$  of Sagittarii. {*HFHD* has for this passage, "in the eleventh month, on [the day] *jen-tzu*, which was the day for establishing," understanding 建 as a verb. But with this entry, Dubs apparently corrected this view and understands it as referring to a star.}

251. *The Orchid Tower* 蘭臺 was a tower in the imperial palaces hall where the imperial private library and the imperial records were stored. The prophecies of Kan

Chung-k'o were preserved here. The *Han-kuan yi* (by Ying Shao) says that the foreman clerks at the Orchid Tower had charge of writings, accusations and memorials. Evidently it was the place where government records were preserved. Pan Ku was given a post at this office. There was evidently a tower by this name at the palace in Ch'ang-an and another in Loyang after the imperial government was moved there.

Ying Shao says these clerks were ranked at 100 piculs, whereas *HHs* Tr. 26.11b states that they were ranked at 600 piculs, a rank much too high for foreman clerks, who were elsewhere ranked quite low. However, Szu-ma Piao 司馬表 in the *Treatise* is probably merely copying Ying Shao's (incorrect?) original. The present text has chopped out the two words I put in parenthesis; otherwise the two statements 蘭臺令史 (人秩)百石 are identical.

251. *Kan Chung-k'o* 甘忠可 was a man of the Ch'i commandery who lived in the time of Emperor Ch'eng. He wrote one or two books entitled *T'ien-kuan li* 天官歷 and *Pao-yüan T'ai-p'ing ching* 包元太平經 in twelve rolls, which said that the Han dynasty had come upon a great ending in Heaven and Earth and must receive anew a mandate from Heaven, and that the Lord of Heaven had sent a saint. The Essence of the Red Lord, Ch'ih-ching-tzu 赤精子, down to teach him this doctrine.

Kan Chung-k'o taught Hsia Ho-liang 夏賀良, Ting Kuang-shih 丁廣世, Kuo Ch'ang 郭昌, and others. Liu Hsiang memorialized that Kan Chung-k'o had false spirits and gods, deceived his superiors and misled the crowd, so Kan Chung-k'o was imprisoned. Before he was sentenced, he died of illness (said to have been in 23 B.C.). Hsia Ho-liang (*q.v.*) later used his teachings to influence Emperor Ai; Wang Mang was still later impressed by them. Cf. *Hs* 75.31a,b; 99A.34b; Pelliot, in *T'oung Pao* XIX, p. 411, n. 366, end; *HJAS* July, 1936: 200. Ku Chieh-kang, *Ku-shih-pien* I.474.

251. *Feng* 封 was the given name of the King's Uncle of K'ang 康叔, who was a son of King Wen 文王 of the Chou dynasty of the same mother as King Wu 武王. He was also enfeoffed with Wei 衛. Chapter ix, of Pt. V of the *Book of History* (Legge, 381 ff.) is directed to him. Cf. *Mh* I, 246; IV, 153, f.

253. *Chang Ch'ung* 張充 was a Gentleman Attendant at the Gate who in 8/9 A.D. who plotted with five others to abduct Wang Mang and set Liu Hsü 劉紆, King of Ch'u 楚王, on the throne. The plot was discovered and Chang Chung and the others executed. Cf. *Hs* 99A.35a.

253. *Ai Chang* 哀章 was a man of Tzu-t'ung 梓潼, who in 8 A.D. had come to Ch'ang-an to study but had not distinguished himself except by bragging. When he

heard that Wang Mang wanted to become Emperor, he made a copper casket with covers, which purported to come from the gods and to command Wang Mang to become Emperor. He donned yellow clothes and delivered it to the Supervisor of the Temple of Emperor Kao-tsu. Wang Mang accepted it and ascended the throne. When Wang Mang ascended the throne in 9 A.D., he accordingly made Ai Chang the State General, and Duke Beautifying the Hsin Dynasty. After Wang Mang was killed in 23 A.D., Ai surrendered at Lo-yang and was sent to Emperor Keng-shih at Yüan and executed.

The surname Ai was adopted by the descendants of Duke Ai of Lu (*q.v.*), using his posthumous title as a surname, according to the *Feng-su-t'ung* (by Ying Shao, ca. 110-206). Cf. *Hs* 99A.35a,b; 99B.2a; 99C.19a, 28b. *HHs*, Mem. 1, sub Liu Hsüan.

253. *Tzu<sub>3a</sub>-t'ung* 梓潼 was a city and prefecture of the Kuang-han Commandery 廣漢郡, located, according to the *Ta-Ch'ing yi-t'ung chih*, at the present Tzu-t'ung, in northern Szechuan. Wang Mang renamed it Tzu-t'ung 子同. Cf. *Hs* 28Aiii.64a,b.

254. *Wang Hsing<sub>a</sub>* 王興 was in 8 A.D. a clerk to a Prefect of a City Gate in Ch'ang-an, who, because of his auspicious name, was mentioned in a portent to Wang Mang purporting to come from the gods, which commanded Wang Mang to ascend the throne. In 9 A.D., when Wang Mang ascended the throne, he made Wang Hsing General of the Guard and Duke Upholding the Hsin Dynasty. His wife committed magical imprecations and both were interrogated and committed suicide in 18 A.D.

254. *Wang Sheng* 王盛 was a seller of cakes in Ch'ang-an whose name was mentioned in an order from the gods forged by Ai Chang (*q.v.*), directing Wang Mang to ascend the throne. When Wang Mang ascended the throne in 9 A.D., he made Wang Sheng General of the Van and Duke Exalting the Hsin Dynasty. He died with Wang Mang on Oct. 6, 23 A.D. Cf. *Hs* 99A.35b; 99B.2a,b; 99C.27b.