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Last updated: 12/18/09

Homer H. Dubs
The History of the Former Han Dynasty
GLOSSARY

CHAPTER IX
Emperor Yüan
(r. 48-33 B.C.)

299. *Yüan, Emperor* 元帝. He was born in 74 B.C.; cf. *HFHD* II.299 n 1. Hsün Yüeh 荀悅 says, *sub* his name, “His tabu (name) was the word Shih₅ 奭 and write Sheng 盛.” Ying Shao 應劭 says, “The *Rules for Posthumous Titles* [says], ‘One who acts in accordance with moral and political principles and rejoices in the common people is called Yüan 元 (grand).’” Chang Shou-chieh 張守節 in addition quotes from these *Rules* (*Sc App.* pp. 10b-11a.), “One who is able to discern and distinguish [distinctions] among a multitude [of such] is called Yüan,” and “One who first established the capital of his state is called Yüan,” and “One who makes right moral and political principles of his master and acts virtuously is called Yüan.” In 4 A.D. Emperor Yüan was given the honorific name the Eminent Exemplar 高宗; cf. *Hs* 12.8a, but it was not recognized by the Later Han dynasty, because it had been bestowed by Wang Mang 王莽. The justification for this title was that in his reign Confucianism was first given full governmental approval and support.

301. *The Favorite Beauty néé Chang* 張婕妤 was the concubine of Emperor Hsüan and the mother of King Hsien of Huai-yang 淮陽王憲, Liu Ch'in 劉欽, the favorite son of the Emperor. After the assassination of the Emperor's wife, the Empress néé Hsü 許, and the deposition of the Empress néé Ho 霍, the Emperor favored the Favorite Beauties néé Hua 華, Chang and néé Wei 衛 most of all, especially the second. Of the son of Favorite Beauty Chang, Ch'in, he said, “He is really my son,” and wanted to make him his heir and the Favorite Beauty néé Chang his Empress. But he had previously made the son of his first wife, Shih 奭, his heir-apparent, and, fearing further attempts to assassinate the boy, such as those by the Empress Dowager néé Shang-kuan 上官, he had selected a trusty concubine who had no children and made her his Empress néé 王.

303. *Hsü Chia* 許嘉, title Marquis Kung of P'ing-en 平恩共侯 was the son of a brother of Hsü Kuang-han 許廣漢 (*q.v.*) and the father of the Empress néé Hsü of Emperor Hsiao-ch'eng 孝成帝. In 48 B.C. he was a Regular Palace Attendant, and was appointed Marquis of P'ing-en in succession to Hsü Kuang-han to keep up the sacrifices to his uncle. In 46 B.C. he was made General of the Left. In 41 B.C. he was also Commandant of the Palace Guard, and on Nov. 19 was made Commander-in-chief and General of Chariots and Cavalry. On Sept. 12, 30 B.C. he was granted a present of money and dismissed. He died in 27 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 19B.37b, 38b, 41a, 18.14b, 9.2a, 25B.12a, ch. 59.12a, 70.5a, 10b, 79.3a, 73.13a, 97B.1a.

303. *P'ing-en* 平恩 {17:4/3} was a city, prefecture, and marquisate in the Wei Commandery, located, according to the *Ta-ch'ing Yi-t'ung-chih* 大清統志, west of the present Ch'iu 丘 Hsien, in the Ch'ing dynasty's Lin-ch'ing 臨清 Fu, western Shantung. This marquisate was occupied by Hsü Kuang-han and his successors, Chia 嘉, K'uang 況, Tan 旦, and Ching 敬. Cf. *Hs* 18.14b, 28Aii.49b.

303. *Pao*_{1a} 褒 was an imperial Household Grandee who was sent by Emperor Yüan in May 48 B.C. to travel around and inspect the country. His surname has been lost. Cf. *Hs* 9.2b.

306. *Liu Ching*₄ 劉竟, title King Ai 哀 of Chung-shan 中山 was the son of Emperor Hsüan 宣 by the Favorite Beauty neé Jung 戎婕妤. On April 18, 47 B.C. Emperor Yüan, his older brother, made him King of Ch'ing-ho 清河王. In the third year (*Hs* 14.23a says "the fifth year") he was moved to be King of Chung-shan 中山, but because of his youth he did not go to his kingdom. On July 11, 35 B.C. he died in his princely palace at the capital and was buried at the Tu Tomb 杜陵, so that evidently he did not come to maturity. He had no children and his kingdom was disestablished. His mother, the queen Dowager, returned to live with her mother's family, the Jung clan. Cf. *Hs* 80.9b, 14.23a, 9.3a, 12a.

306. *Liu Pa*_a 劉霸, title King Hsiao of Kuang-ling 廣陵王孝 was the son and Heir-apparent of Liu Hsü 胥 (*q.v.*), who had been made King of Kuang-ling, but had committed suicide in 54 B.C. for treason and whose kingdom had been disestablished. On May 3, 47 B.C., Emperor Yüan made Liu Pa King of Kuang-ling. He reigned to thirteenth year and died in 35 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 63.17a, 14.20b, 9.3a.

306. *Yi-ch'un*₆ 宜春, the Lower Park 下苑 at. Meng Kang 孟康 says that this place is the name of an imperial palace east of the Tu 杜 Prefecture, but Chin Zhuo 晉灼 points out that the *Skk* 6.110 (*Mh* II, 215) says that the Second Emperor was buried in the Yi-ch'un Park, south of Tu. Yen Shih-ku says that this park was in his time the Ch'u-chiang pond 曲江池 at the southeast corner of the capital (Ch'ang-an). Cf. *Hs* 9.3a. For this location, cf. *sub* Tu-ling.

307. *Huan-tao* 獬道 {22-23:5/8} was a city and prefecture of the T'ien-shui 天水 Commandery. A Chief Commandant of Cavalry's office was located at this city. In 47 B.C. an earthquake damaged this place very severely. It was located, according to the *Ta-ch'ing Yi-t'ung-chih*, northeast of the present Lung-hsi 隴西 [the Ch'ing dynasty's Kung-ch'ang Fu 巩昌府], Kansuh, north of the Wei River. Cf. *Hs* 28Bi.3a,b, 9.3b.

310. The *Palace Writers* 中書 (p. Internuncios) were private secretaries to the Emperor. They were eunuchs. This position was established by Emperor Wu 武帝 when he spent much time in his harem and wanted as his secretary someone who could go in and out and sleep in the harem. These officials were abolished by Emperor Ch'eng 成帝 in 29 B.C. [p. Palace Writers (*chung-shu*) is merely short for the full title above (*T'ang Liu-tien*).] There were Chief and Assistant Palace Writers. They were subordinate to the Privy Treasurer. Cf. *Hs* 19A.16a, 10.4b; *Han-kuan ta-wen* 1.10b-11b. Cf. *Hs* 19A.8b-9b also *sub* Master of Writing 尚書; the title Palace Master of Writing 中尚書, is used in *Hs* 93.4b.

310. *Shih Hsien* 石顯, style Chün-fang 君房, was one of the "imperial favorites." He was a eunuch, a favorite of Emperor Yüan, and largely controlled the government during Emperor

Yüan's reign, injuring and compelling the subservience of even the highest ministers. He came from the Chi-nan 濟南 commandery. He and Hung Kung 弘恭 both when young were sentenced for violation of the law and castrated, then were made members of the imperial Palace Yellow Gate, and later selected to be Palace Masters of Writing. In the time of Emperor Hsüan they were used in the office of the Palace Writers.

Hung Kung was experienced in the law and in ancient affairs and good at writing memorials, so was capable in fulfilling his duties. Hung Kung became a Chief and Shih Hsien a Supervisor of the Palace Writers. Hung Kung and Shih Hsien were responsible for the death of Hsiao Wang-chih 蕭望之. Several years after Emperor Yüan had ascended the throne, Hung Kung died and Shih Hsien took his place as Chief Palace Writing.

At this time Emperor Yüan was ill and did not himself attend to government, but loved and encouraged music. Because Shih Hsien had been in charge of the palace business for a long time and had no outside connections, was attentive and reliable, the government was entrusted to him, and without respect to large and small affairs, Shih Hsien himself decided matters. He was favored above all others in the court and the officials all respected and served Shih Hsien. Hung Kung and Shih Hsien were supported by Shih Kao 石高 (no relative), the Commander-in-chief.

As a man, Shih Hsien was clever and wise, experienced in government, and able to anticipate the hidden desires of the Lord of Men. But he was very deep and liked to harm others, arguing falsely to wound and injure others. If anyone hated him and did even the slightest thing, he always put him in danger of the law.

During the period 48-44 B.C. the General of the Van Hsiao Wang-chih, together with the Imperial Household Grandee Chou K'an 周堪 and the Superintendent of the Imperial House Liu Keng-sheng 劉更生 {向} all served in the palace. Hsiao Wang-chih was Controller of the Business of the Masters of Writing, and knew that Shih Hsien monopolized the power and was evil-minded, so he proposed to the Emperor that since the Masters of Writing were the most important of all the officials and the pivot of the state, it would be proper to use intelligent and upright persons in that position. Emperor Wu had taken his pleasure in the harem, and had consequently used eunuchs for this position, which was not an ancient regulation. [p. It was also contrary to the principle (in the *Li-chi* 1A.269, Legge, XXVII, 90) that a person who had been punished should not be allowed to be by the side of a prince,] so that it would be proper to dismiss the eunuchs who were Palace Writers. Emperor Yüan did not listen to him. For this reason Hsiao Wang-chih was deeply hated by Shih Hsien, and was later injured by him and caused to commit suicide. Cf. *Hs sub* Hsiao Wang-chih. Chou Kang and Liu Keng-sheng were dismissed and not again employed in official position.

Later the Grand Palace Grandee Chang Meng 張孟, the Grand Administrator of the Wei Commandery, Ching Fang 京房, the Assistant Palace Secretary Ch'en Hsien 陳咸, and the Expectant Appointee Chia Chüan-chih 賈捐之 spoke to the Emperor about Shih Hsien's faults. Shih Hsien sought out their crimes; Ching Fang and Chia Chüan-chih were publicly executed; Chang Meng committed suicide in a public chariot and Chen Hsien suffered for his crime by having his head shaven and being made to build the fortifications and patrol at dawn. The Prefect of Cheng 鄭, Su Chien 蘇建, secured a private letter of Shih Hsien and memorialized it; later for some other matter he was sentenced and died. From this time the

highest officials and all ranking under them feared Shih Hsien greatly.

Shih Hsien formed a cabal with the Supervisor of the Palace Writers Lao Liang 牢梁 and the Privy Treasurer Wu-lu Ch'ung-tsung 五鹿充宗, and all the members of the cabal obtained imperial favor and high positions. A popular song criticized the cabal.

When Shih Hsien saw that the General of the Left, Feng Feng-shih 馮奉世 and his son occupied the highest positions and were famous, and his daughter was in the palace as a Brilliant Companion, he wanted to attach himself to Feng Feng-shih. So he recommended to the Emperor the Brilliant Companion's older brother, the Internuncio Feng Ch'ün 馮遂, as being cultivated and a proper person to be close to the emperor. When Feng Ch'ün begged for a private interview, the Emperor heard him say that Shih Hsien monopolized the power, and became angry, dismissing Feng Ch'ün to return to the office of the Gentlemen. Later when the office of Grandee Secretary was vacant, the officials all recommended the older brother of Feng Ch'ün, the Grand Herald Feng Yeh-wang 馮野王, saying that his conduct was the best. The Emperor asked Shih Hsien about it, and the latter replied that because Feng Yeh-wang was a relative of the Emperor's Brilliant Companion, later generations would say that the Emperor played favorites, so that Feng Yeh-wang was not given the position and was dismissed.

Shih Hsien was afraid that the Emperor would listen to criticism of him and change his attitude toward him, so he continually investigated who among the officials was against him. He told the Emperor that he was afraid he would return late and could not enter the palace, so asked for an order to open the palace gates for him. The Emperor did so, and Shih Hsien purposely returned at midnight, and because of his order, had the gates opened and entered. Later someone wrote the Emperor informing that Shih Hsien had without authorization had the palace gates opened. The Emperor opened the accusation, laughed, and gave it to Shih Hsien. The latter wept and said that people were jealous of him, and that he feared he would be injured by them, and asked to be put in charge of the sweepers and cleaners in the harem. The Emperor pitied him and agreed. Afterwards he was granted many favors; his grants and the bribes he received were so great that the property he bequeathed amounted to ten million cash.

Previously Shih Hsien heard the people say he had killed Hsiao Wang-chih, who was a famous Confucian scholar, so he was afraid that the Confucians hated him. So when Kung Yü 貢禹, a scholar of the classics and a constant gentleman became a Grandee-remonstrant, Shih Hsien sent someone to tell him that he wished him well and wanted to join with him. Then he recommended Kung Yü to the Emperor, and he was promoted successively the position of Grandee Secretary. Critics thereupon said that Shih Hsien had not envied and slandered Hsiao Wang-chih. In this way Shih Hsien falsely got out of trouble.

Shih Hsien now lost his influence, and the Lieutenant Chancellor and the Grandee Secretary memorialized to Emperor Ch'eng the former evil acts of Shih Hsien. The members of his cabal, Lao Liang and Chen Shun 陳順 were dismissed. Shih Hsien together with his wife and son were exiled and sent back to their home. On the way he refused to eat from worry, became ill, and died. It seems to have been abundantly proved that many eunuchs, depending upon their power, secretly married girls of good families. All those who had joined with Shih Hsien were dismissed. The Privy Treasurer Wu-lu Ch'ung-tsung 五鹿充

宗 was degraded and sent to the Hsüan-t'u 玄菟 Commandery as Grand Administrator; the Palace Assistant Secretary, Yi Chia 伊嘉, became the Chief Commandant of the Yen-men 雁門 Commandery. A popular song celebrated these dismissals. Cf. *Hs* 93.4b-6b, 78.9b.

310. *Hung Kung* 弘恭 was a man of the Pei 沛 Commandery, who, when young, was sentenced to be castrated, and with Shih Hsien (*q.v.*) was made a member of the imperial palace Yellow Gate, and hence selected to be a Palace Master of Writing. In the time of Emperor Hsüan he was employed in the office of the Palace Writers. He was experienced in the law and in ancient matters and good at writing memorials, so was suited for his duties and became the Chief Palace Writer. Several years after Emperor Yüan ascended the throne, he died. Cf. *Hs* 93.4a, 9.4b, 36.6a-19a, 78.9b-12b.

310. *Expectant Appointee* 待詔 was a title given to those who had been recommended to the Emperor from the commanderies and kingdoms, and had not yet been given any positions in the official hierarchy. [p. Ying Shao 應劭 says, “[This title] means that they have been summoned because of their ability, but have not yet been given a real official position.” (comment in ch. 11) In a note to 11.5a Ying Shao says, “They had been summoned because of their ability and skill, but did not yet have any actual office, hence they were called Expectant Appointees.” There were however such positions as Expectant Appointee Assisting on Materia Medica 副佐本草待詔 (*Hs* 25B.15a) who could only expect promotion to some other position than the one he held. The Expectant Appointees became occupants of semi-permanent positions in the various central government offices, who did much of the government work. In the staff of the Grand Astrologer, for example, there were 37 Expectant Appointees, each of whom had special duties; cf. *HHs* T 25.1b, Liu Zhao's 劉昭 note.] This title seems to appear first in the time of Emperor Hsüan but it may have been earlier. *Hs* 88.24a says that he had three persons “await the imperial commands [i.e., be Expectant Appointees; the same words are used] in the Pao 保 Palace.” These expectant Appointees were expected to advise the Emperor and were given an allowance. Cf. also *Hs* 9.4a, 93.5a, 65B.15a; *Han-kuan ta-wen* 2.6a.

310. *Chia Chüan-chih* 賈捐之 style Chün-fang 君房 was the great-grandson of Chia Yi. [p. He was influential in determining the Han policy towards outlying dependencies, but was deprived of official position by Emperor Yüan's favorite eunuch, Shih Hsien, whom Chia Chüan-chih criticized in response to the Emperor's request for admonition.

When Emperor Hsüan first ascended the throne, he memorialized the successes and failures of the government and was summoned to be an Expectant Appointee in the Golden Horse Gate .

Previously Emperor Wu had attacked Nan-yüeh 南越 and in 110 B.C. established the Tan-erh 儋耳 and Chu-yai 珠崖 Commanderies (in present Hainan), which together included 16 prefectures, more than 23,000 households. The people of these commanderies were violent and evil and several times violated the prohibitions of the officials sent there; hence the officials treated them tyrannically. Every several years there was a rebellion, in which they killed the officials. The Chinese regularly sent troops to attack and subdue them. From the

date of establishing these commanderies down to 86 B.C., a period of more than 20 years, there were six rebellions. In 82 B.C. the Tan-erh commandery was abolished and its territory united with that of the Chu-yai Commandery. In 59 B.C. three prefectures of the Chu-yai Commandery revolted. In the seventh year later, 53 B.C., nine prefectures revolted, and an army put the revolt down. In 48 B.C. the commandery again revolted and troops were sent to attack it. The prefectures revolted all the more and were not subdued for several years.

The Emperor then discussed with his high officials sending a great army, but Chia Chüan-chih argued that these people should not be attacked, and the Emperor sent Wang Shang 王尚 to question Chia Chüan-chih. He replied that the territory of the three sage-kings, Yao, Shun, and Yü was only several thousands of *li* square and did not extend to the south beyond the Man 蠻 and Ching 荆. The Ch'in dynasty first went farther in its lust for territory without considering the harm thereof, but its territory did not go farther than Min-yüeh 閩越. Emperor Wen 文 pitied the people, hence reduced the poll-tax to 40 cash and required public service from the people only once in three years, so that by 117 B.C. the granaries were overflowing and the cash in the capital could not be counted. Then Emperor Wu began his military expeditions, and the taxes could not bring in enough, robberies and thefts arose, the people became impoverished, and rebellions arose within the country. All this was because the empire was too large and military expeditions did not cease. Now (48 B.C.) in Ch'i and Ch'u there is much distress. A military expedition to an island in the south will not rescue the people from their distress. The loss of the Chu-yai commandery would not matter. If it is not attacked, there would be no loss of honor. Its people are like fish and turtle, why should they be converted? The previous expedition against the Ch'iang 羌 had cost more than 400,000 cash, so that when the money of the Grand Minister of Agriculture (the state treasurer) was exhausted, the Privy Treasurer had been called upon to make up the deficit. He asked that the Chu-yai commandery be abandoned and the money used to help the poor east of the Han-ku 函谷 Pass.

The Grandee Secretary Ch'en Wan-nien 陳萬年 thought the Chu-yai Commandery should be attacked, but the Lieutenant Chancellor Yü Ting-kuo 于定國 replied that in previous years 11 military commandants had been sent there, and only two returned; and more than ten thousand men had died on the way there; and more than 300,000,000 cash had been expended. He approved of Chia Chüan-chih's ideas, and the Emperor followed them. An edict announced the abolition of this commandery.

Chia Chüan-chih was summoned to imperial audiences several times, and much of his advice acted upon. But Shih Hsien (*q.v.*) was Chief Palace Writer, and Chia Chüan-chih several times spoke of Shih Hsien's shortcomings. For that reason he was not given official position, and later rarely saw the Emperor. Chia Chüan-chih was good friends with the Prefect of Ch'ang-an, Yang Hsing 楊興, who told him that high position could not be obtained without the good will of Shih Hsien. So Chia Chüan-chih wrote a memorial proposing the noble rank of Kuan-nei Marquis for Shih Hsien, praising Yang Hsing and proposing he be made Acting Governor of the Capital. Shih Hsien heard of it, and told Emperor Yüan, who had both Chia Chüan-chih and Yang Hsing sent to prison. Shih Hsien and Wang Chin 王禁 memorialized that Chia Chüan-chih and Yang Hsing had hypocritically recommended each other in order to get high position, and had revealed palace secrets,

deceiving the Emperor and committing inhumanities. Chia Chüan-chih was finally publicly executed; Yang Hsing escaped death by one degree; his head was shaven, an iron collar put around his neck, and he was made to build the fortifications and patrol at dawn. In the time of Emperor Ch'eng he rose to be commandery traveling inspector. Cf. *Hs* 64B.15a-21a.

310-11. The *White Crane Lodge* 白鶴館 was located in the funerary park of Emperor Wu at the Mou Tomb 茂陵. It burnt on Apr. 21, 46 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 9.4b; *San-fu huang-t'u* 6.5b.

311. *Liu Tsung*_{1a} 劉宗, title King Hsiao of Ch'ang-sha 長沙孝王, was the younger brother of Liu Tan 劉旦 (*q.v.*) and the son of Liu Chien-te 劉建德, who was a descendant of Emperor Ching 京. In the summer of 46 B.C. he was made king by Emperor Yüan, after the kingdom had been disestablished for three years following the death of Liu Tan without heirs. He died in 43 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 14.16a, 53.13b, 9.4b

311. *Liu Tan*_{4b} 劉旦, title King Yang of Ch'ang-sha 長沙煬王, was the son of Liu Chien-te and the great-great-grandson of Liu Fa 劉發, King Ting of Ch'ang-sha 長沙定王, a son of Emperor Ching. He ascended the throne in 49 B.C. and died the next year without heirs. His kingdom was disestablished until 46 B.C. when his brother was made king. Yen Shih-ku in a note to 43.13b and Mr. Cheng 鄭氏 (fl. dur. 265-317) (in a note to 9.4b) say that his posthumous title should be pronounced as the latter character in the phrase 供養. In the latter passage, the present text says that the note is also by Yen Shih-ku, but Ch'ien Ta-chao 錢大昭 remarks that the Southern Sung ed. (1531) and the Fukien ed. (1549) writes, "Mr. Cheng"; the Official ed. does likewise. Cf. also *Hs* 14.15b.

311. *Liu Tai-tsung* 劉代宗, title Marquis Li of Hai-hun 海昏釐侯, was the son of Liu Ho 劉賀 (*q.v.*), who had been King of Ch'ang-Yi 昌邑. After his father's marquisate had been abolished in 59 B.C. upon his father's death, Emperor Yüan enfeoffed Liu Tai-tsung in 46 B.C. It is not said when he died. Cf. *Hs* 15B.13a, 63.22a, 9.5a.

313. *Shen* 參 is a zodiacal constellation composed of the stars $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta, \epsilon, \zeta, \chi, 42, \theta, \tau$ Orionis, according to J. Ueta, {*Shih Shen's Catalogue of Stars: The Oldest Star Catalogue in the Orient*. Publications of the Kwasan Observatory, 1.2. Kyoto : Kyoto Imperial University, [1930], 26} with δ Orionis as the principal star.

314. *Po-chia* 北假 {21-22:1/5-2/7} was a region in the present Sui-yüan 綏遠, north of the northern bend of the Yellow River. Tung Yu-ch'eng 董佑誠 (1791- 1823) says, "From the present O-erh-t'ai 阿爾泰 Mountains continuing east to the Urad 烏喇特 and south to the Yellow River all is the ancient region of Po-chia." {*水經注圖說殘稿* n. p.: 會稽章氏重刊, 光緒六年八月[1880]; rpt. Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1972, 2.25a.} (The *Shui-ching* 水經 (by Li Tao-Yüan 李道元 d. 527) 3.6b says, "The northern [branch of the Yellow] River... [flows] south and bends past the city of Ho-mu 河目 in [the region of] Po-chia [p. Wang Hsien-ch'ien, in a note to *Hs* 94A.5a says, "Po-chia was north of the [Yellow] River. In my opinion the Ho-mu Prefecture was in north-western [part of] the Urad [territory]." Mr.

Ch'eng-feng Ma 馬乘風, in his *Chung-kuo Ching-chi Shih* 中國經濟史, vol. 2, p. 313, suggests that 北假 should be read 分假; making the phrase in 9.6a refer to a "bureau for appraising and renting land." Apart from the fact that the officials who levied taxes would be more capable of appraising land than those in a special renting bureau, there is abundant evidence for a place by this name.] Ho-mu was a city of the Han dynasty's Chiu-Yüan 九原 Commandery, located, according to the *Ta-ch'ing Yi-t'ung Chih*, "west of the ancient city of Chiu-Yüan. It must have been south of the Yang Mountains 陽山 and southeast of Kao-ch'üeh 高闕 (*q.v.*), in the region of the northern [branch of the Yellow] River." Cf. *Hs* 28Bi.33b. *Hs* 94A.5a says that the troops of Meng T'ien 蒙恬 "also crossed the [Yellow] River and occupied the Yang Mountains in [the region of] Po-chia." *Hs* 99B.16b says that Chao Ping 趙並 was sent to the northern border and returned, reporting that in Po-chia of the Wu-Yüan 五原 Commandery the land was rich and produces grain. Cf. also *Mh* II, 168 & n 7.

317. *Kung Yü*_a 貢禹, style Shao-weng 少翁 (d. 43 B.C.) was a Confucian who rose to be Grandee Secretary under Emperor Yüan, and made many detailed suggestions regarding the economizing of government expenditures, so that his memorials reveal much concerning the economic arrangements of the times. He came from the Lang-ya 琅邪 Commandery. Because he understood the Classics and regulated his conduct he became well-known, was summoned to court, and made an Erudit and later Inspector of the Liang 涼 Province. He became ill and left his office. Later he was recommended as a capable and good person and made the Prefect of the Ho-nan Prefecture. After more than a year, he was reprimanded by an official of the Commandery Grand Administrator's office for his official conduct, whereupon he resigned.

When Emperor Yüan had first ascended the throne, he summoned Kung Yü to be a Grandee-remonstrant, and the Emperor several times very modestly asked Kung Yü about the government. In those years there were bad harvests, and the commanderies and kingdoms were in distress, so Kung Yü memorialized the emperor that in ancient times the imperial harem numbered no more than nine women, only eight horses were fed in the imperial stables, the walls and carriages were not ornamented, the parks and gardens did not extend more than several tens of *li*, the taxes were only one-tenth, and there were no other taxes, the people were only required to serve three days a year. In the time of Emperors Kao-tsu, Hsiao-wen, and Hsiao-ching, the ancient restraint was practised, and the harem did not have more than ten odd women, and the stables a hundred odd horses. Emperor Hsiao-wen wore heavy silk and shod himself with leather; his utensils were not ornamented or decorated with silver and gold. But later generations of emperors strove to be extravagant and their courtiers imitated them. The Grandees had for a long time usurped the prerogatives of the Son of Heaven, and the Son of Heaven violated the Way of Heaven; so that the remedy is in the hands of the Emperor, and he should economize. The Three Offices for Garments in Ch'i 齊 三服官 do not ship more than ten hampers, but now each of the Three Offices for Garments in Ch'i has several thousands of workmen, and the yearly expense of each runs to several hundred millions of cash. In the Shu 蜀 Commandery and in Kuang-han 廣漢 the officers in charge of gold and silver vessels each year use five million cash and the Three Offices for

Workmanship expend fifty million cash. The Eastern and Western Weaving Chambers are similar. Ten thousand horses are fed in the Imperial Stables. Kung Yü said that he once accompanied the Emperor to the Eastern Palace (the Empress Dowager's palace) and saw the utensils for eating there; they are not such as can be used in eating by a subject, and the expense of the Eastern Palace is incalculable. The people are suffering from a great famine and dying without being buried, and eaten by animals. Cannibalism is practised, yet the horses in the imperial stables have food and suffer from over-fatness. The imperial harem is overfilled with women and the musicians are overly numerous. He said that great economy in the carriages, clothing, and utensils was in order, as much as two thirds, that only twenty women should be kept in the Harem. The childless women at the various funerary parks should be sent home, except for those several hundred at the Tu Tomb (that of Emperor Hsüan). Several tens of horses are enough for the Stables. Much of the imperial parks should be remade into cultivated fields.

The Emperor accepted much of Kung Yü's advice and in 44 B.C. reduced his expenses. Kung Yü was promoted to be an Imperial Household Grandee. Soon Kung Yü again memorialized the Emperor, saying that he was poor, the property of his home was not fully ten thousand cash. He had had 130 *mou* of land, but had sold a hundred *mou* to provide himself with a carriage and horses. He had been installed as a Grandee-remonstrant with the rank of equivalent to 800 piculs, and received 9200 cash monthly from the Grand Provisioner, besides various gifts of silk, clothing, wine, and meat from the Emperor at the four seasons. He had also been installed as an Imperial Household Grandee with the rank of equivalent to 2000 piculs and a monthly salary of 12,000 cash and greater grants, so that his family became more wealthy and he himself more honorable. He said that it was more than he deserved. He was now in his 81st year. He asked to retire to his home to die there. The Emperor however refused, and after several months, made Kung Yü the Privy Treasurer of the Ch'ang-hsin Palace 長信宮, and when the Grandee Secretary Ch'en Wan-nien 陳萬年 died, on Aug. 4, 44 B.C., Kung Yü was made Grandee Secretary.

Kung Yü several times spoke to the Emperor about his successes and faults, and wrote several tens of memorials. He said that anciently there were no poll-taxes, and that the poll-money (cf. *HFHD* II.170 n 8.7) began when Emperor Wu needed money for his military expeditions. Beginning with the third year, a child had to pay poll-money, so that there was much infanticide. So Kung Yü suggested that in the seventh year a child first pay the poll-money and in the twentieth year pay the poll-tax.

He also said that anciently gold and cash were not used as money, so that unless each man farmed, others would starve. Now the government cast cash and mined iron, which employed more than a hundred thousand convicts a year. Since a farmer feeds seven persons, because this number of persons are not farming, 700,000 persons per year go hungry. This mining causes visitations. Merchants take 20% interest and do not pay the land tax or tax on produce, whereas farmers must pay both, so that not half of the people farm. The office for pearls, jade, gold, silver, and the casting of cash should be abolished, and they should not again be used as money. Merchants should not be allowed to buy and sell in the market places or in the countryside, and only the land should be taxed. The taxes, salaries, and imperial grants should all be in cloth or grain, and have the people all return to agriculture and

revert to the ancient advantageous situation. He also suggested that the guards at the separate palaces and at the Ch'ang-lo Palace 長樂宮 should be reduced in half, in order to diminish the people's required service.

He also said that the more than a hundred thousand government male and female slaves played around without working, and the good people paid five or six hundred thousand cash of taxes to support them. They should be freed and made common people and supported from the granaries, while they guarded the frontiers. Officials should not be allowed privately to buy and sell and make money from the people; if they do so, they should be dismissed from their offices and noble ranks.

In the time of Emperor Wen, verdicts were only pronounced upon 400 cases [cf. *HFHD* II.275 n 1]. Emperor Wu established money commutation for crimes, so that crime and disorder increased, so that people said it is useless to be virtuous. People who had committed crimes became officials, and, although their actions were animal, yet they became rich, and thought themselves capable. Thus manners and virtue decayed, because of these commutations for crime and not obtaining really capable officials. Such commutations should be abolished, and those who recommend people that are not really capable or refuse to recommend capable persons should be executed, not merely dismissed from office.

The Emperor ordered that the poll-money should first be paid for children in their seventh year. He also disestablished the palaces and lodges in the Shang-lin Park 上林苑 which were rarely visited. He did away with the guard at the Chien-chang 建章 and Kan-ch'üan 甘泉 Palaces, and reduced by half the guard at the temples to the vassal kings. Although his other suggestions were not acted upon, yet Emperor Yüan approved his spirit. Kung Yü also memorialized that the imperial ancestral temples in the commanderies and kingdoms should be abolished and that rites should be established for the abolition in turn of the worship of the distant ancestors of the Han dynasty. All this had not yet been worked out when he died on Jan. 17, 43 B.C., after being Grandee Secretary for only a few months. The Emperor granted him a million cash and made his son a Gentleman. Cf. *Hs* 72.9b-16a, 19B.37b, 38a.

317. *Ku Chi* 谷吉 was a Chinese envoy who was killed by the Hun Shan-yü Chih-chih 禪于郅支. In the time of Emperor Hsüan, both the Shan-yü Hu-han-hsieh 禪于呼韓邪 and his rival, the Shan-yü Chih-chih sent their sons to enter the Chinese court and wait upon the Chinese Emperor. After Hu-han-hsieh had personally come to court and submitted himself, he was protected by the Chinese, and Chih-chih sent an envoy to the Chinese court asking for his son, and offering falsely to come and submit. The Major of the Palace Guard, Ku Chi, was ordered to accompany the son. The Grandee Secretary Kung Yü 貢禹 and the Erudit K'uang Heng 匡衡 said that the son should be accompanied only to the border, but Ku Chi argued that he should be accompanied to the Shan-yü's court. The Emperor approved that suggestion, and in Jan. 42 B.C. Ku Chi went out, but when he reached the Shan-yü Chih-chi's court, Chih-chih killed him. Chih-chih fled to Sogdiana, where the King gave him his daughter to wife, but the Chinese finally secured vengeance upon him. Cf. *Hs* 70.5b-6b, 85.1a, 9.7a.

314. *The Three Offices for Garments in the Ch'i Commandery* 齊三服官] seem to have been three imperial ateliers for the manufacture of fine silks and garments, located in Lin-tzu 臨淄, in the Ch'i Commandery. Li Fei 李斐 (prob. iii cent.) writes, "The kingdom of Ch'i formerly possessed the office of the Three [Kinds of] Garments. In the spring it presented [to the Emperor] all three kinds [of garments]: hats, conical caps, and silk fillets for the hair, as garments for the head; brilliant white silk and natural colored silk as winter garments; and light unbleached silk as summer garments." Ju Shun 如淳 (fl. dur. 189-265) adds, "The Treatise on Geography (*Hs* 28Bii.62a) says, 'The [region of] Ch'i [produces] hats, girdles, clothes, and shoes the empire,' and the old gentleman Hu 胡公 said, 'The ruler of the office for clothes had embroidery made in order to furnish the garments which are tunics [figured] with dragons.' *Hs* 28 [Ai.83a says that] in Hsiang-yi 襄邑 there was also an Office for Garments." Yen Shih-ku says that Li Fei's explanation is correct, and says that Hsiang-yi produced embroideries, the Three Offices for Garments at Ch'i did not.

But Wu Jen-chieh 吳仁傑 (ca. 1137-1199) writes, "The Treatise on Geography [*Hs* 28 Aii.80a, says that] the Lin-tzu Prefecture in the Ch'i Commandery 'possessed offices for garments,' which are those called the Three Offices for Garments, probably meaning that it possessed Offices for Garments in three localities. It does not say that they were for garments for the head, winter garments, and summer garments, and that the offices were named accordingly. Kung Yü [in *Hs* 72.10a, in his memorial which brought about Emperor Yüan's edict abolishing these Three Offices in 114 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 9.6a and Glossary, *sub* Kung Yü] says, 'In each of the Three Offices for Garments, the workmen [number] several thousand persons.' It says 'each', hence we know that they were not one [office]... Hsiang-yi also had an Office for Garments, only it was not abolished, probably because it presented dragon [figured] tunics [for the Emperor] and the like, which, according to the *Rites*, could not be lacking. The Three Offices for Garments in Lin-tzu yearly 'transported its goods in not more than ten [bamboo] hampers' [*Hs* 72.10a], which [goods] were ... all light and fine, yet 'the yearly expenses of each numbered several hundred millions [of cash].' These [institutions] could certainly be dispensed with. [Kung] Yü also said, 'In the Three Offices for Workmanship [probably in the Shu and Kuang-han Commanderies] or in the {Eastern} Park 東園 the official expenses are fifty million [cash],' which likewise says that the expense for each separate office was that much. If, according to the explanation of Li [Fei] and Yen [Shih-ku], the Three Offices for Garments took their name from the three [kinds of] garments, then can the Three Offices for Work also be named after the three [kinds of] work?" Wang Hsien-ch'ien approves of Wu Jen-chieh's account. Cf. *Hs* 9.6a, 11.3a.

323. Feng Feng-shih 馮奉世, style Tzu-ming 子明, was a famous Chinese traveler and general who went to Ferghana 大宛, subjugating Yarkhand on the way, and became a high official under Emperor Yüan.

He came from Lu 潞 of the Shang-tang 上黨 Commandery and moved to Tu-ling 杜陵. His ancestor, Feng T'ing 馮亭 had been the Commandant of the Shang-tang Commandery for the state of Han_h 韓. When the state of Ch'in had attacked Shang-tang and cut the T'ai-hsing Road 太行道, the state of Han_h could not protect it, so Feng T'ing entered the city of Shang-tang and guarded it for the state of Chao 趙, and Chao had made him the

Laird of Hua-yang 華陽君. He died in battle at Ch'ang-p'ing 常平. Because of this his clan had been scattered, some had stayed at Lu and others in Chao. The latter distinguished themselves, some being generals for the state of Ch'in, and officials under the Han dynasty.

At the end of Emperor Wu's reign, Feng Feng-shih was selected to be a Gentleman because he came from a good family. In the time of Emperor Chao 昭帝, because of his achievements, he was given a vacancy as the Chief of the Wu-an Prefecture 武安長, and later lost his post at the age of 30 odd. Then he studied the Spring and Autumn and secured its general principles; he read the *Military Methods* 兵法 and understood it clearly.

Because of a memorial by the General of the Van, Han Tseng 韓增, Feng Feng-shih was made Chief Army Minister of Crime. During the period Pen-shih 本始 (73-70 B.C.) he was with the army in attacking the Huns. When the army was demobilized, he again became a Gentleman.

Previous to this time, the Chinese had several times sent out armies to the Western Regions, but they had many times shamed the Emperor's order and had proved incompetent or avaricious, and the foreign states had suffered from their avarice. At this time the Wu-sun had successfully attacked the Huns and the states of the Western Regions had become peaceful again, so that the Chinese could deal successfully with them and wished to keep them at peace, hence wanted to select someone to be sent there.

The General of the Van, Han Tseng, recommended Feng Feng-shih to be a Captain of the Palace Guard and to be sent, with credentials 持節, to accompany the guests from the various states and Ferghana back to their homes. When he came to Miran 伊循城, he was told the the King of Yarkhan 莎車王, Wan-nien 萬年, who had been set up by the Chinese, had been killed, together with the Chinese envoy, and that west of Shan-shan 善鄯 both roads, north and south of the desert, were closed. Feng Feng-shih and his assistant Yen Ch'ang 嚴昌 decided that if Yarkhan was not quickly attacked, it would become stronger and would endanger the western region. So by means of his credentials he ordered the kings of the various states to mobilize their armies along the southern and northern roads, and collected 15,000 men to advance and attack Yarkhan. The city of Yarkhan was taken by storm and its King committed suicide; his head was sent to Ch'ang-an. The states were pacified, and his majesty shook the western region, then he de-mobilized the army.

When Emperor Hsüan heard of it, he summoned Han Tseng and congratulated him for having recommended Feng Feng-shih.

Then Feng Feng-shih went west to Ferghana. When that state heard that he had taken the head of the King of Yahrkan, it honored him more than other envoys. He secured a horse named "Like a Dragon" and returned to China.

The Emperor was pleased and ordered the officials to discuss enfeoffing him. The Lieutenant Chancellor and Generals all said that he should be given a noble enfeoffment, but the Privy Treasurer, Hsiao Wang-chih argued that Feng Feng-shih should not be given an enfeoffment. So in 48 B.C. the Emperor made Feng Feng-shih Imperial Household Grandee and Chief Commandant of Waters and Parks. The same year he was made Chief of Palace Police [p. Bureau of the Golden Mace 執金吾] in the Capital.

More than ten thousand Hu who had surrendered to the Chinese Chief Commander of Dependent States in the Shang 上 Commandery and fled away, and a Hun king who had

surrendered at the end of Emperor Chao's reign also rebelled with several thousand men under the control of the Hsi-ho 西河 Commandery. Feng Feng-shih was each time sent with credentials and troops to pursue and attack them.

When the General of the Right and Director of Dependent States Ch'ang Hui 常惠 died, Feng Feng-shih was made General of the Right in 46 B.C. and Director of Dependent States in 44 B.C.; the title of Inspector of Officials was added and in 41 B.C. he was made General of the Right and Superintendent of the Imperial Household.

In the autumn of 42 B.C. the Ch'iang 羌 of the Lung-hsi 隴西 Commandery rebelled, and the Emperor summoned Wei Hsüan-ch'eng 韋玄成, Cheng Hung 鄭弘, Wang Chieh 王接, Hsü Chia 許嘉, and Feng Feng-shih to discuss the matter. This year there had been no harvest, and in the capital grain was more than 200 cash per picul; in the border commanderies it was 400 cash, east of the Han-ku Pass, it was 500 cash, and there was famine everywhere. The other officials had no advice to offer, but Feng Feng-shih said that if a rebellion so close to the capital were not punished, the distant barbarians would be affected. The Emperor asked him how many troops he would need. He said that the rebels numbered 30,000; according to the rule, 60,000 troops would be needed; but the Ch'iang and Jung 戎 use merely bows and arrows, and their weapons are not so good; 40,000 men for one month would be sufficient. The other consultants said that because of the harvest, many troops could not be mobilized, and it would be enough to guard the frontiers with ten thousand troops. Feng Feng-shih replied that the barbarians commonly despise the frontier officials, and if they saw the frontiers weakly defended, more trouble would ensue, and more than 40,000 troops would be needed.

Feng Feng-shih was sent with 12,000 cavalry with the title of General of Border Encampments. He sent two Colonels out to reconnoiter, and he and they reported to the Emperor that 36,000 additional troops would be enough to put down the rebellion. The Emperor instead sent 60,000 troops, with Jen Ch'ien-chiu 任千秋 as the General Who Displays His Military Might as his superior. Feng Feng-shih memorialized that he was willing to accept the troops, but did not need the General-in-chief because of the expense involved. The Emperor in a letter consoled and blamed him, and he accepted Jen Chien-chiu as his superior. In the tenth month (Nov./Dec.) 42 B.C. the troops all reached Lung-hsi, and in the eleventh month (Dec./ Jan.) they advanced together and the Ch'iang were routed severely and several thousand of heads taken, and all fled out of the barriers.

In Mar./Apr. 41 B.C. Feng Feng-shih returned to the capital and became General of the Left and Superintendent of the Imperial Household as previously. He was made a Kuan-wei 關內 Marquis with the income of 700 families and granted 60 catties of actual gold. In 40 B.C. he died. He had been an important official for ten years and his fame was next to that of Chao Ch'ung-kuo 趙充國. Cf. *Hs* 79.1a-6b, 19B.36h, 37a, 38a, 9.9a.

323. *Jen Ch'ien-ch'iu* 任千秋, style Chang-po 常伯, title Marquis Kang of Yi-yang 弋陽剛侯, entitled, the General Displaying his Military [Might] 奮武將軍 (in *Hs* 79), was the son of Jen Kung 任宮. He assisted in subduing the rebellion of the Ch'iang in 42 B.C.

In 47 B.C. he succeeded to his father's marquisate, and in 45 B.C. became Grand Master of Ceremonies. When the Ch'iang rebelled, in Sept./Oct. 42 B.C., he was made the

General Displaying his Majesty (or his Military Might) 奮威(武)將軍 and was sent against the Ch'iang. In 31 B.C. he became Chief of Palace Police in the Capital, in 30 B.C. he became General of the Right, and in 29 B.C. he became General of the Left. He died in 27 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 9.9a, 79.4b, 5b, 6a, 17.27a, 19B.37b, 41a,b.

323. *Chi₄-yang* 濟陽 {36-37:4/3} was a city and prefecture of the Ch'en-liu 陳留 Commandery, and probably for 8 years a kingdom. It was located, according to the *Ta-ch'ing Yi-t'ung Chih* 113.35b, 50 *li* north of the present Yi-feng, in the Ch'ing dynasty's K'ai-feng 開封 Fu, Honan. For more than 7 years, from Apr./May 41 B.C. to 34 B.C., Liu K'ang 劉康 was King of Chi-yang, which was possibly this place. Cf. *Hs* 28 Ai.84b; *Shina Rekidai yoran*, p. 232.

323. *Wang Chieh₅* 王接, title Marquis K'ao 考侯 of P'ing-ch'ang 平昌, was the son of Wang Wu-ku 王無故, who was the oldest son of the old dame Wang, the maternal grandmother of Emperor Hsüan. He succeeded to his father's marquisate in 57 B.C. In 48 B.C. he became Palace Military Commander. On Nov. 24, 43 B.C. he was a Palace Attendant and was made Commander-in-chief and General of Chariots and Cavalry. He died on June 11, 41 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 9.9a, 18.15a, 19B.36b, 38a,b, 97A. 20a-21b *sub* the Lady néé Wang of the Imperial Grandson, 79.3a.

323. *Liu K'ang_{1a}* 劉康, title King Kung 共 of Ting-t'ao 定陶 was the son of Emperor Yüan by the Brilliant Companion néé Fu 傅昭儀. In Apr./ May 41 B.C. he was made King of Chi-yang 濟陽王. In 34 B.C. he was transferred to be King of Shan-yang 山陽王, and in 27 B.C. he was transferred to be King of Ting-t'ao 定陶王. When he was young, he was beloved by his father, and when he grew up he showed much ability and skill, being expert and knowing in music. The Emperor valued him. His mother, the Brilliant Companion was moreover favored by the Emperor, so that he almost took the place of the Heir-apparent. Cf. *sub* the Empress néé Wang of Emperor Yüan 元皇太后王 and *sub* Shih Tan 史丹. When Emperor Ch'eng came to the throne, he conformed to the will of his father and predecessor, so he treated Liu K'ang especially well, differently and better than the other Kings. He died on Oct. 16, 23 B.C. Since Emperor Ch'eng had no sons, he made Liu K'ang's heir, Hsin 欣, his Heir-apparent, and he succeeded to the throne as Emperor Ai 哀帝. Emperor Ai posthumously entitled his father Sovereign Kung 共皇, and built for him a funerary apartment in the imperial ancestral temple at the capital, giving him the same order in the temple as Emperor Yüan. Cf. *Hs* 80.9b, 10a, 14.23a, 10.7a.

327. *The Shou-ling Commune* 壽陵亭 was a division of the Wei-ch'eng 渭城 Prefecture (*q.v.*), near the present Ch'ang-an, Shensi, where the tomb of Emperor Yüan was built. Cf. *Hs* 9.10a.

329. *The Lodge for Shooting Bears* 射熊館 was the gate of the Ch'ang-yang Palace 長楊宮 (*q.v.*) at Chou-chih 周至, Shensi. Yen Shih-ku says that the first word of this name is pronounced 食亦反 (pres. *shih⁵*). Cf. *Hs* 9.10b.

329. *The Gate Towards the Eastern Capital* 東都門 (Tung-tu Men) was the northernmost gate of the inner city-wall of Ch'ang-an on the eastern side, or the gate to the outer city wall corresponding to it. The *San-fu huang-t'u* 2.9a says, "The first city gate of the Ch'ang-an wall wall on the eastern [side] beginning at the north was called the Hsüan-p'ing Gate 宣平城門. Among the common people it was called the Tung-tu Gate.... The gate of the corresponding outer city wall is also called Tung-tu. Ju Shun, in a note to *Hs* 9.10b quotes this passage, attributing the name Tung-tu specifically to the outer city wall gate. *Hs* 99C.26b, however, shows that this name was also applied to the inner gate, and that among the common people it was called merely the Capital Gate 都門. This was plainly the most used gate of Ch'ang-an, for through it went troops and travellers to central and western China. Cf. *Hs* 99C.17a.

329. *Liu Yüan*^{2b} 劉元, title King of Ho-chien 河間王, was the son of King Hsiao 孝 of Ho-chien, Liu Ch'ing 劉慶, and a descendant of Emperor Ching. He ascended the throne in 54 B.C. He took as his concubines the concubines of former King Li 厲 of Kuang-ling 廣陵, Liu Hsü 劉胥 (who had no good reputation), of the Heir-apparent of King Li, Liu Pu-chou 劉不周 (不害), together with Lien 廉, a concubine of King Huai 懷 of Chung-shan 中山, Liu Hsiu 劉脩. During the period 53-50 B.C., the Inspector of the Chi 冀 Province, Chang Chang 張敞, memorialized these matters, and the case was sent to the Chief Justice, who was ordered to arrest and summon Lien and the others. Liu Yüan compelled all seven of them to commit suicide. The high officials begged that Liu Yüan be executed, but the Emperor commuted the punishment to taking away from his kingdom two prefectures and from his income that of 11,000 households.

Later Liu Yüan became enraged at one of his Junior Maids, Liu-kuei 留貴, and Liu-kuei escaped over the wall, got out. She was going to inform on Liu Yüan, so Liu Yüan had someone kill Liu-kuei's mother. The high officials memorialized that Liu Yüan was a cruel assassin who did not repent and should not rule over a kingdom. He was dismissed in the winter of 38/7 B.C. and exiled to Fang-ling 房陵 and his kingdom abolished.

After he had lived there some years, he was sentenced for having become angry with his wife, Jo 若, when the two were out riding in a carriage with crimson wheels, and having had her beaten and compelling her to shave her own head. The Grand Administrator of the Han-chung 漢中 begged that Liu Yüan be punished, but Liu Yüan died. His younger brother was later made King of Ho-chien. Cf. *Hs* 53.2b-3a, 14.13b, 9.10b.

330. *Liu Hsing*_{1a} 劉興, title King Hsiao of Chung-shan 中山孝王, was the son of Emperor Yüan by the Brilliant Companion néé Feng 馮昭儀. On July 13, 37 B.C. he was made King of Hsin-tu 信都. In 23 B.C. he was transferred to be King of Chung-shan. When the matter of heir to Emperor Ch'eng was under discussion, the Grandee Secretary K'ung Kuang 孔光 said that in the *Book of History*, under the Shang dynasty, a younger brother succeeded an older brother, but Emperor Ch'eng thought that Liu Hsing did not have enough ability; the Wang clan and the Brilliant Companion néé Chao 趙昭儀, moreover, both wanted to make Liu Hsin, a nephew of Liu Hsing, the Heir-apparent. When that appointment was made on

Mar. 20, 8 B.C., Liu Hsing's maternal uncle was at the same time made a marquis, and Liu Hsing was given the additional income of 10,000 households. He died on Sept. 13, 8 B.C. His son later became Emperor P'ing 平帝. Cf. *Hs* 80.10a,b, 14.23b, 9.11a, 10.15a,b.

330. *Hsin-tu*_a 信都 {17:3/3} was a commandery, kingdom, and city. The commandery had its headquarters and the kingdom its capital at the city of Hsin-tu, which was located, according to the *Ta-ch'ing Yi-t'ung Chih*, at the present Chi Hsien 冀縣 (the Ch'ing dynasty's Chi Chou 冀州), in south central Hopei. Hsin-tu was established as a commandery by Emperor Kao-tsu in 201 B.C. Previously the region was part of the Ch'in dynasty's Han-tan 邯鄲 Commandery. In 155 B.C. it became the kingdom of Kuang-ch'uan 廣川, and in 153 was renamed the Hsin-tu Commandery. In 148 B.C. it was again made the kingdom of Kuang-ch'uan until 50 B.C., when it again became the Hsin-tu Commandery. In July 37 B.C. it became the kingdom of Hsin-tu, with Liu Hsing as king; in 23 B.C. it again became a commandery. In 5 B.C. it again became the kingdom of Hsin-tu with Liu Ching 劉景 as king. In 8 A.D. the kingdom was abolished. Cf. *Hs* 28Bii.20b, 21a,b, 14.22b, 23b.

330. *Chang Po* 張博 style Tzu-kao 子高, was a maternal uncle of Liu Ch'in 劉欽, King of Huai-yang 淮陽. He misled and duped his royal nephew, securing much money from him on false pretenses of bribing Shih Hsien. He was discovered and executed by being cut in two at the waist in Dec./Jan. 37-6 B.C. An account of his machinations is given in connection with Liu Ch'in (*q.v.*). Cf. *Hs* 9.11a, 27Bii.13b, 75.5b-11a, 80.1a-5a, 11a.

330. *Ching Fang* 京房 style Chün-ming 君明, was an authority on the *Book of Changes* who dared to admonish Emperor Yüan against his favorite eunuch Shih Hsien, and was done to death by the latter.

He came from Tun-ch'iu 頓丘 in the Tung 東 Commandery. He studied the *Book of Changes* under Chiao Yen-shou 焦延壽, and was praised by his teacher, whose interpretation stressed visitations and portents, dividing them along the 64 hexagrams. It also used phenomena of the sun, the wind, rain, cold and heat.

In 45 B.C. he was recommended as a filially pious and incorrupt person and became a Gentleman. During the period 45-34 B.C. the Western Ch'iang rebelled, there were solar eclipses, and the weather was cloudy and misty. Ching Fang several times memorialized the Emperor fortelling the future either several months or a year ahead, and his predictions frequently were correct. The Emperor summoned him frequently and questioned him. He suggested a method of examining into the merits of officials.

The Emperor had the ministers and courtiers discuss his methods, and they reported that his teaching was troublesome and fragmentary, and would cause superiors and inferiors to spy upon one another; hence they could not be approved. But Emperor Yüan inclined to him. At that time the Inspectors came to the capital to memorialize matters, and they too disapproved of Ching Fang. Only the Grandee Secretary Cheng Hung 鄭弘 and the Imperial Household Grandee Chou K'an 周堪, who at first had disapproved of him, later approved him.

At this time the Chief of the Palace Writers, Shih Hsien controlled the government.

Shih Hsien's friend, Wu-lu Ch'ung-tsung 五鹿充宗, was Chief Master of Writing and an authority on the same classics as Ching Fang, but disagreed with him in its interpretation.

In a tactful conversation, Ching Fang pointed out that the disorder in the universe was caused by the Emperor's entrusting of affairs to Shih Hsien. The Emperor called Ching Fang and asked him to send some disciples who understood Ching Fang's method of testing officials. Ching Fang asked to stay in the Palace Hall, so as to avoid being hampered in communication with the Emperor. But Shih Hsien and Wu-lu Ch'ung-tsung hated Ching Fang, and wanted to send him to a distant place, so they said he should be made a Commandery Administrator of the Wei 魏 Commandery with the rank of 800 piculs. He asked and was given the privilege of not being under the supervision of the provincial inspector.

When Ching Fang realized that he had been hampered by the influential Shih Hsien and Wu-lu Ch'ung-tsung, and had been sent away as a Grand Administrator by them, he worried and feared. On Mar. 3, 37 B.C. and at other times he sent the Emperor sealed letters, saying that he feared he would be killed, just as Chao Kao 趙高 killed the Erudit Cheng Hsien 正先. A month after he had had an imperial audience, Ching Fang was arrested and sent to prison.

Chang Po, the maternal uncle of King Hsien of Huai-yang, had studied with Ching Fang and had given Ching Fang his daughter as a wife. Each time Ching Fang was received in an imperial audience, he told Chang Po what he had said. Chang Po suggested that the King of Huai-yang be asked by the Emperor to come to court and assist Ching Fang. Chang Po suggested to Ching Fang a plan to rearrange the incumbents of important ministerial offices. He got Ching Fang to draft a memorial asking the King of Huai-yang to come to court. Chang Po wrote the whole thing to the King of Huai-yang. Shih Hsien knew all about it; when Ching Fang was in the capital, Shih did not dare to say anything about it; but when Ching Fang was sent away as an Administrator, he informed on Ching Fang and Chang Po that they were plotting criticism of the government and throwing the blame upon the Emperor, and that they were misleading a vassal king. Cf. *sub* Liu Ch'in. In Dec./ Jan. 37/6 B.C. Ching Fang and Chang Po were both publicly executed; Cheng Hung was dismissed and made a commoner.

Ching Fang was originally surnamed Li 李; in accordance with the principles of the musical notes he himself fixed his surname as Ching. When he died he was in his forty-first year, so that he was born in 77 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 75.5b-11b, 88.10a-b, 9.11a, 30.4a. He started a school of interpretation for the *Book of Changes*. Cf. Feng Yu-lan. *Chung-kuo Che-hsueh Shih*, p. 560 ff., {Feng. *History of Chinese Philosophy*, 2.109-13.}.

331. *Wei Hsüan-ch'eng* 韋玄成, style Shao-weng 少翁, title Marquis Kung of Fu-yang 扶陽共侯 (d. 36 B.C.), was the fourth and youngest son of Wei Hsien 韋賢 (*q.v.*). Like his father he became a Confucian scholar and rose to be Lieutenant Chancellor.

Because of his father's position, he became a Gentleman and Regularly Attending Cavalryman. When he was young, he loved study, and followed in his father's footsteps, and was especially humble towards gentlemen who were his inferiors. His fame spread daily. Because of his knowledge of the Classics, he was selected to be a Grandee-remonstrant and

promoted to be the Chief Commandant in the Ta-ho 大河 Commandery.

Previously Wei Hsüan-ch'eng's older brother Wei Hung 韋弘 had become the Assistant Grand Master of Ceremonies and was put in charge of the imperial ancestral temples and towns supporting the imperial tombs. The duties of that position were very troublesome and numerous, and its incumbent was susceptible to many crimes and faults. His father, Wei Hsien wanted Hung, because he should be his heir (Although he was the second son), to resign, but Wei Hung wanted to be humble, so did not leave his position. So when Wei Hsien was seriously ill, Wei Hung had already been indicted for something in connection with the imperial ancestral temple and was imprisoned. His guilt had not been decided when his clan asked Wei Hsien who should be his heir. Wei Hsien was angry and was unwilling to name an heir, so a student in Wei Hsien's household, the later Erudit Yi Ch'ien 義倩, and others discussed the matter with the Wei clan and together forged an order purporting to be that of Wei Hsien, and had the proper official of the household memorialize it to the Grand Messenger, to the effect that the Chief Commandant of the Ta-ho Commandery, Wei Hsüan-ch'eng, should be the Heir.

When Wei Hsien died, Wei Hsüan-ch'eng was in office and heard it said that he was to be the heir, and knew that it was not the will of his father for him to be the heir. So after the burial, when he should have succeeded to the marquisate, he pretended to be ill, wetting his bed and talking nonsense, and refused to be the heir. The Grand Herald investigated, and suspected that Wei Hsien-ch'eng wanted to yield the marquisate to his older brother. The Lieutenant Chancellor and Grandee Secretary finally memorialized Emperor Hsüan that Wei Hsüan-ch'eng was not really ill, and the Emperor ordered him not to be prosecuted, but to be installed. Wei Hsüan-ch'eng accordingly could not refuse and in 61 B.C. was enfeoffed as Marquis of Fu-yang; Emperor Hsüan esteemed his self-sacrifice, and made him the Grand Administrator of the Ho-Wan Commandery and made his older brother Wei Hung, the Chief Commandant of the T'ai-shan 太山 Commandery, and promoted him to be the Grand Administrator of the Tung-hai 東海 Commandery. After several years, in 58 B.C., Wei Hsien-ch'eng was summoned and made the Commandant of the Wei-yang 未央 Palace Guard and in 56 B.C. promoted to be Grand Master of Ceremonies. In 54 B.C. he was sentenced because he was a good friend of Yang Yun 楊惲 (*q.v.*) and, with the rest of Yang Yün's friends, dismissed from his position. Later, when as a marquis he was to attend to the sacrifices in the Temple of Emperor Hsiao-hui, in the morning, when he entered the Temple, it was raining and wet, and he did not come in a quadriga, but rode a horse to the Temple. A high official memorialized the fact, and in 53 B.C. he, with his group of several persons, was degraded in noble rank. He was made a Kuan-wei Marquis. He composed a poem condemning himself because he had lost his father's marquisate.

Previously King Hsien 憲 of Huai-yang, Liu Ch'in, the son of Emperor Hsüan's favorite concubine, the Favorite Beauty néé Chang, had liked government, and understood the laws, and the Emperor wanted to make him his heir. But because his Heir-apparent had been born when the Emperor was a commoner and had lost his mother when he was young, the Emperor did not make the change. Afterwards Emperor Hsüan wanted Wei Hsüan-ch'eng to influence Liu Ch'in according to the rules of proper conduct and yielding to others, so he summoned Wei Hsüan-ch'eng and made him the Palace Military Commander in Huai-yang.

At this time the King had not yet gone to his kingdom, so Wei Hsüan-ch'eng received an imperial command to discuss the similarities and differences in the Five Classics, together with the Grand Tutor of the Heir-apparent Hsiao Wang-chih and the scholars of the classics, in the Shih-ch'ü Hall 石渠閣 and memorialize in detail their results.

When Emperor Yüan ascended the throne, in 48 B.C. he made Wei Hsüan-ch'eng the Privy Treasurer, and in 47 B.C. made him the Grand Tutor of the Heir-apparent. On Nov. 17 (?), 43 B.C. he was made Grandee Secretary, {The actual date of Wei's appointment as Grandee Secretary is unclear. Cf. 司馬光 《資治通鑑》北京:中華書局,1956, 28.911. This appears to be Dubs' best estimate.) and on Mar. 3, 42 B.C. he became Lieutenant Chancellor and on the same day was reappointed to his former marquissate. He wrote a poem on the circumstance.

Wei Hsüan-ch'eng was Lieutenant Chancellor to the seventh year. In carefully performing the duties of his position, he was not as good as his father Wei Hsien, yet in brilliance he surpassed his father. He died on Aug. 5, 36 B.C.

Kung Yü had memorialized that [p. Emperor Kao-tsu had ordered that at their capitals the vassal kings should each establish a Temple to the Grand Emperor 太上皇廟. Emperor Hui had honored the Temple of Emperor Kao-tsu with the title of the Temple of the Great Founder 太祖廟; Emperor Ching had honored the Temple of Emperor Hsiao-wen with the title of the Great Exemplar 太宗廟. The commanderies and kingdoms which these emperors had favored with a visit established Temples to the Great Founder and to the Great Exemplar. In 72 B.C., Emperor Hsüan again honored the Temple of Emperor Hsiao-wu with the title of the Temple of the Epochal Exemplar 世宗廟 and at the places to which he had gone likewise established temples to him. Hence in the 68 commanderies and kingdoms there were altogether 167 imperial ancestral temples. Moreover at the imperial capital, for Emperor Kao-tsu down to Emperor Hsüan, precluding the Grand Emperor and the Deceased Imperial Father Tao 悼皇考 (Liu Chin 劉進) {father of Hsüan-ti}, for each of whom there was a tomb (*ling* 陵), besides which had been established a temple, there were 9 more persons to be worshipped. In their funerary parks for each there was a funerary chamber and a side-hall. By days sacrifices were made in the funerary chambers, by month sacrifices were made in the temples, and by seasons sacrifices were made in the side-halls. In the funerary chambers food was offered four times a day; in the temples sacrifices were made 25 times a year, in the side-halls four sacrifices were made a year. Moreover, the headgear and robes of the deceased. were carried in procession once a month. In addition, Empress Chao-ling 昭靈后, King Wu-ai 武哀王, Queen Chao-ai 昭哀后, the Empress of Emperor Hsiao-wen 孝文太后, the Empress of Emperor Hsiao-chao 孝昭太后, the Empress Szu neé Wei 衛思后, the Heir-apparent Li 戾太子, Queen Li 戾后, each had a funerary chamber and funerary park, so that there were 30 places for worship of imperial personages.] The cost of food used in worship yearly was 24,455 cash and 45,129 guards were employed together with 2147 intercessors, butchers, and musicians, not counting those who cared for the future victims. Kung Yü had proposed that distant ancestors cease to be worshipped separately and their tablets removed to the Temple of the Great Founder (Kao-tsu), which was to be the central temple, and who was to be continued to be worshipped. [p. Kung Yü had memorialized that anciently the Son of Heaven maintained only 7 shrines and proposed that the Temples of Emperors Hsiao-hui and

Hsiao-ching be removed, and that the imperial ancestral temples in the commanderies and kingdoms were not in accordance with ancient practises.] The Emperor approved his advice, but Kung Yü died before the discussion was held. In 40 B.C. Emperor Yüan ordered a discussion. Wei Hsüan-ch'eng, Cheng Hung, Chuang P'eng-tsu 莊 (嚴) 彭祖, Ou-yang Ti-yu 歐陽地餘, Yin Keng-shih 尹更始, altogether 70 persons recommended these and other changes, especially the separate worship of only the five immediately preceding ancestors, and Emperor Yüan approved it. But the temples of Emperor Hsiao-wen, as the Great Exemplar, and of Emperor Wu, as the Epochal Exemplar, were not disturbed. [p. The shrines were arranged as *chao* 昭 and *mu* 穆 as in ancient times. It was suggested the procession of the deceased headgear and robes should be discontinued as undignified and not an ancient practise. Sacrifices should be made in their temples each season, but the daily and monthly sacrifices in the funerary chambers and funerary parks should be discontinued, but Emperor Yüan did not change the former practises. The sacrifices to the Empress Dowagers of Emperors Hsiao-wen and Hsiao Chao were however discontinued. More than a year later, in 36 B.C., Wei Hsüan-ch'eng died and K'uang Heng, took his place as Lieutenant Chancellor.]

Emperor Yüan fell ill, and he dreamed that his ancestors blamed him for having abolished their temples in the commanderies and kingdoms. The Emperor's younger brother, Liu Ao 劉翽 dreamed, likewise. Emperor Yüan asked the Lieutenant Chancellor, K'uang Heng, whether the temples had not better be revived, and K'uang Heng replied they had not. But after the Emperor had been ill for a long time and did not become quiet, K'uang Heng became afraid, and prayed to the deceased emperors and to those whose temples had been removed, and taking the blame upon himself. In August and September 34 B.C., after the Emperor had been sick for successive years, the abolished temples were restored. But immediately after Emperor Yüan's death, K'uang Heng memorialized to have these temples abolished again, and it was done. Later the matter was revived. Cf. *Hs* 73.5a-20b, 9.11a, 18.14a, 19B.34b, 35a, 36b, 38a,b, 39b; *Skk* 96.19-24.

331. *Kan Yen-shou* 甘延壽, style Chün-k'uang 君況, title Marquis Chuang of Yi-ch'eng 義成莊侯, was a Protector-general of the Western Frontier Regions who led the expedition that executed the Hun Shan-yü Chih-chih in Sogdiana.

He came from Yü-chih 郁郅 in the Pei-ti 北地 Commandery. When young, because he came of a good family and was good at riding and shooting, he became a member of the Winged Forest in which he surpassed others in military exercises. He once jumped over the storied building in the Winged Forest quarters. Because of that he was made a Gentleman. He was examined in boxing and was made an Attendant at the Gate. Because of his ability, the Emperor favored him and promoted him to be the Grand Administrator of the Liao-tung 遼東 Commandery. He was dismissed, but Hsü Chia 許嘉 recommended him, and he was promoted to be a Gentleman-of-the-Palace and Grandee-remonstrant. He was sent to the Western Frontier Regions as Protector General and Chief Commandant of Cavalry. With his Lieutenant Colonel Ch'en T'ang 陳湯 (*q.v.*) in 36 B.C. he executed and beheaded the Shan-yü Chih-chih 禪于郅支, and in reward, on June 14, 33 B.C. he was appointed Marquis of Yi-ch'eng. He died in 25 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 70.4b,5a, 17.31a, 9.11a,b.

331. *Ch'en T'ang* 陳湯 style Tzu-kung 子公, posthumous title, Marquis Chuang Who Routed the Northern Barbarians 破胡莊侯, was the person who organized and conducted the remarkable expedition to Sogdiana in 36 B.C., which executed the Shan-yü Chih-chih.

He came from Hsia-ch'iu 瑕丘 in the Shan-yang 山陽 Commandery. When young he loved books and became widely learned and good at writing. But his family was poor, and borrowed without restraint, so that he did not secure a good reputation. Hence he went west to Ch'ang-an where he sought official position and became the Assistant who Presents Food under the Grand Provisioner.

After several years Chang P'o 張勃, Marquis of Fu-p'ing 富平 associated with Ch'en T'ang and praised his ability. When in 47 B.C. Emperor Yüan ordered the marquises to recommend persons of abundant talent, Chang P'o recommended Ch'en T'ang. While Ch'en T'ang was awaiting promotion, his father died, and he did not return for the funeral, so the Colonel in Charge of the Retainers memorialized that he had no cultivated character and that Chang P'o had not recommended Ch'en T'ang according to the facts. Chang P'o's income was reduced by 200 households, but it happened that he died. Ch'en Tang was sent to prison.

Later he was again recommended and became a Gentleman. He asked several times to be sent to foreign countries, and after a long time he was promoted to Associate Protector-General of the Western Frontier Regions and Colonel and went out with Kan Yen-shou.

Before this time, during the reign of Emperor Hsüan, the Huns had been in disturbance, and five Shan-yü 禪于 {vied with one another for supremacy}. The Shan-yü Hu-han-hsieh 呼韓邪 and the Shan-yü Chih-chih both sent their sons to enter the Chinese court, and the Chinese received them. Later Hu-han-hsieh came to court himself and acknowledged himself a Chinese subject. Chih-chih considered that Hu-han-hsieh had been routed and was weak, had surrendered to the Chinese, and hence he would not be able to return to Hun territory of his own accord. When the Chinese sent troops to accompany the Shan-yü Hu-han-hsieh back, Chih-chih went west and occupied the western territory of the Huns. [p. He was increasingly near the Wu-sun and so sent a messenger to the Junior K'un-mi 小昆彌 of the Wu-sun, Wu-chiu-t'u 烏就屠. Wu-chiu-t'u knew that Chih-chih had fled from Hu-han-hsieh and the Chinese, and he planned to attack Chih-chih and send his head to the Chinese Protector-general. So he sent 8000 horsemen to meet Chih-chih. But Chih-chih did not turn back; he encouraged his troops, attacked the Wu-sun and routed them. Then he went north and attacked the Wu-ch'ieh 烏揭 (probably northwest of the Wu-sun). They submitted to him and so he sent their troops west and routed the Chien-k'un 堅昆 and north the Ting-ling 丁令 submitted. He united these three tribes and sent his troops to attack the Wu-sun, over whom he was regularly victorious. The Chien-k'un were 7000 *li* west of the Shan-yü 's court (which was near the present Urge, Mongolia) and 5000 *li* north of Ch'e-shih (Turfan). Chih-chih stayed in the region of the Chien-k'un and ruled there. (All these localities were probably in western Siberia)

Chih-chih held a grudge against the Chinese because they had protected Hu-han-hsieh and did not assist him, so he mistreated and shamed the Chinese envoys Chiang Nai-shih 江迺始 and others. In 45 B.C. he sent an envoy to China bearing presents and asked for his son who was at the Chinese court, offering to submit to the Chinese.

The Chinese Court discussed the matter and sent the Major of the Guard, Ku Chi to

convoy the boy. The Grandee Secretary K'uang Heng thought that the boy should not be convoyed that far, but should merely be convoyed to the border. Ku Chi however memorialized that the boy had been cared for more than ten years at the court, and argued that for the sake of future relations with the Shan-yü Chih-chih the boy should be convoyed to his destination. Feng Feng-shih backed him up, and the Emperor approved. But when Ku Chi reached his destination with the boy, the Shan-yü Chih-chih became angry and finally killed Ku Chi and his men.

Chih-chih knew that he had outraged the Chinese and moreover heard that Hu-han-hsieh was becoming stronger, [p. and feared a stealthy attack from him, so he fled West to K'ang-chü 康居 (Sogdiana). The King of K'ang-chü had been troubled by the Wu-sun and knew that they had been previously subservient to the Huns and planned to invite Chih-chih who was now in straits to come east and locate on the eastern borders of K'ang-chü and join troops with him to destroy the Wu-sun. So the King sent a messenger to the Chien-k'un 堅昆 to Chih-chih. Chih-chih was glad and made an agreement with him to come west. The King of Sogdiana sent his nobles with camels, asses, and horses to the number of several thousand to get Chih-chih. But Chih-chih struck a cold spell on the road and only 3000 people survived the trip to Sogdiana.] The King of K'ang-chü gave his daughter to Chih-chih as his wife, and Chih-chih also gave his daughter to the King of K'ang-chü, and the King of K'ang-chü treated Chih-chih very respectfully and wanted to use him to unite the neighboring countries.

Chih-chih several times borrowed troops to attack the Wu-sun and penetrated to Ch'ih-ku 赤谷 (Slivkina), killing and overrunning the people, driving away their cattle, and the Wu-sun did not dare to pursue him, so they left their western borders empty and uninhabited for a thousand *li*.

Chih-chih now became proud, and did not treat the King of K'ang-chü as his overlord, became angry, and killed the daughter of the King of K'ang-chü together with his nobles, and several hundred of his people; he cut up some of their bodies and threw them into the Tu-lai 都賴 River. Then Chih-chih sent people to build a fortified city. Five hundred people worked daily, and in two years it was finished. He also sent envoys to require Ta-Yüan 大宛 (Ferghana) and Ho-su 闐蘇 (north of Ferghana) to send yearly tribute to him, and they did not dare to refuse.

The Chinese sent three times to K'ang-chü for the bodies of Ku Chi and his men, but Chih-chi harassed and shamed the envoys and was not willing to obey the imperial edict, and he sent to the Chinese Protector-general a lying letter addressed to the Emperor saying that he was in difficult circumstances and wanted to surrender to the Chinese and send his son to the Chinese court.

In 36 B.C. Chen T'ang and Kan Yen-shou were sent out to the Western Regions to take up their posts. Ch'en T'ang, as a man, was very brave and far-sighted. He was full of plans and stratagems and liked to have unusual accomplishments. Every time he passed by a city, a town, a hill, or a stream, he always mounted it and looked at it.

When he had mastered the conditions in the foreign countries, Ch'en Tang told Kan Yen-shou that the barbarians are naturally subservient to a stronger power and that the Western Regions had originally been subservient to the Huns. Now the fame of the Shan-yü

Chih-chih was widespread and he had invaded Wu-sun and Ta-yüan and was constantly planning with K'ang-chü to conquer these two countries. If he succeeded in doing so, then he would go north and attack the Yi-lieh 伊列 (south of L. Balkash), westward to take An-hsi 安西 (Parthia), and southwards to repel the Yüeh-chih 月氏 and the Shan-li-wu-yi 山離烏弋 (Arakhosia). In the course of several years the walled cities of the Western Frontier Regions will be endangered. He is brave, likes fighting, and has achieved several victories; if he is allowed to be undisturbed much longer he would and inevitably endanger the Western Frontier Regions. He is far away from China, yet the barbarians have not the protection of strongly fortified cities or of strong crossbows. If the garrison officers and soldiers were sent to attack him, together with the Wu-sun troops, his city could be immediately taken and he would have no place to go, while if he took refuge in his city, he could not protect himself. Such an expedition would be glorious for a thousand years and could be completed in one morning.

Kan Yen-shou thought that he was right, and wanted to memorialize the matter, but Ch'en T'ang said that the matter would be discussed by the ministers, who do not understand far-sighted plans, and would certainly be refused. So Kan Yen-shou hesitated and did not follow his advice.

It happened that Kan Yen-shou was ill for a long time, and Ch'en T'ang on his own forged an imperial order mobilizing the troops of the walled cities and the garrison officers and soldiers of the *Mou* and *Chi* Colonel stationed at Chü-shih 車師 (Turfan). When Kan Yen-shou heard of it, he was startled and wanted to arise and stop them. But Ch'en T'ang became angry, pulled out his sword and yelled at Kan Yen-shou, saying that the group had already gathered, and did he want to stop them. So Kan Yen-shou gave in. The army was arranged in order, and Kan Yen-shou appointed three colonels with the titles: Displaying Majesty, the White Tiger, and United Cavalry. The Chinese and Hu troops together numbered more than 40,000 men.

Kan Yen-shou and Ch'en Tang memorialized the Emperor, accusing themselves of having forged an imperial order and telling the circumstances of the army. The same day they divided the army into six divisions under six colonels, viz. the three led above together with the Associate Protector-general and Colonel (Ch'en Tang), the *Mou* Colonel, and the *Chi* Colonel. Three divisions followed the southern route, crossed the Pamirs, and went thru Ta-Yüan (Ferghana) to K'ang-chü; the three other divisions, with the Protector-general himself in charge, mobilized at Wen-su 溫宿 (Uch-Turfan), following the northern route, and entered Ch'ih-ku (Slivkina, on the Issik Kul), passing thru the Wu-sun and crossing into the territory of K'ang-chü. Meanwhile a subordinate King of K'ang-chü, Pao-t'ien 抱闐 had led several thousands of cavalry to rob east of Ch'ih-ku and had killed and carried away more than a thousand men of the Great K'un-mi 昆彌 (the Wu-sun king), together with many cattle. He followed behind the Chinese army, to rob the baggage train. Ch'en T'ang directed the Hu troops to attack him and they killed 460 of his men, and secured 470 of the people he had captured, which were returned to the Great K'un-mi. Pao-t'ien's horses, cattle, and sheep were given to the army for food. A noble of Pao-t'ien, Yi-nu-tu 伊奴毒 was also captured.

When they entered the eastern borders of K'ang-chü, the army was ordered not to rob. A K'ang-chü noble, T'u-mo 屠墨 was secretly asked to come to an interview, and a covenant

was made with him. Then he was sent away, and the army went to within 60 *li* of the Shan-yü's city, where it stopped and encamped. Two other nobles, Pei-se-tzu 北色子 and Nan-k'ai-mou 難開牟 were captured and used as guides. Pei-se-tzu was the younger brother of T'u-mo's mother. All of them had grudges against the Shan-yü. Because of that they knew Chih-chih's circumstances. The next day they went on 30 *li* from the city and stopped and encamped.

The Shan-yü sent a messenger to ask the Chinese troops why they came. They replied that the Shan-yü had sent a letter saying that he was in straits and wanted to surrender to the Chinese and himself go to the Chinese court; they had pitied the Shan-yü because he had left his great country and abased himself in K'ang-chü, so the Protector-general had come himself as a General to accompany the Shan-yü together with his wife and son to court. They feared that his entourage would be afraid, so had not yet dared to come to his city. Several messages were sent back and forth, and Kan Yen-shou and Chen T'ang blamed the Shan-yü for sending no kings or nobles to receive orders from the Chinese and that their food was almost exhausted.

The next day they advanced to the city of Chih-chih, on the Tu-lai river, and halted 3 *li* from the city wall, where they stopped and encamped and formed a battle-array. From afar they saw that on the city wall of the Shan-yü's city there were planted five-colored banners and several hundred armed men standing on the wall. Also more than a hundred cavalry came out [of the gate] and galloped back and forth below the wall, together with more than a hundred foot-soldiers, formed in an array at the city-gate like the scales of a fish (a testudo), going thru military exercises. The men on the wall, one after another, challenged the Chinese army, shouting, "Come and fight!" The hundred and more horsemen galloped to the [Chinese] camp, but in the camp all drew their crossbows and pointed at them with cocked crossbows, and the horsemen turned back. Then some of the officers and soldiers were sent to shoot at the horsemen and foot soldiers at the city gate. The horsemen and foot soldiers all entered [the gate].

Kan Yen-shou and Chien T'ang ordered that when the army heard the sound of the drum, it should all attack the city, and led their men to surround the city on all sides. Each man had his duty; the moat was opened up and the gates of the city were blocked. The [Chinese] great shields were in the van and the lances and crossbows behind, which were shot upwards at the men on the towers within the city, [whereupon] the people on the towers came down and fled. Outside the earthen wall there was a double wooden palisade. From within the wooden palisade, they shot and killed and wounded the men outside. The the men outside gathered firewood and set fire to the wooden palisade. During the night, several hundred cavalry tried to go out, but the troops outside shot and killed them.

Previously when the Shan-yü had heard that the Chinese army was coming, he wanted to leave, but he suspected that K'ang-chü cherished a grudge against him, and would assist the Chinese. He also heard that the Wu-sun had also mobilized their army, so that he had no place to go. Chih-chih himself went out, but returned, and said that the best plan would be to guard the city; the Chinese troops had come from a great distance and could not attack it for long. So the Shan-yü donned his armor and from a tower his *Yen-chih* 關氏 {the Shan-yü's principal wife} and Ladies, several tens in number, all shot with bows at those outside. Those

outside attackers shot and hit the Shan-yü in the nose. When a number of his ladies were killed, the Shan-yü came down from the tower and mounted a horse, to summon those inside his quarters to fight.

After midnight the wooden wall was pierced, and the people within it withdrew inside the earthen wall, which they mounted and shouted.

At that time the Sogdian army, numbering more than ten thousand horsemen, dividing themselves into more than ten squads, surrounding the city on all sides, answered the shouts. During the night they attacked the [Chinese] camp several times, but without success, and each time withdrew. At dawn, on all four sides [of the city] fire arose; the officers and soldiers, shouting wildly for joy, followed up their advantage, and the noise of the bells and drums shook the earth, so that the Sogdian troops withdrew. The Chinese troops then on all sides of the city pushed forward their great shields and entered the earthen wall. The Shan-yü and his people, numbering more than a hundred men and women, fled into his quarters. The Chinese troops set fire to it, and vied to enter. The Shan-yü was wounded and died. A captain who was temporarily Assistant Protector-general, Tu Hsün 杜勳, cut off the Shan-yü's head. He also secured two sets of Chinese envoy's credentials, together with the silk, and writings in the baggage of Ku Chi and others. The booty was given to whomever had taken it.

Altogether there were taken the heads of 1518 persons, including those of the *Yen-chih*, the Heir-apparent, and distinguished kings. 145 captives were taken alive, and more than a thousand persons surrendered. The fifteen kings of walled cities who had helped in the expedition were sent back to their states. The head of Chih-chih was sent to Ch'ang-an with a suggestion that it be hung up on the Lodge for Barbarians 蠻夷邸 in Ch'ang-an to show them that even though someone who had outraged the Chinese should fly to distant parts, he would inevitably be executed. The ministers memorialized that according to the orders for the months, spring was a time to cover skeletons and bury carcasses, and the head should not be hung up, but the generals Hsü Chia (an imperial great uncle) and Wang Shang 王商 replied that it should be hung up for ten days and then buried.

Previously the eunuch Shih Hsien had wanted to marry his older sister to Kan Yen-shou, but the latter had refused. The Lieutenant Chancellor K'uang Heng and the Grand Secretary P'o Yen-shou 繁延壽 both moreover hated that an imperial order had been forged and did not favor Ch'en T'ang. Ch'en T'ang had moreover been avaricious, and had illegally sent thru the Barrier into China booty that he had secured. The Colonel Director of the Retainers sent a letter that he should be investigated, and Ch'en T'ang replied, asking if the Colonel were avenging the death of Chih-chih. The Emperor immediately sent out officials and soldiers to order the cities to feast Ch'en T'ang's troops. Shih Hsien and K'uang Heng said that since Kan Yen-shou and Chien T'ang had raised their army by forging an order, they would be fortunate not to be executed, and if they were rewarded by noble ranks and estates, later envoys would get into trouble thru similar attempts, and it would cause trouble for the government. Emperor Yüan inwardly approved of Kan Yen-shou and Ch'en T'ang, but did not want to go contrary to the advice of Shih Hsien and K'uang Heng so his case was not settled for a long time. The Superintendent of the Imperial House, Liu Hsiang 劉向, memorialized that Chih-chih has killed and imprisoned Chinese envoys, and the Emperor had wanted to execute him. Now Kan Yen-shou and Chien T'ang had acted out the sacred

imperial will, and praising their deeds, the Emperor should accordingly pardon their faults because they had not caused any drain upon the treasury or any increase in the standing army, and order them enfeoffed because they had beheaded a Shan-yü. Shih Hsien and K'uang Heng replied that Chih-chih had fled and was not a true Shan-yü. The Emperor wanted Kan Yen-shou to be enfeoffed with the income of a thousand families, but Shih Hsien and K'uang Heng again contested it. On June 14, 33 B.C. Kan Yen-shou was finally made Marquis of Yi-ch'eng and Ch'en T'ang, a Kuan-wei Marquis, each with the income of 300 families and a of a hundred catties of actual gold. The matter was announced to the Lords on High and in the imperial ancestral temples and a general amnesty was granted to the empire. Kan Yen-shou was made Colonel of Ch'ang-shui and Ch'en T'ang was made Colonel of Archers Who can Shoot at a Sound. Kan Yen-shou was promoted to be Colonel of the City Gate and Chief Commandant of the Protecting Army and died while in official position.

When Emperor Ch'eng had ascended the throne in 33 B.C., K'uang Heng, now Lieutenant Chancellor, again memorialized that Ch'en T'ang, an official ranking as equivalent to 2000 piculs, had not acted correctly towards the barbarians, and had stolen the treasures that he had gotten in K'ang-chü, and although the matter had happened before he had been pardoned, yet it was not proper that he should occupy an official position. Ch'en T'ang was tried and dismissed from office. Later Ch'en T'ang memorialized that the son of the King of K'ang-chü who was at the imperial court was not the King's actual son; the matter was investigated, and it was found that he really was the King's son. Ch'en T'ang was imprisoned and condemned for a capital crime. But the Grand Palace Grandee Ku Yung 谷永 memorialized the Emperor, praising Ch'en T'ang. Emperor Ch'eng freed Ch'en T'ang, but took away his noble rank and made him a common soldier. Several years later, when the Protector-general of the Western Regions, Tuan Hui-tsung 段會宗, was besieged by the Wu-sun and asked for the Tun-huang city troops to be sent to rescue him, when the matter was being deliberated, Wang Feng 王鳳 said that Ch'en T'ang should be consulted, and the Emperor summoned Ch'en T'ang. When the latter had been on his expedition against the Shan-yü Chih-chih, he had suffered from the cold and he could not straighten his arms, so when he entered for the audience, there was an edict that he should not bow. Ch'en T'ang, after modestly declining, said that five Hu soldiers had been equivalent to one Chinese soldier, and explained that their swords were blunt and their bows and crossbows were not good. He had heard that the Hu had now secured some of the Chinese skill, but nevertheless one Chinese was worth three Hu. Ch'en T'ang knew that the Wu-sun were undisciplined and like tile shards and could not attack for long, so he prophesied that within five days there would be good news from Tuan Hui-tsung. On the fourth day news came that the siege had been lifted.

Wang Feng memorialized that Ch'en T'ang should be a Gentleman of the Household in the imperial retinue and military affairs in the office of the General-in-chief were all decided by Ch'en T'ang. Ch'en T'ang knew the laws and ordinances and was good at taking advantage of circumstances, so that his advice was mostly followed. He regularly received money for preparing memorials, and finally fell because of that. Chien T'ang was good friends with the court architect Chieh Wan-nien 解萬年. [p. Emperor Ch'eng's first tomb (later called the Yen Tomb 延陵, *q.v.*) was north of the Wei River, but the Emperor preferred

the region south of the Ch'ü 曲 Commune of Pa-ling 霸陵 Prefecture and had his tomb built there. Ch'eng Tang's wife was from Ch'ang-an and her children had grown up there, so that they did not wish to remove to Ch'eng T'ang's home in the east. Ch'eng T'ang reminded Chieh Wan-nien of the honors granted to the successful builder of an imperial tomb, so Ch'en T'ang memorialized that a tomb town should be built at the new tomb and offered to be the first to move there. Chieh Wan-nien guaranteed to finish the new tomb in three years.] When however it was not finished in time, in 15 B.C. people complained, and the Emperor resolved to change his tomb to the old tomb which had been built some ten years previously and to abolish the city Ch'en T'ang had persuaded the Emperor to build at the Ch'ang Tomb 昌陵. Before the matter was determined, Ch'en T'ang told some officials who came to him for advice that people would in the future be again moved to the city built at the Ch'ang Tomb. Wang Shang^{1b} who had recently become the Commander-in-chief and who disliked Ch'en T'ang heard of it, and accused Ch'en T'ang of misleading the crowd (because the people were disturbed at the possibility of being moved to Ch'ang-ling) and sent him to prison. Upon investigation it was also found that Ch'en T'ang had received money for writing memorials, getting various people out of trouble, etc. The Lieutenant Chancellor and Grandee Secretary memorialized that Ch'en T'ang had misled the crowd and was guilty of an inhuman crime and seriously disrespectful. The Commandant of Justice however rebutted several of these charges, and the Emperor freed Ch'en T'ang because of his previous deeds in executing the Shan-yü Chih-chih, merely dismissing him, making him a commoner, and ordering him to move to the border. Ch'en T'ang and Chieh Wan-nien both were exiled to Tun-huang Commandery.

Some time later the Grand Administrator of the Tun-huang Commandery memorialized that because Ch'en T'ang had previously executed the Shan-yü Chih-chih and had shaken the foreign states by his power, it was not proper for him to be at the frontier. The Emperor ordered him to be exiled to the An-ting 安定 Commandery. The Grandee Consultant Keng Yü 耿育 however memorialized the Emperor, praising Ch'en T'ang. The Emperor recalled Ch'en Tang to Ch'ang-an, where he died. Several years after his death, in 2 A.D., Wang Mang increased the enfeoffment of the grandson of Kan Yen-shou, Kan Ch'ien 甘遷, to the income of 1600 families. He posthumously made Ch'en T'ang the Marquis Chuang Who Routed the Northern Barbarians, and enfeoffed his son Ch'en Feng 陳馮 as the Marquis Who Routed the Northern Barbarians. Tu Hsün, who beheaded Chih-chih, was at the same time made the Marquis Who Chastised the Barbarians 討狄侯. Cf. *Hs* 70.5a-19a, 18.32b, 94B.4a-6b, 99A.1b; J.J.L.Duyvendak in *T'oung Pao* v.34, pp. 249-264; de Groot, *Die Hunnen*, pp. 232-8; "An Ancient Military Contest Between Romans and Chinese," *American Journal Phil.*, July, 1941; "Roman Influence Upon Chinese Printing" *Class. Philology*, Jan., 1943. {The description in Ch'en T'ang's biography of the battle against Chih-chih and in particular the reference to a "fish scale" formation led Dubs to his famous and controversial conclusion that Chih-chih's army included a "lost" Roman legion, who were settled by the Han in present-day Kan-suh (Gansu) province following their defeat. This idea was most fully developed in his *A Roman City in Ancient China*. China Society Sinological Series no. 5. London: China Society, 1957. The idea has been seriously questioned, however. Cf. Yü Ying-shih, *Trade and Expansion in Han China*, Berkeley: University of California Press,

1967, 89-91, and Hsing I-tien. “Heracles in the East: The Diffusion and Transformation of His Image in the Arts of Central Asia, India, and Medieval China,” *Asia Major* 3rd Ser. 18.2 (2005): 145 n 81.}

331. *The Associate Protector-General of the Western Regions and Colonel* 副西域都護校尉 was a Colonel 校尉 who was under the Protector-general (*q.v.*). Ch’en T’ang (*q.v.*) held this position. The full title is given on *Hs* 70.14b; usually it is abbreviated to Fu-hsiao-wei 副校尉. Cf. *Hs* 19A. 23b, 9.11a, 70.11a; *Han-kuan ta-wen* IV.10b. This position ranked at equivalent to 2000 piculs; its incumbent probably bore the same relation to the Protector-general that the Chief Commandant bore to the Grand Administrator in a commandery.

331. The *Mou-and-Chi* Colonel 戊己校尉 was a military official in charge of troops who garrisoned some locality among the 36 or 50 states of the Western Regions, keeping peace amongst them. The office was established in 48 B.C. and had under it five captains. It ranked at equivalent to 600 piculs. Yen Shih-ku says that there were definite places of administration for the officials of other grades, represented by the other of the ten celestial stems [“eight colonels” are mentioned in *Hs* 19A.23a] *mou* and *chi* are the central stems, and the *Mou-and-Chi* Colonel was established in the center of the Western Frontier Region. He had no settled places of administration, but lodged with the kings of the various states. The *Han-kuan Yi* A.34a (by Ying Shao) says, “The *Mou-and-Chi* [Colonel] was in the center, maintaining order and pacifying the four quarters. He also opens [irrigation] canals and distributes(?) seed, in order to hold down and conquer [his garrison locality], hence he is called *Mou-and-Chi*.” Cf. *Hs* 9.11b note, 19A.23b note; *HHs* Mem. 50.5b; *Han-kuan ta-wen* 4.10b. *Hs* 96A.8b and 96B.32b records that after 65 B.C. an agricultural garrison of the *Mou-and-Chi* Colonel was established in the former territory of *Chü-shih* (Turfan); *Hs* 96B.9a says that while Tuan Hui-tsung was Protector-general, the *Chi* Colonel was moved to garrison at Kumo 姑墨 (Aksu); *HHs* Mem. 9.13b says that in 74 A.D. Keng Kung 耿恭 was made a *Mou-and-Chi* Colonel and established his agricultural garrison in the region of Ch’e-shih. Thus the *Mou-and-Chi* Colonel was not a roving command, but an outpost of the Chinese power, commanding regiments of Chinese troops, who farmed some particular region while at the same time they were prepared for fighting. His post was sometimes moved, so that Yen Shih-ku said that he had no definite place of administration. [p. Chou Shou-Ch’ang 周壽昌 remarks that since the sun rose in the double-hours *mou* and *chi*, and the *Mou* and *Chi* Colonel was appointed in order to prevent the Huns from controlling the Western Frontier Regions, “*Mou* and *Chi*” had the meaning of “repressing and vanquishing.” The Former Han Dynasty seems to have had one *Mou* and *Chi* Colonel, while the Later Han Dynasty had a *Mou* Colonel and a *Chi* Colonel, and also a *Mou* and *Chi* Colonel. Cf. *Hs* 96A.8a,b and note.

The pronunciation *wu* for 戊 originated in 907 in order to tabu the name of an ancestor of the Liang 梁 dynasty.

The Huns esteemed the days *mou* and *chi* as most fortunate; (*Hs* 94A.7b) possibly the Chinese title meant “Chief Commandant of the most important region” or “the auspicious Chief Commandant.” They sacrificed to the god of Heaven regularly on the *mou* day in the 1st, 5th, 9th month. (*HHs* Mem. 79.4b)]

331. *The Western Frontier Region* 西域, was the name the ancient Chinese gave to the Tarim basin and associated regions. *Hs* 96A.1a ff says, “The Western Regions were first penetrated in the time of [Emperor] Hsiao-wu. They were originally thirty-six states, and later they were somewhat divided into more than fifty. All are west of the Huns and south of the Wu-sun. North and south there are great mountains, and in the center there is a river. East and west it is more than six thousand *li*; north and south it is more than a thousand *li*. On the east it connected with China, separated by the Jade Gate 玉門 and the Yang Barrier 陽關. On the west it is limited by the Onion Mountains 蔥嶺 [the Pamirs].” The Western Regions thus properly included only the Tarim basin, but the term was also loosely applied to a wider area, including the Wu-sun, Ta-yüan, (Ferghana), K’ang-chü (Sogdiana), etc. Cf. *Hs* 96; *HHs* Mem. 78.

331. *The Quarters for Barbarian Princes* 蠻夷邸 was a building inside Ch’ang-an, on the Gao Street 藁街 which was set apart for barbarian princes and others who came to the Chinese court. The Shan-yü Hu-han-hsieh (*q.v.*) lodged there when he came to court; the head of the Shan-yü Chih-chih was hung on its Gate. Cf. *Hs* 9.11b, 70.10b.

332. *Ch’ang (Shang) 賞* was the given name of a Grandee-remonstrant and Erudit, who was sent to travel about and inspect the empire by Emperor Yüan in May/June 35 B.C. His surname seems to have been lost. This may have been the Shang who was made Superintendent of the Imperial Household in 47 B.C. In *HFHD* II.332 his name is written with a dialectual pronunciation “Ch’ang.” Cf. *Hs* 9.11b, 19B.37a.

333. The *Ching River* 涇水 is an affluent of the Wei 渭, and flows into it below Ch’ang-an. Its water was utilized for extensive irrigation canals, making Kuan-chung 關中 a fertile region. But as the river eroded its bed, the intake of this canal had to be carried farther up the stream. About the time of Wang Mang 王莽, this canal became useless, and the resulting famine helped to overthrow that rule.

334. The *Second Temple* 原朝 was an ancestral temple established for Emperor Kao-tsu by his son Emperor Hui, when the first temple proved to be inconveniently located. It was located north of the Wei River. [p. For the circumstances of its erection, cf. *Hs* 27A.6a and *San-fu huang-t’u* 5.6a testify to this location.] *HFHD* I.185 n 5. The original temple of Kao-tsu was inside Ch’ang-an. Wen Ying 文穎 (fl. ca. 196- 220) quoted the *Erh-ya* as saying that 原 means second 再. This temple was abolished, probably in 40 B.C., and reestablished in 34 B.C. Cf. *Hs* 9.12b, 27A.16a, 43.17b; *San-fu huang-t’u* 5.6a. [p. According 5 to *Skk* 8.87 (= *Mh* II.403). Emperor Hui, however, built this Second Temple at P’ei 沛, using the P’ei Palace 沛宮 to make this temple.]

48. [*Lady*] *Awaiting an Imperial Edict in the Lateral Courts* 待詔掖庭 was a title given to imperial concubines who had not yet seen the Emperor. Ying Shao says, “When the commanderies or kingdoms presented a lady [to the imperial harem] and she had not yet had

an imperial audience, it was necessary for her to be ordered to the Lateral Courts. Hence she was called a [Lady] Awaiting an Imperial Edict.” The *Hsi-ching Tsa-chi* (vi cent.) has a story that such ladies were selected by the emperor from their portraits. Cf. *sub* Wang Ch’iang {Next entry}.

335. *Wang Ch’iang*, 王穉 better known by her style Chao-chün 昭君 was a lady who in 33 B.C. had been admitted to the imperial harem, but had not been seen by Emperor Yüan. When the Shan-yü Hu-han-hsieh came to the Chinese court in that year and asked to be made the son-in-law of the Chinese emperor, Wang Ch’iang was given to him by Emperor Yüan. She became the Ning-hu Yen-chi 寧胡關氏 (the Hun Empress giving peace to the Northern Barbarians) and had one son and two daughters. When Hu-han-hsieh died and his son by a previous Yen-chih became the Shan-yü, following the Hun custom, he made Wang Ch’iang his Yen-chih. Cf. *Hs* 9.13b, 94B.6b, 8b, 9a. She became a beauty famous in Chinese literature.

Legend early grew up around her. Wen Ying (fl. ca. 196-220) says that she came from Tzu-kuei in 秭歸 Nan Commandery. The *Ch’in-ts’ao* 琴操, which in the 7th Century, was attributed to Ts’ai Yung 蔡邕 (133-192), says that she was the daughter of Wen Hsiang of the kingdom of Ch’i. The *HHs*, Mem. 79.2b (by Fan Yeh 范葉 398-445) says that she came from a good family and had been in the imperial harem for several years without being seen by the emperor, so she asked the Chief of the Lateral Courts to be given to the Shan-yü. Emperor Yüan had five ladies to be shown to the Shan-yü, and Wang Ch’iang was so beautiful and so well decorated that her beauty made the harem glorious and the Emperor was astounded, wanting to detain her, but was unable to break his promise to the Shan-yü. She bore the Shan-yü two children.

The *Hsi-ching Tsa-chi* (6th C.) elaborates further, saying that Emperor Yüan employed painters to paint the features of his ladies in order to select from among them, because they were so many. The ladies bribed the painters, but Wang Ch’iang refused, so that she was given an ugly portrait. When the Shan-yü asked for a *Yen-chih*, Emperor Yüan selected from among his ladies according to their portraits, and when they appeared, Wang Ch’iang was seen to be the most beautiful in the harem. Emperor Yüan repented, but her name had already been written down and could not be changed. The painters were all executed publicly. A still later form of the legend is to be found summarized in Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, no. 2148, *sub* Wang Ch’iang, [p. which is taken from the *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü* (by Liu Yi-ch’ing 劉義慶, 403-41; cf. W. Eichhorn in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band. 91, Heft 2, p. 471.) Cf. also *Hs* 9.13a, 94B.6b, 8b, 9a, 99A.8b. Cf. Pelliot in *T’oung-pao* 1923, p. 218, 219 n 2; Chavannes, *T’oung-pao* 1911, pp. 748-9.

Liang Yü-sheng 梁玉繩 (fl. 1785) notes that in *Hs* 9.13a her name is written 穉 and in 94B.6b it is written 牆. He says that the *Shuo-wen* (100 A.D.) does not have the word 穉 (which is written in *HHs*, Mem. 79.2b), and that where the latter word is used in the *Tso-chuan* (Legge, P. 793¹⁴), the T’ang stone classics (837) write the second character, so that her name was probably the second of these three characters, with the “bed” radical. Her tomb is found in the north of Shansi; cf. *Shan-hsi T’ung-chih* 1892, ch. 97, p. 45b; Edouard Chavannes, *Journal asiatique*. 1896, I.177-8; A. Pozdneev, *Mongoliya i Mongoly*. Petrograd,

1898, II.104-111.

335. *P'o Yen-shou* 繁延壽, style 子惠, was a man from the Nan commandery who rose to be Grandee Secretary. In 46 B.C. he was Associate Lieutenant Chancellor and was made Chief of Palace Police in the Capital. In 37 B.C. he was promoted to be Commandant of the Palace Guard, and on Aug. 29, 36 B.C. he was promoted to be Grandee Secretary. He died in Mar./Apr. 33 B.C.

Hs 19B.39b lists him as Li Yen-shou 李延壽 and says that he was also surnamed P'o 繫, which latter word Yen Shih-ku says is pronounced 蒲何反. Cf. *Hs* 9.13a, 19B.3a, 39b, 70.10b, 78.7a, 85.1a.

336. *Hsiao-yüan* 孝元, Emperor. Fu Tsan says, in a comment to *Hs* 9.13a, "Emperor [Yüan] ascended the throne in his 27th year. After he ascended the throne, [he reigned] to the sixteenth year, and died in his 43rd year." The *Han-chi* 21.1a says, "Emperor [Yüan] ... ascended the throne in his 26th year." Fu Tsan's statement seems to be derived from a mistaken interpretation of the statement in *Hs* 9.1a that when the future Emperor Yüan was in his second year, Emperor Hsüan ascended the throne." Cf. *HFHD* II.289 n 1.1.

According to *Hs* 97A.22a, Emperor Yüan was born a few months before Sept., 74 B.C., probably about Feb. 74, and ascended the throne on Jan. 29, 48 B.C., so that he was 25 full years old when he ascended the throne and died on July 33, 8 B.C., aged 41.

336. The *Wei Tomb* 渭陵 was that of Emperor Yüan. It was built in 40 B.C. and the Emperor was buried there on Aug. 31, 33 B.C. It was located, according to Fu Tsan, 56 *li* north of Ch'ang-an, and, according to *Hs* 9.10a on the northern plain in the Shou-ling T'ing 壽陵亭 section of the Wei-ch'eng 渭城 prefecture. No county supporting this tomb was established (*Hs* 9.10a; *HFHD* II.328). Cf. *Hs* 9.13a; *San-fu huang-t'u* 6.6a. The Grand Empress Dowager neé Wang 王 was also buried there. Cf. *Hs* 99B.21b; also Wang Mang's wife. *Hs* 99C.10b,

337. *Hsieh Kuang-te* 薛廣德, style Ch'ang-ch'ing 長卿 was a Confucian scholar and authority on the *Book of Odes* who rose under Emperor Yüan to be Grandee Secretary.

He came from Hsiang 相 in the P'ei 沛 commandery and taught the Lu text of the *Book of Odes* in the kingdom of Ch'u. Kung Sheng 龔勝 and Kung She 龔舍 treated him as a teacher. When Hsiao Wang-chih was Grandee Secretary, he appointed Hsieh Kuang-te as his subordinate and recommended him as a person fit for a place at the court. So he became an Erudit and in 51 B.C. discussed the classics in the Shih-ch'ü Hall. He was promoted to be Grandee-remonstrant and took the place of Kung Yü 貢禹 Privy Treasurer of the Ch'ang-hsin Palace 長信宮 and on Jan. 17, 43 B.C. became Grandee Secretary.

As a man he was polished and elegant and was broad-minded. When he became one of the three highest ministers, he was frank in admonishing the Emperor. Within ten days after he had been installed, the Emperor Yüan favored the Kan-ch'üan Palace to perform the suburban sacrifice at the altar to the Supreme One, and after the ceremony was over he stopped to hunt. Hsieh Kuang-te, however, memorialized the Emperor that the people east of [the Han-ku] Pass were suffering bitterly and the Emperor should not enjoy himself but

should speedily return to the palace; the Emperor returned the same day. That autumn, when the Emperor went to perform the Seventh Month Wine sacrifice in the Imperial Ancestral Temple, he went out by the Pien Gate 便門 intending to travel by a towered boat. Hsieh Kuang-te stopped the imperial chariot, doffed his hat, and said, “It is proper to go by the bridge.” The Emperor replied, “Grandee, put on your hat.” Hsien Kuang-te answered that if the Emperor would not listen, he would cut his own throat and spatter the imperial chariot wheels with his own blood, so that the emperor could not enter the Temple. The Emperor was not pleased, and an Imperial Household Grandee Chang Meng 張猛 added his entreaties to those of Hsieh Kuang-te, but more sweetly. The Emperor said, “If you advise others, ought you not to do as he [Chang Meng] has done?” and then went by the bridge.

Several months afterwards, because the harvest had been bad and many people were vagabonds, together with the Lieutenant Chancellor Yü Ting-kuo 于定國 and the Commander-in-chief Shih Kao 史高, he asked to be retired. He was granted a comfortable carriage with a quadriga of horses and 60 catties of actual gold, and dismissed. He had been Grandee Secretary to the tenth month. He went east to his home, where the Grand Administrator of the P’ei Commandery met him at the border to honor him. Cf. *Hs* 71.8a-9a, 19.38a, 9.14a.

338. *Kuang Heng* 匡衡, style Chih-kuei 稚圭, title Marquis of Lo-an 樂安, was a Confucian scholar who rose to be Lieutenant Chancellor under Emperor Yüan.

He came from Cheng 承 in the Tung-hai 東海 Commandery. His father was a farmer. K’uang Heng liked study, but his family was poor, so he hired out as a servant in order to learn and his energy surpassed all others. He could explain the *Odes* in such a way as to please people.

When he was examined, he took the first place, but because he had not fulfilled the conditions, he was appointed as Authority on Ancient Matters to the Grand Master of Ceremonies. He was selected to fill a vacancy among the Literary Scholars of the Ping-Yüan 平原 Commandery at the recommendation of most of the scholars. Hsiao Wang-chih recommended K’uang Heng to Emperor Hsüan, but the Emperor did not care for Confucian scholars, so he sent K’uang Heng back to his post. But when the Heir-apparent (the future Emperor Yüan) had an interview with K’uang Heng, he was privately delighted.

When Emperor Yüan ascended the throne, Shih Kao 史高, because he was related to the Emperor on the Emperor’s mother’s side, became Commander-in-chief, General of Chariots and Cavalry and Intendant of the Affairs of the Masters of Writing and the General of the Van, Hsiao Wang-chih became his associate. Because the latter was a famous Confucian scholar and had previously taught the Emperor, he was especially favored by Emperor Yüan, and Shih Kao merely occupied his post and did nothing else, so there was enmity between him and Hsiao Wang-chih. Yang Hsing 楊興, the Prefect of Ch’ang-an, recommended to Shih Kao that he promote some well-known Confucian in order to acquire a reputation, and suggested K’uang Heng. Shih Kao accordingly made K’uang Heng his Division Chief and Consultant and recommended him to the Emperor. The Emperor made him a Gentleman-of-the-Palace and promoted him to be an Erudit and an Official Serving in the Inner Palace Apartments.

At this time (42 or 40 B.C.) there was an eclipse of the sun and an earthquake, and the Emperor asked what failure in the government produced these portents. K'uang Heng memorialized in reply, saying that amnesties only encouraged crime and that officials who sought for gain produce serious crime among the people. The Emperor was pleased and promoted him to be an Imperial Household Grandee and Junior Tutor to the Heir-apparent.

At this time the King of Ting-t'ao 定陶王, Liu K'ang 劉康, the son of the Brilliant Companion néé Fu 傅 was more favored by Emperor Yüan than the Heir-apparent and the Empress, and K'uang Heng memorialized the Emperor warning him against rivalries in the harem and among his sons.

After several years as Privy Treasurer, during which time he memorialized the Emperor several times, K'uang Heng was in 30 B.C. promoted to be Superintendent of the Imperial Household, on Aug. 29, 37 B.C. to be Grandee Secretary, and on Aug. 24, 36 B.C. he was made Lieutenant Chancellor and marquis of Lo-an 樂安, with the income of 600 households.

When Emperor Ch'eng ascended the throne, K'uang Heng memorialized the Emperor, warning him that concubines should be treated according to the classical principles. The Emperor respected and accepted his advice.

During the time of Emperor Yüan, the officials all feared the favorite eunuch, Shih Hsien 石顯. When Emperor Ch'eng newly ascended the throne, K'uang Heng and the Grandee Secretary Chen T'an 甄譚 memorialized the Emperor about Shih Hsien, stating in detail his former evil acts together with those of his clique. Thereupon the Colonel in Charge of the Retainers, Wang Tsun 王尊, memorialized the throne indicting them. When an imperial edict quashed the accusation, K'uang Heng became fearful and begged the Emperor's pardon for his crimes, and asked to resign his position and marquisate on account of his infirmities. The Emperor however refused to accept the resignation and sent him wine and food. So K'uang Heng arose and attended to his business. Afterwards, every time there was a flood, storm, or untimely event, K'uang Heng asked to retire, but the emperor refused to accept his resignation.

After a long time, K'uang Heng's son Ch'ang 匡昌 committed murder while drunk and was imprisoned, and K'uang Ch'ang's younger brother plotted with K'uang Ch'ang's retinue to usurp his position. When the matter became known, K'uang Heng took off his hat and shoes and went barefoot awaiting his punishment. The Emperor ordered him to put on his hat and shoes, but the high officials memorialized that he had privately taken some land, and so he was dismissed from his position on Feb. 3, 29 B.C. and finally sentenced and dismissed from his marquisate a little later. He was made a commoner and died in his home. His son K'uang Hsien rose to be Eastern Supporter and many of his family became Erudits. Cf. *Hs* 81.1a-11a, 19B.39a,b, 41a, 18.21a; *Sc* 96.24-5.