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Han Shu, Chapter 100a 'Postface'

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Han Shu, Chapter 100a

"Postface"

Translated by Anthony E. Clark

Fall 2002

100a.1

班氏之先，與楚同姓，令尹子文之後也。子文初生，棄於菅中，而虎乳之。楚人謂乳「穀」，謂虎「於釋」，故名穀於釋，字子文。楚人謂虎「班」，其子以爲號。秦之滅楚，遷晉、代之間，因氏焉。

The ancestors of the Ban family acquired their surname in the state of Chu, and their the descendants all derive from Prime Minister Ziwen.¹ When Ziwen was first born, he was abandoned at Meng marsh, and a tigress nursed him.² The people of Chu refer to nursing as "gou," and to tigers as "yutu." Thus, they called him Gou Yutu, and gave him the style Ziwen. The people of Chu [additionally] refer to tigers as "ban," and his son, [Dou Ban], took Ban as his style.³ When the state of Qin had destroyed Chu, the Ban family relocated to the area between Jin and Dai.⁴ In this way, Ban was made the family surname.

子文
↓
菅
↓
班
↓
班

100a.2

始皇之末，班壹避墜於樓煩，致馬牛羊數千口。值漢初定，與民無禁，當孝惠、高后時，以財雄邊，出入弋獵，旌旗鼓吹，年百餘歲，以壽終，故北方多以「壹」爲字者。

¹ The Prime Minister of Chu is mentioned in the *Lun Yu*, 5.19, and in the *Chun Qiu*, ...

² See *Chun Qiu Zonghuan*. . . Yan Shigu states that, "Meng is Yunmeng Marsh 菅雲菅澤也" (HS, 4197).

³ Yan Shigu states that, "Ziwen's son Dou Ban, was also a Prime Minister for Chu 子文之子門班亦爲楚令尹" (HS, 4197).

⁴ Jin was a state during the Zhou in what is now Shanxi province. Dai was an area in what is now Hebei province. See Cang Xiulang, ed. 倉修良主編, 「漢書辭典」山東教育出版社出版, 1996.

include pin yin

all previous & subsequent refs to the AS commentary should be checked for the inclusion of 子

班
壹

At the end of Qinshi's reign, Ban Yi relocated to the area of Loufan, and there raised several thousand horses, cattle, and sheep.⁵ Once the Han was first established, and the people were [still] unrestrained, and during the eras of Xiao Hui and Goa Hou, [Ban Yi] used his wealth to strengthen the borders. He [was always] leaving to, and returning from, hunts; flags and drums resounded. He lived for more than a hundred years, and came to an end after a long life. For these reasons, many people in the north took his style to be "Yi."

potu

100a.3

壹生孺，孺為任俠，州郡歌之。孺生長，官至上谷守。長生回，以茂材為長子令。回生況，舉孝廉為郎，積功勞，至上河農都尉，大司農奏課連最，入為左曹越騎校尉。成帝之初，女為⁶，致仕就第，貲累千金，徙昌陵。昌陵後罷，大臣名家皆占數于長安。

班
壹

Ban Yi had a son named Ban Ru, who was so chivalrous that the people of the Regions and Commanderies acclaimed him. Ban Ru had a son named Ban Zhang, who became the Protectorate of Shanggu.⁶ Ban Zhang had a son named Ban Hui, who became the Prefect in Zhangzi because of his refined abilities.⁷ Ban Hui had a son named Kuang, who became a Court-Gentleman when the filial and upright were being distinguished. His meritorious works accumulated, and he became the Commandant-of-Agriculture at Shanghe.⁸ As the Chamberlain-for-the-National-Treasury, his memorials and remonstrations accumulated. He became the Head-of-the-Left-of-the-Mounted-Calvary. During the first reign-year of emperor Cheng, Ban Kuang's daughter attained the distinction of Palace

↓
班
張
↓
長
↓
回
↓
況

⁵ According to Yan Shigu, the area Loufan is in the Commandery of Yanmen 鴈門 (HS, 4198). Yan also states that *zhu* 墜 is a place name. I do not read it as such (Ibid.).
⁶ Shanggu Commandery 上谷郡 was located in what is now Hebei province.
⁷ Zhangzi Prefecture 長子縣 was located in what is now Shanxi province.

Jie Yu
女

Consort within the emperor's harem. Ban Kuang occupied an official rank and accumulated wealth to the amount of one hundred *jin*.⁹ He relocated to Changling,¹⁰ and thereafter settled. Great ministers and renowned families were often in Changan [while Kuang was there].

100a.4

況生三子：伯、旂、□。伯少受詩於師丹，大將軍王鳳薦伯宜勸學，召見宴昵殿，容貌甚麗，誦說有法，拜為中常侍。時上方鄉學，鄭寬中、張禹朝夕入說尚書、論語於金華殿中，詔伯受焉。既通大義，又講異同於許商，遷奉車都尉。數年，金華之業絕，出與王、許子弟為□，在於綺襦紉□之間，非其好也。

伯旂也

Ban Kuang had three sons, Bo, You, and Zhi. When Ban Bo was young, he received instruction in the *Shijing* from Shi Dan. Wang Feng, the Great General, recommended that Bo should be encouraged in his studies, and he was thus summoned for an audience at the Anni Temple. As his countenance was quite pleasing and his recitations and discussions were reasonable, he was given the post of Palace-Attendant-in-Ordinary. At that time, the senior tutors, Zheng Kuangzhong and Zhang Yu, entered into discussions regarding the *Shang shu* and the *Lun yu* at Jinhua Temple.¹¹ They summoned Ban Bo in order to received his ideas. They penetrated great meanings and discussed how their [ideas] were agreed and disagreed with those of Xu Shang. Bo was transferred to the post of Commandant of Chariots. After several years, the work at Jinhua Temple came to an end. They departed [from the temple] and the sons and younger brothers of Wang and Xu formed cliques. [However,] Bo was not fond of such men as those with fine clothing from wealthy families.

identity
identity

identity

identity

100a.5

⁸ Yan Shigu states that the "Nongduwei is who takes charge of agrarian affairs 農都尉者典農事" (HS, 4198). Presumably, "Shanghe 上河" implies "north of the Yellow River."

⁹ A *jin* 金 is xxxxx

¹⁰ Changling 陵 was located in what is now xxxxxxxx

白陵

Palace Map
in China - Cambridge
Arch. vol. 1,
p. 134

家本北邊，志節[□]慨，數求使匈奴。河平中，單于來朝，上使伯持節迎於塞下。會定襄大姓石、李[□]輩報怨，殺追捕吏，伯上狀，因自請願試守期月。上遣侍中中郎將王舜馳傳代伯護單于，并奉璽書印綬，即拜伯爲定襄太守。定襄聞伯素貴，年少，自請治劇，畏其下車作威，吏民竦息。伯至，請問耆老父祖故人有舊恩者，迎延滿堂，日爲供具，執子孫禮。郡中益弛，諸所賓禮皆名豪，懷恩醉酒，共諫伯宜頗攝錄盜賊，具言本謀亡匿處。伯曰：「是所望於父師矣。」乃召屬縣長吏，選精進掾史，分部收捕，及它隱伏，旬日盡得。郡中震[□]，咸稱神明。歲餘，上徵伯。伯上書願過故郡上父祖[□]。有詔，太守都尉以下會。因召宗族，各以親[□]加恩施，散數百金。北州以爲榮，長老紀焉。道病中風，既至，以侍中光祿大夫養病，賞賜甚厚，數年未能起。

Ban Bo's household was originally in the north; as he was both self-restrained and noble, [the emperor] often sought him out to act as an emissary to the Xiongnu.¹² During the heping year of emperor Cheng's reign, the chieftain of the Xiongnu was to come to the Han Court, and the emperor charged Bo to manage a welcome at a strategic point in the frontier. There was [meanwhile] a meeting of the various ranks of the great Shi and Li families at Dingxiang regarding [a plot] for vengeance against a petty official. They [planned] to pursue, capture, and kill him. Accordingly, Ban Bo submitted an appeal to the emperor, stating that due to the circumstances he wished to act as the Protectorate for one year [in order to handle the affair at Dingxiang]. The emperor thus dispatched the Central[□] Attendant of the Leader of Court Gentlemen, Wang Shun, to make hast to replace Bo as protector of the chieftain of the Xiongnu. Wang Shun, at the same time, presented to Bo the documents and seal of office bestowing to him the post of Grand[□] Protector of Dingxiang. The people of Dingxiang had heard of Ban Bo's purity, nobility, and young age. Bo invited the administrators to a gathering with entertainment; they feared that he would descend from his chariot and use his authority against them. The petty officials and people were terrified!

¹¹ Yan Shigu states that "Jinhua Temple was at the Weiyang Palace 金華殿在未央宮" (HS, 4199).

¹² The Xiongnu, as they are referred to in Chinese, are known as the "Huns" in most western studies.

Once Ban Bo had arrived, he summoned and inquired upon the elders who had long been kindly; his welcome reached far, and [those who were in attendance] filled the hall. The entire day he presented [wine and food] in vessels, upholding the ^{rites} rights of son and grandson. Those in the Commandery were at ease.¹³ All of the attendants at the rites were notable bravados; they appreciated [Bo's] kindness and become inebriated from the wine. The guests together remonstrated ^{to} with Ban Bo, [suggesting] ^{that} he should vigorously bring in the bandits ^{who} had originally plotted to abscond into reclusion. Bo then said, "This is indeed why I ^{have} ^{ed} look to you, sirs." Accordingly, he summoned the seniors and petty officials of the Prefecture, selected the first-rate, and promoted them to the post of Secretariat. He dispersed them into various regions to capture [the bandits], who then crouched into hiding; [however], they were all obtained within ten days.¹⁴ The Palace Attendants trembled, and everyone called Ban Bo spiritually enlightened. In just over one year, the emperor summoned Bo. Ban Bo submitted a memorial to the throne requesting ^{that} the distinguished elders of the Commandery be elevated in rank. There was then issued a summons for the Great Protector ~~Commandants~~ to go below for a meeting [regarding Ban Bo's achievements]. Because of the summons, the imperial clansmen, all on the basis of their close or distant relations with the emperor, piled up beneficence in their giving, in order to give to Bo several hundred *jin* of cash. The people of the northern Region considered him honorable ^{and} and the seniors and elders recorded his [actions]. While traveling back [to the Court], a wind made Ban Bo ill. Once Bo had arrived, the Central ~~Attendant to the Grand~~ Master for Splendid Happiness [took him into his home] and nurtured his illness. He was awarded many gifts from the emperor, [but] could not arise from his bed for many years.

¹³ Yan Shigu states that, "Seeing Bo they were not afraid of punishment, and thus were themselves at ease 見伯不用威刑，故自解縱" (HS, 4200).

100a.6

供養東宮，進侍者李平爲□□，而趙飛燕爲皇后，伯遂稱篤。欠□
會許皇后廢，班□之，上出過臨候伯，伯惶恐，越□事。

At a meeting, the Empress Dowager, Xu, was deposed, and Ban Jieyu (the daughter of Ban Bo) offered her provisions at the Eastern Palace.¹⁵ Li Ping was then advanced into service as a Palace Consort, and Zhao Feiyan (Flying-Swallow) became the Empress Dowager. Bo was then informed of the dangers (at Court). After some time, the emperor sent someone to inquire after Ban Bo. Bo was afraid, and so he arose to look after affairs.

100a.7

自大將軍薨後，富平、定陵侯張放、淳于長等始愛幸，出爲微行，行則同輿執轡；入侍禁中，設宴飲之會，及趙、李諸侍中皆引滿舉白，談□大噓。時乘輿幄坐張畫屏風，畫紂醉踞姐已作長夜之樂。上以伯新起，數目禮之，因顧指畫而問伯：「紂爲無惡歸之，道，至於是虐？」伯對曰：「書云『乃用婦人之言』，何有踞肆於朝？所謂不如是之甚者也。」上曰：「苟不若此，此圖何戒？」伯曰：「『沈湎于酒』，微子所以告去也；『式號式諱』，大雅所以流連也。詩書淫亂之戒，其原皆在於酒。」上乃謂然歎曰：「吾久不見班生，今日復聞讜言！」放等不懌，稍自引起更衣，因罷出。時長信庭林表適使來，聞見之。

After the General-in-Chief, [Wang Feng], had died, Fu Ping, Ding Linghou, Zhang Fang, Chun Yuchang, and others, began to receive the emperor's favor, and they went out on incognito visits [throughout the empire]. When traveling, they rode in the same chariot while grasping the reigns together. They long served within the forbidden palace, set up banquets at which ^{the cups of} Empress Zhao, the Consort Li, and all of the feudal lords, ~~whose cups of~~

¹⁴ In ancient China the weeks were ten days long, according to the Lunar Calendar. The graphs are 旬 旬日.

¹⁵ The Empress Xu, Xu Kua 許誇, emperor Chengdi's wife, was established as Empress in 31 B.C. As she did not produce an heir, Empress Xu was demoted due to the rumors of detractors, and relocated to a marginal location (Changding 長定 Palace) in 18 B.C. Chengdi subsequently elevated his consort, Zhao Feiyan 趙飛燕, to the status of Empress, where she indulged in an extravagant lifestyle. Xu Kua was poisoned and died in 8 B.C.

wine never went dry. There were great sounds of chatter and laughter. While sitting within the chariot-canopy, a painting was opened in the wind. The painting depicted a drunken king Zhou [of the Yin/Shang] dallying with his consort, Dan Ji, spending a long evening in such delights. The emperor considered Ban Bo ^{be} to an intimate, often looking upon him respectfully. Thus, the emperor turned and pointed at the painting and asked Bo, "King Zhou was without the Way; how, then, did he come to such delight as this?" Ban Bo replied, "The *Shu* states: 'Thusly using the words of a woman,' how can they be employed in Court? Is not ^{that} what is called the evil of the multitudes returning to the emperor as severe as [employing a woman's words in court]?"¹⁶ The emperor then said, "In order to avoid such [depravity] as is depicted on this painting, which [of its themes] should be avoided?" Bo replied, "Weizi departed [from the Yin] because of [the king's] 'excessive drunkenness.'¹⁷ The 'great voices and great sounds' [of drunkenness] are what the [poets of the] 'Da ya' [lamentingly] transmit.¹⁸ The chaotic and lascivious activities censured in the *Shi* and the *Shu* all find their origin in [the excesses of] wine." The emperor then responded with a sigh, saying, "I have not had an audience with master Bo for a long time, and today I have again heard his excellent words!"¹⁹ Fang Zhang and his cohorts were displeased, and were little by little brought to reform their sartorial habits and stop their excursions. At that time, the

¹⁶ This line requires some explication. What I think Bo is trying to relay, is the idea that king Zhou's reliance upon his consort's suggestions, and their subsequent affect in Court, is as extreme as when the multitudes become evil because of the king's behavior. This presupposes the ideal that a sovereign's behavior affects the people of the state, viz. the people emulate the king.

¹⁷ See *(Shang shu)* "Weizi pian."

¹⁸ I have relied upon the comments of Yan Shigu in rendering this line. Cf. HS, 4202.

¹⁹ There are two notable points regarding this account (actual or apocryphal). First, this passage illustrates well Ban Gu's incessant concern with promulgating the Mandate of Heaven tenet, and second, I suppose that Ban Gu is gratuitously exclaiming his uncle's apparent moral sway over the emperor.

~~Mistress-of-the-Women's~~ ~~Quarters~~ had been summoned, and thus overheard the emperor's audience with Ban Bo.²⁰

100a.8

後上朝東宮，太后泣曰：「帝間顏色瘦黑，班侍中本大將軍所舉，宜寵異之，益求其比，以輔聖德。宜遣富平侯且就國。」上曰：「諾。」車騎將軍王音聞之，以風丞相御史奏富平侯罪過，上乃出放爲邊都尉。後復徵入，太后與上書曰：「前所道尙未效，富平侯反復來，其能默孳？」上謝曰：「請今奉詔。」是時許商爲少府，師丹爲光祿勳，上於是引商、丹入爲光祿大夫，伯遷水衡都尉，與兩師並侍中，皆秩中二千石。每朝東宮，常從；及有大政，俱使諭指於公卿。上亦稍厭游宴，復修經書之業，太后甚悅。丞相方進復奏，富平侯竟就國。會伯病卒，年三十八，朝廷愍惜焉。

Later, the emperor made a visit to the Eastern Palace. Empress Xu wept, saying, "Today, the emperor's complexion appears gaunt and dark [from worry]. The Palace Attendant, Ban Bo, who was originally recommended [to office] by the General-in-Chief, [Wang Feng], is rightly favored as exceptional. Men of his type ought to be often sought after in order to assist [the emperor's] sagely virtue. You should send Fu Pinghou back to his own state." The emperor responded, "Agreed!" The General-of-Chariots-and-Calvary, Wang Yin, overheard this, and in order to criticize the Assistant-Imperial-Clerk, presented a memorial to the emperor informing him of the crimes of Fu Pinghou.²¹ The emperor accordingly sent Zhang Fang to act as the Chief-Commandant at the frontiers. [Fu Pinghou and Zhang Fang] later returned to the capital, and the Empress accordingly submitted a document to the emperor that stated, "My former appeals to you have not yet been employed, and now Fu Pinghou has returned; how can I remain silent about this?" The emperor apologized, saying, "May my decree be today enforced." At that time, Xu Shang

²⁰ The precise meaning of this line remains unclear; I have translated it rather ambiguously. Presumably, the official from the women's quarters is who later recounts Ban Bo's audience to Empress Xu. This would explain the Empress' comments in the next section of the text.

was the Superintendent-of-the-Lesser-Treasury and Shi Dan was the Superintendent-of-the-Imperial-Household. Thereupon, the emperor advanced Xu and Shi to the post of Imperial-Household-Grandee. Ban Bo was promoted to the post of Chief-Commandant-of-Waters-and-Parks, and along with masters Xu and Shi, he attended to the emperor in the palace. They all held posts of two-thousand picul salaries. Each morning the emperor held Court at the Eastern Palace, and they normally accompany him. When there were matters of governmental significance, they were all sent to deliver the edicts to the Dukes and Chamberlains. The emperor over time began to dislike wandering and revelry, and returned to the occupation of cultivating himself with classic texts. The Empress was well pleased. The Chancellor, Fang Jin, presented another memorial to the emperor, which stated that Fu Pinghou had finally returned to his own state. Then, Ban Bo became ill and died at the age of thirty⁸. The Court grieved pitifully [over his death].

100a.9

旂博學有俊材，左將軍(師)史丹舉賢良方正，以對策爲議郎，遷諫大夫、右曹中郎將，與劉向校祕書。每奏事，旂以選受詔進讀口書。上器其能，賜以祕書之副。時書不布，自東平思王以叔父求太史公、諸子書，大將軍白不許。語在東平王傳。旂亦早卒，有子曰嗣，顯名當世。

Ban You [Bo's younger brother] was widely learned and had excellent talents. The General-of-the-Left, Shi Dan,²² elevated worthy gentlemen of forthright character, and employed Ban You to respond to inquiries and to offer explanations to the Court-Gentlemen. You was promoted to the post of Grandee-Respondent, and then to Head-of-

²¹ Apparently, the criticisms lobbied against Fu Pinghou also implicated Zhang Fang, who was additionally sent away from the capital

²² The Shi Dan 史丹 mentioned here (HS 100a.11) is not the same Shi Dan 師丹 mentioned above (100a.10).

the-Right-of-the-Head-of-Gentlemen-of-the-Household.²³ He edited books within the emperor's private collection of manuscripts along with Liu Xiang. Each time that an edited manuscript was presented, Ban You was selected to receive the summons to enter the Court and read the various texts.²⁴ The emperor wondered at Ban You's talents, and bestowed to him duplicate copies of the texts in his private collection. ^{in that era} ~~At that time~~, texts were not disseminated. At that time, King Si from Dongping, by virtue of his being the emperor's uncle, requested a copy of the *Tai Shi Gong* ^{and} the works of the philosophers.²⁵ However, the General-in-Chief stated that it was unacceptable. This is discussed in [an earlier chapter of the *Han Shu* called] the "Dongping Wang Zhuan." Ban You, [like his brother Bo], died early. He had a son named Si who gained fame during that time.

施
↓
朝

100a.10

少為黃門郎中常侍，方直自守。成帝季年，立定陶王為太子，數遣中盾請問近臣，獨不敢答。哀帝即位，出為西河屬國都尉，遷廣平相。

When Ban Zhi, [the youngest brother of Ban Bo and Ban You], was young, ^{he} often served the emperor as the Gentleman-of-the-Palace-of-the-Yellow-Gates. He was morally upright and self-restrained. During Chengdi's final year, he established the king of ^{Lu} Luotao, as the heir apparent.²⁶ The emperor several times dispatched Palace-Patrolmen to ask his close ministers about [his selection]. Ban Zhi was the only one who did dare to respond.²⁷ When

孫

²³ By now the reader has certainly noticed how ridiculously long official titles had become during the Han dynasty. After consulting numerous Chinese and English works on official titles, it appears to me that the only way to translate the unwieldy titles is precisely as I have. I must admit, however, that the mechanics of official life during the Han is not my specialty (I am most interested in the literary merits of the *Han Shu*, rather than its historical function, per se), and I may have erred in how I have rendered the titles.

²⁴ Yan Shigu comments that You read the text before the emperor himself (HS, 4203).

²⁵ The text, *Tai shi gong* 太史公, is otherwise called the *Shi ji* 史記, by Sima Qian. This account, of course, is included to emphasize the privileged relationship Ban You had with the emperor. It additionally adds further accolades to the Ban family's prestige in general.

²⁶ Liutao Wang, or Liu Xin 劉欣, was nominated to be Heir Apparent in 8 B.C. at the age of eighteen. Liu Xin was Chengdi's nephew.

²⁷ Yan Shigu states, "He was cautious in his speech 言其慎" (HS, 4204).

Aidi acceded the throne, he sent Ban Zhi to Xihe to act as the Chief-Commandant-of-State.²⁸ Afterward, he was promoted to the post of Chancellor of Guangping.²⁹

100a.11

王莽少與[○]兄弟同列友善，兄事[○]而弟畜[○]。旃之卒也，修緦麻，賻贈甚厚。平帝[○]位，太后臨朝，莽秉政，方欲文致太平，使使者分行風俗，采頌聲，而[○]無所上。琅邪太守公孫闔言災害於公府，大司空甄豐遣屬馳至兩郡諷吏民，而劾闔空造不祥，[○]絕嘉應，嫉害聖政，皆不道。太后曰：「不宣德美，宜與言災害者異罰。且後宮賢家，我所哀也。」闔獨下獄誅。[○]懼，上書陳恩謝罪，願歸相印，入補延陵園郎，太后許焉。食故祿終身。由是班氏不顯莽朝，亦不罹咎。

When Wang Mang was young, he was on friendly terms with Ban Zhi, as if they were older and younger brother. Wang served Ban You as if ~~he~~ was an elder brother and looked after Ban Zhi as he would a younger brother. When Ban You died, Wang Mang provided funerary dress, as well as fine cloth, horses, and chariots, for the Ban family in large measure. When Pingdi became emperor,³⁰ the Empress Dowager,³¹ descended into the Court and Wang Mang took control of State affairs [as regent]. Wang desired to bring about great peace by means of literary refinement. He dispatched emissaries to divide themselves among ~~the~~ common customs and collect hymns. Ban Zhi presented none. The Grand-Protector of Langye, Gongsun Hong spoke of calamities at the Ducal Mansion.³² The Grand-Minister-of-Works, Zhen Feng, was sent to to rush to the two commandaries as a censor of the petty-officials and people, and he charged Gongsun Hong with fabricating inauspicious portents.

²⁸ Aidi is the posthumous name of Liu Xin. Xihe refers to a section of the Yellow River.

²⁹ Guangping was a prefecture during the Han, located in what is now Hebei province.

³⁰ The Eastern Han emperor, Pingdi 平帝, became emperor in A.D. 55.

³¹ The Empress Dowager mentioned here is probably Wang Zhengjun 王政君, Yuandi's consort and Wang Mang's aunt. She supported Wang Mang as regent to Pingdi, but in the end displayed her allegiance to the Liu family as the legitimate rulers of the state when Wang Mang usurped the throne. Ban Gu praises her for her final loyalty to the Han.

³² Langye is a mountain located in modern Shandong. Gongsun Hong is, presumably, reporting the occurrence of calamities in order to discredit Wang Mang, who is at this time attempting to bolster his own authority.

Ban Zhi, [thus], no longer esteemed [Wang Mang], and despised how [Wang] had harmed the sagely governance [of the Liu Family] and was completely contrary to the Way. The Empress Dowager exclaimed, “[Gongsun Hong] does not promulgate virtue and goodness; it is proper that those who speak of calamities are separated and fined. Moreover, I am worried about the worthy families of the imperial consorts.” Hong alone was executed in prison. Ban Zhi was frightened and submitted a document to [Wang Mang] recalling his beneficence and apologizing for his own guilt. He stated his desire to return his seal of office and fill in as Gentleman of the Imperial Mausoleum. The Empress Dowager agreed to this, and he was given an emolument of food until his death. From this [affair] the Ban Family did not appear in the court of Wang Mang, and thus avoided misfortune.

returning to the Liu family
 700
 300

100a.12

初，成帝性寬，進入直言，是以王音、翟方進等繩法舉過，而劉向、杜鄴、王章、朱雲之徒肆意犯上，故自帝師安昌侯，諸舅大將軍兄弟及公卿大夫、後宮外屬史許之家有貴寵者，莫不被文傷詆。唯谷永嘗言「建始、河平之際，許、班之貴，傾動前朝，熏灼四方，賞賜無量，空虛內臧，女寵至極，不可尚矣；今之後起，天所不饗，什倍於前。」永指以駁譏趙、李，亦無間云。

Formerly, Chengdi's nature was magnanimous, and he promoted men who spoke directly [regarding the emperor]. Accordingly, Wang Yin and Zhai Fangjin, and others, presented criticisms [of other officials] based upon laws to the emperor, and Liu Xin, Du Ye, Wang Zhang, and Zhu Yun's disciples directed their intention towards rebellion. Therefore, from the Imperial-Tutor, An Changhou,³³ all of the emperor's maternal uncles, the General-in-Chief, the emperor's brothers, to the Chamberlains, Grandees, and including the favored Shi and Xu families outside the palace, there were none who [escaped] slander. Only Gu Yong stated that, “Between the time of the *jianshi* (32 B.C.) and *heping* (28 B.C.) [reign-years], the

identity these
 2 #4

honored Xu and Ban families were active before the court, glorifying the four-directions; the gifts bestowed to them were without measure, emptying the inner-treasury. Their women were favored to such an extent that could not be surpassed. (Those with those who are currently elevated, the blessings not given by Heaven will multiply from before)³⁴ Yong's point was to censure [the consorts] Zhao [Feiyan] and Li [Ping], and he was, moreover, ~~not~~ *incorrect. correct in doing so.*

retranslate

100a.13

Missing 字?
生彪·彪字叔皮，幼與從兄嗣共遊學，家有賜書，內足於財，好古之士自遠方至，父黨揚子雲以下莫不造門。

Ban Zhi had a son named Biao, who was styled Shupi. When he was young, he followed Ban Si, [his cousin], as he would an older brother, and together they wandered in pursuit of learning. The Ban family had been given a library [by the emperor] and had sufficient wealth. Those scholars who were fond of antiquity came from distant areas, and men of his father's group, such as Yang Xiong and others, all came to their door.

100a.14

嗣雖修儒學，然貴老嚴之術·桓生欲借其書，嗣報曰：「若夫嚴子者，絕聖棄智，修生保真，清虛澹泊，歸之自然，獨師友造化，而不為世俗所役者也·漁釣於一壑，則驕君之餌，蕩然萬物不奸其志；栖遲於一丘，則天下不易其樂·不結聖人之罔，不肆志，談者不得而名焉，故可貴也·今吾子已貫仁誼之羈絆，繫名聲之韁鎖，伏周、孔之軌躅，馳顏、閔之極摯，既繫攀於世教矣，何用大道為自眩曜？昔有學步，又復失其故步，遂匍匐而歸耳！恐似此類，故不進。」
[*○*於邯鄲者·曾未得其髣三]嗣之行已持論如此·

³³ An Changhou 安昌侯 is otherwise know as Zhang Yu 張禹. He was an *erudite* who was made tutor to Chengdi when he was still the heir-apparent.

³⁴ The translation of this line (天所不饗，什倍於前) remains tentative. It is clearly a critique leveled against Zhao and Li.

Although Ban Si was ^{learned} studied in Confucianism, he nonetheless valued the arts of Laozi and Zhuangzi. Huan Sheng [Tan]³⁵ desired to borrow texts [from the Ban Family], but Ban Si refused him saying, "One such as Zhuangzi resists the wisdom of the sagely occupation and cultivates life and protects the genuine. He purifies, empties, makes peaceful, and returns ^{to} what is self-so. He takes himself alone as teacher and friend [in order] to arrive at transformation, and does not act according to the customs of his era. Fish in the channel and the myriad objects ^{do} will not contradict ^{their intentions} the will; be settled on a hillock, and the kingdom will not change from its delight; do not be hindered by the trap of the sage or smell the food [salary] of the haughty lord; wash away, burn, and release your intentions. Those who discuss do not understand and thus [assign] names [to what they have discussed]. Accordingly, they are valued. Now, you my good sir, have already been linked by the fetters of benevolence and propriety, and ^{are} held by the reigns of the famous. You submit to the Duke of Zhou and the traces of Confucius, hastening to the greatness of ^{顏 閔} Yan and Min. You are already entwined by the teachings of the teachings of that generation indeed! Of what use is the great Way in becoming famous? In antiquity, there were those who studied to advance in the direction of Han Dan. They never became like him, but repeatedly lost what had made them advance. Accordingly, they crawled back.

100a.15

叔皮唯聖人之道然後盡心焉。年二十，遭王莽敗，世祖即位於冀州。時隗囂據壘擁，招輯英俊，而公孫述稱帝於蜀漢，天下雲擾，大者連州郡，小者據縣邑。囂問彪曰：「往者周亡，戰國並爭，天下分裂，數世然後乃定，其抑者從橫之事復起於今乎？將承運迭興在於一人也？」願先生論之。對曰：「周之廢興與漢異。昔周立爵五等，諸侯從政，本根既微，枝葉強大，故其末流有從橫之事，其勢然也。漢家承秦之制，並立郡縣，主有專己之威，臣無百年之柄

³⁵ Huan Sheng 桓生, or Huan Tan 桓譚, was a philosopher of whose works few survive. He was appreciated by the later intellectual, Wang Chong.

，至於成帝，假借外家，哀、平短祚，國嗣三絕，危自上起，傷不及下。故王氏之貴，傾擅朝廷，能竊號位，而不根於民。是以即真之後，天下莫不引領而歎，十餘年間，外內騷擾，遠近俱發，假號雲合，咸稱劉氏，不謀而同辭。方今雄桀帶州城者，皆無七國世業之資。詩云：『皇矣上帝，臨下有赫，鑒觀四方，求民之莫。』今民皆謳吟思漢，鄉仰劉氏，已可知矣。」囂曰：「先生言周、漢之勢，可也，至於但見愚民習識劉氏姓號之故，而謂漢家復興，疏矣！昔秦失其鹿，劉季逐而拊之，時民復知漢虐！」既感囂言，又愍狂狡之不息，乃著王命論以救時難。其辭曰：

Shupi singularly [studied] the way of the sages, and afterward exhausted his mind toward it.³⁶ He was twenty at the time of the punishment of Wang Mang and Guangwu became the emperor at Jizhou.³⁷ At that time, Wei Ao occupied the area of Long [tomb mound] with many supporters, gathering bravados and worthies. Gongsun Shu proclaimed himself emperor at Shuhan.³⁸ The kingdom was as swelling clouds. Great [men] were implicated in the Regions and Commanderies, and the small occupied the Prefectures and the Districts. Ao asked Ban Biao, "As the destruction of the Zhou approached, the warring states all contended, the kingdom was split apart, and it was not settled again for several generations. Alas! (Arc the stratagems of the Vertical and Horizontal theorists to again arise in our own time? Must the inheritance [of the kingdom] be destined to rise for a single man? I am willing, sir, that you expatiate this." Ban Biao replied ("The destruction and rise of the Zhou is unlike the Han. Formerly, the Zhou state established the Five Noble Ranks, and the Feudal Lords accordingly governed [in different ways]; the root was weak but the branches and leaves were strong. For this reason, there were the works of itinerant Vertical and Horizontal theorists; such ^{was} ~~were~~ their strengths. The Household of Han inherited the governance of the Qin, and [re]established the Commanderies and Prefectures. Lords were

³⁶ Zhang Yan comments that, "Gu desired not to speak of his father's [name, as it would be] taboo; thus he only mentions his style 固不欲言父諱，舉其字耳" (HS, 4207).

³⁷ Jizhou 冀州 was one of the "Nine Rivers," located in the modern area of southeast Hebei.

empowered by specializing themselves and ministers ^{remained} powerless for five-hundred years. Once we arrive at the reign at the reign of Chengdi, he borrowed from the outside families,³⁹ and the imperial tenures of Aidi and Pingdi were truncated. The state was disrupted three times. The perils arose from ^{above} ~~the emperor~~, but no harm was done to those below. Accordingly, the Wang family (Wang Mang) was ennobled, exerted its authority in Court, and was able to arrogate the imperial title and position without being rooted in the people. Therefore, after all this had become true, the entire kingdom was caused to sigh, and within the period of ten years, those from within and without lamented their agitations and everyone near and far expressed [their feelings]. Those with borrowed titles gathered like clouds, everyone acclaimed the Liu family, ^{[but] they did not scheme to, say the} ~~and everyone departed [from the capital] without~~ ^{some words [their accolade were a pretense]} ~~making plans~~. At present, of the heroic gentlemen who are led to the Regional towns, none avail themselves to the occupations of the warring states period. The Shi states ~~that~~: 'August indeed, is god on high! He descends his brilliance and examines the four-directions, seeking to establish the people.'⁴⁰ Now, the people all extol and contemplate the Han, lifting up the Liu family. This is indeed obvious!' Ao said, "Sir, your disquisitions regarding the strengths of the Zhou and Han are reasonable."⁴¹ However, you have yet to look at the simple people, study how to understand the reason the Liu clan attained its [imperial] title, and what is referred to ^{as} ~~the~~ return of the Han house. This is careless indeed! Formerly, the Qin lost [the state] ^{as} as if losing a deer, and Liu Ji, [the founder of the Han], accordingly captured it. Do the people of today know that the Han will again [arise]?" Biao was moved by Wei Ao's

*
 explanation of
 the Wen era's failure

³⁸ Shuhan 蜀漢, literally "the Shu commandery of Han," was located in what is now Sichuan province.

³⁹ The term "outside families" implies the relatives of the imperial consorts. As we have seen, Ban Gu's Great-Aunt, the *Jieyu* (the daughter of Ban Kuang), was a favored consort of Chengdi. Thus, one of the "outside families" that Chengdi "borrowed" his efficacy from was the Ban family. However, this passage pejoratively implies that such reliance upon "outside families" results in the shortening of imperial tenure. Certainly, Ban Gu is suggesting here that the reigns of Chengdi, Aidi, and Pingdi, were truncated due to their inappropriate reliance upon such ignoble consorts as Li Ping and Zhao Feiyan.

⁴⁰ (Shijing) "Da ya, Huang yi."

speech, and moreover pitied his unceasing arrogance and craftiness. Accordingly, he wrote the “Essay on the Kingly Mandate” in order to save his era from its difficulties. His document stated:

100a.16

昔在帝堯之禪曰：「咨爾舜，天之曆數在爾躬。」舜亦以命禹。臯于稷，咸佐唐虞，光濟四海，奕世載德，至于湯武，而有天下。雖其遭遇異時，禪代不同，至于應天順民，其揆一也。是故劉氏承堯之祚，氏族之世，著乎春秋。唐據火德，而漢紹之，始起沛澤，則神母夜號，以章赤帝之符。由是言之，帝王之祚，必有明聖顯懿之德，豐功厚利積業之業，然後精誠通於神明，流澤加於生民，故能為鬼神所福饗，天下所歸往，未見運世無本，功德不紀，而得屈起在此位者也。世俗見高祖興於布衣，不達其故，以為適遭暴亂，得奮其劍，游說之士至比天下於逐鹿，幸捷而得之，不知神器有命，不可以智力求也。悲夫！此世所以多亂臣賊子者也。若然者，豈徒闡於天道哉之於人事矣！(1?)又不。

“In antiquity, during emperor Yao’s abdication, he said, ‘Oh, you Shun, the will of Heaven rests upon your person.’⁴² Shun, moreover, used these words to transmit the Mandate to Yu. Then, Ji and Xie both served Tang (Yao) and Yu (Shun), enlightening the four seas, making their generations grand with multiplied virtue, until Tang and Wu had attained the kingdom. Even though the difficulties they encountered were of different eras, and those whom they yielded the kingdom to were not the same, once we see how they responded to Heaven and accorded with the people, [we know that] their principle was the same. (For this reason the Liu family inherited the reign-authority of Yao; for its family’s generations are recorded in the *Chun Qiu* Tang (Yao) ruled by virtue of Fire, and the Han continues it.) In the beginning ⁱⁿ [Gaozu] arose from the Pei marsh, and then the spirit of the mother wailed at night as a sign of the Red Emperor’s agreement. From this it can be seen

天命論

⁴¹ I have rendered the term “ke ye 可也” as “reasonable.” It may otherwise be translated as “possible.”

⁴² Here begins the famous essay by Ban Gu’s father, Ban Biao, “Essay on the Kingly Mandate 王命論.” For this passage see *Lun yu*, 20.1.

quotation

these are some
examples.

that the reign-authority of the emperor must be by virtue of enlightened sagacity and manifest merit, as well as an occupation by rich worth and great advantage long accrued. Afterward, [the emperor's] true sincerity will penetrate to the enlightened spirits and flowing virtue will be added to the living people; he will accordingly be able to make prosperous offerings to the spirits, and the kingdom will turn to him. An occasion has never been seen that generations have revolved without fundamental [evidence] of [a man's] merit and virtue that can be recorded, and yet specially attained the dignified status of emperor. The commoners of his generation witnessed Gaozu's rise from the masses and could not arrive at the reason; they surmised that he encountered the harshness and chaos [of his era] and was able to wield his sword with force. The wandering scholars of persuasion likened the kingdom to a deer chase; the diligent and speedy obtain it. They did not understand that the spiritual vessels [of the emperor] are Mandated. It cannot be sought after by means of wisdom or power. Lamentable indeed, are the many rebellious ministers and cunning sons of this generation. How could such a group of people be so obtuse regarding the Way of Heaven, and moreover disregard the affairs of man?

100a.17

夫餓饉流隸，飢寒道路，思有裋褐之褻，儻石之畜，所願不過一金，然終於轉死溝壑。何則？貧窮亦有命也。況虐天子之貴，四海之富，神明之祚，可得而妄處哉？故雖遭權□會，竊其權柄，勇如信布，彊如梁、籍，成如王莽，然卒潤鑊伏質，亨醢分裂，又況□，尚不及數子，而欲闇奸天位者虐！是故駑蹇之乘不騁千里之塗，燕雀之矚不奮六翮之用，竊稅之材不荷棟梁之任，斗筭之子不秉帝王之重。易曰「鼎折足，覆公餗」，不勝其任也。

“Now, the starving are as the wandering reprobate, hungry and roaming the roads.

They think of wearing the coarse inner garments of a servant, bearing a small portion of

millet, and consent to only a few coins. Yet, this being so, they [still] topple dead into a gully. How is this so? The impoverished also have their Mandate. How could the nobility of the Son of Heaven, the prosperity of the four-seas, and the blessings of the enlightened spirits, be seized and recklessly occupied? Accordingly, while some encounter a time of misfortune, and arrogate the power and authority [of the emperor], such as the courageous Han Xin and Ji Bu, the strong Xiang Liang and Xiang Yu (Ji), and the able like Wang mang, they end up in the glistening cauldron [boiled alive], bent over the cutting block [and losing their heads], or cooked and minced into several pieces. Moreover, how can those who are meager and unequal to such as the above men desire to, in their blindness and cunning, occupy such a heavenly status [as king]? Accordingly, a chariot with a lame old steed cannot swiftly traverse a road of a thousand *li*, swallows and sparrows of the land cannot fly with the vigor of those [grander birds] that fly in flocks of six,⁴³ the structure of braces and joists cannot bear the weight of beams and ridgepoles, and a common shallow man cannot rule with the weight of a king. It is said in the Yijing that⁴⁴ A tripod with a broken leg topples out the Duke's grain.⁴⁴ It cannot bear its own duty.

identify

This reminds of 項羽's declaration that 天 caused he is fall . . .

we must be capable

100a.18

當秦之末，豪桀共推陳嬰而王之，嬰母止之曰：「自吾為子家婦，而世貧賤，卒富貴不祥，不如以兵屬人，事成少受其利，不成禍有所歸。」嬰從其言，而陳氏以寧。王陵之母亦見項氏之必亡，而劉氏之將興也。是時陵為漢將，而母獲於楚，有漢使來，陵母見之，謂曰：「願告吾子，漢王長者，必得天下，子謹事之，無有二心。」遂對漢使伏劍而死，以固勉陵。其後果定於漢，陵為宰相封侯。夫以匹婦之明，猶能推事理之致，探禍福之機，而全宗祀於無窮，垂策書於春秋，而況大丈夫之事乎！是故窮達有命，吉凶由人，嬰母知廢，陵母知興，審此四者，帝王之分決矣。

break citation . . .

⁴³ This section is tentatively translated.

⁴⁴ See Yijing

“During the end of the Qin dynasty, the bravados together endorsed Chen Ying, and made him king. His mother stopped him saying, “When I became the wife [of your father] in your household, sir, your family had for generations been poor and humble; for it to in the end become prosperous and wealthy would be inauspicious. It would be better to entrust your army to the command of another. If this affair ends successfully there will be small profit, but if it ends unsuccessfully the return will be calamity.” Ying followed her advice and the Chen family, on the basis of this, were at peace. Wang Ling’s mother, moreover, saw the Xiang family’s demise and the Liu family’s imminent establishment [as heir to the kingdom].⁴⁵ During that time, Ling was a general for the Han, and his mother was captured by Chu. An emissary of the Han came [to Chu] and Ling’s mother saw him and said, “I wish you to inform my son that the one who has grown to become the King of Han will certainly obtain the kingdom. My son must earnestly serve him, and not be of two minds [in this matter].” Then she faced the Han emissary and killed herself with a sword, ^{dying} and died in order to solidify and encourage [her son] Ling. Afterward, the Han was established and Ling was made Grand Counselor and enfeoffed as a marquis. Now, if the perspicacity of common women can envisage the reasonable outcome of affairs, explore the bounds of misfortune and fortune, can completely [make certain that] the ancestral sacrifices continue unceasingly, and have their events recorded into the annals of history, how much more so can the efforts of great ministers? Therefore, deprivation and prominence are mandated [by Heaven], and auspiciousness and inauspiciousness derive from [the agencies of] men. Ying’s mother understood failure and Ling’s mother understood success. By investigating these four [deprivation, prominence, auspiciousness, and inauspiciousness], the distinction of king [and non-king] is decided.

identify
Chen Ying

Wang Ling

identify

Men of Heaven have their agencies.

ie. the attributes of a King are discernable in a legitimate war of Heaven. This is a prediction, isn't it?

蓋在高祖，其興也有五：一曰帝堯之苗裔，二曰體貌多奇異，三曰神武有徵應，四曰寬明而仁恕，五曰知人善任使。加之以信誠好謀，達於聽受，見善如不及，用人如由己，從諫如順流，趣時如嚮赴；當食吐哺，納子房之策；拔足揮洗，揖酈生之說；寤戍卒之言，斷懷土之情；高四皓之名，割肌膚之愛；舉韓信於行陳，收陳平於亡命，英雄陳力，口策畢舉；此高祖之大略，所以成帝業也。若乃靈瑞符應，又可略聞矣。初劉媪任高祖，是以王、武感物而折券而夢與神遇，震電晦冥，有龍蛇之怪。及其長而多靈，有異於形而進女；秦皇東游以厭其氣，呂后望雲而知，呂公所處；始受命則白蛇分，西入關則五星聚。故淮陰、留侯謂之天授，非人力也。

“Now, Gaozu’s rise [to power] had five [features]. First, he is said to have descended from the emperor Yao. Second, he is said to have had a physical countenance with many extraordinary distinctions. Thirdly, he is said to have had verifying [signs] of his spiritual subjugation [of the kingdom], fourth, he is said to have been broadly enlightened and humanely compassionate. Fifth, he is said to have understood men’s talents and employed them [accordingly]. Additionally, he was trustworthy, sincere, and fond of stratagems; he was exceptional at listening [to advice], saw the talented as if he were not as capable, and utilized men as he would himself. He followed remonstrations as if following a current, and ^{em}hasted to the times as an echo pursues a sound. On one occasion he spat out his meal and accepted the advise of Zi Fang;⁴⁶ [and later] he pulled up his feet from being washed in order to defer to the persuasion of Li Sheng.⁴⁷ He was enlightened by the words of a ^{Garrison-*manuscript*} soldier, and no longer longed for his home-soil.⁴⁸ He elevated the reputations of the four recluses, and

⁴⁵ For a more complete record of this account see HS, 2046-7.

⁴⁶ Zi Fang 子房 is Zhang Liang 張良, one of Gaozu’s ministers. For the account of his advise to the emperor see HS, 2029-30.

⁴⁷ Li Sheng 酈生, like Zi Fang, was also a minister of Gaozu who offered advice to him. See HS, 2029-2039, 2106.

⁴⁸ The soldier here is ^{certainly} probably of minor rank, ~~His title in the text is shu su 成卒.~~

which implies emphasizes Gaozu’s willingness to hear the advice of anyone regardless of social status.

all refer a leading to 國公

^{a man} rejected his affection for the flesh.⁴⁹ He promoted Han Xin among the ranks of the military,⁵⁰ and received Chen Ping as one whose destiny was to have fled [into his service after departing from Xiang Yu at Chu].⁵¹ The bravados arrayed their power and the various strategists were finally employed. This was Gaozu's great scheme that afforded him the imperial prerogative. Being so, he received the sanction of the sacred *Rui*, that, moreover, can be heard of in recapitulation.⁵² Previously, ^{Dame Liu} Liu Ao, when she bore Gaozu in her womb, encountered a spirit while dreaming, and there was thunder, lightning, and darkness.⁵³ There were the oddities of the dragon and the snake. Once he had matured, there were many sacred [signs] and things that distinguished him from the common people. Accordingly, Wang and Wu [observed] uncanny things and destroyed his [wine debt] tickets, and Duke Lu observed his countenance and offered him his daughter.⁵⁴ The Qin emperor traveled east in order to suppress Gaozu's *qi* [force of influence/manifestation].⁵⁵ The Empress Lu looked

⁴⁹ For the account of Gaozu's recognition of the four recluses see HS, 2033-2036.

⁵⁰ Han Xin 韓信 was an intimate of Xiao He 蕭何, Gaozu's minister, and was refused to join Gaozu's retinue. Xiao He, however, managed through machinations to reverse Gaozu's decision, resulting in Han Xin's employment as *Da Jun* 大軍. See HS, 30, 1863.

⁵¹ Chen Ping 陳平 was originally an officer under the auspices of Xiang Yu 項羽, but after fearing punishment during an intrigue among Xiang's retainers, Chen Ping was finally accepted by Gaozu, and became an intimate of his who shared his chariot. See HS, 34, 2039-2040.

⁵² The sacred *Rui* 靈瑞 was said to have been a sacred jade that represented the ratification of Heaven's Mandate.

⁵³ Liu Ao 劉媪, or Dame Liu, was Gaozu's mother, who is said in his biographies in the *Shiji* and *Han Shu*, to have conceived of her son in a supernatural way. Liu Ao is recorded as once having rested beside a large marsh. On that occasion she dreamt of an encounter with a spirit, and at that moment thunder and lightning appeared in the sky. When Gaozu's father went looking for his wife, Liu Ao, he witnessed a scaly dragon above her. The account, in the typical terse style of Han writing, then relates that Liu Ao became pregnant and bore Gaozu. The reader is thus inclined to assume that Gaozu was accordingly conceived of by his mother and the dragon spirit. See HS, 1.

⁵⁴ Wang Ao 王媪 and Wu Fu 武負 were women who sold wine. They are said to have destroyed the tickets of Gaozu's wine debts after witnessing oddities above him while he was in effect passed out from alcohol consumption. See HS, 2. Duke Lu 呂公, who is recorded to have had the distinct ability to physiognomize people, noticed Gaozu's countenance, and offered him his daughter based upon his prediction that Gaozu would later amount to a high position. After some remonstrance from his wife, Lu Gong, in the end, gave his daughter to Gaozu. Lu Gong's daughter later gave birth to Gaozu's successor, Xiao Hui 孝惠. See HS, 3.

⁵⁵ The Qin emperor is said to have commented that in the Southeast there appeared a force/manifestation of the Son of Heaven [emperor], and traversed East in order to suppress his rise to power. However, as the sources state, Gaozu absconded to the Mang mountains and Dang marshes, preventing the Qin emperor from locating him. See HS, 8.

into the clouds and knew where Gaozu was, ^{during the time} [as he was in hiding from the Qin Emperor].⁵⁶

When Gaozu had at first received the Mandate, the ~~White~~ ^{White} snake was divided, and when he entered the pass the Five Stars aligned.⁵⁷ Accordingly, what Huai Yin [Han Xin] and Liu Hou [Zhang Liang] called Heaven's transmission was not [~~received~~] by human strength. _{obtained}

100a.20

歷古今之得失，驗行事之成敗，稽帝王之世運，考五者之所謂，取舍不厭斯位，符瑞不同斯度，而苟昧於權利，越次妄據，外不量力，內不知命，則必喪保家之主，失天年之壽，遇折足之凶，伏鈇鉞之誅。英雄誠知覺寤，畏若禍戒，超然遠覽，淵然深識，收陵、嬰之明分，絕信、布之覬覦，距逐鹿之謬說，審神器之有授，毋貪不可幾，為二母之所□，則福祚流于子孫，天祿其永終矣。

“Run through the gains and losses of antiquity and the present, examine the successes and failures of behaviors and affairs, inquire into the destinies of the generations of kings, and look into [the features] that are called the five aspects [of Gaozu's Mandate]. If one is unmindful of the occupation he should not occupy, if the contract of the *Rui* does not manifest as it did [for Gaozu], and if he ~~ignorantly~~ ^{lustily} vies for gain, recklessly transcends his rank, outwardly does not measure strength, and inwardly does not understand the Mandate, he will then be a *pater familias* who has lost the household he should have protected ^{he will} lose the long life allotted him by Heaven, encounter the calamity of a 'broken legged [cauldron],' and

take
transmits
destined position

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ On one occasion when Gaozu was traversing a path at night while drunk, one of his men reported seeing a white serpent ahead of them. Gaozu, in a moment of ~~hubris~~ ^{confidence}, hacked the snake into two parts and continued on his way. Later, after several *li*, he stopped to rest and recover from his drunkenness. Meanwhile, one of his followers who had fallen behind arrived at the place where Gaozu had divided the serpent. There he encountered an old woman weeping. She informed the man that her son, the son of the White God, had been slain by the son of the Red God. The man later recounted what he had heard to Gaozu, who in turn was delighted by the news. It may thus be surmised that the dragon that impregnated Gaozu's mother was none other than Gaozu's father, the Red God. On this basis, the Han took the color red as its sign. See HS, 7. The alignment of the Five Stars occurred when Gaozu arrived at Ba Shang 霸上. The account of the alignment told in the *Han Shu* states that on the occasion of his arrival at Ba Shang, Gaozu was presented with the imperial seal and other objects symbolic of the Qin's reign. The date of this presentation is discussed in Dubs, 151, Appendix I. See HS, . . . Some acknowledge this date as the beginning of the Former Han – Winter 207 B.C.

be executed while bowed down before the axe. If a hero has sincere knowledge and perspicacity, is awed by [Heaven's] admonitions of calamities, if he has exceptional foresight and profoundly trenchant understanding, if he receives Wang Ling and Chen Ying's enlightened distinctions, rejects the blind ambitions of Han Xin and Ji Bu, distances himself from the deer chase [ideal] of unreasonable persuaders, is judicious regarding who has received the spiritual vessel, and if he does not covet that which he cannot attain, in such a way as to incur [even] the ridicule of two women, then fortune and auspiciousness will flow to his sons and grandsons, and Heaven's prosperity will be with him to his final day."⁵⁸

the willows favor

11

100a.21

知隗囂終不寤，乃避墜於河西。河西大將軍竇融嘉其美德，訪問焉。舉茂材，為徐令，以病去官。後數應三公之召。仕不為祿，所如不合；學不為人，博而不俗；言不為華，述而不作。

Ban Biao knew that Wei Ao would not awaken to this, so he fled to an area west of the Yellow River. ~~East of the Yellow River~~ ^{There} the General-in-chief, Dou Rong, admired Ban Biao's fine virtue and so paid him a visit. He acknowledged his refined talents and made him the Director of Xu; Biao feigned illness, however, and departed from his post. Afterward, the Three Dukes summoned him several times, but he did not earn salary as an official, and there were none who accorded with him. He did not study for the sake of others; his studies were vast and uncommon; his speech was not flowery; and he transmitted without producing [original works].⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Here marks the end of the "Essay on the Kingly Mandate."

⁵⁹ For the last of these eulogium regarding Ban Gu's father, Ban Biao, see the *Lun Yu*, 7.1. Here it appears that Ban Gu is circuitously comparing his father to Confucius. Sima Qian ~~is~~ ^{is} this of himself. Additionally, it is noticeable here that Ban Gu does not acknowledge that his father authored any works on history, as is recorded in the *Hou Han Shu*.

h s

100a.22

有子曰固，弱冠而孤，作幽通之賦，以致命遂志，其辭曰：

Biao had a son named Gu. When Gu was capped at the age of twenty, ^{and} his father, Biao, died. Gu ^{accordingly} thus wrote his "Fu on Profundity" in order to express his fate and follow his will. He thus wrote it saying:

100a.32

永平中爲郎，典校祕書，專篤志於博學，以著述爲業，或譏以無功，又感東方朔、揚雄自論以不遭蘇、張、范、蔡之時，曾不折之以正道，明君子之所守，故聊復應焉，其辭曰：賓戲主人曰：

「蓋聞聖人有壹定之論，列士有不易之分，亦云名而已矣，故太上有立德，其次有立功，夫德不得後身而特盛，功不得背時而獨章，是以聖[□]之治，棲棲皇皇，孔席不[□]，墨突不黔，由此言之，取舍者昔人之上務，著作者前列之餘事耳，今吾子幸游帝王之世，躬帶冕之服，浮英華，湛道德，轡龍虎之文，舊矣，卒不能攄首尾，奮翼鱗，振拔洿塗，跨騰風雲，使見之者景駭，聞之者嚮震，徒樂枕經籍書，紆體衡門，上無所蒂，下無所根，獨攄意宇宇宙之外，銳思於豪芒之內，潛神默記，恆以年歲，然而器不賈於當己，用不效於一世，雖馳辯如濤波，擣藻如春華，猶無益於殿最，意者，且運朝夕之策，定合會之計，使存有顯號，亡有美謚，不亦優[□]？」

Ban Gu was a Court Gentleman during the Yong Ping era [of the emperor Ming Di].⁶⁰ He edited texts as a secretary, and focused his will on exhaustive study in order to make textual transmission his occupation. Someone mocked Ban Gu as one without merit, and moreover ~~stated~~ Dong Fangshuo⁶¹ and Yang Xiong to assert that they had not

~~locate the~~
~~date~~

→ remark
the
remainder
of the
chapter.

⁶⁰ The Yong Ping era was from A.D. 58-75.
⁶¹ Dong Fangshuo held various posts during the reign of Han Wudi. He is known for his ready wit. However, while Ban Gu's depictions of him appear to be somewhat value neutral, Yang Xiong's opinion of him was unfavorable. See HS, Chapter 65.

encountered an era such as that of Su, Zhang, Fan, or Cai.⁶² Nor had they succumbed to those who would rectify the Way or taken the enlightenment of the Gentleman as that which they maintained.⁶³ Accordingly, Ban Gu casually responded [to the their derision] in a document that stated:⁶⁴

“The guests have mocked me, their host, saying, [↗] We have heard that sagely men had distinct and sure judgments, and the various scholars had unalterable distinctions, and can moreover be said to have [noble] reputations, and that is all. Therefore, the most important are those who establish virtue, and second are those establish merit. Now, virtue is not obtained by being placed second [behind oneself] and thus having particular successes, nor is merit obtained in the past and thus being made evident [in the present]. Accordingly, the wise governance of the sages was in their haste – Confucius’ sitting-mat was not warm [as he often left it] and Mozi’s stove was not blackened [as he seldom had time to use it]. From this it can be said that employment and neglect [of certain actions] are what former men took as their highest duty, and textual transmission was a superfluous endeavor of the former ranks, and that is all. Now, you sir, are fortunate to roam within the generation of this emperor and wear the belt and cap of an official. On the surface, you are distinguished, and deep within you are virtuous, donning the refinement of the dragon and tiger. Long have you been thus. But in the end, you [are a dragon and] do not stretch your head and tail, exert your wings and scales, or pull yourself out of the mire to mount the wind and clouds in order to frighten those who behold your image, and cause to tremble those who hear your echo. You delight in resting upon classic texts, stooping beneath the door latch; above there is nothing with which to act as stem, and below there is nothing with which to act as root.

⁶² Su, Zhang, Fan, and Cai are rhetoricians from the Warring States era.

⁶³ The translation of this line is tentative.

⁶⁴ This document is referred to as the “A Response to Mocking Guests.”

Alone you spend the extent of your years extending your thoughts to beyond the universe and acutely concentrating upon the inside of a fine hair, quietly recording the obscurely spiritual. Being so, your skills will not be employed while you are alive; and your usefulness will not be made effective within this generation. Even if you rush to disputation like a mighty wave, or are patterned like spring flowers, you still could not improve from [your position] at the far most rear.⁶⁵ If your intention is to make use of memorials both night and day, and organize established meetings so that you [can] leave behind a name [for yourself], you [will still] not have a beautiful posthumous title.⁶⁶ Is this not an excellent [point]?’

100a.33

主人適爾而○曰：「若賓之言，斯所謂見勢利之華，闇道德之實，守突奧之熒燭，未印白日也。曩者王塗蕪穢，周失其御，侯伯方軌，戰國橫鶩，於是七雄虓闕，分裂天庭而諸夏，龍戰而虎爭。游說之徒，風颺電激，並起而救之，其餘森飛景附，煜燿其間者，蓋不可勝載。當此之時，擗朽摩鈍，鋏刀皆能壹斷，是故魯連飛一矢而蹶千金，虞卿以顧眄而捐相印也。夫啾發投曲，感耳之聲，合之律度，淫○而不可聽者，非韶、夏之樂也；因勢合變，偶時之會，風移俗易，乖忤而不可通者，非君子之法也。及至從人合之，衡人散之，亡命漂說，羈旅騁辭，商鞅挾三術以鑽孝公，李斯奮時務而要始皇，彼皆躡風雲之會，履顛沛之勢，據微乘邪以求一日之富貴，朝爲榮華，夕而焦瘁，福不盈○，○益溢於世，凶人且以自悔，況吉士而是賴虐！且功不可以虛成，名不可以僞立，韓設辯以徼君，呂行詐以賈國，說難既會，其身乃囚；秦貨既貴，厥宗亦隧。是故仲尼抗浮雲之志，孟軻養浩然之氣，彼豈樂爲迂闊哉？道不可以貳也。方今大漢洒埽○穢，夷險芟荒，廓帝紘，恢皇綱，基隆於羲、農，規廣於黃、唐；其君天下也，炎之如日，威之如神，函之如海，養之如春。是以六合之內，莫不同原共流，沐浴玄德，稟印太和，枝附葉著，譬猶山木之殖山林，鳥魚之毓川澤，得氣者蕃滋，失時者苓落，參天墜而施化，豈云人事之厚薄哉？今子處皇世而論戰國，耀所聞而疑所覲，欲從旄敦而度高虜泰山，懷汎濫而測深虐重淵，亦未至也。」

⁶⁵ I am not at all confident with my rendering of this line.

⁶⁶ The translation of this line is also tentative.

I, the host, am amused by this and mockingly respond, ‘Such are the words of my guests, that may be called exceptional snobbery; they are blind to the truth of ~~the way of~~ virtue. They value the flicker of candles in corners while not raising to behold the brilliant sun in Heaven’s court.⁶⁷ In former times, when the way of kings was covered with weeds, the Zhou lost its power and the Marquises and Earls rebelled,⁶⁸ and the Warring States were unrestrained. Accordingly, the seven states howled as tigers⁶⁹ and were split apart; they were like dragons at war and tigers contending. Itinerant sophists, within the gales and lightning [of their time], all arose to save the State. And in the additional swift winds that followed, and in the flashes [of the lightning], no-one could record [anything in writing]. During that time the poor of quality was used to press and the dull was used to scrape; such shoddy blades will in all cases be broken with but one application. Therefore, Lu Lian shot a single arrow [into Liao Cheng] and refused one thousand in gold [from the king of Zhao]. Yu Qing, on the basis of this, pitied him and gave up to him his seal of office.⁷⁰ Now, when the sound of chirping is emitted, all the ears of commoners respond to them and accord with their tunes; lascivious and unregulated [music] that cannot be listened to [by the gentleman] is unlike the [sacred] Shao and Xia music. While relying upon strength to accord with transmutation has an occasional affect on changing customs, that which is recalcitrant and cannot be comprehended is not what a gentleman employs as his methodology. Once we arrive to the time when some followed men to join with them, others evaluated men in order to depart from them, and the Mandate was absent, there were itinerant sophists and other

⁶⁷ Ying Shao comments that, “In the *Er Ya*, [it is said that] the southeastern corner is called the *yao* and the southwestern corner is called the *ao*.” See HS, 4228.

⁶⁸ Here, I take *gui* to imply rebellion. See *Ci Yuan*.

⁶⁹ The Seven states of the Warring States Era, 403-221 B.C. were the Qin 秦, Qi 齊, Chu 楚, Hann 韓, Zhao 趙, Wei 魏, and Yan 燕.

travelers who exerted their words. Shang Yang held to the Three Arts in order to reach Duke Xiao of the Qin, and Li Si was diligent in his time to serve and empower the First Emperor [of Qin].⁷¹ Others all followed opportunities like clouds in the wind, and followed power like a great collapse [that is, in desperation]. They look for auspiciousness and indulge themselves in depravity in order to seek a single day of wealth and nobility; in the morning they are rich and honorable, but by evening they are troubled and weary. Felicity does not fill their vision, but rather calamity inundates their generation. If such evil men, moreover, have regrets from their [actions], would not a virtuous man then be likewise? Moreover, merit cannot be achieved by means of inaction, and reputation cannot be established by means of pretense. Han Feizi set out his disputations in order to enrich his lord, and Lu Buwei was deceitful in order to sell his country.⁷²

The "Shuo Nan" records his heroic employment,
yet he experienced imprisonment.
The Qin sold him nobility,
yet he has no ancestry.⁷³

Accordingly, Confucius abnegated a drifting will and Mencius nurtured a great spirit [of cultivation]; could any other delight be so far and vast? The Way cannot be divided. Now, the Great Han has washed away all of the weeds, eliminated danger and eradicated misery,

quoades for the Han

⁷⁰ Lu Lian was XXXXXXXXX. Lu Qing was an official in the state of Zhao, and is the putative author of the *Yu Shi Chunqiu*.

⁷¹ Shang Yang 商鞅 (d. 338 B.C.) was an official under Duke Xiao 孝公. His original name was Wei Yang 衛鞅, or perhaps even Gongsun Yang 公孫鞅. Shang's despotic policies have established for him the reputation of being the progenitor of Legalism. Li Si 李斯 (d. 208 B.C.) was first a disciple of the great Confucian essayist, Xunzi 荀子 (310-c. 219 B.C.), and later became the chief advisor to the First Emperor of Qin 秦始皇帝. Li's policies are said to have adopted the harsh Legalistic methods of statecraft first proposed by Shang Yang.

⁷² Han Feizi 韓非子 (d. 233 B.C.) was an official in the state of Han who later was employed by the First Emperor of the Qin. Like Li Si, he was a disciple of Xunzi and promulgated Legalist principles. He is the putative author of the essays now comprising the *Han Feizi*. Lu Buwei 呂不韋 (d. 235 B.C.) began his life as a merchant, and later became regent in the service of the first Qin emperor. The text, *Lush chungiu*, was putatively written under his direction..

⁷³ Lu Buwei was given a fief and gold by the Qin, but because of his improprieties ended in captivity and committed suicide. I have indented this portion of the text, as it rhymes in the original.

expanded kingly glory and magnified imperial discipline. Its infrastructure is glorified by Fu Xi and Shen Nong, its regulations are enhanced by Huang Di and Tang Yao, and it lords over the kingdom.⁷⁴ It brightens the kingdom like the sun, glorifies it like a spirit, contains it like the ocean [basin], and nurtures it like the spring. Therefore, all within the Six Directions (north, south, east, west, up, and down) flow together from the same origin and are washed by profound virtue, and ^(natural gifts are?) naturally raised in great harmony. Leaves are applied to their branches, saplings grow into mountain forests, and birds and fish grow among streams and marshes. That which obtains [the Han's] influence has flourishing growth, while that which misses its era is scattered and desolate. It investigates Heaven and Earth and issues its transformations; what, indeed, can be said of the munificence and parsimony of human affairs? Now, you, sir, inhabit the ^(can august times?) generation of the emperor and [still] discuss the Warring States Era. You exalt what you have heard yet are suspicious of what you see. You desire to follow the measurements of a small hillock and know the height of Mount Tai, or measure a crooked spring and know the depth of a great abyss.⁷⁵ 'This cannot be done.'

100a.34

主人曰：「何爲其然也！昔咎繇謨虞，箕子訪周，言通帝王，謀合聖神；殷說夢發於傅巖，周望兆動於渭濱，齊甯激聲於康衢，漢良受書於邳沂，皆命而神交，匪詞言之所信，故能建必然之策，展無窮之勳也。近者陸子優繇，新語以興；董生下帷，發藻儒林；劉

⁷⁴ Fu Xi 伏羲 is a legendary Emperor of ancient China who is reputed to have instructed the Chinese people how to hunt, cook, use a calendar, and so forth. He is additionally believed to have recorded the Eight Diagrams after seeing them on the back of tortoise. He is traditionally dated to have lived during the thirtieth-century B.C. Shen Nong 神農 is said to date after Fu Xi, and is known as China's father of agriculture, herbal medicine, and barter. Huang Di 黃帝 is said to have invented pottery, various forms of transportation, and so forth. He remains a popular deity in contemporary Chinese temples, and is believed to have lived for more than a hundred years. Tang Yao 唐堯 is one of the two great kings canonized by Han Confucians, Yao and Shun 舜, who is putatively believed to have ascended the throne in 2356 B.C. Like all of the legendary figures mentioned here, Yao was thought to have been born under miraculous circumstances.

⁷⁵ The original of this line is more complex than I have rendered it here, but I hope that I have retained its meaning more clearly in English by translating it as I have.

向司籍，辯章舊聞；揚雄覃思，法言、大玄；皆及□君之門闈，究先聖之盡奧，婆娑庠術藝之場，休息虛篇籍之圃，以全其質而發其文，用納虛聖聽，列炳於後人，斯非其亞與！若乃夷抗行於首陽，惠降志於辱仕，顏耽樂於簞瓢，孔終篇於西狩，聲盈塞於天淵，真吾徒之師表也。且吾聞之：壹陰壹陽，天墜之方；乃文乃質，王道之綱；有同有異，聖□之常。故曰：慎修所志，守爾天符，委命共己，味道之腴，神之聽之，名其舍諸！賓又不聞蘇氏之璧韞於荆石，隨侯之珠藏於□蛤虜？歷世莫□，不知其將含景耀，吐英精，曠千載而流夜光也。應龍潛於潢汙，魚鼈媒之，[一其能奮靈德，合風雲，超忽荒，而躑躅蒼也。故夫泥蟠而天飛者，應龍之神也。] 六不先賤而後貴者，蘇、隨之珍也；□闇而久章者，君子之真也。若乃牙、曠清耳於管絃，離婁眇目於豪分；逢蒙絕技於弧矢，班輸權巧於斧斤；良樂軼能於相馭，烏獲抗力於千鈞；蘇、鵠發精於鍼石，研、桑心計於無垠。僕亦不任廁技於彼列，故密爾自娛於斯文。』

The guests said, 'Now, regarding the class of such people as Shang Yang and Li Si, and the evil men during the collapse of the Zhou, we have heard of their destinies. May we ask you about the scholars of high antiquity, who applied themselves to following the Way, helped their generation achieve its reputation, and were recounted to later times? We silently [await your reply], indeed.'⁷⁶

I, your host, respond saying, 'How can you be such as you are? In antiquity, Qi You advised Yu Shun and Jizi advised the Zhou; their words penetrated to the kings and their councils accorded with the sacred spirits.'⁷⁷ . . . (INCOMPLETE)

⁷⁶ It is noticeable that the tone of the guests, at this point, changes from mockery to deference. It appears that Ban Gu would have them become attentive listeners as he dispels his ideas.

⁷⁷ Qi You was XXXXX. Jizi was XXXXXXXXXXXX.

Han shu 100A
(Tr. A. E. Clark)

100A.1

班氏之先，與楚同姓，令尹子文之後也。子文初生，棄於菅中，而虎乳之。楚人謂乳「穀」，謂虎「於釋」，故名穀於釋，字子文。楚人謂虎「班」，其子以爲號。秦之滅楚，遷晉，代之間，因氏焉。

The ancestors of the Ban family shared their surname with the Chu [royal family], and their descendants derive from Prime-Minister Ziwen. When Ziwen was first born, he was abandoned at Meng marsh, and a tigress nursed him. The people of Chu refer to nursing as “*gu* [or *gou*]” and to tigers as “*yutu*.” Thus, they called him Gu Yutu, and gave him the name Ziwen. The people of Chu [also] refer to tigers as “*ban*,” and his son, [Dou Ban], took Ban as his style. When the state of Qin had destroyed Chu, the Ban family relocated to the area between Jin and Dai. In this way, Ban was made the family surname.¹

100A.2

始皇之末，班壹避墜於樓煩，致馬牛羊數千群。值漢初定，與民無禁，當孝惠、高后時，以財雄邊，出入弋獵，旌旗鼓吹，年百餘歲，以壽終，故北方多以「壹」爲字者。

At the end of Qinshi's reign,² Ban Yi relocated to the area of Loufan, and there amassed several thousand horses, cattle, and sheep.³ When the Han was first established, in associating with the people, there were no restrictions [since Han ritual had not yet been established], and during the times of Xiao Hui and Empress Gao, [Ban Yi] used his wealth to [become a man of] power and influence. When he went out or returned from a hunt, flags and drums resounded. He lived for more than a hundred years, and died after a long life. For these reasons, many people in the north took their [own] styles to be “Yi.”⁴

100A.3

壹生孺。孺爲任俠，州郡歌之。孺生長，官至上谷守。長生回，以茂材爲長子令。回生況，舉孝廉爲郎，積功勞，至上

¹ HS, 4197. In Zheng Hesheng's *nianpu* monograph, he notes that the Ban family was originally from the south, but relocated to the north. He also reminds the reader that several generations of the Ban family lineage can not be known, and that the record restarts after the Qin had been founded. Cf. Zheng Hesheng, *Han Ban Mengjian xiansheng Gu nianpu* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan, 1980), 1.

² 221-209 B.C.

³ According to Yan Shigu, the area Loufan is in the Commandery of Yanmen 雁門 (HS, 4198). Yan also states that 墜 is the ancient character for 地 (Ibid.).

⁴ HS, 4197-8.

河農都尉，大司農奏課連最，入爲左曹越騎校尉。成帝之初，女爲婕妤，致仕就第，賞累千金，徙昌陵。昌陵後罷，大臣名家皆占數于長安。

Ban Yi had a son named Ru, who was so chivalrous that [the people of] the Regions and Commanderies acclaimed him. Ban Ru had a son named Chang, who became the Protectorate of Shanggu.⁵ Ban Chang had a son named Hui, who became the Prefect of Zhangzi because of his refined abilities.⁶ Ban Hui had a son named Kuang, who became a Gentleman when the filial and upright were being distinguished. His meritorious works accumulated, and he became the Commandant-of-Agriculture at Shanghe.⁷ The memorials and remonstrations of the Chamberlain-for-the-National-Treasury amassed, [and] Kuang became the Head-of-the-Left-of-the-Mounted-Calvary. During the beginning of emperor Cheng's reign, Ban Kuang's daughter attained the distinction of Favorite-Beauty [within the emperor's harem]. Ban Kuang occupied an official post and accumulated wealth to the amount of one hundred *jin*.⁸ He relocated to Changling [for the construction of Chengdi's tomb].⁹ Later, [the work at] Changling was discontinued. Great ministers and famous families were recorded in name-registers at Chang'an.¹⁰

100A.4

況生三子：伯、旂、稚。伯少受詩於師丹。大將軍王鳳薦伯宜勸學，召見宴昵殿，容貌甚麗，誦說有法，拜爲中常侍。時上方鄉學，鄭寬中、張禹朝夕入說尚書、論語於金華殿中，詔伯受焉。既通大義，又講異同於許商，遷奉車都尉。數年，金華之業絕，出與王、許子弟爲群，在於綺襦紈褲之間，非其好也。

Ban Kuang had three sons, Bo, You, and Zhi. When Ban Bo was young, he received instruction in the *Shijing* from Shi Dan.¹¹ Wang Feng,¹² the Great-

⁵ Shanggu Commandery 上谷郡 was located in what is now Hebei province. See HSCD, 42.

⁶ Zhangzi Prefecture 長子縣 was located in what is now Shanxi 山西 province. See HYCD, 368.

⁷ Shanghe 上河 implies "above the Yellow River."

⁸ One *jin* 斤 is 256.0 g, or 16 *liang* 兩 (16.0 g). Cf. Michael A. Fuller, *An Introduction to Literary Chinese* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 276.

⁹ Changling 昌陵 was the tomb constructed for Chengdi in the area of modern Shanxi province. The tomb was worked on for five years, but the project was abandoned in 16 B.C. See HSCD, 379.

¹⁰ HS, 4198. Yan Shigu glosses the graph *zhan* 占 as *du* 度, or "measure/account for." This last line suggests that a name census occurred in the capital, Chang'an. Also see ZWDCD, 2115.

¹¹ Shi Dan 師丹 was an Erudite who had mastered the *Shijing* under the tutelage of Kuang Heng 匡衡. He lived a turbulent life in officialdom, and was active in the production of Han administration policies. Cf. Loewe, 475-6, HS, 3503, 1142, 1254, 1972, 3252, 4001, 4004.

¹² Wang Feng 王鳳 was the eldest brother of emperor Yuandi's Empress, Wang Zhengjun 王政君, and he was the eldest distaff uncle of the emperor Chengdi. He was also an uncle of Wang Mang. Cf. Loewe, 520-1, HS, 1689, 3886, 3974, 1949, 2667, 2901, 3324, 3348, 3370, 3982.

General, recommended that Bo should be encouraged in his studies, and he was thus summoned for an audience at the Yanni Hall.¹³ As his countenance was quite pleasing and his recitations and discussions were reasonable, he was given the post of Palace-Attendant-in-Ordinary. At that time, the imperial tutors, Zheng Kuangzhong¹⁴ and Zhang Yu,¹⁵ morning and night entered into discussions regarding the *Shang shu* and the *Lun yu* in the Jinhua Hall, and Ban Bo was summoned to be received there.¹⁶ After they understood the greater meanings, they discussed how the texts were alike and unlike with [the Erudite] Xu Shang.¹⁷ Bo was transferred to the post of Commandant-of-Chariots. After several years, the work at Jinhua Hall ended. Ban Bo left (the Hall) and formed a group with the sons and brothers of the Wangs and Xus. [However], Bo was not fond of being among such men as those with fine clothing from wealthy families.¹⁸

¹³ Zhang Yan 張晏 states that, "this is a hall [in which the] relatives feast together" 親戚晏飲會同之殿. See HS, 4198.

¹⁴ Zheng Kuangzhong 鄭寬中 was an expert on the *Shang shu* and an Erudite. He was a tutor for Chengdi while he was still the heir apparent. Cf. Loewe, 723, HS, 3179, 3229, 3234, 3347, 3605.

¹⁵ Zhang Yu 張禹 (d. A.D. 5) was an expert in the *Yijing* and the *Lun yu*. He became an Erudite and earned the respect of the emperor Chengdi. Cf. Loewe, 696-8, HS, 3347, 1716, 2681, 2915, 3366, 3598.

¹⁶ The Jinhua Hall 金華殿, according to Yan shigu, was located in the Weiyang Palace. See HS, 4198.

¹⁷ Xu Shang 許商 was an Erudite trained in the *Shang shu*. Cf. Loewe, 622, HS, 1688, 1705, 1766, 2679, 3604.

¹⁸ HS, 4198.