

和熹鄧皇后傳

BIOGRAPHY OF THE EMPRESS TÊNG

A TRANSLATION FROM THE ANNALS OF THE LATER HAN DYNASTY*

(HOU HAN SHU, CHÜAN 10a)

後漢書卷十上

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HO-HSI TÊNG HUANG-HOU, (who) had the personal name of Sui,¹ was the granddaughter of T'ai-fu (Têng) Yü.² Her father, Shun,³ was governor of the protectorate over the Ch'iang people; her mother, Yin Shih,⁴ was the daughter of a younger cousin of Kuang-lieh Huang-hou.

When the Empress Têng was five years old, her paternal grandmother, being fond of her, herself cut (the child's) hair. The grandmother was old, and because of poor eyesight she wounded the

* The Chinese text used is that of a section from the tenth chüan of the *Hou Han shu*, the standard authorized history of the Later or Eastern Han dynasty (A. D. 25-220). The edition followed was prepared by the scholar, Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙 (1842-1918), and published in Ch'ang-sha 長沙, Hupeh, 1915. So far as the translator knows, this section of the Han Annals has never been previously translated into any western language, and its contents are unfamiliar to historians of the western world. The translator is especially indebted to Dr. Kiang Kang-hu for his suggestions for the interpretation of certain passages of the text.

Throughout this translation "the empress" always refers to the empress Têng, and Yin Hou to the emperor Hô's first consort.

¹ 綏. This character signifies "quiet, steady, firm, peaceful."

² 太傅鄧禹 (A. D. 2-58. See *Chung-kuo jên ming ta ts'ü tien* 中國人名大辭典, i. e., *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, 1925, p. 1550; H. A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, 1898, p. 724). He was given this honorable title by the emperor Ming (1st year), A. D. 55. (See *Hou Han shu*, chüan 16, p. 6.)

³ 副護羌校尉. An office of the Ch'in 秦 dynasty, which was re-established by the emperor Kuang-wu, A. D. 25-57. (See *Hou Han shu*, chüan 1b, p. 6, chüan 3, p. 5; *Chinese Biog.*, p. 1550.)

⁴ 陰氏光烈皇后從弟女. The second consort of the emperor Kuang-wu.

forehead of the empress, who suffered the pain without a word. Those near her seeing this wondered at it and questioned her. The empress answered, "It is not that it did not hurt. Grand-mother loves to cut my hair. (As) it is hard to wound an old person's feelings, so I bore the pain."

At six years of age the empress was able to read a book of history;⁵ at twelve she recited the Book of Poetry and the Analects. Whenever her elder brothers studied the classics or history, she would interrupt by asking difficult questions. Her interest was in ancient books and records, and she never paid any attention to home duties. Her mother often scolded her, saying, "You do not learn needle-work with which you may make garments; instead you set your heart on studies, don't you? Is it proper that you should be raised to a doctorate?" In consequence the empress contradicted her mother's charge, and by day she performed women's tasks, (but) in the evenings she studied the classics. Her family gave her the nickname, "The Student,"⁶ while her father marvelled at her and consulted⁷ her in all kinds of affairs, important as well as unimportant.

In the fourth year of the Yung-yüan period, (A. D. 92), she should have entered the group (to be admitted to the women's apartments of the palace), (but) her father died. Day and night the empress wept bitterly; for three years she would not take any salt in her food. Her deep grief destroyed her looks; her relatives did not recognize her. During this time she dreamt of touching the heavens, vast and clear, as if in the form of a stalactite, and lifting her head, and clearing her throat, she drank the milk-like drippings.⁸ When she inquired of an interpreter of dreams, he said that Yao dreamt of grasping the heavens, and he ascended (the

⁵ 史書, in 15 *p'ien* 篇. A history for children composed, according to the commentary on the passage, by 太史籀, historian to Chou Hsüan Wang 周宣王 (B. C. 827-782).

⁶ 諸生. Cf. *Tz'ü-yüan* 辭源, 酉, p. 46.

⁷ According to the commentator, Yüan Hung 袁宏 (A. D. 328-376, see Giles, *Biog.*, p. 967) asserted that Têng Shun was very strict in regard to the regulations for the women's quarters of his home, and those for his sons, but made an exception with the empress, because she was the extraordinary member of the family.

⁸ This passage is quoted and explained in *Tz'ü-yüan*, 午, p. 160.

throne), T'ang⁹ dreamt that he reached up to heaven and licked it. These are all signs of Holy Kings, (but) propitious omens must not be told. A physiognomist¹⁰ upon seeing the empress was startled and said, "Here is the likeness of Ch'êng T'ang."

Her family privately rejoiced, but did not dare to spread (these prognostications) abroad. The empress' uncle, her father's younger brother Kai, said, "It is often heard that he who saves the lives of a thousand persons shall have descendants honored with ranks of nobility, and my elder brother Shun (the empress' father) is such a recipient (because) in his commission¹¹ to repair Shih-chiu River he saved in a year the lives of several thousand persons. The way of Heaven may be trusted; it is certain that his family will be rewarded with blessings! In former days T'ai-fu Yü¹² sighed and said, 'I, a leader of a million troops, never once killed a single man uselessly.' Among his descendants there must be one to rise (in power)."

In A. D. 95 the empress again was chosen, together with others, to enter the palace. She was five feet and five inches tall,¹³ beautiful in manner and figure, (so) entirely different from ordinary (young women) that all those around her were startled. In A. D. 96, in the winter, at the age of sixteen¹⁴ she was made an honorable

⁹ Ch'êng T'ang 成湯 was the first emperor of the Shang dynasty. (See Giles, *Biog.*, p. 116.)

¹⁰ *Hsiang-ché* 相者. In China the physiognomist professes to foretell the future as well as analyse the character of a person. The bibliographical section of the *Han shu* (chüan 30) includes a list of 24 chüan on the practise of physiognomy. (See *Tz'ü-yüan*, 午, p. 128.) Hsün Tzú wrote an argument against the inadequacy of the method. (See H. H. Dubs, *The Works of Hsün Tze*, 1928, chapter V.)

¹¹ According to the commentator, Ho Ch'uo 何焯 (A. D. 1660-1722; see Giles, *Biog.*, p. 261) remarked that the reading of this passage gives a wrong impression, because Shun saved the lives by stopping the work on the canal, which was causing great loss of life and was accomplishing practically nothing. (See *Hou Han shu*, chüan 3, A. D. 78, 建初, 3rd year.)

¹² The empress' grandfather, see above.

¹³ 七尺二寸. At that time the foot-measure was equivalent to nine English inches. (See *JRAS*, *NOB*, 59, 1928, pp. 111-123.)

¹⁴ The age of a Chinese is reckoned by the number of calendar years in which he or she has lived. Thus, if born on the last day of one year, he or she is calculated to be two years old on the first day of the next.

lady of the court, polite, respectful, careful. Her actions were regulated by good usage, and she served Yin Hou¹⁵ deferentially, at all times terrified and trembling. In dealing with those of her own rank, she invariably controlled her own (emotions) in order to be humble. She was kind, generous, and polite even to the palace attendants,¹⁶ servants, and slaves. The emperor highly approved of her. And (once when) the empress was ill, he gave special orders that her mother and brothers (be allowed) to see her, and the care of physicians and medicine be unlimited, until one day the empress said to him, "The palace regulations are very strict, and to cause relatives of a palace-lady to enter into the women's quarters not only may bring the slander of discontent upon your humble handmaiden, but also the derision of selfishness upon Your Highness. I most sincerely do not wish to be the occasion for either (slander or derision)." The emperor answered, "Usually all people are of the opinion that the more who enter, the greater the honor. On the contrary, Kuei-jên¹⁷ regards this as an affliction. Such extreme self-renunciation is indeed difficult to emulate."

Whenever there was a banquet, the several concubines of (all) ranks vied with one another in hastening their toilets, (choosing) brilliant and gay hair pins and ear ornaments, fresh and bright garments, (both) upper and lower. The empress alone wore simple dress, a costume without ornament or jewelry. Were her clothes of the same color as those of Yin Hou, she would change them immediately. If they entered (the emperor's) presence simultaneously, she did not dare sit erect, (or) stand (as) equal (in rank with Her Majesty). In walking (beside Yin Hou) she would bend her body (to express) her humility. Whenever the emperor asked a question, she always shrank back and answered hesitatingly. In her replies she did not presume to take precedence of Yin Hou. Perceiving the empress' disturbed heart and bent body, the emperor sighed and said, "Is it worth while to take all that trouble just for the practice of virtue?"

¹⁵ 陰后. The first consort of Ho Ti 和帝 who was dethroned in A. D. 102 (see below), until which time the empress Têng had the title *kuei-jên*.

¹⁶ 宮人. (See *T'zu-yüan*, 寅, p. 56.) Apparently girls from whose midst it was not infrequent that the emperor chose a favorite.

¹⁷ 貴人. The empress's title at that time, i. e., "honorable lady."

Later Yin Hou gradually became estranged from the emperor. Often when the empress was expected to go in to his presence, she would send word that she was ill. At that time the emperor had lost several sons, and the empress grieved that there were few heirs. Several times concubines were chosen to go in (to the emperor) to please the imperial wish. When Yin Hou saw that the empress' virtue was praised more and more from day to day, she knew not what to do. Then in her desire to injure (the empress), she made a vow. The emperor on one occasion was sick abed with a very dangerous disease. Yin Hou in private conversation said, "If I had my wish, not a member of the Têng family would be left (alive)." (When) the empress heard of this, weeping bitterly she said to those around her, "To the utmost I have sincerely used my efforts to serve Huang-hou,¹⁸ yet after all I have not gained favor with her. Now I must also receive punishment from Heaven! Although it is not my duty to sacrifice at the death (of the emperor), nevertheless, (I seek) the decree prayed for by Chou Kung,¹⁹ who himself desired to be a substitute for Wu Wang (during the latter's illness); or the lot of death expected to result from her heart's vow by Yüeh Chi:²⁰ first, because of gratitude for imperial favor; second, for the riddance of calamity to relatives; and third, in order not to cause Yin Hou to incur the shame of (turning me into a) human swine."²¹ Then she was about to drink poison! The palace-lady Chao Yü com-

¹⁸ 皇后. The title for Yin Hou.

¹⁹ 周公武王. For the account of Chou Kung's prayer for Wu Wang, see F. Hirth, *The Ancient History of China*, 1923, pp. 102-103; Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, III, p. 351.

²⁰ 越姬. Daughter of the celebrated ruler of Yüeh, Kou-chien 句踐 (B. C. 496-465), and concubine of Chao Wang of Ch'u 楚昭王 (B. C. 515-489), who asked her to follow him in his pleasures until death. She took the opportunity to prod him on to attend to his governmental affairs instead of seeking pleasure, and would not promise, but when later he was ill and showed signs of reform, in her heart she pledged herself, and before his death she committed suicide. (See *Lieh nü chuan* 列女傳, chüan 5.)

²¹ Upon Han Kao Tsu's death, the empress Lü 呂太后 seized her husband's favorite, Ch'í Fu-jên 戚夫人, had her hands and feet cut off, eyes put out, ears stopped, and her mutilated body, while living, thrown in an earthen dugout, where she was given poison to drink. (See *Han shu* 漢書, chüan 97a, p. 3b.)

pletely thwarted this by feigning word of the arrival of a message that the emperor had already recovered. The empress believed that it was true and stopped. In fact, the next day the emperor was convalescent.

In the summer of A. D. 102, on account of the magic poison affair,²² Yin Hou was dethroned. (Although) the empress begged to save her she did not succeed. From that time on the emperor had his heart set on her. The more the empress was honored, the more genuinely ill she became, and she isolated herself completely. Just at that time the authorities were petitioning to establish the Ch'ang-chiu Kung.²³ The emperor said, "The empress' position is of the same honorable rank as mine, acknowledged as mother of the empire in the ancestral hall of the imperial family. This is not an easy (position). Only Têng Kuei-jên²⁴ is foremost in the women's apartments of the palace, and consequently is worthy of the highest (honor)."

That winter she was proclaimed empress. She ascended the throne after having declined three times. With her own hand she wrote her deep thanks to the emperor, saying that her virtue was not vast enough to have been his choice.

At that period the protectorates were offering tributes and presents, vying with one another in their precious and beautiful gifts. From the time of the empress' ascension to the throne such

²² "From the time of the entrance of the empress into the palace (A. D. 95), imperial favor toward Yin Hou gradually declined; several times there was bitter resentment. Yin Hou's maternal grandmother Têng Chu 鄧朱 came and went in and out of the women's quarters of the palace. In the summer of A. D. 102 it was currently reported that these two were cherishing the magic-poison way 挾巫蠱道. When this report was brought to the emperor's attention, he sent officials to investigate, try the offenders, and punish them." Yin Hou thereupon was dethroned, and that same year, while virtually a prisoner in the palace, died. (See biography of Yin Hou, *Hou Han shu*, chüan 10a.) Through this lineage on the maternal grandmother's side, the empress and Yin Hou probably were distantly related, as well as through a connection on the paternal side. (See Têng Ch'ien 鄧乾, *Hou Han shu*, chüan 16, p. 6b.)

²³ 建 or 立長秋宮. The conventional request of the authorities in the memorial to the throne just when an empress was about to be proclaimed. (See *Hou Han shu*, chüan 6, p. 1a 注, chüan 10a, p. 8a 注.)

²⁴ 貴人. The rank of the empress at that time.

(offerings) were strictly prohibited. Instead paper²⁵ and inks²⁶ were annually presented, and nothing else.

Whenever the emperor desired to raise the rank of members of the Têng family, the empress wept and begged him to consider others. Consequently the empress' elder brother (Têng) Chih²⁷ lived through the reign of the emperor (Ho) with no higher (rank than that of) a *hu-pên chung-lang*.²⁸

In A. D. 105, Yüan-hsing, first year, the emperor died. His eldest son, P'ing-yüan Wang,²⁹ was a weakling. Several sons—perhaps as many as ten odd in number—had died in their infancy. Those born later had been at once secretly placed with foster parents. Shang³⁰ was just one hundred days old; for him the empress accordingly received the imperial insignia. She was honored with the title *Huang T'ai Hou*,³¹ and became regent.

After the burial of the emperor Ho, the palace-ladies (chosen for his personal quarters) all went over into the courtyards of the Imperial Tombs. The empress transmitted to Chou and Fêng Kuei-jên a communiqué,³² saying, "I was an associate with you,

²⁵ 紙. The date, A. D. 102, of this entry in the biography was three years before the announcement of the invention of paper (T. F. Carter, *Invention of Printing and its Spread Westward*, 1925, pp. 1-6, 190-191). Chih was probably near-paper made of silk, but Wang Hsien-ch'ien 後漢書集解卷十上校補 quoted one authority who stated that paper might have been invented in the Yung-yüan period (A. D. 89-104), and been used in the palace previously to the report of the invention by Ts'ai Lun.

²⁶ 墨 *mo*. If the meaning given above be correct, it probably was not a true ink from lamp-black, but the ink that Chinese writers call *ch'i* 漆 (see Carter, pp. 24, 200).

²⁷ 鄧騫 (*Chinese Biog.*, p. 1553), see *Hou Han shu*, chüan 16.

²⁸ 虎賁中郎. A minor military palace post, established under the Han dynasty, and abolished in the T'ang period. (See *Tz'u-yüan*, 申 p. 110.)

²⁹ 平原王. See *Hou Han shu*, chüan 4, A. D. 106. He died in the 4th moon, A. D. 113, see chüan 5, p. 9b.

³⁰ 孺帝. The infant son of the empress.

³¹ 皇太后, i. e., empress dowager, but in this study "empress" is used.

³² This communiqué is one of three selections included as compositions of the empress Têng in Mei Ting-tsu's 梅鼎祚 16th century (see

honorable ladies, in the back halls (of the palace), a happy member of your rank for more than ten years. (I) have not received blessed (divine) protection; the late emperor died early, abandoning the empire. (I), the empress, am bereaved. He to whom we looked up with reverence day and night is no more; forever our hearts will be disturbed with grief. Now according to established good usage, it is right that we separate; you are entering the courtyards of the Imperial Tombs. Bowed down with grief, overcome with sorrow, (even in the words of the) Yen-yen Ode,³³ how can we express (the pathos of our affliction) in parables?" She then bestowed upon the honorable ladies *wang-ch'ing-kai* carts,³⁴ chosen ornaments, chariots and horses four abreast, 30 *chin* of gold, 3000 rolls of various silks, and 7200 feet of fine white cloth.³⁵ She also gave Fêng Kuei-jên a princess' *ch'ih-shou*, and (seeing that) she had none, a *pu-yao* for her head, and a girdle, one set of each.³⁶

(While the empress) was still greatly sorrowing over the recent demise (of the emperor), and before the plans for strict control in the palace had been established, a chest of large pearls was lost.

Chinese Biog., p. 1005) compilation of epistolary writings, entitled: *Shu chi tung-ch'üan* 書記洞詮, A. D. 1596, chüan 16.

³³ 燕燕詩. Legge, *Classics*, Book of Poetry, I, III, 3, p. 42. Upon the murder of the duke Huan 桓公 (B. C. 718), his mother, a concubine of his deceased father, was returned to her native state, and "the marchioness-dowager bewails her sorrow at the departure of her cherished and virtuous companion."

³⁴ 王青蓋車. Carts especially used by the heir apparent and other sons of the emperor. (See *Hou Han shu*, chüan 5, p. 1b 注, *Hou Han chih* 後漢志, chüan 29.)

³⁵ 白越四千端. One *tuan* is 18 Chinese feet (the foot-measure at the time of the Han dynasty was equal to 9 English inches, see above, footnote 13), but the cloth foot to-day is usually longer than the carpenter's foot-measure, and this was probably true in the Han period. (For *po-yüeh*, see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 午, p. 96.)

³⁶ Some texts omit 頭上. There were three articles: a special kind of reddish silk for use by princesses of the realm 王赤綬 (see *Hou Han shu*, chüan 10a, p. 12a); a special kind of cap 步搖 (see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 辰, p. 197), parts of which swayed as the wearer walked, and a *huan-p'ei* 環珮 (see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 午, p. 40), a chatelaine with jade ornaments.

The empress decided to follow her desire to investigate; there must be some who were not guilty. Thereupon she personally inspected the palace-attendants and examined their countenances. Then forthwith (there was) confession and punishment.

Now the emperor Ho had favored Chi Ch'êng whose charioteer had falsely accused him in the magic poison affair.³⁷ So (this charioteer) was called down into the courtyard³⁸ for examination and search. From the testimony the empress understood. She thought that the servitors of the former emperor (i. e., Ho) had been treated with kindness. Customarily his Highness had never scolded with rough words. Now, on the contrary, this (affair) was not in accordance with human affections. She then herself saw the truth made evident, and consequently (knew) that it was the work of the charioteer. (After these two incidents) there was none who did not willingly serve her, believing her to be supernaturally wise.

The empress always considered that the truth about the spirits of good and evil was difficult to know, and that improper worship brought no blessings, so she ordered the authorities to dismiss several officials³⁹ in the sacrificial service (whose actions) were not in accord with the ancient ceremonial usage. She also decreed⁴⁰ that violators of the law and practitioners of magic, imprisoned since the Chien-wu period (i. e., A. D. 55), and the incarcerated members of the Ma and Tou⁴¹ families, should all be restored to the rights of citizens. She furthermore had the *t'ai-kuan*, the *tao-*

³⁷ The reference here may be to that affair which caused the dethronement of Yin Hou, but the commentator explains it to be ordinary bad luck wished in hate upon another by use of magic methods.

³⁸ 掖庭. Elsewhere in this biography *yeh-t'ing* means "women's quarters."

³⁹ In the summer, 4th moon, A. D. 106, cf. *Hou Han shu*, chüan 4, p. 16b.

⁴⁰ In the summer, 5th moon, A. D. 106, cf. *Hou Han shu*, chüan 4, p. 16b.

⁴¹ Probably Ma Kuang 馬光 (committed suicide A. D. 94, see *Hou Han shu*, chüan 4, p. 7h), whose son was re-instated in A. D. 113 by the empress, see chüan 54. Ma Kuang was the third son of the celebrated general Ma Yüan 馬援 (B. C. 14-A. D. 49), and a cousin of the scholar Ma Rung 馬融 (A. D. 79-166); see Giles, *Biog.*, pp. 567, 572. 寶 See Tou Hsien in Giles, *Biog.*, p. 743.

kuan,⁴² the *shang-fang*, and the *nei-chê* practise retrenchment (in their preparation of) the palace clothing, imperial jewelry, food for the imperial meals, and fine beautiful articles of rare workmanship. Except for presentation in the temples at the Imperial Tombs, rice, millet, and all grains were not to be husked. From sunrise to sunset meat (was to be served) at one meal only, and that was all. Formerly the annual expenses of the *t'ai-kuan* and *t'ang-kuan*⁴³ were 200,000,000.⁴⁴ The empress forbade this by imperial order, and she cut down the expenses for delicacies, until (the total amount) was much less than one hundred million.⁴⁵ Of the tribute from the provinces⁴⁶ and kingdoms, she reduced the amount more than one half. She ordered the sale of falcons and dogs from the Imperial Park.⁴⁷ The Shu⁴⁸ and Han engraved vessels and the tasselled daggers, were to be manufactured no more; thirty-nine kinds of interior decorations were forbidden, and the woven ornamental brocades and embroideries of the imperial liv-

⁴² 太官. The official in charge of imperial food and drink, an office abolished after the Yüan period, see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 卅, p. 198.

導官. The official in charge of the selection of grains for worship, see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 寅, p. 99.

尙方. The official in charge of the making of imperial and palace precious articles, swords, etc., see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 寅, p. 111. These palace officials, as well as 內者 and other officials mentioned in this biography are listed in Chavannes's *Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, Tome II, Appendice I, pp. 514-531. See decree, *Hou Han shu*, chüan 4, p. 17a.

⁴³ 湯官. The official in charge of the making of pastry and cakes, see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 巳, p. 129.

⁴⁴ The unit was probably cash.

⁴⁵ Several thousand ten-thousand.

⁴⁶ 郡. The *chün* under the Ch'in and Han dynasties may be compared with the modern *shêng* 省 or provinces, see J. J. L. Duyvendak: *The Book of Lord Shang*, 1928, p. 18, note; Chavannes: *Les Mémoires historiques*, II, p. 530-531.

⁴⁷ Shang-lin 上林 was a park begun under the Ch'in dynasty, and extended by the emperor Wu 武帝 (B. C. 140-87), see Giles, *Dictionary*, p. 113; *Tz'ü-yüan*, 子, p. 46.

⁴⁸ 蜀漢. Regions now in the modern provinces of Szechuan and Shensi, from which, according to the commentator, these vessels, cast of gold and silver, had long been sent up as tribute to the throne.

ing quarters,⁴⁹ *ping-huan* and *ch'i-hu* silks, articles of gold, silver, pearl, jade, rhinoceros horn, ivory, tortoise-shell, engraved playthings, were all absolutely prohibited. In the imperial country-residences and (other) outside dwellings, the stored-up grain, dried food, fuel, and charcoal were ordered to be used economically. By mandate she commissioned the manager of the Imperial Tombs to investigate cases carefully, sending up to her the names of those relatives of the imperial family, who, far too old to hold positions, were attendants upon the honorable ladies, guardians of the tombs.⁵⁰ She herself (saw) these people in the Tsêng-hsi Kuan of the North Hall⁵¹ of the palace, and examined and questioned them. Acting upon (her decision of) dismissal or retention, the manager immediately sent away five or six hundred persons.

As soon as the emperor Shang died, the empress issued an edict, enthroned the emperor An,⁵² and continued her regency. She thought that two great mourning periods in succession⁵³ would burden the people bitterly, and without public ceremonies⁵⁴ she had the emperor Shang buried in the section for heirs-apparent in the K'ang⁵⁵ Imperial Tombs. Then she had all kinds of labor reduced by one-tenth. By mandate she announced to the *ssû-li chiao-wei*,⁵⁶

⁴⁹御府尙方. Literally the names of two palace officials in charge of the preparation of these articles, see Chavannes' *Mémoires*, II, Same; *Tz'ü-yüan*, 寅, p. III, 尙衣, 尙方. 冰紵. A silk of smooth closely woven texture; 綺縠, gauze silk for summer use.

⁵⁰ Concubines without sons, who became guardians of the Imperial Tombs. (See *Hou Han shu*, chüan 5, p. 15a.)

⁵¹北宮. Pei-kung was built by the emperor Ming (A. D. 58-75), see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 子, p. 360.

⁵²安帝. The twelve-year old nephew of the emperor Ho, and grandson of the emperor Chang 章帝 (A. D. 76-88), Liu Yu 劉祐 by name. (See Giles, *Biog.*, p. 528; *Hou Han shu*, chüan 5.)

⁵³ Deaths of the emperor Ho and Shang.

⁵⁴ A funeral ceremony was held, however, in the palace-hall, *Ch'ung-tê ch'ien-tien* 崇德前殿, see *Hou Han shu*, chüan 4, p. 17b, chüan 5, p. 2b.

⁵⁵康陵 K'ang ling. A note 注 (chüan 5, 2b) expresses a doubt of the accuracy of this place, and suggests a section of the Shên Tombs 慎陵.

⁵⁶司隸校尉, 河南尹, 南陽太守, see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 丑,

the Ho-nan *yin* and the Nan-yang *t'ai-shou*, "We often see that relatives and guests of the preceding emperor's household take advantage of their (former) prestige and power, and without esteem (for others) give hasty, peremptory orders, until there is turbulent disorder for the officials and suffering for the people. The responsibility lies in upholding the law against insolence and laziness. In face of offence, carry out punishments. Now even though the intentions of General (Têng) Chih⁵⁷ and his staff are respectful and obedient, nevertheless the (Têng) family is very large, and the connections by marriage are not a few; visitors (may be) treacherous and cunning, many violate the prohibitory regulations of the palace. Clarify and add rules to the palace-regulations; show no preference in the protection (of the palace). From now on relatives who break rules are not to lean upon the (imperial) power."⁵⁸

Out of pity the empress (posthumously) pardoned Yin Hou,⁵⁹ allowed the fugitives (of her family) to return to their native place, and by imperial order restored their property (valued at) more than five million.⁶⁰ In A. D. 107⁶⁰ the rank of the empress' mother was raised; she was given the title *Hsin-yeh-chün*⁶¹ and an income from (the taxes of) a district⁶² of ten thousand homes.

In the summer of A. D. 108 the capital (suffered) a drought, and the empress herself visited the audience-hall⁶³ for Loyang. She wished to know whether⁶⁴ there was anyone wrongfully imprisoned,

p. 18. Officials corresponding to modern chief of police, provincial governor, and local magistrate.

⁵⁷ 車騎將軍鄧鸞 (see above). He was given this rank and title in the 4th moon, A. D. 106, see *Hou Han shu*, chüan 4, p. 16b.

⁵⁸ See above, and the closing sentences of Yin Hou's biography, *Hou Han shu*, chüan 10 a.

⁵⁹ No unit given in the text.

⁶⁰ 永初元年. The text reads erroneously 永平元年.

⁶¹ 新野君. *Hsin-yeh* was the native place of both the mother's and the empress' families, *chün* was used in titles given to relatives of the imperial family by marriage.

⁶² 湯沐邑. (See *Tz'ü-yüan*, 巳, p. 130.)

⁶³ 寺. *Shih* seems to have been used in the Han period for headquarters of officials as well as for special monasteries of the early Buddhist monks. (See *Tz'ü-yüan*, 寅, p. 87.)

⁶⁴ See *Hou Han shu*, chüan 5, p. 4 b. And she went again, 4th moon, A. D. 112, chüan 5, p. 9 a.

not a murderer in truth, but tried (as such). One falsely accused, emaciated, chair-bound (prisoner) who was brought before her, in terror of the gaoler, dared not speak. Just as he was leaving he raised his head as if he wished to state his predicament. The empress scrutinizing him perceived this, and calling him back asked about the charge against him. When she had obtained the truth of his case, she ordered that the Loyang magistrate be imprisoned in his stead for retribution. When this had been done, before the empress had reached the palace, a saturating rain fell in torrents.

In the autumn of A. D. 109,⁶⁵ the empress was in ill health. Those near her were grieved and worried, and they offered prayers and made vows. They all desired to substitute (themselves for her in death). When the empress heard of this, she angrily reprimanded them, and secretly commanded (the honorable ladies of) the back halls of the palace to order all those under them only to give thanks and to pray for happiness, and not to talk about bad omens of death and life.

It had long been the custom to feast the departing palace-guards at the end of a year of service, (performing for their benefit) an important ceremony for expelling demons and driving away pestilence. The empress thought that the *Yin* and the *Yang* were out of balance. Rebellions among the troops of soldiers had been frequent. She commanded that the feast be celebrated without theatricals and music, that the band of boys⁶⁶ used in the ceremony of expelling an epidemic be reduced by one half, and that the performers with their elephants and camels be excluded. When a prosperous year (returned the entertainment should) again be as of old.

From the time when the empress entered the quarters of the honorable ladies of the palace (i. e., A. D. 96), she studied the classics and history, together with astronomy and arithmetic, under Ts'ao Ta-ku.⁶⁷ (Now) in the day-time she attended to govern-

⁶⁵ In the 1st month of this year, the emperor An was capped, and was, therefore, of full age, see *ch'uan* 5, p. 5 b.

⁶⁶ According to the commentator, such a band numbered 120 boys of ten to twelve years of age, who were sons and younger brothers of palace eunuchs.

⁶⁷ 曹大家 (Pan Chao 班昭), see monograph by translator, to be published by the American Historical Association.

mental affairs, while in the evenings she read aloud and studied. She was concerned about making mistakes, afraid of not being accurate in the official documents, so that from all over the empire she chose scholars, Liu Chên⁶⁶ and others, officials of various ranks,⁶⁷ more than fifty persons, to go to the Tung-kuan⁷⁰ to compare and read critically the books and records. When they had finished they sent up memorials, and she bestowed linen and cloth according to each one's achievements. Furthermore, she commanded the chung-kuan⁷¹ and chin-ch'ên to go to the Tung-kuan to study the classics and books in order that they might teach the palace attendants. All around, from dawn to dusk there was the practice of reading aloud assiduously.

Then Hsin-yeh-chün⁷² died. The empress herself cared for her in her illness⁷³ until the very end. In the mourning period she was overcome with grief, and broken in health. Affairs were continually being multiplied. Her mother was given a *ch'ih-shou*, which was conferred on those of the rank of *chang-kung-chu*,⁷⁴ and

⁶⁶ 劉珍 (*Chinese Biog.*, p. 1456), see monograph on Pan Chao, appendix. Recorded also in annals of 2nd moon, A. D. 110, but dated in *lieh chüan* 68, A. D. 117; see *Hou Han shu*, chüan 5, p. 7 b.

⁶⁷ 博士 Po-shih, see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 子, p. 394.

議郎 I-lang, see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 酉, p. 56.

四府 Ssü-fu, see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 丑, p. 11.

掾史 Hsiang-shih, probably an official in the historical section.

⁷⁰ 東觀. In that part of the palace where the imperial repositories for books were located. (See translator's monograph on Pan Chao, chapter 4.)

⁷¹ 中官近臣. (See *Tz'ü-yüan*, 子, p. 70; 酉, p. 174.) Both minor palace officials.

⁷² The empress' mother, see above. She became ill in the 9th moon (*T'ung chien* 資治通鑑, chüan 49, p. 16), and died in the 10th moon, A. D. 110. (See *Hou Han shu*, chüan 5, p. 6a.)

⁷³ At first only the youngest brother of the empress was allowed to return home to serve the mother, but upon her death, the four were granted leave for the mourning period. (See *Hou Han shu*, chüan 16, p. 12b.)

⁷⁴ 長公主赤綬. The paternal aunts and sisters of the emperors in the Han period had the title *chang-kung-chu*, see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 戌, p. 73; 子, p. 279. *Ch'ih-shou* may be the seal of the title, but see above, footnote 36.

from the east courtyard⁷⁶ were sent a coffin, fine clothes, and embroidered quilts. There were also bestowed gifts of 30,000 rolls of cloth, and 30,000,000 (units of) money, (but Têng) Chih and the rest politely, but firmly, refused to receive either money or cloth. The *ssû-k'ung*⁷⁶ was sent to manage affairs. The funeral arrangements and ceremonies were executed in a way similar to those for Tung-hai-kung Wang.⁷⁷ The posthumous title given was *ching-chün*.⁷⁸ The empress faithfully observed the mourning rites through the entire period.

At the beginning of the first moon, A. D. 113, the empress went into the temple⁷⁹ of the founder of the dynasty, and fasted for seven days. Even the advisers, chief ministers, and officials⁸⁰ (of the realm) shared in the ceremonies of this period. On Kêng-hsü⁸¹ she visited the ancestral temple⁸² of the imperial family, attended by the wives and concubines of the high officials, who assisted in the ritual. Together with the emperor⁸³ she offered sacrifice, performing the duties herself. When the ceremonies were completed, then she returned (to the palace).

And she published an edict saying, "All should offer at sacrifice new and fresh (products of horticulture and agriculture). For

⁷⁶ 東園. (*Tz'ü-yüan*, 辰, p. 101, 寅, p. 108.) The official in charge of preparation of funeral equipment for palace and imperial officials, such as 祕器, *pi-ch'i*, see *Tz'ü-yüan* (午, p. 186) where this passage is quoted.

⁷⁶ 司空. One of the three high officials (三公), president of the Board of Works, in the Han period, see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 丑, p. 16.

⁷⁷ 東海恭王. This was the title of the eldest son of the emperor Kuang-wu, see *T'ung chih*, 通志, chüan 79. His burial is recorded in *Hou Han shu*, chüan 42, p. 2b.

⁷⁸ 敬君.

⁷⁹ 太廟, see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 丑, p. 234.

⁸⁰ 公卿百僚, i. e., 三公九卿百僚.

⁸¹ 庚戌. The cycle name for a day of the month, see also *Hou Han shu*, chüan 5, p. 9b.

⁸² 宗廟, see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 寅, p. 41.

⁸³ According to the commentator, there was a discussion at the time concerning the propriety of the performance of this ceremony by an empress dowager, but Liu Chên (see above) found it had been done in the reign of the emperor Ming (circa A. D. 58).

when these are (raised) out of season, either by forced ripening through the use of steam or of heat, or by stimulating the growth through the exposure of the new shoots, they never develop (proper) flavor, and the premature ripening curtails their growth. Is that the way to follow the seasons and to grow all things? It is written: ⁸⁴ 'Do not eat anything out of season.' From now on the imperial ancestral offerings at the tombs and in the temples, as well as (the supplies) for the palace, all must be in season." Thus the offerings made were reduced in number by twenty-three kinds.

From (the beginning of) the empress' regency, there had been ten years of either floods or droughts; barbarian tribes ⁸⁵ had raided the frontiers on all sides; brigands had risen within the empire. Each time that she heard of the people's hunger, perhaps not until dawn would she sleep. She reduced and discontinued (her personal supplies) in order to give relief from calamity and distress. Therefore, the empire again was at peace, and the year returned to prosperity and abundance.

In A. D. 118 P'ing-wang Hou Liu I, ⁸⁶ thinking that the empress was very virtuous in governmental affairs, and desiring that an early record of this be made, sent up a memorial to the emperor An, saying:

"(I), your official, have heard of the imperial virtue of Fu-hsi ⁸⁷ and Shên-nung as recorded in the Book of Changes. The Book of History tells of Yao ⁸⁸ and Shun, and how they magnified imperial responsibility. So also even the holy and bright (ones) had to

⁸⁴ The commentator located two probable sources for this quotation: 1) Analects (see X, 8: 2, Legge, *Classics*, I, p. 232), and 2) a passage cited in the *Han shu*.

⁸⁵ 四夷. *Ssü I* is used here for the barbarian peoples on the four sides, often spoken of as (a) Eastern I 東夷, (b) Western Jung 四戎, (c) Southern Man 南蠻, and (d) Northern Ti 北狄; see *T'zu-yüan*, 卅, p. 110.

⁸⁶ 平望侯劉毅. An official of the time, see *Chinese Biog.*, p. 1482.

⁸⁷ 伏羲. (Giles, *Biog.*, p. 233.) The first of the Five Emperors of the legendary period. 神農. (Giles, *Biog.*, p. 646.) A second legendary emperor.

⁸⁸ 唐虞. T'ang and Yü. (Giles, *Biog.*, pp. 921, 663.) The famous legendary emperors of China's traditional Golden Age.

chronicle their achievements on bamboo and silk, and to spread abroad the sounds thereof on wind and stringed instruments.

"(I) prostrate myself before Her Imperial Highness; she has received the mien and manner of the Holy Great, and the virtue of Heaven and Earth. She equals Yü Fei;⁸⁹ she compares with Jên⁹⁰ and Ssü; filial, sisterly, compassionate and loving; sincerely courteous and careful to observe ceremonial usages. She is the source of the interdiction of (court) extravagance and luxury; she is the omen of restrained ease and desires. She has raised the standard of the throne and the court, and transformed the neighboring peoples.

"At the close of the Yüan-hsing⁹¹ and Yen-p'ing periods, when the empire was without an heir-apparent, respectfully reading celestial signs, and (following) the counsel of the people's laudation, she put forward the emperor (An) for ruler of the empire. For all time the House of Han was established, and the neighboring peoples tranquilized and pacified.

"When the devastating floods came, and the eastern provinces experienced distressing famines, she was gracious and kind to the masses. Men and carts⁹² filled the roads. She (used) coarse clothing and food; she herself led in self-denial of food, and lessened (the number of her) horses in order to supply the populace (with necessities). Her graciousness gave her commiseration, and caused her to have regard for the people.

"Unselfishly acknowledging her transgression, she exalted the humble and lowly. She brought to fruition a harmonious government; she diffused afar the teachings⁹³ (of a benevolent rule). She established again kingdoms that had been destroyed; for living descendants she revived lost family privileges; she had (accounts of) meritorious officials included in contemporary records;

⁸⁹ 虞妃. The two daughters of Yao 娥皇女英 given by him in marriage to Shun (Giles, *Biog.*, p. 664).

⁹⁰ 任. The mother of Wên Wang, and 嬪 the wife of Wên Wang, and mother of Wu Wang.

⁹¹ 元興延平. The last period of the emperor Ho, A. D. 105, and the only period of the baby emperor Shang, A. D. 106.

⁹² Literally "caps and covers."

⁹³ 五教. Five lessons of duty in connection with the Five Relationships of the human race.

she restored the Imperial House; she recalled (political) fugitives; she pardoned the imprisoned. (When) the government was not obedient and not harmonious, its plans were not those in her heart; when administrative regulations were not in accord with old traditions, she did not use them at court. Her vast virtue abounds and overflows, it fills the universe, its floods abundantly enrich and, spreading out, fill the eight directions. The Flowery Empire delights to diffuse (its culture); the Jung and the Ti⁸⁴ accept absorption; her unsurpassed achievements have become famous throughout the Great Han; eminent favor is added to living people.

"The function of lofty majesty—it may be heard of but not paralleled. Vast loyal service to the Empire—it may be eulogized but not named. The ancient emperors established the historians of the left and the right;⁸⁵ the Han has had the traditional statutes; the present generation has its historical accounts. Now the Way has both an ebb and a flow. (Governmental) control may be progressive or retrograde. If (the acts of) good government are not narrated, then the trivial and the unusual (enter) the state archives. There is found (in the ancient records) not only the responsibility of Yao for dissipating the vast flood, and of T'ang for overcoming the great drought, but also the excellency (of Yao), which is altogether without comparison in its splendor, and (of T'ang), which was that of high Heaven (itself). (There is entered in the former chronicles) not only the omens of the crowing of the ringed phaesant for Kao Tsung,⁸⁶ and of the furious storm for Ch'êng Wang, but also the achievements of the restoration (under Kao Tsung) and of tranquility (under Ch'êng Wang).

"Furthermore an examination of the Books of Poetry and History (shows that) Shun's two wives⁸⁷ and the three mothers⁸⁸

⁸⁴ 戎狄. Jung, the western peoples; Ti, the northern ones; but used here for surrounding tribes.

⁸⁵ 左史右史, see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 卅, p. 14.

⁸⁶ 高宗殷武丁. Yin Wu-ting (*Chinese Biog.*, p. 592.) Traditionally dated as 20th ruler of the Shang dynasty, B. C. 1324-1266, see F. Hirth, *The Ancient History of China*, 1923, pp. 53, 331. 成王. (*Chinese Biog.*, p. 529.) The emperor of the Chou dynasty, dated traditionally, B. C. 1115-1079, son of Wu Wang, see Hirth, pp. 104-107.

⁸⁷ See above, footnote 89.

⁸⁸ The first of these three mothers was Chiang-yüan 姜嫄, the mother

of the Chou dynasty regulated their conduct and were virtuous. Their thoughts did not cross their door-silla.⁹⁹ They did not, (however), experience family sufferings within, nor destructive calamities without. (Her Majesty is) painstaking in the management of (governmental) affairs;¹⁰⁰ she is careful to prevent the wilful waste or misuse of the gifts of Nature. Her achievements and virtue are eminent and lofty! An example at the present time!

"It is fitting that the Court Historian be ordered to write the records of the Ch'ang-lo¹⁰¹ Hall of the palace, to chronicle the holy virtue and praiseworthiness (of the empress), in order to spread the fame of her beauty and her glory, to carve her loyalty on metal and stone, to suspend (her achievements) like the sun and moon (in the heavens) that they continue (to be known) without end. Thus will be brought to fruition the vigorous filial piety of the throne."

The emperor followed his advice.

In A. D. 119 the empress by imperial mandate summoned the children, boys and girls of five years and above, more than forty in number, of the (families of the) emperor Ho's younger brothers, the Chi-pei and Ho-chien Wang,¹⁰² and the children and grandchildren, more than thirty in number, closely related to the Têng family. And for all these children she ordered a residence opened, and the classics and records to be taught them. She herself in person supervised their examinations. For the little children she had guardian-teachers appointed, who from dawn to dusk were in the palace. She directed (these children) gently and firmly; her kindness and love were enriched with favors.

Then the empress by mandate¹⁰³ to her elder cousins, the Ho-nan

of Hou-chi 后稷, the legendary ancestor of the House of Chou, see Giles, *Biog.*, p. 267. The other two were the mothers of Wên Wang and Wu Wang, see above.

⁹⁹ That is, they minded their own business.

¹⁰⁰ 大麓. See *Tz'ü-yüan*, 丑, p. 207.

¹⁰¹ 長樂宮. A part of the palace which in the Han period became the dwelling of the empress dowager, see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 戌, p. 72.

¹⁰² 濟北河間王, see *T'ung chih*, chüan 79.

¹⁰³ A second of the three selections of epistolary writings of the empress Têng quoted in *Shu-chi tung-ch'üan*, see above, footnote 32.

yin, Pao,¹⁰⁴ the *Yüeh-ch'i chiao-wei*, K'ang, and others, said, "This group of children which I have received, I have placed in the charge of teachers from the imperial palace, truly because at the present time the princes of the realm are unworthy (of their positions). Times now are commonplace, superficial, and vile; artificial skill is prevalent. The Five Classics have fallen into disuse and unpopularity. There is no propagation of leadership. In the future then there will be decay. Therefore, I desire to exalt and reverence the Holy Way, in order to correct the evil customs. Is it not written:¹⁰⁵ 'Hard is it to deal with one who eats to the full capacity the whole day, without exerting himself!'

"Now this modern generation of honorable relatives belongs to families with high salaries, warm clothes, delicate food, strong carts, and fast horses;¹⁰⁶ but they are facing a wall (so far as) the arts and culture (are concerned). They do not discern between right and wrong. Calamities and destruction arise from such (conditions).

"During the Yung-p'ing¹⁰⁷ period (A. D. 66), the young princes of the four surnames¹⁰⁸ were all ordered into class rooms, and as a result ever-increasing popular customs and dangerous vulgarities were averted. Our loyal and filial ancestor,¹⁰⁹ although his military achievements are chronicled on bamboo and silk, nevertheless taught by lesson and influence both cultural studies and virtue to his sons and grandsons. Therefore, he was able to keep them under control and to train them. They did not fall into nets. We should control our children. Both the narratives about our blessed and famous ancestor and the thought of the real meaning of the edict (for teaching the children) are in accord. Let us encourage this!"

¹⁰⁴ 河南尹 (see above) 豹越騎校尉康。

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *Analects* I, 14; VII, 9; XVII, 22.

¹⁰⁶ The commentator quotes Mo Ti: "The princes . . . know not the preciousness of solid carts and excellent horses."

¹⁰⁷ 永平. The reign period of the emperor Ming (A. D. 58-75).

¹⁰⁸ Children of the families of 樊 郭 陰 馬, see *Hou Han shu*, chüan 2, p. 11b; *Tz'u-yüan*, 丑, p. 117.

¹⁰⁹ 先公. Têng Yü 鄩 禹 had 13 sons, each of whom he had taught to be skilful in one of the arts or professions of the gentleman of nobility.

(Têng) K'ang thought that the empress had been regent for a long time. In his heart he was afraid of her, (so) he pleaded illness and did not go to Court. The empress sent a palace attendant to inquire about him. At that time the palace slaves going in and out were able to injure the reputation or add to the fame of their supervisors. The elders (of the palace servitors) were called *su-chê*; ¹¹⁰ the remainder were addressed as *chung-ta-jên*. (Now) the maid sent to (Têng K'ang) had formerly been a slave in his family, but she announced herself as *chung-ta-jên*. When K'ang heard of this, he cursed her, saying, "You who had been with my family dare (do this), do you?" The slave angrily returned (to the palace) and said that K'ang pleaded illness, but did not speak politely. Then the empress deprived K'ang of his office, banished him to his estate, and cut off his connections (with the court).

In the second moon of A. D. 121, the empress was ill enough to stay abed, and then became gradually worse. Nevertheless (one day), she was carried in a chair to the front courtyards of the palace to see the *shih-chung* and *shang-shu*, ¹¹¹ (then) also towards the north to the heir apparent's newly repaired quarters, and returned. (She announced) an amnesty; she bestowed money and cloth upon the honorable ladies of the courtyards of the palace, the princes, and the high officials (of the government), each (according to the proper) share. She issued a proclamation, saying:

"Without virtue, I have been entrusted with the position of the mother of the empire. I have been poorly favored by Heaven; early I encountered great sorrow. At the end of the Yen-p'ing period, within the seas there was no ruler. The masses (entered fortune's) turn of distress, the danger of a pile ¹¹² of eggs. Diligently and laboriously I have exercised care. (Now) I dare not regard the Throne ¹¹³ as a pleasure. I desire neither to deceive Heaven nor to bring shame upon the late emperor, neither to

¹¹⁰ 宿者中大人, see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 子, p. 75.

¹¹¹ 侍中 (*Tz'ü-yüan*, 子, p. 193.) The palace official of the Han period in control of palace chairs, carts, and equipment. 尙書 (*Tz'ü-yüan*, 實, p. 111.) Metropolitan official in Han period.

¹¹² The commentator refers this phrase to a passage in Liu Hsiang's 劉向 (B. C. 80-9, see Giles, *Biog.*, p. 501), *Shuo yüan* 說苑.

¹¹³ 萬乘, see *Tz'ü-yüan*, 子, p. 51.

neglect others nor to be ungrateful for kindness. Sincerely I wish to help ¹¹⁴ the people, and to (bring) peace to the Liu ¹¹⁵ family."

"I had thought that my gratitude might penetrate and influence Heaven and Earth, (so) that I might be favored with happiness and dignity, but instead I had the calamities of funerals both ¹¹⁶ in my own family and in the court; aching sorrow unbroken.

"In a short time my disease had wasted my (strength) to the uttermost. For a long time I had not attended worship in the ancestral hall. Then by my own effort I went to the Yüan Tombs, and this has increased my coughing and expectoration of blood, until there is no relief. Whether to live or to die makes no difference. What remedy is there? Advisers, ministers, and high officials, may you exert yourselves in your lofty loyalty and respect in order to support the Court!"

The third moon the empress died at the age of forty-one,¹¹⁷ after having been on the throne twenty years. She was buried together (with the emperor Ho) in the Shun Tombs.

¹¹⁴ 濟 度, i. e., "carry across." To build bridges or repair roads is the usual form of charity practised by the Chinese.

¹¹⁵ 劉 氏, i. e., the House of Han.

¹¹⁶ Deaths of the emperors Ho and Shang, and that of the empress' mother.

¹¹⁷ By Chinese reckoning.